

**John Elder Moultray**  
(1865-1922)

**History Painter or Historical Journalist?**



*A Trooper of the Wanganui Cavalry attacked by the Hau-hau, 1892 (Canberra, NLA).*

**Marilyn Edwynna Park**

A thesis submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington  
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in Art History

Victoria University of Wellington 2012

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis was undertaken to investigate J. Elder Moultray's history paintings, his broader artistic oeuvre and journalistic output, and to place him in the context of nineteenth-century New Zealand art, journalism and the history painting genre generally. It is also intended to fill a lack of previous art-historical scholarship surrounding Moultray and his history paintings.

Moultray's own diaries and published articles, as well as newspaper reports about him, provide a biographical sketch of his life and his own views on art history. A discussion of the development of the history painting genre, a detailed analysis of his history paintings and comments on his paintings from critics, both during his lifetime and after, leads to a number of conclusions. These suggest that Moultray's diminished reputation as an artist has resulted from a number of factors, including changing fashions in artistic styles, poor documentation in the referencing of his works, and a changing political climate which has desired to leave behind uncomfortable images of the New Zealand colonial wars. The latter is related to both his contemporary marginalisation and the deterioration of many of his paintings in the public domain.

Unpicking the layers of Moultray's history paintings reveals their relevance to contemporary art-historical issues. In addition, Moultray's resistance to modernism and continuation of a nineteenth-century academic art practice into the twentieth century provides today's art historians with considerable insights. By exploring a body of Moultray's paintings, in tandem with his writings about art, the thesis reveals a significant contribution to New Zealand art history.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Researching an artist from an earlier era requires the art historian to be a historical detective. The reward of discovering unknown facts and paintings, and of forming a complete picture of an artist who was previously a shadowy figure, is immense. Such has been my journey of discovery of John Elder Moultray. This journey has been made easier by a number of people who have answered innumerable questions, even when busy.

These include the staff of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Auckland Art Gallery library, National Library of Australia and Taranaki Museum, who all answered requests for information and supplied me with copies as requested; Gordon Maitland and the library staff of Auckland Museum for access to Moultray's works; and Victoria Boyack at Te Papa Museum Library who went out of her way to source material.

Special thanks are due to my supervisor, Roger Blackley, to whom I owe an immeasurable debt, for help and support outside the call of duty, and the supportive staff and postgraduate students at VUW Art History department, especially John Finlay for reading my final draft. Thanks also to Lucy Clark of the Hocken Library for supplying me with information and images, Greg Moyle for willingly giving me access to works by Moultray and welcoming me to see his collection, David Harrop for his Ginterest and supportive emails, and Vivienne Hill who kindly lent me copies of Moultray's diaries and volunteered information, making this thesis all the richer.

As Moultray's writings are an integral part of this thesis, his series on art galleries in Europe and on his own history paintings are included as appendices, with links to many



of the paintings he discussed. As these images are available in the public domain on the world-wide web, the owners of the art works are acknowledged but not the source of any particular image. Wikipedia, Web Gallery of Art and Virtual Uffizi were the main sources used and the details were checked with ARTstor from VUW Library.

## ABBREVIATIONS

In footnote references, untitled newspaper articles have been given a title from the first few words; titles with the same name have been given an explanatory title from the first few words of the article in square brackets [ ] after the initial title.

References to books and articles are given in full for first reference, with a shortened title for all subsequent references.

Sources used to find newspaper articles include Papers Past (National Library of New Zealand) and Trove (National Library of Australia).

The following abbreviations are employed in the text, footnotes and appendices:

ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
<i>Argus</i>	<i>Argus</i> (Melbourne)
AAG	Auckland Art Gallery
AIM	Auckland Institute and Museum
ASA	Auckland Society of Arts
AS	<i>Auckland Star</i>
AWN	<i>Auckland Weekly News</i>
BH	<i>Bruce Herald</i>
CSA	Canterbury Society of Arts
EP	<i>Evening Post</i>
Hocken	Hocken Collections

NG	National Gallery of London
NGS	National Gallery of Scotland
NLA	National Library of Australia
<i>NEM</i>	<i>Nelson Evening Mail</i>
NZAFA	New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts
n.d.	no date
OAS	Otago Art Society
<i>ODT</i>	<i>Otago Daily Times</i>
<i>ODT&amp;W</i>	<i>Otago Daily Times &amp; Witness</i>
<i>OW</i>	<i>Otago Witness</i>
p.c.	private collection
<i>Star</i>	<i>Star</i> (Canterbury)
Te Papa	Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

## INTRODUCTION

The Dunedin painter John Elder Moultray belongs to a select group of New Zealand artists who published their views on art generally and on their own works in particular. In the nineteenth century J. Elder Moultray's history paintings made an important contribution to New Zealand's history painting genre. Today, these and his considerable journalistic output on a variety of subjects have been largely forgotten. Although no comprehensive study has been previously undertaken regarding his works or of the history painting genre in New Zealand art, a number of conclusions have been made in broader studies, both about him and the genre generally. Like contemporary newspaper reports, recent commentary has mostly focused on their historical component rather than on his artistic merits. This thesis explores J. Elder Moultray's history painting in the context of his broader artistic oeuvre, placing him in the context of nineteenth-century New Zealand art history, art-journalism and in the history painting genre.

When J. Elder Moultray arrived in Dunedin with his family from Scotland in 1883, his father James Douglas Moultray had a reputation as a landscape artist that had preceded their arrival. This opened numerous exhibition opportunities for John Elder and his elder brother Henry, who was also an artist. J. Elder Moultray travelled widely around the country, sketching, photographing and painting a large number of landscapes. Wanting to make a name for himself he broadened his art from the landscapes in which his father and brother specialised, to include history paintings and some genre paintings. Seeing a need for documentary re-enactments of the New Zealand colonial wars of twenty years before, in order to capture the stories of the witnesses before they died, he

created a series of history paintings, based on his own research, including some painted especially for the *Otago Daily Times and Witness Christmas Annual* of 1898-99.<sup>1</sup> In addition, he travelled to Europe and wrote a series of articles on art galleries he visited, went to the second Boer war as a war correspondent for which he wrote articles and made sketches, and later published some scenes from Māori mythology. Moultray also wrote short fiction, although it is unknown if any was published.<sup>2</sup> With this varied output a contemporary historian may ask, was J. Elder Moultray a history painter or an artistic journalist?

J. Elder Moultray built a notable public profile from both exhibitions and newspapers, which both he and his father exploited through reviews and advertising to help create an eager art market. Like other contemporary artists they contributed towards exhibitions by the Otago Art Society, Canterbury Society of Arts, New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts in Wellington, Auckland Society of Arts, international industrial exhibitions in Dunedin, Auckland and Melbourne, and had works published in the newspaper. They also exhibited in shop windows and held private exhibitions to which they invited prominent people, to ensure that their activities were reported in the paper. They held art unions and contributed to auctions, both of which were advertised either by themselves or the auction rooms. Following the pattern of the art societies, they published their own catalogues to accompany their private studio exhibitions. Most of Moultray's works have disappeared into private ownership and currently only two major art institutions in New Zealand hold any of his or his father's works, and most of these are landscapes. The Hocken Collections in Dunedin has two dozen paintings, including five history paintings, and Auckland War Memorial Museum has a landscape, a print of a landscape and several history paintings on loan from a private owner.

Having established a reputation, J. Elder Moultray let it slip into obscurity. After the Boer War he never repeated the popular and profitable mode of earning extra income through writing newspaper articles. The reason is unknown, but ill health was probably a contributing factor. An enigma to today's art historians, he is placed on the

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<sup>1</sup> J. Elder Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country with pen and pencil: being an illustrated account of some notable events in the early history of New Zealand', *ODT&W Christmas Annual*, in *OW*, 10 November 1898, pp. 1-9 [Appendix 2].

<sup>2</sup> 'A series of stirring incidents of the Maori war', *OW*, 6 October 1898, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> J. Elder Moultray, 'The hermit of Waitotara', unpublished, Geraldine: Private Collection.

periphery of New Zealand art history and his artistic abilities dismissed. He is known only from a small number of works, which give only a limited view of his artistic competencies. Even less is known of his journalistic output.

In an introduction to an exhibition in 1984 Peter Entwisle referred to the ‘various Moultrays’ as ‘hack’ artists who, ‘whether wittingly or not, survived by producing works that pleased the public without having any particular merit’.<sup>3</sup> Entwisle also referred to ‘the Moultray’ as singular, despite the different styles and content of father and sons, and included them with others whose ‘acceptance by the public... may be deplored’.<sup>4</sup> My thesis disputes this view and I argue that J. Elder Moultray’s history paintings were an important addition to New Zealand’s history painting genre and that his writings provide insights, not only into late nineteenth-century perceptions of New Zealand military history, but also into New Zealand art history. Moultray’s history paintings were topical in his time but his ‘acceptance by the public’ diminished with the changing political climate and interest in new artistic styles. Also, the knowledge that two of his paintings were photographed by Alfred Burton was lost over time since Burton omitted to name his source, thereby contributing to his anonymity, despite their continuing use as images. The trajectories of these two paintings are discussed later in the thesis.

Feature articles on art in mid to late nineteenth-century New Zealand newspapers usually focused on its landscape art, since the unspoilt landscape was seen as a unique opportunity for tourists and artists alike. In 1880, William Mathew Hodgkins delivered a lecture to the Otago Institute on ‘The History of Landscape Art and Its Study in New Zealand’.<sup>5</sup> Hodgkins identified the New Zealand landscape as having:

... special features of every country which is remarkable for its scenery, the English lake, the Scottish mountain and glen, the snow-seamed peaks of Switzerland, the fiords of Norway, the tinted geysers of the Yellowstone, are all produced in this adopted land of ours with abundance and variety.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Entwisle, *William Mathew Hodgkins and his circle: an exhibition to mark the centennial of the Dunedin Public Art Gallery, October 1984*, Dunedin: Dunedin Public Art Gallery, 1984, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> ‘A history of landscape art and its study in New Zealand’, *ODT*, 20 November 1880, p. 5.

Hodgkins hoped New Zealand would become not only ‘a place of sojourn ... but also ... the birthplace of painters’. The ‘mission of the landscape painter’, according to Hodgkins, was ‘to make us acquainted with the beautiful places on God’s earth, and so render us more grateful to him’. Although understated, Hodgkins made it clear that he considered landscapes, particularly in watercolour, superior to figure painting. Turner was singled out for a lengthy discussion as Hodgkins commented that ‘Turner’s splendid genius fired the minds of the landscape painters in Scotland’, mentioning Horatio McCulloch, to whom J.D. Moultray had been an assistant.<sup>7</sup> This emphasis on landscape painting in the style of Turner influenced the attitude of the OAS and art critics for many years and, while Frances Pound has since suggested that it was not until the 1930s that New Zealand art gained its ‘self-consciousness as New Zealand art’, a consciousness of a unique identity can be said to have begun with Hodgkins’ lecture.<sup>8</sup> The artistic growth that was encouraged by Hodgkins, however, was one in which landscape art was supreme, at least in Otago.

For many artists in Scotland, landscapes were secondary to history painting, as it was for J. Elder Moultray.<sup>9</sup> The majority of his known history paintings addressed minor incidents in the New Zealand colonial wars, but at least one depicts an early conflict in Afghanistan, two of the second Boer War, one of ancient Roman history and one of a contemporary house-fire. Most of his New Zealand war paintings focused on the Taranaki conflicts and Poverty Bay ‘massacre’ which took place in the latter part of the wars, particularly on encounters between the colonial militia and British troopers, and the followers of the guerrilla leader Te Kooti Arikirangi. These were commonly referred to in the newspapers as the Hauhau, but were no longer followers of the Pai Mārire faith, as were the earlier followers of Te Ua Haumene. This belief was considered by the authorities to have ended with the prophet’s conversion back to Christianity in February 1866.<sup>10</sup> From this time until about 1872, the skirmishes were with Te Kooti’s Ringatū followers and the Ngā Ruahine sub-tribe of Ngāti Ruanui

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Francis Pound, *The invention of New Zealand: art & national identity 1930-1970*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2009, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Stanley Cursiter, *Scottish art: to the close of the nineteenth century*, London: George G. Harrap & Co, 1949, p. 96.

<sup>10</sup> S. Barton Babbage, *Hauhauism: an episode in the Maori wars 1863-1866*, Wellington and Dunedin: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1937, p. 66.

under Titokowaru, although no distinction was made by Moultray or the press of the time, even for some time afterwards.

Te Kooti denied having been an adherent of Pai Mārire but was still imprisoned with them at the Chatham Islands and his escape and acts of utu led to a continuation of the hostilities and ‘perpetuated the use of the label “Hauhau”’.<sup>11</sup> Titokowaru took over Te Ua’s ‘mantle’ after he died (of ill health) in October 1866, and blended Pai Mārire to both Christianity and the ancient Maori atua with peaceful intentions. Several peace hui were held at his village of Te Ngutu o Te Manu in 1867 and early 1868.<sup>12</sup> The peace was broken in May, however, in response to James Booth, the Resident Magistrate of Patea, who accompanied Major Hunter to Te Ngutu and made demands in a heavy-handed manner.<sup>13</sup> A number of Moultray’s paintings focus on these incidents from 1868 and 1869.

Leonard Bell, in 1980, commented that Māori existed for J. Elder Moultray only as ‘a context for the soldier’s heroism’.<sup>14</sup> This view does not acknowledge the extensive research Moultray did to find out the ‘truth’, as it was known or believed by participants and witnesses of the events.<sup>15</sup> Before painting historical scenes or writing about them, he travelled over the place of the battle and interviewed both Pākehā and Māori participants, although the latter were most likely ones who had fought on the British side. In the articles he used correct Māori and military terminology when describing incidents, as far as he understood the terms and the way they were used. Moultray clearly believed the rhetoric in the newspapers, that the so-called Hauhau were the perpetrators in the colonial-Māori wars. He also believed the stories he was told by the ex-troopers he interviewed, which his own experiences, including incidents on his journey to Taranaki, reinforced. Contradictory information in articles and letters of the time, and by later historians, has shown that these stories were not always correct, and there was an overwhelming desire for the British and colonial forces to appear as heroes

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<sup>11</sup> Paul Clark, ‘Hauhau’: *The Pai Marire search for Maori identity*, Auckland: Auckland University Press and Oxford University Press, 1975, pp. 106-107.

<sup>12</sup> James Belich, *I shall not die: Titokowaru’s war: New Zealand: 1868—1869*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin and Port Nicholson Press, 1989, pp. 19-22.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 52-55.

<sup>14</sup> Leonard Bell, *The Māori in European art: a survey of the representation of the Māori from the time of Cook to the present day*, Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1980, p. 52.

<sup>15</sup> Moultray, ‘Through the Hauhau country’, p. 1.



to the public.<sup>16</sup> Lieut.-Col. Gorton expressed this sentiment when he said, ‘There are many officers and men who did most heroic actions, but I could only give them from hearsay’.<sup>17</sup> Major-General Sir George S. Whitmore also published his account of the major campaigns he was involved in, including one in which Major Hunter died.<sup>18</sup> To Whitmore, all the commissioned officers and men were heroes, since ‘difficulties surround all enterprises, and it is only the weak-minded who shrink from them’.<sup>19</sup> This depiction of the British soldier and colonial trooper as the hero was unchallenged well into the twentieth century.

Moultray *was* convinced that the soldier was the hero yet it is too simplistic in post-colonial times to view his contribution as ‘propaganda’. His writings show that he thought he was investigating incidents that had gone unreported or had been brushed over. To him they were a kind of retrospective historiography, imperative to be recorded before the chief witnesses died. Also, they were not his only works which featured Māori. His mythological illustrations show an understanding of Māori myth which elevates not only Māori, but Māori women. I address all these issues in my thesis.

Leonard Bell noted that historical paintings by colonists ‘contributed’ to an ‘appropriation of Māori culture and history’ by aestheticising Māori and absorbing aspects into colonial culture, in order to increase their own ‘indigenisation’ and assimilate themselves into a ‘new’ land.<sup>20</sup> While this is true, natural human curiosity by travellers for those in a new land and admiration for something unique has led to the incorporation of new styles into the artistic expression of various cultures in multiple ways, a process that has been repeated for millennia. While the Romans absorbed Greek culture and copied their style, the Greeks appropriated Turkish culture, the English absorbed French culture, and the French incorporated aspects of Italian, Dutch and German. This process is, of necessity, over-simplified here to illustrate the point. Conal McCarthy agreed with Bell and showed how the previous World’s Fairs and the public

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<sup>16</sup> As in defence of the ‘Honourable John Bryce’ by Lieut.-Col. Edward Gorton, *Some home truths, re the Maori war 1863-1869*, London: Greening & Co. Ltd, 1901, pp. 90-93.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>18</sup> Major-General Sir George S. Whitmore, *The Last Maori War in New Zealand: under the self reliant policy*, London: Sampson Low 1902, facsimile reprint, Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers 1995, p. 49.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>20</sup> Leonard Bell, *Colonial constructs: European images of Māori 1840-1914*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1992, p. 152.

decorations put in place for the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York's visit to New Zealand in 1901 all demonstrated 'how the self-fashioning of Pākehā was framed by Māori symbols.'<sup>21</sup> McCarthy also noted that Māori did not passively accept being depicted as a 'dying race' and engaged with museums in a variety of ways to mount their own response.<sup>22</sup> These complex issues all form the background in which Moultray was painting.

Writing about the work of an artist-journalist who painted history paintings on subjects within the living memory of many of his viewers, but did not experience them himself, has created its own unique challenges. The most useful art-historical methodologies are aspects of historicity, iconography and semiology. Well informed about New Zealand history and knowledgeable with regard to ancient and contemporary academic art, when Moultray referenced historical incidents he incorporated complex artistic techniques drawn from a variety of sources. These included those derived from his own traditional training, as well as those he observed during his studies and journeys around European and British art galleries. Thus, he referenced both old and new signs and symbols within his paintings.

A number of linguistic insights are useful when analysing these signs and symbols. Ferdinand de Saussure, Charles Sanders Peirce and Roland Barthes all recognised that signs and symbols were inherent in image-making.<sup>23</sup> Barthes showed how images can denote or point directly to something, such as a name, and also connote and signify something that is in general consciousness by incorporating linguistic messages, words, sentences and books. 'Things' can have a coded iconic message, showing the totality of the message that is connoted by the image itself, or a non-coded iconic message, depicting the literal, 'what it is' that we 'see' when we look at it. He also applied these concepts to photographs.<sup>24</sup> Since photography took many of its early cues from paintings, these insights can also apply to paintings. A confident photographer, Moultray photographed scenery on his journeys to paint later.

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<sup>21</sup> Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: a history of colonial cultures of display*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2007, p. 39.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 12, 202.

<sup>23</sup> D. S. Clarke, *Principles of semiotic*, London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987, pp. 26-28.

<sup>24</sup> Roland Barthes, *Camera lucida: reflections on photography*, Richard Howard (trans.), New York: Hill and Wang, 1981, pp. 26, 27.

More recently Susan Pearce applied linguistics to historical images, showing how connotations can be extremely personal and romantic. By connoting an important event they can validate a personal narrative and add to a historical sequence. Pearce's discussion centred on a single object on display but also demonstrated how paintings can evoke responses in the viewer. Responses can be personal and intrinsic, or metaphoric, with a range of possible interpretations.<sup>25</sup> These ideas have only recently been explored and defined, but have long been a part of the tools used by trained artists in order to evoke a response from an audience.

Moultray used signs in his history paintings about the New Zealand colonial wars, to create effects and evoke empathy from the viewer for the people portrayed within them. For instance, when Māori were portrayed as the antagonist they were often in shadow, partly visible or only implied by the trooper's symbolic gestures. These gestures were easily read by viewers familiar with art and by the public of his time, who were well informed through newspaper articles on art and lectures at art and philosophical societies. These techniques were used by other military artists too, and artists like J.M.W. Turner, who used picturesque clouds of smoke to obscure the characters in the background. In the same way Moultray highlighted the characters he wished the viewer to focus on and elevated them in a psychological sense as well as visually. These particular paintings also connoted the colonial wars and conflict with Māori generally, validating the personal narratives surrounding historic incidents, such as the death of Sergeant Maxwell and the so-called 'Bryce affair'. In addition, they added to the visual narratives in a historical sequence which was directly pertinent to colonial interests, since Te Kooti and Parihaka were contemporary issues and part of the on-going conflicts of the late nineteenth century.

William H. Truettner emphasised the importance of avoiding making assumptions when reading historical paintings, and the need 'to be sceptical of automatically transferring to our times the meaning a work of art might have had in the past'.<sup>26</sup> These meanings include signs and symbols pertinent to the contemporary viewer. Truettner also discussed the importance of separating the 'hypothetical layers of

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<sup>25</sup> Susan Pearce, 'Objects as meaning; or narrating the past', in Susan M. Pearce (ed), *Interpreting objects and collections*, London and New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 20, 21.

<sup>26</sup> William, H. Truettner, 'Storming the Teocalli – again: or further thoughts on reading history paintings', *American Art* 9(3), Autumn 1995, p. 58.

evidence' that 'inform' a painting.<sup>27</sup> Using Truettner's model, the first layer includes the discussions Moultray had with ex-troopers and their descendants, which he reported in his writing, clearly outlining his sources. Moultray believed what he was told and thought he was depicting the truth about these skirmishes in his paintings. The second layer that adds to this understanding includes the views of Moultray's contemporaries and the common assumptions they held in the late nineteenth century about the colonial wars. These views are revealed through other literature of the period and were utilised by Moultray in the stories he wrote about his paintings. A third layer uncovers some of the 'underlying conflicts' of the changing era Moultray lived in, and these need to be taken into account.<sup>28</sup> This includes dissenting voices, like that of the historian John Rusden, who questioned the truth of some of the heroic stories commonly told. Moultray clearly disbelieved Rusden's view and it may have influenced his desire to support at least one particular maligned hero.<sup>29</sup> A fourth layer is that of Moultray's experiences, including underlying personal and societal biases, which influenced the way he portrayed Māori. These are more difficult to reveal but are partly visible through his writings.

In the absence of any comprehensive art-historical study on Moultray many unanswered questions regarding the scope of his artistic work and questions pertinent to Bell's analysis have never been fully investigated. These include the impact his paintings had on fellow-artists or people who saw them. How well known was he in his time and were his paintings of the colonial wars seen as projecting the truth as he wished them to be seen, or were they already viewed as depicting a romantic past or exaggeration? How many history paintings of the colonial wars did he paint? Are his history paintings ignored in New Zealand art histories because of their content or his technique? How did Modernism impact on the reception of Moultray's art?

The era that J. Elder Moultray painted in was a significant time of change. One author described the end of the nineteenth century in England as a 'confused picture, in which only one factor is at first clear – that the Victorian Age had come to an end'.<sup>30</sup> If it was challenging for artists in England, it was even more so for those in New Zealand.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> The Bryce-Ruskin case is summarised in Chapter 4.

<sup>30</sup> William Gaunt, *A concise history of English painting*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1964, pp. 199-201.

Dunedin was the centre of the country's art culture in the 1880s and had a newly formed but very active art society, the supremacy of which was soon to be eroded. By the twentieth century New Zealand artists were responding to Modernism and moving from Romanticism to Post-Impressionism via impressionistic art. Modernism had arrived in the 1890s with Petrus van der Velden, James McLauchlan Nairn, Girolamo Pieri Nerli and New Zealand artists like A.H. O'Keeffe returning from studies in Europe. Impressionism had already expanded from its French origins and developed national variations, so Dutch, Scottish, and Italian innovations were introduced through their art and their students. In the next decade, Clas Edvard Friström also brought inspiration from the Australian Heidelberg painters. *Plein air* painting, a slightly heightened colour, the display of visible brushwork and modern subjects were adopted by many New Zealand artists.<sup>31</sup>

New Zealand society, too, was on the cusp of change: from Victorian to Edwardian, from horse-drawn to motorised transport, from a dependence on Britain to the notionally independent status of a Dominion within the British Empire. A response from the New Zealand government to help Britain in the second Boer war instigated an active foreign policy capable of responding to the need of other nations, which increased the growing self-consciousness of a separate New Zealand identity. It was becoming obvious by the 1890s too, that Māori were no longer a 'dying race', and the 1901 census recorded demographic gain. Māori had survived the musket wars, the colonial wars, the influx of colonists, the loss of land and previously unknown diseases. In response to an increasing Māori population, assimilationist policies on the part of the government and religious groups were then being discussed, rather than simply the need to preserve the remnants of their culture for posterity before they disappeared. These all impacted on New Zealand art. Of prime importance also for Moultray, photography was becoming the preferred illustrating media of the newspapers. The decreasing utilisation of artists and illustrators by the print media in favour of photography meant that artists who did not embrace the new media found that their outlets for commercial enterprise diminished. Photography's growth coincided with enhanced print quality and only the

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<sup>31</sup> Michael Dunn, *A concise history of New Zealand painting*, Auckland: David Bateman, 1991, pp. 37-48.

best illustrators such as James McDonald or journalist-photographers like Malcolm Ross, continued to be employed.<sup>32</sup>

Nineteenth-century Modernism in art, still-photography and film, all challenged the position of history painting as the primary method of depicting historical events. Jonathan Harris suggested that these made the history genre obsolete.<sup>33</sup> There is no evidence that this is true, since history painting has continued to develop and evolve, although it is no longer focused on classicism or religious history in contemporary art. This was not true either for J. Elder Moultray, whose interest in history painting did not occur in isolation but developed from his training in Edinburgh and exposure to academic art in Europe, despite both his training and art practice occurring during the rise of Modernism.

This thesis aims to place J. Elder Moultray's work in both a New Zealand and a global context and address the issues identified here that relate to his legacy. Chapter One is a biographical sketch that examines Moultray's art training, his motivations, his numerous artistic activities and art-related expeditions and general life. Chapter Two defines the parameters of history painting as a genre, both globally and in the New Zealand context, giving a brief history of both. Chapter Three analyses Moultray's articles on art galleries in Europe, which influenced his later history paintings. His views on art are identified, including artists and paintings he admired, and it speculates on certain paintings he might have emulated. Chapter Four places Moultray's history paintings within his wider oeuvre and examines his methods and style. This includes relevant historical information, a comparison with artistic works he admired, and semiological and iconographical insights where appropriate. Chapter Five is concerned with his critical reception as an artist, both then and now, through the media and the art societies. Because Moultray's writings are crucial to this thesis, his art gallery series and the articles on his own paintings are included as appendices. A list of his paintings is also included.

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<sup>32</sup> ATL Timeframes, 'Malcolm Ross, Military camp in Newtown Park, Wellington 1/1-006686-G'. <http://www.natlib.govt.nz/atl>, accessed 13 September, 2011

<sup>33</sup> Jonathan Harris, *Art history: the key concepts*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2006, p. 144.

In the conclusion I readdress the question that Moultray's dual interests in painting and writing poses: was J. Elder Moultray a history painter or an artistic journalist? I question why he has been so consistently ignored, when we supposedly had so few history painters, and why his paintings have been neglected and allowed to deteriorate. I suggest that their physical neglect is related to their content and discuss my reasons for these conclusions. To do so, however, it is necessary to first understand: who was J. Elder Moultray?

## CHAPTER ONE

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF J. ELDER MOULTRAY

A man with no descendants and only a short biographical account in a newspaper, J. Elder Moultray has been an enigma to anyone who owned his works. This biography has been pieced together using references made about him in the newspapers during his lifetime and from his personal diaries, several of which were fortunately kept by his extended family. These reveal that he had a complex character, since, as well as being adventurous and committed to his art, he was religious, loyal to his family and had staunch opinions on a range of topics.

Herbert John Elder Moultray was the sixth of seven children born in Edinburgh to the Scottish artist James Douglas Moultray and Mary Elder.<sup>34</sup> His father was trained in landscape art by Walter Fergusson at the Edinburgh High School and had drawing classes at the Royal Institute.<sup>35</sup> While working as a picture restorer and studying at the National Gallery, J.D. Moultray exhibited with the Royal Scottish Academy and his first picture was allegedly ‘immediately hung on the line’.<sup>36</sup> An assistant to the well-known Scottish landscape artist, Horatio McCulloch, he exhibited in London, Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and at the London International Exhibition

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<sup>34</sup> Apparently John Douglas Moultray was the name on his father’s birth certificate, but he was always known as James Douglas Moultray. J.D. and J. Elder Moultray’s full names are from a family research website: FamilyTreeMaker Online, ‘Winifred Helen Mcfie’, 2009. <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/m/c/f/Sherley-Ann-Mcfie/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0797.html>, accessed 16 February 2011

‘Death: Moultray’, *ODT*, 5 May 1922, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> ‘Art and artists in New Zealand: Mr J. D. Moultray’, *ODT&W*, Christmas Annual: Supplement, 24 December 1902, p. 4.

<sup>36</sup> ‘Mr James Douglas Moultray’, *AWN*, 16 March 1911, p. 24.



of 1871.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately J.D. Moultray's fame was not lasting, probably because of leaving Scotland, and the Scottish Academy currently holds none of his works.

Born into a sophisticated artistic environment that nurtured his talent, J. Elder Moultray was educated at the Daniel Stewart College in Edinburgh and received four years of training under a draughtsman during the day, working in pencil and probably charcoal drawing, with his evenings spent at the Edinburgh School of Art.<sup>38</sup> He was also, apparently working as a 'lithography writer'.<sup>39</sup> In his father's studio he learnt to work in colour, beginning with watercolours but soon changed to oils. As part of his training he copied 'old masters' in the Scottish National Gallery in Edinburgh, which had opened in 1859, in a building shared with the Royal Scottish Academy. The collection grew substantially, eventually leading to a separate Scottish National Portrait Gallery, founded in the year before the Moultray family left for New Zealand.<sup>40</sup> Although the gallery opened in 1889 after they had left, these developments demonstrate that there was a wide interest in art, particularly of academic art, where they lived in Edinburgh.

James and Mary Moultray brought their family to Dunedin in 1883 when John Elder was 18. A 'Mr and Mrs Montry with their family of two' are noted as having arrived on the *Helen Denny*, a 727-ton barque that left Glasgow on 3 July 1883 and arrived on 9 October.<sup>41</sup> This was probably James and Mary, as only two of their seven children were then alive.<sup>42</sup> The deceased children were all included on the cemetery commemorative column erected in the Northern Cemetery, Dunedin, probably after Henry's death.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> 'Art and artists: Mr J. D. Moultray', *ODT&W*, 24 December 1902, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> 'Obituary: Mr. J. Elder Moultray', *ODT*, 13 May 1922, p. 10.

'Art and artists in New Zealand: Mr J. E. Moultray', *ODT&W*, 24 December 1902, p. 5.

<sup>39</sup> In the 1881 census: Personal communication: Vivian Mersa Hill, Geraldine, 21 August 2011.

<sup>40</sup> National Galleries, 'History of National Galleries of Scotland, 1850-1900', <http://www.nationalgalleries.org/>, accessed 3 March 2011

<sup>41</sup> 'Shipping: Port Chalmers: Arrivals, *Helen Denny*', *ODT*, 10 October 1883, p. 2.

Moultray's own diary of the journey confirms the boat as *Helen Denny*: John Elder Moultray, 'Wednesday July 4<sup>th</sup>', in 'Part 1. From Greenwich to the Cape of Good Hope' [1883], Geraldine: Private Collection, unpaginated.

<sup>42</sup> James died 21 August 1863 at two, Elizabeth 6 January 1864 at ten, Margaret 22 July 1866 at eighteen months, Annie Jane 15 May 1877 at twenty-one years and Mary 4 January 1882 at twenty-four.

Dunedin City Council, 'Winifred Helen Moultray', Northern Cemetery, block 87, plot 28.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

On the 90-day journey to New Zealand, J. Elder Moultray kept a daily diary in which he described ship-board life. His attention to detail, evident in these diaries, was a feature of the articles he later wrote for the newspapers. Initially writing it in retrospect, he started taking his diary around the boat with him and, as passengers were not restricted where they could go, his entries are an interesting testimony to life on board. The two books were illustrated with fascinating sketches of shipboard life, for which he apologised at the end of the first for their 'rough and hurried' nature. His comments show that he also sketched on paper or in another journal, but these have since been lost.

Noticing everything, Moultray described the sunsets, the weather, especially the storms, the ships that passed, their sleeping berths, seeing schools of porpoises, dolphins, flying fish, bonitos, a large shark, a 100-130-ft whale rise near the ship which surfaced and blew, an albatross, a fight between a mollyhawk and a flock of pigeons, and methods of fishing from the boat. He recounted hiding beside the figurehead to get some time alone, the Sunday services, cooking in the mess, playing cards and draughts, playing skipping, leapfrog and hide and seek with the sailors. The passengers often sang to a fiddler, joked and played pranks to pass the time, while he had almost nightly chess matches with the captain, in the captain's cabin with his fire and cat.

His brother Harry is occasionally mentioned, and also his mother sewing calmly in the midst of a rocking boat and his father suffering from asthma, while Moultray played draughts and chess with him to take his mind off it. Amongst the jovial tales are stories of sleepless nights, the extremes between overbearing heat and snow, falling on wet decks, pilfering of their food by the steward, cut fingers and skinned shins and the sailmaker's toothache. Some were more serious, like the blow on J. Elder Moultray's head from a falling sail beam, a fall by James Douglas Moultray that broke several ribs, seeing a ship-wreck floating by, gloomy superstitious sailors who feared the 'roaring forties', and one man's fear of ghosts on board.<sup>44</sup> While the sailors worried, knowing that the barque was overloaded and they were undermanned from injuries, the passengers made light of the difficulties wherever possible and adapted to their surroundings, even carving wooden chessmen with pegs in the base to play on a board

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 'Sunday 23 Sept.'; 'Friday 28<sup>th</sup> Sept'.

with holes drilled out to hold them, to enable play during the rocky storms. A hurricane that struck the barque near the Cape left them with nine injured sailors as well as John Elder who, unlike others, quickly recovered. He noted wryly in his journal that the cook, the baker, the sailmaker and some passengers assisted with running the boat, including his brother Harry who was 'becoming useful as his practice with high scaffolding' enabling him 'to go aloft'.<sup>45</sup> John Elder also held the wheel for the Midshipman while the sailor danced a hornpipe to warm up his wet feet! Having survived the storms, the model of a brig that a sailor made on the journey was raffled on the last few days of the voyage.<sup>46</sup>

It was apparent that Moultray embraced the opportunities that were available through the long sea journey, including cooking for the mess for a week. He visited the sick sailors and helped out around the ship, making friends everywhere. His love of books is recorded in his journal and some of the books he read. These included *The Black Watch*, which was probably about the Scottish regiment.<sup>47</sup> Several weeks later he was reading Jules Verne's *The Mysterious Island*.<sup>48</sup> A week later it was Alexander Kinglake's *Crimean War*.<sup>49</sup> The Bible was read on at least one Sunday, but this may have been prompted by a very threatening storm.<sup>50</sup> His list included not only adventure novels but an Irish novel, *Rory O'More*, by Samuel Lover, that was a mixture of contemporary romance and social commentary.<sup>51</sup> Books, like chess, became a life-long interest.

When the Moultrays arrived in 1883, Dunedin had the largest centralised population in New Zealand and there was a thriving art-conscious public. W.M. Hodgkins was the inaugural president of the OAS, which had formed in 1876 and was now well established. Soon after they arrived, the art society's growing collections led

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 'Wed, 5<sup>th</sup> Sept'.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 'Sat, 6<sup>th</sup> Sept'.

<sup>47</sup> Moultray, 'Monday August 20<sup>th</sup> rose at 9', 'Part 1' [1883]. This is probably the 'now forgotten' romance by Andrew Pickers in: Burke's Peerage & Gentry, 'Clanship and Chiefs Dress and Arms'.  
[http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans/dress\\_arms.htm](http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans/dress_arms.htm), accessed 6 September 2011

<sup>48</sup> This would have been Kinglake's *The Invasion of the Crimea*: Moultray, 'Sept. 6<sup>th</sup> Thursday', in 'In glancing over the 2<sup>nd</sup> part' [1883], Geraldine: Private Collection, unpaginated.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 'Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> Sept'.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 'Sunday 23<sup>rd</sup> Sept'.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 'Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> Sept'.

Amazon.com, 'Rory O'More: A National Romance', 2011.

<http://www.amazon.com/Rory-OMore-National-Romance-Classics/dp/1845882024>, accessed 6 September 2011

to the opening of the first Dunedin Public Art Gallery in 1886. It was a different kind of collection, however, to that of the Scottish National Gallery that they had left behind.

Before their arrival, J.D. Moultray was known to the artists in Dunedin through a member of the OAS lending several of his landscapes for the seventh annual exhibition in 1882. One review had assessed them as ‘perhaps the two finest landscapes in the room’.<sup>52</sup> Noting that they could not be ‘passed over without mention’, another reviewer thought they were ‘most charming by reason of their soft mellow colouring’, and in ‘exquisite taste and harmony’.<sup>53</sup> Welcomed, probably both in his own right and for his connection to McCulloch, J.D. Moultray joined the art society and sent a painting to the next annual exhibition, for which he was noted as being ‘a valuable addition to the ranks of local artists’.<sup>54</sup> The next year Sir William Jervois, then Governor of New Zealand, admired his paintings in the 1884 exhibition.<sup>55</sup> His ‘artistic perception’ and the amount of work he had ‘lavished’ on them were also noted.<sup>56</sup>

J.D. Moultray began a pattern of exhibiting and selling art works through local, national and international exhibitions, auction sales and private sales, which J. Elder Moultray later emulated. J.D. Moultray exhibited works at the Industrial and Art Exhibition held at the Garrison Hall in August 1884, and was also on the committee.<sup>57</sup> Some works by him were exhibited at the Dunedin Industrial Exhibition in 1885, lent by ‘friends of the institution’.<sup>58</sup> Some were also in the Victorian Academy of Arts annual exhibition in 1885.<sup>59</sup> At the 1885 OAS exhibition J.D. Moultray’s ‘own peculiar and very excellent style’, including ‘a very striking experiment with light and shadow’, was complimented.<sup>60</sup>

Evident from the shipboard diary, the family were supportive of each other, and together with his sons, J.D. Moultray set up a studio and taught art to young students. As early as 1885 Frank B. Smith, a ‘former pupil’ of ‘James Douglas, R.S.A.’, advertised art lessons in Wanganui in ‘drawing, painting and crystoleum’, showing that

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<sup>52</sup> ‘The Otago Art Society: seventh annual exhibition’, *BH*, 17 November 1882, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> ‘Otago Art Society [second notice]’, *ODT*, 8 November 1882, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Art: The Otago Art Society: I.’, *OW*, 10 November 1883, p. 11.

<sup>55</sup> ‘His Excellency the Governor’, *ODT*, 29 November 1884, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Otago Art Society’, *ODT*, 5 December 1884, supplement, p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> ‘Industrial and art exhibition’, *ODT*, 15 July 1884, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Industrial exhibition’, *ODT*, 23 December 1885, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> ‘The Victorian Academy’, *Argus*, 28 March 1885, p. 13.

<sup>60</sup> ‘Otago Art Society’s Exhibition’, *ODT*, 14 November 1885, p. 2.

J.D. Moultray had begun teaching art soon after the family arrived in New Zealand.<sup>61</sup> In 1885 also, he and his two sons exhibited together for the first time at the OAS Exhibition.<sup>62</sup> The next year J.D. Moultray advertised 100 pictures at the London Portrait Rooms, probably compiled from all three artists, and charged for entry.<sup>63</sup> The 1886 *Stone's Directory* listed James Douglas, John Elder and Henry D. Moultray as working together in Heriot Row, near Argyle Street, in Leith Ward, at what was probably their studio.<sup>64</sup> Henry was listed as a 'decorative artist'.<sup>65</sup> Little is known about Henry, or the scope of his art, except that he also painted landscapes and was considered to be talented.<sup>66</sup> Interested in poetry too, Henry wrote a poem while on board the *Helen Denny* that John Elder recorded in his diary.<sup>67</sup> J.D. Moultray also exhibited three paintings at the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London which opened in May.<sup>68</sup> The unnamed consignment he sent on the *Rangaroonia* for Auckland in April probably contained paintings for yet another exhibition.<sup>69</sup>

An adventurous nature appeared to be something that all the Moultray family shared. In January 1886 J.D. Moultray went on the *Tarawera* for its annual excursion to the Sounds.<sup>70</sup> At the end of 1886 also, John Elder and Henry organised a wagon to take them into the hills around Dunedin to Whare Flat where they had a month's lodgings in 'one half' of the Ranger's house.<sup>71</sup> J. Elder Moultray commented in his diary on having been on a similar excursion with Henry to Queenstown, spending six weeks at Lake Wakatipu, and noted the extra provisions they had not previously taken.<sup>72</sup> These

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<sup>61</sup> 'Art tuition', *Wanganui Herald*, 27 January 1885, p. 3.

<sup>62</sup> 'Otago Art Society's exhibition', *ODT*, 4 December 1885, Supplement, p. 1.

<sup>63</sup> 'Now on View', *ODT*, 16 October 1886, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup> *Stone's Dunedin & Invercargill directory*, Dunedin: John Stone, 1886, p. 33.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> 'Mr J. D. Moultray's pictures', *ODT*, 15 October 1886, p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> Moultray, 'Glancing over the 2<sup>nd</sup> part' [1883]: 'Tuesday 18<sup>th</sup> Sept'.

<sup>68</sup> Our special correspondent, 'Art at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition: No. II', *Argus*, 3 August 1886, p. 7;

Our own correspondent, London July 29, 'Our London Letter: the Colonial and Indian Exhibition', *ODT*, 16 September 1887, p. 3;

Colonial and Indian Exhibition, *Catalogue of New Zealand exhibits*, London: William Clowes & Sons, 1886, pp. 3-4.

<sup>69</sup> 'Shipping, outwards, exports, per Ringaroonia: for Auckland', *ODT*, 15 April 1886, p. 2.

<sup>70</sup> 'The Tarawera's excursion to the Sounds', *OW*, 16 January 1886, p. 10.

<sup>71</sup> John Elder Moultray, 'Wednesday Dec 8<sup>th</sup>' in 'Diary 1886-1887: a months [sic] stay among the mountains of Otago illustrated with a number of original photographs, selected to give the best idea of the character of the scenery', Geraldine: Private Collection, unpaginated.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 'Sabbath 12<sup>th</sup> Dec'.

included, amongst other rifles a 'light pig rifle', an Enfield, camera, 'darkslides' and plates.<sup>73</sup> The rifles were well used for hunting rabbits and target practice while photographic prints from the developed plates were later placed in the diary, to use for paintings. As he did not mention chemicals he may have been using the new dry-plate method that had been invented in 1871 by R.L. Maddox, although when and where Moultray developed them was not mentioned.<sup>74</sup> Their father visited them one day unexpectedly, and stayed the night, so J. Elder walked the ten miles down to Dunedin to keep 'Mother' company for the night, then climbed back up to the cottage after a day in town, having been prevented from returning earlier by the mist.<sup>75</sup>

Henry was clearly ill and near the end of the stay John Elder expressed sadness that he was no better. When he was 'fatigued' Henry painted and when he was feeling better they went together on sketching excursions. Near the end of their stay they were visited by the Schoolmaster who, when prompted, asked them if J. Elder Moultray would take a photograph of the school and students. The Schoolmaster was hesitant to ask because 'they knew I was not making a living by it and as they heard I was only taking subjects to paint, they thought I would perhaps be above the job'.<sup>76</sup> Moultray commented:

... as I am a Scotchman, however, I hugged myself at the prospect of clearing off the entire cost of all my plates and enjoyed a quiet laugh up my sleeve at the idea of any thinking I was above earning a pound.<sup>77</sup>

Proud of his photographs he placed a copy of this, along with the landscape pictures, in his diary.<sup>78</sup> Sadly, Henry died a few months later, on 16 April 1887.<sup>79</sup> It must have caused the family sadness to see Henry still listed along with James Douglas and John Elder Moultray in *Stone's Directory* of 1887-88.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Britannica Academic Edition, 'Dry plate'.

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/172306/dry-plate>, accessed 28 October 2011

<sup>75</sup> Moultray, 'Diary 1886-1887': 'Thursday 21<sup>st</sup> Dec.', 'Wednesday 22<sup>nd</sup> Dec.' and 'Thursday 23<sup>rd</sup> Dec.'.

<sup>76</sup> Moultray, 'Diary 1886-1887': 'This is the 7<sup>th</sup>'.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> See Plates 41-48.

<sup>79</sup> Date given on Headstone memorial:

Dunedin City Council, 'Winifred Helen Moultray'.

<sup>80</sup> Una Platts, *Nineteenth century New Zealand artists*, Christchurch: Avon Fine Prints, 1980, p. 175.

Continuing the pattern of exhibitions J.D. Moultray sent some paintings to the Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition which opened in July 1887.<sup>81</sup> J.D. and J. Elder Moultray exhibited in both major and small private exhibitions. McGregor B. Wright, who sold art materials in Filleul Street in Dunedin, opened a private art gallery in 1887. Some of J.D. Moultray's pictures were exhibited in it, along with others 'from the study of the Moultrays', which probably included John Elder.<sup>82</sup> Later that year, J.D. Moultray exhibited at J. Wilkie and Co.'s Art Gallery in Princes Street and these probably included works by J. Elder also. This time the admission was free.<sup>83</sup>

In 1888 J. Elder Moultray took a trip to Taranaki. His diary shows that he appeared to know where he was going and had researched the area before he left. He probably thought of it as just another painting trip, not knowing that this journey would result, not only in a series of history paintings, but also prints and a newspaper publication ten years later. The journey itself began on 18 January when he and J.D. Moultray caught a train to Port Chalmers where they found the *Helen Denny* was in port, so they visited the boat. On board the Captain insisted they stay for dinner and chat with the officers. Later, J. Elder Moultray nostalgically wrote of his 'affection for the sea and all connected with it'.<sup>84</sup> His father returned to Dunedin while he went on the *Wairarapa* to Taranaki. The boat stopped briefly at Lyttleton so he used the opportunity to climb a hill at the back of the town, walking several miles to find the fortifications he could see from the coast. He expressed disappointment that 'they were nothing great' and 'mounting only one 7 inch rifle and two forty pounder rifles'.<sup>85</sup>

In Wellington Moultray found 'a hotel, wrote home', then 'tramped a mile to the Railway station'.<sup>86</sup> There he found that the train could only be booked as far as Wanganui, even though the train went past Kai-iwi to New Plymouth, and that the fare was 1s cheaper if he booked a return fare than if he went one way! He took a return ticket for 10 days, but commented that 'it would be useless to me as I would be away

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<sup>81</sup> 'We are informed by the agent', *ODT*, 10 January 1887, p. 2.

<sup>82</sup> 'Mr Wright's picture gallery', *ODT*, 2 June 1887, p. 4.

<sup>83</sup> 'Now open', *ODT*, 7 October 1887, p. 1.

<sup>84</sup> John Elder Moultray, 'On Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> January 1888 I left Dunedin at mid-day by rail for Port Chalmers', Geraldine: Private Collection, unpaginated.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

about six weeks altogether'.<sup>87</sup> He noticed the many blackened buildings in Wellington and that in the 24 hours he was there the fire engines were called out three times by the fire bell.<sup>88</sup> Stored in his memory as a possible theme, many years later he painted a contemporary history of a house-fire, the title suggesting that house-fires were an unfortunate consequence of big city life.<sup>89</sup> The 'Moultray' who returned to Dunedin via Lyttleton from Wellington on the *Penguin* later in February would have been him coming home.<sup>90</sup>

On this journey Moultray went to the Nukumarū district of Wanganui. He was reported by the *Taranaki Herald* to be 'sketching scenes of interest in the Māori war, which are to be issued in the forthcoming work by Mr Rusden'. It was hoped, it said, that 'the sketches will be more truthful than Mr Rusden's history is'.<sup>91</sup> There is no evidence that Moultray illustrated any of George William Rusden's books and a brief report a few days later in another paper suggested that there never was collaboration:

Mr Moultray ... is annoyed at the circulation of the report that he was engaged with Mr Rusden in a work contemplated by the latter. ... a rising young artist... who has given promise of future eminence in his profession, and it would be a pity if he were prejudiced by an unfounded rumor [sic] of an association which would convey the impression that his pencil was being used for political or party purposes.<sup>92</sup>

The protest was apparently ignored since a few days later he was still being reported as collaborating with Rusden.<sup>93</sup>

This was not the only incident which 'annoyed' him on the journey. On the train he encountered the animosity of the Māori passengers and formed a very poor opinion of Māori generally, prejudicing his belief in favour of the British as heroes and Māori opponents as aggressors. Moultray had no idea why the 'young lady exploded and drove her numerous packages' into his ribs on one train or received 'scowling looks' from the 'natives' on another, or when drawing the pa later, his 'stool was dragged from

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> See plate 12.

<sup>90</sup> 'Latest shipping: Lyttleton: arrived. Feb. 23-Penguin', *Star*, 23 February 1888, p. 3.

'Shipping: shipping telegrams: Lyttelton, February 23', *ODT*, 24 February 1888, p. 1.

<sup>91</sup> 'Death of Samuel Henry Clements: adjourned inquest', [Mr Moultray], *Taranaki Herald*, 7 February 1888, p. 2.

<sup>92</sup> 'Enquiry granted' ['Mr Moultray'], *Wanganui Herald*, 10 February 1888, p. 2.

<sup>93</sup> 'Town and country' ['The *Wanganui Herald* says'], *Timaru Herald*, 13 February 1888, p. 2.



under' him and his 'sketching umbrella ... wrenched from ... [his] grasp'.<sup>94</sup> Moultray thought these were because of 'their objection to strangers visiting their country', but later an old Māori chief came to apologise for their behaviour and explained that he was 'suspected' of being 'a government surveyor'. 'The first surveyor's visits had been followed by a railway', and 'the tribe had vowed to make it hot for the next of the breed who showed up'.<sup>95</sup> His tendency to keep to himself and resist all attempts at conversation would have contributed to their suspicions. Being screamed at, pushed and prodded and seeing drunken men and women at the hotel with tattoos on their faces and long 'tangled mass' of black hair, all combined to give him a negative impression of Māori as people.<sup>96</sup> When the 'graphic descriptions of blood curdling incidents' from 'the mouths of the principal actors' were confirmed by the 'august' Hon. John Ballance in Wanganui, his assumptions of British heroics and Māori treachery were confirmed.<sup>97</sup>

The visit to Taranaki provided J. Elder Moultray with ample material for his history paintings. Later that year he and his father exhibited at the New Zealand Court at the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition. J. Elder Moultray contributed two history paintings, *The Last Stand of the British at Maiwand, Afghanistan, 27<sup>th</sup> July, 1880*, and *The Battle of Te Pungarehu, New Zealand, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1866*, plus a genre painting called *A Letter from Home*.<sup>98</sup> The 'Moultray' who arrived in Dunedin on the *Mararoa* from Williamstown or Hobart was probably J.D. Moultray visiting the exhibition.<sup>99</sup> During it, he sold three large pictures of the Sounds for a total of 600 guineas.<sup>100</sup> It was not reported if J. Elder Moultray sold his paintings; perhaps a smaller amount was not considered newsworthy.

An exhibition held at the Heriot Row studio in 1889 gave J. Elder Moultray another opportunity to exhibit scenes from the 'Maori wars'. Several were described in

<sup>94</sup> Moultray, 'Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> January 1888', unpaginated.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> New Zealand Commission, *New Zealand Court Catalogue: centennial international exhibition*, Melbourne: Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, 1888, p. 5.

'New Zealand artists at the Melbourne Exhibition', *ODT*, 19 October 1888, p. 4.

'The exhibition: the New Zealand Court', *Star*, 24 October 1888, p. 3.

'Melbourne Centennial Exhibition - The Argus Supplement', *Argus*, 9 October 1888, p. 49.

<sup>99</sup> 'Latest shipping: shipping telegrams', *Star*, 20 August 1888, p. 3;

'Shipping: arrival: Mararoa', *ODT*, 22 August 1888, p. 1.

<sup>100</sup> Our special reporter, 'Exhibition gossip: The New Zealand Court', *AS*, 10 September 1888, p. 5.

'Melbourne Gossip: The New Zealand exhibits', *Western Mail*, 5 January 1889, p. 39.

detail noting that ‘they depict faithfully incidents in the early history of New Zealand of which hitherto there has been no record on canvas’.<sup>101</sup> This was typical of the reports that his history paintings evoked, with little mention of their artistic merit and the focus on their historical nature. It is unclear if either J.D. or J. Elder Moultray exhibited in the New Zealand and South Seas exhibition held in Dunedin in 1889-1890. However, they both contributed prizes towards the Art Union held by the NZAFA in 1890 to raise funds for a public art gallery in Wellington.<sup>102</sup>

Moving to New Zealand did not mean a lack of contact with people from Scotland or England. In 1890 J.D. Moultray’s studio in Royal Terrace was visited by the Countess of Onslow and the Countess of Kintore. They ‘spent some time examining the pictures and expressed their approval of the exhibition’.<sup>103</sup> ‘Mr Moultray’ was also noted as having given a letter of introduction to Robert Chisholm, which he gave to a Mr Cameron when he visited Scotland.<sup>104</sup> Chisholm was then a Dunedin councillor and later became Mayor of Dunedin 1899-1901.<sup>105</sup>

Travelling was clearly connected to both making and selling art for both father and son. In 1891 J.D. Moultray exhibited several pictures at the Hamilton Juvenile Industrial Exhibition in Victoria.<sup>106</sup> The ‘Moultray’ who arrived on the *Rotomahana* from Melbourne via Hobart was probably J.D. Moultray returning from visiting the exhibition.<sup>107</sup> The next year a ‘D.E. Moultray’ was listed as leaving for Lyttleton from Wellington, but it is likely that this was a typing error and probably meant to be J.E.<sup>108</sup> In 1892 also, ‘J.E.’ Moultray’s art was included amongst a sale of British, foreign and colonial artists in Victoria.<sup>109</sup>

It would be easy to note J. Elder Moultray’s frequent journeys without emphasising what this actually entailed for him. In late 1888 he and a friend were amongst the first to cross the McKinnon Pass, now known as the Milford Track, soon

<sup>101</sup> ‘Exhibition of pictures’, *OW*, 27 June 1889, p. 10.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Local and general’ [‘The NZAFA’], *Wanganui Chronicle*, 27 June 1890, p. 2.

<sup>103</sup> ‘The Countess of Onslow’, *ODT*, 24 January 1890, p. 2.

<sup>104</sup> R. Chisholm, ‘A visit to the home country’, *ODT*, 24 October 1891, p. 5.

<sup>105</sup> ‘Mayoral election: to the editor’, *ODT*, 14 October 1899, p. 7.

Cyclopedia Company Limited, *The cyclopedia of New Zealand [Otago & Southland Provincial districts]*, ‘City Council’, Christchurch: The Cyclopedia Company, 1905, pp. 97, 314.

<sup>106</sup> ‘Hamilton Juvenile Industrial Exhibition in Victoria’, *Portland Guardian*, 25 November 1891, p. 3.

<sup>107</sup> ‘Latest shipping: Lyttleton: arrived: Jan. 29-Rotomahana’, *Star*, 29 January 1891, p. 3.

<sup>108</sup> ‘Latest shipping: shipping telegrams’, *Star*, 14 November 1892, p.3.

<sup>109</sup> ‘Upwards of a hundred oil paintings’, *Argus*, 23 August 1892, p. 5.

after Quinton McPherson McKinnon had discovered it.<sup>110</sup> They were on the track again, when Quinton's companion met them, telling them that Quinton was missing while crossing Lake Te Anau on his way to Milford to deliver mail, and that he was out searching. This would date this particular journey to December 1892.<sup>111</sup> The three-week journey 'repaid' Moultray with 'many splendid sketches'.<sup>112</sup> Walking long distances in order to get 'splendid' sketches was not in itself unusual, as many artists of the time did so, but Moultray, like his father, suffered from asthma, which, according to his obituary, he 'bore ... with fortitude and patience and always looked on the bright side of life'.<sup>113</sup>

In May 1895 J. Elder Moultray exhibited with his father at the Dunedin Scottish Carnival, put on in aid of the 'Tailoresses' Union Convalescent Home'.<sup>114</sup> Their contribution covered 'an end wall of the art court' and included some large historical pieces that had been recently seen and some smaller but no 'less effective works'.<sup>115</sup> None, however, were named. Several months later he went to Nelson, probably to paint landscapes since no new history paintings were created.<sup>116</sup> 'A chance conversation with a Nelson Mail representative' gave him an opportunity to discuss his new paintings and brought him to the attention of the public.<sup>117</sup> During this three-month sojourn he also advertised himself as teaching 'figure, animal and landscape painting at his studio in Trafalgar Street'.<sup>118</sup> He left Nelson in November, this time for Wellington.

There was some inconsistency in the way the media reported arrivals and departures and no mention was made of when J. Elder Moultray returned to Dunedin. It was unlikely, considering how close the family was, that he went on his trip to Europe in 1896 without returning home to say goodbye. Also, since both J. Elder and J.D. Moultray contributed paintings to the first South Canterbury Art Society's exhibition in Timaru they probably also went there during January 1896. Again, like the Scottish

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<sup>110</sup> 'Obituary: Mr. J. Elder Moultray', *ODT*, 13 May 1922, p. 10.

<sup>111</sup> Bernard John Foster, 'McKinnon, Quinton McPherson (1851-92)', in A.H. McLintock (ed), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Wellington: R.E. Owen, Government Printer, 1966, volume 2, p. 368.

<sup>112</sup> 'Obituary', *ODT*, 13 May 1922, p. 10.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> 'The Tailoresses' Union, Scottish carnival', *ODT*, 22 May 1895, p. 3.

<sup>115</sup> 'Scottish carnival', *ODT*, 24 May 1895, p.3.

<sup>116</sup> 'Shipping: by telegraph: Sailed—Flora, for North', *EP*, 23 August 1895, p. 2.

'Shipping: Entered inwards: Aug.26—Mahinapua', *Colonist*, 27 August 1895, p. 1.

<sup>117</sup> 'A pretty compliment to Nelson', *NEM*, 23 September 1895, p. 2.

<sup>118</sup> 'J.E. Moultray, artist', *NEM*, 23 September 1895, p. 2.

'Mr Huffam's new premises', *NEM*, 23 September 1895, p. 2.

Carnival, between them they occupied ‘a good deal of space with large pictures’. J.D. Moultray’s *Highland Deer Forest* and J. Elder Moultray’s ‘vigorous scene from the Waikato War’ and two landscapes, one with a plough team, were popular with the public and the critics.<sup>119</sup> In 1896, also, J.D. Moultray received dividend from shares in the Mosgiel Woollen Factory, showing that teaching and art sales was not his only income.<sup>120</sup>

Nor was it for J. Elder Moultray who, during his trip to Europe, visited a large number of art galleries in France, Italy, Belgium, England and Scotland, on which he wrote articles for the *Otago Witness*.<sup>121</sup> The newspaper may have paid for him to travel in order to write the articles, or at least contributed towards the cost. It was later said that he had ‘travelled through 16 countries and British colonies ‘on sketching tours’, but whether this referred to several different trips or this particular one was not clear.<sup>122</sup> It was reported, however, that in January 1897 ‘Mr Moultray’ arrived in Adelaide and a week later in Sydney.<sup>123</sup> As J. Elder Moultray was noted as having been in London in November 1896, then either his trip around Europe was a hurried one or he had left London earlier than had been reported. It is possible, too, that his father was also travelling at the time and it referred to him. J. Elder Moultray was back in Dunedin by June 1897 and had ‘established himself in a studio in the Mutual Life Association buildings, sufficiently large to enable him to conduct classes in it’.<sup>124</sup> Teaching art was obviously something that filled in the spaces between selling, travelling and painting excursions.

More than any other activity during his lifetime, this long solo journey demonstrated the complex nature of Moultray’s personality. His willingness to endure the discomfort of a long journey away from home, in a single-minded excursion which allowed little time for anything else, showed dedication and commitment to art. The fact that he visited all the traditional academic galleries and showed no interest in the

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<sup>119</sup> ‘The Timaru Herald’, *ODT*, 29 January 1896, p.2.

<sup>120</sup> ‘Mosgiel Woollen Factory Company (Limited)’, *OW*, 26 November 1896, p.21.

<sup>121</sup> This series was in addition to a regular weekly or fortnightly anonymous feature article entitled ‘Art and artist’, from 1887-1909. It was not recorded whether Moultray contributed to them or not.

<sup>122</sup> ‘Art and artists: Mr J.E. Moultray’, *ODT&W*, 24 December 1902, p. 5.

Platts, *Nineteenth century*, p. 175.

<sup>123</sup> ‘Cuzco at Albany’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 January 1897, p. 5.

‘Shipping: arrivals’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 January, 1897, p. 4.

<sup>124</sup> ‘Local and general’ [‘Mr J. Elder Moultray’], *OW*, 10 June 1897, p. 20.

innovations that were then taking place among the avant-garde artists in Paris demonstrated his extreme conservatism and exclusive interest in academic art, primarily romantic Realism.

The year 1898 was a successful one for J. Elder Moultray. He exhibited at the Otago Jubilee Industrial Exhibition ‘some scenes from the Maori wars’, and J.D. Moultray also contributed landscapes.<sup>125</sup> As the feature artist in the *ODT&W* Christmas supplement he replicated some paintings, created some new works and wrote an extended essay about these paintings, all based on the trip to Taranaki ten years earlier. These were all reproduced in a print series in ‘the best class of half tone work’ at 10 x 11 inches in size for collectors.<sup>126</sup> A ‘Moultray’ also exhibited at the Auckland Industrial and Mining Exhibition, although which Moultray and what paintings, was unspecified.<sup>127</sup>

In between painting, writing, teaching art and travelling, J. Elder Moultray found time to join the Dunedin City Rifle Volunteers. The South Dunedin Rifles changed its name to the Dunedin City Rifles in 1888 and formed a Volunteer company on 29 April 1898.<sup>128</sup> Several weeks later a meeting was held and the officers that were elected included ‘John E. Moultray’ as second lieutenant.<sup>129</sup> The corps clearly had problems with their numbers since the unit had previously formed and been disbanded in 1889, because they had ‘failed to reach the minimum number allowed by the regulations’.<sup>130</sup> A new recruitment drive in May 1898 reported that it had almost its full complement, and this time it lasted until February 1908.<sup>131</sup> There is no mention of him in rifle competition results but a 1908 Defence Force report of past officers noted that he had resigned on 1 March 1899.<sup>132</sup> Why Moultray had resigned was not noted, but resignations and transfers appeared to be common amongst volunteer units.

Despite his interest in the military, Moultray did not volunteer to go to the second Anglo-Boer war with the New Zealand contingent. Instead, in 1899 he was

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<sup>125</sup> ‘Jubilee Industrial Exhibition’, *ODT*, 23 March 1898, p. 2.

<sup>126</sup> ‘A series of pictures of stirring incidents of the Maori war’, *OW*, 20 October 1898, p. 16.

<sup>127</sup> Our own Correspondent, ‘Auckland’, *ODT*, 22 December 1898, p. 6.

<sup>128</sup> ‘Our volunteers’, *ODT*, 25 January 1888, p. 3.

<sup>129</sup> ‘The volunteer movement’, *OW*, 19 May 1898, p. 31.

<sup>130</sup> ‘The volunteers’, *NEM*, 16 May 1889, p. 3.

<sup>131</sup> ‘The adjourned meeting of those interested’, *ODT*, 7 May 1898, p. 4.

<sup>132</sup> Sentry, ‘The defence forces’, *OW*, 26 February 1908, p. 14.

chosen by a small group of co-operative newspapers, the *Otago Daily Times*, *Christchurch Press*, *Evening Post* and *New Zealand Herald*, to go to South Africa as a 'war artist' and correspondent, along with James Shand.<sup>133</sup> Embracing the opportunity, he went with a sense of adventure. En route to South Africa Moultray sketched troop life on board the ship, making light of the difficulties of travelling on the boats with horses, and wrote an unknown number of articles on troop activities, and skits to accompany his sketches.<sup>134</sup> Like many other soldiers and journalists he was invalided home after only five months from severe illness.<sup>135</sup> The journey back from Cape Town took several different boats in order to get home.<sup>136</sup> Back home he was interviewed and wrote short articles and letters for the newspapers on a variety of subjects relating to the war.<sup>137</sup> In them he praised the medical service, commented on the soldier's diet, the weapons used and the generals in command, and complained about the theft of mail sent from home to South Africa.<sup>138</sup> He also used his sketches to describe daily life for the soldiers.<sup>139</sup> Apart from the sketches published by the *Auckland Weekly News* and the *ODT*, only two oil paintings of the second Boer War have been identified.

Prior to leaving for the Boer War it had been noted in June 1899 that J.E. Moultray had purchased a block of sections in the Musselburgh Township.<sup>140</sup> A few months later it was noted that he was building a studio in Frederick Street by the new method known as the Monier system, whereby the hollow concrete blocks were

<sup>133</sup> Allison Oosterman, 'New Zealand war correspondence before 1915', *Pacific Journalism Review* 16(1) May 2010, p. 141.

<sup>134</sup> Our special war correspondent [J. Elder Moultray], 'With the New Zealand Contingent: on the way to the Transvaal', *ODT*, 14 November 1899, p. 5.

<sup>135</sup> 'Passing notes' ['In another page in this issue'], *OW*, 11 January 1900, p. 3; 'Cablegrams: invalided', *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 3 March 1900, p. 3.

Another journalist, Spooner from the *Evening News* in Sydney, died in May 1900 from enteric fever, which Moultray was believed to be suffering from: 'The Boer war: another war correspondent dead', *AS*, 16 May 1900, p. 5.

By April 1900 twelve had already been killed, injured or 'died from disease': 'The war: war correspondents', *Colonist*, 26 April 1900, p. 2.

By 1902 thirteen had died, the first two-digit war casualties among journalists: Verena Barton, 'Killed in the line of duty: who is killing foreign correspondents and why?' Unpublished Master of Communications thesis, AUT, 2009, p. 47.

<sup>136</sup> 'Late shipping: Entered outwards', *EP*, 6 March 1900, p. 6.

<sup>137</sup> 'A war correspondent in Wellington', *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 7 March 1900, p. 3.

<sup>138</sup> 'Back from the front', *Grey River Argus*, 13 March 1900, p. 4;

'A signal note' ['Writing of his life in camp'], *West Coast Times*, 24 March 1900, p. 2;

J. Elder Moultray, 'A serious charge—alleged theft of letters. To the Editor', *OW*, 5 April 1900, p. 71.

<sup>139</sup> J. Elder Moultray, 'Sketches of the Transvaal war', *OW*, 11 January 1900, pp. 33-34.

<sup>140</sup> 'Important sale of property', *OW*, 8 June 1899, p.15.

strengthened by wire.<sup>141</sup> As there was no further comment on the building, later references to his studio most likely refer to this location, while the block of sections became a home, or were later sold.

Both J.E. and J.D. Moultray were included in a newspaper series on 'Art and Artists in New Zealand' in 1902, which gave a brief biography and examples of their art.<sup>142</sup> The article credited J. Elder Moultray with deliberately going to war, in order to 'gain a knowledge of the bearing of men on the actual battle-field', for his earlier history paintings.<sup>143</sup> This view supported Moultray's commitment as an artist, as well as his earlier interest in the military. It may, however, have been based on something he had said in an interview for the article. Later in 1902, he went 'South', probably on another painting journey.<sup>144</sup>

In 1906, the West Coast Court of the International Exhibition in Christchurch displayed works by a 'Moultray', including a West Coast scenery, but whether father or son was not noted.<sup>145</sup> The next year, in 1907, J. Elder Moultray entered a chess tournament at the Dunedin Atheneum and Mechanics Institute, the first mention of chess since his diary of the boat coming over. In his thirteen games, he had six wins and seven losses.<sup>146</sup> On another occasion he played in a competition between the Otago Chess Club and Dunedin Drainage and Sewerage Board, on the side of the board, which he was not known to be a member of. Unfortunately for them, he did not win any matches on this occasion.<sup>147</sup>

J. Elder Moultray continued to teach art and over the years a large number of students were taught either by him or his father. Their students were often noted for their ability and several joined the OAS, although few became widely known as artists, or have featured in any general histories of New Zealand art, except for Mrs P. Leith Ritchie (née Churley). Taught by J. Elder Moultray, she exhibited with the OAS from 1907 and was also Vice-President. Teaching must have become a lucrative way of

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<sup>141</sup> 'Local and general' ['the Jensen Patent Construction Company'], *OW*, 21 September 1899, p. 40.

<sup>142</sup> 'Art and artists: Mr J.D. Moultray', *ODT&W*, 24 December 1902, p. 4.

'Art and artists: Mr J.E. Moultray', *ODT&W*, 24 December 1902, p. 5.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> 'Yesterday's Express Passengers: from Dunedin for the south', *Southland Times*, 13 December 1902, p. 2.

<sup>145</sup> Our own correspondent, 'The exhibition', *Grey River Argus*, 6 November 1906, p. 1.

<sup>146</sup> 'Chess Items', *OW*, 24 April 1907, p. 62.

<sup>147</sup> 'Chess match: Drainage Board v. Otago Club', *OW*, 22 August 1906, p. 62.

earning a living for J. Elder Moultray as an exhibition in his studio in 1905 displayed pictures from between 30 and 40 'pupils'.<sup>148</sup> By 1907 his pupils had grown to 60, of which 30 exhibited at his next annual exhibition.<sup>149</sup> A large exhibition the following year also included some of his previous students.<sup>150</sup> After this date, however, no further mention is made of his students.

The reason for his change in activities was probably because in 1908 John Elder Moultray married Winifred Helen McFie (1881-1955) of Waikouaiti.<sup>151</sup> She was allegedly also an artist, although there was no mention in the papers of her or her works, either before or after the marriage.<sup>152</sup> In 1911 his mother, and then his father both died. An obituary in the *AWN* noted J.D. Moultray's artistic abilities and reputation, and called him 'a painter of much merit'. It was reported that his 'best works' were 'hung with such great artists as [Lord Frederic] Leighton, [Sir Lawrence Alma-] Tadema and Noel Paton'.<sup>153</sup>

J. Elder Moultray's last exhibitions with the OAS were from 1911 to 1916 and his last dated painting is from 1917. He did not go to the First World War, even as a journalist. Five years later he died at only 57, leaving a widow but no children. A short note in the paper announced his death and that it was a private 'interment' with 'no flowers please'.<sup>154</sup> Several weeks later an obituary noted he had been 'the youngest son of the late Mr J. Douglas Moultray, the famous Scottish artist', and that in his last few years J. Elder Moultray had been 'asked to take charge of the School of Art', but had refused 'partly on account of his ill health'.<sup>155</sup>

This was the Dunedin Art School that opened in 1870 with David Con Hutton as its first master. When Hutton retired it was run by Robert Hawcridge with Alfred Henry O'Keefe as assistant. Hawcridge died suddenly at the beginning of 1920 and no classes were held that year. The next year it became a part of the Technical College, and

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<sup>148</sup> 'Mr Moultray's pupils: Picture exhibition', *OW*, 29 November 1905, p. 12.

<sup>149</sup> 'Mr J.E. Moultray's exhibition of pictures', *OW*, 18 December 1907, p. 90.

<sup>150</sup> 'Mr Moultray's exhibition of pictures', *OW*, 23 December 1908, p. 3.

<sup>151</sup> 'Marriages: Moultray—McFie', *OW*, 9 December 1908, p. 51.

<sup>152</sup> Personal communication: Mrs. Vivian Mersa Hill, Geraldine, 21 August 2011.

<sup>153</sup> 'Mr James Douglas Moultray', *AWN*, 16 March 1911, p. 24.

<sup>154</sup> 'Death: Moultray', *ODT*, 5 May 1922, p. 4.

<sup>155</sup> 'Obituary: Mr. J. Elder Moultray', *ODT*, 13 May 1922, p. 10.



suffered difficult circumstances for the rest of the decade.<sup>156</sup> Moultray may have been seen as the solution to the unexpected death, although the centennial exhibition of 1970 omitted any mention of him.<sup>157</sup>

When J. Elder Moultray died he left an estate of 'less than' £3,600, although the exact sum was not noted, and a house for his widow.<sup>158</sup> Considering the cost of art materials and travel, it is surprising that he left any legacy at all. He became marginalised in New Zealand art histories although his paintings have continued to be sold in public auctions. His illness in later years and his death, which coincided with the Art Society's amalgamation with the Dunedin Art Gallery society, probably contributed to this, along with other factors discussed later in this thesis. After his wife died thirty years later, several of his history paintings and a small number of landscapes were donated to the collections of the Hocken Library. She left her house to one niece if she remained unmarried, and money to other nieces and nephews, but not if married to a person of the Catholic faith or if they themselves converted to Catholicism.<sup>159</sup> A family rumour also suggests that one of his wife's brothers may have 'dumped' an unknown number of paintings and sketches.<sup>160</sup> Rex Nan Kivell acquired one history painting, and later bequeathed it, along with some of his collection, to the National Library of Australia in Canberra.<sup>161</sup> The Auckland War Memorial Museum now owns one landscape, a print of a landscape and has three history paintings currently on loan from a private owner, one of the few known dedicated collectors of his works.

One final piece of tantalising information emerges from his obituary. It noted that:

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<sup>156</sup> H.H. Tombs (ed), *A century of art in Otago, being a survey of the work of Otago's painters, writers and musicians*, Wellington: Harry H. Tombs, 1947, pp. 82-84.

<sup>157</sup> Charlton Edgar and Oliver G. Cox (comp.), *Otago School of art centennial exhibition 1870-1970*, Dunedin: Otago School of Art, 1970.

<sup>158</sup> John Elder Moultray, 'Probate and Will, 8 August 1922', Archives New Zealand, Dunedin, 'Moultray, John Elder—Dunedin—Artist, 1922-1922 (R22066457), Agency: DAAC; Series: 9075; Accession: D239; Box/item: 391; Record no. 8002, viewed 31 March 2011.

<sup>159</sup> Will, 'Winifred Helen Moultray', 31 August 1949, Archives New Zealand, Dunedin, Moultray, Winifred Helen—Waikouaiti—Widow, 1955-1955 (R22066457), Agency: DAAC, Series: 9076; Accession: D239; Box/item 633; Record no.: 893/55, viewed 31 March 2011.

<sup>160</sup> Personal communication, Vivian Mersa Hill, 21 August 2011.

<sup>161</sup> National Library of Australia, 'Nan Kivell Collection'.

<http://www.nla.gov.au>, accessed 27 October 2011

A few months before he died he resumed painting in Herbert and considered his last pictures his best. He was working on a moonlight scene in McKinnon Pass which was only half finished when he passed away.

As no indication was given of how he died only a family rumour suggests the cause. Allegedly, he was driving on the outskirts of Dunedin in a storm with Winifred when the tire went flat. The chill Moultray got from changing the tyre in the storm provoked the illness from which he died. Family rumours often contain a large grain of truth.<sup>162</sup>

Had he lived longer or taken the position at the School of Art would J. Elder Moultray's reputation be different? In order to understand his place within the New Zealand history painting genre, a brief summary of its major developments, both globally and in a New Zealand context, is discussed in the next chapter.

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE HISTORY PAINTING GENRE

Changes in the definition and status of history painting have contributed towards its position as a problematic genre, for both artists and art historians. Large and dramatic, and painted in oils on both canvas and wood, history painting was originally intended to depict the past in a narrative form. This included mythological and biblical history, as well as ancient Roman and Greek history, the latter, not only because of a connection to English and Continental history but also because of an admiration for Greek art.

History painting began its ascendancy in 1648, when a Royal Academy was formed in France and then emulated in 1768 in England. Governments and monarchies financed the academies, established the authority of academic art in both painting and sculpture, and encouraged history paintings in order to legitimise sovereign rule.<sup>163</sup> The academies provided training in figure studies and life drawing and ensured that history painting was elevated above portraits, landscapes and still life.<sup>164</sup> By 1669 the official court historian to Louis XIV of France and chronicler of the arts, André Félibien, considered history painting to be the grand genre, the highest of all genres.<sup>165</sup>

Only the 'best' artists aspired to paint history paintings, partly because of the level of skill required, but also because of the high standard expected by those in the hierarchy. Wielding their authority, they decided who could join and exhibit in the academy, where paintings were hung in exhibitions and who won the competitions.

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<sup>163</sup> Harris, *Art history: the key concepts*, p. 143.

<sup>164</sup> Jason Rosenfeld, (October 2004), "The Salon and The Royal Academy", in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000-2011.

[http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/sara/hd\\_sara.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/sara/hd_sara.htm), accessed 13 April 2011

<sup>165</sup> Encyclopaedia of Art, 'Hierarchy of the genres', 2011. <http://www.visual-arts-cork.com/history-of-art/hierarchy-of-genres.htm>, accessed 28 April 2011

Approved history paintings were hung ‘on the line’, or the visual line most convenient for the eye to see. Under the French direction, history paintings were subjected to various rules, one being that a painting should be big enough to dominate the space it was placed in. Besides, if an extra-large painting was skyed or hung up high, it was less likely to be ignored. Size gradually became less important when domestic space became an issue and smaller paintings, although always popular, became even easier to display and to sell. They no longer had to fill a whole wall in order to be seen from a long distance down a hall or from a staircase. It remained imperative, however, that both ancient and contemporary figures were clothed in Greek or Roman attire, no matter how anachronistic it appeared. Similarly, a history painting’s subject could include religion, myth, history, literature or allegory, but must interpret life or convey a moral or intellectual message.

Restrictions surrounding academic history painting in England were challenged when Benjamin West, an American who had moved to England, shocked the newly formed Royal Academy of Arts with *The Death of Wolfe*, c.1771 (London: Kensington Palace).<sup>166</sup> This depicted a contemporary subject dressed in contemporary clothes. It prompted the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds, to comment at their annual prize-giving in 1771, that there were now:

... two distinct styles in history-painting: the grand, and the splendid or ornamental. The grand style stands alone, and does not require, perhaps does not so well admit, any addition from inferior beauties. The ornamental style also possesses its own peculiar merit. However, though the union of the two may make a sort of composite style, yet that style is likely to be more imperfect than either of those which go to its composition.<sup>167</sup>

The following year Reynolds was still attempting to dissuade students from adopting such methods. He commented that ‘the simplicity of the antique air and attitude, however much to be admired, is ridiculous when joined to a figure in modern dress’. Claiming that it was not his purpose to question whether ‘this mixed style ought to be adopted or not’, he expressed concern that if well executed it would rival ‘that

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p. 71. Several versions exist including one at Ann Arbor: University of Michigan: ARTstor, VUW, accessed 24 May 2011

<sup>167</sup> Robert R. Wark, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: discourses on art*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981, p. 71.

style which we have fixed as the highest'.<sup>168</sup> West was not mentioned by name, but Reynolds' caution to be selective about 'those whom you chose to imitate' and the timing of Reynolds' comments made it clear who he was alluding to.<sup>169</sup>

Despite initial objections, this innovation was rapidly embraced and gave an impetus to what had become a stale genre for many artists and viewers.<sup>170</sup> Following this trend, the American John Singleton Copley painted English contemporary history, while passing through London on his way to Europe. Like some of his other paintings, *The Death of Major Pierson*, 1782-84 (London: Tate Gallery), commemorated a popular hero and referenced both contemporary and well-known traditional themes and compositions, including national heroes and British victories.<sup>171</sup> These themes elevated such works to ones depicting 'lofty' aspirations.<sup>172</sup> Factual errors in the content of many works suggested to William H. Truettner and Vivien Green Fryd that in the eighteenth century historical accuracy was subordinate to the layers of meaning in the painting.<sup>173</sup>

It was ironical that by the time the Royal Academy was formed in England in the late eighteenth century, history painting had become an unpopular genre. There was a growing awareness that history painting was used as a tool by the ruling classes to legitimise their position of power. Its place was taken by the English innovation of the open-air conversation piece, which combined portraiture with landscape.<sup>174</sup> Also, Richard Wilson, Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg and then Joseph Mallord William Turner with *The Fifth Plague of Egypt*, 1800 (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art), and *Hannibal Crossing the Alps*, 1812 (London: Tate Gallery), introduced the genre of 'historical landscape' into British art. In these, landscape was the principal focus, rather than the figures.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid., pp. 88-89.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>170</sup> According to some reports, Reynolds retracted his initial objection: John Rothenstein, *An introduction to English painting*, London: Cassell, 1965, p. 72.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>172</sup> Robert Rosenblum and H.W. Janson, *Art of the nineteenth century: painting and sculpture*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1984, pp. 16-18.

<sup>173</sup> Truettner, 'Storming the Teocalli', p. 58;

Vivien Green Fryd, 'Rereading the Indian in Benjamin West's "Death of General Wolfe"', *American Art* 9(1), Spring 1995, pp. 73, 84.

<sup>174</sup> Gaunt, *Concise history*, pp. 93, 103.

<sup>175</sup> Rothenstein, *Introduction to English painting*, p. 97.

Despite West's innovation, many artists continued to address history in similar ways to more traditional history paintings. Frederic Leighton and George Frederick Watts produced history paintings inspired by the 'Elgin Marbles' at the British Museum.<sup>176</sup> The use of antiquity and Christian iconography in paintings by West, Copley and their contemporary John Trumbull was noted by Jules Prown.<sup>177</sup> Digging deeper into the methods of West and Copley one finds that they had another interest in common. Both had also used the camera obscura, West for tracing landscape drawings, and Copley for studying light, shade and colour.<sup>178</sup> Jenny Carson and Ann Shafer suggested that 'it was not uncommon for eighteenth-century practices, such as analyzing nature through a camera, to support or reinforce aspects of classical art theory'.<sup>179</sup> The blending of old and new technologies along with traditional and contemporary artistic methods featured in artistic practice from the latter part of the eighteenth through to the mid-to-late nineteenth century.

In American art, by the middle of the eighteenth century, history painting had 'merged with genre painting'. Historical figures were depicted 'in incidental moments' and 'anonymous figures in historical settings'.<sup>180</sup> Mark Thistlethwaite suggested that merging genres helped to cause an 'uncertainty' in the reception of history painting, in America if not elsewhere. The popularity of history painting among the general public had diminished in France, too, where images of everyday life become synonymous with, and known as 'genre' itself. In the early nineteenth century, French artists created their own mixed genres. Artistic responses to scenes from Walter Scott's novels helped breakdown the traditional hierarchies, which Beth Segal Wright suggested created 'a search for a pictorial compromise' between history painting and genre painting.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Gaunt, *Concise history*, p. 192.

Also: Mathew Potter, 'History painting in the nineteenth century', in 'Round table discussion: What happened to history painting in Victorian Britain', in *Visual Culture in Britain* 6(1), 2005, p. 6.

<sup>177</sup> Jules David Prown, 'Benjamin West and the use of antiquity', *American Art* 10(2), Summer 1996, pp. 44-46.

<sup>178</sup> Jenny Carson and Ann Shafer, 'West, Copley, and the camera obscura', *American Art* 22(2), Summer 2008, p. 24.

<sup>179</sup> Carson and Shafer, 'West, Copley', p. 40.

<sup>180</sup> Mark Thistlethwaite, 'A fall from grace: the critical reception of history painting, 1875-1925', in William Ayres (ed), *Picturing history: American painting 1770-1930*, New York: Rizzoli and Fraunces Tavern Museum, 1993, p. 183.

<sup>181</sup> Beth Segal Wright, 'Scott's historical novels and French historical painting 1815-1855', *The Art Bulletin* 63(2), June 1981, p. 269.

‘Small-scale anecdotal works’, that depicted individual history and historical scenes, became known as ‘*genre historique* or *peinture anecdotique*’.<sup>182</sup> Paul Duro defined the historical genre as individual rather than universal, realism instead of idealism and local colour instead of an academic finish.<sup>183</sup> Duro also noted that history paintings depicted poetic truth, whereas historical genre was concerned with historical truth.<sup>184</sup>

For most of the nineteenth century in France, history paintings retained their popularity, at least among the ‘popular press’.<sup>185</sup> Émile Jean-Horace Vernet created dramatic oil paintings including *Napoleon Bonaparte leading his troops over the bridge of Arcole*, 1826 (p.c.).<sup>186</sup> Vernet was a Romantic artist who specialised in ‘historicist representations of unconventional subjects’ based on military themes.<sup>187</sup> Some, like Eugène Delacroix with *The Massacres at Chios*, 1824 (Paris: Louvre), were true to the contemporary context but depicted a more fatalistic and calmer scene than was realistic. The 20,000 Greek civilians massacred at Chios by the Turks are unlikely to have sat calmly waiting to be slaughtered.<sup>188</sup> Seen as an anomaly in the twenty-first century, the combination of history with fiction had long been accepted by the nineteenth century.

In reviewing the Universal Exposition in 1867 Charles Blanc reported that it was only very recently that the ‘leading French masters’ could no longer be described as history painters. The exception was Ernest Meissonier, whose *Napoléon III at the Battle of Solferino*, 1863 (Paris: Musée d’Orsay), was seen by Moultray in France. The ‘pre-eminent horse painter of his day’ Meissonier was the first artist to correctly depict ‘equine locomotion’, at least with the walk and slow gaits.<sup>189</sup> Initially disbelieved, his

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Paul Duro, ‘Giving up on history? Challenges to the hierarchy of the genres in early nineteenth-century France’, *Art History* 28(5), November 2005, p. 704.

<sup>182</sup> Wright, *Scott’s historical novels*, p. 269.

Also: Marc J. Gotlieb, *The plight of emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French salon painting*, Princeton, N. Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 71.

<sup>183</sup> Duro, ‘Giving up on history?’, p. 701.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> François Robichon, ‘Representing the 1870-1871 war, or the impossible Revanche’, in June Hargrove and Neil McWilliam (eds), *Nationalism and French visual culture, 1870-1914*, Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2005, p. 85.

<sup>186</sup> Art-Prints-on-Demand.com, ‘Emile Jean Horace Vernet: The Battle at the Bridge of Arcole’ (no date). <http://www.art-prints-on-demand.com/a/emile-jean-horace-vernet-1/the-battle-at-the-bridge.html>, accessed 26 April 2011

<sup>187</sup> Gotlieb, *Plight of emulation*, p. 126.

<sup>188</sup> Anita Brookner, ‘Delacroix 1798-1863: scenes from The Massacres at Chios 1824’, in Edwin Mullins (ed), *Great paintings*, London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1981, p. 198.

<sup>189</sup> Gotlieb, *Plight of emulation*, pp. 162, 163, 165.

observations were verified by Eadweard Muybridge's photography.<sup>190</sup> Meissonier kept his belief in the 'flying gallop', however, and when he re-painted *1807-Friedland*, 1889 (p.c.) in watercolour, he only modified the position of the horse's hooves.<sup>191</sup> Eventually he abandoned this with his last painting, *The Morning of Castiglione*, c. 1890 (location unknown), sadly only in the preparatory stage when he died.

Later nineteenth century French politics prompted further changes in French history painting. Édouard Manet's simple but explicit *Execution of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, June 19, 1867*, 1868-69 (Mannheim: Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim), helped instigate the move in French art from Realism to Impressionism. The 1870 French war with Prussia and their inglorious defeat in May 1871, created a widespread rejection of Realism. Initially, artists who had fought in the war, such as Edouard Detaille, deployed realism based on documentary evidence, but the French public understandably tired of being reminded of their country's defeat.<sup>192</sup> Its popularity was replaced by anecdotal genre, no longer located in specific time or place but simply referring to a narrative.<sup>193</sup> Blanc called these 'accidental truths' and 'portraits in action'.<sup>194</sup>

Criticism of the anecdotal or historical genre prompted artists like Meissonier, who had produced both forms, to renounce genre despite its popularity, and return to more traditional history paintings. In the decade after the war, those who had not taken part still shared the nationalistic spirit and interest, but by the end of the century their interest had waned and history painters looked backwards to earlier Napoleonic history for their inspiration.<sup>195</sup> The concern for realism had diminished, exaggerated gesture had become popular and the narrative syntax had become standardized. By the end of the century history painting was no longer the '*grande peinture*', in France at least.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., pp. 175, 181.

<sup>192</sup> Robichon, 'Representing the 1870-1871 war', p. 86.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>194</sup> Gotlieb, *Plight of emulation*, p. 16.

<sup>195</sup> Robichon, 'Representing the 1870-1871 war', pp. 84-85.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.



The link between a preoccupation with historical accuracy and artistic creativity in the late nineteenth century was noted by Chang-Ming Peng.<sup>197</sup> Vast amounts of documentary research undertaken by writers and artists were an aspect of the culture of the late nineteenth century, not only in France and Europe, but also in colonial New Zealand.<sup>198</sup> With the advent of print media, noted artists were reproduced in the *Art Journal* or *Magazine of Art*, both of which were sources of inspiration for New Zealand artists.<sup>199</sup> Artists included Lady Elizabeth Butler, who was familiar with war through her husband, a Lieutenant-General. She painted scenes from British military campaigns such as the 1877-79 Anglo-Zulu war in South Africa, her most famous being *The Defence of Rorke's Drift*, 1880 (London: Royal Collection).<sup>200</sup> Many of Butler's paintings depicted large groups of soldiers, drawing on drama, sensation and emotions as well as the ethics of valour and honour. These connoted all that was noble in the human temperament, popularising the theme of nobility alongside that of survival against adversity and hostile peoples. Some depicted the aftermath of war or famine as a lone survivor, following a path to home or nowhere. Butler's *Remnants of an Army*, c. 1879 (London: Tate) shows a lone soldier on a weary horse heading home. Another, *Evicted*, 1890 (Dublin: University College), depicts a woman alone on a mountain pass with nowhere to go. This contemporary theme of famine and homelessness depicted a typical outcome of the Irish famines of 1845-1852.

The theme of a sole or only a few survivors, was popular amongst nineteenth-century military history painters and had began earlier in the century with artists like Horace Vernet, with *A Soldier on the Field of Battle*, 1818 (Pasadena: Norton Simon Museum).<sup>201</sup> The revered general, Napoleon, as a lone horseman, was a popular subject amongst the French, matched in kind by images of Lord Nelson amongst British

<sup>197</sup> Chang-Ming Peng and Petra ten-Doesschate Chu (trans), 'Fernand Coron's Cain: epic naturalism in nineteenth-century history painting', in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Laurinda S. Dixon (eds), *Twenty-first century perspectives on nineteenth century art: essays in honor of Gabriel P. Weisberg*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009, p. 238.

<sup>198</sup> Zeitgeist is the spirit of the age: Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Laurinda S. Dixon, 'Introduction: new perspectives on nineteenth-century art: views from across a century', in Chu and Dixon (eds), *Twenty-first century perspectives*, p. 17.

<sup>199</sup> *The Magazine of Art: Illustrated*, London, Paris & New York: Cassell Petter & Galpin, from 1878.

<sup>200</sup> David M. Hart, 'Lady Elizabeth Butler', 2003.

<http://homepage.mac.com/dmhart/WarArt/StudyGuides/Butler.html#wart>, accessed 15 April 2011

<sup>201</sup> Norton Simon Gallery, 'Browse by artist: Horace Vernet', 2011.

[http://www.nortonsimon.org/collections/browse\\_artist.php?name=Vernet%2C+Horace](http://www.nortonsimon.org/collections/browse_artist.php?name=Vernet%2C+Horace), accessed 26 April 2011

nautical artists. The difference from academic history painting of the past was that it was no longer a tool of the ruling classes, but utilized by a wider variety of artists, including those trained outside of the academies and trained and untrained soldier artists responding to war. Themes of power and control became hidden beneath layers of heroism and survival. Relevant political issues, including why colonial wars occurred and the politics of colonial powers, were not directly addressed in nineteenth-century art.

For a brief time the now-popular contemporary themes coexisted with references to ancient history, in both America and England.<sup>202</sup> A traditional artistic interest in Greek and Roman history was never transported to New Zealand shores or Australian ones either, and is probably related to the timing of their formation as British colonies which coincided with, or followed soon after, West's artistic innovation. Also, New Zealand and Australia were probably too raw to envisage an ancient history transposed upon them.<sup>203</sup> Instead, New Zealand art paralleled that of other British colonies like Australia, or former colonies like America, when artists depicted scenes relating to local history and the indigenous people.

The royal academies in England and Europe inspired the formation of art societies in the British colonies. These began in New Zealand in the 1870s and 1880s and inherited their elitist attitudes. Preceding these, however, a uniquely New Zealand historical art tradition had developed, which eschewed traditional classical and biblical themes. Instead European interactions with Māori and contemporary events pertinent to colonial New Zealand were sketched, etched and painted in both watercolours and oils. Māori mythology and genre, including tattooing and the launching of waka, became a popular sub-genre of history painting. Contemporary events such as missionary landings and deaths, famous incidents from the New Zealand colonial wars, the sinking of ships and individual acts of heroism in both peace and war times, were all depicted.

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<sup>202</sup> Such as: Frederic Sackrider Remington depiction of the dead and dying in *What an Unbranded Cow has Cost*, 1895 (Yale: Yale University Art Gallery), showing the aftermath of a cattle war. John Gast's *American Progress*, 1872 (Hampton: N. & R Enterprises), depicted a land run, with a Grecian woman floating above them in the air and holding a book (perhaps the book of reckoning): William H. Truettner (ed), *The West as America: reinterpreting images of the frontier*, Washington: National Museum of American Art and Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991, p. 135.

<sup>203</sup> America was noted in a rococo work by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *Ode to the Continents (America, right-hand side)* 1752-1753 (Wurzburg: Stairwell of the Residenz). Michael Levey, *Giambattista Tiepolo: his life and art*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986, pp. 204-205.

From the beginning of Pākehā-Māori contact there were many drawings made of the indigenous inhabitants of the newly discovered land. Trained and untrained sailors, surveyors, soldiers and settlers all created images for various reasons. Back in Britain or France, some artists worked from for publication changed many of the images and Māori came to resemble Native Americans and other better-known peoples, since familiarity with the known was probably less challenging.<sup>204</sup> These included ones by Augustus Earle, who lived in New Zealand for six months in 1827-28 and George French Angas, who spent six months in New Zealand in late 1844.<sup>205</sup> Earle's awareness of the history painting tradition is revealed in his use of dramatic stance and iconic gestures in *Meeting of the artist and the wounded chief Hongi at the Bay of Islands, November 1827*, c. 1832 (Wellington: ATL). At a cursory glance it appears descriptive and impressive, although a little romanticised. Painted in England from sketches, the light was designed to play on Earle himself, as the centre of the painting, which later biographers called egoistic.<sup>206</sup>

Māori mythological tales, the New Zealand version of ancient mythology, were also popular. Defined as myths by Pākehā New Zealanders, to Māori they are *kōrero pono*, true stories that depict real events in the history of their people. These were handed down orally and only written down after contact with Pākehā.<sup>207</sup> In New Zealand, as in Britain after the 1870s:

Mythological themes, always incorporated within the remit of the History Painter, were thus given a new lease of life and with an authenticity that was as appropriate for the post-Darwinian age, as red-blooded patriotism had been in the age when Britain was constructing its cultural identity as a nation.<sup>208</sup>

Legends such as the Hinemoa–Tutanekai love story inspired not only paintings but statues and also songs.<sup>209</sup> This attraction to Māori legend and admiration for something unique to New Zealand's indigenous people escalated. By 1908 history paintings

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<sup>204</sup> Bernard Smith, *European vision and the South Pacific*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press (2nd ed), 1989, p. 5.

<sup>205</sup> Platts, *Nineteenth century*, pp. 85, 22.

<sup>206</sup> Gil Docking, with additions by Michael Dunn, *Two hundred years of New Zealand painting*, Auckland: David Bateman, (rev. ed.) 1990, p. 24; Roger Blackley, *Two centuries of New Zealand landscape art*, Auckland: Auckland City Art Gallery, 1990, p. 18.

<sup>207</sup> Maori Dictionary, 'Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary', 2011, accessed 26 April 2011

<sup>208</sup> Potter, 'History painting', p. 7.

<sup>209</sup> Leonard Bell, 'Artists and empire: Victorian representations of subject people', *Art History* 5(1), March 1982, pp. 79-83.

depicting Māori ‘myths’ were praised as being ‘the most important in a national exhibition’.<sup>210</sup> It was not until long after the Victorian era that this became widely recognised as an appropriation of Māori culture by Pākehā.<sup>211</sup>

Some early historical paintings, however, were more concerned with historical landscapes. Bernard Smith postulated that in order to control the world the first requirement of European landscape practice in a new land was to ‘first survey and describe’. Some early watercolour paintings of historical events in New Zealand, like those by Edwin Harris, a New Plymouth Company surveyor, and Colonel Cyprian Bridge and John Williams, were depicted in a stilted descriptive manner. Harris contributed factual images of the New Zealand wars with military detail giving attention to the landscape, although the figures were simplistic.<sup>212</sup> His *Volunteer Rifles going on duty, New Plymouth*, 1860 (New Plymouth: Puke Ariki), and *New Plymouth Under Siege*, 1860 (Wellington: ATL), exemplify this. The more ‘topographical’ rigidity, however, of John Williams, can be contrasted with the calligraphic panache of Bridge.<sup>213</sup>

After this phase of description it was necessary to evoke for new settlers ‘an emotional engagement’ with the land they had alienated from the inhabitants.<sup>214</sup> Smith suggested that it was the empirical methods of the Royal Society and the Navy that influenced the early images produced by surveyors and draughtsmen, artistic sailors and settlers, rather than neo-classical theories of art.<sup>215</sup> Francis Pound called the ‘real’ New Zealand landscape, with its ‘qualities of light and atmosphere’, a ‘fallacy’ and ‘a kind of geographical determinism’. Pound suggested a different set of criteria for looking at them.<sup>216</sup> W.J.T. Mitchell commented on both Smith and Pound and suggested that an

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<sup>210</sup> From *New Zealand Herald*, 20 May 1908, in Leonard Bell, ‘The representation of the Maori by European artists in New Zealand, ca. 1890-1914’, *Art Journal* 49(2), Summer 1990, pp. 143, 149.

<sup>211</sup> Bell, ‘Artists and empire’, pp. 74-75.

<sup>212</sup> Platts, *Nineteenth century*, p. 51.

<sup>213</sup> Roger Blackley, ‘Lance-Sergeant John Williams: military topographer of the Northern War’, *Art New Zealand* 32, 1984, pp. 50-53.

<sup>214</sup> Smith, *European vision*, p. ix.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>216</sup> As in God in Nature, the Ideal, the Sublime, the topographical, the picturesque, the sketch and the Impressionist: from Francis Pound, *Frames on the land: early landscape painting in New Zealand*, Auckland: William Collins Publishers, 1983, pp. 11, 16-28.

‘historical’ rather than a ‘historicist’ understanding is needed in order to understand the ‘ideological use of their conventions in a specified time and place’.<sup>217</sup>

Mitchell’s view is more useful than that of either Smith or Pound, when looking at the earlier colonial war art of artists like Cyprian Bridge and John Williams. Both Bridge and Williams were often careful to include a description in their titles, to ensure the viewer knew exactly what they were looking at. Bridge’s *View of the Pah at Ruapekapeka from the lower stockade at the time it was entered and captured by the allied force of friendly natives and troops, under Lt. Colonel Despard, 11<sup>th</sup> Jany, 1846*, 1846 (Wellington: ATL), illustrates this approach. The landscape details some important features but the simple figures detail only the clothing. Some artists also used colour to emphasise the difference between friendly and rebel Māori. Bridge’s *Sketch of our encampment at Ruapekapeka with the friendly natives pah on our right, Jany, 8<sup>th</sup> 1846*, 1846 (Canberra: NLA), is painted predominantly in warm orange and pale yellow, and contrasts with Henry James Warre’s *The rebel native’s pah at Te Arei ... Capt. H. J. Warre*, 1864 (Canberra: NLA), that is painted in cool green and blue.

During the 1860s, a proliferation of watercolour sketches illustrating the New Zealand wars were produced by British and European soldier artists and reproduced in the British newspapers, and like the earlier images of Māori, were modified in the process.<sup>218</sup> Leonard Bell and Conal McCarthy both noted that these all helped to form a constructed image of Māori for the soldier, settler and traveller, partly based on fact and partly distorted. This is the artistic climate in which Moultray found himself. It was not until the end of the nineteenth and the early twentieth-century that Māori began to be portrayed in a more balanced manner. Few of these watercolours are history paintings in a traditional definition, but are an interesting record of New Zealand and Māori history as historical genre. As the distinction in British art between history painting and historical genre was not clearly defined, all of these paintings depicting real historical events can be regarded as history paintings.

Some watercolours were more elaborate than those previously described, with their subject matter, their manner of execution and the detail all supplied in the image.

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<sup>217</sup> W.J.T. Mitchell, ‘Imperial Landscape’, in W.J.T. Mitchell (ed), *Landscape and Power*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994, p. 23.

<sup>218</sup> Smith, *European vision*, pp. 317-321.

Paintings by Horatio Gordon Robley, the soldier artist who painted prolifically in New Zealand for a short time, and Major Gustavus Ferdinand von Tempsky who died fighting Māori, both display these qualities. Another was John Alexander Gilfillan from Jersey, who emigrated in 1842 intending to stay. When his wife and four children were killed in 1847 by a Māori war party on his farm in Matarawa, near Wanganui, he left for Australia with his surviving children.<sup>219</sup> While in New Zealand, Gilfillan painted a number of sympathetic images of Māori. His large oil painting, *A Native Council of War (Native council deliberating on a war expedition)*, 1853 (Dunedin: Hocken), was painted in Australia from earlier sketches. A panoramic view of mountains and the setting sun, its size, as well as the number of Māori depicted within it, places it within both the history painting tradition and of landscape painting.<sup>220</sup> Much later, Thomas William Downes' based his watercolours of the New Zealand wars on originals or copies of Gilfillan's work, and reproduced them in his book, *Old Whanganui*, 1915. These included the oil painting, *The Sale of Wanganui to the New Zealand Company*.<sup>221</sup>

In Pound's view, Gilfillan's painting was a partially topographical image imposed on a Claudian Ideal view, exaggerated 'in the direction of the Sublime' to satisfy picturesque taste.<sup>222</sup> Roger Blackley noted that this ambitious history painting was intended to help secure his reputation as a leading Melbourne artist, where he was then working, alongside Eugene von Guérard and Nicholas Chevalier.<sup>223</sup> These different views complement, rather than contradict each other, and illustrate the need to unpick the layers of meaning in order to understand such a painting.

In a less dramatic style, William Strutt's *The Beach, New Plymouth*, c. 1856 (Wellington: ATL), reconstructed the Ngati Awa returning from Waikanae to their old lands in Waitara, having previously been forced out by Waikato forces under Te Wherowhero, an event that was witnessed by Europeans in the 1840s. Depicting a relatively recent event 'in an imposing style', it has been called a neoclassical 'colonial document', depicting the view of a travelling Englishman more concerned with gestures, action and the 'pearly light of an overcast sky', than the accurate detail of Māori

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<sup>219</sup> Platts, *Nineteenth century*, pp. 105-6.

<sup>220</sup> Its size is 955 x 1270 mm.

<sup>221</sup> Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, p. 151.

<sup>222</sup> Pound, *Frames on the land*, p. 50.

<sup>223</sup> Blackley, *Two centuries*, p. 24.

clothing and features.<sup>224</sup> In contrast, Strutt's *An Ambush, New Zealand, 1859*, c. 1867 (Auckland: Fletcher Collection), with its intensity, and realism of the Māori figures in the foreground, is a 'successful history painting'.<sup>225</sup>

Charles Decimus Barraud was born in Surrey, England, and arrived in Wellington in 1849. He was one of the New Zealand artists singled out by Hodgkins in his 1880 lecture as of 'more than ordinary excellence'.<sup>226</sup> Barraud drew and painted primarily topographical watercolours. Initially a member of the Otago Art Society, he became a founding member and the first President of New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts. Barraud also painted some oil paintings of which *Baptism of the Māori Chief, Te Puni, Otaki Church, New Zealand, 1853* (Canberra: NLA), is the most impressive. Situated inside the church it is both a portrait and a history painting, incorporating real and fictitious features. Individual Māori and Europeans are identifiable and the event did take place, but considerable artistic license was taken, since the splendid church depicted was not the more 'humble' one where the event took place.<sup>227</sup> Within the history painting genre, this kind of painting can be seen as a peculiarly New Zealand interpretation of the conversation piece, part portrait, part history, part indoor landscape.

Peter Entwisle commented in 1984 that 'history and genre painting had few practitioners in mid-nineteenth century New Zealand'.<sup>228</sup> This statement misrepresents the number of artists who painted Māori, settler genre scenes and scenes of the New Zealand wars, as well as topographical art. A number of soldier artists were connected to the New Zealand wars, either in an official or unofficial capacity, a tradition that has continued to the present time.

One of the first named 'official' artists was mentioned, surprisingly, in the same issue that J. Elder Moultray wrote for. The author of the article was not named, but may have been James McDonald, who illustrated a large number of portraits for the newspaper.<sup>229</sup> The article claimed that a Lieutenant Bromley was the official artist of the 68<sup>th</sup> Regiment when they were stationed in New Zealand in 1864-1866 and that

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<sup>224</sup> Docking and Dunn, *Two hundred years*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>225</sup> Blackley, *Two centuries*, p. 32.

<sup>226</sup> 'A history of landscape art', *ODT*, 20 November 1880, p. 5.

<sup>227</sup> Bell, *Māori in European art*, p. 49.

<sup>228</sup> Entwisle, *William Mathew Hodgkins*, p. 10.

<sup>229</sup> 'Incidents and sketches', *ODT&W*, 10 November 1898, p. 41.

Bromley often used the services of a Māori guide, known as Dan.<sup>230</sup> This was the same regiment that Robley, who was then an ensign, served with.<sup>231</sup> No drawings or paintings have survived by a 'Bromley' and he appears to have disappeared. Only this note points to an official artistic role.

The author probably mixed Robley with Bromley, as the two names sound similar. Robley was known to have taken any opportunity to capture a scene, as in *Haka with muskets at Maketu*, c. 1865 (Wellington: ATL), depicting a large group of warriors outside Maketu Pa preparing for war.<sup>232</sup> Robley was also known to use the services of Raniera, or Daniel, a Māori guide.<sup>233</sup> There is no other mention of an official role with the regiment so it may have been an unofficial one or one assumed by Robley himself. When he returned to England Robley painted a large number of Māori paintings from memory, often back-dating them, thereby creating inaccuracy with his dates and confusion for later art historians.<sup>234</sup> Robley is now best known for his book on moko, and his collection of preserved heads, or mokomokai, the latter a term he coined and popularised.<sup>235</sup>

The flamboyant soldier artist Major Gustavus Ferdinand von Tempsky, during his brief life in New Zealand, painted a number of history paintings, including *General Chute's Column During Their March Through Taranaki*, c. 1866 (p.c.).<sup>236</sup> Von Tempsky depicted the theme of heroism against a determined adversary and often portrayed the British soldier spotlighted, while the wild-eyed Māori, denoting Hauhau fanatics, were partly hidden, as in the watercolour *British Forces Surrounded by Maoris Who Were Driven off with Heavy Losses*, c. 1866 (Auckland: AIM). Another of his watercolours, *An Incident During a Hauhau Raid on a Settler Farm*, 1863 (Dunedin:

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<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>231</sup> 'Obituary: Horatio Gordon Robley, 1840-1930', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 40(157), 1931, p. 39.

<sup>232</sup> Another soldier artist, the now little-known Lieut. Herbert Meade, R.N., painted a similar theme with the watercolour, *Pai Marire Karakia, held by the Te Hau fanatics at Tataroa ...* 1865, (Wellington: ATL).

International Art Centre, Auckland, *Auction catalogue, contemporary & traditional New Zealand & European art*, 9 July 1999, pp. 32, 33, lot 93.

<sup>233</sup> Timothy Walker, *Robley: Te Ropere, 1840-1930*, a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Art History, University of Auckland, vol. 1, 1985, p. 383.

<sup>234</sup> Walker, *Robley: Te Ropere*, vol. 1, p. 33.

<sup>235</sup> Major-General Robley, *Moko or Maori Tattooing*, Auckland: Southern Reprints, 1987.

'Major-General Robley's collection of Maori heads', *OW*, 24 December 1902, p. 46.

<sup>236</sup> John Leech Gallery & Gow Langsford Gallery, Auckland, *Catalogue*, 1998, p. 9, lot 11.



Hocken), has a small circular inset wreathed in a vine, in the top right of the painting. This gives a glimpse of the town, as a picture of tranquillity in the midst of the attack on the settler's home. The settlers are shown hidden in the bushes in the front right, depicted with the same wild eyes he often portrayed on Māori. Perhaps in this case it denoted fear and anticipation. Von Tempsky's own untimely death became the subject of a painting by Kennett Watkins, *Death of Major Von Tempskey at Te-Ngutu-o-te-Manu, New Zealand, 7<sup>th</sup> September, 1868* (date and location unknown).<sup>237</sup>

Scenes of sea wrecks were also a popular theme amongst history painters.<sup>238</sup> Many New Zealand artists came from a tradition which included J.M.W. Turner, whose *Battle of Trafalgar, 21 October 1805*, 1823-24 (Greenwich: National Maritime Museum), and *The Fighting Temeraire tugged to her last Berth to be broken up*, 1838, 1839 (London: National Gallery), are both dramatic and picturesque. New Zealand's maritime history is relatively short, yet there were a large number of shipwrecks in a short period of time. Artists such as Alfred Sharpe, *Nipped Between Icebergs*, 1888 (New York: p.c.), and J. Rollason, *Sinking of the Elingamite*, n.d. (p.c.), followed this tradition.<sup>239</sup> Amongst the most impressive is the large painting by Louis John Steele and Kennett Watkins, *The Blowing up of the Boyd*, 1889 (Wellington: Te Papa), which caused a sensation when first exhibited in 1890.<sup>240</sup> In it Māori show fear and panic at the moment of the explosion as some jump from their waka into the sea. Moultray also painted some maritime scenes but these were ones of tranquillity and harmony, an ideal depiction rather than sublime or tempestuous.

Māori genre paintings and historical landscapes can both be considered a sub-genre of history painting in the New Zealand art tradition. Māori genre paintings depicting daily life are now valued more highly than those depicting settler history and attracted many notable New Zealand artists, too numerous to list. Initially, accuracy in

<sup>237</sup> Known now only through a lithograph: Kennett Watkins, *Death of Major von Tempskey at Te-Ngutu-o-te-Manu, New Zealand, 7th September, 1868* / W P lith; [from a painting by Kennett Watkins] Wanganui, A D Willis [1893], at:

ATL, 'Kennet Watkins. 1847-1933, "Death of Major Von Tempsky at Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu, 7 September 1868", C-033-066', <http://www.natlib.govt.nz/atl>, accessed 28 April 2011

<sup>238</sup> Roger Blackley, *Goldie*, Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery and Toi o Tāmaki and David Bateman, 1997, p.52.

<sup>239</sup> John Leech Gallery & Gow Langsford Gallery, Auckland, *Catalogue*, 2005, p. 9, lot 8.

Dunbar Sloane, Auckland, *Gala Auction, Art & Antique*, 2-3 August 2000, p. 68.

<sup>240</sup> Roger Blackley, 'Louis John Steele, Kennett Watkins', in William McAloon (ed), *Art at Te Papa*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2009, p. 100.

detail was less important than depicting a dramatic image. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, emphasis on more accurate detail had become paramount, especially amongst Māori, as Robley himself discovered when he was corrected while drawing.<sup>241</sup>

Contemporary with Moultray, Kennett Watkins had arrived in New Zealand in 1873, only ten years before Moultray and his family. Both Watkins and Moultray may have been following Governor Grey's directive, who in 1851 urged artists and poets to 'salvage... the past before it vanished.'<sup>242</sup> While Moultray recorded the settler past, Watkins, with oil paintings like *Maori Family Canoeing on the Waikato River*, 1881 (Wellington: Te Papa), and *Departure of the Six Canoes from Rarotonga, A.D. 1350*, 1906 (Auckland: AAG), took the more popular and collectible route, by today's standards.<sup>243</sup>

Related to a general interest in both maritime art and Māori genre, paintings based on the theme of Māori waka have remained popular since European discovery of New Zealand. An early unknown artist painted in gouache *Maori Waka*, n.d. (p.c.), depicting a Māori waka attacking a French landing party, with a French sailing ship in the background.<sup>244</sup> Steele and Watkins's *The Blowing up of the Boyd*, and Walter Wright's *The Burning of the Boyd: Whangaroa Harbour*, 1908 (Auckland: AAG), turned the waka theme into monumental history paintings. So too, did Watkins with *The Legend of the Voyage to New Zealand*, 1912 (Auckland: AAG), and Steele's *The Launching of a Maori War Canoe*, c. 1916 (Wellington: Te Papa).<sup>245</sup> Steele also combined with Charles F. Goldie in *The Arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand*, 1898 (Auckland: AAG) which combined the themes of shipwrecks, waka and migration. Later, this theme was taken up by others, such as Adele Younghusband, *Maori War Canoe*, 1929 (p.c.).<sup>246</sup> Moultray had included waka in *Phantom Canoe*, c.1886

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<sup>241</sup> Walker, 'Robley', p. 37.

<sup>242</sup> Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, p. 147.

<sup>243</sup> Dunbar Sloane, Auckland, *Art & antique*, 3-4 December 2000, pp. 56-59, lot 723. Value was estimated at \$125,000-200,000.

<sup>244</sup> Dunbar Sloane, Auckland, *The New Zealand sale*, 6-7 April 2005, pp. 36, 43.

<sup>245</sup> First exhibited in 1916, ASA, and bought by Auckland Boy's Grammar School c.1978; resold by Dunbar Sloane, Auckland, *Gala auction, art & antique*, 2-3 Aug 2000, pp. 78-81, lot 734.

<sup>246</sup> Peter Webb Gallery, Auckland, *Webb's Important works of art, fine jewellery & watches, antiques & decorative Arts*, 2007, p. 96, lot 119.

(Dunedin: Hocken, **plate 2**), as did Watkins in *The Phantom Canoe: a legend of Lake Tarawera*, 1888 (Auckland: AAG).<sup>247</sup>

James McDonald, Moultray's contemporary, was interested in both Māori and colonial histories, illustrating incidents from the New Zealand wars that were also printed in the *ODT&W* Christmas Supplement of 1898. Moultray and McDonald often seemed to be in competition, especially in the early 1900s with McDonald's *The Death of Corporal Russell: A Taranaki War Incident*, c. 1906, and *The Bush Battle: A Fight at Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu*, c. 1906.<sup>248</sup> Whilst the latter preceded Moultray's own version of the fight that he painted 1912, both examples appear to mimic titles and methods of composition previously used by Moultray, although who was copying whom, is not clear.<sup>249</sup> McDonald's style, however, was more complex and usually depicted Māori in portraits or daily life with detailed Māori carvings, dwellings, moko and cloaks. Like Moultray, McDonald was a skilled photographer, but he was also an engraver, sculptor, and a film-maker who worked with James Cowan, Aparana Ngata and Elsdon Best. McDonald's work showed the contemporary scholarly interest in the anthropology of the Māori.<sup>250</sup> At the time of these images mentioned here, he was on the Colonial Museum staff.<sup>251</sup>

Paul Barlow believed there was a general consensus of opinion, that in both Britain and Europe in the Victorian era, historical painting 'declined dramatically' and was 'transformed... into some form of illustration', or 'reduced itself to increasingly empty bombast and theatricality'.<sup>252</sup> 'Modernism' he said, was largely 'built on the rejection of history painting'.<sup>253</sup> Yet, as Edward Morris noted, although the doctrine of Realism (or Naturalism) amongst French artists, such as Courbet, Millet and others helped to cause a decline in history painting in the mid-nineteenth century, the extent to

<sup>247</sup> Te Papa, 'The phantom canoe seen on Lake Tarawera, May 31st 1886', C.010662.

<http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/pages/default.aspx>, accessed 14 June 2011

<sup>248</sup> 'Witness Christmas annual: A splendid issue', *OW*, 24 October 1906, p. 31.

<sup>249</sup> Illustrations by James McDonald, *OW*, 19 December 1906, supplement, pp. 25, 29.

<sup>250</sup> Jonathan Denis, 'McDonald, James Ingram 1865-1935', *Dictionary of New Zealand biography, volume three: 1901-1920*, Auckland and Wellington: Auckland University Press and Department of Internal Affairs, pp. 292-293.

<sup>251</sup> 'Witness Christmas annual', *OW*, 24 October 1906, p. 31.

<sup>252</sup> Paul Barlow, 'Introduction: the death of history painting in nineteenth-century art', in 'Round table discussion: what happened to history painting in Victorian Britain', *Visual Culture in Britain* 6(1), 1995, p. 1.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*

which it did is now uncertain. He thought the problem in Britain was not one of competing styles or a lack of interest amongst artists, but one of patronage. For instance, those in charge of decorations for the new Palace of Westminster and purchasers for the national galleries both failed to support British history painters.<sup>254</sup> The lack of patronage, rather than a lack of interest amongst artists, also applied to the British colonies.

In twentieth-century New Zealand, however, despite the lack of a national art academy, history painting was encouraged by unofficial and official media and Government support, although this was usually in relation to war and the encouragement of a perceived heroism. With the advent of the second Boer War many watercolours depicted factual matters relating to troops, such as Charles Nathaniel Worsley, *Newtown Park, Military Camp*, 1899 (Wellington: ATL), the accuracy of the scene verified by the Turnbull Library from archival photographs.<sup>255</sup> In his official capacity as war correspondent-artist Moultray illustrated troop-life on board the ship going to South Africa.<sup>256</sup>

During the First World War Horace Moore-Jones, who was living in Britain at the time, was sent to Gallipoli with the NZEF, to draw the topography. Although not an official war artist he painted over 80 watercolours while recovering from a wound on his hand, all of which he sold back in New Zealand after the war. These included several different versions of the now famous *Simpson and His Donkey*, 1918 (Canberra: Australian War Memorial).<sup>257</sup> Published as a print and since copied in various mediums by different artist, it has become an ANZAC icon. Horace Moore-Jones, too, painted Māori mythological paintings.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Edward Morris, 'The patronage of history painting in Britain between 1840 and 1900', in 'Round table discussion: what happened to history painting in Victorian Britain', *Visual Culture in Britain* 6(1), 2005, pp. 9-11.

<sup>255</sup> Dunbar Sloane, Auckland, *Summer International Art Auction*, 13-14 February 1994, p. 2, illustration opposite p. 18, lot 26.

ATL, 'Malcolm Ross, accessed 13 September, 2011

<sup>256</sup> Plate 34-37.

<sup>257</sup> A version of it sold in April 2008 for \$110,000.

Peter Webb Galleries, Auckland, *Webb's fine jewellery & watches, antiques and decorative arts, important works of art*, 2, 3, 7 April, 2008, sale 293, pp. 82-83, lot 633;

Peter Webb Galleries, Auckland, *Webb's contemporary art/modern design*, 13 & 14 May 2008, p. 27.

<sup>258</sup> Including *Hinemoa accepts the mat of Tutanekai*, in OAS, 32<sup>nd</sup> Annual Exhibition, 1908, no. 186.

In April 1918, the first official appointment of an artist by the New Zealand Army was made with Lance-Corporal Nugent Herman. Later appointments included Russell Clark and James Boswell, John McIndoe and Peter McIntyre in the Second World War, Ian Brown in Bosnia and Croatia and Graham Braddock. The current artist is Captain Matt Gauldie who has held the position since 2005.<sup>259</sup> Many of these artists were involved in the advertising media or trained in graphic art: Clark as a sign-writer, muralist and designer; McIntyre in free-lance commercial art; and Braddock as a graphic artist. Similarly, James Boswell drew Second World War army life in watercolour and pen rather than in oils and became the art editor of *Liliput*.<sup>260</sup> Drawing on their backgrounds, much of their art has a modernist, graphic-art appearance. Illustrating the change of consciousness about New Zealand history and Pākehā-Māori interactions, some modern history painters of European origin self-consciously referenced Māori culture, with works such as Allan Mitchell, *The Greeting*, n.d. (p.c.).<sup>261</sup> Mitchell also painted more recent history with *Sir Edmund Hillary and Sherpa Tensing Climbing Mt. Everest*, n.d. (p.c.).<sup>262</sup>

From the mid 1980s Michael Shepherd tried a range of techniques in his history paintings, although they are more historical genre and visual experimentation than actual history paintings. In some he combined still life with history painting, through meticulous ‘renderings’ of postcards and photographs, and many focused on the Kingitanga movement and the Waikato campaigns.<sup>263</sup> Others were commemorations of New Zealanders killed in world wars.<sup>264</sup> Claudia Bell described some of his works as ‘fabrications’ of historical documents.<sup>265</sup> Still exploring historical genre, he may create more unexplored combinations.

These examples demonstrate that history painting in twenty-first-century New Zealand is not a dead art but a continually developing one, and one that draws on its

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<sup>259</sup> New Zealand Army, ‘NZ Army Artist – Matt Gauldie’, December 2008. <http://www.army.mil.nz/culture-and-history/nz-army-culture/army-artist/default.htm>, accessed 1 March 2011

<sup>260</sup> William Feaver, *James Boswell: Unofficial war artist: London, Scotland, Iraq 1939-1945*, London: Muswell Press, 2007, pp. 125-134.

<sup>261</sup> Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *Fine and Applied Art Auction*, 20-21 April 2005, p. 6, lot 220.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67, lot 221.

<sup>263</sup> Claudia Bell, *Excavating the past: Michael Shepherd, artist*, Wellington: Gilt Edge Publishing, 2005, pp. 12, 14.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-23.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-33.

rich historical tradition for inspiration. Globally, too, vibrant historical art continues to develop alongside genre, landscape, portraiture, and to a lesser extent, still life, often intermingling with them, incorporating innovations from modernism and post-modernism. Supporting this view is the quintessential history painting of the twentieth century, Pablo Picasso's *Guernica*, 1937 (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia). Executed in cubist style and commenting on a real event, it remains relevant to politically conscious artists and activists alike, irrespective of cultural differences.<sup>266</sup>

By depicting notable battles from the colonial-Māori wars, J. Elder Moultray's history paintings belonged to the development of a uniquely New Zealand historical art tradition. To analyse them it is necessary to understand what he admired in history paintings and sought to emulate. Fortunately, in his series of essays, 'Art Galleries of Europe', he was very specific about his artistic likes and dislikes, and these are discussed in the next chapter.

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<sup>266</sup> Simon Schama, 'Picasso: modern art goes political', *Power of Art*, London: BBC Books, 2006, p. 395.

## CHAPTER 3

### ART HISTORY ACCORDING TO J. ELDER MOULTRAY

As previously noted J. Elder Moultray was nurtured in the Scottish landscape tradition. This was in the style of Horatio McCulloch, who had a strong influence on Scottish landscape painting and to whom James Douglas Moultray was an assistant.<sup>267</sup> McCulloch's style was later called 'grandiose and empty' by James Caw, the director of the National Galleries of Scotland, who nonetheless recognised him as an important transitional figure in Scottish art.<sup>268</sup> Whilst pointing out McCulloch's faults Caw also praised his 'love for what he painted', and his depiction of 'Nature's colouring'.<sup>269</sup> Following McCulloch's lead, Scottish artists developed an interest in local colour and atmospheric effects.<sup>270</sup> After he moved to New Zealand and during his travels to Europe, Moultray absorbed a wider range of artistic influences.

Hodgkins and many other Dunedin landscape artists followed a 'Turneresque credo'.<sup>271</sup> They painted romantic landscapes with a softer focus than the earlier Italianate style of Captain Cook's artists, and with a broader use of colour than was previously acceptable.<sup>272</sup> In contrast, McCulloch was conservative in his methods, under-painting in brown and using set 'formula for foreground foliage or a shingly beach'.<sup>273</sup> Later nineteenth-century Scottish landscape artists showed a greater interest in colour but modified it with the 'constantly changing atmospheric effects' of the

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<sup>267</sup> James L. Caw, *Scottish painting past and present 1620-1908*, Edinburgh: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1908, p. 143.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 483.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 483.

<sup>271</sup> Entwisle, *William Mathew Hodgkins*, p. 39.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>273</sup> Cursiter, *Scottish art*, p. 94.

landscape they observed around them.<sup>274</sup> In this vein, J.D. Moultray's Scottish landscapes were noted for their 'soft mellow colour' and 'very delicate foliage painting'.<sup>275</sup> Mountains were often depicted in the background, 'partly obscured by a dense mist', prompting one critic to note that the 'atmospheric effect has been as well managed as has the detail in the background'.<sup>276</sup> J. Elder Moultray's Scottish art training can be seen in his landscapes too, as well as in his history paintings. Like J.D. Moultray he had an ability to depict rock formations and weather conditions in a realistic manner with a romantic flair, and the landscapes in his history paintings were always well executed. He continued in the Scottish style even after his trip to Europe. The influence of the trip on his art can be seen through gradual changes rather than a major change in style, although the difference was more obvious towards the end of his career.

During his trip to Europe, Moultray appears to have undertaken one continuous journey of four or more months, in mid to late 1896 and early 1897. While travelling he wrote articles on the major art galleries to send home for a weekly commentary. If his journey had followed the sequence of his articles he would have travelled to Venice in Italy by boat, overland probably by train to Milan, then to Paris and Versailles in France, on to Belgium, to a port to catch a boat to London, a train to Scotland and back to a port, by boat back to Italy, a train from Naples to Rome and Florence, by train to another port and several boats back home. This would have been a long, tiring journey. Mail may have been delayed and the articles published in the order they were received, rather than reflecting the sequence of his journey, which would explain why a letter from London dated 28 November 1896 noted that he had been studying in the British galleries 'for some time':

He leaves London immediately on a professional tour through the galleries of Italy, France Belgium, &c., for the purpose of completing his studies. A tour such as this is invaluable to any artist, and especially so to a colonial student, whose distant position necessarily prevented his enjoying the privileges of his British brethren, who are in constant touch with the 'old masters'.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Cursiter, *Scottish art*, p. 96.

<sup>275</sup> 'Otago Art Society [second notice]', *ODT*, 8 November 1882, p. 3.

'Art: The Otago Art Society: I.', *OW*, 10 November 1883, p. 11.

<sup>276</sup> 'Otago Art Society', *ODT*, 5 December 1884, p. 2.

<sup>277</sup> Our own correspondent, 'Our London letter: A young New Zealand artist', *ODT*, 4 January 1897, p. 3.



How Moultray travelled or where else he went was not mentioned in the articles, except that he visited other galleries in London and also resided in Antwerp.<sup>278</sup> A ‘full description of all the galleries’ was not given, Moultray explained, because this would have been an ‘endless task’.<sup>279</sup> Not only is the order in which Moultray visited the galleries unclear, but the number of paintings that resulted from this trip is unknown. Back in Dunedin by 10 June 1897, he had ‘portfolios full of sketches’ but only two or three ‘finished pictures’, ‘as yet’.<sup>280</sup> Several months later two landscapes of places in Italy and one of Mount Sinai in Arabia were exhibited.<sup>281</sup> The sketches and any diaries of the journey have since disappeared.

Moultray noticed detail in everything he saw and was not afraid to express an opinion contrary to that popularly believed. His commentaries on the art works and anecdotes about the artists were interspersed with comments on the character of the places and the architecture of the galleries. These included reasons why some galleries looked unsightly, similar or different to other galleries, the surrounding buildings and streets, as well as the effect on a visitor of the beauty of the area, where the pictures were hung and the condition they were in. Even at Versailles, which was ‘interesting because of its fine collection of historical paintings and statuary and the magnificent furnishings and decorative work in the various apartments ... the pictures were, of course, the principal attraction’.<sup>282</sup> His delight in seeing so many ‘old masters’, however, was tempered by the faults he perceived them to have.<sup>283</sup>

These articles show that Moultray’s artistic knowledge was comprehensive, and reflected his academic training with the Edinburgh School of Art. The art galleries he visited included the traditional galleries of London and Edinburgh. In Italy he visited the Accademia di Belle Arti in Venice, the Brera Palace and the Monastery of Santa

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<sup>278</sup> J. Elder Moultray, ‘The art galleries of Europe: No. 7.—London: The National Gallery’, *OW*, 18 March 1897, p. 47; *Ibid.*, ‘No. 6.—Antwerp’.

All subsequent references are cited in short-title form only.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, ‘No. 13.—Florence: The Uffizi Palace’.

<sup>280</sup> ‘Local and General’ [‘Mr J. Elder Moultray’], *OW*, 10 June 1897, p. 20.

<sup>281</sup> ‘Exhibition of Art Works’, *ODT*, 20 October 1897, p. 4.

<sup>282</sup> Moultray, ‘No. 5.—Versailles’.

<sup>283</sup> Here Moultray appears to be following Reynold’s 1774 directive to ‘look with great caution and wariness on those peculiarities’ by which individual artists are ‘distinguished’. He advises studying the works of many great artists, noting all their peculiarities and copying none. Wark, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, pp. 102, 103-4.

Maria delle Grazie in Milan, the Capodimonte museum at Naples, the Vatican Museum and the Corsini Palace in Rome, the Pitti Palace and the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. In France he visited the Louvre and the Luxembourg Palace in Paris and the Palace of Versailles, and in Belgium he visited the cathedral, Art Gallery and St. Paul's Church in Antwerp.

Works Moultray admired included fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Renaissance paintings by Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Masaccio, Titian, Tintoretto, Domenichino Zampieri, Antonio Solario, Antonio da Correggio, Paolo Veronese, Albrecht Dürer, Gentile Bellini and Andrea Mantegna. Of these, da Vinci, Raphael and Titian's works were especially noticed and praised for what could be learnt from them. The later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings received the most attention and included works by Guido Reni, Paris Bordone, Peter Paul Rubens, Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Nicolas Poussin, Jacob Ruysdael, Aelbert Cuyp, Salvator Rosa, Fráns Snyders, David Teniers the Younger, Anthony van Dyck, Rembrandt van Rijn, Gerard Douw [Gerrit Dou], Gabriel Metzu, Jan Steen, Adriaen van Ostade, Diego Velásquez and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. While Rubens received the most comment, it was not always positive.

Moultray also praised a number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century paintings, including ones by Émile Jean-Horace Vernet, Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier, Jacques-Louis David, Jean-Baptiste Greuze, William Etty, Thomas Girtin, J. M. W. Turner, Edwin Landseer, John Constable, Clarkson Stanfield, George Morland, Horatio McCulloch. Vernet and Turner, however, were clearly his favourites. He admired some late nineteenth- century artists, who were still alive at the time of his visit, including Edouard Detaille, Jean-Léon Gérôme, William-Adolphe Bouguereau, Tony Robert-Fleury, Noel Paton and Rosa Bonheur. Certain other artists were also noted, not because he admired them, but because he found something in their work that needed improving.

Looking at his selection it becomes apparent that classical and academic art were what he admired most. Italian Renaissance, Northern (German) Renaissance, Italian, Flemish, Dutch and Spanish Baroque, Dutch Golden Age painters, French rococo, classicism and academic art, Neoclassicism, French Realist art, English

Romanticism and Romantic Realism were all in his categories of quality art. Moultray only briefly mentions Impressionism and then in a disparaging way, when talking about people he overheard:

I have been amused more than once by hearing the assertion made that Turner was always an impressionist painter. This is equivalent to the speaker making a confession of his own crass ignorance, because all authorities acknowledge that he was pre-Raphaelite in the execution of his earlier works...<sup>284</sup>

Not only history paintings and landscapes, but religious paintings, portraits, genre paintings, still life, maritime paintings, animal paintings and the fairy paintings of Noel Paton were discussed with equal enthusiasm, since, as Moultray noted in the final article, he only selected 'all the best works in each collection for inspection and description'.<sup>285</sup> Certain themes were favourites with Moultray, especially military paintings and animal paintings, and the two were often entwined together. Works he liked included Bonheur's *Husbandry in Nivernais* and Landseer's *War*. The 'tragedy of the theme' in *War*, and the 'agony' of the horse trying to raise itself, inspired a philosophical commentary on war from Moultray.<sup>286</sup> Moultray appreciated the allegorical nature of the theme, along with its dual purpose as a backdrop for an animal painting. What Moultray didn't observe, however, was that the artists he admired most were those who had substituted the traditional artistic interest in the nude for the horse, which as Marc J. Gotlieb noted, was always nude.<sup>287</sup> Other animal works singled out for compliments were Snyders' hunting scenes and George Morland's farmyard scenes.<sup>288</sup>

Edouard Detaille's *The Dream*, 1888 (Paris: Musée d'Orsay), also attracted Moultray's attention. Painted to celebrate the 'glorious vanquished of 1870-1871', it was awarded a medal by the state, a calculated move to exalt 'the national army at a time when the Republic was instituting military service for all young citizens (law passed July 15, 1889)'.<sup>289</sup> None of the political connotations was noted by Moultray,

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<sup>284</sup> Moultray, 'No. 7.—London'.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 'No. 13.—Florence'.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid., 'No. 7.—London'.

<sup>287</sup> Gotlieb, *Plight of Emulation*, pp. 158-159.

<sup>288</sup> Moultray often included animals such as horses and dogs in his history paintings and cattle in his landscapes. *The Midday Meal*, 1891 (location unknown), and *Ploughing at Dunback*, c.1902 (location unknown), both depicted a ploughman and horses: 'J. E. Moultray, artist', *NEM*, 23 September 1895, p. 2.

<sup>289</sup> Musée d'Orsay, 'Edouard Detaille's: The Dream', 2006.

<http://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/home.html>, accessed 31 May 2011

only the ‘magnificent rendering of atmospheric’ effects, which he ‘secured by carrying a strong purple tone through all the shadows’. Detaille’s ‘excellent’ perspective was ‘aided by the line of stacked arms, diminishing into the distance’.<sup>290</sup> With Detaille’s *March out of the Garrison of Huningen in 1815*, too, Moultray wrote only about the composition where ‘the eye wanders up the lane of troops’, and the colour scheme, and said nothing about the implications of the content.<sup>291</sup>

To Moultray, however, ‘the cream of the collection’ at Versailles was Horace Vernet’s military works.<sup>292</sup> He thought *The Battle of Bouvines 27 July 1214*, was unequalled either for ‘richness of colour, harmony, expression or texture’, and the ‘treatment of armour ... exceedingly realistic’.<sup>293</sup> He admired Napoleon on his greyish-white horse in *The Battle of Wagram July 6<sup>th</sup> 1809*. Another, *The Battle of Friedlands June 14, 1807*, was a ‘splendid example of colour’, but the ‘effect’ of the ‘warm sunset’ was ‘marred by faulty drawing’.<sup>294</sup> The importance of the hero as an historical theme was clearly something Moultray admired.

Jacques-Louis David was also noticed by Moultray, and that he occupied ‘a prominent place in the history of French art’. To Moultray *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* was David’s ‘most important work’, and *Belisarius* and *The Oath of the Horatii* ‘masterpieces’.<sup>295</sup> In a rare commentary on politics Moultray commented that David used ‘his brush freely to inflame the fury of the mob’, with such works as *Marat Expiring* and *The Last Moments of Lepelletier*.<sup>296</sup> The political implications of David’s art were ignored as secondary to the artistic treatment. He was, however, perceptive in his assessment of David’s *Bonaparte Crossing the St. Bernard in 1800*, as the ‘least important’.<sup>297</sup> Though it was widely acknowledged as being ‘technically brilliant’ with ‘stunning’ ‘attention to detail’, Napoleon had refused to pose for it and the ‘chemistry’ between them was missing.<sup>298</sup> Also, it was painted in David’s ‘heroic style’ at

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<sup>290</sup> Moultray, ‘No. 4.—Paris: The Luxembourg’.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid., ‘No. 5.—Versailles’.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

<sup>298</sup> Warren Roberts, *Jacques-Louis David, revolutionary artist: art, politics and the French revolution*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, c. 1989, p.145.

Napoleon's request, when David had moved on to another.<sup>299</sup> Napoleon's outstretched pointed arm, characteristic of David's earlier style, was something Moultray used later in several paintings.

In Paris Moultray saw a number of Meissonier's works and particularly noted *Napoleon III in the battle of Solferino*, which he thought was 'undoubtedly the best'.<sup>300</sup> Meissonier's influence can be seen in some of Moultray's history paintings of the New Zealand colonial wars, executed the year following his trip.<sup>301</sup> He was particularly impressed with the detail in his historical landscapes and noted that:

Every part of the canvas has been wrought to the highest finish, even the landscape, 'which in a figure subject is usually treated merely as a background', is full of dainty detail, and possesses all the characteristics of a complete picture in itself...<sup>302</sup>

Paintings with a Christian theme were also analysed in detail. Moultray's comments show that he believed that they were especially required to adhere to artistic and religious conventions. The 'attitudes of the figures' should be 'full of grace' and the faces harmonise with the subject. He was scathing of paintings which did not display this, such as Tintoretto's *The Woman Taken in Adultery*, where 'the Saviour's face is a positive failure and the woman appears to be highly pleased with herself'.<sup>303</sup> His comment has a moral overtone which he expressed in one terse sentence, by which he dismisses the painting. This implied that it was obvious or known to the viewer and that being 'pleased with herself' was something she should not have been, and looking contrite would have been more appropriate! Here, Moultray allowed his religious and moral beliefs to override his awareness of artistic expression and he treated both religious conventions and artistic conventions as if the two were the same. In the sixteenth century the two were closely connected, but Tintoretto's works show that some artistic licence was allowed with the interpretation of gospel stories. Moultray's comment also illustrated his traditional attitude towards art, closely connected to his Scottish academic background. Despite his biases against the work, the art historian in him overrode these when he called Tintoretto's work, an 'important canvas', but he did

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<sup>299</sup> Ibid.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., 'No. 4.—Paris'.

<sup>301</sup> See Plates 8, 9, 16, 18, 19.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid., 'No. 1.—Venice'.

not explain why it was. Since he praised a painting by Tintoretto on another occasion, it was not Tintoretto's ability that Moultray was criticising, simply his depiction of this particular story.<sup>304</sup>

On another occasion it was Rubens who was criticised, for his painting *The Scourging of Christ* in St. Paul's Church, again for its lack of religious decorum. This was because it was 'depicted in all its revolting brutality' and the artist 'utterly failed to produce the divine expression of the Saviour's face'.<sup>305</sup> Rubens' 'continuous repetition of materiality in his treatment of scriptural subjects, combined with the lavish use of glaring colours... wearies one with [his] works'.<sup>306</sup> Moultray felt justified in his harsh criticism since 'the onlooker admires, but he is not solemnised; and a scriptural subject that appeals to the senses instead of the heart has failed in its mission'.<sup>307</sup> It was only a short time before, in Paris, that Moultray had praised the 'magnificent collection of Rubens' works for their 'magnificent display of colour, although the conceptions were inclined to verge upon the theatrical'.<sup>308</sup> Here, however, he was growing tired of them and found no redeeming attributes.

Caravaggio, Calabrese and Pietro Novelli were also criticised, for having 'vied' with their fellow artists for who 'should produce the most revolting scene'.<sup>309</sup> This was when depicting the biblical tale of Judith beheading Holofernes. He admired the technical abilities of these artists but thought that the 'feeling of loathing and revulsion' these images aroused in the 'spectator' would also create a lack of appreciation for the artist's 'artistic ability'.<sup>310</sup> Their versions were compared with one by William Etty, whom he thought approached the subject with 'delicacy and refinement'.<sup>311</sup> For him, the British artists were superior.

Perhaps there was also a bit of prudery in Moultray, since he was careful to mention paintings of renown which depicted nudes, if he admired them, but he avoided describing them. Instead he made such comments as: 'one of the purest pieces of flesh-

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<sup>304</sup> *The Christian Slave Rescued by St Mark*.

<sup>305</sup> Moultray, 'No. 6.—Antwerp'.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid., No. 3.—Paris'.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., 'No. 9.—Naples'.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

painting in the gallery is *Godiva*, by J. Van Lierius'.<sup>312</sup> With no further comment one is left to investigate the painting by oneself, if one wishes! A painting by Etty with half-nude figures was praised for its 'fine, rich flesh-colouring', which enabled 'one to see the artist's thorough knowledge of anatomy of the strained muscles of the arms and chest of the fallen figure'.<sup>313</sup> Of course, here the woman's body was only seen from behind and the men had the appropriate parts covered. Moultray referred to Etty as 'the British Rubens', probably because of the many nudes he painted.<sup>314</sup> In another, the 'sunset effect' by A. Cuyp, has 'most of the nude figures ... in shadow'.<sup>315</sup> Even Dürer's *Adam*, was noted as 'equal [to] anything in the gallery', but not described.<sup>316</sup>

With Titian, too, he was equally vague when it came to describing his nudes, unlike his other paintings. A 'study of an interior', by Titian, he described as a 'nude female reclining on a couch' in 'rich and warm flesh tones relieved by soft shadows'.<sup>317</sup> This must have been *Venus of Urbino*, since there is no Cupid or any males noted as present as there are in other similar works by Titian. Moultray was more glowing when describing Titian's *Flora* as 'a magnificent study of a female bust ... the colour and drawing perfect [with] ... delicately painted shadows... [is] the acme of feminine beauty'.<sup>318</sup> This glowing report appeared to be a softening of his attitude, but Titian depicted only one breast and decorously covered it with material.

Approaching each artist's work more as an art historian rather than as an artist, Moultray made observations, named and discussed individual paintings in detail and told stories about the artists to embellish his commentary. His comments included their chromatic scheme, aerial perspective, composition, foreshortening and 'chiaro-oscuro', the latter following the spelling used by Reynolds in his *Discourses*.<sup>319</sup> Artists' use of colour and form were discussed and analysed, contrasts were made between various works by the same artist and comparisons made with other artists. The language used and description of techniques showed that Moultray had obviously read widely.

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<sup>312</sup> Ibid., 'No. 6.—Antwerp'.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid., 'No. 8.—Edinburgh'.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 'No. 12.—Florence: The Pitti Palace'.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid., 'No. 13.—Florence: The Uffizi Palace'.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid., 'No. 8.—Edinburgh'.

Sources used by Moultray included Johann Joachim Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art*, which had discussed the principles and 'refined beauties of Greek art', and Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*, from which he quoted.<sup>320</sup> He may have drawn on their writings to enhance his own descriptions, although if he did they were not direct quotes. Nor did he say how he knew about Antonio Canova's attempt to 'bring about a reform in [Italian] statuary', and Raphael Mengs' intention 'to give a more earnest tone to art criticism'.<sup>321</sup>

It is clear that although Moultray did not always state where his information came from he often referred to Sir Joshua Reynolds, especially when he discussed the composition and colour schemes of the paintings he saw. Sometimes he misrepresented what Reynolds had said, for instance, when he discussed Reynold's theory of 'reducing cold colours in a composition'.<sup>322</sup> Reynolds was actually discussing a situation where there were 'masses of light' which, he said, should always be:

... of a warm mellow colour, yellow, red, or a yellowish-white; and that the blue, the grey, or the green colours be kept almost entirely out of these masses, and be used only to support and set off these warm colours; and for this purpose, a small proportion of cold colours will be sufficient.<sup>323</sup>

Reynolds, however, always emphasised that the rules were for 'young pupils' and that a master artist could change them.<sup>324</sup> Moultray implied that these rules of composition were unbreakable and strongly criticised those artists who had broken the rules.

From both his readings and early training Moultray would have been familiar with theories regarding the relative merits of genres: that history painting was still considered the highest genre at the schools of art and academies, and that 'the search for the ideal', promulgated by Reynolds at the Royal Academy in 1770, governed most history painters.<sup>325</sup> That West's innovation was against the accepted rules of history painting was probably common knowledge, and that while it had brought a fresh perspective to history painters it was hotly debated for having lowered the academic

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<sup>320</sup> This would be Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of ancient art*, 1764.

<sup>321</sup> Moultray, 'No. 5.—Versailles'.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid. Also, 'No. 6.—Antwerp'.

<sup>323</sup> Wark, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, p. 158.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>325</sup> Rothenstein, *Introduction to English painting*, p. 70.



standard demanded by the Academy. Moultray may also have known that it was not completely historically accurate.

When he complimented Leonardo da Vinci for never being satisfied with his paintings Moultray displayed his admiration for artists who desired to tell the truth through their paintings. Da Vinci, he noted, ‘never considered them perfect enough, his sense of truth being so acute that he would paint each individual hair on a head’.<sup>326</sup> This attention to detail and fact-finding was inherent in the art of history painting, and pursued by artists like Copley in the late eighteenth century.<sup>327</sup> Moultray also noted that da Vinci had been jealous of other artists reading his texts and so wrote them backwards, something he may have discovered from John Ruskin.<sup>328</sup> Ruskin’s recommendation to go every morning to see Veronese’s *Venice Ruling with Justice and Peace* on the ceiling of the Doge’s palace in Venice had inspired Moultray to go there.<sup>329</sup> Perhaps he carried several volumes of Ruskin with him as guide books, for what to look out for, on his journey.

If Moultray had read Ruskin widely, he would have known that Ruskin had criticised Reynolds for speaking ‘lightly or contemptuously of imitative art’. Ruskin believed that the ‘truth’ which escaped Reynolds was:

... that the difference between great and mean art lies not in the definable methods of handling, or styles of representation, or choices of subjects, but wholly in the nobleness of the end to which the effort of the painter is addressed.<sup>330</sup>

Moultray misinterpreted Ruskin too, when he noted the number of works he saw that were of the ‘Madonna and child’, as being a favourite subject of many painters. Ruskin had urged the artist-critic to remember that ‘in nearly all the great periods of art the choice of subject has not been left to the painter’.<sup>331</sup> If Moultray had been more aware of this he might have worded his criticism differently.

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<sup>326</sup> Moultray, ‘No. 3.—Paris: Louvre’.

<sup>327</sup> Rosenblum and Janson, *Art of the nineteenth century*, p. 16.

<sup>328</sup> Moultray, ‘No. 3.—Paris: Louvre’.

<sup>329</sup> John Ruskin 1819-1900; Veronese, *Venice Ruling with Justice and Peace* (Venice: Palazzo ducale): Moultray, ‘No. 1.—Venice’.

<sup>330</sup> John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, Volume III, London: George Allen (2nd ed), 1900, pp. 22-23.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Moultray's knowledge of art history included the characteristics of the various schools of art, such as the Dutch, Venetian and Florentine Schools and the various differences between countries, areas and eras. He described *The Preaching of St. Mark at Alexandria* by Gentile Bellini as 'a fine example of the Venetian school', and a picture that 'illustrates the method in vogue over 300 years ago of treating a historical subject'.<sup>332</sup> When he discussed Mantegna's *Madonna*, Moultray noted that the artist had belonged to the Paduan school and that there were few examples of his work in 'leading European galleries'. Mantegna's peculiarity, Moultray thought, was that some 'parts [were] wrought up to the highest finish and other equally important portions treated with a rugged freedom that completely destroys the unity of the whole'.<sup>333</sup> The observation of an artist's peculiarities was one of Reynolds' directives to his students, in order to guard against copying or admiring their 'blemishes'.<sup>334</sup>

With his breadth of knowledge it is no surprise to find that Moultray also observed the condition of various paintings, such as the 'state of decay' of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*, finding it 'melancholy to reflect that one of the most brilliant examples of fifteenth-century art had been ruthlessly destroyed'.<sup>335</sup> The art galleries, too, were criticised for hanging paintings in spaces that were too dark, 'too high', 'above the line', or 'in semi-darkness', making them hard for the viewer to see them clearly. One he liked by 'William Kalf' (Willem Kalf), a *Dutch Interior*, was 'apt to be overlooked because of its small size and quiet colour', particularly as there are 'several large crude canvases hung near' that kill everything with their glaring colours'.<sup>336</sup> Another, *The Interior of a Smithy* by 'Carl Du Jardin' (Karel Dujardin), could not be 'properly seen unless the spectator gets into a good position'.<sup>337</sup> As the titles given by Moultray for the works he saw were, in many cases, not the titles they are known by today, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain which particular painting he was referring to.

The series was clearly intended for a sophisticated art-educated public with some prior knowledge, including wealthy travellers who wished to see specific art

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<sup>332</sup> Ibid.

<sup>333</sup> Moultray, 'No. 2.—Milan.

<sup>334</sup> Wark, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>335</sup> Moultray, 'No. 2.—Milan'.

<sup>336</sup> Ibid., 'No. 11.—Rome: The Corsini Palace'.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid.

works, but was probably also written with art students in mind, to aid their understanding of what makes a good or a bad painting, and how to avoid mistakes. Many revered ‘masters’ were the object of his criticism. For instance, Moultray thought that Tintoretto, in his painting of *Doge Franc Venier before Venetia*, ‘fails to fulfil the spectator’s expectations’. Tintoretto was ‘analysed’ as having ‘forced his contrasts for the sake of brilliancy’.<sup>338</sup> Moultray assumed that he knew what Tintoretto was doing and, in this instance, substituted himself for both ‘the painter’ and ‘the spectator’ by speaking for both, rather than as himself. This method of criticism was one that Roland Barthes later cautioned against.<sup>339</sup>

Included in the articles were descriptions of techniques which he and other artists could use. For instance, he consistently noted the combinations and contrasts of colour, for which Titian and Raphael were especially singled out as exemplars for artists to emulate. In Titian’s *Assumption of the Virgin*, ‘the Virgin is dressed in robes of crimson and blue, a combination which is generally admitted no other painter but Titian could produce successfully’.<sup>340</sup> Later he discussed Raphael’s *Madonna della Seggiola* in the Pitti Palace:

The blue of the Virgin’s dress forms a rich contrast to the yellow robe worn by the infant saviour, the warm orange shadows of which are brought into contact with the crimson sleeve on the Virgin’s arm, and the chromatic scale is completed by the warm green-coloured mantle ...<sup>341</sup>

Nuances of form used by Raphael were discussed in detail, including the Virgin’s pose, the chromatic colour scale, and use of foreshortening, which Moultray thought was ‘particularly fine’.<sup>342</sup> He also used Raphael’s works to discuss similarities between artists who had worked together and used an example from Raphael’s ‘famous portrait of Pope Leo X’ to discuss wider principles and to form universal rules that could be applied to other paintings:

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<sup>338</sup> Ibid., ‘No. 1.—Venice’.

<sup>339</sup> ‘...the critic can in no wise substitute himself for the reader. ...Why? Because even if one defines the critic as a reader who writes, this means that this reader encounters on his path a redoubtable mediator: writing’. While it may appear that Barthes was speaking only of literary criticism earlier he includes art, along with ideas and language. From: Roland Barthes, *Criticism and Truth*, (trans and ed) Katrine Pilcher Keuneman, London: The Athlone Press, 1987, p. 91.

<sup>340</sup> Moultray, ‘No. 1.—Venice’.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid., ‘No. 12.—Florence’.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid.

... opinion is divided as to whether the heads of the two cardinals ... were painted by Raphael or Giulio Romano ... The difference in treatment ... is barely perceptible... for there is no test of a man's ability as a portrait painter so severe as to contrast a head painted by him upon the same canvas with one produced by a master-hand.<sup>343</sup>

During his long commentary on Raphael, Moultray used examples to teach the reader how various customs of the age became introduced into art practice. In *Madonna of Foligno* he explained the reasons why Sigismondo Conti—Julius II's secretary—was depicted amongst the saints:

It was a common practice for artists in the sixteenth century to introduce the faces of their friends or the heads of famous men into their works, and as Julius ordered the picture, it is only natural to suppose that the secretary and painter were often together during the progress of the work, and Raphael probably took the opportunity of paying his friend a delicate compliment.<sup>344</sup>

In another instance, Moultray compared two versions of a work by an artist, both with each other and with a similar work by another artist. These were *The Assumption of the Virgin* by Andrea del Sarto. The two versions were placed at opposite ends of a large room and one was del Sarto's last work and left unfinished. Noting that the composition of both had similarities to Titian's *Assumption* in the Academia di Belle Arti in Venice, he observed changes the artist made when painting the second:

In the other he has also weakened his effect by placing a white veil over the Virgin's head, which is almost lost in the light sky; but he has seen his mistake, and in the second picture has brought the blue mantle right up round the face, giving the head strong relief and making it assume due importance.<sup>345</sup>

Not simply content with describing and comparing paintings or elements within them, Moultray analysed why and how an artist created balance within some paintings, approaching this as if he were teaching a student. The same manner was used by Reynolds in Discourse VIII while discussing Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1523-1524 (London: NG). Reynolds had observed:

But as the picture in this case would be divided into two distinct parts, one half cold, and the other warm, it was necessary to carry some of the mellow colours of the great group into the cold part of the picture, and a part of the cold into the

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<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid., 'No. 10.—Rome: the Vatican'.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid., 'No. 12.—Florence: the Pitti Palace'.

great group; accordingly Titian gave Ariadne a red scarf, and to one of the Bacchante a little blue drapery.<sup>346</sup>

It becomes obvious when comparing Moultray's writings to that of Reynolds that he used Reynolds as a model for how to approach art history, especially when he discussed effects in the sky, the perspective and the balancing colours. For instance, when Moultray discussed Raphael's *Madonna of Foligno*, it was as if he was looking through the eyes of both Reynolds and those of the artist:

... if the balance of colour is to be restored in the left of the composition it will be necessary to introduce a mass of warm colour, and, as the painter has already introduced as much red as the arrangement will bear he now adopts the expedient of placing St. John the Baptist on the left ... clad in a brown skin, which is relieved by some touches of yellow...<sup>347</sup>

Noting innovations in art, Moultray praised John Constable's Romantic landscape painting, *The Hay Wain*, 1821 (London: NG), which he discussed in detail and used as an opportunity to teach art history. It had won the gold medal at the Paris Salon of 1824 and:

... its appearance creating a sensation among French papers, and influencing French art so far as to lead to the birth of a new school, in which the artist returned to Nature for his inspiration instead of yielding a blind adherence to the dogmas of the old Dutch fraternity as in the past.<sup>348</sup>

The French artists who were influenced by Constable included Eugene Delacroix.<sup>349</sup> As Moultray never mentioned him, he may not have seen any of his works on his travels. It is possible, too, that he did not consider them worthy of mention, since, at the end of the series Moultray stated that his 'intention' had been to select 'all the best works in each collection for inspection and description'. Moultray appeared unaware that his choice of 'the best' was subjective and expressed his own specific viewpoint, as did his criticism of faults he saw in the paintings.

In this series Moultray described a history of art that is indicative of his own artistic direction. Despite his interest in history painting, it was not innovations in

<sup>346</sup> Wark, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, p. 159.

<sup>347</sup> Moultray, 'No. 10.—Rome: the Vatican'.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid., 'No. 7.—London'.

<sup>349</sup> Michael Rosenthal, 'Constable, John', Oxford art on line, 2007-2011.

[http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T019150?q=Constable&search=quick&pos=1&\\_start=1#firsthit](http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T019150?q=Constable&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit), accessed 20 July 2011

history paintings that he most admired, but those by the landscape artists Thomas Girtin and Joseph M.W. Turner, who Moultray believed had revolutionised art. They did this, he said, by ‘breaking away from old traditions that had long hampered the progress of art’. Before them, William Payne and his followers liberally used ‘lamp-black and opaque greys’. Girtin, said Moultray, was the first watercolour painter ‘to achieve the power of giving richness and depth without destroying the transparency of his subjects’.<sup>350</sup> Turner, he said, admired Girtin’s ‘richness’, but by studying ‘light and atmosphere’ realised that shadows were comprised of ‘delicate gradations of greys’ and used his discovery first with watercolours and then oil paintings.<sup>351</sup> Unlike his unnamed contemporaries who ‘carried the idea to excess’, Turner always reserved ‘his brightest tint’ until near completion which gave ‘sparkle’ and ‘brilliancy to the entire composition’.<sup>352</sup>

Comments by Moultray demonstrate his knowledge of more recent artistic styles including Symbolism, Impressionism and ‘Tragic Realism’, as well as the Pre-Raphaelite art movement.<sup>353</sup> His awareness that Turner’s interest in light and colour was taken a step further by the French Impressionists, coupled with his brief and disparaging comment about Impressionism, shows that he dismissed the importance of the direction they were taking. Turner’s transition from ‘the finish to impressionism’ was forgiven, because of old age, during which he had ‘contented himself with atmospheric effects’ and, ‘excelled all other artists’.<sup>354</sup> To Moultray, most modern French artists were obviously inferior to the British. Similarly, when he visited Paris it was not to find out about contemporary art or to visit dealer galleries, but to view the ‘old masters’ in the traditional galleries. With his forthright manner and firm opinions, if he had seen other works he had liked, he would have included them in the articles.

The detail in the articles suggests that Moultray made some notes for himself, so that he could try out various techniques later, including lighting, linear perspective, anatomy and foreshortening, as well as the balance of colours and proportion. These were all techniques used by Renaissance artists. The use of chiaroscuro with its strong

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<sup>350</sup> Moultray, ‘No. 7.—London’.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid.

<sup>353</sup> Ibid. Also, ‘No. 10.—Rome: the Vatican’; ‘No. 6.—Antwerp’.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid., ‘No. 7.—London’.

contrast between light and dark was something he clearly admired, but he never commented on its opposite, *sfumato*, which blurs or softens the sharp outlines. This may not have been a technique he wished to emulate. The extent to which he used these techniques in his own paintings is discussed in the next chapter.

The writings show that J. Elder Moultray was intensely analytical, informed, opinionated and conservative in his judgement of the paintings he saw. He appeared to have viewed himself as an informed art critic, one who was an experienced painter and an art teacher, rather than an art historian or an artistic journalist and never developed his interest in art criticism any further, or published the articles in book form. Instead, Moultray seems to have used the newspaper articles to put himself and his connoisseurship on display, thereby advertising himself as an artist. Yet it was not his landscapes that he drew attention to, which were connected in his life to his enjoyment of the New Zealand landscape, but his history paintings. The importance of his history paintings in his own creative life is discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### HISTORY PAINTING WITHIN MOULTRAY'S LARGER OEUVRE

What led J. Elder Moultray to history painting is unknown since he never disclosed it in his writings. His motivation for creating history paintings of the colonial-Māori wars may have been as simple as a desire to find something unique, in order to sell his paintings and make a living in a new land. From the tone he used when he discussed John Ruskin, Moultray evidently thought highly of the leading English art critic's writing and views.<sup>355</sup> Moultray appeared to emulate Ruskin's philosophical approach when choosing subjects. Ruskin's emphasis on excellence and dignity in intentions was something that Moultray considered important. Ruskin's five-volume work, *Modern Painters*, was published 1843-60, and Moultray may have read at least some of it as a standard text at art school.

Ruskin's personal journal with its sketches and stories emphasised self-improvement rather than classical learning. Moultray too, in writing about his own paintings, desired to increase colonial knowledge of what he believed were the 'true' facts of New Zealand's recent history. Just as Ruskin's 'picturesque was not stylistic, but ethical', Moultray had hoped to grasp the stories of the New Zealand wars of the 1860s through the eyes of those who witnessed them, before they died and their stories were lost.<sup>356</sup> He noted that there had been a number of eye-witness accounts in the early 1860s but little in the decades since.<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>355</sup> Ibid., 'No. 1.—Venice'.

<sup>356</sup> Frances S. Connelly, 'John Ruskin and the ethics of the picturesque, in *Twenty-first century perspectives on nineteenth-century art: essays in honor of Gabriel P. Weisberg*, Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Laurinda S. Dixon (eds), Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008, p. 104.

<sup>357</sup> Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', introductory section [Appendix 1].



Unlike Ruskin, however, who always considered the ethics of a viewpoint, Moultray ignored the implications of the actions of the men who fought during the New Zealand wars, and the effects of these wars on Māori. He appeared to have only seen one point of view, that of the British and Colonial soldiers. Individual troopers and commanding officers were described and depicted as heroes, such as Trooper Lingard who was later given the New Zealand Cross, and John Bryce, Lieutenant of the Kai Iwi Volunteers. He spoke with Bryce and also the Premier, Hon. John Ballance, who had been an eye witness to events which led to the death of Sergeant-Major Maxwell.

Since Moultray relied on Bryce for information regarding one, and possibly several of his paintings, it is pertinent here to analyse the newspaper reportage of the Bryce-Rusden affair, a controversy that involved all levels of government. Recent scholarship by James Belich has shown that Rusden was wrong in including women; nevertheless, Bryce and his men did attack several young Māori boys, all under the age of thirteen.<sup>358</sup> Back in July 1883, however, just before the Moultrays arrived in Dunedin, Bryce had sued for damages for the libels against him in George William Rusden's *History of New Zealand*.<sup>359</sup> In 1885 the case was heard in Auckland before a Commission and widely reported around the country.<sup>360</sup> A conclusion was reached in April 1886 and the plaintiff, Bryce, was given damages of £5000. This was for Rusden 'imputing' that Bryce had cut down 'gleefully and with ease' women and children, a charge Bryce denied.<sup>361</sup> Rusden had alleged that in the fight against Titokowaru, in 1868, Lieutenant Bryce and Sergeant Maxwell of the Kai Iwi cavalry had led a charge against several young Māori boys out hunting pigs and several were killed or wounded.<sup>362</sup> In 1887 there was an application for a new trial and Bryce had still not been given the damages awarded.<sup>363</sup> The trial no doubt had an effect on Bryce's parliamentary career, as he was defeated in the 1887 elections.<sup>364</sup>

A year later, however, it was reported that Sir Arthur Gordon was actually responsible for the information that Rusden had assumed was true, and letters from

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<sup>358</sup> Belich, *I shall not die*, pp. 196-204.

<sup>359</sup> 'Local and general' [Bryce and Rusden], *OW*, 28 July 1883, p. 10.

<sup>360</sup> 'Telegrams' ['Mr Bryce'], *ODT*, 1 April 1885, p. 2.

<sup>361</sup> Rusden, G., *History of New Zealand, vol. II*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1883, pp. 504-505.

<sup>362</sup> Reviews: 'The Maori and the Briton', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 August 1883, p. 8.

<sup>363</sup> 'Telegrams' ['Mr Bryce goes north'], *ODT*, 26 January 1887, p. 2.

<sup>364</sup> 'The Opposition Leader', *Colonist*, 23 June 1891, p. 3.

Gordon were produced as defence during the trial. As Bryce was Native Minister and Gordon was the Governor at the time they had a working relationship, Rusden had assumed he was told the truth. Seeing this as ‘treachery’ on the part of Gordon, Bryce took the case to the British Government.<sup>365</sup> In a further twist it was revealed that Bishop Hadfield was the source of Sir Arthur Gordon’s information. Bryce wrote to the Secretary of State, Sir Henry Holland, but he declined to interfere.<sup>366</sup> So did Lord Knutsford later in the year, after several parliamentary debates and the complete correspondence regarding the libel action had been published in local newspapers.<sup>367</sup> In 1888 Rusden published a new book – *Aureretanga: Groans of the Maoris* – in which he discussed the case and provided additional information. This reported that after his history was published a Maori chief, Uru Te Angina, published an account in the *Yeoman* on 8 June 1883 which verified Rusden’s version, in all except the inclusion of women.<sup>368</sup> By May 1890 the case had ceased to be commented on in the newspapers, but not before it had generated a large number of commentaries and newspaper articles.

In the newspaper reports and despite the government declining to interfere, Bryce had cleared his name. In late June 1888, a demonstration in his honour was held in Wanganui, probably during the time that Moultray was in Wanganui researching his paintings. A spirited report claimed that ‘John Bryce saved New Zealand at a crisis’ created by the ‘Parihaka movement’.<sup>369</sup> By being ‘prepared to crush the rebellion in the bud’ he had ‘saved the colony from an episode of bloodshed’.<sup>370</sup> Bryce was said to have ‘noble courage’ and a ‘nobler fortitude’ and to be a man of ‘high principles’ with a ‘sterner sense of duty’.<sup>371</sup> In contrast, ‘...had the Snivellers [sic] been in power there would have been some parleying, and then a bloody engagement or two ending with the patching up of a hollow peace’.<sup>372</sup> Another banquet was held in Wanganui, the second in his honour. Bryce became known by the endearing term, ‘plain John Bryce’, in

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<sup>365</sup> ‘The *New Zealand Herald* states’, *Timaru Herald*, 23 April 1888, p. 2.

<sup>366</sup> Our own correspondent, ‘Political intelligence: The Bryce-Rusden case’, *ODT*, 26 May 1888, p. 2.

<sup>367</sup> ‘Bryce v. Rusden’, *Star*, 28 November 1888, p. 3.

<sup>368</sup> Rusden, G.W. (ed), *Aureretanga: groans of the Maoris*, London: W. Ridgway, 1888, facsimile reprint Christchurch: Capper Press, 1975, pp. 51-53.

<sup>369</sup> ‘The Bryce banquet’, *Marlborough Express*, 4 July 1888, p. 2.

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*

reference to his having been ‘an honest and independent politician’.<sup>373</sup> The wry comment was made in another report that Bryce was ‘...more popular ... in retirement than ... had he won the election’.<sup>374</sup> There was some truth in this since it was well known in parliament that Bryce’s colleagues ‘found him ill-tempered and unapproachable’.<sup>375</sup> It was easy to forget this with him out of office. Considering the rhetoric, it is not surprising that John Elder Moultray aimed to capture the ‘noble’ actions of the hero. Besides, it was also a topical subject and guaranteed to be popular.

The facts which later emerged, according to a Māori observer, were that several troopers, including George Maxwell, the Sergeant of Bryce’s unit, did kill at least two of the children with their sabres, (one who was less than ten), another nine year old with bullets, and wound several others with bullets and slashes. Captain Bryce did not attempt to stop them and joined in on the final charge when he caught up with them. It is indicative of the bias in the colony that the papers never reported this.<sup>376</sup> It was unfortunate for Moultray’s later reputation that he invested his reputation in declaring Bryce’s actions to be heroic. His paintings of the colonial wars could legitimately be viewed by a future generation as complicit in covering up the atrocity. That he knew the truth about the attack is evident in his explanation of his painting *The Bryce Affair near Hanley’s Woolsheds, Nukumarū, November 1868*, 1889 (p.c. **plate 5**) exhibited in J.D. Moultray’s studio in 1889, and its later replication, *The Affair at Hanley’s Woolsheds*, 1898 (p.c.).<sup>377</sup> Moultray explained that:

Mr Bryce, seeing a young Maori lad cut down, called a halt, but Sergeant Maxwell, not hearing the order, continued the pursuit. The cavalry then had a race for life, and continuing at the gallop, they just managed to escape through the fence before the Maoris had time to do damage.<sup>378</sup>

Not only did Moultray’s ex-trooper informants exonerate themselves to him but they had reversed it so that Māori became the aggressor. Lieutenant Bryce is depicted with arm outstretched and nobly calling the halt while Sergeant Maxwell is in the distance,

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<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> ‘There is no man in New Zealand’, *Southland Times*, 3 July 1888, p. 2.

<sup>375</sup> Alan Ward, *A show of justice: racial ‘amalgamation’ in nineteenth century New Zealand*, Auckland: University of Auckland Bindery, 1978, p. 292.

<sup>376</sup> Belich, *I shall not die*, pp. 197-203.

<sup>377</sup> Plate 5.

<sup>378</sup> ‘Exhibition of pictures’, *OW*, 27 June 1889, p. 10.

charging on his horse with his sword held high, catching up to a Māori who is running ahead of him. This particular Māori became known for having had a finger on one hand cut off in this incident. Portrayed as just another incident in the war, the adult Māori running away was actually a boy of about nine who, along with his similarly aged friends, were charged down by Bryce's men.<sup>379</sup> Had Moultray known the full facts of the incident, it is unlikely that he would have painted it in this manner, portraying cavalry heroes and skulking Māori.

Moultray, however, did believe in the truth of these stories and endeavoured to research all the details. As well as introducing himself to notable witnesses, he was careful to describe events in correct military terms, such as *sabre*, *redoubt*, *skirmish*, *fusillade* and *perdue*. He also used the appropriate Māori words like *whare*, *mere*, *pā*, *kūpapa* and *Pākehā*.<sup>380</sup> Europeans terms, such as *canoe* and *tomahawk*, were used when referring to European technology.<sup>381</sup> He explained the peculiarities of their weapons and dress to the layman, but assumed that most military terms were of common knowledge. They may have been then, but many readers today may not know that a *redoubt* is a fortification of earth, stone or wood, a *fusillade* is a continuous discharge of firearms, or that a *perdue*, now an obsolete military term, refers to a soldier placed on hazardous sentry duty: one hidden, concealed or in a hazardous ambush.<sup>382</sup> Ambuscade, too, is no longer used but is recognisable as an ambush, while *skirmish* has become commonly used, and 'guerilla-warfare', a seemingly modern term, was already common in the nineteenth century.<sup>383</sup> His other descriptions were of topography, for the purpose of conveying the accuracy in his depictions of the 'truth' of the ex-troopers' information.

<sup>379</sup> Belich, *I shall not die*, p. 1971

<sup>380</sup> Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', in 'The peach grove massacre', a tomahawk is used as a weapon by Māori and canoe used by Pākehā;

in 'The battle of Te Pungarehu', *whare* is used as a Māori house or dwelling and both *mere* and tomahawk are used for separate weapons wielded by Māori;

in 'The battle of Moturoa', '*pakeha*' is used for the troopers, and *pa* is used as a fortified village, different to such as Te Pungarehu village in 'The Battle of Te Pungarehu', which was not fortified;

in 'The affair at Hanley's woolsheds, Nukumarū', Tauranga-e-hika was described as a strong *pa*;

in 'Retribution', *kupapa* is used slightly ambiguously – it can either mean a person who is neutral or a collaborator – a Pākehā who thought the colonial actions were unfair to Maori and hence secretly forewarned them of a coming attack, or Māori spies [See Appendix 1: footnote 28].

Thomas Wayth Gudgeon also uses 'kupapas' for Māori volunteers in: *Reminiscences of the war in New Zealand*, London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1879, p. 50.

<sup>381</sup> Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', 'Peach grove massacre'.

<sup>382</sup> Ibid., 'Death of Sergeant-Major Maxwell'.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid., 'Retribution'.

Moultray's topographical descriptions are a valuable source of information for historians wishing to recreate, or understand the sequence involved in many of the minor battles of the Taranaki wars, and also for archaeologists and historians wishing to search for fortifications. The reader is told of the 'battle of Moturoa', the 'battle of Pungarehu', the 'affair at Handley's woolsheds' in Nukumarū and the 'peach grove massacre'. He was careful to name and describe places and the routes to them. The reader learns that the town of Wairoa was protected by a redoubt, Ngamotu had a pa, the troopers camped on Karaka Flat near the Waitotara River, and Kai Iwi had Woodall's Redoubt.<sup>384</sup> Also, that Waipaoa River in the Gisborne region had a ford for crossing.<sup>385</sup> Some places are no longer townships and 'Waingongoro' [sic] could refer either to a town on the Waingongoro River or to a road in Stratford, which may have been a major route at the time.<sup>386</sup> Gudgeon notes both Waingongoro and a Waingongoro redoubt.<sup>387</sup> Moultray may also have been referring to the Waingongoro River itself, which gained importance in 1879 in the escalating dispute over surveyors, as the marker which Te Whiti stipulated the Europeans could not cross over.<sup>388</sup> Nukumarū Lake was 'in the middle of the Waitotara block, situate[d] five miles from the Wereroa pah, one of the principal strongholds of the Maories, and fifteen miles from the town of Wanganui'.<sup>389</sup> The village of Te Pungarehu is now Pungarehu Marae and Ngutu-o-te-manu Pa was Titokowaru's Pa, but he had also 'built the strong pa of Tauranga-e-hika' at Nukumarū.<sup>390</sup>

In his description of *The Bryce Affair* Moultray described his research process. First, he walked over the grounds with members of the corps who were present, listening to their description of the 'affair'. The landscape with the pa on the rising ground to the right was sketched on the spot and he showed this initial sketch to the 'Hon. John Bryce' who had been present, for any corrections. Moultray also visited the

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<sup>384</sup> Ibid., 'Pursued'; 'Peach grove massacre'; 'Affair at Handley's woolsheds'.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid., 'Poverty Bay'.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid., 'Te Pungarehu'.

<sup>387</sup> Gudgeon, *Reminiscences*, pp. 118, 129.

<sup>388</sup> 'The Waimate Plains survey', *OW*, 29 March 1879, p. 9.

<sup>389</sup> Gudgeon, *Reminiscences*, p. 7;

Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country: Urgent despatch'.

<sup>390</sup> Whanganui jet boat tours: spirit of the river, 2007. <http://www.whanganuijet.co.nz/whanganui-jet/spirit-of-the-river.php>, accessed 30 June 2011;

Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country: Affair at Handley's woolsheds'.

woolsheds with the son of the owner, William Handley, to get a feel for the area, even though he chose not to include them in the painting, as ‘the hill on the left hides the woodsheds from view’. His reason for choosing this incident, when it was a ‘trifling one’, was because it had ‘assumed historical interest because of the Bryce-Rusden trial’.<sup>391</sup>

Looking beneath the superficial level of what Moultray told the reader about his search for the truth, another layer is revealed. What Moultray did not reveal in his commentaries was that, as well as speaking to survivors of these events, he had also read widely. One of his main sources, if not the main source, is evident by the similarity in the stories told and many of the military phrases used by Thomas W. Gudgeon. Gudgeon’s *Reminiscences of the War in New Zealand* was published in 1879, just prior to the Moultray family arriving in New Zealand. Gudgeon related events at which his son Major Walter Edward Gudgeon had been present, the ‘peach grove massacre’, the battles of Pungarehu and Moturoa, the massacre at Poverty Bay and the death of Sergeant Maxwell.<sup>392</sup> It is unlikely that Moultray actually met Gudgeon, as he was in charge of the New Zealand Police Force from 1887 and became British Resident of the Cook Islands in 1898.<sup>393</sup> It is probable, however, that Moultray read the elder Gudgeon’s book and got some ideas for his paintings from it, then supplemented them with research of his own.<sup>394</sup> Why he did not acknowledge this may have been because he felt it was obvious to his contemporary readers. Although copyright was already protected in a limited way, newspapers often recycled articles from books and magazines. The anonymous writers of the ‘Art and artists’ series in the *Otago Witness* used sources like the *Magazine of Art* or a similar bulletin without acknowledgement.<sup>395</sup>

Because these stories were the most dramatic, Moultray mostly depicted Māori who represented the Hauhau, the more extreme Māori followers of the Pai Mārire religion, who were well known to the Pākehā. The Hauhau were perceived as fanatics, a

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<sup>391</sup> Ibid.

<sup>392</sup> Gudgeon, *Reminiscences*, pp. 129-132, 198-210, 227-235, 258.

<sup>393</sup> Te Ara, the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, ‘Gudgeon, Walter Edward, 1841-1920’, 2010. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2g23/1>, accessed 2 July 2011

<sup>394</sup> He may also have read: A Poverty Bay survivor, *A dark chapter from New Zealand history*, Napier: James Wood, 1869. Chapter VII, pp. 21-23 describes a similar story to Moultray’s, ‘Through the Hauhau country: Poverty Bay’.

<sup>395</sup> ‘Art and artists’, *OW*, 1892-1909.

view propagated by the newspapers of the time and by the troopers who had fought them. Earlier topographical artists, too, like Cyprian Bridge and Captain H.J. Warre, had separated Māori into those who were ‘friendly’ and those who were ‘rebels’, in their titles of paintings of the colonial wars.<sup>396</sup> Unlike other contemporary artists, Moultray generally ignored ‘friendly’ Māori who fought alongside the troopers and few of them featured in his paintings. One exception was *An Urgent Despatch*, c.1898 (p.c. **plate 4**) in which a partially hidden Māori figure is seen sitting on the grass on the left watching the trooper who had arrived with a message for the men at the camp and two Māori scouts are standing amongst the men in the background.<sup>397</sup> To Moultray, Māori were synonymous with the Hauhau, if they were engaged in fighting against the colonial trooper and British militia. For instance, when discussing his painting *Poverty Bay, the Morning of the Massacre*, c. 1898 (p.c., **plate 19**) he explains that ‘the Maoris made a tolerably clean sweep, leaving very few survivors, and these nearly all children’.<sup>398</sup>

In his paintings of the colonial wars, Moultray used signs to both denote (point towards) and connote (signify) commonly held assumptions regarding the Hauhau and of Māori in general. Hauhau in Māori was the word used for a rebel or revolutionary and as a verb it meant to strike, chop or hit repeatedly with a weapon or implement. In *Retribution, An Incident of the Maori Wars* c.1898 (p.c., **plate 9**) the soldier behind Lieutenant Bryce, the leader of the Kai-iwi Cavalry who is on his white horse, has an upraised arm holding his sword aloft, as he is in *The Bryce Affair*, about to cut someone unseen. This was Sergeant Maxwell, his second in command. His gesture is intended to denote or imply a Maori opponent, in this case unseen. The burning pa in the background connotes or signifies defeat for the Maori and success for the troopers. The coded iconic message within the picture as a whole is one of heroism on the part of the trooper and villainy on the part of the unseen or hidden, and therefore dangerous, Māori opponents.

Moultray mostly depicted Māori in his colonial history paintings as shadowy figures poised for violent action, which denoted or implied the Hauhau, and connoted

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<sup>396</sup> Discussed on page 42.

<sup>397</sup> See plate 4.

<sup>398</sup> Moultray, ‘Through the Hauhau country: Poverty Bay’.

uncontrolled fanaticism. Considering this image of Māori it is surprising to find that he also produced works based on Māori mythology. One, which encompasses the dual theme of Maori and waka was photographed by Alfred Burton soon after it was painted. This is *The Phantom Canoe*, 1886 (Dunedin: Hocken, **plate 2**). Smaller than most of his paintings, it is painted with a limited palette on stretched canvas, and at some unknown time was removed from its frame, if there ever was one. A charcoal-coloured waka with figures paddling is in the middle distance and close to the viewer is a long whaleboat with figures paddling. The waka is the one which the Te Wairoa guide Sophia Hinerangi and her companions allegedly saw on Lake Tarawera before the Mount Tarawera eruption.<sup>399</sup> In the foreground flaxes and small bushes were finely detailed, of which only a small number on the right and left are now visible. The mountain in the distance is a grey-blue and pale brown with a whitish-brown sky above it. There is nothing mediocre about this painting. The canvas, unfortunately, now has a number of holes in it and paint is missing from the bottom edge, up to 5cm deep in some places, along with a vertical strip from the lake. The missing paint may have been caused by a faulty medium but it is more likely that it was water damaged. The painting has spotting and needs cleaning and without intervention from a conservator it will continue to deteriorate.

No other Māori mythological paintings have been identified but nearly twenty years later, in 1904, some drawings were reproduced as part of a supplement which included illustrations by James McDonald and a large detailed and descriptive article by Mrs. Wesley Turton.<sup>400</sup> These mythological works, and accompanying text, were based on legends told by Governor Grey in *Polynesian Mythology* (1855) and reprinted in 1885 as a composite English and Maori edition.<sup>401</sup> One of Moultray's drawings, *Kurungatuku, The Bird Sorceress* (**plate 38**), depicts the sorceress entering her cave with a face of dismay and anger, viewed from the inside of the cave looking towards

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<sup>399</sup> R.F. Keam, *Tarawera: The volcanic eruption of 10 June 1886*, Auckland: R.F. Keam, Physics Department, University of Auckland, 1988, pp. 68-73.

<sup>400</sup> Mrs. Wesley Turton, 'The brown sea-rovers and their home: being a brief history of the Maori', *ODT&W Christmas Annual*, in *OW*, 21 December 1904, pp. 1-35. Her maiden name was Annette Swainson.

<sup>401</sup> William W. Bird (ed.) 'Foreword', in Sir George Grey, [1855], *Polynesian mythology: and ancient traditional history of the Maori as told by their priests and chiefs*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1961.



her. As the text explained, ‘guided by her favourite bird, [she] returned to her cave to find the floor strewn with her dead and dying feathered friends and her faithless lover fled’.<sup>402</sup> Grey did not depict *Kurungatuku* as someone to sympathise with, but Moultray’s image evokes sympathy from the viewer.

Another from the same series is of *Matakerepo, An Old Blind Goddess* (**plate 39**), who ‘guarded the tendrils of the magic vine by which Tawhaki wished to ascend to heaven in search of his celestial wife. In return for her aid, Tawhaki restored Matakerepo’s sight’.<sup>403</sup> It is hard to tell from the illustration if the moment captured was of Tawhaki restoring her sight or when he struck the woman, although it was probably the former, since his hands are reaching out towards her face, and Moultray captured what he considered the most picturesque moment.

The third work, *The Demi-God Tawhaki* (**plate 40**), is the most surprising of all.<sup>404</sup> Here Tawhaki is ‘disguised as a poor man’, by which he ‘succeeded in penetrating the village where his celestial wife Tango Tango was lady paramount. To the horror and amazement of the people he seated himself beside the sacred person of their princess.’<sup>405</sup> In addition to illustrating kakahu (feathered cloaks), as do the other two, it shows whare with koruru (gable masks) in the background, although they are not accurate, and displays emotions on the part of the male onlookers and dignity on the part of the women. Here Māori are depicted in an empathetic manner and Māori women as powerful. The anachronism of the women wearing long flowing dresses, much like Native American deer suede, probably escaped the contemporary viewer. Unfortunately the originals have been lost and the newspaper re-print is of poor quality.

In complete contrast to his colonial war paintings, Moultray’s mythological works display an uncharacteristically sympathetic view of Māori and their beliefs. In the same supplement, however, Moultray’s *An Incident of the Maori War: Shooting a Native Despatch Runner* (**plate 22**) shows that he had not abandoned his view of some Māori as the enemy.<sup>406</sup> The signature is difficult to read but the style identifies it as one

<sup>402</sup> J. Elder Moultray, ‘Kurungatuku, The Bird Sorceress’, *ODT&W*, Christmas Supplement, in *OW*, 21 December 1904, p. 6; Grey, *Polynesian mythology*, pp. 145-148. See plate 38.

<sup>403</sup> Moultray, ‘Matakerepo, An Old Blind Goddess’, *ibid.*, p. 11; Grey, *ibid.*, pp. 53-54. See plate 39.

<sup>404</sup> Plate 40.

<sup>405</sup> Moultray, ‘The Demi-God Tawhaki’, *ibid.*, p. 12; Grey, *ibid.*, pp. 58-61.

<sup>406</sup> Moultray, *ibid.*, p.18.

of Moultray's. Unfortunately, it is not stated whether these illustrations were lithographs, photographs of drawings, or of paintings.

In addition, the Māori women in these illustrations, as well as the European women in *The Shooting*, 1880s (p.c., **plate 3**), *The Fugitives*, 1897 (Te Awamutu: Waipa District Council), *Roman Warriors returning from Ancient Britain with captives*, 1903 (Dunedin: Hocken, **plate 11**), and *Homeless, an Episode of City Life*, 1912 (Dunedin: Hocken, **plate 13**) are the only women to appear anywhere in his history paintings, although there were women in some of his genre paintings. Moultray's complete output over his lifetime is unknown and there may be paintings which display a different view, so any conclusions drawn from this can only be speculation. It does appear, however, that he depicted European women as either spectators or victims, while the Māori mythological works show women as powerful or in an equal position, despite their dress suggesting feminine elegance.

As noted, Moultray admired Turner and Girtin for having 'revolutionised art' with the 'richness and depth' they gave to their paintings.<sup>407</sup> He did not completely adopt an historical landscape approach, however, although he did use atmosphere, changing weather effects and dramatic lighting to enhance the dramatic aspects of his history paintings. Instead, his landscapes were equal in importance to the figures, in order to convey the scene. It was not 'romantic' or 'sublime' landscapes he was attempting to depict, but incidents which had come to assume historic significance, because of the people involved, or the stories repeated later about them. Smoke and shadow were often used to obscure some details, but he always used sharp outlines and chose moments that were 'picturesque', as with *The Bryce Affair*, 'when the halt was called [and] the whole pursuit over a mile of ground'.<sup>408</sup> This was probably following history painting techniques he learnt at the Scottish Royal Academy.

Moultray probably saw a reproduction of Elizabeth Butler's *The Defence of Rorke's Drift*, 1880 (London: Royal Collection), since both *Retribution, An Incident in the Maori Wars*, 1888 (p.c., **plate 9**) and *An Urgent Despatch*, 1888 (p.c., **plate 4**) use many of the same symbolic references to war. These include a fire in the background, a shadowy or implied opponent, and bare ground or scrub in the foreground. He may also

<sup>407</sup> Moultray, 'No. 7.—London'.

<sup>408</sup> Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country: Affair at Handley's woolsheds'.

have drawn from Butler's *Scotland Forever*, 1881 (Leeds: Leeds City Art Gallery) or *Floreat Etona*, 1882 (p.c.) when he faced a group of troopers riding towards the viewer on their horses in the latter example.<sup>409</sup> However, these themes and techniques were widely used by military history painters in the nineteenth century. John Singleton Copley was another whose *The Death of Major Pierson* would have appealed to Moultray.<sup>410</sup> Moultray did not mention Copley (or Butler) in his art gallery articles but he probably saw a reproduction. Its heroic rendering of a young British officer, dying while defending the island of Jersey, may have been emulated in his own heroic rendering of *The Death of Sergeant-Major Maxwell at Nukumarū*, c. 1888 (p.c., **plate 8**).

In addition, most of Moultray's landscapes depicted a real place and the place was usually identified. He did include dwellings in some of his paintings, but any dwelling was an unusual feature in his paintings and they were usually Māori as in *Mt. Egmont from the Pukawa Pah*, n.d. (p.c.) and *The Village, Colac Bay* c. 1913 (location unknown) or historical, like *The Old Police Camp, Styx, Upper Taieri River*, c. 1912 (location unknown) and *The Postman's Hut*, 1890 (location unknown).<sup>411</sup> Also, unlike other artists such as West and Copley, many of Moultray's earlier paintings of the colonial wars reduced the subjects to a small number of protagonists. In paintings like *Retribution* and *The Bryce Affair* he depicted the troopers in the foreground and then indicated the rest of the troop with shadowy figures in the background.

In terms of compositional and technical skills, many of Moultray's paintings were complex and well thought out. There appears to be a marked development in his style, whereby those that were created after his trip to Europe and to the Boer war, demonstrate increasing complexity and used a broader palette than in his earlier paintings. As few of his later paintings were described in the papers, only those that are now able to be viewed are analysed in terms of style.

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<sup>409</sup> Christie's, 'Elizabeth Southerden Thompson, Lady Butler (1846-1933)', 2011

[http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot\\_details.aspx?intObjectID=4928781](http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=4928781), accessed 15 April, 2011

<sup>410</sup> Rothenstein, *Introduction to English painting*, p. 73.

<sup>411</sup> OAS, 37<sup>th</sup> Annual exhibition, 1913, no.120;

OAS, 36<sup>th</sup> Annual exhibition, 1912, no. 60.

'Auckland Society of Arts: third notice', AS, 27 May 1890, p. 5.

The first is a classical history, *Roman Warriors returning from Ancient Britain with captives*, 1903 (Dunedin: Hocken, **plate 11**). Large, imposing and unframed, it is badly damaged from something leaning against it which caused a large 5 cm tear in the middle of a stretched section on the top middle right. The canvas is also marked from dirt and folds, and there is another small tear in the top right. Entering the collection in the 1970s, it was already damaged and has remained in this state. An illustration of British history, it depicts a moment when British captives are led onto a pier, from steps behind them leading to ships in the harbour. Chains, helmets, partial armour, spears, gray oblong shields and an elaborate amphora-type vase are among the props he used. A seat is decorated with elaborate scrolls and the pavement in the foreground projects towards the viewer and is well defined with moss and grasses growing in the cracks. Masts of sailing ships can be seen above the wall behind them, with shadowy hills and a pale white and blue sky. The sandals, clothing and armour are all true to the Roman period but the moustaches on two of the Roman look out of place. Unlike his colonial war paintings, little emotion is shown on the faces, suggesting that it was a common everyday occurrence and the onlookers were bored, while the captives look resigned to their fate. Close inspection reveals that, unlike in most of his work, a palette knife was clearly used to either apply or scrape the paint, and smooth it out, showing that he was trying out new techniques. Of uncharacteristic content and colour, it is stylistically congruent with Moultray's subsequent works.

The next, Moultray's *'It is a God': Captain Cook's Ship off the New Zealand Coast*, c. 1910 (Dunedin: Hocken, **plate 12**), is more complex than recent interpretations have suggested. Also in need of a clean, it has two dark vertical marks on it, and paint is coming away from the edges by the frame. To Bell it represented 'a group of startled and awed Maori experiencing their first sight of a European vessel', while 'all, except for the central standing figure pointing at the ship, emerge from or sink into the dark shadowed area in the foreground'.<sup>412</sup> A more specific analysis can give another view of its detail. The colours of the Māori men on the left blend well with the shallowed hill, the dark green bushes, toitoi and flax; the rocks they are standing on have little shadow. One Māori figure is clearly a tohunga, in a white cloak with feathers

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<sup>412</sup> Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, p. 189.

in his topknot, and one to the left of him is obviously the chief, holding a greenstone mere, both being older males than the others. One figure is turned away calling to others visible in the middle distance, beside a waka pulled up on the shore, and in the far distance are the palisades of a pa on a bare hill. The dark green sea to the right of the coast is highlighted by white crests on the waves and the sky is slightly stormy, probably to denote coming difficulties.

There are a number of anachronisms in the painting that strike the viewer. The younger warriors wear grass skirts, more in female Polynesian style than Māori male, and the facial tattoos of the two older males are vague and undefined, while all the other males are holding spears. Also, the tohunga's white cloak is tied like a European male's dressing gown. The sailing ship is centred in the middle right, just below the horizon of the sea, and, as Bell said, 'stands in the open, bathed in light, as if invested with some magical aura or power'. Bell thought they all looked startled, but in my view only one young European-looking male to the left of the foreground does, while the faces of the others range from surprise and amazement, to curiosity. Some of the figures merge Māori and European features, but the older males to the left are clearly Māori, the ship itself is beautifully drawn, and complex techniques are employed, such as foreshortening on the arm of the young warrior on the front left and the use of spatial illusion to show distance. While the central figure with arm outstretched pointing to the ship is the focal point, it guides the eye both to the ship and back to the gazing figures, amongst which the white-cloaked tohunga is the most prominent. Essentially, it depicts a momentous occasion as a calm static scene, frozen in time, portending a coming change. It was clearly a painting that Moultray had thought about deeply, even if some parts of it appear somewhat gauche.

Moultray's *The Battle of Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu*, Sept. 7, 1868, 1912 (Dunedin: Hocken, **plate 14**), a large 126 x 75 cm oil painting, is even more complex. The composition follows a spiral pattern whereby the eye roams from three bare-chested Māori males high in the trees in the right background, one falling out with his gun, to twelve shadowy figures, hidden by the trees on the ground. In the foreground, troopers are emerging from the bush on the left and crossing a stream diagonally across the painting towards the far-right corner, before turning in a semi-circle towards the ground

on the front left. Amongst the European figures there are many injured or dying, obviously shot in the ambush while crossing the stream. A busy frantic scene, the eye is drawn to the focal point of the painting right of the centre. This dramatic figure in the river with a full beard and wild appearance was probably intended to depict Colonel McDonald, but resembles an illustration of *General Chute* by James McDonald, n.d. (Dunedin: Hocken). The men are mostly wearing blankets or 'shawls' as they were known, which resembled braided kilts, in muddy red and green tartans. The reason for this attire was explained by Moultray in his writings for the *ODT&W*.

In this painting, more than in most of Moultray's works, attention has been given to detail, with both the physical appearance of the men and use of colour. Continuing the Scottish influence it uses mellow colouring, shadowy effects, mostly in the background and an emphasis on atmospheric conditions. Sporting a variety of beards, moustaches, pipes and hats, the men's faces are red, pink and brown, many with ginger beards and spots of red blood over their bodies. They show a variety of emotions—surprise, anguish, weariness—and some, who have regrouped to the left, are alert and watchful. The men carry long rifles, most fitted with bayonets, wear sashes with soft bags hanging from them, belts with leather pouches and knife sheaths, and some have bedrolls on their backs. The paint is mostly smooth and thin, with some thick overlays. Moultray used accents such as white highlighting to emphasise articles of clothing, the light playing on faces and the rocks in the front foreground. In muted colours, he used shades of pink, light green for the trees, moss and grasses, dark green in the bushes, dark brown for the trees on the left front and light brown on clothes, with some grey. In contrast, the centre where the officer stands is well lit.

It is unfortunate that the painting itself needs a clean and has foxing in the centre, for the colours should look brighter than they now appear. Regardless of this it is a well-composed painting, from an artist with many skills. The ruddy faces, the prevalence of ginger hair and beards, and the use of tartan capture a predominantly Scottish regiment in the midst of a battle. Overly dramatic and with a colonial focus, it is typical of the later colonial view of war with Māori. In later tales by the troopers Māori were seen as shadowy opponents who used ambush and the bushy terrain to overcome unsuspecting troopers.

Another work, painted by Moultray at the same time, is a modern history painting called *Homeless, an Episode of City Life*, 1912 (Dunedin: Hocken, **plate 13**). It depicts a house on fire on the left of the painting and the ensuing mayhem caused by it. A row of houses recedes into the distance on the left and the road is on the right. In the front left-hand corner, a distraught woman is being led out kindly from the house by a man wearing braces and carrying a pet bird in a cage, while a dog stands nearby staring at the door. A girl holding a cat in her lap is sitting on a mattress with another girl standing next to her and both are calm and resigned. Two men behind them are frantically carrying a mirrored dressing table out of the way. In the distance, coming down the street towards the house, is a small motorised fire engine with a fireman on top and, on its right, two white horses pulling another engine. They both look pale, as if obscured by smoke. A dog is running across the street while a policeman is pushing people out of the way for the fire engines to pass. The scene recedes backwards, with dark black smoke from the fire on the top left hand side, and blobs of red and pink portray dropping embers while light plays on the right hand side near white and blue clouds. The colours of the clothing, in various shades of blue, brown and grey or pink, are complementary rather than contrasting.

Like the Roman scene, paint has been applied or scraped with a palette knife, although the bottom left-hand corner is not so smooth and the blobs of red stand out above the surface. The focal point is clearly the Fire Brigade coming to the rescue out of the distance, and the dog running in front of them. A variety of emotions is shown on the faces of the spectators. While the clothes and fire engines are contemporary to the time, there is an idiosyncrasy in that the scene is more in keeping with an English village, with English policemen and firemen's dress, or perhaps an Australian town, rather than a New Zealand scene. It may have resulted from a trip, or perhaps he used a photograph to work from, as he did when creating landscapes. Ironically, it too is dirty, with brownish black marks on the canvas in the middle right, as if it had been placed above a fireplace.

With regard to his technical skills, Moultray was careful when depicting the detail of clothing and accessories and the detail in the foreground of all his paintings. However, only some of his male figures, such as the trooper in the *A Trooper of the*

*Wanganui Cavalry Attacked by the Hauhau*, several of the figures in *Homeless*, and in *Roman Warriors*, are individuals with clearly definable characters. Some depicted known people, as in *The Bryce Affair* when he portrayed Colonel Bryce and Sergeant Handley using borrowed portraits.<sup>413</sup> Most of the time, however, the features were general studies with strong similarities to each other, or the people were depicted in shadow where features were unnecessary. Also Moultray's children, such as the boys in *Roman Warriors*, and in *Homeless*, look like smaller versions of adults and are out of proportion to a child's body. In some of his paintings, too, some under-drawing is visible through the paint, as in *The Death of Sergeant Maxwell* and *Retribution*, appearing as ghosting around the figures and horses.<sup>414</sup> These changes suggest that he wasn't happy with his original drawing and had changed it in the process of painting. In contrast, his animal studies of horses, cattle and dogs showed a sympathetic rapport and were executed with a much greater expertise than his portrayals of the human figure. While they were sometimes too 'wooden' as in *The Bryce Affair*, others, like *Retribution* showed realistic equine motion.<sup>415</sup> On occasion he excelled, as with *A Trooper of the Wanganui Cavalry*, which depicts the figures, horse and landscape all expertly, except for the unnatural angle of the left hand of the Māori warrior. This inconstancy, and replications in different formats for sale, all contributed to his problematic reputation for today's art historians.

Moultray's history paintings in the Hocken Collections, but not his landscapes, all suffered dirt accretion and physical damage, and some also paint loss, probably prior to their acquisition. The subsequent failure to repair, clean and conserve them shows that they have a low priority and are not considered to be important works. His low status among contemporary art historians has also contributed towards the ongoing deterioration of his art works. This is not the fault of the Hocken; there are simply no funds available to repair works by a lesser artist, or, I suggest, works that people would prefer to forget. By contrast, his known history paintings in private collections are in better condition and the one owned by the National Library of Australia, previously by Nan Kivell, has been well cared for.

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<sup>413</sup> 'An interesting picture', *Wanganui Herald*, 4 June 1889, p. 2.

<sup>414</sup> Viewed at AIM and private residence, 3 November and 5 November 2011.

<sup>415</sup> This aspect was noted by critics of the time and is discussed in detail on page 95.



Moultray's reputation amongst the media and art critics, both during his lifetime and later, is discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 5

### CRITICAL RECEPTION: THEN AND NOW

J. Elder Moultray's biography paints a picture of relative prosperity and harmony for a working artist in Dunedin in the later part of the nineteenth century. However, there were hidden difficulties, which only become apparent by reading between the lines. There were clearly issues of control and judgement within the Otago Art Society which created underlying tension. This did not affect the reputation of James Douglas Moultray, since he had a glowing reputation that preceded his arrival in New Zealand, but it may have hampered the ability of J. Elder Moultray to gain a lasting one.<sup>416</sup>

As soon as the family arrived, in October 1883, James Douglas Moultray joined the OAS and exhibited with them. 'His advent' was considered a 'valuable addition to the ranks of local artists', and he was elected a member of the Council in June 1884.<sup>417</sup> In October John Elder was also elected a member, then Henry in November, in the same session as W.M. Gibb.<sup>418</sup> The next year, in October 1885, J.D. Moultray was elected, in his absence, to the hanging committee for the 'forthcoming exhibition'.<sup>419</sup> Although they had all become integrated in the OAS, after the exhibition J.D. Moultray did not attend any further meetings. Instead, a letter was read in early December asking that

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<sup>416</sup> "‘Glenco’ (451) by J.D. Moultray, is one of the few pictures treated with injustice by the hangers: its merits cannot be appreciated', from 'The Royal Academy: one hundred and second exhibition', *The Art Journal London* 9(1), 1870, p. 168.

<sup>417</sup> OAS, 'Minute Book: Meeting of the Council held in the Societies Rooms 29 October 1883';

'Art: The Otago Art Society I', *OW*, 10 November 1883, p. 11.

<sup>418</sup> OAS, 'Minute Book: Meeting of the Council held in the Societies Rooms, 4 June 1884';

OAS, 'Minute Book: Meeting of the Council held in the Societies Rooms, 14 October 1884';

OAS, 'Minute Book: Meeting of the Council held in the Societies Rooms, 11 November 1884'.

<sup>419</sup> OAS, 'Minute Book: Meeting of the Council held in the Societies Rooms, 15 October 1885'.

‘his name be erased from the society’s roll of membership’, which the Secretary was instructed to do. No reason was given and he never rejoined the society.

Although deliberately unstated, it is possible to speculate on what happened. A few months earlier, at the OAS’s tenth annual exhibition in 1885, there had been a design competition for a monument to General Gordon. The catalogue listed an entry by J. Elder Moultray. On 3 November, at a meeting at which J.D. Moultray was present, it was noted that ‘for the £10 prize offered for a member of the Society for a design for a statue of General Gordon, only one design was sent in’.<sup>420</sup> The Council, which consisted of ‘Msrrs. Hodgkins in the chair, Hutton, Moultray, Ritchie, Brown, Parker, Joachim, (and) Scott’, ‘considered that this was scarcely of sufficient merit and decided to reserve the prize’.<sup>421</sup> It was not noted in the Minute Book, but James Douglas Moultray clearly did not agree and, if not insulted, was sufficiently annoyed by the process to resign. Perhaps, too, it was exacerbated by the committee’s decision being reported in the newspaper, following a critique of the paintings for that year’s exhibition. In it, the work of J.D. and H.D. Moultray was praised, with ‘some of the elder Mr. Moultray’s pupils’, while that of J. Elder Moultray was not:

Mr. J.E. Moultray has rather disappointed those who looked to see a great advancement in his work this year. ‘The Dougal Creature’, a small figure study, is spirited enough, and not bad in conception, but neither his ‘Eventide’ nor his portrait of a ‘Dunedin Hussar’ will win him much credit.<sup>422</sup>

In a review the following year of a Moultray family exhibition, it was noted that ‘the improvement in Mr. J.E. Moultray’s work since last year is also very evident’. The same critic probably attended them both, but this time he liked what he saw and was eloquent in praise of these ‘artists of note’.<sup>423</sup> Several months after Henry Moultray died John Elder also resigned from the OAS.<sup>424</sup> He did not rejoin the society until 1910, long after W.M. Hodgkins too had died.<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>420</sup> OAS, ‘Minute Book: Meeting of the Council held in the Societies Rooms, 3 November 1885’.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid.*,

‘Otago Art Society’, *ODT*, 16 November 1885, p.3.

<sup>422</sup> ‘Otago Art Society’s exhibition’, *ODT*, 4 December 1885, p. 1.

<sup>423</sup> ‘Mr. J.D. Moultray’s Pictures’, *ODT*, 15 October 1886, p. 3.

<sup>424</sup> OAS, ‘Minute Book: Meeting of the Council held, 7 November 1887’.

<sup>425</sup> OAS, ‘Minute Book: Meeting of the Council held at Mr Joachim’s Office, 1 November 1910’.

Because of his resignation, J. Elder Moultray was not involved with the society when the new generation of innovative artists became active in the last decade of the century and visiting artists brought examples of modern practice from Europe. Girolamo Nerli arrived in 1889, and stayed for a year. In 1890 the young Frances Hodgkins became a member of the OAS.<sup>426</sup> That same year the Scottish artist James Nairn came to Dunedin, staying for a year before moving on to Wellington, where he taught art. He served for a while on the Council of the NZAFA and helped form the Wellington Art Club.<sup>427</sup> Then, in 1893, Nerli came back to Dunedin and was elected to the council of the OAS. He helped to start the Otago Art Academy and began life classes, which the Dunedin School of Art adopted, along with Nerli to run them. Staying for another three years, he taught a number of now-famous young artists that included Frances Hodgkins and Grace Joel. Like Nairn, Nerli did not stay either, moving briefly to Wellington then Auckland for another two years, before he moved to Australia and eventually returned to Europe.<sup>428</sup> The changes Nerli inspired, however, remained through life classes and impressionistic methods. It is unlikely that either J. Elder or J.D. Moultray were greatly influenced by these developments, since they had little contact with the OAS or the key people involved.

The Gordon memorial dispute was not the only issue within the society and members of the council appeared to be overly pedantic at times, which obviously caused dissention. A note was made in the minute book in 1892 concerning an outstanding subscription by William Black, that he had written 'asking that his name be removed from the list of honorary members', and had sent a cheque for £1.1 in payment. The treasurer 'informed the meeting' that £1.11.6 was 'still due'. They 'resolved to accept the resignation and that Wm. Black be asked to pay his back subscription in full'.<sup>429</sup> In addition, a large number of applicants were rejected for membership both during and after the Hodgkins presidency, which ended in 1898 when he died. Through being both pedantic and exclusive, the Otago Art Society was determined to preserve its perceived standard. A certain standard was understandable, as its desire to set a level of competency, but its method of rejection was demoralising. It had the effect of

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<sup>426</sup> OAS, 'Minute Book: Meeting of the Council held in the Municipality building, 27 September 1890'.

<sup>427</sup> Te Papa, 'James Nairn biography', accessed 19 April, 2011

<sup>428</sup> Te Papa, 'Biography of Girolamo Nerli', accessed 19 April 2011

<sup>429</sup> OAS, 'Minute Book ... 27 September 1890'.

discouraging beginning artists, since none of the rejected artists mentioned in the minute books ever reapplied. Also, several established artists who resigned reapplied when the committee changed.

These tensions demonstrate the elitism which was practised by the OAS both during and after Hodgkins' presidency and its effect on the artistic development of some of their beginning artists, as well as on the reputation of some working members. Whether or not the design for the memorial submitted by J. Elder Moultray was of sufficient merit cannot be established, as the design was not reprinted anywhere. The effect it had on his reputation amongst the Dunedin art circle must have been considerable at the time, since it caused both father and son to leave the society and, while J. Elder Moultray later re-joined, he never entered another competition.

Conservative through his Scottish inheritance and interested primarily in romantic Realism through his academic training, J. Elder Moultray also had the pressure of needing to make a living from whatever means he could. Some contemporary Dunedin artists had an independent income and could pursue innovative experimentation at their leisure, without the need to produce canvases to sell. Other artists felt stifled when their innovations were not accepted by the society or the public, encouraging Frances Hodgkins and others to leave New Zealand in order to expand their artistic opportunities. It also divided art society members into the society elite and the working members. Following his father's example, J. Elder Moultray exhibited in a variety of venues, which ensured that he was not dependent on the OAS or subjected to their exacting criticism.

Rather than contribute to the OAS exhibitions, J.D. Moultray organised his own annual exhibition, initially hiring venues in Dunedin but soon holding them at the family studio, to which both sons initially contributed. As well as advertising the beginning and ending of these exhibitions, they also encouraged newspaper reviews of the paintings and gave away prizes. It was through a review of a Moultray exhibition held at the London Portrait Rooms in Dunedin that J. Elder Moultray's first history painting of the colonial wars, *An Anxious Moment*, 1886 (location unknown) was noticed:

The scene represents a general on horseback, attended by a bugler and aide-de-camp, sending his last reserve into the field. The posturing of the old soldier as he anxiously watches for the result of his last manoeuvre is capitally worked out, and all the surroundings are in harmony with the spirit of the picture.<sup>430</sup>

This painting brings to mind Ernest Meissonier's *Napoleon III in the battle of Solferino*, 1863 (Paris: Musée d'Orsay), which Moultray described in his series on art galleries.<sup>431</sup> He did not see this painting until 1896-1897 but it is possible that he saw a reproduction of it.

A year later, *The Last Stand of the British at Maiwand, Afghanistan*, 1887 (location unknown), which was 'on view in Mr McGregor Wright's gallery in Fillieu street', was described in detail. The realistic nature of the expression on the young soldier's face as 'he reels back in death agony' was approved of.<sup>432</sup> Considering the criticism he was soon to receive from reviewers it is interesting to note the praise that was lavished on him for this picture:

The figures are without exception truthfully drawn, and a good deal of forethought has been exercised in the different attitudes, while the colouring is effective and well-balanced and the different textures skilfully manipulated. The whole is a carefully thought-out conception, displaying considerable artistic intelligence in a kind of art not often produced in this colony. Mr Moultray is to be complimented on his effort. It is certainly by far the best production which has yet emanated from his studio.<sup>433</sup>

The comment about 'his' studio, suggests that J.E. Moultray may have rented a studio of his own by this time. Several months later a review of the same painting in Wellington was less complimentary. It admitted that the painting displayed 'considerable power', but expressed the opinion that 'the advisability of cutting a horse in half at the side of the picture is, however, questionable'.<sup>434</sup> At the Melbourne exhibition of 1888 *The Last Stand of the British at Maiwand*, was noted for its 'expression, action, texture, and arrangement, with attention to accoutrements of the period'.<sup>435</sup> *The Battle of Pungarehu, Patea, October 6, 1868*, 1888 (location unknown),

<sup>430</sup> 'Mr J.D. Moultray's pictures', *ODT*, 15 October 1886, p. 3.

<sup>431</sup> Moultray, 'No. 4.—Paris'.

<sup>432</sup> 'A Battle Picture', *ODT*, 1 September 1887, p. 3.

<sup>433</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>434</sup> 'Arctic Cold: The Fine Arts Association exhibition', *EP*, 5 November 1887, supplement, p. 1.

<sup>435</sup> New Zealand Commission, *New Zealand Court Catalogue: centennial international exhibition*, Melbourne: Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, 1888, p. 5.

was also noted for ‘expression, action, tone [and] texture’ which was ‘intended to represent the desultory character of the New Zealand wars’.<sup>436</sup> Another review noted it as ‘a clever composition, on which the artist has evidently lavished a lot of thought’ and that the figures were ‘well painted and the composition is good’.<sup>437</sup>

In 1888 too, *Retribution* was displayed in the window of Messrs Begg and Co in Dunedin. Discussed in detail, the drawing, colouring and grouping of figures was considered ‘good’, with the story ‘very faithfully reproduced on the canvas’.<sup>438</sup> The *Evening Post* reviewer also liked it, noting that the ‘horses and men are carefully painted, and the foremost figure, a trooper on a white horse, is particularly worthy of praise’. The review was not completely complementary, however, as Moultray’s view of a Maori pa was considered to be ‘somewhat heavy and the figures are not particularly well drawn’, while the five landscapes he sent were ‘all commonplace and unworthy of special mention’.

The same reviewer also called J.D. Moultray’s landscapes ‘pot-boilers’.<sup>439</sup> A contradictory view was expressed by H.J. De Forest, an artist visiting from Canada. He had been ‘converted’ to the ‘high-finish’ style by ‘Mr Moultray’, ‘of which that gentleman is so admirable an exponent’.<sup>440</sup> The reviewer commented on an ongoing debate amongst artists and public between a ‘high-finish’ and the ‘broad school of painting’.<sup>441</sup> This debate demonstrates that modernism may not have been obvious in New Zealand art at this period but ideas surrounding it, such as a matt finish, were already being considered.

J. Elder Moultray’s contribution to the New Zealand Court in the Melbourne Centennial International Exhibition of 1888 was also complimented. The genre picture, *A Letter Home*, 1888 (location unknown), was said to have aimed for ‘expression, arrangement and general treatment’.<sup>442</sup> In *The Old Pah at Kai-iwi, Wanganui*, 1888 (location unknown), ‘the group of natives in the fore-ground with their gaily-coloured

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<sup>436</sup> Ibid. Plate 17.

<sup>437</sup> ‘Exhibition of pictures’, *ODT*, 13 April 1888, p. 4.

<sup>438</sup> ‘Local and general’, [‘Mr J. Elder Moultray’], *OW*, 15 June 1888, p. 11; see plate 9.

<sup>439</sup> ‘The fine arts exhibition’, *EP*, 18 October 1888, p. 2.

<sup>440</sup> ‘Local and general’, [‘Mr H.J. De Forest’], *OW*, 7 September 1888, p. 10.

<sup>441</sup> Ibid.

<sup>442</sup> New Zealand Commission, *New Zealand Court catalogue*, p. 5.

dress' was thought to be 'well treated' by another review and the 'elaborate carving of the runanga house' was truthfully depicted'.<sup>443</sup>

In 1889, too, an exhibition at J.D. Moultray's studio in Heriot Row received a large amount of attention. J. Elder Moultray's *The Bryce Affair* was noted as being the best in his series of five 'New Zealand battle scenes'.<sup>444</sup> It was considered to have 'high value in that it faithfully records a passage in the colony's history of special interest on account of the famous Bryce-Rusden libel action'.<sup>445</sup> It was noted that the two closest figures, 'Mr Bryce and Sergeant Handley are taken from old portraits lent for the occasion' and that 'the picture is historically correct in all particulars'.<sup>446</sup> The reviewer was unlikely at the time to have known that the adult Maori male being run down by Sergeant Maxwell was actually a boy of only twelve.<sup>447</sup>

A few weeks later another review complimented J.D. Moultray's landscapes for their artistic qualities but only discussed J. Elder Moultray's history paintings for their historical value.<sup>448</sup> J. Elder Moultray also exhibited this painting at the NZAFA in the same year, along with *Ambuscade*, 1889 (location unknown) and several others, also receiving compliments for 'his success in dealing with the subjects he has chosen'.<sup>449</sup> When he exhibited it at the Auckland Society of Arts exhibition in 1890, however, it was described as a 'very ambitious and only fairly successful work':

The figures are not so well grouped as they are in his other pictures, but the painting and technique are very fair. The drawing is somewhat stiff, especially in the case of the figure with the drawn sword in the foreground. The horses too are rather inclined to the rocking horse type.<sup>450</sup>

The same reviewer commented, 'We do not think much of Mr. J. Elder Moultray's "Puzzled". It is stiff and lacks life'.<sup>451</sup> A week earlier, another painting at the same exhibition, *The Retreat (Rear Guard Leaving the Clearing at Moturoa, Nov. 7<sup>th</sup> 1866)*, 1890 (location unknown), had received an almost glowing compliment, in contrast to

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<sup>443</sup> 'Exhibition of pictures', *ODT*, 13 April 1888, p. 4.

<sup>444</sup> 'An interesting picture (Dunedin Star)', *Wanganui Herald*, 4 June 1889, p. 2.

<sup>445</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>446</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>447</sup> Belich, *I shall not die*, p. 197. See Appendix 1, footnotes 14-16.

<sup>448</sup> 'Exhibition of pictures', *ODT*, 24 June 1889, p. 3;

<sup>449</sup> 'The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts. First annual exhibition', *EP*, 23 September 1889, p. 3.

<sup>450</sup> 'Auckland Society of Arts: second notice', *AS*, 26 May 1890, p. 3.

<sup>451</sup> 'Auckland Society of Arts: third notice', *AS*, 27 May 1890, p. 5.



*The Bryce Affair*, which has since become better known. *The Retreat* was positively critiqued as:

The arrangement and the grouping in the picture are very good, and there is plenty of life. The drawing of the figures is by no means perfect, but it is creditable. The colouring is well managed; nothing is over accentuated so as to carry the eye away. Everything harmonises and in keeping. The smoke effects are really clever and the foreground is full of detail and excellently carried out. 'The Retreat' is a very ambitious work, but it is certainly successful.<sup>452</sup>

Later in the year, a less comprehensive review in Wellington thought that the painting 'had historical rather than an artistic value', having been 'painted from a description provided by Major Foster Y. Goring, an eye witness'.<sup>453</sup> Since neither review actually described the painting the reader is no wiser as to what it depicted.

Several days later an acrimonious review was given to a genre painting called *Light and Shade*, 1890 (location unknown), which depicted 'a Maori woman and a European girl, standing side by side on the edge of a piece of water'. Stating that it was 'one of those pictures which the hanging committee would have shown wisdom in rejecting', it said that 'both figures are badly drawn, and the picture is absolutely meaningless'.<sup>454</sup> This critical review seemed damning of Moultray but he was not the only one whose work was slighted. It also criticised Margaret Stoddart's *Roses*, in which she took 'little care in arranging her subject', Charles Blomfield for sending 'a large number of oil paintings, none of which rise above mediocrity', and J.C. Richmond for not attempting to 'finish' his sketches.<sup>455</sup>

Other reviews were equally contradictory. Moultray had exhibited the genre painting, *A Negro Fish Hawker*, c. 1889 (location unknown), in the first exhibition of the newly formed NZAFA in 1889, and it was described as 'a darky fish hawker' painted, 'evidently from life', and considered a 'clever little study'.<sup>456</sup> One of the ASA reviews makes a perceptive comment about it that is indicative of a feature of

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<sup>452</sup> 'Auckland Society of Arts. The conversazione to-night: the best pictures', *AS*, 22 May 1890, p. 8.

<sup>453</sup> 'New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts: second annual exhibition: first notice', *EP*, 20 October 1890, p. 4.

<sup>454</sup> 'New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts: second annual exhibition: second notice', *EP*, 22 October 1890, p. 4.

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>456</sup> 'The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts: first annual exhibition', *EP*, 23 September 1889, p. 3.

Moultray's art: 'A clever piece of work and full of finish, but the arrangement is stiff. It looks too much like a photograph, or rather as if the man were conscious of being photographed'.<sup>457</sup> Moultray admits in his diary of 1886-1887 that he took photographs of scenery to paint later, hence, it is possible that *The Negro Fish Hawker* was painted from a photograph and this would account for the stiffness it exhibited. This may have also been true of some other paintings.

Another Auckland review the following year, of *The Midday Meal*, 1891 (location unknown), found 'the plough horses well drawn and painted, but the figures of the man and girl and the dog are distinctly poor'. It also thought that while 'the grasses in the foreground are admirably produced', a 'cabbage tree to the right is so poor that one wonders how it ever could have been painted by a man who has produced such good work'.<sup>458</sup> Perhaps it was not meant to be a cabbage tree. A few days before, another review of the same exhibition complimented *Mt Ruapehu from Weraroa Redoubt*, 1891 (location unknown), for 'showing him at his very best' and for 'the cattle brow-ing [sic] in the hall-light'.<sup>459</sup>

In 1891, a well known personality, Oswald Hugo, lyrically critiqued the art of Dunedin. He severely criticised 'Mr J. Moultray's' paintings in the window of 'Messrs Begg and Co's'.<sup>460</sup> Hugo compared Moultray's men on horse-back to a fairytale about a wooden man, a wooden horse and a wooden bull, which he found 'strange' from someone whose 'atmospheric effects and solemn scenery' is 'at all times unsurpassable'. Hugo, however, was writer of fiction and a 'physiognomist' and not an art critic and made no attempt to be objective.<sup>461</sup> It did not appear that many of the other reviewers quoted previously had either, but based their comments on personal likes and dislikes. Without knowing who the reviewers were, it is impossible to know what they based their knowledge of art on. Despite Hugo's damning assessment he noted the success of 'Mr Moultray' in selling his oil paintings, but whether he was referring to father or son was not stated.<sup>462</sup>

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<sup>457</sup> 'Auckland Society of Arts: second notice', AS, 26 May 1890, p. 3.

<sup>458</sup> 'The Art exhibition', AS, 9 March 1891, p. 2.

<sup>459</sup> 'The Art exhibition: third Notice', AS, 6 March 1891, p. 3.

<sup>460</sup> Oswald E. Hugo, 'The critic: a glimpse of art in Dunedin: No.1', OW, 25 June 1891, p. 35.

<sup>461</sup> Oswald Hugo, 'Happiness', *North Otago Times*, 10 June 1892, p. 3.

<sup>462</sup> 'In an article entitled, "A Glimpse of Art in Dunedin"', ODT, 26 June 1891, p 2.

Later in the year an exhibition at ‘Messrs Bowman and Son’s’ led to an interesting analysis. A landscape by Moultray, *Stormy Night, Lake Wakatipu*, 1891 (location unknown), was among the paintings noted as ‘creditable examples of artistic skill’. The review contained a warning:

... we notice some copies from photographs amongst the collection. In referring to the latter, it is desirable that artists, in the true sense of the term, should set their face against such pictures, which are fair neither to the public, to the proprietors of the photographic copyright, nor to those artists who genuinely strive to create a Colonial school of painting.

The debate between using photography as a model as opposed to painting directly from nature had already begun. Moultray’s use of photography may have already affected his reputation, at least amongst the purists.

Back in Dunedin the next year, while reviews concerning paintings for sale in auctions were often slanted to ensure a sale, an advertisement shows that Moultray’s paintings were often well known. It stated that it was the ‘last week of [J.] Elder Moultray’s famous picture’, *The Capture of Nukumarū Pah*, c.1894 (location unknown), at White’s Art Warehouse.<sup>463</sup> This implied that it had been seen elsewhere and publicly mentioned. In another, the painting *Too Late* c. 1898 (location unknown), on view in Dunedin, was said to have ‘attracted a considerable amount of attention by reasons of its historical interest as well as on account of the excellence of the work which is shown in it’.<sup>464</sup>

The content of Moultray’s history paintings of the colonial wars did not elicit any response from the public except praise until the stories were published in the Christmas Edition of *ODT&W* in 1898. Then, it was not the general public but ex-troopers who responded, namely Edwin Bezar, the late Sergeant-Major of Wanganui District, and Richard Hicks, who had been a trooper with the Kai-Iwi Cavalry. In commenting that they had read the series with interest, both Bezar and Hicks pointed out an error in one particular story. This was one concerning the story of Trooper Henry Wright being pinned under his horse, and his brother Arthur helping him out. They both noted that it was actually Trooper William Lingard who helped him, for

<sup>463</sup> ‘Last week of Elder Moultray’s famous picture’, *ODT*, 29 October 1894, p. 3.

<sup>464</sup> ‘A Maori war picture entitled “Too Late”’, *Poverty Bay Herald*, 12 January 1895, p. 2.

which he received the New Zealand Cross.<sup>465</sup> Moultray's mistake shows that it is unlikely that he had read *The Defenders of New Zealand*.<sup>466</sup>

No other history painting created a response from a newspaper review until 1907. This was *The Battle of Nukumarū, Maori War 1865*, 1907 (location unknown). It praised its historical accuracy and described it as 'well drawn' with 'some excellent effects in colouring', and that probably its 'finest point' was 'the variety of expression on the faces of attackers and attacked'.<sup>467</sup>

Teaching art was clearly one way that J. Elder Moultray contributed towards the growth of New Zealand art and many of his students went on to teach art themselves, like Miss Hewat, Miss M.C. McKegg and Miss E. Williams who referred to their lessons from Moultray as a way to enhance their own reputation.<sup>468</sup> 'Miss Hewat' often featured in OAS exhibitions and was noted for her contributions.<sup>469</sup> Others, like Miss Bewley in 1901 were noted as for their ability and as a former 'pupil of Mr Moultray'.<sup>470</sup>

The numbers of Moultray's students increased and some were singled out in reviews for particular works. In 1904 these included Miss Bruce's *Diamond Lake*, Mr. Birrell's *Scene near Portobello*, Mrs Rossbotham's *Days Bay, Wellington Harbour*. Miss Martin and Miss Johnson were noted as 'giving great promise for the future', and Mrs Lees, Miss Neville, Miss B. Campbell and Miss Crowe, who showed 'some degree of proficiency'.<sup>471</sup> In 1905 Miss Bruce's work was again noted, as well as Mr A. Peterson's *Head of Lake Wakatipu*, and sketches by Mrs Goertz and Miss Whittaker.<sup>472</sup> Moultray's own contribution was thought to include some of his 'best work', and that his tuition contributed towards the success of his students.<sup>473</sup> By 1907, his pupils had grown to 60 of which 30 exhibited at his next annual exhibition, but no names are

<sup>465</sup> 'E. Bazar, 'Looking backwards: to the editor', *OW*, 22 December 1898, p. 21;

Richard Hicks, 'To the editor', *OW*, 22 December 1898, p. 21.

<sup>466</sup> Thomas Wayth Gudgeon, *The defenders of New Zealand; being a short biography of colonists who distinguished themselves in upholding Her Majesty's Supremacy in these islands* [Alternative title: *Heroes of New Zealand and Maori History of the War*], Auckland: H. Brett, 1887.

<sup>467</sup> 'Mr J. E. Moultray's exhibition of pictures', *OW*, 18 December 1907, p. 90.

<sup>468</sup> 'Miss M.F. Hewat', *North Otago Times*, 28 January 1896, p. 2.

'Miss M. C. McKegg', *BH*, 1 March 1901, p. 4.

'Instruction in painting: Miss E. Williams', *Tuapeka Times*, 15 November 1902, p. 4.

<sup>469</sup> 'The Otago Art Society exhibition. The pictures. IV', *ODT*, 26 November 1896, p. 3.

<sup>470</sup> 'Memoranda' ['Kaitangata reader's'], *BH*, 8 October 1901, p. 5.

<sup>471</sup> 'Mr Elder Moultray's exhibition of pictures', *OW*, 2 November 1904, p. 84.

<sup>472</sup> 'Mr Moultray's pupils: Picture exhibition', *OW*, 29 November 1905, p.12.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.*

given.<sup>474</sup> The following year, some previous students were again present, with ‘some really good original paintings’, but none appear to have pursued a career in art.<sup>475</sup>

The number of times both J. Elder and J.D. Moultray were mentioned for their art in newspapers, both during their lifetimes and immediately after, demonstrates that their art was popular and had commercial value. A report of an auction by Messrs Bowman and Sons in October 1891 named a landscape they had for sale by J. Elder Moultray, commenting on its ‘artistic skill’.<sup>476</sup> In another sale in 1893 he was included in a ‘specialty sale of high class paintings by New Zealand artists’.<sup>477</sup> Harcourt and Co. in Wellington also sold pictures on his behalf. A joint sale with J.D. Perrett in 1896 listed them as having ‘established their reputation as artists, their out-door sketches being noted for fidelity, truth in tone and colouring, and for boldness of treatment’.<sup>478</sup>

As well as auction sales, works were also sold through private sales which were advertised in Canterbury as well as Otago.<sup>479</sup> In 1910 a sale of his paintings was advertised by Tuckett and Styles in Melbourne.<sup>480</sup> Another sale in Melbourne in 1915 was in the auction rooms of Arthur Tuckett and Sons.<sup>481</sup> It is unclear from the advertisement whether Moultray was selling direct or his works were being resold on behalf of the owner. J. Elder Moultray’s works were also included in art unions to raise funds for various causes, such as one mounted by the NZAFA for funds to erect a Public Art Gallery in Wellington in 1890.<sup>482</sup> Later, in 1920, his works amongst others enabled the 8<sup>th</sup> Regimental Band in South Canterbury to acquire some more instruments. The ‘complete set of silver-plated instruments’ was exhibited and the names of the contributing artists ‘holding good reputations for first-class work’ were publicised.<sup>483</sup>

In more recent years no art historians have addressed John Elder Moultray’s art in depth, and those few who have commented on his works have addressed only one aspect of his art. Leonard Bell called him as ‘a mediocre painter, with few of the

<sup>474</sup> ‘Mr J. E. Moultray’s exhibition of pictures’, *OW*, 18 December 1907, p. 90.

<sup>475</sup> ‘Mr Moultray’s exhibition of pictures’, *OW*, 23 December 1908, p. 3.

<sup>476</sup> ‘Exhibition of paintings’, *Star*, 21 October 1891, p. 3.

<sup>477</sup> ‘Latest locals: artistic’, *Star*, 28 March 1893, p. 3.

<sup>478</sup> ‘Wednesday, 27<sup>th</sup> May, 1896, at 2.30 p.m.’, *EP*, 20 May 1896, p. 3.

<sup>479</sup> ‘Personal’ [‘a sale of pictures’], *Star*, 11 May 1905, p. 3.

<sup>480</sup> ‘Friday next, November 25’, *Argus*, 19 November 1910, p. 2.

<sup>481</sup> ‘Friday next at 11 o’clock’, *Argus*, 19 June 1915, p. 2.

<sup>482</sup> ‘Local and general’ [The NZAFA], *Wanganui Chronicle*, 27 June 1890, p. 2.

<sup>483</sup> ‘Local and general’ [‘the new complete set of silver-plated instruments’], *Ashburton Guardian*, 26 June 1920, p. 4.

technical and compositional skills of Steele, Watkins or Wright'.<sup>484</sup> Bell also stated that 'the primary thrust of his war paintings (like von Tempsky's earlier) was the heroism and suffering of European soldiers and settlers in the face of villainous savages'. This analysis was based on his thesis and subsequent book, concerning the way European artists 'constructed' a view of Maori based on their own preconceptions and societal expectations, meaning that Moultray's history paintings of other subjects were outside the scope of his argument. A broader view would consider Moultray's works of Māori mythology and ancient history, his genre paintings and landscapes, as well as his photographic works which showed strong technical and artistic skills.

Bell also compared J. Elder Moultray to William Strutt, Louis John Steele and Horatio Gordon Robley, the latter who 'had no illusions about the effects of war'.<sup>485</sup> All three were history painters who depicted the colonial wars; however, it is questionable whether it is possible to compare artists of such different backgrounds and influences. Moultray was born in Scotland, Strutt and Steele in different parts of England and while Robley was of British descent he came from the Island of Madeira. Nor can one fairly compare Moultray, a Scottish artist's son, to Robley, an Ensign in the Durham Light Infantry. Moultray did experience war as a war correspondent, although it was after most of his history paintings were completed and as an observer, while Robley was frequently in the centre of battle.<sup>486</sup> They had different perspectives on a range of issues, having viewed war through different lenses. In addition, William Strutt was in New Zealand only for a few years from 1850, preceding Moultray by thirty years, and Robley for a short time in the mid 1860s. Also, Steele was his contemporary but he settled in Auckland, after living in Paris and Florence; Moultray was based in Dunedin, coming from Scotland to a predominantly Scottish settlement.<sup>487</sup> Different cultural backgrounds followed by different experiences in time and place created different responses.

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<sup>484</sup> Bell, *Colonial constructs*, p. 190.

<sup>485</sup> William Strutt (1825-1916), Louis John Steele (1843-1917) and Horatio Gordon Robley (1840-1930); Bell, *Māori in European art*, p. 52.

<sup>486</sup> Rebecca Rice, 'Horatio Gordon Robley', in William McAloon (ed), *Art at Te Papa*. Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2009, pp. 78-79.

<sup>487</sup> Dunn, *Concise history of New Zealand painting*, pp. 24, 28, 34.

It is also important to note that Bell referred to Moultray as part of a wider study and his focus was not on an individual artist. Valid reasons were given for his conclusions, but they were based on the limited information available at the time. Entwisle's dismissal of Moultray was also in the context of a particular exhibition focusing on the group of artists surrounding W.M. Hodgkins and his introduction was written to justify the inclusion of some artists in the exhibition and not others. Also, he gave no justification for his generalisations concerning 'the Moultray'. Nor did he acknowledge that no comprehensive art-historical study had been undertaken on J. Elder Moultray's art or of his writings.

Moultray's history paintings appear to have followed a trajectory in which initial interest in their novelty gave way to criticism of his subject matter and style within the changing artistic and political environment of the early twentieth century. Now, however, they are simply ignored. It is highly likely that the reception of J. Elder Moultray's paintings, after his lifetime, was influenced by what Claudia Bell called 'the founding myth of New Zealand'.<sup>488</sup> She noted that 'while the past comprises injustice, war and bloodshed, the history that a population chooses to remember is that which supports the peaceful myth that prevails for Pākehā New Zealanders'.<sup>489</sup> Moultray's depictions of colonial and soldier heroes appear to have overshadowed his other history paintings, Māori mythological paintings, genre and landscapes. Rather than seeing his works as a contribution towards the general search for a New Zealand identity, he appears to be viewed as an artist who depicted images which contemporary Pākehā New Zealanders would like to forget.

To add to the confusion, various auction sales and writings of the later twentieth century have erroneously listed two men called James and John Moultray as having produced works. However, as there is no evidence of another sibling, typing errors and confusion over birth names has created confusion. In addition, the National Library of Australia wrongly ascribed a work to James Moultray when it was clearly painted by J. Elder Moultray, an error which was repeated several times with the image on the

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<sup>488</sup> Claudia Bell, *Inventing New Zealand: everyday myths of pakeha identity*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996, p. 9.

<sup>489</sup> Ibid.

internet, but has since been corrected by the NLA when brought to its attention.<sup>490</sup>

There may also be paintings ascribed to J. Elder Moultray which were painted by his father, James, or brother, Henry.

It is ironical, also, that J. Elder Moultray's most commonly reproduced images are not even credited to him. The first is *The Phantom Canoe*, c. 1886 (Dunedin: Hocken, **plate 2**), photographed by Alfred Burton soon after it was painted and surviving as a glass-plate negative owned by Te Papa. It is often reproduced and credited as a Burton photograph without reference to the original artist, and is currently displayed in this way on the Te Papa website.<sup>491</sup> At least two books on Mt Tarawera's eruption have reproduced the photograph with the attribution to A.H. Burton. One called it a Burton painting, implying that Burton himself painted it.<sup>492</sup> The second calls it a 'recreation of the sighting' and does not mention that it is a painting at all.<sup>493</sup> In addition, as Burton's photographs were used in his public lectures and also available for sale the connection with Moultray was lost.<sup>494</sup> In the most recent example, in June 2011, it was used as an illustration on a Prime TV documentary, 'The Hunt for the Pink and White Terraces'.<sup>495</sup> None of the other art works depicted was identified either, as by Charles Blomfield or Kennett Watkins, but unlike Moultray they are often reproduced with full references. Moultray's inclusion in the documentary, however, demonstrates that his art is still being referenced.<sup>496</sup> Clearly a number of people, including Alfred Burton who probably commissioned the work, Te Papa in the late twentieth century and the producers and directors of the documentary recently, all thought this work was of merit, or at the very least, of topical interest.

<sup>490</sup> This was John Elder Moultray's 'A Trooper of the Wanganui Cavalry attacked by the Hau-haus, 1892', <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an2282244>, accessed 17 February 2011

<sup>491</sup> Te Papa, 'The phantom canoe seen on Lake Tarawera, May 31st 1886', C.010662, accessed 14 June 2011

<sup>492</sup> Keam, *Tarawera*, p. 70.

<sup>493</sup> Geoff Conly, *Tarawera: the destruction of the pink and white terraces*, Wellington: Grantham House, 1985, p. 29.

<sup>494</sup> 'City Hall – limelight exhibition', AS, 20 July 1886, p. 2;

Our own correspondent, 'Auckland: July 29', *ODT*, 9 August 1886, p. 4.

<sup>495</sup> Dean Cornish and Melanie Rakena (Directors), 'The hunt for the Pink and White Terraces', Jam T.V., 2011. Viewed Prime T.V., 8.30pm 12 June 2011.

<sup>496</sup> Charles Blomfield executed many paintings of the Pink and White Terraces of which several were shown;

See also Kennett Watkins, *The Phantom Canoe: A Legend of Lake Tarawera*, 1888 (Auckland: AAG). From, AAG, 'Kennett Watkins', 2011. <http://www.aucklandartgallery.com/the-collection/browse-artwork/349/the-phantom-canoe-a-legend-of-lake-tarawera>, accessed 14 June 2011



The second painting is unknown as a Moultray painting but is also accessible through Te Papa Collections Online as a Burton Brothers photograph. This is of *Mount Tarawera in Eruption*.<sup>497</sup> On the Alexander Turnbull Library website 'Timeframes' it has the additional information that it is 'a photograph of a painting by an unknown artist'.<sup>498</sup> Its artist would remain unknown except that a book on Mount Tarawera has left a tantalising clue. R.F. Keam reproduced it along with the Alfred Burton photograph of *The Phantom Canoe*.<sup>499</sup> Both are photographed with the same distinctive background, evident on the Te Papa website, and they are sequential in numbering. Both were probably commissioned by Alfred Burton in Dunedin from J. Elder Moultray at the same time, to add to his series on the eruption. The style is also consistent with Moultray's art in this period of his artistic development.

The critical history of Moultray's paintings followed a downward trajectory from popularity and approval in his lifetime, to disparaging comments by later critics and current oblivion. Exemplifying this uncertain status a painting by J. Elder Moultray recently displayed by the Auckland Art Gallery, in a temporary exhibition, gave his father's birth and death on the label.<sup>500</sup> Erroneous information, the lack of acknowledgement about works he did, as well as some of his works being credited to other people, have all added to Moultray's anonymity and misconceptions regarding his output.

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<sup>497</sup> Te Papa, 'Mount Tarawera in Eruption', C.010667, accessed 18 August 2011

<sup>498</sup> ATL, Timeframes, 'Photograph of a painting by an unknown artist depicting the 1886 eruption of Mt Tarawera eruption', 1/2-080869-F, accessed 18 August 2011

<sup>499</sup> Keam, *Tarawera*, pp.70, 317. The phantom canoe is no. 3997 and Mt. Tarawera no. 3998 ½. While both photographs have Muir and Moodie printed on them Alfred Burton was still alive at the time and the partner of Thomas Muir. Muir did not form his partnership with George Moodie until 1898. Simone Lehr, 'Northern Cemetary: Biographical details: Muir, Thomas', 2003. <http://www.northerncemetery.org.nz/northerncemetery/application/dynamic/bio.cfm?BurialID=16623>, accessed 8 September 2011

<sup>500</sup> Label beside: J. Elder Moultray, *A Trooper of the Wanganui Cavalry Attacked by the Hauhau*, 1892, (Canberra: NLA) at AAG, viewed 2 November 2011.

## CONCLUSION

Landscapes were often the means to put bread and butter on the table for J. Elder Moultray and many of his contemporaries, yet the art society exhibitions and reports show that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century history painting was a flourishing genre in New Zealand art standing alongside landscape, and appreciated by the public. Many artists who are now classified primarily as landscape artists also painted genre, Māori mythology and some history paintings. Today, despite the innovations of modernism and post-modernism, a vibrant historical painting tradition continues in New Zealand art, alongside and sometimes mixed with genre, landscape, portraiture and, to a lesser extent, still life. By placing J. Elder Moultray within the genre of New Zealand history painting tradition and within the spectrum of war art in the nineteenth century, assessing his contribution to the Otago art community and wider New Zealand society, and by looking at his wider oeuvre, it becomes obvious that Moultray made a distinctive contribution to New Zealand art.

Moultray used his art in a variety of ways and took advantage of any opportunity to create an income through exhibiting, auctions, art unions, illustrations, writing and teaching. He sent art works to various New Zealand art societies and Australasian exhibitions, sold by auction and held successful art unions. Moultray went to the second Boer War as a war correspondent with the 1<sup>st</sup> Contingent, and drew and painted scenes and incidents from it. With both his father and alone, he taught a large number of art students. Part of the legacy Moultray left when he died, along with his history paintings, were his engaging writings that give today's art historians a unique insight into the way he and his academically trained contemporaries viewed traditional and contemporary art, and the way colonial troopers viewed the conflicts with Māori. It is unlikely, however, that his art had much impact on the public's opinion of Māori and the colonial wars. Moultray was only one among many who depicted Māori, in both genre and historical

paintings. Also, a direct legacy of Moultray's historical art is not apparent in New Zealand art history, as landscape art appeared to be favoured amongst his many students.

Moultray's marginalisation is a combination of complicated factors, some of which he had no control over, such as poor attributions, and some which resulted from personal choice. The social and political times he lived in, as well as his training, influenced his choices in subject matter and style. By following traditional academic art and not seeing the value in Impressionism, Post-impressionism, Symbolism or Art Nouveau, Moultray was at odds with the changing artistic climate around him. The content of his colonial history paintings, too, which viewed Pākehā as the hero and Māori as the antagonist, was out of favour in the changing political climate of the early-to-mid twentieth century and became increasingly unpalatable to a politically conscious and 'correct' public. An unfortunate result of this view is that Moultray's paintings have not been valued within New Zealand. Predictably, they are still being sought by descendants of the people he depicted in specific incidents, who may value them as illustrations of their forebears' heroic endeavours, and by collectors of military art.

In addition, the growing popularity of photography meant that instead of artistic illustrations, newspapers began using photographers instead of traditional artists to supply images. The development of photo-mechanical reproduction also gave newspapers greater options for their illustrations and quality was becoming important. By 1904, when his work was last reproduced in a newspaper, the *Otago Witness* and *Otago Daily Times* were using more photographs than graphic illustrations. Since he obviously enjoyed photography, it is surprising that he did not exploit his ability further in this field. Moultray may have seen himself primarily as an artist and this may have withheld his desire to pursue photography for commercial gain.

I argue that it is not due to a lack of artistic merit that J. Elder Moultray is ignored by today's art historians and art-conscious public. Many artists of lesser ability continue to be valued by New Zealand art historians for their contribution to the development of their genre. Like other working artists of his time, Moultray did not always finish his works to a high degree and some may have suffered from the need to put food on the table. He also replicated some of his more popular history paintings and landscapes, a

standard practice of the time. Some appear to have been built around a limited tonal contrast, much like an early photograph, but these were the paintings that he replicated for the *ODT&W* print series in ‘half-tone’ and these probably contributed to a poor opinion of Moultray’s work by later art critics who may not have seen their originals.<sup>501</sup>

Moultray’s history and landscape paintings which he executed after his European trip, and particularly in his later years, show that he was investigating new techniques, introducing brighter and wider colour schemes, overlaying tints, using a palette knife and visible brushstrokes and trying out different spatial arrangements. In at least one painting he appears to have tinted the whole painting with light green.<sup>502</sup> Perhaps he couldn’t help experimenting with artistic techniques, despite his conservative nature and academic training. It is possible, too, that at times he may have been short of paint and used it sparingly to make it last or that he used some cheaper products, and this, as well as water damage, could have contributed to the deterioration of *The Phantom Canoe*, and the sketchy appearance of some others. On occasion, however, Moultray displayed a very polished technical ability and imaginative approach.

An analysis of Moultray’s history paintings allows a number of conclusions with regard to his abilities as an artist. Firstly, modernist innovations that were openly embraced by many younger artists appeared to be ignored by Moultray as irrelevant to a history-based genre. Instead, he placed emphasis on his research for the painting as paramount, and the manner of execution as subordinate to it. This was despite his lengthy study of painting techniques in his trips to European art galleries. More concerned with depicting the ‘truth’, rather than exploring exaggerated drama, Moultray’s style remained fundamentally realist.

Secondly, through his knowledge of academic art, Moultray followed a precedent set by West, when he depicted both recent history and contemporary incidents in appropriate dress. Like Meissonier, too, he created both anecdotal and more traditional history paintings. Some were based on real events and well researched, while others were general comments on the colonial war and the types of incidents it involved.

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<sup>501</sup> ‘A series of pictures of stirring incidents of the Maori war’, *OW*, 6 October 1898, p. 3.

<sup>502</sup> J. Elder Moultray, *View Down the Waitaki Valley, New Zealand*, n.d. (p.c).

Thirdly, unlike Cyprian Bridge, Von Tempsky or Robley, but similar to West, Meissonier and Elizabeth Butler, Moultray did not experience at first hand the events he painted of the New Zealand colonial wars. Instead, like West, he researched them extensively and painted them as retrospective historicism or as an artistic journalist who painted from a distance. His view of the past was established through other people's memories and second-hand stories. His paintings and sketches of the second Boer War, too, were based on his role as an observer, close to the scene of action but not an actual participant. Inevitably, his second-hand perspectives and preconceptions influenced his view of these events.

Moultray's beliefs that underpinned his artistic expression explains the style he chose to paint in, as well as the subject matter of his paintings, his admiration for academic art, artists who depicted the 'truth', and those who did not attempt to shock the viewer. As noted in one of his diaries, he was staunchly Christian, believing fervently in the gospels.<sup>503</sup> Although he did not paint religious images himself, Moultray rarely painted anything with a nude figure in it, with one known exception, *The Shooting*, and even when he depicted Māori dying in battle there was no intention to offend anybody.

With a comprehensive understanding of the broad scope of John Elder Moultray's artistic and literary output, I assert that he was not the mediocre 'hack' suggested by some art historians and suggest that Moultray has not received fair recognition. The lack of information about him and the limited examples of his works available to art historians, as well as the reproduction of his works without attribution to him, have all contributed towards this situation. He created some iconic works of art that are, unfortunately, under-valued by the only institution in New Zealand to own any of his history paintings, in contrast to the care taken of the work held in Australia and those identified in the possession of private owners.

I also suggest that Moultray's low status is partly due to the imposition of a twentieth- and twenty-first century political viewpoint on nineteenth-century historical art. The colonial-Māori wars were a response to Māori resistance to colonial desire for land and one which created heroes and villains on both sides. Moultray depicted the

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<sup>503</sup> Moultray, 'Diary, 1886-1887', 'Sabbath 19<sup>th</sup> Dec.'

colonial viewpoint, through the troopers' eyes, one which some New Zealanders of today would rather forget. There are, however, many valuable lessons that can be learnt from Moultray's history paintings.

To return to my original question, was J. Elder Moultray a history painter or an historical journalist? The only possible answer is that he was both. While Moultray developed his history painting more than his artistic journalism, his paintings and his writings are equally valuable. They provide insights, not only into late nineteenth-century perceptions of New Zealand's colonial military history, but also New Zealand's art history. Moultray's history paintings were an important addition to New Zealand's history painting genre if for no other reason than that no other New Zealand artist consistently painted incidents from the colonial wars from a colonial viewpoint, based on primary research. They can no longer be seen as depicting the 'truth', but that in itself tells a story of change in New Zealand social history' and self-image.

Just as importantly, Moultray's writings help explain why some artists strongly resisted modernism and why nineteenth-century traditional art practice continued to thrive alongside innovations in art practice, well into the twentieth century. They provide insights into late nineteenth-century perceptions of New Zealand's colonial military history from the viewpoint of the trooper who fought in the skirmishes. It is precisely his contribution as a researcher and a writer that allows his paintings to contribute valuable insights both for New Zealand art history and New Zealand military history. While his art is not easily accessible, fortunately J. Elder Moultray's writings on both art and war are readily available through that popular and all-pervasive nineteenth-century medium – the newspaper.

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## **AUDIO-VISUAL**

Cornish, Dean and Melanie Rakena (Directors), 'The hunt for the Pink and White Terraces', Jam TV, 2011. Viewed Prime T.V., 8.30 pm 12 June 2011.

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4. *An Urgent Despatch*, c.1888 (p.c.)
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15. *Pursued*, ODT&W, 10 November 1898, p. 2, supplement in OW.
16. *The Peach Grove Massacre*, *ibid.*, p. 3.
17. *The Battle of Te Pungarehu*, *ibid.*, p. 5.
18. *The Battle of Moturoa*, *ibid.*, p. 6.
19. *Poverty Bay- the Morning of the Massacre*, *ibid.*, p. 7.
20. *Too Late*, *ibid.*, p. 9.
21. *The Sentry*, OW, 5 April 1900, p. 35.
22. *An Incident of the Maori War: Shooting a Native Despatch Runner*, ODT&W Christmas annual, 21 December 1904, p. 18, supplement in OW.

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24. *The Captain being rowed down the Clyde by the Midshipman*, 5 July 1883.
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29. *Rounding the Cape of Good Hope during a gale: shipping a sea at the break of the poop on board the Helen Denny*, 4 September 1883.
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34. *Our Contingent on board the Waiwera: a serious case in the loose-box*, AWN, 17 November 1899, supplement, p. 3.
35. *Hoisting a dead horse overboard*, AWN, 1 December 1899, supplement, p. 7.
36. *A Mad Horse Breaking from the Loose Box*, 'Sketches of the Transvaal war', OW, 11 January 1900, p. 33.
37. *A Pillow Fight*, *ibid.*

### **DRAWINGS OF MĀORI MYTHOLOGY**

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38. *'Kurungatuku, The Bird Sorceress'*, ODT&W Christmas Annual, supplement in OW, 21 December 1904, p. 6.
39. *'Matakerapo, An Old Blind Goddess'*, *ibid.*, p. 11.
40. *'The Demi-God Tawhaki'*, *ibid.*, p. 12.

### **PHOTOGRAPHS BY J. ELDER MOULTRAY**

All photographic prints from glass plate negatives, attached to unpublished journal by J. Elder Moultray, 'Diary, 1886-1887: a months [sic] stay among the mountains of Otago illustrated with a number of original photographs, selected to give the best idea of the character of the scenery' (Geraldine: p.c.).

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1. Photographer Unknown: Moultray and McFie family, Taken at Waikouiti, undated, [courtesy granddaughter of Ivy McFie: Mrs. Vivienne Hill]

**From left to right:**

**Back row:** Winifred Moultray, Osborne McFie, **John Elder Moultray**, Sara McFie, Ivy McFie

**Front Row:** Johanna and William McFie, Owen McFie

**Foreground:** Family cockatoo



2. *The Phantom Canoe*, 1886 (Dunedin: Hocken).



3. *The Shooting*, c. 1880s (p.c.).



4. *An Urgent Despatch*, c. 1898 (p.c.)





5. *The Bryce Affair near Handley's Woolsheds, Nukumaru, November 1868, 1889 (p.c.)*



6. *A Reconnaissance at Nukumarū, pre-1898 (location unknown).*



7. *A Trooper of the Wanganui Cavalry attacked by the Hau-hau, 1892*  
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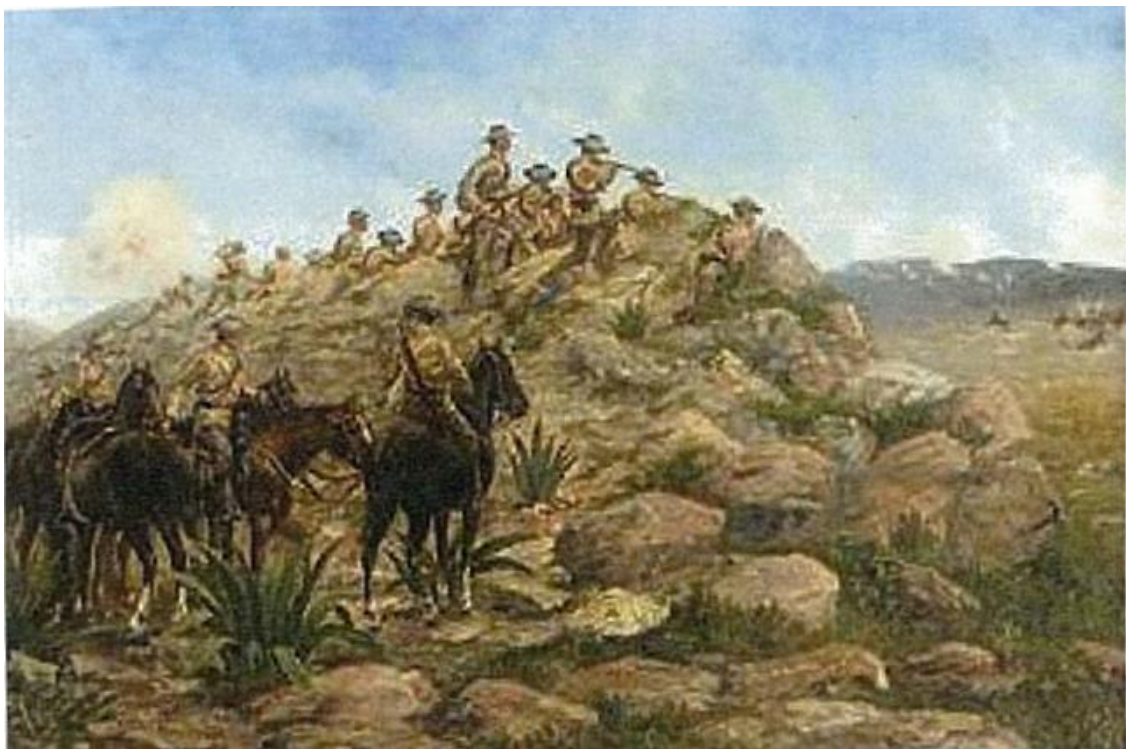


8. *The Death of Sergeant-Major Maxwell at Nukumaru, 1898 (p.c.)*





9. *Retribution, An Incident of the Maori Wars, 1898 (p.c.)*



10. *N.Z.'s First Employment in the Boer War, December 1899, c.1900 (p.c.)*



11. *Roman Warriors returning from Ancient Britain with captives*, 1903  
(Dunedin: Hocken)





12. *'It is a God': Captain Cook's Ship off the New Zealand Coast, c.1910*  
(Dunedin: Hocken)



13. *Homeless: An Episode in City Life*, 1912 (Dunedin: Hocken)



14. *The Battle of Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu, Sept. 7, 1868, 1912 (Dunedin: Hocken)*



15. *Pursued*, *ODT & W*, 10 November 1898, supplement, p. 2.





16. *The Peach Grove Massacre*, ODT&W, 10 November 1898, supplement, p. 3.





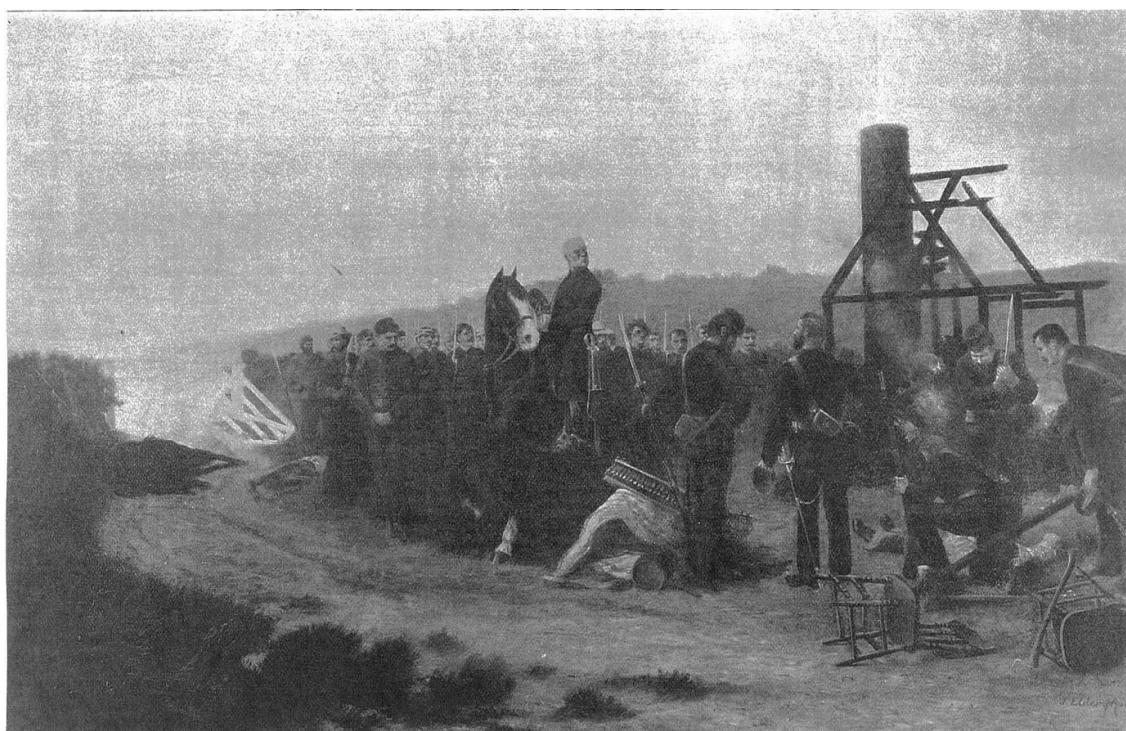
17. *The Battle of Te Pungarehu*, ODT&W, 10 November 1898, supplement, p. 5.



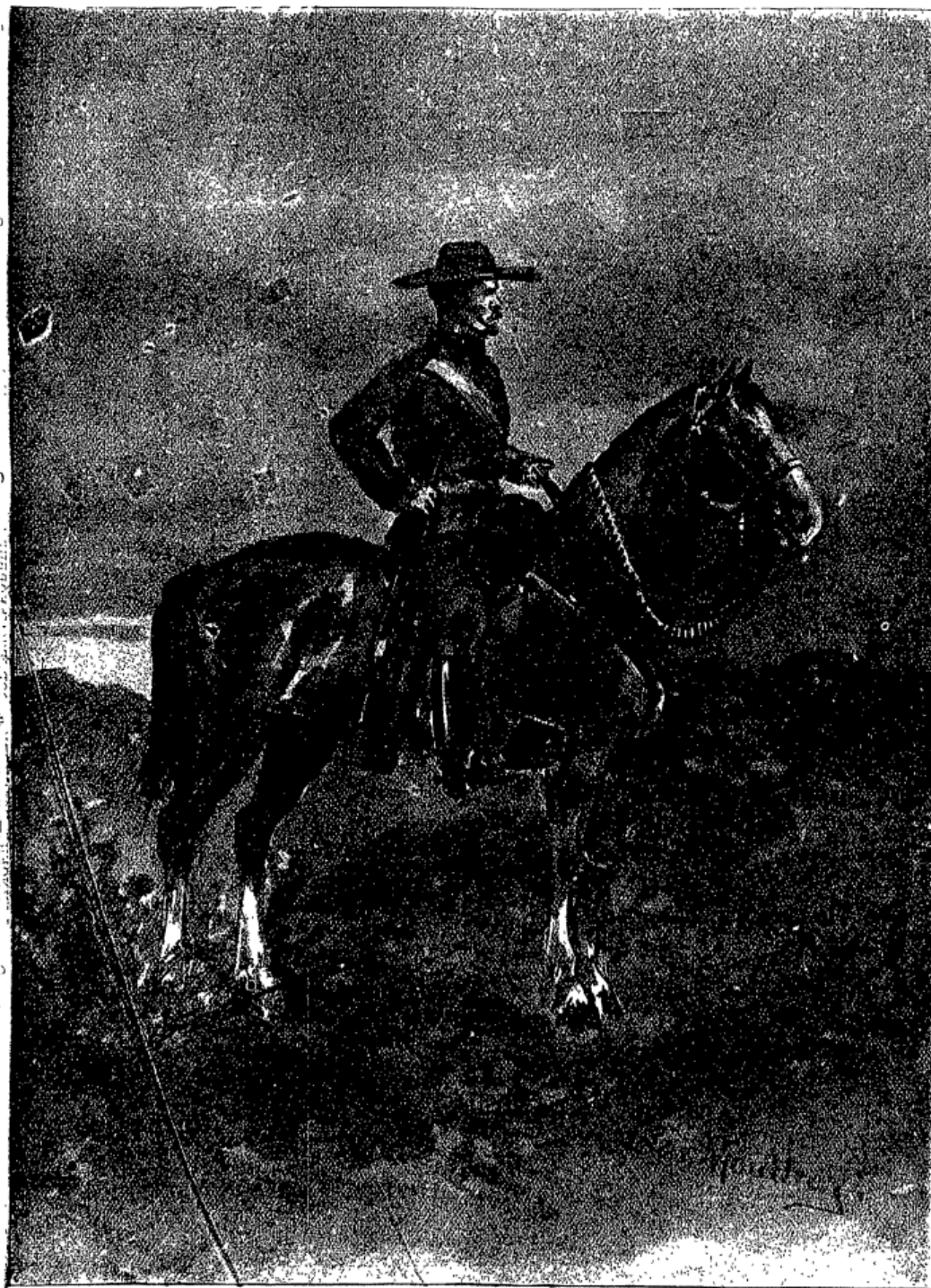
18. *The Battle of Moturoa*, ODT&W, 10 November 1898, supplement, p. 6.



19. *Poverty Bay- the Morning of the Massacre*, ODT&W, 10 November 1898, supplement, p. 7.



20. *Too Late*, ODT&W, 10 November 1898, supplement, p. 9.

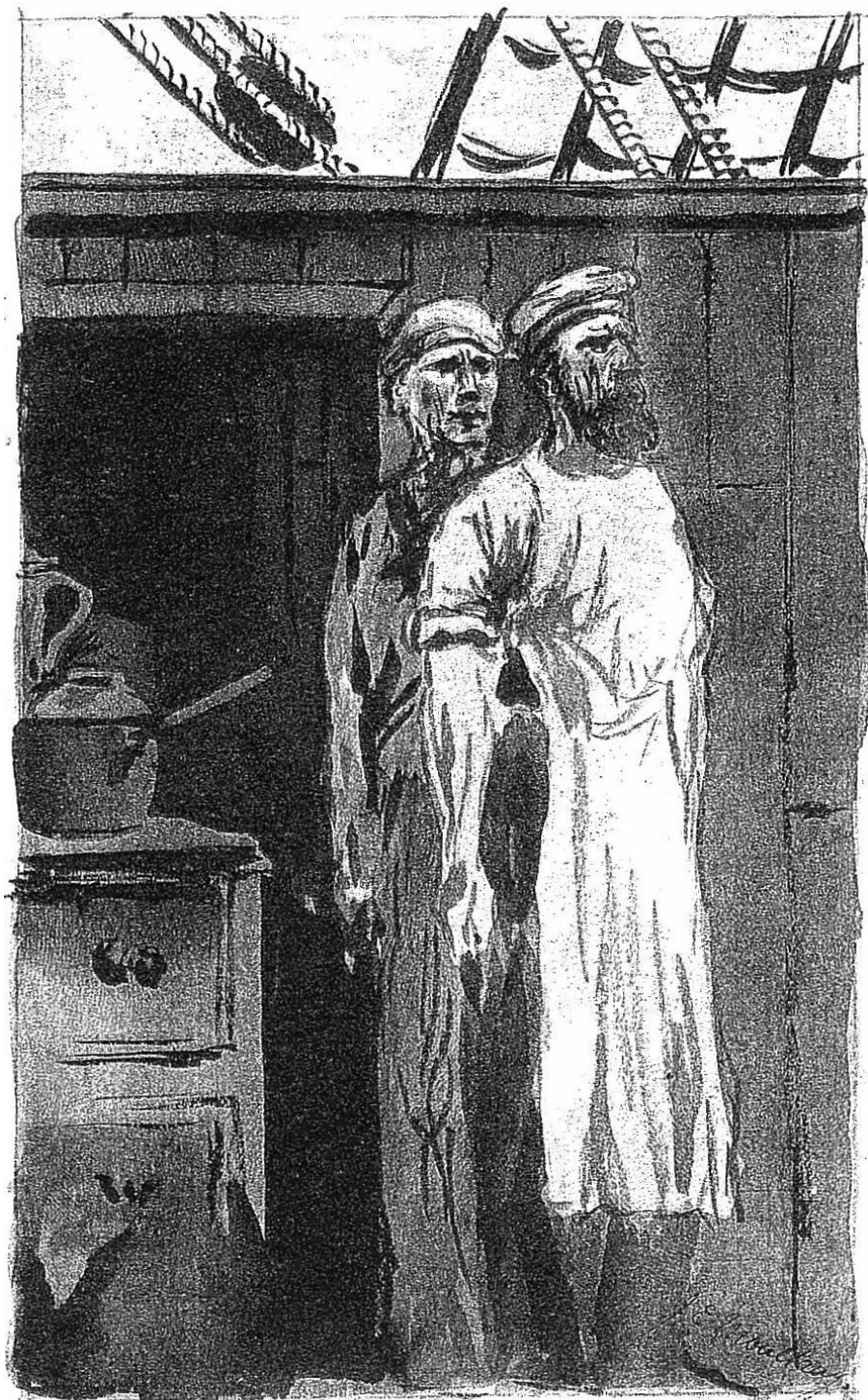


21. *The Sentry, OW*, 5 April 1900, p. 35.





22. *An Incident of the Maori War: Shooting a Native Despatch Runner, ODT&W, 21 December 1904, p. 18.*



*The Culinary Department watching the Passengers  
coming on board.*

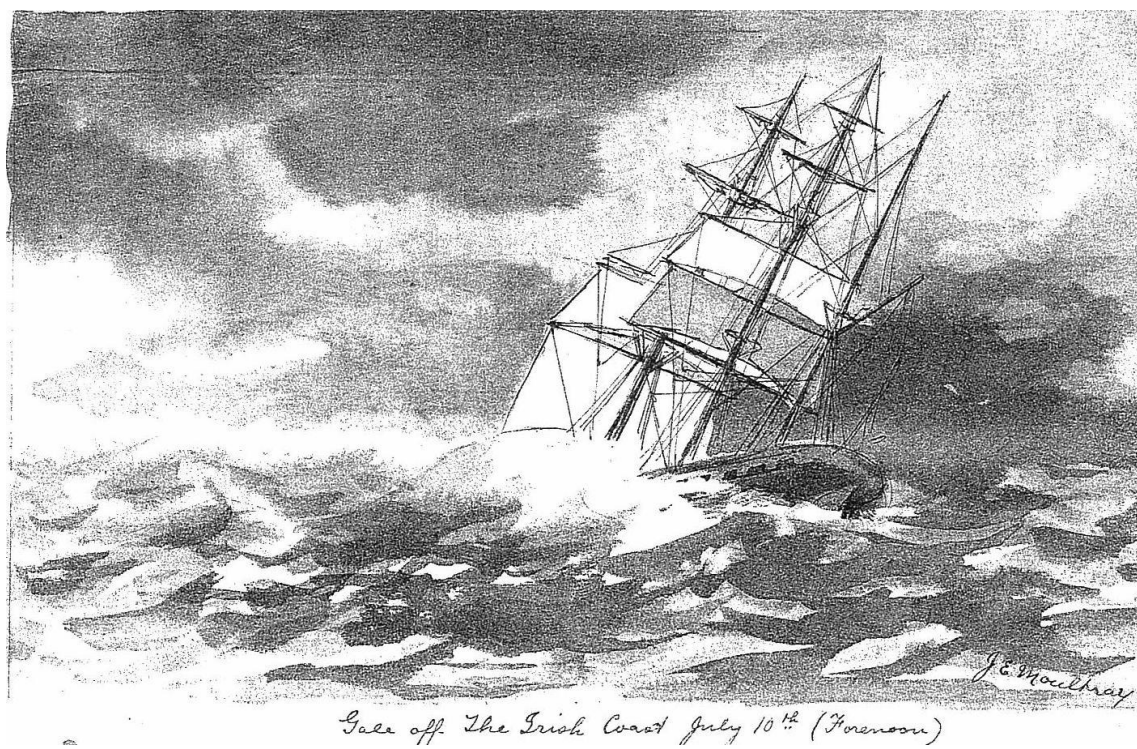
23. *The Culinary Department watching the Passengers coming on board, 4 July 1883 (p.c.).*



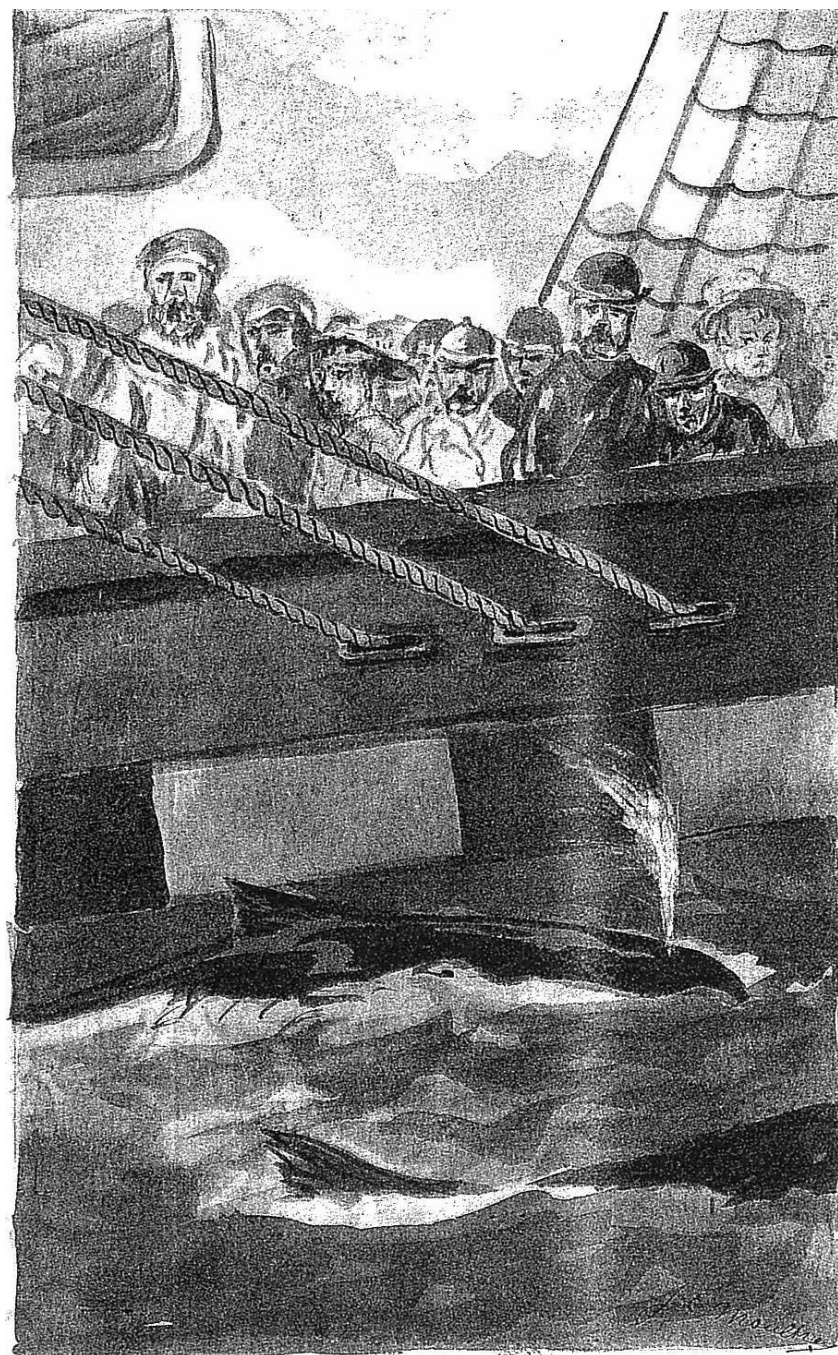
*The Captain being rowed down the Clyde by the Midshipmen*

24. *The Captain being rowed down the Clyde by the Midshipman, 5 July 1883*  
(p.c.)



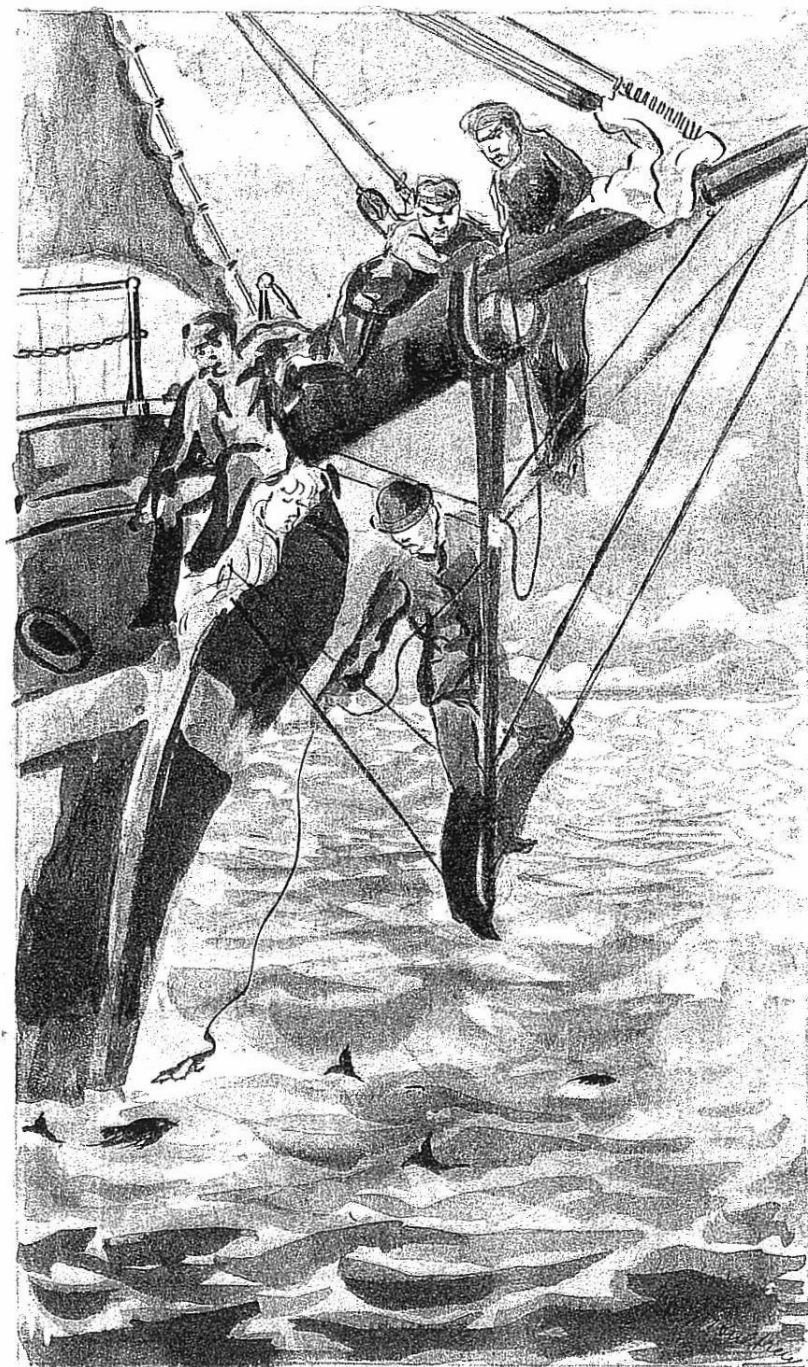


25. *Gale off the Irish Coast July 10<sup>th</sup> (Forenoon), 1883 (p.c.).*



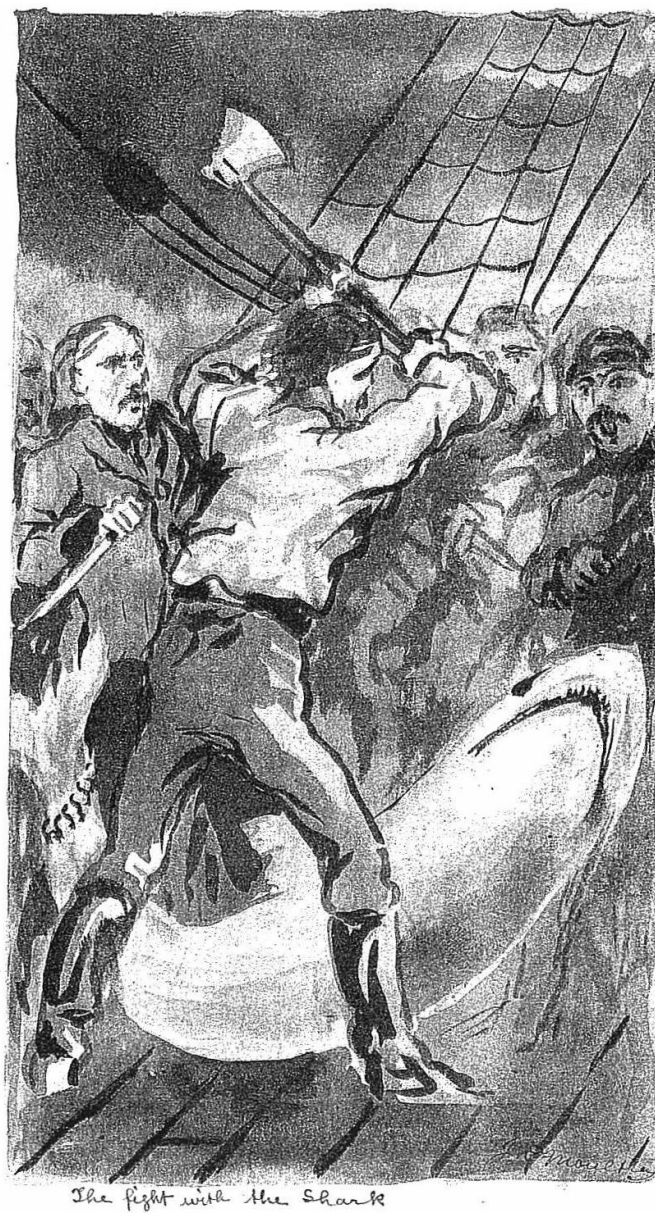
first sight of a Grampus

26. *First Sight of a Grampus, 25 July 1883 (p.c.)*



*A Passenger Fishing for Bonitoes off the Bowpoint  
3 Sailors aiding & abetting.*

27. *A Passenger Fishing for Bonitoes off the Bowpoint, 3 Sailors aiding & abetting, 28 July 1883 (p.c.)*

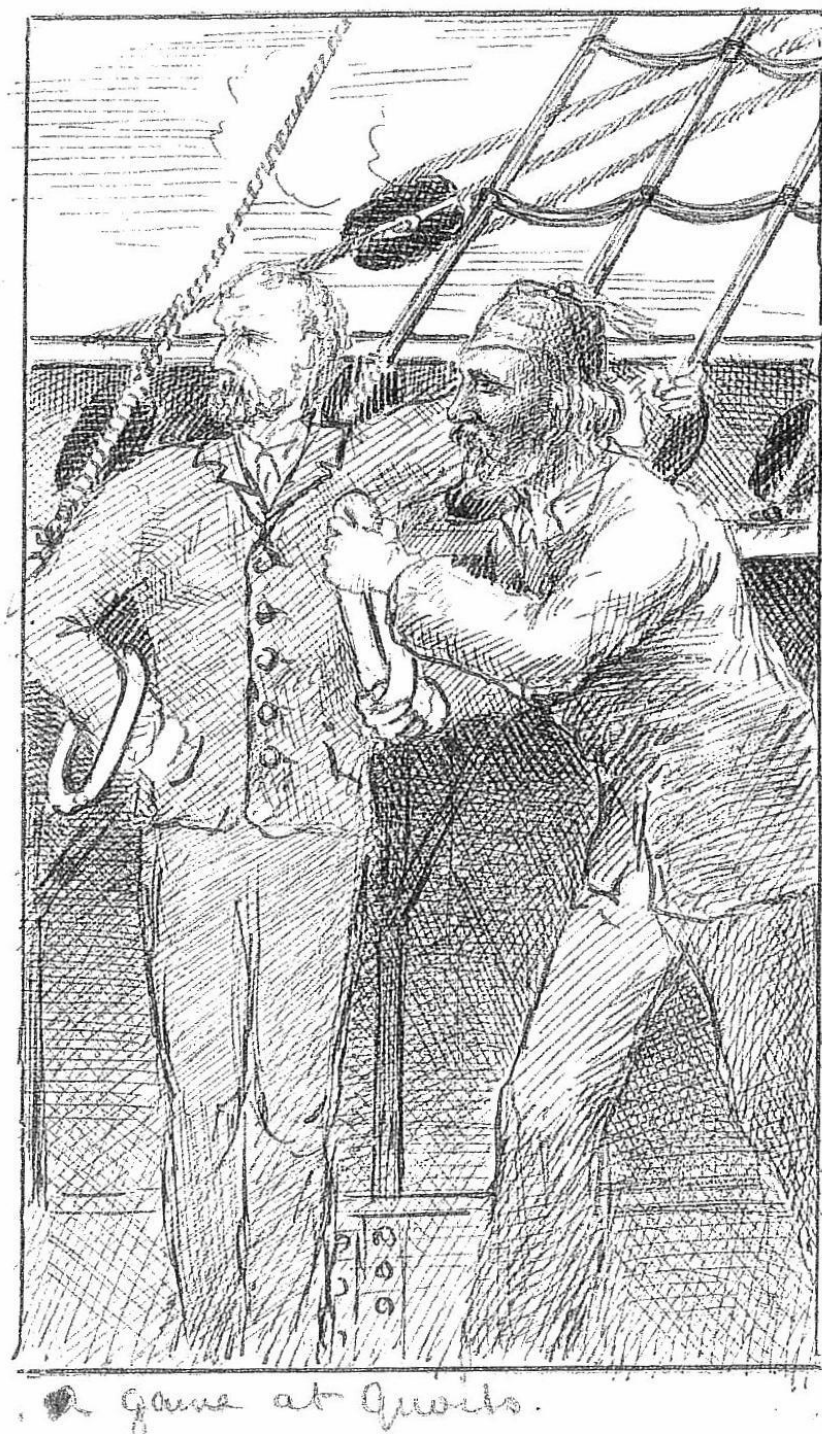


28. *The Fight with the Shark*, 29 July 1883 (p.c.)





29. *Rounding the Cape of Good Hope during a gale: shipping a sea at the break of the poop on board the Helen Denny, 4 September 1883 (p.c.)*



30. *A Game of Quoits*, 11 September 1883 (p.c.)



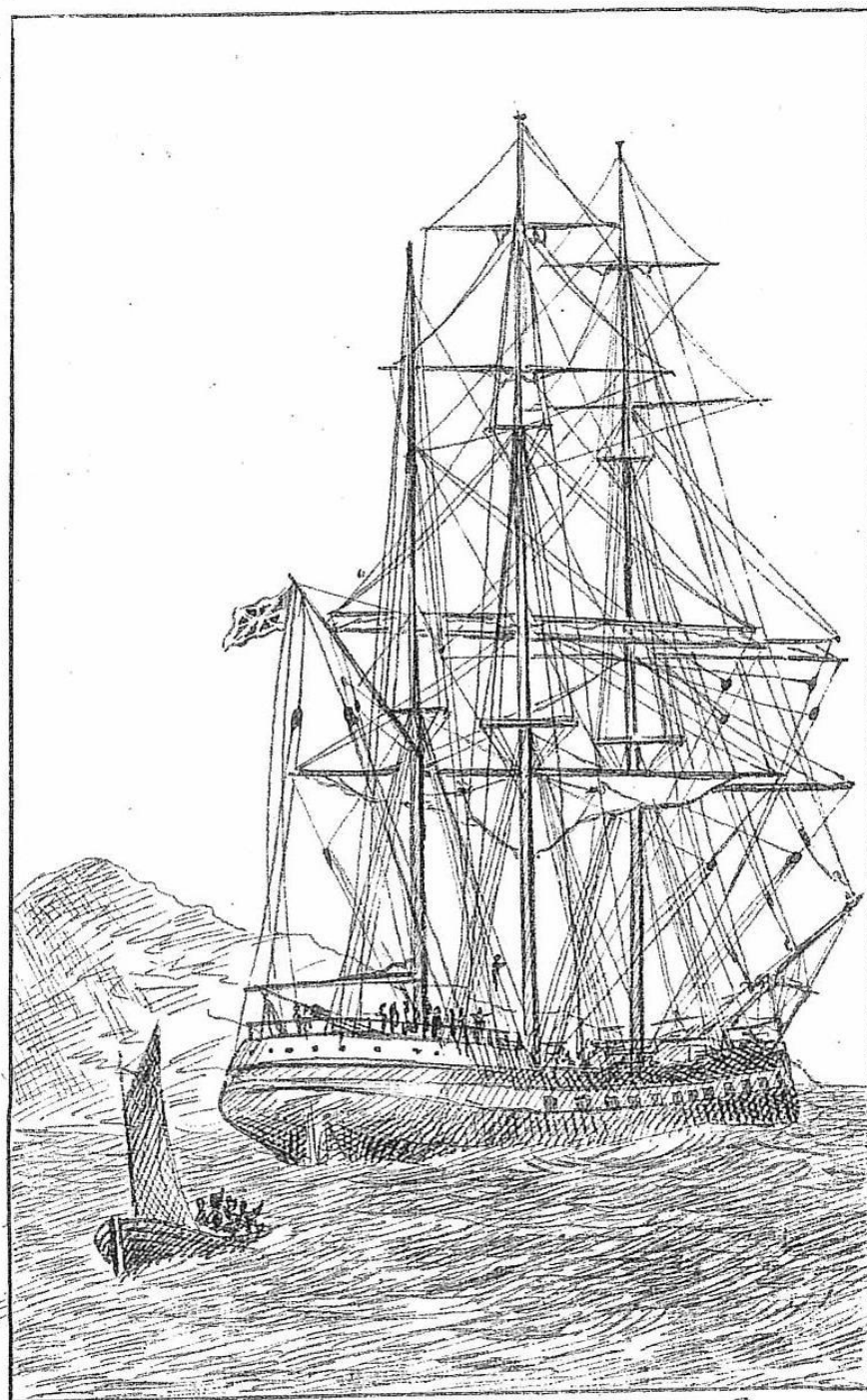
*Getting Water in the fore lower hold.*

31. *Getting Water in the fore lower hold, 18 September 1883 (p.c.)*



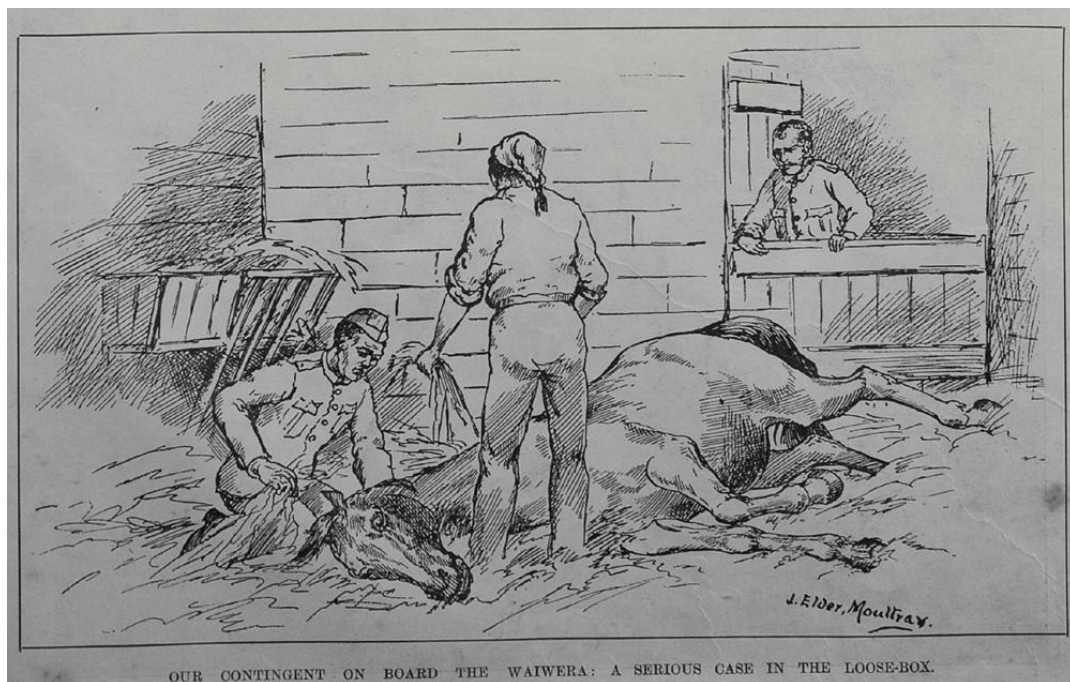
32. *Decorative Art at Sea*, 23 September 1883 (p.c.)





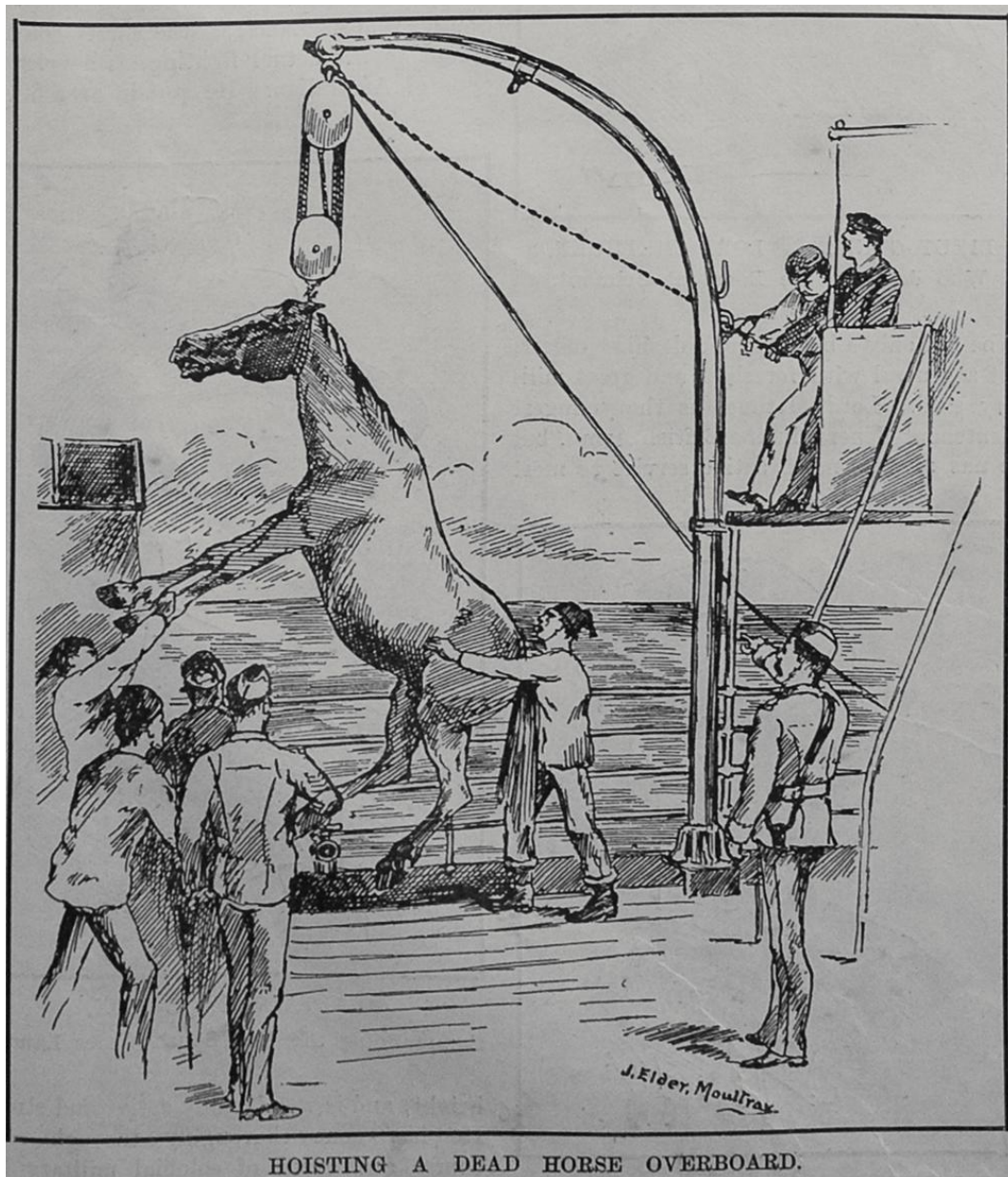
*The "Helen Denny" at anchor in Deborah Bay, Port Chalmers, Otago, New Zealand.*

33. *The Helen Denny at anchor in Deborah Bay, Port Chalmers, Otago, New Zealand, 9 October 1883 (p.c.)*



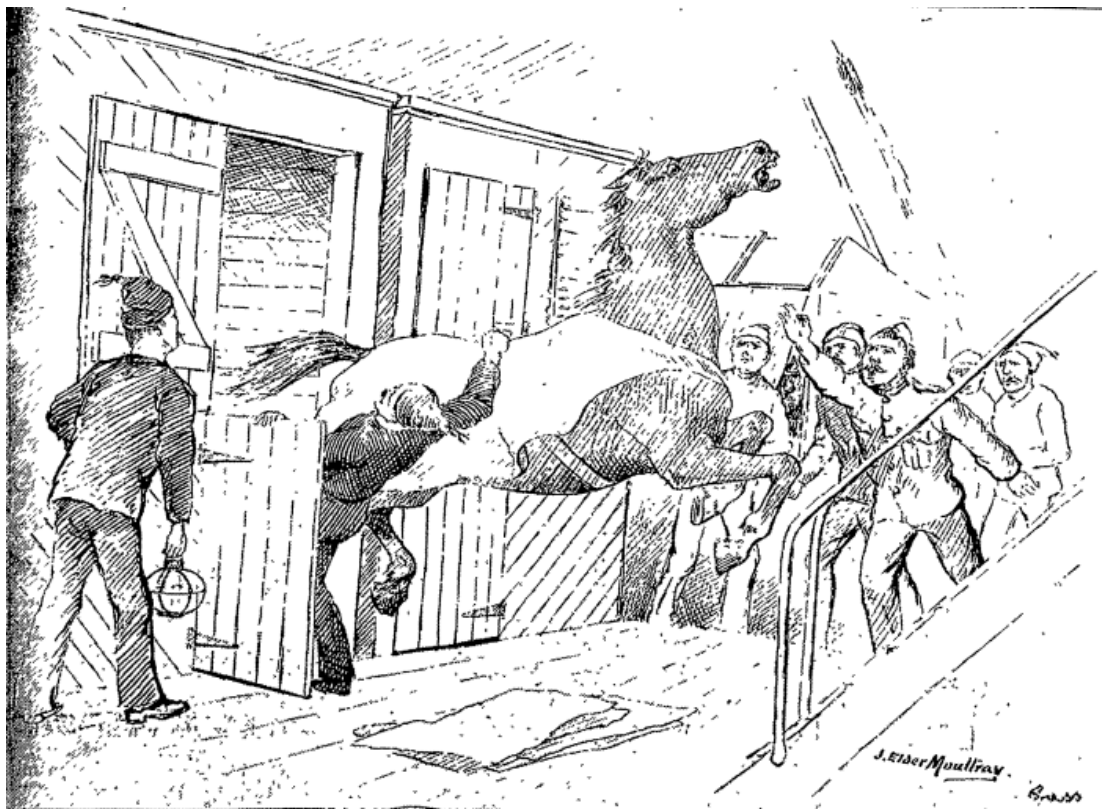
OUR CONTINGENT ON BOARD THE WAIWERA: A SERIOUS CASE IN THE LOOSE-BOX.

34. *Our Contingent on Board the Waiwera: a serious case in the loose-box,* 1899 (AWN, 17 November 1899, supplement, p. 3).



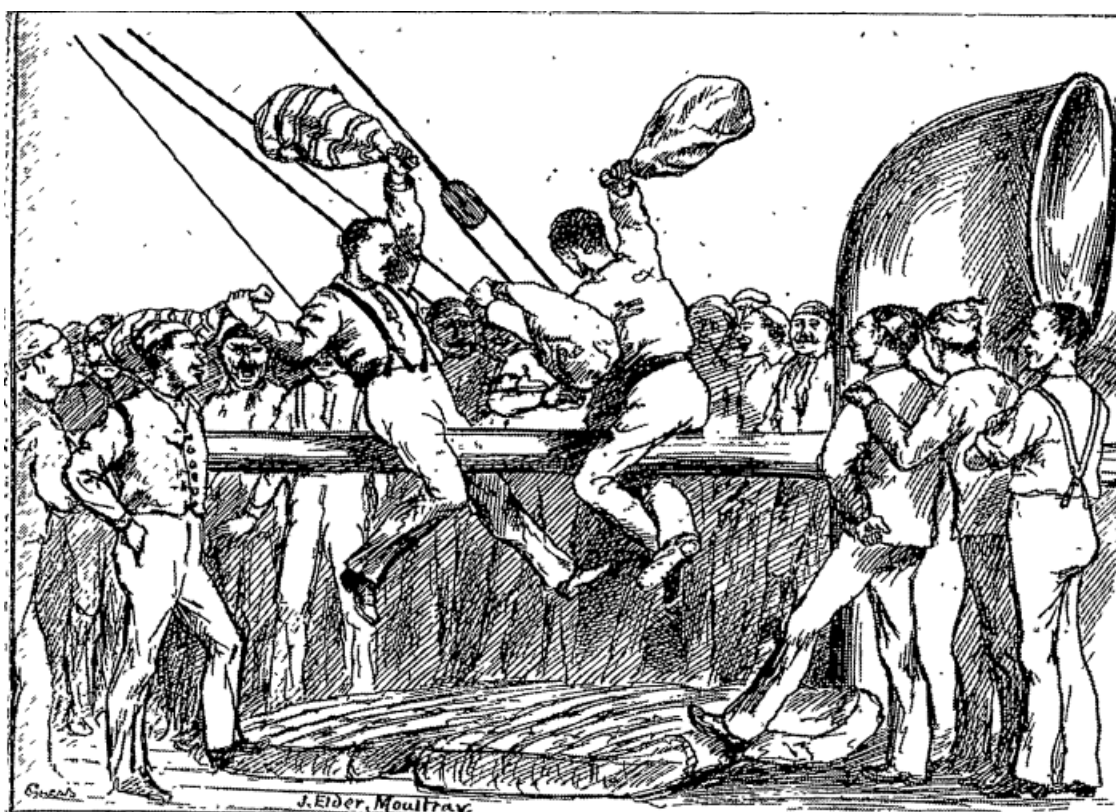
HOISTING A DEAD HORSE OVERBOARD.

35. *Hoisting a dead horse overboard*, 1899 (AWN, 1 December 1899, supplement, p. 7).



36. *A Mad Horse Breaking From the Loose Box*, 1900 ('Sketches of the Transvaal war', *OW*, 11 January 1900, p. 33).





37. *A Pillow Fight*, 1900 ('Sketches of the Transvaal war', *OW*, 11 January 1900, p



38. *Kurungatuku, The Bird Sorceress*, 1904 (ODT&W, 21 December 1904d, p. 6).



39. *Matakerepo: An Old Blind Goddess*, 1904 (ODT&W, 21 December 1904, p. 11).



40. *The Demi-God Tawhaki*, 1904 (*ODT&W*, 21 December 1904, p. 12).

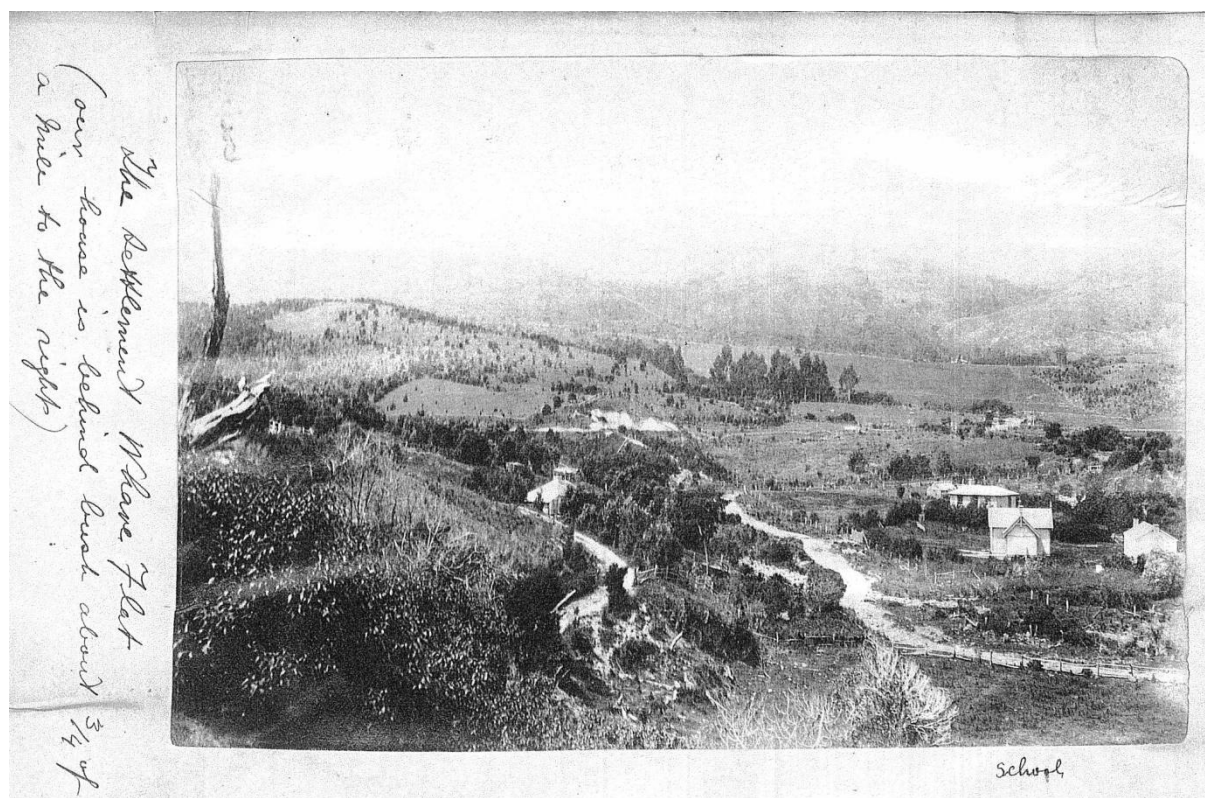




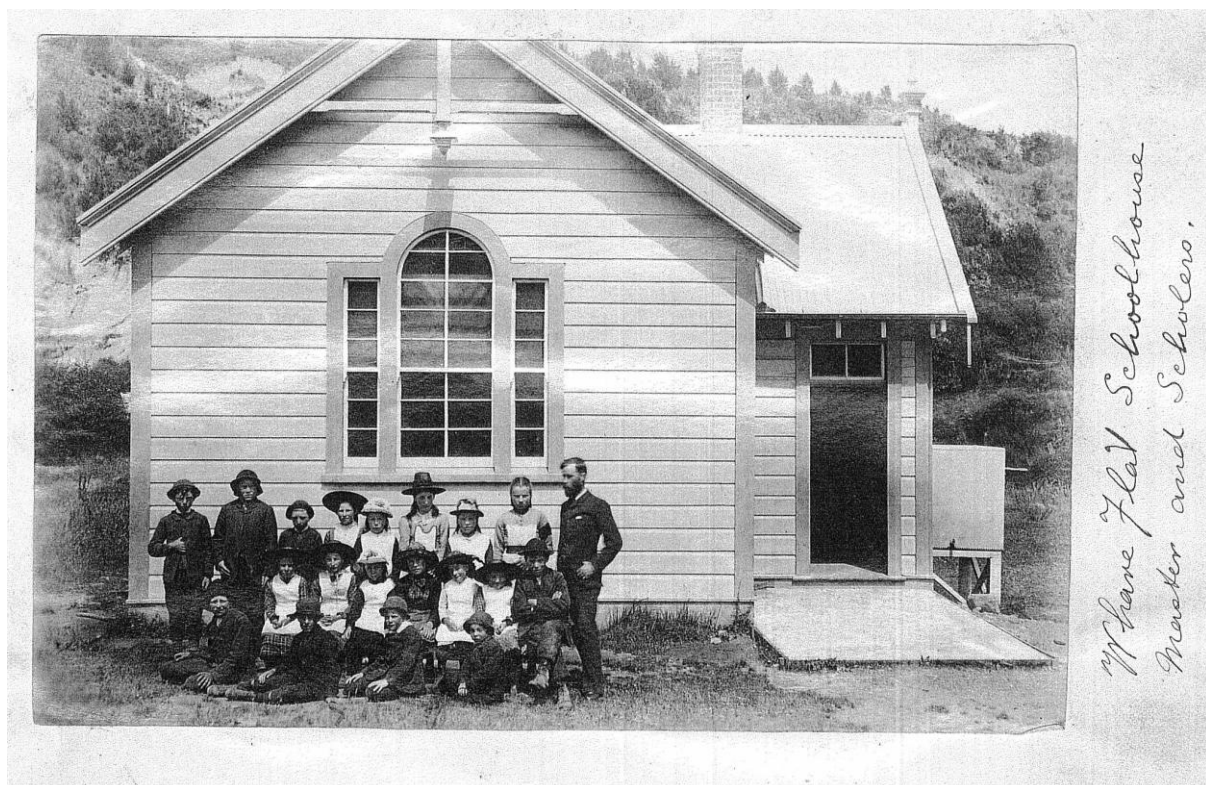
41. Henry [Moultray] (Taken during an expedition through the timber belt), 1886-1887 (p.c.).



42. *Joe's Cabin*, 1886-1887 (p.c.)



43. *The Settlement Whare Flats (our house is behind bush about  $\frac{3}{4}$  a mile to the right), 1886-1887 (p.c.)*



44. Whare Flat Schoolhouse, 1886-1887 (p.c.)



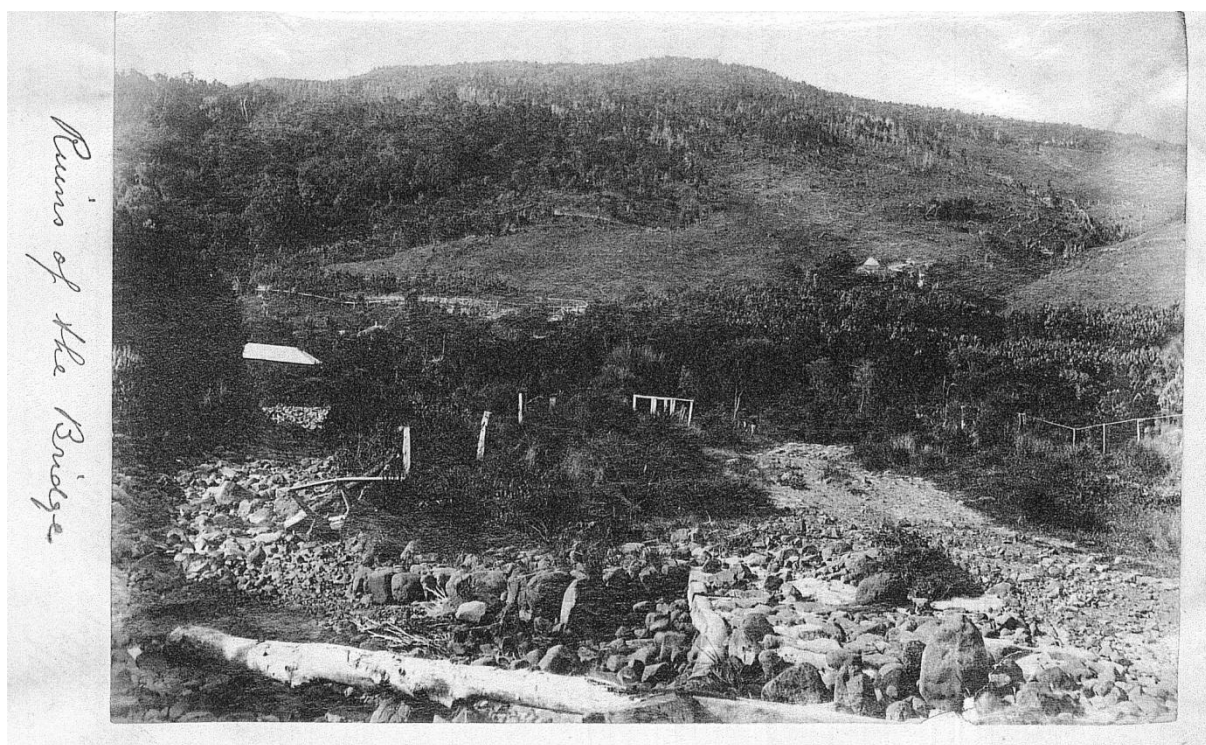
*A Colonial turn out (seen on the road near town)*

45. A Colonial turn out (seen on the road near town), 1886-1887 (p.c.)

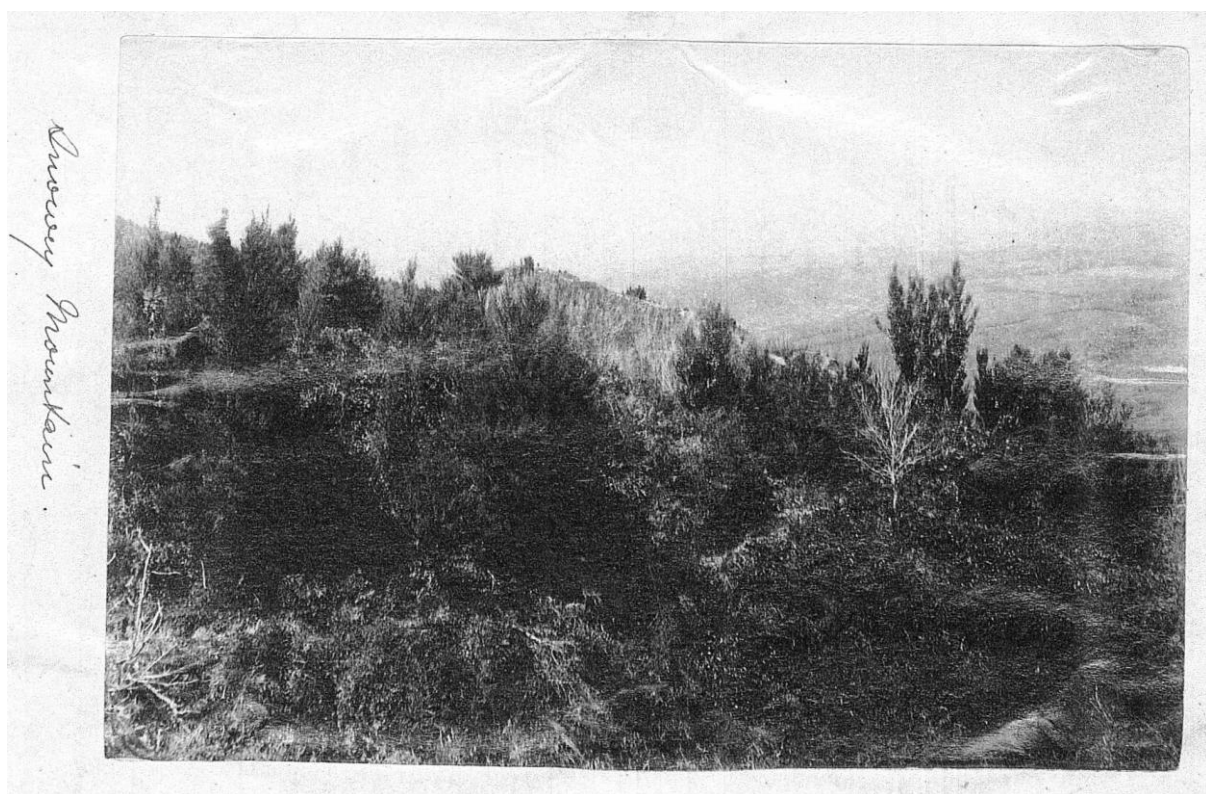




46. *The Path Through the Bush (left untrimmed to show entire picture), 1886-1887 (p.c.)*



47. *Ruins of the Bridge, 1886-1887 (p.c.)*



49. *Snowy Mountain*, 1886-1887 (p.c.)



## APPENDIX 1

**J. Elder Moultray, 'The art galleries of Europe', *OW*, 1897.**

Some editorial license has been taken with stylistic conventions which have changed with time, such as single quotation marks instead of double quotation marks and full stops outside of the quote marks. Moultray's own grammatical style is left untouched, although some words have been corrected if obviously a typing error.

**‘No. 1.—Venice: The Accademia di Bella Arti’, 21 January 1897, p.44.**

This collection is housed in a most irregular block of buildings so far as architectural appearances goes, but that they are well adapted for their purpose the visitor will admit once he is within the corridors. The reason that the galleries are so unsightly is that they originally consisted of a convent, school, and the Church of Santa Maria della Carita. The buildings face the Grand Canal, and can be reached on foot from St. Mark’s square, which is considered the heart of Venice.<sup>504</sup>

One of the first pictures that attracts the visitor’s attention is the large canvas in room 2—Titian’s ‘Assumption of the Virgin’. It is an upright picture, the figures larger than life, divided [sic] into two groups—a celestial and a terrestrial. The Virgin stands on a cloud with outstretched hands and upturned face towards the Eternal; the cloud is supported by cherubims [sic], and beneath these is a group of saints looking upwards. The first thing in the composition that rivets the painter’s attention is the masterly arrangement of colour. The Virgin is dressed in robes of crimson and blue, a combination which is generally admitted no other painter but Titian could produce successfully, the background consisting of chrome yellow gradually changing into orange as it nears the sides and tops of the canvas. The orange again becomes broken up with dashes of deep red, which ultimately resolve into the ruddy faces of countless cherubs, and as we

descend we merge gradually into natural flesh tints, and the high lights and grey wings bring us naturally into the grey and white of the clouds upon which the Virgin is borne aloft. This gives the arrangement of the upper portion of the canvas, and it is in the manner the lower is brought into harmony with this mass of gorgeous colour that we see evidence of Titian’s power. Beneath the grey cloud we pass to a bluish grey sky, against which the heads of the lower group rise. The centre of the group is cast in deep shadow for the purpose of giving greater brilliance to the light on the cloud immediately above on which the Virgin stands, and in violent contrast to this mass of purple and brown. On the right we find St John, clad like the Virgin in crimson and blue, lit up with the glow of celestial light. His upturned face, which is one of the finest points in the work, causes the spectator to look up also, and here we have the first connecting link between the two groups. Then to carry the light of the cloud down into this group, Titian has dressed St. Peter in white and thrown a green robe over his shoulder, thus completing the connection between the blue of the Virgin’s robe and the yellow of the sky behind, and restoring the balance of his colour in the lower portion of the canvas; while to give the green full value he has St. Paul resting against the crimson dress of St. John, while another saint clad in red stands behind. To still further complete the composition, we find another saint on the left also dressed in a red mantle, with upraised hand, the dark flesh tints of which almost touch the leg of a cherubim, which being under the shadow of the cloud also partakes of the same colour, and as the eye passes up the cherubim’s body it gradually emerges into the light, while to draw us down again to the group and thus emphasise the connection further, the painter has on the extreme left introduced a cherubim’s leg which points stiffly downwards, almost touching the heads below. I have merely given an outline of the colouring to show how this great master treated his subjects. The picture possesses many other excellent qualities, to enumerate which would take too much space, but in passing I must add that the face of the angel on the upper part of the

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Daily Venture, ‘Accademia di Belle Arti’, 2011.  
<http://www.dailyventure.com/photo/Accademia-di-Belle-Arti>, accessed 26 July 2011.

canvas is looked upon as the perfection of female beauty.<sup>505</sup>

In the same room Tintoretto's large canvas representing 'The Christian Slave Rescued by St Mark' comes next as the most important in the gallery. Before speaking about the picture it may be as well to add that Tintoretto was an assumed name, his real name being Jacopo Robusti. He was originally a pupil in the studio of Titian, and was unaccountably dismissed; but some 40 years later he became Titian's rival.

This, which is the finest picture I have seen by Tintoretto in any of the European galleries north of Venice, is principally admired for its splendid arrangement of light and shadow and the harmony of its colouring. The story, briefly, is that a Christian slave who persisted in worshipping St. Mark was condemned to be tortured, but at the moment the torture was about to be inflicted St. Mark appeared in person and destroyed the instruments and set him free. The Senator, dressed in a crimson robe, is seated on a pedestal, which brings the warm, flesh colour of his face in violent contrast with a

greenish grey sky. He is looking downwards at the slave, who is stretched nude on the ground, surrounded with the shattered instruments. The highest light on the slave's body is the same colour as the halo round the head of St. Mark, who is descending from the sky above. The halo is connected in colour with the orange mantle on the saint, and to strengthen this further a portion of a crimson robe is placed in contact with it. The group of figures round the slave are dressed in deep orange and various shades of green, which give the greatest possible value to the flesh tints. The drawing of St. Mark is an exquisite piece of foreshortening, while another point that attracts notice is the skilful manner in which the shadow of St. Mark falls across the slave's body.<sup>506</sup>

The next most important work in the collection is by Paris Bordone, another pupil of Titian. It is hung in room No. 10, and is smaller than the previous pictures, being 11ft in height by 9ft in width. It represents 'The Fisherman Presenting St. Mark's Ring to the Doge Gradenigo'. The legend of St. Mark is, briefly, that during a fearful tempest a fisherman was accosted by a stranger on the Riva di San Marco, Venice, who induced him for a great reward to row over the San Giorgio Maggiore. Here a second stranger joined them, and they proceeded to the San Niccolo di Lido, where they were joined by a third. He was then induced to row them out into the stormy sea beyond the two castles, when they beheld an enormous galley manned with demons, who threatened to destroy Venice, but the three strangers made the sign of the cross, whereupon the galley with its crew of demons vanished and the

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Titian, *Assumption of the Virgin* 1516-1518 (Venice: Basilica di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari), oil on panel, 690 x 360 cm.

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Tintoretto, *Miracle of the Slave*, 1548 (Venice: Gallerie dell'Accademia), oil on canvas, 416 x 544 cm.



storm suddenly ceased. Then the fisherman rowed the strangers back to the places where he had embarked them from and demanded his reward, whereon the first stranger revealed himself as St. Mark, the patron saint of Venice, and directed the fisherman to go to the Doge Gradenigo, and after relating what he had seen to demand his reward. The fisherman expressed doubts as to the Doge believing him, whereupon the saint produced a ring, explaining it was the ring always kept in the sanctuary of Venice, and told him to produce it in support of his story. In the picture we see the half-clad fisherman crouching on the marble steps presenting the ring to the gorgeous-robed Doge, who inclines forward with a haughty air of condescension. The contrast is most striking, and the artist has made the most of it by placing the fisherman's rough-dressed urchin in the foreground near the group of crimson and scarlet dressed senators. The subject is full of dramatic interest, and in the background there is one of the finest pieces of architectural painting to be seen in Venice, yet the large surface of marble is treated in such a masterly way that it in no wise detracts from the interest of the scene.<sup>507</sup>

In the same room we next notice the work of an artist of the fifteenth century who was famous for his exquisite sense of colour. I refer to Jacopo Palma – sometimes called Il Vecchio. His large canvas, 'St Peter

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Paris Bordone, *Fisherman Presenting a Ring to the Doge Gradenigo*, 1534 (Venice: Gallerie dell'Accademia), oil on canvas, 370 × 301 cm.

Enthroned', 10ft high by 5ft wide, is considered one of the best specimens of this painter's work.<sup>508</sup> It is treated in a warm scheme of colour. St. Peter, dressed in an orange russet mantle, is seated before a crimson curtain with a grey piece introduced to give greater value to St. Peter's robes. The blue sky shows on either side, adding greatly to the splendour of the composition, which has a fine feeling of breadth. The attitudes of the figures are full of grace, and their expression is in harmony with the subject, which is more than can be said for Tintoretto's picture of 'The Woman Taken in Adultery', another important canvas, in which the Saviour's face is a positive failure and the woman appears to be highly pleased with herself.<sup>509</sup>

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Jacopo Palma (Il Vecchio), *St. Peter Enthroned with Saints* (Venice: Galleria dell'Accademia), oil on canvas.

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Next in interest we come to an artist of the sixteenth century, of whom little is known, although it was discovered that several pictures that at one time were assigned to Giorgione, were really painted by him. He belonged to the Friulan school.<sup>510</sup> His picture of 'The Dead Christ', some 5ft 6 in, is a peculiarly impressive piece of work, and one of the best parts of the composition is the foreshortening of the Saviour's face, while the bodies of Noah and Adam are fine examples of sixteenth century painting of the nude.

Caliari, better known as Paul Veronese, has several fine pictures in the gallery, of which I was most impressed with 'The Virgin and Child and Saints'. The Virgin, dressed as usual in crimson and blue, is seated in a recess with a piece of black and yellow tapestry hung behind; the infant Christ is in her arms, while St. Joseph on the right leans towards them. The deep blue of his robe is brought against the crimson of the Virgin's dress, while the blue portion of her costume is contrasted with a piece of orange on Joseph's mantle, while St. Jerome, who looks up in adoration on the left, has a deep crimson hood on his head, which is brought in contact with the blue and orange drapery above. This arrangement gives relief to the group, the warm mass of a colour being graduated down to the foot of the canvas by an exquisitely-painted watered silk mantle of a pale rose tint.<sup>511</sup> This is an excellent

example of Caliari's method of colouring, only equalled by a piece of ceiling painting in the Doge's palace across the canal, where Veronese has painted Venetia seated on a globe with Justice and Peace making obeisance before her. This is one of the subjects Ruskin recommends visitors to go and see every morning while they are in Venice. It is on a rich chromatic scheme, as the following outline of the colour arrangement will show:- Venetia, who is dressed in gold and white silk drapery, is seated under a canopy of pale rose pink which hangs beneath a rich blue sky, the right portion of which is broken up with warm grey clouds with salmon-coloured high lights, and over the left edge of Venetia's throne we see a deep crimson mantle thrown, which with her silk robes terminate against the blue of the globe beneath. Justice, on the right, has golden hair that stands off from the sky with great splendour, which is increased by the addition of pale crimson and orange-tinted drapery. The figure of Peace, on the left, completes the chromatic scale, with her green and yellow robes, while the warm colours in the shadows of the steps and mantles are gathered up and focussed in the brown lion resting in the centre of the composition, giving a feeling of unity and repose to the painting that it would be difficult to find

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Tintoretto, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, 1546-48 (Rome: Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica).

<sup>510</sup> Friulan or Friulian is a Romance language in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region of north-east Italy. Omniglot: writing systems and languages of the world, 'Friulian (furlan/marilenghe)', 2011. [www.omniglot.com/writing/friulian.htm](http://www.omniglot.com/writing/friulian.htm), accessed 11 May 2011.

<sup>511</sup> This may be the painting he was referring to and darker when he saw it, from needing to be cleaned:



Veronese, *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*, c.1562 (Rome: Gallerie dell Accademia), oil on canvas, 191 x 339 cm.

equalled in the palace.<sup>512</sup> In the throne room there is a large painting by Tintoretto of the Doge Franc Venier before Venetia, which at the first glance attracts the painter owing to the rich mass of colouring, but on being analysed it fails to fulfil the spectator's expectations, owing to the painter having forced his contrasts for the sake of brilliancy. It seems too much broken up into disconnected masses; but in the same artist's 'Christ in Glory' we find ample proof that Tintoretto could give unity when he liked.

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Veronese, *Venice Ruling with Justice and Peace*, c. 1575-77 (Venice: Palazzo Ducale), oil on canvas, 250 x 180 cm.



**‘No. 2.—Milan: The Brera Palace and the Monastery of Sta. Maria Delle Grazie’, 11 February 1897, p. 50.**

A bitter cold wind was blowing from the neighbouring Alps when I left my lodgings in the Corso V Emanuele to pay my introductory visit to the art treasures of Milan. The Brera Palace was the place to which I first directed my steps. It is situated in a narrow street redolent with the fumes of roasted chestnuts, and presents anything but a palatial exterior—a high wall devoid of embellishment, its blank surface relieved by an archway, proved to be the palace. I was disappointed, having only a few minutes before passed the cathedral, and I quite expected to find some of its splendour reflected in the design of the palace. Passing through the archway, however, one glance round the courtyard, with its colonnaded galleries, convinced me the architect had reserved his skill for the interior, the severity of the lines being broken at intervals with fine examples of the sculptor’s art. Ascending a staircase I entered the Picture Gallery, and discovered that owing to the lack of heating apparatus and the floors being covered with inlaid tiles the temperature was if possible lower than outside.

Before referring to the pictures I wish to explain that these notes treat of the principal paintings only, as it would prove a Herculean task to analyse all the works, as there are over 400 pictures, including examples of nearly all the European masters of note, therefore I have confined myself to a few of the gems of the collection which have been acknowledged for centuries to be among the finest works of the respective artists, and will endeavour to point out the qualities that have made these works famous.

We will begin with Raphael’s ‘Nuptials of the Virgin’, better known as the ‘Sposalizio’, which is hung in the place of honour in Room 5, and is acknowledged to be the leading masterpiece in the palace. It was painted about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and is in an excellent state of preservation. According to modern ideas, the composition is slightly formal, but it

should be remembered that the picture was painted about the time when he commenced the study of composition in Florence, not long after he had left his master Perugino, and while the latter’s style was still fresh in his mind. Later works of his which I saw in the Vatican at Rome show that he ultimately freed himself from his early rigid style. A priest occupies the centre of the composition, with the Virgin on his right and Joseph on his left—they are clasping hands—while a group of spectators on either side complete the subject.<sup>513</sup>

The colours of the priest’s robes are used purely as a foil for the principal figures. He is dressed in dark purple and orange, with a dark green mantle thrown over his shoulder, and by bringing the rich crimson of the Virgin’s dress into contact with it a violent contrast is secured, which is increased by the female at her side being also dressed in dark green. A blue piece of drapery hangs from the Virgin’s waist—introduced to break up the mass of warm colour. A rich orange-coloured mantle falling from Joseph’s shoulder cuts sharply against the priest’s purple surplice and prevents the colouring from becoming heavy in tone, while the figure is brought into harmony with its

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Raphael, *The Marriage of the Virgin*, 1504 (Milan: Pinacoteca di Brera), oil on panel, 170 x 118cm.

surroundings by the simple expedient of showing a portion of green drapery beneath the orange mantle. This green is softened back into the group by the next figure being dressed in a warm sap green-coloured costume. The ground is of a rich buff tint, which with a quality of cool grey is carried into the colour of the temple in the background, adding greatly to the splendour of the green draperies. The technique possesses all that delicacy of touch that marks Raphael's work, and another characteristic of the artist is seen in the refinement of his figures and their graceful pose, while by keeping the shadows subdued the feeling of breadth has been retained.

Mantegna's 'Madonna', in the same room, is an exquisite example of this master's method of colouring.<sup>514</sup> He belonged to the Paduan school, and the few works of his known are only to be found in the leading European galleries. A peculiarity of his painting is that in the same picture we find parts wrought up to the highest finish and other equally important portions treated with a rugged freedom that completely destroys the unity of the whole. His tempera paintings of the triumph of Julius Caesar to be seen at Hampton Court are the only examples of his work I know of in Britain. An exceedingly realistic example of his style is shown in the picture of the dead Saviour with the Marys weeping over Him. The first sensation in the spectator is one of repulsion, but as the eye grows accustomed to the gruesome scene the finer points in the work assert themselves, and as the skill with which the flesh tints have been graduated back well nigh imperceptibly on the foreshortened body becomes apparent, the onlooker stays to admire what at first he was inclined to turn from in disgust.<sup>515</sup>

<sup>514</sup> It is unclear which 'Madonna' Moultray was referring to.

<sup>515</sup> Top right

The female head by Lorenzo Lotto, numbered 253, also excels in the same quality of delicate gradation from light into shadow, and rivets the attention of every connoisseur who enters the room.

Solario's painting of the 'Madonna, with Saints Jerome and Joseph,' is famous for the beauty of the expression in the Virgin's face and the treatment of all the hands and the drapery, which is exquisitely rendered. In Room 2 there is a fine example of the Venetian school, 'The Preaching of St. Mark at Alexandria', by Gentile Bellini.<sup>516</sup> It is an enormous canvas crowded with figures, in which the artist, to render St. Mark conspicuous, has adopted the novel expedient of robing the saint in a positive blue dress, the only spot of rich blue in the whole composition; the majestic mass of architectural painting in the background, however, has been wrought to such a state of finish that it has a tendency to imperil the interest in the action of the figures in the foreground. The picture has a peculiar value



Andrea Mantegna, *Lamentation of Dead Christ*, (*The Dead Christ*) c. 1480 (Milan: Pinacoteca di Brera), tempera on canvas, 68 x 81 cm.

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Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria*, 1504–7 (Milan: Pinacoteca di Brera), oil on canvas, 347 x 770 cm.



from the fact that it illustrates the method in vogue over 300 years ago of treating a historical subject. It fell to the lot of this painter to have rather a tragic experience. He was despatched in the year 1469 to Constantinople by the Doge of Venice to paint a portrait of Mehemet the Second. The Sultan treated him with such princely generosity that Bellini, nicknamed 'the gentle', out of gratitude; painted a picture of the head of John the Baptist in a charger, and presented it to his host, who, after examining it carefully, told the artist it was wrong, called in a slave, and unsheathing his scimitar sent the servant's head rolling across the carpet. He then picked it up, and coolly proceeded to point out the faults to the horror-stricken painter, who afterwards took the earliest opportunity of leaving the city.

In room No. 3 there is a very fine example by Paul Veronese, representing a group of saints. It is treated in a subdued scheme of colour, clear in the shadows, and the chromatic scale is so harmonious that it conveys the sensation of a symphony in colour.

'The Last Supper', by Rubens, hung in Room 10, is a subject that demands notice as much for the importance of the work as for the fame of the painter. This artist was so accustomed to painting allegorical scenes in which voluptuous figures predominated that he seldom carried a scriptural subject to a successful finish, as something characteristic of the man invariably cropped up to mar the solemnity of the idea. This picture of the last supper is a case in point. The faces of the group are singularly unpleasing, while at our Saviour's feet, beneath the table, a huge mastiff is seen gnawing a marrow bone, an incident which I think will be conceded to be quite out of place in such a sacred scene.<sup>517</sup>

I next visited the Refectory of the Monastery of Sta. Maria delle Grazie, to see the remains of Leonardo da Vinci's grand fresco of 'The Last Supper', but I found it in such a state of decay as to render it past describing. It was melancholy to reflect that one of the most brilliant examples of fifteenth century art had been ruthlessly destroyed.<sup>518</sup>



Peter Paul Rubens, *The Last Supper*, 1632 (Milan: Pinacoteca di Brera), oil on panel, 304 x 250 cm.

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Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper*, 1495-1498 (Milan: Santa Maria delle Grazie), tempera on gesso, pitch and mastic, 460 x 880 cm.

<sup>517</sup> Top right.

**‘No. 3.—Paris: Louvre’, 18 February 1897, p. 46.**

As I approached the Louvre from the Place du Carrousel it appeared to me to be the finest example of palatial architecture I had yet seen, and although a portion of the design is hidden by the trees growing in the square, yet the mass of green foliage forms a splendid background to the monument of Gambetta that rises in the centre. The French architect undoubtedly understands the laws of proportion and harmony, and I found on entering that none of the essentials of a good building had been sacrificed for the sake of an ornate exterior, as its often done, for the staircases were graceful and spacious, the ceilings lofty, and the rooms well lit. In the Art Gallery the gems of the collection are concentrated in the Salon Carre, and to this I directed my steps, being first attracted to Murillo’s painting of ‘The Immaculate Conception’, which is a beautifully-finished work, full of sublimity—a quality without which a religious picture becomes insipid.<sup>519</sup> The Virgin, clad in white and partly draped in a blue mantle, stands looking upwards in an attitude of earnest devotion. The scheme of colour is simple, but extremely effective, consisting of a background of orange at the top, graduating down into a light grey green at the base on the right of the Virgin, and into a dark brownish green on her left. The balance of colour has been restored by the introduction of a group of cherubs, whose flesh tints supply the necessary amount of warm colour in the lower part of the

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Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Immaculate Conception*, c. 1650-55 (Paris: Louvre), oil on canvas, 26 x 37 cm.

composition. The pose of the figure is perfect. We next take a painting by Leonardo-da-Vinci for inspection, an artist whose fame in painting was won by his wonderful skill in the delineation of character as well as for the sense of completeness that pervades his work. He was always dissatisfied with his pictures, as he never considered them perfect enough, his sense of truth being so acute that he would paint each individual hair on a head.<sup>520</sup> This love of detail was almost carried to extremes, as for instance in his ‘Fresco of the Last Supper’ at Milan, where every crease on the table cloth had apparently been studied from nature; in fact, he took so long to paint that fresco that the prior, after wearing him with importunities to hurry up, went at last and complained to Duke Lewis, Leonardo’s employer, whereupon the latter sent for the artist and inquired why he was taking so long to complete the picture. Leonardo assured the duke that it was all finished except two faces—one being that of the Saviour, and the other that of Judas. As to the former, he admitted he lacked the ability to finish it, saying he was incapable of painting the majesty and beauty of such an amiable and august personage; but that he would get the other face completed immediately, since to draw the avarice and ingratitude of Judas he had simply to paint the portrait of the prior, who had so meanly treated him after all the pains he had taken. Leonardo in later years adopted a quaint device to prevent his writings on art from becoming too common; they were all written backwards, and in such small letters that they were scarcely discernible to the naked eye. The portrait of ‘Mona Lisa’, hung in the salon, is the best of Leonardo’s works to be seen in Paris. Critics during the sixteenth century used to rave over it; but unfortunately the colours have now lost their brilliancy, and the glory of the picture, like that of the famous fresco, has departed. Another work of his in the same room, representing ‘The Madonna Infant Christ and St. Anne’, enables the visitor to form an idea of his method of colouring. The

<sup>520</sup> Moultray is alluding here to Sir Joshua Reynolds Discourse XI: ‘I am well aware that a judicious detail will sometimes give the force of truth to the work...’: Wark (ed), *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, p.197.

cold and warm colours are in masses, conveying a sensation of heaviness to the work, but it is a picture that very few visitors view from a distance, and on close inspection the eye is so charmed with the delicacy of touch and exquisite finish of the heads that very few notice that the surroundings have been almost sketchily introduced.

Titian's works next claim attention. The notable feature in his pictures is the splendour of his colours, which differs from all others inasmuch as that the picture appears to be lit from within the canvas instead of from without. This gives a depth and richness that baffles description. We have a charming example of this in No. 1590, entitled 'La Miatress du Titien', representing a young lady at a toilet table. The brilliant effect has really been secured by contrasting the warm and cold colours, but it is so skilfully done that it is only after careful examination we can trace the brown background melting into the shadows of the face, and the cool tints in the high lights softened gradually into the light warm flesh tints. Another peculiar characteristic of Titian's work is that his shadows, however dense, never appear black; there is invariably a sweet brown tone pervading them. This quality is specially noticeable in his picture of 'The Entombment of Christ'—a subject in which he illustrates the principle of dividing the composition into two broad masses of colour—one warm, the other cold; while the means he so often adopts of clothing the central figure in red and contrasting it with a green for the purpose of concentrating the attention of the spectator is noticeable in this work, where the red robe of St. John and the dark green mantle of Joseph are brought into contact, and as the eye passes downwards we find that the red robe has been utilised to give value to the pallid body of our Saviour, while the white drapery on which Christ rests finds its shadow in the green mantle.<sup>521</sup>

It will be found also on analysis that Titian, while working his colours thus in masses, still had the detail running like an undercurrent through them, and it was to this that Vasari referred when he said, 'Many artists have ignorantly imagined they are imitating the manner of Titian when they have their colours rough and neglect the detail; but, not possessing the principles on which he wrought, they have produced what he calls *goffe pitture* - absurd, foolish pictures; for such will always be the consequence of affecting dexterity without science, without selection, and without fixed principles'.<sup>522</sup> Sir Anthony Van Dyck's portrait of Charles I was painted after the artist's return from Italy, where his study of Titian's works at Venice, 'which he undertook at the earnest desire of his master, Rubens, who had during a similar visit been greatly impressed with the famous Italian's method of composition', resulted in his acquiring that knowledge of light and shade which combine with Ruben's principle of colouring, afterwards rendered him famous. He excelled in portrait painting, his heads always showing wonderful expression, combined with deep feeling and refinement; while they are fertile in flesh tints that are always luminous, owing to their being set in rich dark backgrounds. The portrait of Charles I is particularly interesting to an artist from the fact that Van Dyck has departed from his usual arrangement of light and shade, successfully mastered a difficult passage in painting by bringing his highest light against a light. I refer to the light on the



Titian, *The Entombment of Christ*, c. 1520 (Paris: Louvre), oil on canvas, 148 x 212 cm.

<sup>522</sup> This is a direct quote from Sir Joshua Reynolds' Discourse XI: Wark (ed), *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, pp. 195-196.

<sup>521</sup> Top right.



arm of the coat, which is diffused into the light of the sky, and where lower down the sky becomes warmer we find the cold colours in the shadows of the drapery more pronounced, thus affording relief in a mass of light; while to bring the figure firmly off the warm-tinted ground, the king is shown clad in crimson-coloured nether garments, and the risk of this colour becoming a spot in the composition is obviated by the introduction of an attendant, in the shadow of the foliage, who wears a dark red cloak. In this picture we have the greatest possible feeling of breadth, but it is an effect that can only be secured by the judicious arrangement of warm and cold colours.<sup>523</sup>

‘The Dropsical Woman’, by Gerard Douw [sic], is his masterpiece. It was stolen by the French from the gallery at Turin—‘carried off’, I believe, is the polite phrase used in history—and when the owners very naturally sent a pressing request to them to return it, they gaily begged to be excused, but generously sent 100,000 fr instead. After an examination of the picture I quite understood why the French valued it so highly, Gerard Duow being one of the finest genre painters the Dutch school ever produced. He was a pupil of Rembrandt’s and his works in some respects bear a resemblance to his master’s, but he stands pre-eminent for his exquisite finish, pure colour and minute detail, and all those qualities are conspicuous in this canvas, which shows four figures in an elegantly-

furnished room, the expression on the face of the invalid being particularly good, while the surroundings bear evidence of all the earnestness and care that this artist lavished on his work, and although it is highly finished yet there is a total absence of pettiness.<sup>524</sup> It was to depicting domestic scenes like this that Duow confined his talents, and he usually either grouped his figures near a window, as in the present instance, or near an artificial light. As for his treatment of accessories, he spared no pains in his efforts to reproduce the semblance of Nature, having once spent three days in painting a small broomstick. And that his pictures still retain their purity and lustre, after exposure to various atmospheric influences for 250 years, is probably accounted for by the fact that he always ground his colours himself and kept them shut up in airtight boxes, keeping every aperture in the room where they were stored closed, and even entering the room on tip-toe, lest he should raise the least dust.

Gabriel Metz’s painting of ‘An Officer and a Young Lady’ is a good example of this fine colourist.<sup>525</sup> Combined with great talent

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Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I at the Hunt*, c. 1635 (Paris: Louvre), oil on canvas, 266 x 207 cm.

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Gerrit Dou, *The Dropsical Woman*, 1663 (Paris: Louvre), oil on canvas, 86 x 68 cm.

<sup>525</sup> Image on next page.

in execution, this artist could give interest to the simplest scenes and incidents, his technique is perfect, and his skill in rendering silks and satins provoked Houbraken to call him a painter of fashions.<sup>526</sup> To Metzu we are indebted for many scenes depicting incidents in the home life of the Dutch middle classes.

The talent of Adrian Van Ostade is represented in this chamber of gems by his picture of 'The Schoolmaster'. He was originally a pupil of François Hals, a Flemish painter, but afterwards studied Rembrandt's works so closely that he became influenced by them during the remainder of his career. In the treatment of rural scenes he had no equal, the quaint rustic Dutch interiors affording him the opportunity of displaying that knowledge of *chiaro-oscuro* [sic] that he had gleaned from Rembrandt. His colouring is vigorous and warm, and in the picture of 'The Schoolmaster' there is a softness, resembling enamelling, which the Dutch artists of that period strove to produce in their works, it being a custom among them to



Gabriel Metzu, *A Soldier Visiting a Young Lady*, c.1660-61 (Paris: Louvre), oil on panel, 64 x 47cm.

<sup>526</sup> Probably referring to Arnold Houbraken who wrote *Groote Schouburgh*, 1718-21, a three volume work on the lives of sixteenth and seventeenth century Dutch artists.

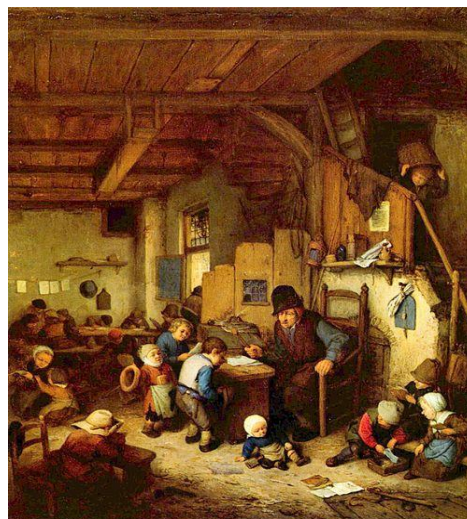
Oxford Art Online, Marlies Enklaar, 'Houbraken: (1) Arnold Houbraken, 2011. <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T039069pg1#T039071>, accessed 20 July 2011.

rub their pictures until they took a polish for the purpose of getting clearness.<sup>527</sup>

The portraits 2545 and 2547, by Rembrandt, are fine examples of his bold style of colouring, and prove his right to the title of 'The father of *chiaro-oscuro*'; while his picture of 'The Holy Family at Nazareth', besides illustrating his subtle treatment of light and dark arrangement of colour, also shows that he was possessed of deep religious sentiment.<sup>528</sup>

I now proceeded to the long gallery, known as Room 6, or the Grande Galerie, and on reaching Bay D commenced a thorough examination of the magnificent collection of Ruben's works gathered there. This series of 20 large pictures was painted for Marie de Medicis, who wished to enrich her Luxembourg Palace with them. As probably everyone is familiar with the history of Henry the Fourth's widow, I will only say that Rubens painted a series of allegorical pictures, founding his compositions upon various incidents in the life of his patroness. His pupils, under his superintendence [sic], grounded in the subjects, and then he finished them. The result was a magnificent display of colour, although the conceptions were inclined to verge upon the theatrical. But for the

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Adrian van Ostade, *The Schoolmaster*, 1662 (Paris: Louvre), painting, 40 x 33 cm.

<sup>528</sup> This spelling of *chiaroscuro* is used by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 'Discourse II', in Walk (ed), *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, p.35. Later in the series Moultray changes the spelling.

boldness of style and brilliancy of colour they cannot be surpassed, and the knowledge of composition he acquired from his contact with the Venetian masters enabled him while filling his canvases with Jupiters, Junos, and all the rest of those mythological characters, to group them in the best possible manner for securing the finest combinations and contrast, for it is as much to the arrangement of the light and shadow as to the colour that the paintings owe their marvellous powers. I have just space to give an outline of the chromatic scheme of one of the series, but it may serve to indicate Ruben's method of colouring—No. 2094 'Coronation of the Queen at St. Denis'. The eye is drawn towards the principal group by the queen being dressed in a blue and gold costume lined with ermine. She is surrounded by church dignitaries in yellow and red robes. This tone of colour is carried through the composition by being repeated on a lower key upon the group farthest from the principal one; while green and purple are freely used as connecting links in the costumes of the intervening figures; the blue of the queen's dress, however, renders her conspicuous amidst this bewildering sea of colour, owing to its isolation.<sup>529</sup>

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Peter Paul Rubens, *Coronation in St. Denis*, 1622-25 (Paris: Louvre), oil on canvas, 394 x 727 cm. This was part of the Marie de' Médici series of 24 paintings, from 1622-1625.



Close up of the queen and her gown.



**‘No. 4.—Paris: The Luxembourg Palace’, 25 February 1897, p. 47.**

It was with a feeling of relief that I entered the gardens of the Luxembourg Palace, after traversing the anything but picturesque streets on the south side of the Seine, forming as they did a striking contrast to the open, tree-lined Boulevards on the north side of the river, where I lodged. The graceful statuary that adds such an attraction to the grounds looked naked and forlorn amid the bare tree trunks—for it was a gloomy November day, with a wintry wind, that swirled the fallen leaves into every nook and cranny, and therefore not the most favourable conditions under which to inspect the architectural beauties of the exterior of the French palace, so I deferred that to a more seasonable time and entered the building, only to find that the pictures had been transferred from the Grand Galéri to a special building on the extreme west of the block. This building had a most unassuming appearance, but I discovered its walls were packed from floor to ceiling, principally with the works of living French artists. About 10 years after the painter dies his work is usually transferred either to the Louvre or some provincial gallery.

Meissonier is represented by quite a number of paintings, of which ‘Napoleon III at Solferino’ is undoubtedly the best.<sup>530</sup> For delicacy of touch it would be hard to find its equal. Every part of the canvas has been wrought to the highest finish, even the

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Ernest Meissonier, *Napoleon III in the battle of Solferino*, 1863 (Paris: Musée d'Orsay), oil on panel, 43.5 x 76 cm.

landscape, ‘which in a figure subject is usually treated merely as a background’, is full of dainty detail, and possesses all the characteristics of a complete picture in itself; but the figures are not by any means eclipsed by their surroundings, small though they are, for though the faces are barely quarter of an inch long, each one, besides being a portrait, has all the realism of a living person. The Emperor, although on a brown horse and dressed similar to his staff, who are also, with one exception, all mounted on brown horses, is rendered conspicuous by being detached from the group and placed at the top of a light coloured clay bank. A grey horse has been introduced on the left to carry the light grey of the sky down into the foreground. The whole story, however, is told in the Emperor’s attitude. It is easily seen the man is playing his last card; the anxiety is well depicted on his face as he eagerly scans the scene of strife beneath, half hidden in smoke, and a careful study of every work of Meissonier’s in the collection reveals the same close observation in delineating the characters of his figures.

I will next take Rosa Bonheur’s fine picture, ‘Husbandry in Nivernais’. The scene represents a team of oxen pulling a plough.<sup>531</sup> There is a clear blue sky overhead, against which the buff-coloured bullocks stand out with startling relief, an effect that is increased by the warmth of the newly-ploughed earth, consisting of umber and deeper shades of brown, interspersed at intervals with a patch of cold green grass, while all the warm colour in the picture has

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Rosa Bonheur, *Plowing in the Nivernais (Labourages nivernais)*, 1850 (Florida; The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Florida State University), oil on canvas, [second version] 133.4 x 259 cm. This is a second version and not the original that Moultray would have seen.

been focussed in the reddish-brown bullock next [to] the plough, thus drawing the spectator's attention to that instrument of husbandry and explaining the motive of the composition. The vigorous action of the animals has been well rendered, and all the details have been obviously studied from nature. This picture was painted to the order of the French Government in 1849, and it is curious to reflect that the artist was in her youth considered an absolute failure, causing her parents much worry and anxiety because of her disinclination to attend school or to learn anything, to play truant and scamper about the parks around Paris appearing to her a more congenial occupation. Books she heartily detested, so her father, who was an artist, despairing of the girl becoming anything, left her to do as she liked in his studio. Pencil in hand, she imitated all he did, unconsciously developing the talent that had hitherto lain latent. Noting this, her father sent her to the Louvre to study. After some time she did a painting of a goat that so gratified her that she determined to make animals her special study. Dressed in male attire, she frequented abattoirs and sale-yards until the knowledge she acquired enabled her to produce, in 1842, her first important picture, 'Animals in a Pasture'. Seven years later her 'Cantal Oxen' took the gold medal in Paris, and her reputation was established.

The magnificent rendering of atmospheric effect is the quality that entitles Detaille's large canvas 'The Dream' to a place among the masterpieces. The scene represents an undulating stretch of country, covered with sleeping soldiers, under the cold grey morning aspect. Day is breaking, and the dream is shown in the clouds, their fantastic shapes resolving into groups of French soldiers pressing on to victory, with their tricolours fluttering over them. The atmospheric effect has been secured by carrying a strong purple tone through all the shadows, while the perspective, which is excellent, has been aided by the line of stacked arms, diminishing into the distance.<sup>532</sup> This last quality is predominant

in the same artist's picture entitled 'March Out of the Garrison of Hüningen in 1815'. The eye wanders up a lane of troops till it reaches the gateway from which the late defenders issue. They are dressed in blue, forming a rich contrast to the troops who line the road, as the latter are clad in white, while the principle group is dressed in green and scarlet, a combination that concentrates the spectator's attention upon the action of the piece, as one can see they are receiving the congratulations of their comrades, and therefore infer they have made a gallant defence. The scarlet, broken down into a faded red, reappears in the brickwork of the battered wall in the background, giving harmony to the composition.<sup>533</sup>

'The Cockfight', by Jean Leon Gerome, is the work that laid the foundation of this fretfamous artist's reputation. The subject is far from pleasing, but the birds are fine studies and the kneeling figure in the foreground is beautifully painted.<sup>534</sup>



Edouard Detaille, *The Dream (Le rêve)*, 1888 (Paris: Musée d'Orsay), oil on canvas, 300 x 400 cm.

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Edouard Detaille, *The March out of the Garrison of Hüningen in 1815 (Sortie de la garnison de Huningue, le 20 Août 1815)* c. 1892 (Paris: Musée d'Orsay), oil on canvas, 386 x 400 cm.

<sup>532</sup> Top right.



'Bouguereau's' exquisitely finished picture of 'The Triumph of Martyrdom' is an example of refinement in conception forming the very antithesis to Gerome, who was blamed by the critics for allowing his art to oscillate between the horrible and the immoral. The scene represents a group of early Christians gathered round a doorway, from which the body of a girl is being carried on a bier. The following is a sketch of the colour arrangement:- The body is clad in white; at the head a man is shown in a red costume; at the feet a couple of men in blue and yellow robes respectively, forming a group of the primary colours, which are woven together by the surrounding figures being dressed in the intermediate tints (buff, green, purple, and reddish brown); and to draw the eye to the face of the girl the painter has placed a strip of green palm near it and in contact with the red costume, giving great brilliancy to the colours, besides proclaiming the martyr's triumph with this symbol of victory. The expression of deep sorrow and patient resignation on the faces has been well depicted, while the technique enables one to understand why this great painter received the name of 'The Critics' Favourite'.

'The Deliverance of the Prisoners of Carcassonne', painted by J.P. Laurens, is an interesting historical incident, although the composition appears rather peculiar from the fact that there is hardly sufficient connection between the two groups—one consisting of three men breaking their way through a brick wall, and the other a crowd of spectators kept back by priest. The people appear to be fully absorbed with their spiritual advisers, who are facing them, quite oblivious to what

is going on behind, while the wall-breakers appear equally unconscious of the presence of spectators, thus giving the appearance of two altogether distinct pictures on the one canvas, which is altogether contrary to the rules of composition.<sup>535</sup> Had even one of the labourers been shown looking back over his shoulder the fault would have been remedied. In all other respects the picture is worthy of the place it occupies, the drawing, texture, and tone being all that one could desire.

Herbert's canvas entitled 'The Kiss of Judas' is attractive because of the Rembrandt-like effect of the lantern light. Our Saviour, clad in white, turns his face towards the right, where a head emerges from the darkness and touches his. The contrast is striking between the faces—the look of gentle surprise on Christ's and the sneaking, cat-like expression of Judas. The heads are lit by the light of the lantern, held up by a figure in front, who, being between the spectator and the light, is necessarily in shadow, but this dark mass aids the composition by giving greater force to the white robe of the central figure. The remaining figures are half lost in the gloom, which is broken up with a flicker of light in the sky. A warm, brown tone pervades the whole picture, and the two leading faces give evidence of having been carefully modelled.

I will finish with one of the finest pictures in the gallery, 'The Last Days of Corinth', by Tony Robert Fleury. The principal group, a crowd of Corinthian women gathered on the altar steps, shows some of them appealing to their idol, while others look back in terror towards the advancing conquerors. The drawing reveals a thorough knowledge of the antique, the brushwork is an example of mechanical dexterity rarely equalled, and the colour, which is properly balanced, is arranged as follows:-Commencing on the right, there is a mass of cold colour, consisting principally of pale yellow and white drapery and fair skins; but as the eye passes to the left, rich orange robes and brown skins become predominant, until to the left it terminates in the scarlet toga of the

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Jean-Léon Gérôme, *The Cockfight*, c.1847 (Paris: Musée d'Orsay), oil on canvas, 143 x 204 cm.

<sup>535</sup> Reynolds outlined and discussed these 'rules' in Discourse VIII given in 1778, emphasising that they were for the beginner and could be broken by a 'master'. Wark (ed), *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, pp.154-158.

Roman leader. The scarlet is carried into the right foreground by being repeated upon the cushion, upon which a nude figure is lying. The details throughout are elaborately finished, and the entire subject is replete with dramatic feeling.<sup>536</sup>

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Tony Robert-Fleury, *The Last Days of Corinth*, 1870 (Paris: Musée d'Orsay), oil on canvas, 400 x 600 cm.

**‘No. 5.—Versailles’, 4 March 1897,  
p. 47.**

Apart from its historical associations the Palace of Versailles is interesting because of its fine collection of historical paintings and statuary and the magnificent furnishings and decorative work in the various apartments. In fact there is so much to interest and amuse the visitor that the day appears to glide past with lightning rapidity, and when the light has faded at last from the rooms, that are resplendent with marble, gold, and gorgeous colours, the visitor can retire in the cool of the evening to the extensive grounds at the back, and admire the fountains or traverse the winding paths among the trees, and watch the effect of the setting sun upon the noble facade of the palace, which is nearly a quarter of a mile in extent, and impressive rather because of its magnitude than for the elegance of the design.

The pictures were, of course, the principal attraction to me, and of these the historical works of Horace Vernet appeared to form the cream of the collection. One of these in particular, in the Galerie des Batailles, representing ‘Philip Augustus Victorious over the Barons at Bouvines’, seemed to me to be unequalled in the gallery either for richness of colour, harmony, expression, or texture, the treatment of the armour on the baron in the foreground being exceedingly realistic.<sup>537</sup> Another spirited piece of work is the ‘Battle of Wagram’, by the same artist. It is a fine example of aerial perspective, and is full of careful drawing and that verve

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Horace Vernet, *Battle of Bouvines on 27 July 1214*, 1827 (France: Château de Versailles), oil on canvas, 510 x 958 cm.

without which a battle scene is a failure. Napoleon, mounted on a grey horse in the foreground, near the centre of the canvas, is shown looking across the plain to the left through a glass, while he hands his map to an aide-de-camp, who runs forward on foot to receive it. The following notes I made of the colour arrangement may enable the reader to form an idea of Vernet's style:—The Emperor is clad in white, with a grey frock coat, open in front, revealing a crimson sash; a black marshal's hat completes his uniform. The crimson is repeated on the saddle cloth, which has a golden yellow fringe; the yellow reappears in the colour of the grain-field behind the grey horse, while the crimson is carried into the busby bag of a hussar, partly seen lower down the hill on the left of the principal figure.<sup>538</sup> From this point the warm colour can be seen on the line of charging cavalry beyond until it terminates in the glow of the burning village on the extreme left. Returning to the centre, the aide-de-camp on the right receiving the map is wearing a green tunic, which has the corn for a background, while his yellow breeches have a fallen trooper in blue for a foil; and to counteract the cold tendency of the colouring in this part of the composition, Vernet has introduced a bay horse floundering in agony among the cool-coloured dust and smoke, and immediately to the right, completing the composition, is a hussar dressed in green and yellow coloured clothing, mounted on a finely-painted chestnut horse. The earth shows brown through the scanty grass, giving a warm mass of colour in the foreground. The whole effect is exceedingly brilliant and effective.

Another of Vernet's pictures, ‘The Battle of Friedland’, is a splendid example of colour, representing a warm sunset aspect, but the effect is marred by faulty drawing.<sup>539</sup>

<sup>538</sup> **Bus'by** (büz'bý) *plural* Busbies. A fur military headdress or cap of the British army, with a bag, the same colour as the facings of the regiment, hangs from the top over the right shoulder. Encyclo: Online Encyclopedia, ‘Look up: Busby’, 2011. <http://www.encyclo.co.uk/webster/B/116>, accessed 5 May 2011

<sup>539</sup> Image on next page.

‘The Battle of Rivoli’, by Philippoteaux, is a fine rendering of a winter scene, the snowclad mountains assuming great force from being contrasted with a warm, greenish, grey-coloured sky; in fact, a green tone pervades the entire composition, concentrating in Napoleon’s green coat and saddlecloth, which, being brought into contact with a light chestnut-coloured horse, becomes the staccato point in the picture. The purple in the shadows of the distant cliffs reappears again in the immediate foreground, where a wounded white horse is united to the warm tinged ground by a purple-grey shadow falling over a part of the horse and the earth. This arrangement gives a feeling of unity to the subject, for the colour of the chestnut horse is repeated in the form of clay on a gun-wheel to the right, and this tint mixed with green forms the prevailing tone all through the foreground. This sketch, giving the salient features of the composition, will enable a comparison to be made between the style of Vernet and Philippoteaux. The latter appeared to come very near Vernet also for technical skill, and to be his equal in his knowledge of the anatomy of both the human figure and the horse.

J. Louis David, born about the middle of the eighteenth century, is not well represented in the Palace, his most important work, ‘The Sabines’, being in the Louvre. But as he occupied a prominent place in the history of French art I will, before describing his picture, give a brief outline of his career and its influence upon contemporary art. The French painters of that period—*i.e.*, the latter part of the eighteenth century, had brought

the profession down to the lowest ebb through employing their talents in the delineation of scenes calculated to gratify the worst passions of the people, for the foul current of public opinion flowed in the direction of everything that was degrading, and excepting, perhaps, Vien, no artist of repute had the manhood to endeavour to turn the stream into nobler or purer channel. This was the condition of affairs when David came upon the scene. Trained in the studio of Vien he naturally imbibed some of his master’s enthusiasm with reference to the restoration of art to its higher mission, and later, when with his master he visited Italy, his inspirations in this direction were fed by communion with kindred souls, such as Canova, who was trying to bring about a reform in statuary; Raphael Mengs, who was striving by his writings to give a more earnest tone to art criticism, and by his brush was endeavouring to revive the purity and sublimity of the old masters; and Winckelman, who had just published his ‘History of Art’, in which he indicated the refined beauties of Greek art and explained the principles on which it was founded. The combined influence of these men was apparent in David’s work when in the year 1780 he returned to Paris. Instead of selecting subjects for his pencil in the voluptuous scenes of real life, so much in favour at that period, he struck out a new course, and pursued it with unwavering fidelity, in which he went back to the antique for his inspiration, and soon brought about a revolution in public opinion by the skill with which he treated such masterpieces as ‘Belisarius’ and ‘The Oath of the Horatii’. It is well-nigh needless to add that the change was not brought about without violent opposition from those little minds that because of their brazen assurance, rather than their intelligence, had been assigned to posts of influence and temporary power. But the French populace, ever unstable and impulsive, swung round with weather-cock-like mobility to due appreciation of the new order of things, and soon David became famous—a fame that increased ten-fold when, the terrible revolution breaking out, he became a prominent member of the Convention and voted for the death of the



Horace Vernet, *The Battle of Friedlands (14 June 1807)*, 1835 (Paris: Galerie des Batailles, Château de Versailles), oil on canvas, 465 x 543 cm.



King, using his brush freely to inflame the fury of the mob by depicting such scenes as 'Marat Expiring' and 'The Last Moments of Lepelletier'. But later he became an object of suspicion to his countrymen, and was ultimately arrested. For five months he was imprisoned in the Luxembourg, and before being released he learned that his wife, from whom he had been parted for a considerable time, had left no means untried to save him.<sup>540</sup> Touched by such evidence of his wife's affection, he determined upon his release to paint a picture that would embody the idea of woman's devotion, and for this purpose chose for his subject 'The Sabines', now hung in the Louvre.<sup>541</sup> The quality that makes the picture interesting is the exquisite drawing, showing the artist's wonderful knowledge of the human form; but the conception is marred by the conventional appearance of his figures, a result probably of the theatrical attitudes in which he was wont to place his models. The colouring is rich, as the following notes will serve to indicate:—In the centre of the painting a woman clad in white stands with outstretched arms, drawing the eye of the spectator in turn to each of the warriors who stand on either side in the foreground, one in the act of launching a javelin at the other, who prepares to receive it on his shield, stooping over some children beside this woman. Another is shown with dishevelled black hair, which is relieved by the green drapery of an old woman behind who bares her breast to the javelin. The green coming in contact with the orange colour of the

warrior's shield causes the spectator to look for the necessary blue, which is found in the blue mantle of the mounted warrior on the left. The orange of the shield is carried across to the right of the composition by the drapery of the woman, who is seen leaping upon a pedestal, the artist having adopted this device to break the uniformity of the line of heads, while right beneath another woman, dressed in blue and crimson, clutches the limb of the warrior on the right. Now, on analysing this arrangement it is seen that the painter has, for the purpose of preventing confusion, thrown his two neutral tints, the white drapery and the black hair, into the centre of the composition, giving concentration; while by contrasting his orange with a green, which has also a red mantle behind it, the artist has secured brilliancy of effect as well as relief to the heaviest part of the picture, showing that David must have studied Titian's works closely while in Italy, as the methods he has adopted are similar to those observed by all the great colourists of the Venetian school.

My reason for introducing a description of a Louvre picture into this article is because his style is more marked in 'The Sabines' than in his less important work hung in the Versailles gallery, representing 'Bonaparte Crossing the St. Bernard in 1800'.<sup>542</sup>

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Jacques-Louis David, *Napoleon at the St. Bernard Pass*, 1801 (Rueil: Musée National du Châteaux de Malmaison), oil on canvas, 260 x 221 cm. Another version is at Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna.

<sup>540</sup> The word save has been substituted for 'same'.

<sup>541</sup>



Jacques-Louis David, *The Intervention of the Sabine Women*, 1799 (Paris: Louvre), oil on canvas, 385 x 522 cm.

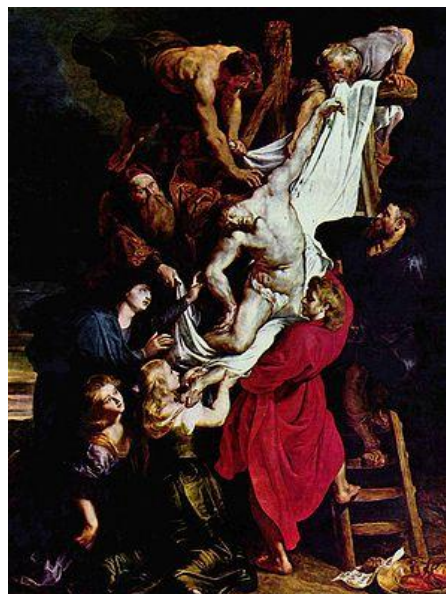
**‘No. 6.— Antwerp: The Cathedral, the Art Gallery and St. Paul’s Church’, 11 March 1897, p. 47.**

I discovered during my residence in Antwerp that if one wanted to stir up the phlegmatic Belgian it was only necessary to inform him that Rubens was born in Germany, for every Belgian clings pertinaciously to the idea that the great painter was born in Antwerp. Now, in the *Sternen Gasse*, in Cologne, a stone tablet can be seen inserted into the wall of a house bearing an inscription in German to the effect that ‘Our Peter Paul Rubens was born in this house’. When this first became known it roused the Belgians to the highest pitch of jealous fury, which no doubt seems puerile; but in Antwerp Rubens is spoken of with a respect amounting to reverence, and a magnificent monument has been erected to his memory in the *Place Verte*.

The fact is that before he was born his parents lived in Antwerp—until the great riots of 1568 broke out, resulting in the spoliation of 400 churches in the low counties within four days. John Rubens fled with his wife to Cologne, and nine years after, his seventh child was born upon the day on which the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul was solemnised; so the future artist was baptised Peter Paul Rubens, and 10 years later, on the death of his father, his mother brought the family to Antwerp, and Rubens completed his education there, and laid the foundation of his art training in the studio of Adam Van Noort. After this he spent several years abroad, and in 1610 settled down in Antwerp, and in building a house there he encroached upon the land of the brotherhood of gunsmiths, and for compensation offered to paint a picture for their chapel in the cathedral. The offer was accepted, and this was the origin of that world-famous painting, ‘The Descent from the Cross’, which I will now proceed to describe. The picture shows the body of our Saviour being lowered from the cross by means of a white sheet supported by five figures, while the three Marys are represented in a group at the foot

in various attitudes of grief.<sup>543</sup> The scene possesses more pathos than Rubens usually introduced into his religious subjects, and it is remarkable for the bold and vigorous style of colouring, that being a branch of his profession in which he excelled, for it requires a great colourist indeed to paint flesh against pure white linen and yet keep it from losing its value. This passage in painting, however, has been successfully essayed by Rubens, who has also adopted a composition that is generally recognised as the most suitable for such a subject. I use the word ‘adopted’ in its literal sense, for it is pretty well known that Rubens cribbed the composition from an Italian print, on which the signatures are given as ‘Peter Passer, invenit; Hieronymus Wirix, sculpsit’. The only difference he is said to have made is in the attitude of the Magdalene. So it is to Peter Passer the credit must be given for the exceedingly clever pose of the body, which has always been acknowledged as the finest possible rendering of the heaviness of death, while to Rubens belongs the honour of rescuing a grand conception from oblivion and making it world famous.<sup>544</sup>

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Peter Paul Rubens, *The Descent From the Cross*, 1611-14 (Antwerp: Cathedral of Our Lady), oil on panel, 420 x 310 cm.

<sup>544</sup> Moultray discussed the middle panel of a triptych only.

The canvas is an upright one, and the principal light falls obliquely across it from the right top corner towards the left corner at the foot. This light is composed of the body of our Saviour and the white sheet upon which it rests, and round this mass of neutral tint Rubens has arranged his chromatic scale as follows:—Beginning at the base of the composition on the left, the two Marys are shown, both kneeling and looking upwards—the first wears yellow and the next green-coloured drapery; continuing to the right, St. John comes next, standing upright, dressed in a red robe, and above him, on a ladder, more to the right, is a figure in a purple mantle; then, on the left of the sheet, right opposite the purple and red colours, stands the Magdelene draped in blue, and on another ladder above her is St. Joseph of Arimathea, wearing a red cap and yellow robe; while at the apex of the composition a figure with a copper-coloured skin wearing a blue waist cloth is shown leaning over an arm of the cross and clutching a corner of the sheet. The sombre tone of the sky makes a splendid foil for the rich colour of the draperies, and it will be seen on examining this arrangement that the warm colours are principally massed on the right of the canvas, and to counterbalance this the artist has placed down upon the ground in the right corner a salver, with a sponge and some other articles, which are all treated with cool colours and serve to carry the cold tone of the Magdelene's robes into the warmest part of the picture.

Now, if Titian's picture of 'The Entombment' in the Louvre were turned on its left end and placed alongside of this work by Rubens, it would be at once seen that there was a wonderful resemblance between them with regard to the colour arrangement.<sup>545</sup> In both instances the neutral

tints occupy the centre of the composition, and the colours all radiate from the white sheet, while in each case the red robe of St. John is contrasted with a green, and the two female figures beside the green are dressed in yellow and blue drapery. There are other points of resemblance, but I have indicated enough to show that there is an underlying principle which guides all intelligent artists, for while the subjects are entirely different in the present instance, and produced in one case by a Venetian and the other by a Flemish artist, representing two distinct schools, yet the method of colouring adopted by each is seen to be the same, and that this principle is not only confined to colour, but applies also to light and shade, can be proved by a close comparison of the compositions of Rembrandt with those of Titian, Raffaele, Rubens, and others, which should effectually silence those carping, would-be painters who scorn principles, and are guided by their own untrained imaginations. For the art of painting is founded upon principles, like all other professions, and they can be traced in the works of all the standard artists for centuries back by every intelligent critic.<sup>546</sup>

Two other masterpieces by Rubens are shown in the Cathedral—'The Elevation of the Cross' in the north transept, and an 'Assumption', which he painted as an altar piece: in both the colour is the principal quality they excel in.<sup>547</sup>

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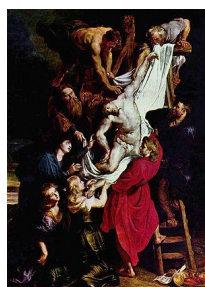


Image on Left: Rubens, *The Descent From the Cross*; On Right, Titian, *The Entombment of Christ*, turned clockwise.

<sup>546</sup> The principles of art was a favourite topic of Reynolds in 'Discourses' such as in Discourse V, 'I inculcate as frequently as I can your forming yourselves upon great principles and great models', Wark (ed), *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, p.89.

<sup>547</sup> Image on next page.



Leonardo di Vinci's famous 'Head of Christ', painted upon white marble, is hung in a side chapel. It has a crack across it caused by falling against the back of a chair. It is a refined example of that artist's style, exquisitely finished and full of feeling.

The Art Gallery was the next place I visited. It is a fine building, with a magnificent façade, right opposite to a large piece of waste ground, which is full of weeds, rank grass, and stones, rather detracting from the appearance of the building.<sup>548</sup> On entering the first thing to impress the visitor is the fine proportions of the entrance hall



Peter Paul Rubens, *The Elevation of the Cross*, 1609-1610, centre panel of the Saint Walburg Triptych (Antwerp: Cathedral of Our Lady), oil on canvas, 462 x 339 cm.

<sup>548</sup> This neo-classical art temple was only built between 1884-1890 and what Moultray took for a waste ground was the end result of a building site. Cool Capitals.com, 'Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp', 2011. <http://www.coolcapitals.com/content/166/Royal+Museum+of+Fine+Arts+Antwerp++KMSKA+.html>, accessed 27 July 2011



Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. World Guides: Antwerp Art Galleries, 2011. [http://www.antwerp.world-guides.com/antwerp\\_\\_artgalleries.html](http://www.antwerp.world-guides.com/antwerp__artgalleries.html), accessed 27 July 2011

and the grand sweep of the staircase leading up to the gallery. The top of the staircase is the best point from which to view the large panels, representing the history of painting, sculpture, and engraving. The panels were painted by N. De Keyser, and are full of careful drawing and rich colouring, besides containing several valuable portraits.

Rubens, of course, occupies the place of honour in the collection. Two large rooms are pretty well filled with some of his finest works. To give a description of even the leading ones would absorb too much space, but the painting of 'Christ Between the Two Thieves' undoubtedly shows the master at his best, both for the tragic realism that pervades the work and the natural rendering of flesh tints.<sup>549</sup> Indeed, it is impossible to look at this fine collection of masterpieces without being impressed with the artist's marvellous fecundity, for we see portraits, animals, landscape, flowers, fruits, allegorical, historical, and genre subjects all treated with the same skill, and one can quite understand why Rubens, when acting as ambassador for the King of Spain at the English Court, should have replied as he did when one of the most important personages in England, on seeing him at work on a picture, said, 'The ambassador of his Catholic Majesty, I see, amuses himself by painting sometimes'. 'I amuse myself by playing the ambassador sometimes', retorted the artist, who always elevated the dignity of art above mere rank. Next in importance to

<sup>549</sup>



Peter Paul Rubens, *Christ on the Cross Between the Two Thieves*, 1619-20 (Antwerp: Royal Museum of Fine Arts), oil on panel, 311 x 429 cm.



Rubens comes Van Dyck, whose works, though not so numerous, almost equal his master's in quality. This is particularly noticeable in the canvas representing 'Christ on the Cross', which, besides excellent technique, possesses a pathos seldom apparent in his teacher's works.<sup>550</sup>

A magnificent example of animal painting attracts the attention of the visitor the instant he enters the gallery containing the works of modern painters. The scene represents buffalos charging a lion. This is one of M. K. M. Verlat's masterpieces, an artist who made his debut in Paris, I think, in the year 1851, when his 'Pepin the Short Over-coming a Lion in the Circus' rendered him famous. In the present picture the agony on the face of the lion, which is getting the worst of the fight, is well delineated, and the contortion of its body as the buffalo's horn is driven home is so realistic that one feels as though he were looking upon living animals, and I have seen nothing in any gallery in Europe, not even among Oudry's or Snyder's works, to equal the look of fury on the buffalo's face.<sup>551</sup> But this artist's skill in rendering expression is not confined to animals, for in the next room his 'Dead Christ' is a most touching representation of a well-worn theme, in which Mary is shown weeping and St. John has a look of intense anguish. The brush work in both pictures is

<sup>550</sup> Image on bottom.



Anthony Van Dyck, *Christ on the Cross*, c. 1621-1625 (Antwerp: Sint-Jacobskerk) oil on canvas.

<sup>551</sup> Snyder was misspelt as Suyder. As his name is spelt correctly in later references it has been changed.

bold and vigorous, and they are full of careful detail. Van Bree's 'Death of Rubens' is a fine example of foreshortening, but rather cold in tone. E. Verboeckhoven is represented by one of his highly-finished animal paintings. In De Vriendt's canvas there is an illustration of Sir Joshua Reynold's theory, in which he advocates the reduction of the cold colours in a composition to a minimum. The picture shows an interior treated on a warm key of colour, the carpet, tablecover, and seat all being a deep red, while the solitary figure seated at the table is clad in a white robe with bluish shadows, forming the only spot of cold colour in the picture; but there is equal splendour in the painting by K. Ooms, which represents an interior the exact reverse of De Vriendt's, all the accessories being painted on a cold grey tone, and the only spot of warm colour is introduced in the robes of the cardinal who sits in the apartment. Both canvases display dexterous manipulation in the textures of the furniture, and both artists appear to possess equal delicacy of touch. One of the purest pieces of flesh-painting in the gallery is 'Godiva', by J. Van Lierus.

A day or two before leaving Antwerp I spent several hours in St. Paul's Church examining Ruben's famous painting 'The Scourging of Christ'. The scene is depicted in all its revolting brutality, and the artist has utterly failed to produce the divine expression of the Saviour's face. It is this continuous repetition of materiality in his treatment of scriptural subjects, combined with the lavish use of glaring colours, that wearies one of Ruben's works. Instead of the spectator being spiritually impressed, as is the case when he looks at Raphael's representation of religious subjects, Rubens's treatment of such scenes dazzles him by his brilliant colouring, bold rendering of athletic forms and sensuous faces, and interest in the story is swallowed up in admiration of the artist's skill. The onlooker admires, but he is not solemnised; and a scriptural subject that appeals to the senses instead of the heart has failed in its mission.<sup>552</sup>

<sup>552</sup> Image on next page.

**‘No. 7. –London: The National Gallery’, 18 March 1897, p. 47.**

There is a constantly recurring interest in the comparison of one nation’s artistic ideas with another’s. They are so diverse—each country possessing peculiarities of its own, outward symbols of the direction in which the current of national thought flows. This is particularly noticeable when comparing British art—as represented by the collection housed in the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square—with that of continental nations. There is a vigorous bearing in the British school thoroughly characteristic of the independent nature of the people.

After a cursory glance through the rooms, I was impressed with the force of some remarks made by the late professor of painting to the Royal Academy during a course of lectures delivered by him in 1887, in replying to certain allegations made against the variety of schools in the Royal Academy, when it had been said that because British students retained their individuality, their education was inferior to that given in Paris, where it was possible to tell the *atelier* in which each man had been trained. ‘It was conceded by foreigners that British painters had that purity which was the characteristic of high art; and for his own part he preferred the diversity and personal idiosyncrasies of British painters to the dull uniformity of large grey washes and the liberal use of the palette knife to be seen in French work, which, however clever in execution, was apt

to become wearisome and monotonous by frequent repetitions’.<sup>553</sup> Now to anyone fresh from the continental galleries, the truth of that statement must be apparent. It remains now to be seen what is the reason for so many varied methods of treatment, and this can only be done by taking the works of some of the leading men and analysing them individually. But first of all it is necessary to go back to the close of the last century if what follows is to be properly understood.

In 1773 and 1775 two men were born who afterwards revolutionised art and left an impression that has never since been obliterated. These men were Thomas Girtin and Joseph M. W. Turner, both at first water-colour painters, who studied together and distinguished themselves by breaking away from old traditions that had long hampered the progress of art. To Girtin belongs the honour of being the first water-colour painter to achieve the power of giving richness and depth without destroying the transparency of his subjects, thus advancing a decided step beyond Payne and his followers, whose method of treatment consisted in the liberal use of lampblack and opaque greys.<sup>554</sup> The

<sup>553</sup> Moultray is probably referring to Edward Armitage who was professor of painting from 1875-1894. He published *Lectures on Painting, Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy* (London, 1883). From Robertson, Alexander, ‘Armitage, Edward’, Oxford Art On Line, 2011. <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/>, accessed 20 July 2011

<sup>554</sup> Such as in the example below:



Peter Paul Rubens, *The Flagellation of Christ* (Christ at the Column or The Scourging at the Pillar), c.1612 (Antwerp: Church of St. Pauls), oil painting.



William Payne, *Landscape with Donkeys*, 1798 (London: Tate), watercolour, gouache and gum arabic on paper, 237 x 338 mm. Tate Collection, ‘William Payne’, *Landscape with Donkeys*, 1798. <http://www.tate.org.uk/collection/>, accessed 8 August 2011

low tone, however, that pervaded Girtin's work decided Turner that he would, while striving to retain Girtin's richness, endeavour to introduce light into all he did, and with this end in view he carefully studied the effects of light and atmosphere, realising a great truth in art, which can now be traced through all his oil paintings—namely that light is not increased by forcing the shadows and darkening the foreground, as was the rule at that period, but rather by giving the true colour of the shadows with its delicate gradation of greys. Girtin unfortunately died just about the time that his reputation as an artist was established, and Turner then directed his attention to oil painting, and after much study succeeded in carrying out in his oil paintings the principle he had adopted in water colours. The new idea took root immediately among contemporary artists who had previously been taking Wilson and Gainsborough for their models, and they at once carried the idea to excess, working to the full limit of the palette—a mistake that Turner never made, as he always held his brightest tint in reserve until the subject was well nigh completed, when it produced the requisite sparkle that gave brilliancy to the entire composition. This assertion can be proved by anyone who has the patience to make a careful analysis of any of the works of Turner hung in Room 22. What to the ordinary spectator appears a confused mass of gorgeous colour will upon careful inspection be revealed as a series of delicate tints working up to the staccato point, when the grey veil is left behind and one or two brush strokes of the pure colour stand revealed. It is the contrast—a delicate one, it is true, but still a contrast—that gives brilliancy. And this is the reason why one seldom sees Turner's works copied truly. The copy is invariably crude, simply because the copyist has omitted to carry the subtle grey tone through all the glaring colours, for this grey is not at once apparent to the eye—it has to be looked for. Turner knew as well as any artist that true art lies in concealing the art. It is remarkable how many visitors pass through galleries looking and yet not seeing. Although the beauties are there for everyone to enjoy, yet one meets numbers of would-be art critics in British and continental

galleries to whom art is a closed book. They string together a lot of commonplace phrases such as tone values, &c., but appear to have no appreciative knowledge of where to find these qualities, or indeed to see anything but what is apparent to the most superficial observer, and I have also been amused more than once by hearing the assertion made that Turner was always an impressionist painter. This is equivalent to the speaker making a confession of his own crass ignorance, because all authorities acknowledge that he was pre-Raphaelite in the execution of his earlier works, as may be seen for himself by anyone having access to this collection, which embraces some of his largest and most-important pictures. It will be seen that these canvases, bearing the dates from 1805 to 1815, are in nearly every instance carefully finished and full of what is sarcastically called niggling work. Take, for instance, the large upright picture of the place of honour on the end wall, 'Crossing the Brook'. It would be difficult to find a more minute and careful piece of foliage painting. Take, next, 'The Goddess of Discord in the Garden of Hesperides', or that powerful piece of marine painting 'Calais Pier'.<sup>555</sup> In both there is detail in abundance, yet these works possess all the force and breadth of those later masses of rich colour in which the subject is well-nigh indistinguishable—such, for instance, as 'The Sun of Venice: Going to Sea', painted in 1843, some eight years before he died.<sup>556</sup>

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Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Calais Pier*, 1803 (London: National Gallery), oil on canvas, 172 x 240 cm.

<sup>556</sup> Image on next page.



The large canvas, 'The Bay of Baiae; Apollo and the Sibyl', appears to have been painted during the artist's transition stage from the finish to impressionism.<sup>557</sup> This painting was completed as late as 1823, and an examination will show that some parts are mere daubs, while others are full of careful detail. In the ground-floor rooms downstairs there are further instances of Turner's love of detail to be found in the fine collection of drawings and water colours by that artist. Some of the architectural subjects particularly emphasise the fact that he considered a certain amount of detail essential to the perfection of his art. A comparison of the above dates will serve to show that while Turner was possessed of youth and vigour he finished his work carefully, but as age crept on he contented himself with atmospheric effects, in which he excelled all other artists.

Passing from Turner to Landseer, one sees after inspecting his paintings that there is something else beside mere imitation of form and colour required if the artist wishes to excel in animal painting, and the quality, without which all the labour loses its value,

consists in the reproduction of that subtle sensation of almost human intelligence that everyone sooner or later finds developed in his household pets. It is the presence of this feature in Landseer's works that indicates he had made animal life a deep study, penetrating into their inner consciousness and grasping the passions of love, fear, pride, hate and envy that such creatures as the dog and horse possess in common with the human family. Take his picture of 'The Jack in Office'. What can equal the clever rendering of vanity in the animal's face or the amusing way the neighbouring cur looks enviously on? Or in 'The Chief Mourner' see the intense pathos in the face of the shepherd's dog as it rests its head upon the coffin.<sup>558</sup> Or that equally skilful painting in Room 20 in which the dog, having torn the feather out of its master's hat, is seized with a fit of remorse, and sits behind the door with hanging head, listening with fear depicted in every lineament as it hears the approaching footsteps of its master in the corridor without.<sup>559</sup> This intelligent treatment



Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Sun of Venice Going to Sea*, 1843 (London: Tate), oil on canvas, 616 x 921 mm.

557



Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Bay of Baiae, with Apollo and the Sibyl*, c. 1823 (London: Tate), oil on canvas, 145.4 x 237.5 cm.

558



Edwin Landseer, *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner*, 1837 (London: Victoria and Albert Museum), oil on canvas, 46 x 61 cm.

Ruskin thought this work, 'one of the most perfect poems or pictures (I use the words as synonymous) which modern times have seen'. John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, Vol.1, London: George Allen, (2nd ed) 1900, p. 8.

<sup>559</sup> Image on next page.

is not only noticeable in details, such as expression, but is conspicuous in the entire composition of his more important works. Take his 'War', for instance, in the same room. The whole tragedy of the theme is shown in the two soldiers and their horses lying among the ruins of a burning village. In the horse raising itself in agony—the only living form in the group—there is a reminder how the innocent and helpless have to share in the suffering, and often to endure more than the authors of the mischief. The garden gate torn down and cast aside is a symbol that the misery does not terminate on the battlefield, but is carried to the very threshold of the home, and so on, for that picture preaches a sermon to all who like to read it aright. An inspection of the collection of Landseer's works in the gallery shows they are all minutely finished and that the drawing is perfect, while the texturing displays remarkable manipulative dexterity, and his colour is rich and true.

John Constable, R.A. a contemporary of Turner, is well represented in the gallery. His father, who was a miller in Suffolk, wished his son to follow in his footsteps after a futile attempt to get him to enter the church. The youth's inclinations, however, were bent in another direction, and in 1795 he went to London to study art, and seven years after exhibited his first picture. A year later he wrote the following prophecy in a letter: 'I feel now more than ever a decided conviction that I shall some time or other make some good pictures—pictures that shall be valuable to posterity if I do not reap the benefit of them'. His pictures have indeed become valuable to posterity,

although it is not flattering to English taste to learn that that French were the first to appreciate this artist's work. No doubt the jealousy of his contemporaries and the ridicule of ignorant critics all tended to arouse a feeling of prejudice, which militated strongly against his prospects of gaining popular appreciation during his lifetime. In Room 20 there are three of his pictures hung together. Of these the centre one, 'The Hay Wain', seemed to me the finest. This is the work that won the gold medal at the Paris Exhibition of 1824, its appearance creating a sensation among French papers, and influencing French art so far as to lead to the birth of a new school, in which the artist returned to Nature for his inspiration instead of yielding a blind adherence to the dogmas of the old Dutch fraternity as in the past. One can quite realise on looking at the picture how it must have charmed the painters with its fresh, luscious colouring at a period when all works of art were declining into a sombre brown tone.<sup>560</sup> The subject is treated on a cold key of colour, but on the left the roof of the mill supplies the necessary amount of warmth, as its value is increased by the cold green of the surrounding foliage, and it is also carried right across the foreground in a warm-coloured stretch of beach, while the glint of the cold sky colour is reflected in the water where it touches the warm-tinted shingle, giving the requisite relief to a part of the composition that might otherwise have become unduly heavy in tone. The whole work is a marvel of detail, in this respect bearing a close resemblance to the finished treatment of the other two canvases, 'The Cornfield' and 'The Valley Farm', which are



Edwin Landseer, *Suspense*, 1834 (London: Victoria and Albert Museum), oil on canvas, 25 x 36 cm.

560



John Constable, *The Hay Wain*, 1821 (London: National Gallery), oil on canvas, 130.2 x 185.4 cm.

equally rich in colour though different in tone.

Clarkson Stanfield, R.A., is also well represented in the gallery. Space will not permit, however, of much more than a general reference to his mode of treatment. He possesses a thorough knowledge of cloud and wave formation under all aspects. His colouring was delicate, and he was extremely skilful in his treatment of aerial perspective. A good example of all these qualities can be seen in his picture 'The Zuyder Zee'.

George Morland, the animal painter, is rather poorly represented, but there is sufficient to show that in depicting scenes from the farmyard he had few to equal him. His horses sometimes convey the impression that a feed of corn would not come amiss, their bones assuming an undue prominence, but in his pigs and sheep he paints the animals to the life. The work in the gallery represents a horse in a stable.<sup>561</sup> The technique is exquisite and conveys a sensation of realism that rivets the attention. The texture of the animal's coat appears to have been produced with marvellous facility by means of the free, fearless touch of a full brush. He did not confine himself to animal painting: figures and sometimes landscapes were produced in a masterly manner as well, but it was by animal painting he made his reputation.<sup>562</sup>

There are a number of pictures not only in this gallery, but in South Kensington and other London galleries as well, that require notice, but neither space nor time will admit of that at present, as a number of the continental collections have still to be noticed.

<sup>561</sup>



George Morland, *Inside of a Stable*, 1791 (London: Tate), oil on canvas, 148.6 x 203.8 cm.

<sup>562</sup> Right:



George Morland, *Outside the Ale-House Door*, 1792 (London: Tate), oil on canvas, 349 x 273 mm.



**‘No. 8.—Edinburgh, the National Gallery’, 25 March 1897, p. 47.**

If one compares the Edinburgh National Gallery with the continental galleries from a spectacular point of view, the result will prove disappointing, but as a school for the education of the artist it possesses a peculiar value, because of the many rare examples by various old and modern masters in which they are shown at their best. The motto of the trustees appears to have been ‘quality, not quantity.’ This is particularly noticeable in the works of Vandyke, Paul Veronese, Titian, and others. Of these, Vandyke’s large canvas, 9ft square, representing a portrait group of ‘The Lomenilli Family’, is undoubtedly one of the most important in the gallery, and is the best Vandyke I have yet seen.<sup>563</sup> It is in a splendid state of preservation. The figures are life-size and full of dignity, and exhibit that delicacy of touch for which the artist was remarkable. Another of his qualities represented in this work is the fine mellow tone, which is also noticeable in the next large upright canvas of his, showing a full length portrait of ‘An Italian Nobleman’. Both pictures appear to have been painted about the same period. A third canvas portrays the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, and is painted by Vandyke more in the manner of his great master Rubens. There are five figures round the martyr, some of whom are

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Anthony van Dyck, *The Lomenilli Family*, 1626-1627 (Edinburgh: NGS), oil on canvas, 269 x 254 cm.

binding him to a tree. The soldiers and the horses, upon which two of them are mounted, are all treated in a warm half tone, adding great brilliancy to the colouring of the martyr, who is painted in the highest key of light.<sup>564</sup>

This was the original study for the fine picture now in the Pinacothek at Munich. The reason for the decided difference in colouring between this and the first two subjects is because the picture was painted at an earlier date, before the artist had adopted the style now so well known.

‘Mars and Venus’, by Paul Veronese, is on a low tone, but so rich in colour and perfect in texture—showing all Caliari’s characteristic touches—as to convince the spectator that this canvas has at least hitherto escaped the hands of the picture cleaner.<sup>565</sup>

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Anthony van Dyck, *Saint Sebastian Bound for Martyrdom*, 1620-21 (Edinburgh: NGS), oil on canvas, 226 x 160 cm.

<sup>565</sup> Image on next page.

There are several rapid sketches by Tintoretto of the 'Seasons', which display great skill in the handling of the brush, and form excellent studies in manipulation for the student.

Titian's 'Ariadne in Naxos' is a replica of the celebrated picture in the gallery at Madrid. An examination of the work shows that a piece has been added to each end of the canvas. This was done by Etty, who at one time owned the picture, and learning that the original was 6in longer at each side, he supplied the deficiency, having studied Titian closely while a student. As I have described Titian's manner in previous articles, it is only necessary to add that the quality for which he was famous of grouping cold and warm colours successfully is a predominant feature in this work.

J. Greuze, the well-known French artist, is well represented. He was an exceedingly pleasing painter who made his reputation by delicacy of treatment and purity of colour. All his works are wrought to a high finish. His canvas representing a girl holding flowers and a broken jug is the study for the large picture in the Louvre. The expression in the face is well rendered, and in his study of 'A Girl's Head' the thoughtful cast of countenance has been so skilfully reproduced as to convey the sensation of a living face.<sup>566</sup> Among his other works is 'A

Girl with a Dead Canary', in which the artist gives another proof of his power in delineating character.<sup>567</sup>

There are five large pictures by William Etty, R.A., the British Rubens. The one that first attracts attention is the powerful work entitled 'The Combat Woman Pleading for the Vanquished'. The subject is full of verve, and represents two warriors engaged in a struggle, in which the younger has been brought to his knees, his sword jerked from his grasp and broken, while his opponent clutches him by the hair and swings his sword aloft, with a face contorted with fury, ready to deal the fatal blow, and a woman throws herself frantically at his feet and with gestures and words strives to gain mercy for



Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *The Broken Pitcher*, 1771 (Paris: Louvre), oil on canvas, 109 x 87 cm.

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Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *A Girl With a Dead Canary*, 1765 (Edinburgh: NGS), oil on canvas, oval, 53 x 46 cm.



Veronese, *Mars, Venus and Cupid*, c. 1580 (Edinburgh: NGS), oil on canvas, 165.2 x 126.5 cm

<sup>566</sup> Top right:



the conquered.<sup>568</sup> The composition is splendid, and the half-nude figures not only exhibit fine, rich flesh-colouring, but also enable one to see the artist's thorough knowledge of anatomy in the strained muscles of the arms and chest of the fallen figure. The companion picture shows 'Benaiah Slaying the Two Lion-like Men of Moab', in which again one sees the vigour and energy displayed in the action of the figures for which Etty was famous, while the colouring is not inferior to that of Rubens. The remaining three canvases illustrate the story of the deliverance of the Jewish people from Holofernes by Judith. In the first, the scene shows Judith's maid listening outside the tent at night with the sentinels fast asleep. The second represents the interior of the tent lit up with a glow of light, revealing Holofernes fast asleep on a couch and Judith standing beside him grasping his hair in one hand, while with the other she raises the sword and appears to invoke the aid of heaven. In the third, the spectator is again outside the tent, and sees Judith emerging with the head of Holofernes, which she is passing to her maid, who receives it with a look of horror. This scene, like the first, is a night scene, and the low tone of these two subjects adds greatly to the splendour of the centre canvas, which depicts the gorgeous furnishings and draperies under a glare of artificial light. The colours in the three pictures are extremely luscious, and as the figures in all the five scenes are larger than life the effect is most imposing.

There is a good collection of portraits by Sir Henry Raeburn, Gainsborough, Francis

Hals, Gilbert, and others, that would monopolise too much space to describe, but they are very valuable as guides to students in portrait-painting because of their technique and colour combined with life-like expression. There are two pictures by Sir Noel Paton, in front of which the spectator could spend hours. One depicts 'The Quarrel' and the other 'The Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania'—subjects chosen from 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'. And what a dream! <sup>569</sup> Imagine a group of fairies, beginning with the most perfect and lovely forms, and gradually descending until one arrives at the most grotesque and impish objects imaginable, all arranged in fantastic attitudes and positions. One imp, with a large bullet head and miniature body and limbs, is shown in a predicament. He has managed to get into a hole in the side of a weather-beaten pedestal, from which he surveys with a look of terror the threatening advance of a spider. The expression of alarm on that face is indescribable. Another elfin figure is perched on the top of a weed. He is blowing

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Joseph Noel Paton, *The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania*, 1849 (Edinburgh: NGS), oil on canvas, 99 x 152 cm.



William Etty, *The Combat Woman: Pleading for the Vanquished*, 1825 (Edinburgh: NGS), oil on canvas, 304 x 399 cm.



Joseph Noel Paton, *The Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania*, 1847 (Edinburgh: NGS), oil on canvas, 76.2 x 122.6 cm.

with all his might at the downy head of the dandelion seed. The pursed-up cheeks and look of intense earnestness indicate how absorbed the little fellow is in his entrancing occupation. A sweet little fairy is engaged hauling her mate up by the leg from out of the hollow trunk of a decayed tree, and a perfect queen of beauty is seen reclining upon a couch inside an air bubble, reminding one of a jem [sic] beneath a glass shade. These are just a few examples of the quaint conceptions that are carried throughout each composition, and the plants and shells introduced as accessories are painted from Nature with the greatest fidelity, while the graceful pose and beauty of the figures could not be surpassed.

There is a fine example of the Dutch school, in the collection, from the easel of Jan Steen. The picture represents a doctor sitting at the bedside of his patient with a glass of wine in his hand, the sparkle of which has raised a sparkle in the doctor's eye. The expression on the invalid's face is tenderly depicted and finely contrasted with that of the waiting maid, who is ministering to the comfort of the doctor, as the decanter on the silversilver testifies. The composition, colour, and treatment of this cabinet gem is perfect, the fur trimming on the nurse's jacket being a study in texture in itself. No painter of the Dutch school probably ever carried the expression of human sentiment as revealed in private and familiar life to so high a degree of perfection as Jan Steen, who was a man who never knew what care of worry meant; and perhaps no story displays the man's character so well as that in which Chevalier Moor, a friend of Steen's and celebrated as an artist, having painted Mariette Steen's portrait, she carried the finished picture to her husband Jan, who highly approved of it. 'There is but one thing wanting', said he, 'which I will add', whereupon he painted a large basket hanging on her arm filled with sheeps' heads and feet. 'You understand', continued Jan Steen, 'that without this basket you would not be known'. The artist's wife was highly delighted with the work thus completed, being as keen a humourist as himself.

There is a rich, deep-tone cabinet picture by Bergham, representing a group of cattle

and a goat. The painting is a small one, and is treated in a dark key of colour. The streak of light in the sky and the salient points on the animals are the only lights in the composition, yet all the forms are quite easily traced. This is an excellent specimen of *chiaro-oscuro* [sic].

G. Poussin is represented by 'A Land Storm', which is classed among his best works. A dark lurid tone pervades the scene, and the gleam of lightning that rends the sky reveals a castle on the top of a cliff, which, being lit up with the flash, stands out from the gloomy surroundings with telling effect. Some figures are seen in the foreground striving to make headway against the storm, their drapery fluttering in the wind being rendered with great care. The violence of the wind is also indicated by the bending of the strong branches as though they were about to be torn from the tree trunks. The artist appears to have spared no pains to convey the feeling of strife among the elements, the entire effect being very striking.<sup>570</sup>

There is a sunset effect by A. Cuyp, the well-known Dutch painter. The scene represents a stretch of flat meadow land with a canal winding across it from the foreground into the distance, where some spires and houses are seen rising and breaking the monotony of the horizontal line.<sup>571</sup> They are touched in with bluish grey

<sup>570</sup> The artist referred to is Gaspar to whom Nicolas Poussin gave his name. See John Landseer, *A descriptive, explanatory, and critical catalogue of fifty of the earliest pictures contained in the National Gallery of Great Britain*, London: Richard Glynn, 1834, p. 319.

<sup>571</sup>



Aelbert Cuyp, *Landscape with a View of the Valkhof, Nijmegen*, about 1655 – 1660 (Edinburgh: NGS), oil on canvas, 113 x 165 cm.

to convey the feeling of distance. Several figures are shown near the foreground bathing in the canal; some are on the bank about to plunge in, while others are half immersed. Most of the nude figures are in shadow, with strong gleams of light touching their heads and shoulders, affording relief and giving a peculiar effect to the composition. The details in the foreground, such as docks and other weeds, have been carefully painted.

Another member of the Dutch school is Jacob Ruysdael, who is represented by two canvases. The larger depicts a Flemish landscape, and is a most impressive picture. There are one or two small clouds floating through a bluish grey atmosphere, which gives a sombre tone to the scene. On the left side there is a broken bank densely wooded, with an old gnarled oak rising above the trees in the foreground; the long, notched, arm like branches with clusters of leaves standing from among the surrounding foliage forms one of those tree studies for which he was famous. A river, of which a glimpse is got here and there through the trees, flows along at the foot of the bank, and winds back into the landscape, with a clay-coloured road alongside of it. Several figures are seen under the trees in the foreground, painted by Wouverman.<sup>572</sup> They have been very skilfully introduced so as to be in harmony with the landscape. Ruysdael was never very successful with his figures, and his contemporaries were always ready to assist him. This fine picture is a favourite with artists.<sup>573</sup>

The small picture is also a good example. It is a woodland scene with a sluggish river. The decaying oak and silver birch trees, the delineation of which rendered Ruysdael famous, form prominent features in the composition. The colours have been carried into the little bit of flat landscape in the middle distance, and thence into the sky, where the highest light is focussed in the white edge of the cloud.

This description of the Scottish gallery would be incomplete without a notice of Horatio McCulloch's pictures, as no artist has ever conveyed the same poetic feeling into paintings of Scotch scenery that he did. Professor Wilson once told his pupils that if they could not afford to visit the Highlands the next best thing they could do would be to go and look at McCulloch's pictures. As with Ruysdael, the oak and silver birch were his favourites, but all his foliage painting possessed that light aerial feeling than one sees in nature, and few equalled, and no one excelled him in painting water, either in a river or a lake, while the tone of his picture was always faithful to the atmospheric effect he was painting. At his death her Majesty the Queen sent a letter to the Royal Scotch Academy expressing her deep sympathy with them in the great loss the academy had suffered.

His picture of 'Inverlochy Castle' is a clever representation of a summer day in the Highlands. It conveys the sensation to the spectator of being outside in the fresh air. The mountain tops are partially obscured by the shadows of the rolling clouds, while the sunlight streams through the small openings in the castle walls, which are crumbling into ruins, with the moss clinging to the crevices.

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This may not be the landscape Moultray saw but it is currently the only landscape by Cuyp that the gallery holds. National Galleries of Scotland.

<http://www.nationalgalleries.org/>  
'Collection – Artists A-Z: C Aelbert Cuyp', accessed 18 August 2011

<sup>572</sup> Or by Nicolaes Berchem. The distant town was the town of Rhenen, on the Rhine. National Galleries of Scotland, 'Collection: Artists A-Z: R: Jacob van Ruysdael'.  
<http://www.nationalgalleries.org/>, accessed 29 July 2011

<sup>573</sup> Right:



Jacob van Ruysdael, *The Banks of a River*, 1649 (Edinburgh: NGS), oil on canvas, 134.00 x 193.00 cm.



The whole scene is mirrored in the River Lochay, which flows in front and reflects the colours down to the shingle in the foreground, giving a fine feeling of harmony throughout the composition. This picture appears to be a favourite study with students and artists, judging from the number I saw copying it.<sup>574</sup> The other large picture by the same artist is more generally known by the engraving issued by the Royal Association Art Union. I refer to 'The Lowland River'. Those who have not seen his paintings but have seen this engraving will be able to form an idea of how he treated foliage, but in colour one sees something very different from what is placed before the public to represent foliage now. This picture is another instance of the pernicious nature of that colour called 'asphaltum' or 'bitumen'. Its treacherous qualities were not known in the days when McCulloch and many other artists were lured into using it because of the rich transparent tint it produced, little dreaming of the havoc it would afterwards play with

their work. This 'Lowland River' has been ruined by it, and I would advise all artists to banish it from their palettes if they have any regard for the durability of their pictures.

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Horatio McCulloch, *Inverlochy Castle*, 1857  
(Edinburgh: NGS), oil on canvas, 91.60 x 152.80 cm.

Another version of Inverlochy Castle has since been added to the collection:

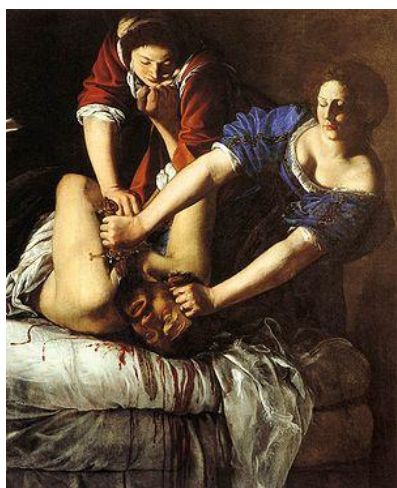


Horatio McCulloch, *Inverlochy Castle*, c.1857  
(Edinburgh: NGS), watercolour and bodycolour over pencil on paper, 16.6 x 24.80 cm.

**‘No. 9.—Naples’, 1 April 1897, p. 47.**

Taken as a whole the fine art collection in the museum at Naples is much inferior to that of any of the other galleries in Italy, but it is nevertheless interesting from the fact that Palma Vecchio, Domenico Zampieri, Antonio Solario, and other famous painters are represented on the walls, although some of their canvases are in a miserable state of decay. The first thing that impressed me when I entered the gallery was the number of canvases depicting Judith and Holofernes at the moment when the Jewess deals Nebuchadnezzar’s general his death blow. In some instances the treatment of this fictitious incident displays a woeful lack of good taste. I may mention one instance in particular where the painter seems to have revelled in his subject. Judith is depicted sawing away with her sword, while the gore squirts over the floor.<sup>575</sup> No less than three artists have tackled the subject, and each appears to have vied with his neighbour as to which should produce the most revolting scene. The men who have thus distinguished themselves are Caravaggio, Calabrese and Pietro Novelli.<sup>576</sup>

<sup>575</sup> The work referred to was probably:



Artemisia Gentileschi, *Judith Slaying Holofernes* 1612-1613 (Naples: Museo di Capodimonte), oil on canvas 158.8 cm × 125.5 cm. The work was painted not long after her ordeal of rape and torture.

<sup>576</sup> The word ‘this’ was replaced with thus.

Looking at the pictures from a purely technical point of view, there is much to admire in them, but the predominance of the disagreeable features in the different canvases excites such a feeling of loathing and repulsion in the spectator that he utterly fails to appreciate the artistic ability displayed in each work.<sup>577</sup> The British artist Etty is unique for the delicacy and refinement of his treatment of the same theme. I described his ‘Judith and Holofernes’ in my letter from Edinburgh.

Salvator Rosa’s picture illustrating the parable of the mote and the beam is a night scene, in which a man dressed in yellow-coloured garments is seen seated on a staircase, and another is shown clad in a priest’s robes stooping over him and pointing a finger in his face with an expression of scorn, while the eyesight of the jeering figure is obstructed by a beam. The dark mantle of the priest is almost lost in the gloom. The highest lights of the composition consist of the men’s faces, the pointing hand, and a break in the sombre sky overhead, and the half-lights are formed by the drapery of the sitting figure and the beam, which is also utilised to carry the yellow of the man’s garments into the upper part of the composition. This artist’s other canvas, depicting ‘The Disputation in the Temple’, is



Caravaggio, *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, c.1597-1598 (Rome: Galleria nazionale d’arte antica), Oil on canvas, 145 x 195 cm.

<sup>577</sup> Moultray is here echoing Reynolds, Discourse VII, who criticised Poussin and spoke of ‘turning from’ one of his pictures ‘in disgust’ because of his violation of ‘principles of composition’; ‘a picture should please at first sight, ... if on the contrary the general effect offends the eye, a second view is not always sought’. Wark (ed), *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, p.126.

superior in mechanic [sic], although not such a striking scene.

‘A Portrait of Himself’, by Masaccio, is interesting because of the fine feeling of relief in the head. The scheme of the colour is warm and pleasing.

‘The Guardian Angel’, by Domenichino, is a splendid example by this famous artist, whose works are as rare as they are valuable.<sup>578</sup> This picture possesses in no small degree the qualities by which he established his reputation—*i.e.*, expression and admirable execution. Probably no man ever lived such a life of misery as this Bolognese artist. Suffering from infirmities that rendered him the butt of the ignorant and brutal, he was bounded through life by the envy and slander of his jealous contemporaries, who left no stone unturned to poison the minds of likely patrons, until at last he died suddenly under such suspicious circumstances as to create the impression that he had been poisoned by a rival who had previously disposed in the same way of a pupil who was likely to excel him. That Domenichino—whose real name was Domenic Zampieri—feared an attempt would be made on his life was well known, as he always prepared his own food.

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Domenichino, *Guardian Angel*, 1615 (Naples: Museo di Capodimonte), oil on canvas, 249 x 210cm.

The upper part was restored in 1792 by the Saxon Federico Anders, Museo di Capodimonte: ‘Domenic Zampieri called Domenichino: Guardian Angel.’ <http://museodicapodimonte.campaniabenculturali.it/thematic-views/image-gallery/OA900391>, accessed 16 July, 2011

Van Dyck’s ‘Denial by St. Peter’ is particularly noteworthy for the treatment of St. Peter’s head, but the picture is hung so high and in such a bad light that all my efforts to discern the chiaro-oscuro work—the best feature in the picture—were unavailing, although I returned several times during the 11 days I spent in Naples, but always found the picture in semi-darkness.

‘The Violin Player’, by Teniers, portrays a man seated at a table singing and accompanying himself on a violin. It is a skilful piece of work, treated on a low key of colour, which, combined with warm shadows, gives great brilliancy to the green high-lights on the man’s coat, while the head is brought sharply off the dark background by means of a red cap, and to complete the chromatic scheme a yellowish coloured jar has been introduced, placed on the table near the man’s elbow. The violin forms the requisite link between the red cap and the warm shadows. It is as well balanced a piece of colour as can be found in the whole room set apart for the works of Flemish painters, for a picture has to possess a certain balance in the arrangement of its warm and cold colours, just as in music there must be a variation in the sound from pianissimo to forte.

The large fruit piece by C. Bereniz is a marvellous example of technique and luscious colour, and creates the impression that the painter had studied everything direct from nature, even to the sparkling beads of dew lying on the leaves and grapes. The artist has given the dewdrops that transparency in which John Van Huysum, the Dutch flower painter, excelled, and he has reproduced the bloom on his peaches and the sheen on the crinkled foreshortened leaves with a realism that almost deceives the spectator.<sup>579</sup>

Many years ago, when I read the history of Solario’s great work, I formed a mental picture of what it would be like that I now find very much flattered the original, which did not by any means come up to my expectations. The romantic history associated with it will, however, always make the picture interesting, not only to the artist, but to the tourist as well. The canvas

<sup>579</sup> Jan van Huysum, (1682-1749).

represents the Virgin and Child with a group of saints, and the work possesses a certain amount of power in the brushwork as well as the colour arrangement, but hardly sufficient to justify the exaggerated estimate that is formed of the painter's skill. Doubtless the story in connection with the work has exercised a certain influence over the critic's judgement. The Virgin, who is seated on a throne, is supposed to be a portrait of Queen Joanna II, while the woman behind one of the saints is the famous Claudia. As perhaps the origin of the picture is not generally known, I will give an abridged version of it, merely prefacing my remarks with the reminder that however improbable the narrative may appear, yet it is thoroughly authentic. About the beginning of the fifteenth century, among the brigands who infested the mountains in the vicinity of Naples one named Antonio Solario rendered himself famous, or rather infamous, by the skill with which he relieved passing travellers of their wealth. By paying strict attention to business he prospered, and was soon enabled to admit into the firm numerous partners who possessed the necessary qualifications of dissolute ruffianism. One day an artist named De Rieux, with his servant, fell into the clutches of this band of choice spirits, but the painter was too much impressed with the picturesqueness of his surroundings to be alarmed for his safety, and his artistic enthusiasm so affected the brigand chief that he and his servant were released upon the condition that Solario was to be permitted to visit the painter's studio in Naples. In due time the visit came off, and while standing spellbound before a picture which the artist had on loan from his master Colantonio, Solario was surprised by the entrance of Colantonio himself, who, after greeting the two men, fixed his eyes on Antonio Solario with a look of undisguised admiration, for in the fine proportions and noble bearing of the brigand he saw a worthy model. The interview that ensued resulted in Solario's going daily to Colantonio's studio, where he posed from morning till night. He appeared to be indefatigable, and the delighted artist after four or five days work asked what he would like as payment. Some worn-out

brushes and soiled canvas, with the right to stay with the painter, amounted to the summit of the model's ambition—a request that was readily granted, although in permitting the poor brigand to reside in his house he made a concession that he would never have granted to any noble in the land, for he had an only daughter who was famous for her beauty, although few had seen her, as she was seldom permitted to leave the house and few visitors were admitted. Now when this young lady met a real live domesticated brigand she straightway fell in love with him, and as her feelings were reciprocated matters assumed quite a rosy hue, until the doting parent discovered how matters stood, and then he poured out the vials of his wrath upon the heads of the devoted couple, finishing up a beautiful harangue by informing the unfortunate Solario that his daughter should only be allowed to marry a great artist. This was supposed to be a clincher to the aspirations of the poor model, but he was not a whit abashed, as he informed the artist that if the daughter would wait 10 years he would produce ocular evidence that he was worthy of that title. As the girl, who was only 15 years of age, expressed her confidence in the result and was willing to wait, the father consented, only stipulating that Solario should quit Naples and not return for 10 years. Time passed on until the period named had expired, when Antonio Solario's fame as an artist not only reached Colantonio's ears, but was noised throughout the whole province, and this work hung in the gallery is the picture that not only established the painter's reputation, but also won him a wife who afterwards proved to be as good as she was beautiful.

'The Virgin, Child, and Saints', by Palma Vecchio, is another representation of that familiar subject that the traveller sees in every gallery in Italy. This artist, however, has added the portraits of the two donors to this group of saints. There is something fascinating in this great Venetian painter's method of treating a religious scene. His dexterous manipulation, rich colouring, and deep reverential feeling are common to all his scriptural subjects, but added to these qualities we find in this canvas a brilliancy



of effect that entitles it to be included among the best of his work.

F. Snyders is represented by one of his famous hunting scenes, in which some hounds are seen pursuing several rabbits. The colour scheme is warm and pleasing, the incident being depicted under a sunset aspect, which enables the painter to carry the warm sienna colour of the nearest hound into the distant sky, while the grey of the rabbit's fur in the foreground has been carried through among the foliage in the middle distance, toning down the green and bringing it into harmony with the grey surface of the water in the distant lake. The expression of the animals is in keeping with the theme—the savage eagerness of the dogs, their fangs gleaming in the evening light, and the terror on the rabbits' faces, as with ears laid back and eyeballs wellnigh starting from their heads they strain every muscle to escape, are capitally rendered, while the drawing and texturing are perfect. In another work by the same artist, portraying a stag hunt, he shows his remarkable knowledge of the anatomy of the dog by displaying the animal in a variety of strained attitudes, yet they all retain the feeling of motion. The faces in this work are also full of expression.

Correggio's picture entitled 'The Zingarella' is bound to awaken other emotions in the visitor besides admiration if he is acquainted with the history of the artist's life.<sup>580</sup> The scene shows the Madonna resting during her flight into Egypt and the infant Saviour fast asleep in her lap. This artist threw all the sacred fire his soul

possessed into this work, believing he was actually painting the face of the mother of Christ, who was at the moment interceding in heaven for him, and all the love in the man's nature is revealed in the picture, which is as impressive as it is beautiful. The fact that the artist's real name was well nigh forgotten—it was Antonio Allegri—and the name of his native town substituted indicates that his wonderful talent must have completely overshadowed that of his contemporaries, who, fearing that otherwise the little town might sink into oblivion, renamed the painter anew by his native town of Correggio, knowing that the painter's name would always stand and be respected wherever his works were known.

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Correggio, *Madonna Zingarella*, 1603 (Naples: Museo di Capodimonte), oil on canvas, 37 x 49 cm.



**‘No. 10.—Rome: The Vatican’,  
8 April 1897, p. 47.**

The picturesque appearance of the grand old ruins was what impressed me most on entering Rome. The Colosseum, Forum, and Palatine Hill would in themselves form sufficient attraction, apart from such other marvels as St. Peter's, the Castle, or the collections of pictures in the numerous palaces, but as the subject of greatest interest to me was the fine art collections, I will confine my descriptions to the paintings, beginning with the most important, which is housed in the Vatican.

On my first visit, by following the directions of the picturesquely dressed Swiss guards, I lost no time in reaching the apartments containing Raphael's famous frescoes, of which the most renowned, known as the ‘Incendio del Borgo’, decorates the wall of a cheerless room named the Stanza dell' Incendio.<sup>581</sup> Viewing the work purely as an example of the great master's style, there is much for a painter to learn from it, because of its many excellent qualities. But to the ordinary visitor the scene must be more or less of a puzzle, unless he has the explanation in connection with it. Of course anyone can see that it represents a fire in the Vatican, but it has to be remembered that there was more than a fire to be depicted when the picture was painted. If, however, the painter has been somewhat obscure in rendering the scene, I will shortly show on analysing the subject that he has made the best arrangement of the composition that was possible under the

circumstances, for he undertook an impossible task when he accepted the commission to paint a miracle. Before examining the fresco it is as well to endeavour to realise the idea Raphael agreed to portray, and to take a general survey of the difficulties he had to overcome. Just imagine a painter placed in front of a blank wall with the request that he should delineate a miracle that, according to Roman Catholic tradition, was enacted in the ninth century, when the Vatican quarter or Borgo at St. Peter's was threatened with destruction by a fire that had broken out and set at defiance all efforts to subdue it until Pope Leo IV came upon the scene and extinguished it by simply making the sign of the cross. Now the first difficulty that would arise in depicting a scene like this would be to give due prominence to the Pope in the act of performing his miracle, while at the same time the burning building must be the leading feature in the Scene, and in conjunction with it the people must be represented striving to control the conflagration, and at the same time they must be so grouped as to enable the spectator to see by their attitudes that they have been baffled. Wonder and awe have also to be represented in the faces of those looking on to show that something supernatural has occurred; and last, but most important of all, the artist is expected to perform an impossibility by showing the fire burning and extinguished at the same time.

Taking the first difficulty, a short description will show how Raphael has overcome it. On looking at the fresco it will be seen that the Pope is placed away in the background, and that he forms quite an insignificant figure in the scene. If the burning building had been placed in the background that would have necessitated the Pope being placed in the foreground with his back towards the spectator, which, considering he was the most important figure in the scene, would have been contrary to the laws of composition. Or if both figure and building had been brought into the foreground then it would have been necessary to block out the distance, so that the spectator's eye would be concentrated on the action of the piece, and then the painter would have lost one of the most valuable

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Raphael and Giulio Romano, *Fire in the Borgo*, (Stanza dell'incendio del Borgo), 1514 (Vatican City: Apostolic Palace), fresco, width at base: c.770 cm.

features in his fresco—viz., depth or distance; and it has been for the sake of retaining that last quality that he has allowed his leading figure to drop into a secondary place in the background, while the buildings are seen on the right and left of the foreground wreathed in flame and smoke, and it is the presence of these signs of fire that does away with the idea of a miracle, for when the spectator sees a small figure in the distance with upraised hand and a group of men in the foreground passing jars of water along, he naturally comes to the conclusion that the Pope is urging them on to renewed efforts. Now, although forced to keep his principle figure subordinate to the foreground figures as regards size, the artist has striven to give it the necessary importance by concentrating the light and focussing his colour on it, at the same time throwing a shadow over some of the leading foreground characters, while as an additional aid to the background group a row of pillars are shown receding into the distance on the left, which are of invaluable assistance to the perspective, while their monotony is broken by the outstretched arm of a woman in front. The result of all this ingenious manoeuvring is the exquisite sense of relief that pervades the work, which is delicately coloured and in a fairly good state of preservation, while there is a dash and vigour about the people in the foreground, forming a marked contrast to the repose of the principal group in the distance—the one group embodying the idea of human effort, the other the majesty of spiritual power.

I next proceeded to the chamber in which the Papal indulgences used to be signed, where there is another magnificent fresco by Raphael entitled 'The Disputa'. The subject is divided into two parts—a celestial and a terrestrial. The groups are separated by clouds—in the upper the Holy Trinity, with the Madonna and John the Baptist, accompanied by angels bearing the Gospels, are shown; while in the lower a group of saints are seated beside an altar, which bears the monstrance with the host. Due care has been exercised in giving the celestial personages dignity and benevolence and the terrestrial individuals the requisite display of reverence.<sup>582</sup> The colour arrangement,

however, lacks the harmony and breadth of the Incendio subject.

Among the other frescoes by Raphael, the best are 'The Parnassus' and 'The School of Athens', while from an educational point of view—at least to an artist—the magnificent series of mural paintings in the Stanza d'Eliodoro, 'illustrating the different miraculous incidents in connection with the growth of the church, and all painted by Raphael himself', are interesting, not only for the examples the paintings afford of skilful manipulation, but also for showing the principles on which he wrought when composing his historical pictures. In the art gallery in the Vatican the leading works are Raphael's 'Madonna of Foligno' and his last great work, 'The Transfiguration'. Beginning with the former, the fine arrangement of colour is the quality that first impresses the spectator. The composition, which is pyramidal, represents the Virgin enthroned on a cloud, with the sun behind her, while a halo formed by cherubim around the sun melts into the blue sky, which again forms a contrast with the crimson of the Virgin's dress, while a blue mantle that partly covers the dress supplies the connecting link with the sky, the crimson and blue being focussed in the purple garment worn by St. Jerome, who stands down on the right foreground looking up to the Virgin with a finely-rendered expression of veneration, his left hand resting upon the head of Sigismondo Conti, who also looks reverently upward while he kneels in adoration.<sup>583</sup> The artist, by



Raphael, *Disputa*, 1509-1510 (Vatican City: Apostolic Palace), fresco, 500 x 770 cm.

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<sup>582</sup> Right:

showing a portion of white among the scarlet and purple drapery of this kneeling figure, carries the light of the cloud down into the right corner. Now it will be seen that if the balance of colour is to be restored in the left of the composition it will be necessary to introduce a mass of warm colour, and as the painter has already introduced as much red as the arrangement will bear he now adopts the expedient of placing St. John the Baptist on the left, on the same level with and opposite to St. Jerome, clad in a brown skin, which is relieved by some touches of yellow; and as the subject is now in harmony he has covered St. Francis, who kneels at St. John's feet, with a monk's robe of neutral grey. A feeling of unity is given to the *tout ensemble* by the blue of the Virgin's mantle and sky being combined in the rich green herbage at the base of the composition. The fine feeling of relief that pervades the work has been secured by introducing a town in the distance between the two terrestrial groups, which is painted on a cold blue-grey key, giving the greatest possible value to the work draperies in the foreground. An additional contrast has been produced by the warm-tinted body of a cherub having been placed right over this mass of cold colour, obviously for the purpose of preventing it from becoming unduly heavy in tone. Doubtless the reader



Raphael, *Madonna of Foligno*, 1511 (Vatican City: Pinacoteca Vaticana), oil on wood, transferred to canvas, 32 x 194 cm.

will be curious to know what Sigismondo Conti—Julius II's secretary—is doing among the saints. It was a common practice of artists in the sixteenth century to introduce the faces of their friends or the heads of famous men into their works, and as Julius ordered the picture, it is only natural to suppose that the secretary and painter were often together during the progress of the work, and Raphael probably took the opportunity of paying his friend a delicate compliment, while at the same time he added to the interest of his subject by introducing a well-modelled head, possessing the requisite expression of veneration.

Raphael's last painting, 'The Transfiguration', is like the previous picture, distinguished by being shown on an easel. It represents our Saviour, with Elias and Moses, raised among the clouds in the upper part of the canvas. A halo of golden light radiates from the Saviour, gradually dissolving into the deep blue of the surrounding sky. Beneath, the three Apostles are seen on the mountain top, crouching in various attitudes as if blinded by the glare of celestial light. Here the great master's work stops, the lower part having been finished by his pupils. In this portion the disciples are represented at the foot of the mountain, some pointing upwards and others looking in dismay at the boy possessed whom they have been requested to heal. The excitement and confusion prevailing in this group are well rendered, but the colour has been kept low in tone not to distract the spectator's attention from the upper part of the picture, where the light has also been concentrated. The expression on the different faces is a notable feature in the scene, whether in the rendering of sublimity in the countenances of the celestial figures or the eagerness of the women and the agony of the afflicted boy or the look of helplessness in the disciples' faces, while that delicacy of touch for which Raphael was famous is a predominant feature in both canvases.

Among the other paintings by Raphael, his 'Coronation of the Virgin' reminded me somewhat of his 'Sposalizio' at Milan in the refined treatment of the faces, although the drapery was not so carefully painted. In my letter from Naples I referred to the work of



Domenichino. He is represented here by his *chef d'oeuvre* 'The Communion of St. Jerome'. It is hung in the same room in which 'The Transfiguration' is shown. It was because of the honour that was bestowed upon the painter for this work that the jealousy of his enemies was aroused the highest pitch, they having spread a report that it was a copy of Caracci's picture of the same subject (now at Bologna); but beyond the resemblance there must necessarily be between two paintings of the same incident there is sufficient evidence of originality to disprove the charge of having copied his master's work.<sup>584</sup> The aged St. Jerome is seen on the left side of the picture, carefully supported in the half-keeling posture by some attendants, while the priest on the right bends over him with the sacramental vessel in his hand. The colours are fresh and rich; the expressions on the faces of the priest and the saint in particular are exquisitely depicted—the one full of tenderness and benevolence, the other eloquent with yearning desire and senile helplessness, forming a contrast that the artist has

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Agostino Carracci, *The Communion of St. Jerome*, 1591-92 (Bologna: Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna), oil on canvas, 376 x 224 cm.

increased by bringing the ruddy and healthful face close to the tawny, shrivelled features of St. Jerome. A glimpse is got through an archway beyond of a landscape, with buildings and figures introduced to convey the idea of an Eastern scene, while some angels are seen floating in the upper part of the composition, doubtless placed there to convey some warm colour into the sky and the shadow part of the architecture.<sup>585</sup>

Caravaggio is represented by a magnificent example of the naturalistic school in 'The Entombment'. This entire subject indicates the hand of a master, but one face in particular stands out from the canvas and impresses the spectator with a feeling of awe. It is the careworn face of one of the disciples, wearing a look of unutterable anguish, that haunts the visitor for the rest of the day.

Titian's 'Madonna of S. Niccolo de' Frari' is also among the treasures collected here. It is full of majesty, and the colouring is extremely luscious, but time will not permit a detailed description and for the same reason I will only add that Perugino, Moretto, Fra Angelico, and Bonifacio are all represented by masterpieces, each artist

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Domenichino, *The Last Communion of St. Jerome*, 1614 (Vatican City: Pinacoteca Vaticana), oil on canvas, 419 x 256 cm.

portraying that favourite subject with the old masters, 'The Madonna', according to his own idea, affording a splendid opportunity for the comparison of the various methods of handling a subject that gives full scope to an artist to display all the sublimity and skill of which he is possessed—an opportunity, I need hardly add, of which I availed myself to the utmost before quitting the sombre apartments of the Vatican.

**‘No. 11.—Rome: The Corsini Palace’,  
15 April 1897, p. 47.**

As the picture gallery in the Borghese Palace is considered the next in importance to the Vatican, I went there one morning, but was informed that all the pictures had been removed to the Prince’s Villa outside the city gates, to which I would be admitted on the following day, so I proceeded across the Tiber to the Corsini Palace and passed the rest of the day there.<sup>586</sup> In the entrance hall the attendant pointed out a mark, about 5ft up the wall, which I understood him to say was the level reached by the Tiber one day it was in flood, and I thought as I went upstairs that it was fortunate the pictures were hung in the first floor apartments, as there are many valuable works that could never have been replaced. The rooms, however, are not well adapted for the exhibition of pictures owing to the lack of light. Among the best canvases, the works of Guido Reni, Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Carlo Dolci, and Murillo were conspicuous.

Beginning with the Florentine master, Carlo Dolci, his ‘Virgin and Child’, which is an exceedingly pleasing rendering of a well-worn theme, represents the infant Saviour asleep and the Madonna stooping over him in an attitude of adoration while she lifts the linen drapery that covers him. The action is full of tenderness and grace, and the mixed feelings of reverence and motherly pride are skilfully delineated, and the same thoughtful

<sup>586</sup>



Palazzo Corsini, front view.  
Filcoo Italy bed & breakfast and hotels, ‘Corsini Palace’, 2011.  
[http://www.filcoo.com/en/italy/tg/palazzo\\_corsini\\_roma\\_guide.htm](http://www.filcoo.com/en/italy/tg/palazzo_corsini_roma_guide.htm), accessed 20 July 2011.

care has been displayed in the colouring, the usual blue and crimson drapery of the Virgin, having been supplemented by the addition of a green mantilla, which forms a connecting link with the golden halo round her head. The highest lights on the linen upon which the Saviour reposes have been subdued to a cool grey, with the obvious intention of giving additional value to the flesh tints, while the background is of a dark brownish green. The colouring throughout has a tendency to be cold in tone.

The same painter’s ‘Ecce Homo’ is convincing evidence that his forte lay in the delineation of character. It is impossible to look at this head of our Saviour without becoming impressed with the artist’s marvellous power in depicting expression. This picture is full of pathos. The colour, as in the preceding one, is also inclined to be cold in tone.

Guido Reni, in his picture of ‘The Daughter of Herodias with John the Baptist’s Head in a Charger’, has given rather an idealised representation of the scene.<sup>587</sup> Instead of portraying a face such as one would naturally associate with a character capable of making such a request, the painter has depicted a beautiful face of a refined type, treated with Raphael-like delicacy, which is half turned from the head with an expression of aversion. The drapery has also been elaborately treated, and the folds have been arranged with that grace for which the old masters were deservedly famous. In fact, the entire subject is full of charming passages of delicate colour, such, for instance, as the painting of the lace coming in contact with her breast. There is just the requisite warmth in the tone of it to give value to the cool pearly grey tint in the shadows of the flesh. The picture enables one to form a fair estimate of the position of the Bolognese school towards the close of the sixteenth century.

Andreas Del Sarto gives a most pathetic rendering of ‘The Madonna’, which appears to have been a favourite subject with all the

<sup>587</sup> Moultray is echoing Reynolds criticism of this work by Reni for picturing a subject ‘that required great expression’ with little in order to ‘reserve beauty where it could not be preserved’. Wark (ed), *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, p.78.

old masters, as I have seen several in every gallery I have visited. This Florentine artist, who flourished about the beginning of the sixteenth century, has conveyed an expression of intense sorrow into the Virgin's face, while the colour has been kept in harmony with the subject, being on a low, quiet tone, composed of subdued purples and greys, the crimson robe having also been cast into deep shadow for the purpose of toning down its brilliancy. This beautiful work is hung in a closet that is almost devoid of light, as it has no window, and depends entirely on the borrowed light that enters through the doorway from the next room.<sup>588</sup>

Near to this work 'An Interior', by Rubens, is likewise hung in semi-darkness. So far as I could make it out the scene represented a cavalier seated at a table with two ladies. It possessed all the rich colouring for which the artist was famous.

'San Girolamo', by Baroccio, is a splendid lifesize figure, full of vigour, and partly draped in a red robe. The foreshortening of the face is a difficult piece of work successfully executed, and the pose of the entire figure displays a thorough knowledge of anatomy, and the colouring, although on a warm key, is sufficiently tempered with cool greys in the high lights to redeem it from becoming too fiery in tone.<sup>589</sup>

<sup>588</sup> Closet, is used here to mean a small private room.

<sup>589</sup>



In a small side room, which is full of portraits, there is one in particular that is easily singled out from the others because of its rich colour, brilliant light and shade, and bold manipulation, and the painter could tell it was a Rembrandt if only by the perfection of the *chiaro-oscuro*, a quality in which he excelled.

In the room in which Queen Christina of Sweden is said to have died, the visitor will find hung in the best light, near one of the windows, a humble little canvas that forms a striking contrast to the marble and gold surroundings and the gorgeous ceiling paintings that distinguish this part of the palace. It is a still life study of a 'Dutch Interior', by William Kalf. It is a rare thing to find a picture by this celebrated Dutchman in an Italian collection, or in a British gallery either for that matter. I think there are only two or three to be found in the public collections of Great Britain, and this is the only one I have yet come across in Italy. It is an exquisitely-finished piece of work, and shows what can be done with the most common-place materials if the artist has a thorough knowledge of colour, composition, and *chiaro-oscuro*, combine with manipulative dexterity. The principle features in the picture are an over-turned basin, a cabbage, a bunch of leeks, a jar, and an old broom. The whole combined forms an exquisite symphony in colour, and the different objects have been depicted with unobtrusive accuracy, while in the composition every line has its foil, even down to the small bunch of leeks. An examination will show that although at the first glance it seemed as if they all lay at the same angle, yet each has its individual curve carefully studied so that no two lines neutralise one another, while another quality in the work that impressed me was the skill with which the eye is carried without a jar

Left: Federico Fiori Barocci, *St. Jerome*, c. 1598 (Rome: Galleria Borghese), oil on canvas, 97 x 67 cm.

Moultray would not have seen it in this condition as it has recently been restored and the 'thick layers of paint that had darkened with age' have revealed a lion, 'sleeping like a large cat in the background'. Web Gallery of Art, 'Barocci, Federico Fiori'. <http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/b/barocci/stjerome.html>, accessed 28 July 2011.



from the coldest into the warmest tints, all within the space of an inch. This gem is apt to be overlooked because of its small size and quiet colour, particularly as there are several large crude canvases hung near that kill everything with their glaring colours.

Another Dutch painter, Nicholas Berghem, or Berchem, is represented by some landscapes that indicate the artist to have been a brilliant colourist. It was this master's misfortune to have an exceedingly avaricious wife, who, learning her husband was getting large prices for his works, gave him no rest, but kept urging him to work early and late, and she ultimately occupied the chamber adjoining his studio, and knocked on the wall at intervals to spur the good-humoured Dutchman on with his labours.

Carl Du Jardin, who was supposed to be a pupil of the last-named artist, is also represented by 'The Interior of a Smithy'. This is a fine example of *chiaro-oscuro*, which is not properly seen unless the spectator gets into a good position. With the light falling over the right shoulder was the situation in which it was seen to most advantage, otherwise one will pass it by as a dark mass of dirty browns and greens devoid of meaning. A white horse can be discerned being shod. The drawing is perfect, but to appreciate his colouring it is necessary to see his fine works in the Louvre. Like most of the Dutch painters at that period, he was of an easy-going, jovial disposition. He went one day along the road in his slippers to see a fiend off who was going to Italy, but when it came to his bidding his companion farewell it suddenly entered his head that he would go to, and he went, slippers and all, merely sending word back to his wife that he would not be long away. He never saw her again, however, as he died in Venice several years after, having wandered there from Rome, where he had stayed some time. Things were rather mixed at the funeral, however, as he died a Protestant and was buried according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, but in the robes of a Capuchin friar.

Murillo's 'Madonna' is, I understand, the only known work by this master in Italy.<sup>590</sup>

The conception is full of sublimity, and the sense of colour which pervades the whole picture is refined and excellent; but the spectator can hardly form a true estimate of the artist's style from a solitary work like this. In some of his religious subjects he displays as much delicacy in the manipulation as Raphael, and these paintings are but the reflex of the spiritual life he lived, for he loved to sit in the solitude and gloom of the Catholic churches in Spain buried in deep meditation.

Eglon Hendrick Van der Neer—son of the well-known Dutch painter who was famous for his moonlight scenes—is represented by a cabinet gem entitled 'Una Giovane a una Finestra', in which the artistic taste displayed is of a high order. The work is beautifully finished, and portrays a young lady looking over a balcony and at the same time raising a curtain that obstructs her view. The painter has exercised some ingenuity in the arrangement of his colours. The curtain is a combination of brown and orange yellow, and the shadow from it is so placed as to fall across the upper part of the lady's face—and the face is worth close inspection; the warm-tinted cheek has been brought into contact with the cool grey of the sky—a grey that reappears in the shadows of the lady's white drapery,—and on the highlights of the warm



Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Madonna col Bambino*, c. 1675 (Rome: Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica), oil on canvas, 164 x 108 cm.

<sup>590</sup> Right:



greenish-brown tone that pervades the marble of the balcony; the lady's brown hair melts into the deep brown shadow that forms the background at the right top corner of the canvas, which has for its focus the red robe that hangs over her left arm.<sup>591</sup> The colouring is rich and harmonious, and reveals the painter's French training.

There are several works by Velasquez in Rome, of which the best is probably the portrait of Pope Innocent X, in the Doria Palace in the Corso; but in this Corsini Palace there is a replica of the original, and another work that interested me greatly was a portrait by him of a man in armour, in which the head has been treated with the same boldness and relief that is conspicuous in the Doria Palace head, while the reflection of the steel neck plate has been introduced most naturally into the shadow of the face.<sup>592</sup>

A child's head, by Pietro Novelli, is a fine specimen of luscious colouring. A warm tone is carried through the tints of the face, giving the much-coveted golden glow to the flesh.

One of Both's characteristic landscapes is hung in the same room with Carlo Dolci's 'Ecce Homo'. It is an evening effect, treated in the warm and pleasing manner peculiar to him. This is, of course, the work of John Both, his brother Andrew being a figure painter.

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<sup>591</sup> A semi-colon has been added to aid understanding.

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Velázquez, *Portrait of Pope Innocent X*, c. 1650 (Rome: Galleria Doria Pamphilj), oil on canvas, 114 x 119 cm.

A powerful portrait by Van Dyck, several battle pieces by Salvator Rosa, and a few landscapes by Poussin pretty nearly complete the list of masterpieces in this fine collection, which includes hundreds of pictures representing the different schools in Europe.

**‘No. 12.—Florence: The Pitti Palace’,  
22 April 1897, p. 47.**

I have seen no country that has its attractions so equally distributed as Italy. Milan boasts of its wonderful cathedral, capable of holding 40,000 worshippers—or nearly the entire population of Dunedin and its suburban townships—at once. Venice is unique in the possession of its picturesque canal system, its palaces, and its church in the ornate Byzantine style. The ruins of Rome divide the honours with St. Peter’s, the largest place of worship in the world. Naples nestles under the borrowed plumes of Pompeii and Vesuvius; minus those attractions, I fear it can only boast of its smells and beggars. Bologna appeared to me to possess the quaintest streets I ever traversed, although its two leaning towers did not impress me much; and Florence, standing guard over the lovely Arno, is entitled to claim the honour of being the gem of Italy so far as its art treasures are concerned. In this city there are two palaces containing collections representative of the early Italian schools, which are unequalled in the world: these are the Pitti and Uffizi palaces. There are other excellent art galleries in Florence, but their attractions pale in comparison with their palatial sisters, so I will simply add a few notes of the leading pictures in the two principal collections. Beginning with the Pitti Palace, its apartments are gorgeously decorated, and resplendent with mosaic tables and velvet-covered seats.<sup>593</sup> Each room is named after

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Royal Apartments, Pitti Palace.

the subject of the painting that embellishes its ceiling, so that when the attendant tells the visitor he is in the Saloon of Mars, or Jupiter, or Apollo, or whatever it may be, he will find on looking upwards the characteristics of the mythological character named from the keynote of the composition.<sup>594</sup>

The fine collection of Raphael’s works is one of the leading attractions, and of these ‘La Madonna della Seggiloa’, [*Seggiola*] hung in the Saloon of Saturn, appeared to be one of the most charming examples of that great master. The blue of the Virgin’s dress forms a rich contrast to the yellow robe worn by the infant Saviour, the warm orange shadows of which are brought into contact with the crimson sleeve on the Virgin’s arm, and the chromatic scale is completed by the warm green-coloured mantle, with diaper work of orange and crimson running through it, that is cast over the Virgin’s shoulder. The child’s limbs are beautifully modelled, the flesh tints are warm and the colouring throughout extremely rich, while the expression on both of the faces is singularly sweet. This is one of the most popular works Raphael produced. The same artist’s ‘Madonna del Granduca’ represents the Virgin facing the spectator, but looking modestly downwards, while she bears the infant Christ in her arms, who is represented turning partly round and gazing towards the visitor. The pose of both figures is natural and full of grace; the extremities bear evidence of having been painted with great care, the foreshortening of the Virgin’s left hand being particularly fine. The only part of the drawing that offends the eye is the outline of the child’s right cheek, which is swollen out, caused by its being pressed against the Madonna’s breast.<sup>595</sup> The quality that impressed me most in the work was the

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From Larissa Zverchkhovskaia, ‘Florence History and Museums: Museums: Pitti Palace – Palatina Gallery, Royal Apartments, and Boboli garden’, 2008. [http://www.myflorenceguide.com/en\\_pitti-palace-palatina-gallery-royal-apartments-florence-italy-tour-guide-russian.phtml](http://www.myflorenceguide.com/en_pitti-palace-palatina-gallery-royal-apartments-florence-italy-tour-guide-russian.phtml), accessed 16 July 2011.

<sup>594</sup> In this sentence ‘from’ has been substituted for ‘form’.

<sup>595</sup> The wording is Moultray’s.

fine feeling of relief that has been produced in the Virgin's face with the minimum of shadow, a peculiarity for which Raphael's work is famous. The drapery hangs in heavy folds, and the colour scheme is harmonious and savours of the Florentine style.

Raphael's famous portrait of Pope Leo X in the Saloon of Apollo is a rich piece of natural flesh colouring, and the head is full of vitality, but opinion is divided as to whether the heads of the two cardinals introduced into the same canvas were painted by Raphael or Giulio Romano, who was known to have painted a portion of the picture.<sup>596</sup> The difference in treatment between the two artists is barely perceptible, and I am inclined to believe that if Giulio Romano painted one of the heads, which on examination is seen to differ from the others in touch, then he was certainly as clever an artist as he was an architect, for there is no test of a man's ability as a portrait painter so severe as to contrast a head painted by him upon the same canvas with one produced by a master-hand.<sup>597</sup> The gradations of the various shades of red are one of the features in the picture that arouse an artist's admiration. Slightly inferior to these masterpieces of Raphael is a portrait painted by him of his friend Angiolo Doni. It is a splendid piece of work, treated on a warm

key of colour, the requisite cool tints being supplied by a greyish blue sky and landscape, forming a background against which the purple vest with its crimson sleeves stands forth wit [with] great brilliancy, while the head is brought sharply off the sky by means of a dark purple cap and the long black hair hanging down on either side of the face. The principal reason for considering this work inferior to the others is because of the black tone prevailing in the shadows, for it is a rare thing to meet with harsh shadows in Raphael's work, as in this instance.

Van Dyck's fine portrait group of Charles I of England and his Queen is hung immediately about Raphael's 'Madonna della Seggiloa'. Of the two portraits the king's is the better, the head being well modelled, and the light and shadow so arranged as to give relief to the face while keeping the lace frilling and other accessories subdued. The pose of both figures is full of dignity, the ensemble displaying superlatively those qualities for which the artist was celebrated, and to which I have already referred in my letter from Paris when describing Van Dyck's portrait of Charles I in the Louvre.<sup>598</sup>

Rembrandt's portrait of himself, hung near Raphael's 'Angiolo Doni', [*Agnolo*] represents the artist richly attired in a velvet cloak, partly revealing a neck-plate of steel armour, which has obviously been introduced to give relief to the head by separating it from the warm tints of the cloak with a mass of cold colour. A warm tone pervades the entire composition, which is

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Raphael, *Pope Leo X and his cousins, cardinals Giulio d' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi*, 1518-19 (Florence, Uffizi), oil on wood, 154 x 119 cm.

<sup>597</sup> Comparing 'your own efforts with those of some great master' was a method recommended by Reynolds in Walk (ed), 'Discourse II', *Discourses on Art*, p.31

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Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I of England and Henrietta of France*, before 1632 (Florence Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti), oil on canvas, 67 x 83 cm.

rich in colour, chaste in arrangement, and unequalled as an example of chiaroscuro by any work in the palace.

Andrea del Sarto is well represented here by some of his grandest conceptions, which impress the beholder with the lofty religious fervour the painter reveals in his treatment of such scenes as 'The Annunciation', 'The Disputa', and 'The Assumption of the Virgin'. Of the last there are two large canvases hung opposite one another in the Saloon of the Iliad. One of these is unfinished, and it is the great Florentine painter's last work. In this one he appears to have been improving upon his first idea portrayed on the opposite wall, as in both the composition is almost the same, the general arrangement being not unlike Titian's 'Assumption', in the Royal Gallery at Venice. It is only in the treatment of minor details that Del Sarto's two canvases differ. The Virgin, wearing robes of crimson and blue inclining to a greenish hue in the lights, is born aloft on a cloud surrounded by cherubim, and beneath there is the group of apostles looking heavenwards in various attitudes of adoration. In the first work the Madonna is looking straight out of the canvas. This has been rectified in the last, where she is represented looking upwards. In the other he has also weakened his effect by placing a white veil over the Virgin's head which is almost lost in the light sky; but he has seen his mistake, and in the second picture has brought the blue mantle right up round the face, giving the head strong relief and making it assume due importance. The connection between the groups in both pictures is principally maintained by the attitudes of the cherubim, who are shown looking down at the apostles. The chief excellence of the last work lies in its colour, the skilful blending of colours being the branch of his profession in which Del Sarto excelled; but both canvases display exquisite taste in the grouping of the figures.<sup>599</sup>

The next canvas, according to merit, represents 'Judith with the Head of Holofernes'. I was just beginning to think that I had at last found a gallery in Italy occupying the unique position of possessing neither a 'Daughter of Herodias' nor a 'Judith'. It is not so much the subject as the way in which it is treated that renders it so offensive. Instead of concealing the disagreeable features as much as possible, the painters appear to have given them the greatest prominence; and such scenes are not confined to private collections and the walls of palaces, but some of the leading galleries have works on exhibition which, although useful to students and artists as guides in colour and technique, are not such as are calculated to exercise a refining influence upon the taste of the general public. In this picture, which was painted by the Florentine artist Altori Cristofano, there is much to admire if one looks at it purely from an artistic point of view. The colouring throughout is rich, and while forming brilliant contrasts is so skilfully balanced as to form a harmonious whole. The following is an outline of the chromatic scheme: Judith wears a carefully textured yellow robe with white sleeves, and a shawl of the same tint that encircles her waist, while a blue cloak lined with crimson-coloured silk hangs from her shoulder, and the colours of the robe and cloak combine to produce the green of the cushion at the base of the composition. There is a great technical skill displayed in the fusion of the colours, and the figure is well modelled. This masterpiece is hung in the



Andrea del Sarto, *Assumption of the Virgin* (Florence: Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti), oil on wood.  
Left: 1526-29, 236 x 205 cm.  
Right: 1529, 239 x 209 cm.

<sup>599</sup> Right:



Saloon of Mars, and near it is a powerful piece of work by Rubens, entitled 'The Terrors of War', in which Mars is shown going forth escorted by demons bearing torches, while some women are seen endeavouring to restrain him. This allegorical incident is a good example of Ruben's style, the muscular forms, vigorous attitudes, and fine flesh tints, combined with the passions portrayed in the different faces, all serve to render this work conspicuous among the 500 pictures in the palace, of which the greater number are masterpieces from the different schools in Europe.<sup>600</sup> Many persons are surprised at the large number of paintings that are attributed to Rubens. It should, however, be remembered that, like Raphael, he was surrounded by a crowd of young artists, who wrought in all the large pictures from small sketches that Rubens had previously designed for the various subjects, and as those groundworks were all painted according to his own principles, it will be seen that he must have been saved an immense amount of time and labour, as he had only to put on the finishing surface himself; but it was those final touches that gave the works the great merit they possess. It is rather amusing to learn that this great master was vilified and ridiculed by the contemporary artists of Antwerp. It was because of his employing his pupils in the manner I have just described that laid him open to the insinuations of such men as Schut (who spread a report that the reputation of Rubens was built on the talents of his pupils), Snyders, and Wildens; while another painter named Rombouts was equally active in making it known that the great master was only a mediocre painter.

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Peter Paul Rubens, *The Consequences of War (The Horrors of War)*, 1637-38 (Florence: Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti), oil on canvas, 206 x 345 cm.

Rubens's reply to the latter consisted simply of an exhibition of his now famous picture 'The Descent from the Cross', which I described in my Antwerp letter. The result was disastrous to Rombouts's reputation; while, by the strange irony of fate, Schut had to undergo the humiliation of afterwards becoming indebted to Rubens for a living.

Among the other masters represented in the palace are examples by Paul Veronese, Salvator Rosa, Tintoretto, and Velasquez; the last by a splendid specimen of portraiture in the canvas portraying 'Philip IV of Spain'. In concluding, I may add that there is a fine work by A. Durer, the German master, which is hung in the Saloon of Venus. It is entitled 'Adam', and as a piece of nude painting it will equal anything in the gallery. But I am looking forward with the expectation of seeing something better in his masterpiece, 'The Adoration of the Magi', in the gallery of the Uffizi Palace, which I intend to visit a few days hence.

In all these galleries figure subjects preponderate, of which the greater number are scriptural scenes; but when one does come across a landscape it is invariably a gem that well repays careful inspection, and among the few works of that class in the palace there is one that no visitor should miss seeing. It is in the Saloon of Flora, and represents a waterfall scene by J. Ruysdael. Here is water in motion. One almost hears the gurgle and splash as the stream leaps over the rocks, swirling the foam jets into the air as it rushes on in its turbulent flight to the sea; but it is not only in the treatment of water that this exquisite landscape excels, for the sky is a magnificent specimen of aerial perspective, and the clouds almost appear to be in motion. As a piece of realistic painting this work has no compeer [sic] among the pictures of a like class in the collection which includes fine landscapes by Poussin, Paelenburg, Tassl and others.

**‘No. 13.—Florence: The Uffizi Palace’,  
29 April 1897, p. 47.**

In concluding this series of art notices I wish it to be understood that these notes are not intended as an exhaustive criticism of the pictures, for to give anything like a full description of all the galleries I visited would be well nigh and endless task. I have simply referred to a few of the principal works in some of the leading collections in the hope that my remarks may be useful to students and others who take an interest in art. I will now finish this series of articles with a few notes on some of the choicest pictures hung in the Uffizi Palace, which contains one of the most magnificent picture galleries in the world, there being over 1300 masterpieces, of which the finest are gathered into a room which is known as the ‘Tribuna’.<sup>601</sup> I will not go into much detail, however, as the first glance round the walls of this apartment was sufficient to convince me of the utter futility of endeavouring to convey by means of a single article anything like an adequate idea of this superb array of works of art, displaying the now familiar characteristics of such men as Perugino, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Titian, P. Veronese, Domenichino, Vandyke, Rubens, and a host of other famous artists.

Hung near the entrance of the room is a perfect cluster of masterpieces by Raphael, including his famous ‘Madonna del

Cardinello’, as well as several portraits, which I would have described were it not that the reader has probably had a surfeit of Raphael lately. The same cannot be said, however, of Correggio, whose highly-finished picture, ‘The Adoration of Christ by the Madonna’, attracts attention because of the refined sense of colour that pervades the entire work [work]. The Madonna is shown kneeling upon some brownish green coloured steps, and looking down upon the infant Saviour—who lies upon some straw placed on the steps,—with a singularly sweet expression on her face.<sup>602</sup> The flesh tints are somewhat cold in colour, but the shadows are rendered with Raphaelesque delicacy, while one of the most masterful passages in the picture appeared to me to lie in the treatment of the hands, which are modelled with exceptional skill. The cold tone of the blue robe that partially envelops the Madonna’s form has been rather intensified than relieved, however, by the glimpse of crimson on the sleeve and skirt of her dress, while the blue of the sky in the upper part of the composition serves to convey the sensation of coldness in the colouring to the extremities of the work, although Allegrì has endeavoured to counteract the effect somewhat by carrying a mass of brown colour into the masonry in the middle distance. For the purpose of concentrating attention upon the principal figure a piece of blue cloth intervenes between the straw upon

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Caterina Caneva, White Mouse Burrow, ‘Across Italy – Firenze - The Uffizi Palace’, 2011.  
[http://whitemouse.ru/photo/italy/firenze\\_uffizi.wmb](http://whitemouse.ru/photo/italy/firenze_uffizi.wmb), accessed 27 July 2011

602



Correggio, *Adoration of the Child*, 1524-26 (Florence; Galleria degli Uffizi), oil on canvas, 81 x 77 cm.

which the Saviour rests and the stone step. The brilliant contrast between the blue and yellow is most striking, and serves to give relief without destroying the fine feeling of breadth that constitutes some of the principal qualities in the picture, while the exquisite sense of harmony is maintained by painting the lining of the Madonna's robe with the green tint that is carried through the distant landscape, and the picture displays that reverential feeling which Antonio Allegri, better known as Correggio, always imparted to his religious subjects.

'The Holy Family', by Michael Angelo, is one of those captivating examples of delicate colour that from the contrast with their surroundings rivet the attention, and on closer inspection gratify the artistic taste by the exquisite skill displayed in the subtle gradations of the various tints, but there is more of the sculptor than the painter revealed in the treatment of the forms, particularly in that of the Madonna, who is seen kneeling on the ground and passing the infant Christ to Joseph, who stands behind.<sup>603</sup> It is claimed for this picture that it is the only easel work by Michel Angelo in Italy. It is rather a severe test for a tenderly-coloured work like this to be hung alongside of a gorgeously-painted Titian, and to have an equally rich example by Van Dyck placed above it. In the 'Study of an Interior', by Titian, representing a nude female reclining on a couch, there is displayed in the rich and warm flesh tones relieved by soft shadows, and in the technical merits of the work ample

evidence of Titian's usual skill.<sup>604</sup> Rubens's portrait of his first wife is another fine specimen of flesh-colouring, representing a buxom dame with good-natured expression on her face, which is full of vitality and splendidly modelled, showing admirable dexterity in the blending of greys with umber shadows.

Correggio's picture representing the Holy Family resting during their flight into Egypt is a most impressive example of his style. The infant Saviour is seen standing on the Madonna's knee as she rests under a tree, while Joseph, his hand leaning on a branch overhead, bends over the right and surveys the group with tender sympathy. The chromatic scheme Allegri has departed from the traditional colours in the Madonna's dress, and substituted pale yellow and blue drapery that stands out in bold relief from the warm tone of the brown background, and Joseph is dressed in an orange and purple costume which is brought into contact with the green foliage. The draperies are tastefully arranged and the action of the child is most natural, while the sense of homelessness conveyed in the action of the figures is extremely pathetic.<sup>605</sup> Probably the deep

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Image on left: Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Holy Family* (Tondo Doni), 1506-7 (Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi), tempera on wood, diameter 120cm, before restoration.

<sup>604</sup> Moultray is probably describing:



Titian, *Venus of Urbino*, c. 1538 (Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi), oil on canvas, 119 x 165 cm.

<sup>605</sup> Image on next page.



sorrows that ran like an undercurrent through the artist's life often tinged his conceptions with that pathos so frequently revealed in his works. There is something melancholy even in his premature death, which was the result of a certain church dignitary's spitefulness. Living in an obscure village at a period when he was in deep poverty and distress, Correggio received a commission to paint a picture for a certain church, which on completion he brought to his patron, who was, however, too ignorant to appreciate the qualities of the work, and to show his dissatisfaction and contempt he directed that the artist should be paid entirely in copper coins. This was done. It was a cold, wet night, the road was long, the load heavy, and the painter in his anxiety to get home to his suffering wife and children overexerted himself and got a chill, which developed into a fever, from which he died.

'The Adoration of the Magi', by A. Dürer, is a splendid piece of brilliant colouring. The religious sentiment with which this fine masterpiece is imbued is thoroughly characteristic of Dürer, who excelled in the delineation of scriptural scenes, although the tendency he exhibited to introduce fantastic ideas into his subjects sometime marred the solemnity of the conception. In doing so, however, it should be remembered he only adopted the style of the German school at that period—*i.e.*, about the beginning of the sixteenth century—which was remarkable



Correggio, *Rest During the Flight into Egypt*, 1515-17 (Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi), oil on canvas, 123.5 x 106.5.

for eccentricity.<sup>606</sup> In one of his finest works, for instance, 'The Marriage of Mary and Joseph', a figure of a man is represented beside the bridegroom wearing a chimney-pot hat. But he is not alone in regard to such peculiar treatment, for about a month ago I saw in a northern gallery a splendid work portraying the finding of Moses, in which Pharaoh's daughter was dressed in an eighteenth-century costume, carrying a pet poodle in her arms.<sup>607</sup>

After spending some time in the Tribune I next proceeded to the chamber set apart for the exhibition of works by the Dutch masters. The first was a highly-finished gem by G. Metzger entitled 'The Lute Player'. It contains some beautiful examples of chiaroscuro [chiaroscuro]. The subject—an interior, with a lady holding a lute, while she looks towards a boy playing with a dog—is well adapted to display all those qualities in which he excelled, such as delicacy of touch, truthful texture, and exquisite finish. The chromatic scheme is rich and pleasing, the female being dressed in a dark green jacket trimmed with ermine and venetian red skirt, her right arm resting on the scarlet table-cover as she watches the dog, which rises on its hind legs on the table to reach the piece of

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Albrecht Dürer, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1504 (Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi), oil on wood, 99 x 113.5 cm.

607 Reynolds' caution against the introduction of 'predjudisms [sic] in favour of his age or country' and 'that ridiculous style which has been practiced by some painters, who have given to Grecian Heroes the airs and graces practised in the court of Lewis the Fourteenth; an absurdity almost as great as it would have been to have dressed them after the fashions of that court.' Wark (ed) *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, pp. 48-49.

bread the boy holds above it. This boy is partly lost in shadow, but sufficient relief is secured by the high lights on his head and coat. The pillars on the left are scarcely distinguishable at first, but there is something remarkable in the way in which they gradually assume prominence, until they appear to project from the canvas as the eye grows accustomed to the dark brown background.<sup>608</sup>

The 'Pancake Seller', by Gerard Douw, is a refined rendering of a humble incident.<sup>609</sup> It was a characteristic of this artist that by his marvellous skill he ennobled the most

<sup>608</sup> From the description, the painting referred to is:



G. Metsu, *Woman Tuning a Mandolin*, c. 1660-65 (Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi), oil on panel, 31 x 27.5 cm.

<sup>609</sup>



Gerrit Dou, *The Pancake Seller*, 1650-55 (Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi), 44 x 34 cm.

commonplace incidents, and rarely dropped into that coarseness so common among his contemporaries. I described his principal qualities in a previous letter. J. Van Mieris, an imitator of Douw, is represented by several fine works, of which the portrait of the painter and his family is perfect in technique, although inclined to be cold in the colour. A portrait by the same artist, which, owing to its small dimensions—it is only 4 in. long—is apt to be overlooked, is, next to Douw's, the most highly-finished piece of work I have seen in Europe. Were it not that the incidents are well authenticated, one could hardly believe the stories that are related of Mieris by his historians, for an artist's creations are so often the index to his character; but it appears that this famous painter hardly exemplified in his own life the virtues that an examination of his pictures would induce one to expect him to possess. His friendship with that jovial, thoughtless contemporary, Jan Steen, 'who had set up as a tavern keeper, in which capacity Houbraken says he was his own best customer', resulted in Mieris acquiring the unfortunate habit of tippling, which more than once brought him into dire distress; but he possessed a kind heart, as the following tale will prove:- One night while returning home after a merry time in the company of his convivial friend, he fell off a bridge into a deep drain, and being threatened with suffocation he bawled lustily for help, which was soon forthcoming in the shape of a humble cobbler and his wife, who lived close at hand. The rescue party hauled him gingerly forth, and after he had dried his clothes at their fire, Mieris thoroughly sobered and ashamed, took his departure without betraying his identity. He was, however, of too generous a disposition to forget the poor people's kindness, so he laboured at intervals on a picture for two years. When it was finished he took it one night to the cobbler's, and after learning in the course of conversation that they were quite ignorant of the rescued man's name, he presented the woman with the picture as a reward, and told her if she preferred money to take it to a certain merchant he named after which he departed abruptly. The woman was ignorant of the value of the gift

until the unstinted praise of the neighbours decided her to take it to the burgomaster, who immediately recognised the great artist's work, and informed her it was very valuable and would find a ready purchaser. She sold it soon afterwards for 800 florins.

This erratic pupil of Douw's, not content with the excitement of the tavern, must needs induce his master's wife to elope with him. So one night the foolish couple were stealthily stealing down the avenue under the trees that lined it, when from the open window of the house there came the strains of a tune played by the unconscious Gerard on his violin. It was the same melody he had played to her on their wedding night, and it recalled so many memories to the thoughtless wife that she turned and fled back to her home, leaving the disconsolate lover to return to his friend Jan for sympathy. Among the other examples by Mieris—'A Girl Asleep' and 'The Charlatan'—the painter shows in the dainty touch and chaste colouring the style of his master.

Jan Steen's 'Family Feast' is another of those examples of the Dutch school that are so attractive, not only in their technique, but also in the natural manner in which they render everyday scenes, and the easy abandon of the figures, completely obliterating the impression that they have been painted from a posed model.<sup>610</sup> A fruit piece by Rachael Ruysch is a marvel of clever execution and luscious colouring, the artist's sense of the grotesque being shown in the lizard gaping at a passing butterfly.<sup>611</sup>

'The Adoration of the Shepherds', painted by A. Van der Werff, is a splendid example of the power possessed by an artist who has a thorough mastery of the laws of light and shadow. The scene represents some shepherds in various attitudes of reverent admiration gathered round the infant Saviour. It is night, but the group is lit with celestial light falling from above, which brings out the most prominent features, leaving the rest in deep shadow; and it is in this mass of shadows, that a fine example of *chiaro-oscuro* [sic] is to be found. What at first appears unmeaning darkness, on closer inspection reveals an archway, with a glimpse through it of distant mountain scenery. For the purpose of carrying the eye upwards, a beautifully-modelled cherub floats downward in the full glare of the light. Another of Jacob Ruysdael's exquisite landscapes, and a lady drinking (by Terburg) completes the gems among the Dutch painters.

Among the Italian masters Mantegna's 'Madonna' is an interesting specimen of the Paduan school. The landscape surroundings are rugged, and, like the figure, are exquisitely painted.<sup>612</sup> Giovanni Bellini, of

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Jan Steen, *The Luncheon*, (Florence; Galleria degli Uffizi), oil on wood, 41 x 49.5 cm.

<sup>611</sup> Right:



Rachel Ruysch, *Still Life with Fruit and Insects*, 1711 (Florence; Galleria degli Uffizi), oil on wood, 44 x 60 cm.  
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the Venetian school, in his 'Madonna by the Lake', combines all the best qualities for which he was famous—namely, true draughtsmanship, exquisite colour, and lofty religious sentiment. This artist is nowhere so well represented as in Venice, where I counted 13 fine canvases of his in the Royal Gallery, of which seven were Madonnas. This painter is believed to have been the first Venetian to use oil medium—a secret that was said to be known only to Antonello da Messina among the artists in Italy, which Messina had brought with him from the Netherlands. To enable to discover the secret Bellini went in disguise to Messina and sat for his portrait, and by using his eye and wit soon penetrated the mystery. He was also the master of Vecellio, commonly called Titian, and Barbarelli, who is usually named Giorgione.

The portion of a Knight of Malta, by Giorgione, is an attractive example of fifteenth century portraiture, a branch in which he excelled.<sup>613</sup> He is particularly noted

for the exquisite harmony of his colouring, which, however, is better shown in his religious and mythological scenes. An illustration of the truth of this can be found in his picture entitled 'Moses Undergoing the Ordeal of Fire'.<sup>614</sup>

Carpaccio is very poorly represented here. His fragment of a picture of 'The Crucifixion' hardly conveys a fair idea of his skill. Like Bellini, he is seen at his best at Venice, where his nine enormous canvases illustrating the Legend of St. Ursula display his ability in delineating character and expression, as well as his painstaking care in



Andrea Mantegna, *Madonna and Child*, c.1466 (Florence; Galleria degli Uffizi), tempera on wood, 29 x 21.5 cm.

<sup>613</sup> Moultray appears to have attributed the wrong artist to this portrait; one of this title is at the gallery, but it is by Titian and not by Giorgione.



Titian, *Portrait of a Knight of Malta*, c.1515 (Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi), oil on canvas, 80 x 64 cm.

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Giorgione, *Moses Undergoing Trial by Fire*, c.1505 (Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi), oil on panel, 89 x 72 cm.

treating accessories, such as drapery, &c.<sup>615</sup> Paris Bordone, whose style I described in a previous letter, is represented by a portrait of a young man in which the flesh tones are rendered with impressive fidelity. Near it is Titian's famous 'Flora', a magnificent study of a female bust. The colour and drawing are perfect, with a fine feeling of transparency in the delicately-painted shadows, while the admirably modelled features are the acme of feminine beauty.<sup>616</sup>

In concluding these articles a word of explanation is perhaps necessary, as it will

probably be noticed that I have often repeated the name of the same artist in different articles. This repetition was unavoidable if I was to carry out my intention of selecting all the best works in each collection for inspection and description.

615



Vittore Carpaccio, *Departure of the Ambassadors*, 1497-1498 (Venice: Gallerie dell' Accademia), oil on canvas, 281 x 252 cm.

616



Titian, *Flora*, c. 1515 (Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi), oil on canvas, 79 x 63 cm.

## APPENDIX 2

**J. Elder Moultray, ‘Through the Hauhau Country with Pen and Pencil: being an illustrated account of some notable events in the early history of New Zealand’, *ODT&W*, Christmas annual, pp. 1-9, supplement in *OW*, 10 November 1898.**

Some editorial license has been taken as with Appendix 1. Any changes of spelling have been noted in footnotes.

When the proprietors of the Otago Daily Times and Otago Witness purchased the copyright of some of my historical pictures for reproduction in their Christmas Annual, a clause in the agreement was to the effect that I was to supply a descriptive account of the incidences depicted. In fulfilment of this arrangement, I have confined myself to a simple narrative of the facts as they were described to me by the various eye-witnesses whom I interviewed during a tour over the battlefields of the North Island, undertaken 10 years ago when I first decided that my life work should be the transference to canvas of the leading events in the history of the Colony, as I had discovered upon my arrival in New Zealand that it was a well-nigh neglected field among artists. That the work was not commenced a minute too soon was proven by the fact that since I interviewed them some of the foremost men in the Colony's history have passed over to the majority. It seems but yesterday that in his room overlooking the majestic Wanganui River, on a bright summer day, I listed to the graphic account by the late Hon. John Ballance on the death of Maxwell at the Tauranga-e-hika, of which he was an eye-witness. And among gentlemen not so well known in the south, Mr Moor, of Kai-iwi, who described many a stirring scene, has also recently passed away.

I must crave the indulgence of the reader, as the following descriptions lay no claim to literary merit whatever, but are merely intended to convey in simple language an account of the incidents depicted, so that they may be more readily understood.

J. Elder Moultray  
Dunedin, September 19, 1898.

## A RECONNAISSANCE AT NUKUMARU

Nukumarū! That name will recall to many a man who went though [sic] the Maori war a host of reminiscences, both pleasant and disagreeable. It was here that Titokowaru, the famous Hauhaus leader, came and erected one of the most formidable pas held by the

enemy during the campaign.<sup>617</sup> It consisted of a double row of lofty palisades, with a ditch in which the Hauhaus could lie, and a tower built of timber and stones from which the natives could get a most extensive view over nearly all the intervening country, almost to Wanganui. A young sapling erected on the top of the tower carried a red blanket as a flag, in imitation of the Union Jack that floated over their British redoubts.

The favourite place for examining the pa from was the sandhills near the sea. Here the troops were hidden from view, and there was never much risk of their retreat being cut off. Besides, the open nature of the country between the beach and the pa enabled cavalry to manoeuvre without the risk of being ambuscaded, as was sometimes the case further inland near the bush. The scene I have depicted represents Captain John Bryce with a detachment of cavalry having a peep at the pa. Sometimes these cavalry patrols formed the only connecting link between outlying settlements and the more important towns of Wanganui and New Plymouth, and their unexpected appearance more than once upset the Maoris' little schemes of vengeance upon unoffending settlers.

The greatest mistake the Hauhaus made was when they swept the people and their stock from their homes, and burnt the latter to the ground. With their means of livelihood destroyed, and their hearts embittered at the wonton destruction of their property, these men volunteered in the Wanganui and Kai-iwi cavalry corps, and by their recklessness and enthusiasm soon made these corps a terror to the rebels.<sup>618</sup> Their weapons

<sup>617</sup> Titokowaru was a Ngāti Ruanui leader of the Ngaruahine. The pa, now known as Taurangaika was 28km NW of Whanganui.

Diana Beaglehole, 'Whanganui places: west of Whanganui', *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 2011.

<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/whanganui-places/3>, accessed 30 June 2011.

Built 'on the ashes of [Major Thomas] McDonnell's campaign', as the Ngaruahine headquarters for Titokowaru's peace campaign, he abandoned it when James Booth visited his area and took prisoners. Belich, *I shall not die*, pp. 9, 52.

<sup>618</sup> Moultray did not acknowledge that General Trevor Chute and McDonnell had separately attacked both the



consisted of a Terry carbine, sword, and revolver. The carbine, long since out of date, was rather uncertain in its action. Troopers complained that the breechblock sometimes blew out; but it was an accurate weapon in the hands of a marksman.<sup>619</sup> One day while sitting on the sandhills with an ex-trooper, he related an instance which showed that the carbine was no toy. I give it in his own words:-

‘Colonel Whitmore was making a reconnaissance of the Tauranga-e-hika pa just from about where we are sitting: three Maoris came riding down from the pa to watch our movements. They stopped over there, on the other side of the lake’, pointing to a hillock some 800 yds. distant. ‘Colonel Whitmore asked if there was a marksman present. Mr William Handley, who was acting as a scout to the party, stepped forward. ‘All right, Handley, I want you to stop those men,’ said the Colonel. The Maoris had started to ride nearer, but they moved slowly and cautiously. Handley dropped on one knee, adjusted his sights with the greatest coolness, took deliberate aim and fired. An exclamation burst from the party as the centre native was seen to twist round in his saddle, jerk his arms frantically in the air, and then pitch backwards over his horse’s haunches, and land on the ground in a cloud of dust. His comrades wheeled their horses swiftly round, stooped down and looked at their mate, then sitting up in their saddles they galloped full speed for the pa. The riderless horse ran round in a circle, its nose in the air, neighing wildly; then kicking out savagely into space, it bolted after the others, leaving the dark form of its master lying motionless on the grass.’

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hostile and armed, as well as friendly and unarmed villages in their 1866 campaign, burning them and destroying their crops.

Similarly, the corps was formed in response to a challenge by the Defence Minister Theodore Minet Haultain and primarily comprised of upper and middle class young men who spent their off-duty hours playing cricket and other games, as well as drinking. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 191.

<sup>619</sup> The Kai-iwi Cavalry all supplied their own equipment, including carbide, horse revolver and sabre. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

But if this part of the country was the scene of many a tragedy, it was sometimes the arena in which comedy had its part likewise. One incident which was related to me at New Plymouth by a man who claimed to be an eye-witness showed that the Hauhau was not devoid of sense of humour. He said that when the Tauranga-e-hika pa was being bombarded by the artillery with their Armstrong guns, the practice was not yielding very satisfactory results for awhile. At last a Maori was seen slowly climbing a lofty withered totara trunk outside the pa, but close to the palisades. An officer, who was inclined to indulge in sarcasm, inquired of the gunners why they did not hit the Maori. The guns at the time were nearly 1000yds distant. The No. 1s in charge of the detachments winked to one another, and one of them brought his gun into line with the tree, and after training it carefully fired. The Maori was seen to drop headlong down and vanish among the fern below. Everyone stared in astonishment, which was only increased when a fresh Maori was seen climbing the tree. The next detachment, not to be outdone, tried a shot also, with the result that Hauhau number two came down with a flop, but was immediately replaced by a third. The sarcastic officer became suspicious, and adjusting his field glasses soon began to indulge in sulphurous language. It appeared that the Hauhaus had a dummy on the end of the rope which they hauled up the branch in the hope of drawing off the fire of the attacking party. The foregoing shows how well the ruse succeeded, the rope having been let go after each shot.

## PURSUED

It was when returning to Nukumarū after a sketching excursion [sic] to the battlefield of Moturoa that the incident I have depicted in ‘Pursued’ was described to me by my guide, as we were resting on the bank of the Waitotara River, overlooking the scene of the skirmish, and it gave additional interest to the narrative when my companion pointed out spots on the rugged hillside opposite where he and his comrades had fought many

years before in a vain effort to stop their pursuers. The following is an abridged version of the tale:-

After the battle of Moturoa, which ended so disastrously for the colonial troops, who did not retreat until a fourth of their number had fallen, detachments of cavalry—principally troopers of the military train—were despatched to warn all outlying settlers in the vicinity of the disaster. My guide accompanied one of those detachments that had orders to bring a certain settler and his wife into the settlement of Wairoa, which was protected by a redoubt.<sup>620</sup>

After a hard ride the party reached the farmhouse, which formed a rustic picture nestling peacefully among the dark green bush, the only sign of life being the pale blue wreaths of smoke curling lazily from the sod and clay chimney as the housewife within prepared the mid-day meal, little dreaming of what was about to take place. If she had any fears they must have assumed their darkest aspect when the thud of hoofs and clank of steel was heard without and when a minute later the thundering knock of a carbine butt on the door showed that the detachment had halted outside. A few words served to convey to the startled husband and wife the alarming intelligence that all the whites were swarming into the towns for safety and that they must mount and fly. In vain the distracted couple begged the officer in command to wait until they gathered all their household goods into a cart, as well as collected their stock of cattle and fowls. The commander positively declined to lose a minute, and hard though it seemed the sequel proved the wisdom of his conduct. The troopers had with remarkable promptitude caught and saddled their riding horses. Doubtless in their hearts the settlers blamed the escort for displaying such precipitate hast, as turning back for a last view of their home they saw through the open doorway the untasted meal spread before the cheerful fire; a scene of comfort emphasised by the lowing cattle in the neighbouring paddock and the fowls pecking around the verandah—the

fruit of years of toil abandoned at a moment's notice to the mercy of the savage foe. But ere another hour had elapsed, the angel of death was hovering over them with uplifted scythe, and they were grateful, homeless wanderers though they were, that they had escaped with their lives when towards evening their gasping steeds staggered into the suburbs of Wanganui.

After leaving the homestead the party went down the track at a brisk canter, speaking little, but keeping a sharp lookout for lurking enemies. All went well, however, until the party was within a few miles of its destination—Wairoa. There the country was more open, the undulating surface being interspersed with clumps of fern and manuka, and the fugitives were just beginning to breathe freely, when a trooper in advance was seen to rein up violently and signal sharply to those behind. One far-reaching look into the fern country beyond revealed all. At about the distance of half a mile a large party of mounted Hauhaus were seen stretching across and completely blacking the road to Wairoa and advancing towards them at a gallop. The escort halted and stared in astonishment for a minute at the Maoris, as the utter hopelessness of resistance dawned on their minds. Then from their ranks arose the cry, 'To Wanganui; it's our only chance!' Immediately above the din was heard the command, 'Left, wheel, trot, gallop, charge!' and soon the party was thundering at breakneck speed away to the east, and just as they dashed behind a fringe of manuka and were beginning to congratulate themselves upon having eluded their wily foes, an earsplitting yell from behind caused them to look over their shoulders in time to see a mob of naked forms swaying recklessly on the backs of maddened horses, surging down the hillock behind like a torrent. Each man set his teeth and glanced anxiously at the graceful form in its riding habit that was borne along by the powerful horse in front; for had the woman fainted or lost her seat, the whole detachment must have halted, faced about, and been annihilated. Ngamotu soon came into view, and the anxiety of the fugitives was intense, as in the event of the pa being full of armed natives all hope of escape could be

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<sup>620</sup> Wairoa is now the town of Waverley – the name was changed in 1876 to avoid confusion with other towns of the same name. Beaglehole, 'Whanganui places', p. 2.

abandoned, as it lay right in the track they were following. As luck would have it, however, they swept past the pa before the startled inmates could realise what was taking place.

An occasional glance backwards showed that the pursuers were gradually gaining upon them, and to add to their troubles it was discovered when too late that the Maoris had headed them off from the ford across the Waitotara River, and that they would be compelled to cross the stream at an exceedingly rough part further north. The commander hurriedly issued his orders, in compliance with which some of the best mounted men, urging their weary horses to a renewed effort, forged ahead of the main body, and floundering recklessly through the boulder-strewn bed of the river, dismounted among the rocks and ferns on the other side, and from that vantage point they opened a rapid fire from their Terry carbines, which caused the Hauhaus to draw rein and scatter in all directions for cover, thus creating a diversion that enabled the main body of the escort to cross in safety, although the moment they reached the higher ground beyond they became exposed to a storm of slugs and bullets from the Maoris' guns. The immunity the party enjoyed from casualties was probably accounted for by the fact that the natives fired from the backs of their horses.

When the last trooper was leaving the stream the Maoris broke from cover with a yell and charged down the bank in pursuit. The troopers scrambling into their saddles, after pouring in a volley, went off again at a furious pace, with the mob of shrieking fanatics at their heels. But just as the party were becoming exhausted and growing desperate, the Hauhaus lost heart and gradually dropped off, ultimately abandoning the pursuit as the party neared Woodall's redoubt, thus ending what my companion declared to be one of the most exciting experiences he had ever gone through.<sup>621</sup>

Before we quitted the river I made a sketch of the scene and decided to transfer it

to canvas. The result was the picture 'Pursued'.

## THE PEACH GROVE MASSACRE

While travelling along the banks of the Waitotara River with guide and sketch book, we arrived at the Peach Grove, which I had always been anxious to visit from the day that one of the principal Hauhaus concerned in the massacre had sat to me for his portrait.<sup>622</sup> He was the image of meekness, with his big languishing brown eyes and soft voice and a general air of docility, but those who knew him said he was quite a different sort of cherub on the battlefield, when, leaving his wardrobe at home and wearing a breech clout and a smile, his face rendered hideous by the means of a lavish covering of scarlet and white bars, his beautiful eyes rolled up till nothing but the whites were visible, and his tongue dangling from his mouth like a sausage, he went sailing through the powder smoke at the Peach Grove fight, tomahawk in hand in anything but a seraphic state of mind, while as for the softness of his voice, it ranged in battle from the opening bar of a cat's backyard symphony to the ear-piercing shriek of a railway engine whistle.<sup>623</sup> As we surveyed the scene of this singular individuals exploits, my guide proceeded to describe the incident:

- During the campaign against Titokowaru, the colonial troops gradually drove the Maoris back into the immense forest that lay like a black cloud over the ranges beyond the Waitotara River, and to act as a check upon them and prevent their returning to molest the settlers in the vicinity of Wanganui, a camp was formed on the plateau known as Karaka Flat. As reconnoitring parties reported that the Hauhaus had deserted the district, the troops indulged in many a ramble to vary the monotony of camp life, and in the course of their peregrinations they discovered that there was an immense peach grove across the river opposite the camp. This reached the ears of the headquarters

<sup>621</sup> Woodall's redoubt was built in 1864 at the Kai-iwi settlement, fifteen kilometres NE of Whanganui. Beaglehole, 'Whanganui places', p. 1.

<sup>622</sup> Probably meant to read, 'sat for me'.

<sup>623</sup> Taken out of context one would think Moultray was describing a Native American warrior.

staff, who would undoubtedly have paid it a visit had it not been for the opposition of Colonel Fraser, who objected to climbing the hill. So the idea was somewhat reluctantly abandoned; but a sergeant named Menzies, who had over-heard the conversation, asked permission to be allowed to go for the fruit. This was granted, and he soon had plenty of volunteers anxious to accompany him, from among whom he selected nine men. They proceeded down the river, taking their rifles with them, more from habit than from the expectation that they would need them, and embarking in a canoe they paddled across, and all being quiet set to work to gather the peaches. They were too absorbed in their pleasing occupation to notice dusky forms stealing silently from tree to tree, and the first intimation they had of the enemy's presence was a crashing volley discharged at such close quarters that they were momentarily blinded by the smoke and flame. Every man mechanically grasped his rifle, and turning dashed madly for the canoe. Upon reaching the river bank they were surprised to find that every man was present. Their escape appeared marvellous and it was the opinion of the spectators on the opposite hill that if they had made a stand under cover of the river bank they might have kept their assailants at bay until assistance reached them from the camp. Unfortunately, however, the panic-stricken party rushed for the canoe, and in the struggle that ensued the Maoris had the advantage of the shelter afforded by the flax and scrub lining the high bank overhead so that the men who did use their rifles before being shot down were unable to get a fair view of their opponents, and simply blazed away at the puffs of smoke that were rapidly forming a white mist over the entire landscape. Meantime troops were hurrying down from the camp with feverish haste, and as they came into action the Hauhaus ceased firing, and with yells of triumph dispersed into the gloomy recesses of the bush, but not before the peachgatherers had with three exceptions been stretched lifeless among the shingle by the river side. One of the survivors was, however, badly wounded, and the remaining two evinced no inclination to go peach-

gathering for the rest of the time the troops occupied Karaka Flat.

## AN URGENT DESPATCH

This incident was so often enacted during the war when unexpected developments compelled the commanders to repeatedly alter their plans that the scene I have depicted became quite a familiar feature of encampments. The picture more particularly illustrates the arrival of the news of the battle of Nukumarū at one of the detached posts that were established to keep open the line of communication with Wanganui, the trooper being a member of the cavalry corps that by its brilliant charge the previous day did so much to convert a threatened defeat into a glorious victory. One of the men in describing the battle to me said that the cavalry were bathing in the lake at Nukumarū, never dreaming that the Maoris would dare to attack an encampment of several thousand trained British troops.<sup>624</sup> The infantry were busy at the different occupations that fall to the lot of troops just camping after a fatiguing march in an enemy's country, when the high fern round the camp broke into flame, and as the clouds of stifling smoke drifted among the tents the Hauhaus charged in under cover of it and were soon engaged in a furious hand-to-hand struggle with the surprised soldiery. The continuous roll of musketry, the cheers, yells and shrieks, and repeated bugle blasts, drew the cavalry-men's attention to the camp, which was now hidden partly in white volumes of powder smoke and partly in the murky clouds from the burning fern and scrub. Instantly every man rushed for his horse. Some were only partially dressed; one man rode in the charge in nothing but his shirt, but everyone had his sword, and they swept down on the astonished Maoris like a whirlwind. For a minute they were hidden in the smoke cloud as it drifted along the ground; then as they emerged beyond, the

<sup>624</sup> In James Cowan's estimate there were 2,300 British and colonial troops and two field-guns under Lieu.-General Cameron, and possibly 2,000 Maori warriors. James Cowan, *The New Zealand wars: a history of the Maori campaigns and the pioneering period: Volume II: the Hauhaus wars 1864-1872*, Wellington: R.E. Owen, 1956, pp. 47, 48.

flicker of sabre blades caught the sunlight as they swung round the flanks of the savages and scattered them like chaff. So ended the first charge by colonial volunteer cavary [sic] in that campaign, and nobly they did their work. After traversing the battlefield I afterwards visited the graves of the men who fell in the fight, with an ex-trooper as guide, and found them in a shameful state of neglect among the sand hills near Cook Strait. The inscriptions on the headboards were well nigh undecipherable, and the graves were hidden by an abundant crop of rank grass and weeds.

To show that the despatch bearer's duties exposed him to other dangers besides human foes, I shall endeavour to describe an incident that occurred during the transit of an urgent despatch from the front to Wanganui. It was customary for all traffic to proceed by the beach for a part of the way, instead of by the inland road, which was skirted for a considerable distance by the bush that was usually swarming with hostile Maori, thus rendering it unsafe for any but very strong parties to traverse it. One evening, while an orderly was proceeding by the beach track, a violent storm was raging, and heavy seas were bursting on the sands, while to add to the danger the tide was rising and under the influence of a howling gale it promised to be an exceedingly high one. He urged his horse on, keeping a sharp lookout among the foothills for lurking foes, but all went well until he came to a part where the cliffs rose close to the sea, and he was alarmed to find that the narrow strip of sand usually utilised as a track was completely hidden in white surf that flew up the cliffs in clouds, whenever a wave burst at the base with a hoarse roar. Bearing an urgent despatch, he dare not turn back, and it seemed equally dangerous to proceed, but it showed the stuff our colonial troopers were made of when he urged his terrified steed forward into a seething cauldron of sea water. The next instant a tremendous sea nearly threw horse and man against the cliff; the animal neighed and snorted with terror, but was swept of its feet and carried outwards with the back wash; another breaker swept over them, leaving both gasping for breath; then the horse found firm ground, and was halted and turned

round to face the next wave, a glassy green wall topped and streaked with foam, that came rolling in, the white dust rising from its crest almost obscuring the leaden grey sky. An instant later it came, sousing over them; then in the interval before the next burst the horse struck out and commenced swimming, but it made nearly as much way seawards as to its destination. A huge breaker, however, carried horse and rider on its crest landwards again, the now terrified soldier simply hanging gasping round his horse's neck. The latter regained a footing on the sand as both were smothered in a lather of foam, then on they went again, now swept off into the sea, anon swimming, until animal and rider emerged from what had nearly been a death-trap utterly exhausted and drenched with water. From this the reader will readily realise that Maoris did not constitute the only danger that had to be encountered by the bearer of an urgent despatch.

## THE BATTLE OF TE PUNGAREHU

After a night march the colonial troops under Colonel McDonnell entered the village of Te Pungarehu just as day was breaking.<sup>625</sup> The Ngatiruanui tribe, who occupied the village, had been lately making things lively for the troops by means of ambushes, which was the reason for Colonel McDonnell having determined to attack them in turn.<sup>626</sup> Strange to say, the Hauhaus had no guard set, so that the troops found themselves moving unhindered up the main street of the village as the sun rose.<sup>627</sup> The bush as usual formed a background round

<sup>625</sup> The battle was on 21 August 1869. Belich, *I shall not die*, p. 99.

<sup>626</sup> This was Titokowaru's home. *Ibid.*, p. 43. McDonnell took the front attack, Hunter was on the right and von Tempsky on the left, and between them they commanded 300 men. *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 108.

<sup>627</sup> As 'the rain had set in' Titokowaru had 'sent most of the warriors, under Katene' off 'to shoot wild cattle', another party in search of ammunition, the 'young women to collect maize in the rain', not expecting them to come in wet weather, while the old women and children were at Ruaruru. Only about 20 men, mostly old or injured, including Titokowaru, were at the pa. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

the clearing, and it was decided to post men at the different whare doors to prevent the savages getting out, for once they got into the bush escape would be easy.<sup>628</sup> In their eagerness, however, the men rushed through the village to get possession of the whare doors furthest up the street, with the result that the natives awoke, and a number of them opening their doors dashed into the forest and made off to Te Ngutu-o-te-manu, where they spread the alarm, with the result that a large force of Maoris poured down from that pa and made things hot for the colonial troops before the day terminated.<sup>629</sup> Owing, however, to the rapidity with which the first movement was carried out, only a small number escaped. The rest were shut up in their whares, and guards placed at the doors. They were then offered the choice of surrendering quietly or being shot. The answer was thoroughly characteristic of the entrapped Hauhaus. A hail of bullets and slugs poured from the windows and crevices in the walls among the colonial troops. A number were hit, and a moment later the whole clearing rang with the din of a street fight. Soon the houses took fire, and big clouds of black smoke rose skywards, the long hungry tongues of flame leaping from whare to whare. The defenders, though scorched and choked, fought like demons. Occasionally some Maori, goaded to desperation, leaped from a furnace of flame, and made a dash across for the bush and liberty. When the fight was at its worst the scene was impressive. The blue-coated troops flitted among the clouds of smoke, the red glare from the fires lighting up their angry faces with a ruddy glow; men coughed

and cursed as they fought in a smother of blood, dust, and smoke; while above the din a Hauhau war yell pealed through the clearing as different chiefs tried to rally their disheartened followers; the dull thud of a mere, tomahawk, or rifle butt on a human skull would often fill in a lull in the musketry rattle, the noise of which was also sometimes lost in the shrieks and screams of the wounded. Gradually the uproar died away; men paused to mop their foreheads and take breath, or assisted to carry the wounded to the rear; but as the smoke gradually cleared it was discovered that some of the whares built of clay had escaped the flames, or rather resisted them, and that they were filled with naked fanatics whose spirit was thoroughly roused. They appeared to be determined to fight to the death. Every effort was made to storm the buildings, but without avail. The stubborn defenders inflicted severe loss on the attacking force, which now set to work to dig through the walls. The pause that ensued was suddenly broken by a terrific outcry and discharge of firearms from the bush around the clearing.

The Hauhaus from Te Ngutu-o-te-manu had arrived to assist their compatriots.

The position of the colonial troops now became one of grave danger. The track by which they had gained admittance to the clearing was discovered to be in the possession of the newcomers, thus cutting off their retreat. To continue the fight was likewise useless, as the pakehas were hopelessly outnumbered and hampered with a number of wounded men; so while a number of the troops were told off to skirmish along the trees and keep the newcomers in check, the remainder continued their efforts to unearth the desperadoes in the huts, for though they could see no way of escape themselves, they were equally determined that none of the Te Pungarehu men should get away if they could prevent it. The defenders at last became panic-stricken when they realised the grim purpose of the troops and saw how steadily the stout walls were crumbling under their efforts. A parley ensued; the Maoris were offered quarter, and gladly jumped at the chance. After securing their prisoners the invaders looked about for a

<sup>628</sup> In fact most of the men escaped with the exception of a small few who were killed. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>629</sup> The story is also told slightly differently by Gudgeon, *Reminiscences of the war*, pp. 129-132. The discrepancies in the stories can be accounted for by the despatch sent by McDonnell to Colonel Haultain saying: 'Ngutu attacked—taken—and burnt this day. Enemy well thrashed... behaviour of all ranks splendid—could not be surpassed. Great success. Very tired, can say no more'. McDonnell had no wish to appear a failure, although the truth was soon revealed. Although enemy numbers were not reduced, Titokowaru was surprised, lost ammunition and his prized house of peace-Wharekura.: Belich, *I shall not die*, pp. 111-113.

means of escape themselves. Their position was desperate, but they were not the men to abandon hope. The Maoris could not help feeling respect for such worthy antagonists, and one of the prisoners offered to guide the force by a track known to himself that led through the bush. His offer was accepted, and the troops gradually drew off, the wounded and prisoners being sent on ahead under an escort, covered by the rest of the force, which kept up a smart fire upon the Hauhaus, who were pressing down through the burning village in pursuit. Once into the bush it became a desultory fight from tree to tree, every onrush of the enraged Maori being checked by the steady bearing of the rear guard. This bush fighting was, according to my informant, a good test of the men's courage, as they were often out of sight of their comrades, and could sometimes hardly see the advancing Maoris, as the latter often dropped on their hands and knees, and crawling through the undergrowth would suddenly rise close upon the isolated soldier with an ear-splitting yell and flashing tomahawk, which was exceedingly trying to strained nerves. At last the exhausted troops issued from the bush, and found themselves in the open, whereupon the Maoris retired to brood over their losses, and plan new methods of revenge against the hated pakeha, whilst the colonials marched on quite uncertain whether they had won a victory or suffered a defeat. They arrived late in the day at Waingorgoro, and enjoyed a much needed rest.

To enumerate all the individual acts of heroism that occurred during the fight would fill a few columns of this paper. The effect upon the Hauhaus was remarkable; for a while they were utterly cowed, and henceforth entertained a greater respect for the pakeha, showing less inclination to come to close quarters afterwards, so that McDonnell's daring dash right into the heart of the Hauhaus territory bore good fruit.

### **THE AFFAIR AT HANDLEY'S WOOLSHEDS, NUKUMARU**

In preparing this subject I was deeply indebted to the members of the corps who

walked over the ground with me, and described the incident. Also, to the Hon. John Bryce, for his courtesy in examining the sketch before the picture was painted, and to Mr William Handley, for visiting the site of his father's woolsheds with me and giving me full particulars with reference to them. The woolsheds do not appear in the picture, however, as I chose the moment when the grouping of the actors was picturesque, and that was when the halt was called, the whole pursuit being over a mile of ground. The hill on the left hides the woolsheds from view, and the pa is seen on the rising ground to the right, the landscape being, as usual, sketched on the spot.

The incident was a trifling one in itself, similar scenes occurring in every campaign, but it assumed historical interest because of the Bryce-Rusden trial.

The cavalry were marching from Wairoa to Woodall's redoubt, on the Kai-iwi stream. After crossing the Waitotara River, the troops proceeded undercover of the sandhills until they arrived in the vicinity of Nukumaruru. A reconnaissance here disclosed to view a couple of armed Maoris riding along an inland track in the distance. Sergeant John Handley now asked permission to be allowed to visit his father's woolsheds to see if they were all right, as the family had been compelled to abandon them when the war broke out, and Titokowaru had built the strong pa of Tauranga-e-hika in their vicinity. He then rode across the sandhills and on coming close to the block of galvanised iron buildings reined up, as a naked Maori was seen perched astride of the ridge of the roof on the lookout. A number of others were busy slaughtering Handley's pigs on the ground below, while from the other sounds it was apparent that the woolsheds were swarming with savages. He rode back and overtook the squadron, which had ridden on about a mile. On giving his report, the troops were turned about and halted at a gap in the sandhills, whence they were seen by the native on the roof, who beat a tattoo [sic] on the iron with his bare heels as a signal to those within.<sup>630</sup> As the natives

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<sup>630</sup> None of the boys with the group was any older than 13 or 14, the youngest was about six. Ibid., pp. 196-197.



came swarming out the troopers opened fire with their carbines, but the range was too great, so they were ordered to draw swords and charge. The Maoris immediately broke and ran for the pa; the cavalry pursued until the fence and double ditch that separated the house from the sheds was reached. This obstacle was too great for most of the horses to surmount, but those which did get over struck away to the right to reach an opening in a dense gorse hedge that was otherwise impassable. The Maoris had already passed through, and the troopers in following had to go through one at a time. Sergeant-major Maxwell, after passing through overtook a Maori and made a cut at him, but his horse stumbled and threw him at the same moment. The native, instead of escaping when he had the chance, stopped, and Maori-like, indulged in a series of antics suggestive of defiance and contempt.<sup>631</sup> When too late he turned to flee, and was killed near the swamp in the foreground of the picture, meantime, several of the troopers got bogged in the soft ground, and the pursuit was stopped, Captain Bryce having to exert all his influence to restrain the excited troopers. Sergeant-major Maxwell, always headstrong and fearless, alone went on, and overtook a Maori who was making for a fence. The native raised his hand to protect his head as the horse rose over him, then he tripped and went headlong into the ditch besides the wall, this fall saved his life, as the descending sword blade chipped off some of his fingers but did not reach his hand.<sup>632</sup> Meantime, hundreds of armed Maoris were seen pouring out of the pa, confident of victory owing to the weakness of the cavalry force, so the latter mustered near the Nukumarū lake, and having reformed rode slowly on their way to Woodall's redoubt, followed at a respectable distance by the Hauhaus, who in spite of their valour when fighting in the bush seldom risked an encounter in the open

unless they had their antagonists at a disadvantage.<sup>633</sup>

During my visit to the Tauranga-e-hika pa Mr. William Handley accompanied me into the bush beyond, and while making our way through the flax we came across a Maori fast asleep in a blanket. My companion stooped over him and drawing the covering gently off his face disclosed the features of a man in the prime of his life. "This," said he, softly, 'is one of the survivors of the woolshed business. Look here,' and raising the sleeping Maori's hand he showed me that the fingers were gone.<sup>634</sup> This was the native who fell into the ditch. I made a sketch of the unconscious model, then we covered him up again, and resumed our journey, leaving the native totally ignorant of the fact that an old antagonist had been in his vicinity. Not that it would have mattered much had he known, as it is now a common thing for old enemies to meet and compare notes. One instance occurred during my visit to a settler who had been burnt out during the war, and it will serve to show how completely the old feeling of enmity has been quenched. At the time of my visit, a Maori working among his shearers grinned at him whenever he passed. He at last went up and inquired what it was that caused the native such amusement. The latter said something that greatly astonished my friend, who told me the following tale:- When the war broke out his woolsheds were attacked and destroyed, he himself being absent collecting settlers to assist him in their defence. He afterwards returned to the ruins in the hopes of finding some of his stock wandering about in the vicinity. He was alone, as no one in the nearest redoubt could get permission to accompany him, all leave having been stopped owing to the number of ambuscades that had taken place of people straying from the camp. After searching the bush around the ruins my companion said he tied his horse to a fence and was in the act of crossing it when to his horror four mounted Hauhaus rode over the crest of the hill only some 80yds in front. To

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<sup>631</sup> This 'native', that Maxwell killed was actually a boy of about 12 and was paralysed with fear not knowing which way to run. *Ibid.*, p.197.

<sup>632</sup> The Maori was a boy of about nine, called Ihaka Takarangi. *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 201.

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<sup>633</sup> The warriors came out to save their children. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>634</sup> The sabre cut only severed one finger of the right hand and slashed the others. *Ibid.*

hide was out of the question; the nearest bush was a dozen yards away, and the intervening country was all quite open. The Maoris saw him almost as soon as he realised his peril. They drew up and unslung their rifles. With a beating heart he did the same and levelled it, when to his astonishment the whole four turned tail and galloped up the hill. As they reached the crest he fired, and a Maori fell on his horse's neck with a howl. They then vanished over the hill, and the settler, rushing to his horse, mounted and did not stop till he reached the redoubt. The Maori who fell on his horse's neck proved to be the same individual who was shearing the sheep, and he had just told the settler that when they came over the hill and saw one man standing boldly out, rifle in hand, they reasoned that he must be well supported, and that the bush beyond was probably swarming with troops, as it was not likely a single man would dare to face four of them, so they wheeled about and made off, and simultaneously with the report the Maori felt something like a red-hot iron pass along his back. He yelled with pain and fright, thinking he was killed, although it afterwards proved only to be a graze, skin deep. The native had recognised the settler again though 20 years had elapsed since the event I have narrated, and it had greatly tickled the Maori's fancy to think he was employed by the man who had previously tried to shoot him.

## THE BATTLE OF MOTUROA

The day I visited the battlefield of Moturoa was, according to the statement of my guide, just such another as that upon which the battle was fought.<sup>635</sup> A grey mist was slowly clearing off and the trees gradually emerging into view, every leaf and branch shining with rain drops in the uncertain light, as we entered the clearing knee deep in rank wet grass and traversed it in search of a suitable foreground for the picture. With the exception of the pa, which had been destroyed, the field otherwise remained as it had been left after the fight. I had several different versions of the

engagement from officers and men who took part in it. I selected the account of Lieutenant-colonel Goring, who fought in the rear guard during the retreat as a subaltern, as it was the most intelligible to work from. But in the following narrative I have filled up blanks from the descriptions of other eye-witnesses.

The fight was a disaster to the colonial troops, but this was only to be expected, seeing it was a repetition of the old, old story, familiar to all who are acquainted with the history of the British service – a handful of men trying to do the work of five or six times their number.<sup>636</sup> A force of 200 men endeavoured to storm a first-class Maori pa, capable of holding over 500 men, all of whom were sheltered in rifle pits behind an impassable double row of palisades, so that the defenders lay in absolute safety and shot down our men exposed in the open clearing like rabbits.

It was generally believed among the staff, however, that the fortification was simply a row of timber piles without any flanking defences, and it was only after the flank attack had developed that all became aware of the actual strength of the place. Owing to its situation it was impossible to make a reconnaissance of the position; the attacking force, therefore, were literally groping in the dark, and had it not been for the skilful generalship displayed by Colonel Whitmore, who was in command, the losses would have been much heavier. As it was 41 out of 200 fell.

When the troops, after a weary night march, arrived at the mouth of the bush track where it opened into a clearing, day was just breaking, and the force halted, while the Armed Constabulary and Maoris (under the late Major Kepa), who were to conduct the flank attack, moved off into the bush on the right and were soon lost to view among the trees. For an hour all remained still. Looking across the clearing at the rows of palisades looming through the mist, not a Maori was visible; the pa seemed deserted. The silence was becoming painful, when Major Hunter ordered his company of Armed Constabulary,

<sup>635</sup> Moturoa was Titokowaru's new pa and the battle took place on 6 November 1868. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>636</sup> These figures were not true, since Colonel Whitmore alone had 400 men and outnumbered Titokowaru. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

half a hundred men, to advance to the attack. They rushed out into the clearing, deploying as they ran, and charged for the palisades at full speed. They had safely covered more than half the distance when a sheet of flame ran across the face of the pa, and an astounding bang, like the shutting of a huge door broke the silence: the fight had begun in grim earnest, and the din of firearms became terrific as Hunter, waving on his staggered line, rushed recklessly forward into the canopy of smoke rent with fire that now enveloped the pa.<sup>637</sup> The air rang with Maori yells and pakeha cheers and curses, forming a shrill accompaniment to the steady dull beat of rifles, and with this din ringing in his ears, and his lungs filled with battle smoke, the gallant Hunter fell, mortally wounded, some dozen yards from the fatal palisades. At this critical moment the flank attack under Kepa was paralysed by the discovery of the true nature of the fortification.<sup>638</sup> What was left of Hunter's force—over a score had fallen—now sought what cover the open nature of the ground afforded, and for fully 20 minutes a desperate duel took place between the opposing forces, until Colonel Whitmore brought up his reserves and by careful manoeuvring succeeded in withdrawing the remains of the assaulting force with all their wounded from the clearing. The instant the Hauhaus saw that the troops were retreating they poured out of the pa in hordes with yells of triumph, waving their meres and tomahawks with delight as they closed in on the rear guard, who, forming across the mouth of the cart track, were only too pleased to have hand-to-hand encounter with their naked enemies. The melee that ensued disclosed to the

<sup>637</sup> Hunter had begun his charge before there was any sound from the pa—Major Kemp realised it was a ruse and that Titokowaru was aware they were there but it was too late to stop the attack. Hunter was shot standing up in the hail of bullets despite the yells from his men to lie down. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

<sup>638</sup> According to Tu-Patea Te Rongo, a boy of seventeen at the battle, the palisade itself was 'quite flimsy', as behind the heavy wooden tree trunks was a screen and not a wall. However, it was planned around a triple 'sheet of fire', with three levels of defence and 'had immense disguised strength'. The open ground in front had concealed rifle pits and secret pathways to the pa. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.

Maoris what many more civilised peoples had discovered before them, that the British are really never actually defeated until they are swept off the field. After a furious fight the Maoris fled in terror to the shelter of the pa, and contented themselves with shooting at the retiring troops from the cover of the neighbouring bush.<sup>639</sup> So terminated the battle of Moturoa, which cost the colony many valuable lives, among them that of Major Hunter, whose reckless behaviour was probably the outcome of the slanderous statements that had been circulated with reference to his conduct at the Turu Turu Mokai affair, where the gallant fellow was unjustly accused of cowardice, whereas in reality he was strictly obeying his superior officer's orders. That the lie was ranking in his mind was undoubted, as he remarked before the company advanced to those around him, 'I will prove to them to-day I am not a coward,' or words to that effect.

It will be noticed that a number of men in the picture are rather scantily attired, their costume consisting of forage cap or old soft felt, a shirt, and a shawl tied around their waists. A large amount of latitude was permitted as regards uniform when at the front, as the men had so many streams to ford, and in passing through bush clothes soon became reduced to rags owing to the loving embraces of the lawyers, wherefore the skin grew hard and tough with constant exposure.

I shall conclude with an account of an experience that befell an officer who, fresh to New Zealand and its customs, was first introduced to his corps at Wellington, where they appeared on parade in all the glory of blue uniforms and clean boots and belts. The behaviour of the company was faultless until it arrived at the front and encamped in the vicinity of a belt of bush. Next morning on coming out of his tent he found the camp deserted; while going from tent to tent he suddenly saw a wild-looking individual with bare legs, a shawl round his waist, and the

<sup>639</sup> This is another false story told about the incident, possibly to save face. The troopers were pursued back to Wairoa and many injured and dead were left behind, much to the disgust of Whitmore, since attempting a rescue meant probable death for those who tried. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-178.

regulation grey shirt, topped by an old battered felt hat, emerge from the bush, advance towards him and salute. One glance showed it was his sergeant. With a face purple with rage he asked 'Where the somebody is your cap sir.' 'Threw it away, sir.' 'Oh, did you and I suppose you threw away your tunic and breeches too?' 'Yes sir,' came the imperturbable response. The dialogue ended here abruptly, for a string of men poured into the camp and sneaked into their tents. They all appeared to have lost their tunics and trousers likewise, and in a fit of modesty had wrapped vari-coloured shawls round their waists, the ingenuity they had displayed in selecting different patterns appearing to be only equalled by their variety in head gear. The officer at first feared his corps had become insane, then he smelt a mutiny, and, at last, in sheer despair demanded an explanation. Then he learnt that his men had been at the front before, and this change in costume was the result of previous experience in bush fighting. So he wisely said nothing further about the matter, and before the war ended was seen himself in similar undress, from which it is to be inferred that this style of costume was the best adapted to the work upon which they were engaged.

### POVERTY BAY – THE MORNING OF THE MASSACRE

In all historical paintings, even with the best descriptions, which I invariably make it a point to receive, if possible, from eye-witnesses, there is always a certain amount to be filled up by the imagination, and this is particularly the case in depicting a tragedy like that of Poverty Bay, where the Maoris made a tolerably clean sweep, leaving very few survivors, and these nearly all children.<sup>640</sup> The story of one family may be

taken as tolerably representative of the entire settlement. The massacre commenced at an early hour in the morning, and proved a complete surprise, although up to a day or two before the settlers had been on the alert. Indeed, they exercised such vigilance that numbers of them, armed with rifles, kept a constant watch day and night at the ford on the Waipaoa River, hourly expecting the dreaded Te Kooti to come in sight. This precaution was, however, ridiculed by the officer in charge of the district, Major Biggs, who assured the settlers that he had taken every precaution to have them warned in time. Acting on this assurance they rather shamefacedly retired to their homes, and shortly afterwards the Hauhaus poured across that identical ford, and commenced the work of slaughter that ushered 70 souls into eternity in a few hours. Natives, who, of course, according to their version, had not been present themselves, but had heard it from somebody else who knew somebody else who was there, said that Major Biggs was shot on his own verandah, the natives afterwards entering his house and tomahawking his wife, baby and servant. House after house was visited by the half-drunken Maoris, who had secured the necessary beverage from Mr Cadel's store, which was looted after the owner had been shot, and in each instance the appearance of the murderers was a complete surprise to the confiding whites. I shall give the experience of Captain Wilson's family in detail, principally from the account supplied by his unfortunate wife, who lived a short time after the occurrence.

Captain Wilson was engaged early in the morning hurriedly writing a series of orders for the settlers to muster that day at the Toanga redoubt—an old earthwork that had been selected as a place of assembly—as news had been received of Te Kooti during the night. A knock at the door broke the stillness; then Mrs Wilson heard her husband speaking to someone from the window. Immediately afterwards he entered the room in some agitation, and directed her to get ready with the children, as the Hauhaus were outside. He then stole stealthily out at the

<sup>640</sup> There is some similarity here to Reynolds's comment in 1771 that 'the great end of the art is to strike the imagination' and the artist 'must sometimes deviate from vulgar and strict historical truth, in pursuing the grandeur of his design'. Wark, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, p. 59.

This incident which took place on 10 November 1868 did result in the death of a large number of both Maori and Pakeha, young and old. However, not all the

stories told about it were true. Belich, *I shall not die*, p. 183.

back door, and creeping across to an outhouse he aroused his manservant, whose name was Moran, and having explained matters to him they returned to the house, the darkness of early morning covering their movements from the sharp eyes of the Maoris, who were round at the front of the house bringing up a tree that they had felled, and now purposed [sic] using as a battering ram to drive in the front door, which Wilson had locked and barricaded ere leaving the house. Just as they entered and made the backdoor secure, the entire front of the building quivered under the blow from the ram, and it became apparent that a few more strokes like that would demolish the door. So the Captain took his revolver and stationed himself at a window, whence he could watch the movements of the Hauhaus. The latter retired for a short distance at a walk, and after resting for a minute they turned, and lifting the tree came on at a furious run for the door again. The captain fired right into the middle of the cluster; there was a started yell from the group, and the tree fell to the ground with a thud, as they let go their hold and scattered into the neighbouring scrub. After a pause, during which the minutes seemed like hours to the anxious whites, there came a startling crash as every clump of flax and manuka spat fire and smoke, the bullets smashing the windows and rattling against the woodwork like hail. The defenders were not slow to respond, and for some time a desultory fight was carried on, until an ominous cracking sound rose above the din and a luminous glow lit up the surrounding landscape, while volumes of thick suffocating smoke creeping through the seams of the wooden walls showed that the savages were resorting to fire to destroy the pakehas. Had the men been alone, they might have made a dash through the enemy for the bush, but with the women and a swarm of helpless children it was out of the question; so when the Maoris ceased firing and a spokesman announced that if they surrendered their lives would be spared, the half-suffocated defenders agreed to the proposal, and opening the door they all crowded outside, glad to escape the devouring flames that now enveloped the house. No sooner were they clear of the

verandah than Captain Wilson was seized and dragged towards the river by some of the natives, the others clustering round the remainder in a wild state of excitement. Suddenly one of them raised his tomahawk and brained Moran right in front of Mrs Wilson, and before the horrified woman could utter a word another savage jammed the muzzle of his gun against Captain Wilson's back and discharged the contents into the unfortunate man. The wife, dazed and sick with anguish, her husband's death scream still ringing in her ears, now became the paralysed spectator of the slaughter of her children and when the frenzied woman was swooning with horror, a blow on the head with a rifle butt stretched her senseless on the turf. Late in the afternoon she regained consciousness. The sun was setting, and its slanting rays cast long shadows over the landscape, where all was still and deserted. For a few minutes she could not realise what had occurred, until the smell of burnt wood assailed her nostrils, then the whole tragedy dawned on her. One glance round the awful scene tuned [sic] her sick, and then she discovered that she was also covered with wounds, the pain from which rendered her feverish, creating an intolerable thirst, so in spite of the pain she crawled to where the fallen water tank lay amongst the smoking ruins and after a deep draught crept to an outhouse and lay in a semi-conscious condition all night. The following day was spent in agony from pain, hunger, thirst, and terror, for the unfortunate woman was unable even to crawl to the tank. The day dragged slowly to a close, and was followed by a second night as terrible as the first. Another day dawned, and slipped slowly past, and no help appeared. Mrs Wilson occasionally became unconscious, but each awakening revealed the same dreary spectacle of blacked ruins and ghastly forms lying still on the green sward beyond, to which her eyes would wander even against her will, until darkness again shut out that dreadful scene, but only to add new terrors to her situation, as the afflicted mind pictured fantastic forms flitting through the gloom. The following day her heart almost ceased to beat with fright when a rustling was heanmmmmkkrd among the flax, and then footsteps were

audible approaching the shed by stealth. A dark shadow fell across the doorway, and the next instant one of her sons 'whom she thought was lying among the awful group beyond' peered into the shed. It was her boy James, who had escaped the massacre and after lurking about in the neighbouring bush in hiding, was now driven by hunger to search the ruins in the hope of finding food. After the first burst of joyful recognition, he got water and eggs from an outhouse, and, after making his mother as comfortable as circumstances would permit, he decided to venture to Tauranganui in search of assistance. Accompanied by the family dog, which appeared on the scene, he made good progress until the sound of voices made him slink off the track and bury himself among the scrub. The dog, however, kept snuffling about on the path, and dreading it might lead to his capture the boy crawled away among the fern, and just when he had secured a position where discovery appeared unlikely the dog bounded in after him, followed by several men. To his delight they proved to be a party of settlers, friends and neighbours of his late father. A hasty explanation followed, and an hour later the party reached the scene of the tragedy, and succeeded in bringing the mutilated form of the broken-hearted mother into Tauranganui the same night, but as she had lain for so long with her injuries uncared for she gradually sank and expired, after relating her version of the massacre.

In many instances, however, the surprise was so complete—as in the picture—that the inmates were slain like sheep without having an opportunity of striking a blow in self-defence.

## DEATH OF SERGEANT-MAJOR MAXWELL

The tragic end of Sergeant-Major Maxwell—in commemoration of which the township of Maxwellton was named—occurred in front of the Tauranga-a-hika pa during a skirmish between the Hau-haus and the Wanganui and Kai-iwi cavalry corps, on December 28, 1868.<sup>641</sup>

I first heard of it when visiting Woodall's redoubt on the Kai-iwi River, and several days later when on a visit to the late Premier, the Hon. John Ballance, at Wanganui, it was my good fortune to receive from his own lips a detailed account of the incident, he having been an eye-witness of the scene. I then visited the site of the pa in company with Mr. William Handley, of Nukumarū, to whose courtesy I was indebted for a sketch of the pa, as it was afterwards demolished, with the exception of a few bullet-riddled posts still standing; also a photograph of the Sergeant-major. The skeleton of Trooper Wright's horse had lain among the fern till about the time of my visit, and as the country remained unchanged, with the exception of the road since made, I had no difficulty in composing the subject. The following narrative was compiled from the various descriptions I received from troopers who took part in the affair and from eye-witnesses:-

The Wanganui cavalry arrived opposite the famous pa, and commenced a vigorous attack with dismounted men advancing in skirmishing order. The Maoris were not slow to respond, and a smart fusillade ensued. The puffs of smoke spurted from between the palisades, and answering clouds rose from among the flax and fern that covered the sloping ground in front, until it commenced to assume the appearance of a regular battle. As, however, the natives kept well down in their pits, only rising to discharge their weapons, and the attacking force also utilised all the available cover, the casualties were infinitesimal, although the firing was heavy.

Suddenly the Maoris ceased firing, the smoke drifted aside and left the lofty palisades of the pa standing out clear and distinct in the sunlight with not a Hauhau visible anywhere. The attacking force likewise ceased firing, and commenced to speculate upon the reason for this curious behaviour. That it was some cunning Maori dodge no man doubted for a moment; so it was decided to stop the advance and await developments. They had not long to wait, for shortly after the fighting ceased a detachment of the Kai-iwi cavalry became visible against the sky-line as they emerged from the bush on the hilltop to the east of the

<sup>641</sup> Maxwell is situated 24 km NW of Whanganui. Beaglehole, 'Wanganui places', p. 1.

pa. The detachment numbered 10 men, and formed the advance guard of the Kai-iwi corps, which was now coming into action. As the new arrivals continued to trot unsuspectingly straight towards the pa, a trooper was despatched full speed to warn them that the pa had not been abandoned as they seemed to imagine, but that the natives were lying perdu in the hope of luring them into a trap. The messenger was seen to ride up to the detachment, which halted; but after a minute's conversation, the leader of the party, Sergeant-major Maxwell, was seen to point at the pa, and immediately afterwards the slender force dashed for it at a gallop. The spectators held their breath with horror at this rash act. The troopers went flitting past the line of palisade; they were rapidly nearing the other end, and the onlookers were beginning to breathe freely, when pa and men were blotted out from view by a dense volume of white smoke, and a crashing volley reverberated through the air. A few seconds later a runaway horse emerged from the smoke, its rider—who was recognised to be the Sergeant-major—swaying wildly in the saddle as it raced down the hill, and as he fell, another man caught him and bore the lifeless form out of action.<sup>642</sup> Meanwhile, as the white curtain dispersed, it disclosed a curious spectacle. One man had fallen under his horse, which was writhing in agony, while of the others the majority were galloping unscathed down the slope towards the Wanganui skirmishers. A trooper was seen galloping back towards the fallen horseman, while another man was extricating himself from his dead horse, and a comrade, after reining up his terrified steed, was observed to ride deliberately back towards the pa. The Maoris commenced to fire at him, but he only quickened his pace, and passing right along the front of the palisades disappeared round the end of the fortification. To the spectators his movements created the impression that he had lost his head—metaphorically speaking—and when he vanished no one ever expected to see him again, particularly

as large numbers of the Hauhaus were taking pot shots at him. The firing grew more rapid, until the individual reports blended into a continuous roar, and almost simultaneously he reappeared at a furious gallop, followed by a Maori's horse which he dragged after him by a rope halter. He rapidly overtook his comrade, who was running on foot and assisting him to mount, the pair dashed down the slope to rejoin their comrades. The man who performed this gallant act was Trooper Lingard, and he was afterwards rewarded with the New Zealand Cross.<sup>643</sup>

Meantime the trooper who had ridden to the assistance of the other dismounted man, not only brought his comrade off the field, but the saddle and bridle as well, and on getting clear of the smoke and confusion he made the pleasing discovery that the rescued man was Trooper Wright, his own brother.

The description of the tragedy would be incomplete were I to omit a strange incident that occurred on the morning of the disaster. It was described to me by an ex-trooper, who claimed to have been an eye witness; and as I have no reason to doubt his word, I will insert it for the edification of those who believe in coming events being foretold in dreams. As the Sergeant-major was riding past his house on his way to the front, his mother came out and pleaded with him to remain at home just for that day. He pointed out to her the utter impossibility of his leaving the ranks at a time when the corps was going into action. Finding her efforts of no avail, she then urged him earnestly to take care of himself, and not go needlessly into danger. As he saw she was greatly distressed, he urged her to give her reasons for making such requests, and at last she admitted reluctantly that the preceding night she had a vivid dream in which she saw a cart drive up to the house, and a man wrapped up in a

<sup>642</sup> Actually it was after they had 'galloped from the scene' that George Maxwell slipped from the saddle, after having 'ridden 150 yards mortally wounded'. Belich, *I shall not die*, p. 211.

<sup>643</sup> Belich agrees that two horses were hit, but makes no mention of another man needing help. He tells that Arthur Wright turned to help his brother Henry when Kereopa headed towards him with a tomahawk, Tom Cummins shot Kereopa in the buttocks while Lingard caught a Maori horse and helped him to escape. While Trooper Lingard received the award for also freeing him, Henry Wright afterwards maintained that he had freed himself on the third attempt to do so. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

Trooper William Lingard was the first person to receive the New Zealand Cross.



blanket being lifted out and carried inside, and that on the covering being lifted it proved to be himself. Maxwell laughed her out of her fears, and after cheering her up he rode off to join his troop, with a few reassuring promises that he would be careful.

Now for the sequel. In the evening a cart with its escort drew up in front of the cottage, and a party of men lifted the lifeless form of the Sergeant-major, wrapped up in a service blanket, and bore it to the house. The shuffling of feet brought the mother to the door, where one sickening glance showed her worse fears had been realised. It was her gallant son's homecoming, exactly as it had been revealed to her in the dream.

## RETRIBUTION

One of the corps that attracted general attention during the Taranaki and Wanganui campaigns was the Kai-iwi cavalry. It was principally recruited from among the farmers and their sons, whose homes had been burnt by the Hauhaus. It comprised a strong body of men, inured to exposure and fatigue, good horsemen, and thoroughly conversant with the country over which they had to fight—all essential qualifications to men who had to carry on a guerilla warfare.

This troop by its secrecy and mobility caused the Hauhaus so much uneasiness that they ultimately abandoned the use of their pas, finding it much safer to sleep in the deep recesses of the bush in preference to their villages, where the feeling of fancied security had too often been rudely dispelled in the early morning hours by the arrival of the dreaded troopers, whom the Maoris in their simplicity imagined were sleeping in their blankets 20 miles away.

The tactics adopted by this ubiquitous corps were simple, but effective. At sunset the men would muster and ride off into the deepening twilight utterly ignorant of their destination, which was kept a close secret by the officers, who were thus enabled to keep the line of march from leaking out and thus reaching the enemy's knowledge through the agency of that bugbear, the kupapa, who was also so much in evidence at every

encampment.<sup>644</sup> Once clear of the camp the troop would make a wide circuit and arrive about midnight in the rear of the Hauhaus' lines. A halt for much-needed rest was then made, and a few hours later, just as the stars were fading out before the light of dawn, the natives, who were reposing after some raid, would wake to find the pa in possession of the pakehas. Captures were not easily made, however, as the Maoris, ever alert and active, would scuttle off into the undergrowth, where it was useless for a mounted man to try to follow, and the only reward they sometimes had for all their toil was the poor satisfaction of burning down some raupo whares, which the Maoris would return and rebuild in a few days. That these night rides were extremely perilous the following incident, related to me by a trooper, will prove:-

The corps was returning to Woodall's redoubt after a night march, and on nearing the Kai-iwi River struck into a bush track it had lately been much in the habit of traversing. The lower end of this track fell away somewhat abruptly where it descended to the water, and was lined on either side with low scrub about 6ft high. As they arrived at the upper end of this steep pinch the entire troop reined up simultaneously and without orders. My informant said there had been an uneasy feeling among the men all night, which no one could account for, and that they should act as they did when in sight of the redoubt, which loomed black on the opposite hill against the rising sun, and therefore in apparent safety, appeared to surprise the officers, who, however, humoured the men by turning the corps and descending the hill face at a greater distance from the ford than usual, the entire force arriving in camp somewhat late, but unharmed. Shortly afterwards hordes of disappointed Hauhaus were seen swarming out of that same scrub, their innumerable gun barrels flashing in the morning sunlight as they clambered up the track and disappeared to the bush beyond. Yet when the officers

<sup>644</sup> kūpapa (noun): collaborator, ally, Māori who side with Pākehā opposition or the Government. From Maori Dictionary, 'kūpapa', 2011. <http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/>, accessed 7 June 2011

had carefully scanned that mass of varied green from the upper end of the track, not a branch was seen to quiver or a sound heard to indicate the presence of an ambushade. Had the troop ridden unsuspecting into the cul-de-sac, not a man would have escaped to tell the tale as they had always passed down the narrow rocky track in single file, and the bush was too dense on either side to permit a horseman to turn. This pre-monition of death or danger is a common occurrence in war, and it is said to have often occurred during the Maori rebellion.

## TOO LATE

One of the reasons why the Maori war continued for such a long period was the scarcity of troops and the extensive area over which the small force had to maintain order, the result being that the Hauhaus, who were well served with spies, knew of all the operations upon which each small detachment was engaged, and were thus enabled, not only to avoid a pitched battle in the open, but also to steal round to the rear and make terrible raids upon the settlers, who imagined that because the troops were between them and the enemy they were safe. In more than one instance the troops were hurried back to find that during their absence the enemy had delivered a blow that might have been averted had they known of the whereabouts of their wily foe; but the latter kept well hidden in the bush, and by a series of raids on points far distant from one another, they succeeded in harassing the troops, who had to march and countermarch over long stretches of rough country, arriving at last, worn out with their exertions, to find that they were too late to be of service, the savages having vanished into the dark green mantle that covered the ranges as far as the eye could reach.

It was only after the colonial force became engaged in the war without the assistance of the British regulars that the tactics were altered, and a guerrilla warfare was initiated similar to the Maori's own methods of fighting. Sudden attacks upon the pas hidden away in the depths of the forest were the first intimation that the Maoris had of a change of plan. Their own villages were

burnt to the ground and their food supplies destroyed. Then the war, which had hitherto been a recreation for the natives, assumed a serious aspect. They became afraid to continue raiding lest during their absence their own homes and families might be captured.

The picture of 'Too Late' was painted from a description I received from a member of the defence force, who accompanied one of the relief parties which unfortunately failed to reach the scene of operations in time, the reason being that in passing through bush country repeated halts had to be made to enable the advance guard to scour the clumps of bush lining the track lest the whole party should march into an ambushade, enemies sometimes sending in false messages asking for help, and then laying a trap on the route for the destruction of the relief party, should the latter in their haste neglect to take proper precautions. Those relief parties were often freely criticised by thoughtless critics, who failed to appreciate all the difficulties and dangers that beset them in fulfilling their onerous duties.

**APPENDIX 3****LIST OF J. ELDER MOULTRAY'S PAINTINGS**

Paintings are listed in chronological order if dated, alphabetical order if not.

Compiled from newspaper reports available through Papers Past, art society catalogues, book references. Prices repeated in Newrick's Art Sales, Art Sales Digest and Mutual Art are not specified.

Short titles are used if a source is repeated and newspapers referred to often are initialled.

Works that have been viewed or have resurfaced in auction catalogues have been noted as private collection (p.c.), works that have not resurfaced since their first exhibition are listed as location unknown.

## HISTORY PAINTINGS

1. *The Shooting*, c.1880s (p.c.), oil on canvas, 32 x 48 cm.  
John Leech Gallery, label on verso [Art Sales Digest].  
Cordy's, Auckland, *Fine and applied art auction*, 21st August 2006, p. 23, lot 99.
2. *The Dougal Creature*, 1885 (location unknown).  
'Otago Art Society: II', *ODT*, 18 November 1885, p. 3.  
[Historical portrait – the Dougal Creature is from Sir Walter Scott, *Rob Roy*, chapter 13].
3. *The Phantom Canoe on Lake Tarawera*, c.1886 (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on canvas, 53 x 35 cm, unframed.  
Donated by Miss Mona Moir from Broad Bay, via. Miss M. Pryde from Dunedin, 1960.  
Geoff Conly, *Tarawera: the destruction of the pink and white terraces*, Wellington: Grantham House, 1985, p. 29.  
R.F. Keam, *Tarawera: the volcanic eruption of 10 June 1886*, Auckland: R.F. Keam, Physics Department, University of Auckland, 1988, p. 70.
4. *Mt Tarawera in Eruption*, 1886 (location unknown).  
Attributed to J. Elder Moultray by Roger Blackley, VUW Wellington.  
Keam, *Tarawera*, p. 317.
5. *An Anxious Moment*, 1886 (location unknown).  
'Mr. J.D. Moultray's pictures', *ODT*, 15 October 1886, p. 3. Exhibited at London Portrait Rooms, Princes Street, Dunedin, no. 36.
6. *The Last Stand of the British at Maiwand, Afghanistan 27<sup>th</sup> July, 1880*, 1887 (location unknown).  
'A battle picture', *ODT*, 1 September 1887, p. 3. Exhibited at Mr McGregor Wright's Gallery, Filleul Street, Dunedin.  
Arctic cold: the Fine Arts Association exhibition', *EP*, 5 November 1887, p. 1.  
New Zealand Commission, *New Zealand Court Catalogue: centennial international exhibition*, Melbourne: Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, 1888, p. 5, artist no. 527.  
'Thursday, 5th April, at 11 am', *EP*, 2 April 1900, p. 8.  
Sold at Messrs. F. Sidey and Co., Manners Street, Wellington: 'Thursday, 5<sup>th</sup> April, at 11 a.m.', *EP*, 31 March 1900, p. 6.
7. *An Urgent Despatch*, 1888 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 59.5 x 104.5 cm, signed and dated lower left.

- Bought by Daniel Haynes prior to October 1898: 'A series of pictures of stirring incidents of the Maori war', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p. 16.  
Dunbar Sloane, N.Z., 17 July 1996, lot 45. Sold for \$20-30,000.  
Collection of Greg Moyle, Auckland, bought from Dunbar Sloane: Personal communication, 5 November 2011.  
On loan to Auckland War Memorial Museum.
8. *The Battle of Pungarehu, Patea, October 6 1868*, 1888 (location unknown).  
'Exhibition of pictures', *ODT*, 13 April 1888, p. 4.  
New Zealand Commission, *New Zealand Court Catalogue*, p. 5.  
'Thursday, 5<sup>th</sup> April, at 11 am', *EP*, 2 April 1900, p. 8.  
Bought by James Gray prior to October 1898: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p. 16.
  9. *The Death of Sergeant-Major Maxwell at Nukumarū*, c.1888 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 51 x 79.5 cm, signed and dated lower left, title inscribed verso.  
'Exhibition of pictures', *ODT*, 13 April 1888, p. 4.  
'The Fine Arts exhibition: first notice', *EP*, 18 October 1888, p. 2.  
Bought by James Gray prior to October 1898: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p. 16.  
Sold as *Death of Sergeant Major Maxwell at Tauranga-Nukumarū*, Dec. 28<sup>th</sup> 1866, 1888: Peter Webb Galleries, Webb's *Fine New Zealand & European paintings, drawings and prints*, 26 May 1996, sale 196, p. 11, lot 20.  
Collection of Greg Moyle, Auckland: Personal communication, 5 November 2011.  
On loan to Auckland War Memorial Museum.
  10. *Ambuscade*, 1888 (p.c.), oil.  
'Exhibition of pictures', *ODT*, 24 June 1889, p. 3. Exhibited at studio of J.D. Moultray, Heriot Row, Dunedin.  
'The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts: first annual exhibition', *EP*, 23 September 1889, p. 3.  
NZAFA, Wellington, *First annual exhibition, catalogue*, September 1889, p. 2, no. 30. Entry includes: 'Painted from the description supplied by ex-Serg. John Handley, an eye witness'. Asking price was £30.  
McArthur and Co. Sold as *Ambuscade on the Okehu River, Wanganui*:  
'Painting for auction', *Wanganui Herald*, 21 April 1980, page unknown;  
'Rare record of NZ past to be sold', *Taranaki Herald*, 28 April 1980, page unknown (AAG library, 2 November 2001).
  11. *Retribution, an Incident of the Maori War*, 1888 (p.c.) oil on canvas, 60 x 90 cm, title inscribed and signed in artist's hand verso.  
'Local and general', *OW*, 15 June 1888, p. 11.  
Bought by Crosby Morris prior to October 1898: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p. 16.  
Webb's, *Fine New Zealand paintings, jewellery & decorative arts*, March 19-21, 2002, p.60. Wrongly listed in catalogue as by James Douglas Moultray, lot 103, est. \$4000-6000.

Dunbar Sloane, *Fine and applied art auction*, 18 August 2004, lot 53.  
 Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *The Peter Keeton Estate Collection*, 8 June 2006, lot 29. Sold as *An Incident in the Maori Wars*, 1886 [?] for \$5,000.  
 Fine Art Society, lot 801, sold for \$9,500 [Art Sales Digest].  
 Label on reverse reads 'Retribution, an incident of the NZ Wars at \*68, J. Elder Moultray, Meriot Row, Brookville'.  
 Collection of Grey Moyle, Auckland: Personal communication, 5 November 2011.

12. *The Bryce Affair near Hanley's Woolsheds, Nukumarū, November 1868*, 1889 (p.c.), 3ft. 6 in x 2 ft. [91.34 x 61 cm.]  
 'An interesting picture', *Wanganui Herald*, 4 June 1889, p. 2.  
 NZAFA, Wellington, *First annual exhibition catalogue*, September 1889, p.1, no. 22: 'Painted from descriptions supplied by ex-Sergeant John Handley and other troopers of the Kai-Iwi Cavalry, who were present. The scene was taken at the moment the horses were bogged, and Capt. Bryce stopped the pursuit', price £40.  
 'The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts: first annual exhibition', *EP*, 23 September 1889, p. 3.  
 'Auckland Society of Arts: second notice', *AS*, 26 May 1890, p. 3.  
 Bought by Daniel Haynes: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p. 16.  
 Webb's *Paintings, jewellery & decorative arts*, 18 December 1996, lot No. 62. Sold for \$13,000.
  
13. *The Retreat (Rear Guard Leaving the Clearing at Moturoa, Nov. 7<sup>th</sup> jhiu1866)*, 1890 (location unknown).  
 'Auckland Society of Arts. The conversation to-night, the best pictures', *AS*, 22 May 1890, p. 8.  
 NZAFA, Wellington, *Second annual exhibition catalogue*, October 1890, p. 3, no. 71. Exhibited as *Rear Guard Leaving the Clearing at Moturoa, Nov. 7<sup>th</sup> 1866*: 'Painted from description supplied by Major Foster Y. Goring, an eye-witness', price £40.  
 'New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts: second annual exhibition, first notice', *EP*, 20 October 1890, p. 4.
  
14. *Episode of the Maori War*, 1890 (location unknown), oil.  
 NZAFA, Wellington, *Second annual exhibition catalogue*, October 1890, p. 2, no. 32.
  
15. *Moturoa*, 1891 (location unknown).  
 'Mr Moultray's pictures', *ODT*, 11 March 1891, p. 3.  
 This painting may be *The Retreat*, 1890.
  
16. *A Trooper of the Wanganui Cavalry Attacked by the Hauhau*, 1892 (Canberra: NLA), oil on canvas, 60.9 x 45.5 cm.  
 'Omnium gatherum' ['in the window of'], *OW*, 15 December 1892, p. 4.  
 Rex Nan Kivell Collection NK2650, NLA.

17. *Too Late*, 1892 (location unknown).  
 'Pictures by J.E. Moultray', *OW*, 8 September 1892, p. 32.  
 'A Maori war picture entitled "Too Late"', *OW*, 10 January 1895, p. 3.  
 'The picture gallery' [Dunedin and South Seas Exhibition 1898], *ODT*, 7 April 1898, p. 2; 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p.16.  
 J.E. Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country with pen and pencil: being an illustrated account of some notable events in the early history of New Zealand', *ODT&W*, Christmas Annual, in *OW*, 10 November 1898, p. 5.
  
18. *The capture of Nukumarū Pah*, 1894 (location unknown).  
 'Last week of Elder Moultray's famous picture', *ODT*, 29 October 1894, p. 3.
  
19. *The Fugitives*, 1897 (Te Awamutu: Waipa District Council), oil, 125.5 x 74.5 cm.  
 'Exhibition of art works', *ODT*, 20 October 1897, p. 4.  
 'Passing Notes' ['the auction sale of pictures'], *OW*, 6 August 1902, p. 5.  
 Bought by the Jay family, abandoned and then donated to Cambridge Public Library about 1960: 'Fugitives find home in library', *Waikato Times*, 5 December 1979, p. 2.  
 Restored in 1897 by Waipa District Council in whose offices it now hangs.
  
20. *A Reconnaissance at Nukumarū*, prior to 1898 (location unknown).  
 Bought by Mrs George Munroe: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p.16.  
 Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 4.
  
21. *An Urgent Despatch*, 1898 (p.c.), oil, 54 x 74 cm, signed and dated.  
 Replication, verified by different size and: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p.16;  
 Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 4.  
 Peter Webb Galleries, Auckland, *Paintings, jewellery and decorative arts*, 18 December 1996, lot 62, sold for \$12,000.
  
22. *The Affair at Handley's Woolsheds, Nukumarū*, 1898 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 54 x 74 cm, signed and dated lower right [visible only as 1893, 60 x 105 cm– original frame].  
 Replication of *The Bryce Affair* verified by: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p.16;  
 Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 4.  
 Peter Webb Gallery 1996, lot 62. Sold for \$7,231.  
 Collection of Greg Moyle, Auckland: Personal communication, 5 November 2011.  
 On loan to Auckland Museum.
  
23. *A Reconnaissance at Nukumarū*, 1898 (location unknown).  
 Replication, verified by: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p.16;



- Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 1.
24. *Pursued*, c.1898 (location unknown).  
Painted for this edition: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p.16;  
Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 2.
  25. *The Peach Grove Massacre*, c.1898 (location unknown).  
Painted for this edition: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p. 16;  
Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 3.
  26. *The Battle of Pungarehu*, c.1898 (p.c.).  
Replication, verified by: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p.16;  
Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 5.
  27. *The Battle of Moturoa*, c.1898 (p.c.).  
Painted for this edition: Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 6;  
'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p. 16.  
'Passing Notes' ['the auction sale of pictures'], *OW*, 6 August 1902, p. 5.  
Sold for '£6 10s'.
  28. *Poverty Bay, the Morning of the Massacre*, 1898 (p.c.), oil on canvas, signed, 49.5 x 74.5 cm.  
Painted for this edition: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p. 16;  
Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 7.  
This could be the painting listed as: 'Maoris bursting in and attacking a settler family seated', 49 x 76 cm, signed: Hy. Duke and Son, United Kingdom, 1992, lot 2.  
Webb's, *New Zealand Contemporary Art*, 1 June 1993, lot No. 12. Sold for \$12,000.
  29. *The Death of Sergeant Maxwell at Nukumarū*, 1898 (p.c.).  
Replication, verified by: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p.16;  
Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 8.
  30. *Retribution*, 1898 (p.c.)  
Replication of: *Retribution, an Incident in the Maori Wars*, 1888.  
Verified by: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p. 16; Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 8.
  31. *Too Late*, 1898 (location unknown).  
Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 8.  
Replication, verified by: 'A series of pictures', *OW*, 20 October 1898, p. 16;  
Moultray, 'Through the Hauhau country', p. 9.  
'Passing notes', *OW*, 6 August 1902, p. 5.
  32. *N.Z.'s First Employment in the Boer War, December 1899*, c.1900 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 59.5 x 90 cm.  
'Current Topics', ['there is at present on view'], *ODT*, 20 June 1900, p.4.  
Sold – Dunedin RSA, August 2007.

Collection of Greg Moyle, Auckland: Personal communication, 5 November 2011.

33. *The First Contingent at Arundel*, c.1902 (location unknown).  
'Passing Notes', *OW*, 6 August 1902, p. 5. Sold for '£9'.
34. *Unwelcome Visitors*, 1903 (location unknown).  
On Display at Frederick Street Studio. 'Mr Moultray's pictures', *OW*, 13 May 1903, p. 56.
35. *Roman Warriors returning from Ancient Britain with captives*, 1903  
(Dunedin: Hocken), oil on canvas, 70.9 x 106.6 cm.  
'Mr Moultray's pictures', *OW*, 13 May 1903, p. 56.
36. *The Battle of Nukumarū, Maori War 1865*, 1907 (p.c.), oil on canvas laid down on board, 75.5 x 126 cm, signed and dated lower left.  
'Mr J. E. Moultray's exhibition of pictures', *OW*, 18 December 1907, p. 90.  
Leonard Joel, Melbourne, *Australian Paintings*, 7 November 1984, lot 190; sold as *Attack on the British Camp at Nukumarū by Hauhaus-Maori War 1865*, for \$5,500.
37. *'It is a God': Captain Cook's Ship off the New Zealand Coast*, c.1910  
(Dunedin: Hocken), oil on canvas, 90 x 60.5 cm.
38. *Homeless: an Episode in City Life*, 1912 (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on canvas, 70.9 x 106.3 cm.
39. *The Battle of Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu, Sept. 7, 1868*, 1912 (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on canvas, 126 x 75 cm.

## GENRE PAINTINGS

1. *Dunedin Hussar*, 1885 (location unknown).  
'Otago Art Society: II', *ODT*, 18 November 1885, p. 3.  
London Portrait Rooms, Princes Street, Dunedin. 'Mr. J. D. Moultray's Pictures', *ODT*, 15 October 1886, p. 3
2. *In Action, Replacing a Wheel*, 1885 (location unknown).  
*CSA, Fifth annual exhibition catalogue*, 1885, no. 19.
3. *The Regimental Armourer*, 1885 (location unknown).  
*Ibid.*, no. 23.
4. *A Cateran*, 1885 (location unknown).  
*Ibid.*, no. 21.

[A Cateran is a fighting man of a Scottish Highland clan, later applied to a robber or cattle thief].

5. *Hussar Encampment*, 1886 (location unknown).  
OAS, 11<sup>th</sup> annual exhibition catalogue, 1886, no. 5.  
'Otago Art Society', *ODT*, 19 November 1996, p. 4.
6. *The Highlanders in the Queen's Park, Edinburgh*, 1886 (location unknown), watercolour.  
'Mr. J. D. Moultray's Pictures'. *ODT*, 15 October 1886, p. 3. Exhibited at London Portrait Rooms, Princes Street, Dunedin.
7. *A Letter Home*, 1888 (location unknown).  
'Exhibition of pictures', *ODT*, 13 April 1888, p. 4.  
New Zealand Commission, *New Zealand Court Catalogue*, 1888, p.5.
8. *The Old Pah at Kai-iwi, Wanganui*, 1888 (location unknown).  
'Exhibition of Pictures', *ODT*, 13 April 1888, p. 4.  
'The Fine Arts Exhibition: first notice', *EP*, 18 October 1888, p. 2.  
NZAFA, *First annual exhibition catalogue*, September 1889, p. 4, no. 117;  
From 'List of paintings presented to the Academy for the Academy building fund.' Was listed as 'Maori Pah' by 'Mr. J. Elder Moultray jnr.'
9. *A Negro Fish Hawker*, 1889 (location unknown).  
'The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts: first annual exhibition', *EP*, 23 September 1889, p. 3.  
NZAFA, *First annual exhibition catalogue*, September 1889, p.1, no.12.  
'Auckland Society of Arts: second notice', *AS*, 26 May 1890, p. 3.
10. *Is it boiling yet*, 1890 (location unknown).  
'Auckland Society of Arts: third notice', *AS*, 27 May 1890, p. 5, no. 20.
11. *Puzzled*, 1890 (location unknown).  
Ibid. No. unknown.
12. *Light and Shade*, 1890 (location unknown).  
NZAFA, *Second annual exhibition catalogue*, October 1890, p. 2, no. 58.
13. *The Midday Meal*, 1891 (location unknown).  
'The Art Exhibition: fourth notice', *AS*, 9 March 1891, p. 2, no. 57.  
'J.E. Moultray, artist', *NEM*, 23 September 1895, p. 2. Exhibited in Mr. Huffman's window, Nelson.
14. *The Maori Village, Colac Bay*, 1908 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's exhibition of pictures', *OW*, 23 December 1908, p. 3.
15. *Cottage Scene*, n.d. (p.c.), oil, 8 ½ x 11 in.  
Henry P. Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records April 1, 1975 – March 31, 1976*. Wellington: Newrick Associates, 1976, unpaginated.

Sold in 1975 for \$40.

16. *Maoris Outside a Hut*, n.d. (p.c.), ink on paper, 27 x 38 cm.  
Webb's, *Fine New Zealand paintings*, 14 June 1995, lot 125.
17. *Maoris Outside their Meeting House*, n.d. (p.c.), watercolour, 27 x 38 cm,  
signed.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, 19 August 1998, lot 226.

## LANDSCAPES & SEASCAPES

1. *Eventide*, 1885 (location unknown).  
'Otago Art Society: II', *ODT*, 18 November 1885, p. 3.
2. *Jane Williams at the Timber Wharf, Queenstown*, 1886 (location unknown),  
oil.  
'Mr. J. D. Moultray's pictures', *ODT*, 15 October 1886, p. 3.  
ASA, *Catalogue annual exhibition*, 1887, no. 65.
3. *Black Jack's Point from the Ravensbourne Road*, 1886 (location unknown).  
'Otago Art Society', *ODT*, 19 November 1886, p. 4, no. 20.  
'Auckland Society of Arts: third notice', *AS*, 27 May 1890, p. 5, 'no. 20'.
4. *Salmon Fishing*, c.1886 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
5. *South Island Inlet*, 1886 (p.c.), oil, 19½ x 29 in. [49.5 x 73.7 cm], signed and  
dated.  
Rosemary Hemmings (ed), *N.Z. Art and antiques year book 1984*, Wellington:  
Newrick, 1984, p. 101. Sold in 1983 for \$1000.
6. *Lake Waihola*, 1887 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's Art Union', *ODT*, 11 October 1887, p. 3.
7. *Loch Earn, Perthshire*, 1887 (location unknown), oil.  
ASA, *Catalogue annual exhibition*, 1887, no. 162.
8. *Moonlight on Lake Wakatipu*, 1887 (location unknown), oil.  
Ibid., no. 93.
9. *Pelichet Bay*, 1887 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's art union', *ODT*, 11 October 1887, p. 3.
10. *Tantallon Castle*, 1887 (location unknown), oil.  
ASA, *Catalogue annual exhibition*, 1887, no. 161.
11. *Scene on Whare Flat, Otago*, 1887 (location unknown), oil.

Ibid., no.165.

12. *Waikawa River*, 1889 (location unknown), oil.  
NZAFA, *First annual exhibition catalogue*, September 1889, p. 1, no.6.
13. *Carey's Creek, Otago*, 1890 (location unknown).  
'Auckland Society of Arts: second notice', AS, 26 May 1890, p. 3, no. 20.  
ASA, *Annual exhibition catalogue*, 1891, no 61.
18. *The Postman's Hut*, 1890 (location unknown).  
'Auckland Society of Arts: third notice', AS, 27 May 1890, p. 5, no. 55.  
Possibly by J.D. Moultray.
14. *The Angler's Camp*, 1890 (location unknown), oil.  
NZAFA, *Second annual exhibition catalogue*, October 1890, p. 2, no. 45.  
'Mr Moultray's pictures', ODT, 11 March 1891, p. 3.
15. *The Remarkables, Lake Wakatipu from Frankton Arm*, 1890 (p.c.), oil on board,  
29 x 47 cm, signed J. E. Moultray lower left, title inscribed verso.  
NZAFA, *Second annual exhibition*, 1890, p. 2, no. 51.  
Dunbar Sloane, Auckland, 15th November 2001, lot 1128.  
Webb's, *Affordable art, jewellery & decorative arts*, 25–27 February 2003, p.  
8, lot 58. Estimate \$800-1200.
16. *Mouth of 'One-Mile' Creek, Lake Wakatipu (moonlight)*, 1890 (p.c.), oil.  
NZAFA, *Second annual exhibition*, 1890, p. 2, no. 66.
17. *Mt. Ruapehu from the Weraroa Redoubt*, 1891 (location unknown).  
'The art exhibition: third notice', AS, 6 March 1891, p. 3, no. 38'.
18. *On the Kai-iwi River, Moonlight*, 1891 (location unknown).  
ASA, *Catalogue annual exhibition*, 1891, no 63.
19. *Stormy Night, Lake Wakatipu*, 1891 (location unknown).  
'Exhibition of paintings', *Star*, 21 October 1891, p. 3. For sale with  
'Paintings by Colonial artists', Messrs. Bowman and Son's, Wellington.
20. *The First of the Season*, 1892 (location unknown).  
'Omnium gatherum' ['in the window of'], OW, 15 December 1892, p. 4:  
Exhibited at Chas Begg and Co., Dunedin.
21. *South and Falls*, c. 1895 (location unknown).  
'A pretty compliment to Nelson', NEM, 23 September 1895, p. 2.
22. *A Moonlight Scene, Matai Valley*, c.1895 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
23. *Brook Street Valley*, c.1895 (location unknown).  
'A pretty compliment to Nelson', NEM, 23 September 1895, p. 2.

24. *The Sutherland Falls*, 1896 (location unknown).  
‘Topics of the time’ [‘a number of paintings’], *EP*, 26 May 1896, p. 2.
25. *Mount Balloon*, 1896 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
26. *Mount Hart*, 1896 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
27. *Flagstaff from Maori Hill*, 1896 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
28. *The West Dome near Mossburn*, 1896 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
29. *Scene on the East Coast*, 1896 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
30. *In the Bush*, 1896 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
31. *Mount Vesuvius*, 1897 (location unknown).  
‘Local and general’, [‘Mr J. Elder Moultray’], *OW*, 10 June 1897, p. 20.
32. *Mount Sinai, Arabia*, 1897 (location unknown).  
Ibid.  
‘Exhibition of art works’, *ODT*, 20 October 1897, p. 4.
33. *Lago di Garda, Lombardy*, 1897 (location unknown).  
‘Exhibition of art works’, *ODT*, 20 October 1897, p. 4.
34. *Mount Calvario, Naples*, 1897 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
35. *Crusader Peak, Motueka River*, 1897 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
36. *Highland Landscape with Lake and Foreground*, 1897 (p.c.).  
‘Oil on canvas’, 76 x 128 cm, ‘signed and dated’ verso with artist’s pencil inscription on stretcher, ‘The Clinton Valley on the road to Sutherland Falls (New Zealand)’, ‘a printed artist’s advertisement with details of studio address 61 Frederick Street (Dunedin, New Zealand), and ‘printed label for Abernethy’s of Dunedin’.  
Clevedon Salerooms, United Kingdom, ‘Quarterly specialist sale’, 31 May – 1 June, 2011, lot 206.  
[http://www.clevedon-salerooms.com/sale\\_cat\\_keyword.aspx](http://www.clevedon-salerooms.com/sale_cat_keyword.aspx), accessed 26 July 2011.

37. *Mt. McKenzie, Near Head of Lake Te Anau*, c.1898 (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 61 x 91 cm.  
Colour lithograph print, 38 x 51 cm, of painting held at Auckland War Memorial Museum and listed in Auckland War Memorial Museum Library catalogue.
38. *A Gale in the Southern Ocean*, 1899 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 60 x 89 cm, signed and dated lower left.  
Leonard Joel, Melbourne, 6 July 1983, lot 287. Sold for \$300.
39. *Farming Scene, Waiau, North Canterbury*, 1899 (p.c.), 30 x 50 cm.  
Hemmings, *N.Z. art and antiques* 1984, p.101. Sold in 1982 at \$2,400
40. [An Evening Bush Scene], 1901 (location unknown).  
'Local and general' ['the first prize pictures'], *Thames Star*, 3 December 1901, p. 4.
41. [A Seascape], 1901 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
42. *Crinan, Scotland*, c.1902 (location unknown).  
'Passing notes', *OW*, 6 August 1902, p. 5. Sold in 1902 for £15.
43. *Makarora, head of Lake Wanaka*, 1902 (p.c.) oil, 21½ x 29½ in. [54.6 x 74.9 cm.]  
Henry P. Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records Jan-Dec 1973*, Wellington: Newrick, 1974, p. 28. Sold 1973, \$105.
44. *Mount Pillans*, c.1902 (location unknown).  
'Passing notes', *OW*, 6 August 1902, p. 5. Sold in 1902 for £14 10s.
45. *Ploughing at Dunback*, c.1902 (location unknown).  
'Passing notes', *OW*, 6 August 1902, p. 5.  
'Omnium gatherum' ['Mr J.E. Moultray'], *OW*, 11 October 1905, p. 12. First prize for Art Union – Mrs. D. J. S. Burt.  
This may be the original or a replication.
46. *The Clinton Valley*, c.1902 (location unknown), oil 30 x 46 cm.  
'Passing notes', *OW*, 6 August 1902, p. 5. Sold in 1902 for £15.
47. *The Waitati River*, c.1902 (location unknown).  
Ibid. Sold in 1902 for £5 10s.
48. *Head of Lake Wanaka*, 1903 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's pictures', *OW*, 13 May 1903, p. 56;  
'Mr Moultray's pupils: picture exhibition', *OW*, 29 November 1905, p. 12.
49. *Cathedral Peaks, Lake Manapouri*, 1903 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's pictures', *OW*, 13 May 1903, p. 56.



50. *Lake Wanaka, from Ely's Island*, 1903 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
51. *Glen Dhu Bay, Wanaka*, 1903 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
52. *Mount O'Rorke, Clinton Valley*, 1903 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
53. [A *Sunset Harvest Scene*], 1903 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
54. *A Sunny Afternoon in the Otira Gorge*, 1904 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's pictures', *OW*, 2 November 1904, p. 56.
55. *Lake Poerua*, 1904 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 77 x 124 cm, signed and dated.  
'Mr Moultray's Pupils', *OW*, 29 November 1905, p. 12. On Display at  
Frederick Street Studio as *Lake Poerua, Westland*.  
International Art Centre, Auckland, *Important, early and rare*, 14 October 2008,  
lot 123. Sold \$3000.
56. *Mustering Sheep, Hawera River*, 1904 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 76 x 126 cm,  
signed and dated.  
Webb's, *Jewellery & decorative arts*, 15 December 1997, lot 97.
57. *The Hunter Mountains, Manapouri*, 1904 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's pictures', *OW*, 2 November 1904, p. 56;  
'Mr Moultray's pupils', *OW*, 29 November 1905, p. 12.
58. *A Bit near Kanieri*, 1904 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's pictures', *OW*, 2 November 1904, p. 56.
59. *A Midsummer Day on the Waiau River*, 1904 (location unknown).  
Ibid.  
'Omnium gatherum' ['Mr J.E. Moultray'], *OW*, 11 October 1905, p.12.  
Second Prize in Art Union – Mr D.M. Fea.
60. *Evening on the Waiau River*, 1904 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's pictures', *OW*, 2 November 1904, p. 56.
61. *Lake Manapouri, from the Waiau River*, 1904 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
62. *Mustering Sheep, Hawera River*, 1904 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 76 x 126 cm, signed  
and dated.  
International Art Centre; 50 x 30 in.  
Webb's, *Jewellery, decorative arts & fine paintings*, 3 March 1997, lot 849.

63. *A Study in Greens, North Arm, Manapouri*, 1905 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 29½ x 49½ in, signed and dated.  
Hemmings (ed), *N.Z. art and antiques 1984*, p. 101. Sold in 1982 at \$2,100.
64. *A Summer Afternoon in Otira Gorge*, c.1905 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's pupils', *OW*, 29 November 1905, p. 12.
65. *Evening in the Otira Gorge*, 1905 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 70 x 107 cm, signed and dated, title inscribed and also 'J. Elder Moultray, 61 Frederick St., Dunedin' on original label verso.  
Webb's, *Traditional and foreign fine art*, 15 May 2007, lot 79.
66. *Evening on the Waiwera*, c.1905 (p.c.).  
'Omnium gatherum', *OW*, 11 October 1905, p. 12. Third Prize in Art Union – Mrs Robert Sinclair.
67. *Spey River, Head of Manapouri*, c.1905 ((location unknown)).  
Ibid. Fourth Prize in Art Union – Mr McDonald.
68. *Lake Poerua, Westland*, c.1905 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's pupils', *O.W.*, 29 November 1905, p. 12.
69. *Harbour Landscape at Dusk*, 1906 (p.c.), oil on board, 29.5 x 45.5 cm.  
Webb's, *Jewellery, decorative arts & fine paintings*, 23 September 1997, lot 850.
70. *Early Morning, Head of Lake Wakatipu*, 1907 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 44.5 x 75 cm, signed and dated.  
International Art Centre, *Tuesday, June 27 1995*, p. 25, lot. 95. Est. \$1-2,000.
71. *Twix Day and Night*, 1907 (location unknown).  
'Mr. J. E. Moutray's exhibition of pictures', *OW*, 18 December 1907, p. 90.
72. *After the Gale, Frankton Arm, Lake Wakatipu*, 1907 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 44.5 x 75 cm, signed and dated.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *Affordable art*, 3 December 2009, p. 69, lot 458.  
Sold for \$400.
73. *A Midsummer Day, Walter Peak, Lake Wakatipu*, 1907 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 101.1 x 121 cm, signed and dated.  
International Art Centre, *Auction catalogue significant 19<sup>th</sup> century & contemporary, New Zealand & European art*, 31 March 2000, p. 67, lot 138.  
Sold for \$6,500.  
International Art Centre, *Important early and rare art*, 31 March 2009, lot 96.  
Ibid., 22 October 2009, lot 89. Sold for \$4,500.
74. *In The Bush, Above Manapouri*, 1908 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's exhibition of pictures', *OW*, 23 December 1908, p. 3.

75. *In the Gloaming, Manapouri*, 1908 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
76. *Night in the Otira Gorge*, 1908 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's exhibition of pictures', *OW*, 23 December 1908, p. 3.  
*OAS, Thirty Fourth Annual exhibition catalogue*, 1910, no. 92.
77. *A Fisher's Haunt on the Silverstream*, 1908 (location unknown).  
'Mr Moultray's exhibition of pictures', *OW*, 23 December 1908, p. 3.
78. *A Glimpse of Lake Wakatipu, from above Kingston*, 1908 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
79. *St. Paul's Dome, North arm, Manapouri*, 1908 (location unknown).  
Ibid.
80. *Precipice Peak, Manapouri*, 1908 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 75 x 128 cm, signed.  
Ibid.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *Art auction*, 30-31 August 2000, p. 9, lot 11.  
Sold as *Precipice Peak, Lake Manapouri*, for \$3,000.
81. *Crossing the Teremakau River*, 1909 (p.c.), oil on board, 65 x 80 cm, signed and dated.  
International Art Centre, *Catalogue national treasures, 19<sup>th</sup> century & contemporary, New Zealand & European art*, 28 July 2000, p.16, illus. p.79, lot 52. Est. \$3,000-5,000.
82. *Sunset at Kaurapataka Lake, Southland*, 1909 (p.c.), oil on board, 29.5 x 47 cm, signed and dated.  
Webb's, *New Zealand contemporary art*, 17 June 1993, lot 16.
83. *The Buhi Buhi Valley, Kaikoura District*, 1909 (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 40.5 x 60.6 cm.  
Webb's, *Affordable art*, 6 August 2002, lot 11.
84. *Traveller on a Coastal Road*, 1909 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 48 x 72 cm, signed and dated.  
Dunbar Sloane Wellington, *Art auction*, 29-30 November 2000, p.11, lot 21.
85. *A Summer Evening, Ward's Track, The Bluff*, 1910 (location unknown).  
*OAS, Thirty fourth annual exhibition catalogue*, 1910, no. 190.
86. *Arthur Valley*, pre-1910 (location unknown).  
'General news', ['an auction sale of oil paintings'], *Argus*, 24 November 1910, p. 4.
87. *Clinton River*, pre-1910 (p.c.), oil, 30 x 46 cm.  
Hemmings (ed), *N.Z. art and antiques 1984*, p.101. Sold in 1981 at \$300.

- Possibly the following painting: 'General news', *Argus*, 24 November 1910, p. 4.
88. *Clinton River and Mountains* pre-1910 (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 46 cm.  
Possibly the following painting: 'General news', *Argus*, 24 November 1910, p. 4.  
Hemmings (ed), *N.Z. art and antiques 1984*, p.101. Sold in 1981 at \$600.  
Listed twice in Hemmings with different prices.
  89. *Clinton River, McKinnon's Pass in the Distance*, n.d. (Auckland: AIM), oil on canvas, 30.5 x 51 cm. Library Catalogue Database.  
May be either 86 or 87.
  90. *Mount Anau*, pre-1910 (location unknown).  
'General news', *Argus*, 24 November 1910, p. 4.
  91. *The Foot of Otira Gorge*, 1910 (location unknown).  
OAS, *Thirty fourth annual exhibition catalogue*, 1910, no. 198.
  92. *A River Landscape, New Zealand*, 1911 (p.c.), oil on canvas, framed, 40.7 x 61 cm, signed and dated 'J. E. Moultray 1911'.  
Christie's United Kingdom, 2007; unframed, 40.6 x 60.9 cm.  
Brightwell's, United Kingdom, 'English and Continental paintings', 9 June, 2010, lot 77. Noted as 16 x 24in (40.6 x 60.9cm), signed and dated.  
<http://brightwells.com/Portals/7/catalogues/AE090610/page3.html>, accessed 12 August 2011. Sold for 380 GBP.
  93. *Moonlight, Waikouaiti*, 1911 (p.c.), oil, 29 x 43 cm, signed and dated.  
International Art Centre, *Traditional & contemporary art*, 22 August 1995, lot 67. Sold for \$350.
  94. *Off the Kaikoura Coast*, 1911 (p.c.), oil on canvas, signed and dated. Frame 84.5 x 64 cm.  
Webb's 2009, lot 782 [Art Digest].  
Webb's, *Antiques and decorative arts*, 25 February 2010, lot 611. Est. \$650 - \$800.
  95. *Waikouaiti River*, 1911 (p.c.), oil, 30 x 48 cm, signed and dated, inscribed.  
International Art Centre, *Traditional & contemporary art*, 28 February 1995, lot. 143. Sold for \$400.
  96. *Cattle by Moonlight*, 1912 (p.c.), oil on canvas, 74.5 x 125 cm, signed and dated.  
International Art Centre, *Important, early & rare art*, 29 March 2010, lot 89.  
Sold for \$3,100.
  97. *Lake Wakatipu, Early Morning*, 1916 (p.c.).  
CSA, *Catalogue*, 1916, no. 36.
  98. *The Remarkables, Lake Wakatipu*, 1916 (p.c.).

Ibid. No. 78.

99. *Twilight in Ida Valley, Central Otago*, 1917 (location unknown).  
OAS, 41<sup>st</sup> Annual exhibition catalogue, 1917, no. 57.
100. *Kyeburn Diggings*, 1917 (location unknown).  
Ibid, No. 80.
101. *Midnight on the Fraser River, Clyde*, 1917 (location unknown).  
Ibid. No. 85.
102. *Whakapuaka Point, Southland*, 1917 (location unknown).  
Ibid. No. 92.
103. *Daybreak at Purakanui*, 1917 (location unknown).  
Ibid. No. 57.
104. *One Mile Creek, Lake Wakatipu, By Night*, 1917 (location unknown).  
Ibid. No. 122.
105. *The North Ford, Lake Te Anau*, 1917 (location unknown).  
Ibid. No. 130.

#### DATE UNKNOWN

106. *A Ford on the Motueka River, Nelson Province* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 30.3 x 46.03 cm.
107. *A Glimpse of Lake Manapouri* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 25.2 x 40.6 cm.
108. *A Passing Squall, Punakanui* (p.c.), oil, 29 x 19 in.  
Dunbar Sloane, N.Z., 1997, lot 192 [Art Sales Digest].
109. *A Passing Squall* (p.c.), oil, 43 x 73 cm, signed.  
Webb's, *Fine New Zealand paintings & foreign paintings, drawings and prints*, 22 November 1995, lot 156. No sale.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, 16 April 1997, lot 92.
110. *A Peep of the Wainakauri River, Near Bealy* (p.c.), oil, 29 x 44 cm, signed on back of painting.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, 27 August 1997, lot 327. Sold for \$250.
111. *A Squall on the Upper Waipouaiti River* (p.c.), oil, 9¾ x 15¾ in.  
Henry P. Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1975, January 1, 1974 - March 31, 1975*, Wellington: Newrick Assocs., 1975, unpaginated. Sold 1974 at \$100.

112. *A Sultry Day in Colac Bay, Southland* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 21.5 x 46.4 cm.
113. *Broad Bay, Dunedin* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 30.3 x 46 cm.
114. *Castle Cove, Preservation Inlet* (location unknown), oil on canvas, 34 x 52 cm, signed lower right.  
Leonard Joel, Melbourne, *Australian paintings*, 8 November 1978, lot 120.  
Sold for A\$850.
115. *Castle on a Riverbank* (p.c.), oil on canvas, 14 x 23 cm. signed J.E. Moultray.  
Webb's, *Affordable art, jewellery & decorative Arts*, 20-22 May 2003, lot 241.  
Sold for \$220.
116. *Catlins Bush* (p.c.), oil, 30 x 46 cm.  
International Art Centre, *Traditional & contemporary art*, 20 June 1994, lot 68.  
Sold for \$600.
117. *Cattle by Stream* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 49 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *Celebrating our 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary 1971-2001. auction catalogue, contemporary & traditional, New Zealand & European art*, 26 July 2001, p. 95, lot 159. Estimate \$800-1,500.  
Ibid., 8 November 2001, p. 87, lot 159.
118. *Coastal Landscape* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 46 cm, signed 'J. E. Moultray'.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *13 February 1994*, lot 167. Sold for \$350.  
Webb's, *Fine Paintings, Jewellery & Decorative Arts*, 21 September 2000, sale 232, p. 147, lot 1286.
119. *Colac Bay* (p.c.), 29 x 46 cm, signed.  
Webb's 2009, lot 1147 [Art Digest].  
International Art Centre, *30 May 1988*, lot 128, '28 x 47 cm'.  
Sold for 500.
120. *Country Road* (p.c.), oil, 7 ½ x 9½ in.  
Newrick, *NZ art auction records 1975 -1976*, unpaginated. Sold 1975 at \$90.
121. *Cows on Foreshore of Lake* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 45cm, signed, partially obscured by frame.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *Fine and applied art*, 25-26 August 2004, p. 81, lot 453. Sold for \$220.
122. *Creek Scene, Manuka Gorge* (p.c.), oil on card, 28.5 x 44.5 cm, titled and signed verso.  
International Art Centre, Auckland, *20 March 1998*, lot 59. Listed as *Creek at Manuka Gorge*.  
Webb's, *Fine paintings, jewellery & decorative arts*, 29-31 March 1999, sale 223, p. 53, lot 89. Sold for \$600.

123. *Early Morning, Head of Lake Wakatipu* (p.c.), oil, 44 x 74.5 cm, signed.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *31 July 1994*, lot 137. Sold for \$900.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *9 April 1995*, lot 170. Sold for \$500.
  
124. *Early Morning on the Coast* and  
125. *Punakauia Cliffs from Waitate Beach* (p.c.), a pair, oil on board, 14 x 22 cm,  
signed, inscribed verso.  
International Art Centre, *Important, early and rare art*, 31 March 2009, lot 4.  
Jonathan Grant Galleries, 'John Elder Moultray', 2010.  
[http://www.jgg.co.nz/stockroom\\_artists\\_sel.asp?art=266](http://www.jgg.co.nz/stockroom_artists_sel.asp?art=266), accessed 12 August 2011  
Title: *Early Morning on the Coast* and *Punakauia Cliffs from Moutake Beach, Waitate*, oil on board, 14.5 x 21 cm.
  
126. *Evening at Beauty Bush 15 Miles From [?]* (p.c.), watercolour, 11½ x 18½ in.,  
signed.  
Hemmings (ed), *N.Z. art and antiques* 1984, p.101. Sold in 1983 at \$400.
  
127. *Evening Near Berwick, Otago* (p.c), oil on board, 12 x 9 in, signed and  
inscribed verso.  
Henry P. Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1969-1972*, Wellington:  
Newrick Associates, 1973, p. 86. Sold in 1970 at \$55.  
International Art Centre, *Contemporary & collectable art*, 17 August 2011, lot  
219. Sold for \$470.
  
128. *Farmyard Scene* (p.c.), 25 x 20 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *New Zealand traditional & contemporary paintings  
and watercolours*, 31 March 1992, lot 67. Sold for \$275.
  
129. *First Train Through the Taeiri Gorge* (p.c.), oil on canvas, 52 x 90 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *Important early and rare art*, 14 October 2008, lot 91.  
Sold \$10,000. [Historical landscape].
  
130. *Fisherman in a Riverbed* (p.c.), oil on board, signed, 30 x 45.5 cm.  
Webb's, *Affordable art, jewellery & decorative arts*, 5 November 2002, lot 124.  
Sold for \$800.
  
131. *Grazing Horse Beside Riverbed* (p.c.), oil on board, 29 x 45 cm, signed lower  
left.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *Fine and applied art auction*, 10-11 August, 2005,  
p. 58, lot 228. Sold \$450.
  
132. *Harvest Scene, Otago* (p.c.), oil, 20 x 26 cm.  
Hemmings (ed), *N.Z. art and antiques* 1984, p. 101. Sold in 1981 at \$275.
  
133. *Hill Country Scene* (p.c.), oil, 29 x 45 cm.  
Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1975 -1976*, unpaginated.  
Sold 1976 at \$100.



134. *Hooking a Salmon, (Salmon Fishing)* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 46 cm.  
Signed J. Elder Moutray.  
Bonhams, *Art and antiques*, Edinburgh, 23 October 2003, United Kingdom, lot 362.  
Also, *ibid.*, lot 370a. This may be a separate auction or two paintings of the same title.
135. *Horses and Man in a Hayfield* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 45.5 cm.  
Signed J. E. Moultray.  
Webb's, *Affordable art, jewellery & decorative arts*, 5 November 2002, lot 125.  
*Ibid.*, 25-27 February 2003, p. 5, lot 12. Sold for \$350.
136. *In the Manuka Gorge, Lawrence Line, Central Otago* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on composition board, 30.7 x 46.4 cm.  
Featured in: *A legacy of New Zealand art calendar 1991*, Auckland: Multifreight, 1990.
137. *Jura Sound, West Coast of Scotland Near Crinau* (p.c.), oil on canvas, 69.5 x 105 cm, title inscribed on original John Leech Gallery label affixed verso.  
Webb's, *Affordable art, jewellery & decorative arts*, 5 November 2002, lot 41. Sold \$250.
138. *Kaikoura by Moonlight* (p.c.), oil on canvas, 25 x 40cm, signed.  
Webb's, *Modern and traditional design*, 3 Dec. 2009, lot 780. International Art Centre, *Auction catalogue*, 29 March 2010, lot 88.  
International Art Centre, *Important, early & rare art*, 29 March 2010, lot 88.  
No sale.
139. *Kayes Cliff, Otago* (p.c.), oil, 30 x 46 cm, initialled.  
Hemmings (ed), *N.Z. art and antiques 1984*, p. 101. Sold in 1982 at \$275.
140. *Kinlock, Queenstown* (p.c.), oil on board, 20 x 29 cm.  
International Art Centre, Auckland, *Important, early and rare art*, 30 March 2011, lot 83.
141. *Lake and Mountain landscape* (p.c.), 44.5 x 75 cm. signed.  
Webb's, *26 September 1996*, lot 967. Sold for \$100.
142. *Lake Brunner from Moana* (p.c.), oil on board, 28.5 x 45 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *Important early and rare New Zealand paintings, 19<sup>th</sup> C*, 1 July 2008, lot 90. Sold for \$1000.
143. *Lake Manapouri and Deer* (p.c.), oil on academy board, 30.3 x 40.6 cm, in oak frame, title and artists name and address on verso (in artist's hand).  
Trade Me 'John Elder Moultray: Lake Manapouri/Deer Painting', 4 August 2010.  
<http://www.trademe.co.nz/Art/Paintings/Landscape/Oil/auction-306997427.htm>, accessed 12 August 2011

144. *Lake Te Anau* (p.c.), oil, 7½ x 11½ in.  
Henry P. Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1969-1972*, Wellington: Newrick Associates, 1973, p. 86. Sold in 1972 at \$70.
  
145. *Lake Wakatipu* (p.c.), oil, 40 x 59 cm.  
Listed as by 'W. Elder Moultray', probably J. Elder Moultray.  
Henry P. Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records April 1, 1975 – March 31, 1976*. Wellington: Newrick Assocs., 1976, unpaginated. Sold in 1976 at \$375.
  
146. *Landscape at Night* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on canvas, 24.5 x 16.5 cm.
  
147. *Landscape with Cattle* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 45.3 cm, signed.  
Webb's, *A2 Art A2 jewellery, pop Culture, New Zealand studio pottery & ceramics, 20<sup>th</sup> century design*, 1-3 March 2005, sale 267, unpaginated, lot 876. Est. \$1800-2500.  
Webb's, *A2 art, A2 jewellery, New Zealand sale, John Weeks, New Zealand ceramics, sale 271*, 9 August 2005, p. 39, lot 218.  
Webb's, *A2 Art, A2 jewellery, 20<sup>th</sup> century design, the Simon Manchester collection*, 1 November 2005, sale 273, p.15, lot 55.  
Webb's, *A2 art A2 jewellery, decorative arts*, 21-23 February 2006, sale 275, p. 8, lot 28. Sold for \$350.
  
148. *Manuka Island, Lake Wanaka* (p.c.), oil on board, 29 x 43 cm, signed.  
Dunbar Sloane, Auckland, *Art & antique*, 26-27 April, 2001, p. 79, lot 641.
  
149. *McKenzies Cairn, Pukeriti, Near Shag Point* (p.c.), oil on board, 29 x 47 cm, signed.  
Webb's, *New Zealand contemporary art*, 17 June 1993, lot 13. Sold for \$500.
  
150. *Mid-Winter, Hope Arm, Lake Manapouri* (p.c.), oil on academy board, 30.3 x 40.6 cm.  
TradeFree.Net.NZ, Auction, 'John Elder Moultray oil painting'.  
Unframed, signed lower left, title, artists name and address on verso.
  
151. *Milford Sound and Mitre Peak* (p.c.), oil on canvas, 69.5 x 105 cm, signed.  
Webb's, *Fine paintings, jewellery & decorative arts*, 15 December 1997, lot 97.
  
152. *Milford Sound from the Cleddau River* (p.c.), oil, 20 x 12 in., signed.  
Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records Jan-Dec 1973*, p. 28. Sold in 1973 for \$65.  
Goodmans Auctioneers, Sydney, 2 April 2001, lot 190. Named *Milford Sound from the Cliddau River*, oil on canvas, 29 x 49 cm, signed 'J. Elder Moultray', lower right.  
Goodmans, *7<sup>th</sup> Sydney national art auction*, 30 July 2001, lot 160. No sale.
  
153. *Mitre Peak* (p.c.), oil on canvas, signed, '41 x 27' in.  
Webbs, 1997, lot 98.

154. [Mitre Peak ?] (p.c.), oil.  
Private correspondence: Vivienne Mersa Hill, Geraldine, 21 August 2011.
155. *Moeraki Fishing Boats Running for Port* (p.c.), oil, 9 x 13 in.  
Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1975-1976*, unpaginated. Sold in 1975 for \$60.
156. *Mount Arthur, from Nelson* (p.c.), oil on canvas, signed lower right, 59 x 89 cm.  
Leonard Joel, *Australian paintings*, 7 November 1979, lot 143, Sold for \$A900.
157. *Mt. Balloon from the Cleuton Valley* (p.c.), oil on board, 29 x 46 cm, signed  
Dunbar Sloane, *Fine & applied arts*, 20 April 2005, lot 622. Sold for \$160.
158. *Mt. Egmont from the Pukawa Pah* (p.c.), oil on board, 14.5 x 22.5 cm, signed  
and inscribed verso. [Historical landscape]  
Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records, 1969-1972*, p. 86. Sold in 1972 at \$25.  
International Art Centre, *Auction Catalogue, Important, early and rare New Zealand paintings*, 19 March 2008, lot 101. Listed as *Mt. Egmont from the Pukawa Pah, King Country*. Sold for \$800.
159. *Mt. Pellans, Near Arthur's Pass* (p.c.), oil, 31 x 46 cm, signed, full inscription  
on reverse.  
International Art Centre, 29 September 1997, lot 124.  
This is probably no. 39, *Mt Pillans* c.1902 (location unknown).
160. *Mt. Pitt, Clinton Valley by Night* (p.c.), oil on canvas, 60 x 90.5 cm, signed J. E.  
Moultray.  
Webb's, *Jewellery, decorative arts & fine paintings*, 27-29 June 2000, sale 230,  
p.112, lot 1253. Est \$6000-9000.
161. *Mt. Pitt, Looking Down Clinton Valley Towards P* [?] (p.c.), oil, 29 x 39, signed,  
titled on reverse.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, 16 April 1997, lot 81. Sold for \$400.
162. *Mountain and Lake Landscape* (p.c.), oil on canvas, 47.6 x 73.3 cm.  
Webb's, *Important New Zealand works of art*, 27 March 1996, lot 211.  
Webb's, *Fine New Zealand paintings & foreign paintings, drawings and prints*,  
29 May 1996, lot 145. Sold for \$250.
163. *Mountain from the Arthur Valley* (p.c.), oil on board, 29.2 x 45.4 cm, signed  
lower left.  
Webb's, *A2 art - session 1*, 24 Feb. 2009, lot 43, illustrated, page unknown.  
Webb's, *A3 art*, 6 October 2009, lot 118. Sold for \$640.
164. *Mountain Scene* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 29.6 x 45.8 cm.
165. *Mustering Sheep* (p.c.) oil, 18 x 24 in.

- Henry P. Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1975, January 1, 1974 - March 31, 1975*, Wellington: Newrick Assocs., 1975, unpaginated. Sold 1974 for \$175.
166. *Near Dunedin* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 46 cm, signed with initials lower left. Leonard Joel, *Australian, British, New Zealand & European historical paintings etc.*, 13 April 1988, Melbourne, lot 908. Sold for A\$100.
167. *Near Palmerston South and*  
168. *West Coast Scene* (p.c.), pair of oils on board, 30 x 48 cm, one signed. International Art Centre, *Catalogue national treasures, 19<sup>th</sup> century & contemporary, New Zealand & European art*, 28 July 2000, p. 2, lot 77. Estimate \$800 - \$1,200.
169. *Near Paradise Flat* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 46, signed. International Art Centre, *Auction catalogue, contemporary & traditional New Zealand & European art*, 15 October 1999, p. 28, lot 83. Sold for \$400.
170. *Near Shag Point, Dunedin* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 40 cm, signed lower left. Watson's Auction House, Christchurch, *Fine New Zealand and European paintings*, 2 November 2004, lot 176. Sold for \$200.
171. *Near the Greenstone River, Lake Wakatipu, Looking Down the Lake* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on prepared board, 30.8 x 46.7 cm.
172. *New Zealand Landscape* (p.c.), 49.5 x 90 cm. oil on canvas, signed 'J. Elder Moultray' lower left. Leonard Joel, *Australian, and European paintings*, 11 August 1992, lot 791. Sold for A\$500.
173. *New Zealand Landscape* (p.c.), 33.5 x 53 cm, oil on canvas, signed lower left. Queensland Fine Art Auctions, Brisbane, *Fine paintings*, 3 December 1989, lot 226. Sold for \$400. Leonard Joel, *Australian, and European paintings*, 11 August 1992, lot 791.
174. *Night in Manuka Gorge* (p.c.), oil, signed. Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, 9 April 1995, lot 274. Sold for \$40.
175. *North Arm, Manapouri* (p.c.), oil on board, 46.5 x 54 cm. Webb's, *Fine jewels & decorative arts, fine New Zealand paintings, foreign paintings*, 29, 30 June –1 July 1999, p. 105, lot 1391. Estimate \$1000-1500. [This may be J.E. or J.D. Moultray's painting].
176. *On the Peninsula* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on canvas, 16 x 45.5 cm.
177. *On the Road to Milford Sound* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 45 cm, signed. International Art Centre, *Collectable art*, 5 December 2004, p. 94, lot 296.

178. *Otago Heads from Puketeraki, South of Cliffs, New Zealand* (p.c.), oil on board, 29.2 x 45.7 cm. signed and inscribed on the reverse.  
Christies, London, *Pictures, drawings and prints, particularly of American, African, Australasia, etc. interest*, 2 November 1979, lot 168.
179. *Our Western Bulwarks* (p.c.), oil, 11 x 17½ in.  
Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1969-1972*, p. 86.  
Sold 1972 at \$100.
180. *Pastoral Scene, Near Dunedin* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 46 cm, initials lower left.  
Leonard Joel, *Australian paintings*, 7 November 1979, lot 150. Sold for \$A50.
181. *Portobello Pier* (p.c.), oil on board, 24 x 34 cm, signed.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *2 December 1998*, lot 283. Sold for \$450.
182. *Precipice Peak, Lake Manapouri* (p.c.), oil on canvas, signed, 75 x 128 cm, signed.
183. *Puketeraki Cliffs, Wanaka [Looking back towards Waikouaiti]* (p.c.), oil.  
Private correspondence, Mrs. Vivian Mersa Hill, Geraldine, 21 August 2011.
184. *Puketeraki Range, from Long Beach, Otago* (p.c.), oil on board, 29.5 x 47 cm, signed.  
Webb's, *New Zealand contemporary art*, 17 June 1993, lot 14.
185. *Punakani Cliffs from Moutake Beach, Waitaki* (p.c.), oil on board, 14.5 x 21 cm, signed and inscribed verso.  
Jonathan Grant Galleries, 'John Elder Moultray', 2010.  
[http://www.artis-jgg.co.nz/stockroom\\_artists\\_sel.asp?art=266](http://www.artis-jgg.co.nz/stockroom_artists_sel.asp?art=266), accessed 15 March 2011.
186. *Quiet Inlet* (p.c.), oil on board, 29 x 44 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *Fine art auction*, 25 July 2002, p. 42, lot 60.
187. *River and Mountains* (p. c.), oil, 30 x 50 cm.  
Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1975 -1976*, unpaginated. Sold 1976 at \$135.
188. *River Scene* (p.c.), oil on board, 19 x 29 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *Collectable art*, 7 December 2003, lot 309.  
Sold for \$150.
189. *Road to the Bay* (p.c.), oil on board, signed J. E. Moultray, 28.8 x 46 cm.  
Webb's, *Fine New Zealand paintings, jewellery & decorative arts*, 11-13 December 2001, p.113, lot 256. 288 x 460 mm.
190. *Rocky Gorge, New Zealand* (p.c.), oil on canvas, signed lower right, 91 x 60 cm.  
Leonard Joel, *4 November 1981*, lot 207.

191. *Sailing Ship off the Otago Heads*, (p.c.), oil on board, signed.  
ART + OBJECT, Auckland, 'The Jim Drummond Sale', 2 & 3 May 2009, no. 1774. Listed as by James Elder Moultray.
192. *Southern Landscape, Otago* (p.c.), oil on board, 25 x 40 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *Celebrating our 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary 1971-2001. Auction catalogue, contemporary & traditional, New Zealand & European art*, 26 July 2001, p. 95, lot 205. No sale.
193. *Southern Stream* (p.c.), oil on board, 20 x 30 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *Celebrating our 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary 1971-2001. Auction catalogue, contemporary & traditional, New Zealand & European art*, 26 July 2001, p. 95, lot 160. Estimate \$700-1,100.  
Ibid., 8 November 2001, p. 87, lot 160.
194. *South Island Lake and Mountain Landscape* (p.c.), oil on canvas, signed, 45 x 75 cm.  
Webb's, *Fine paintings, jewellery & decorative arts*, 29-31 March 1999, sale 223, p. 55, lot 117. Sold \$500.
195. *South Island Landscape* (p.c.).  
'Oil painting', 'attributed to John Elder Moultray', '24 x 36' in, Brightwells, United Kingdom, 1996, Lot 1178.  
'Oil on board', 'signed indistinctly', 41 x 51 cm: Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *The Peter Keeton estate collection*, 8 June 2006, p. 10, lot 30.
196. *Squally Day off Kaikoura* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 30 x 47.7 cm.
197. *Stanley Brook in Flood, Nelson* (p.c.), oil, 29 x 45 cm, signed.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *Art auction*, 8-9 May 2002, p. 59, lot 235. Sold for \$150.
198. *Start of the Milford Track* (p.c.), oil, 13½ x 17½ in.  
Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1969-1972*, p. 86.  
Sold 1972 for \$15.
199. *Stormy Day, New Zealand* (p.c.), oil on board, 39 x 49 cm, signed with initials lower left.  
Leonard Joel, *Australian, British, New Zealand & European historical and contemporary paintings*, 26 July 1989, lot 431.  
Sold for \$600.
200. *Stream in the Hills* (p.c.), gouache, 19.5 x 29.5 cm, signed.  
Dunbar Sloane, Auckland, *Spring art auction*, 21-22 August 2002, p. 61, lot 493.

201. *Study, Calm Before a Storm* (p.c.), oil on board, 29 x 45.5 cm. Title inscribed and signed verso.  
Ibid., p, 52, lot 116. Estimate \$1200-2000.  
Listed as John Elder Moultray Junior, *Study: Calm before a Storm, Mitre Peak*, oil on board, initialled J.E.M. Jun., 29 x 45.5 cm. Dunbar Sloane, (Auckland) [Art Sales Digest].  
Webb's, *Affordable art, jewellery, decorative arts & the DB Breweries Limited collection of New Zealand paintings*, 12-14 August 2003, lot 84.
202. *Summer Afternoon on the East Coast* (p.c.), oil on board, signed 29 x 45 cm. Watsons, *Historical, modern and contemporary fine art*, 30 June 2009, lot 4. Sold for \$700.  
Watson's, *Antiques, interiors & decorative arts*, 18 May 2010, lot 267. Sold for \$650.
203. *Sunset, Mt. Gold, Wanaka* (p.c.), oil on board, 32 x 50 cm, signed. International Art Centre, 2001, lot 204 [Art Sales Digest].
204. *Termination of Catlaw Bush* (p.c.), oil 30 x 47 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *New Zealand traditional & contemporary paintings and watercolours*, 29 April 1991, lot 66. Sold for \$400.
205. *The Angler* (p.c.), oil on board, 30.4 x 45.8 cm, signed.  
Sold at Christie's, South Kensington, 'British, Victorian and Scottish Pictures', 4 March 2004, lot 40.  
Art Net.com, 'John Elder Moultray, 2011'.  
[http://www.artnet.com/artists/lotdetailpage.aspx?lot\\_id=FA26AEFB58E0B4BE15255EF824869829](http://www.artnet.com/artists/lotdetailpage.aspx?lot_id=FA26AEFB58E0B4BE15255EF824869829), accessed 12 August 2011.
206. *The Bathing Pool, Nelson* (p.c.), oil, 29 x 42 cm, signed.  
Hemmings (ed), *N.Z. art and antiques 1984*, p. 101. Sold in 1983 at \$600.
207. *The Bathing Pool, Maitai River* (p.c.), oil, 11½ x 16½in. [29.2 x 41.9 cm]. Henry P. Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1974-1975*, Wellington: Newrick Assocs., 1975, unpaginated. Sold 1974 for \$110.  
This could be the same painting as 148 or 204.
208. *The Bay Near Rothesay, Otago* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 16 x 23.5 cm.
209. *The Bridge, Upper Kyeburn* (p.c.), oil on canvas, 25 x 39 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *Important early and rare art*, 14 October 2008, lot 89.
210. *The Buhi Buhi Valley, Kaikoura Sunset* (p.c.), oil on canvas, 43.5 x 74 cm, signed J. E. Moultray, title inscribed verso.  
Webb's, *Affordable art, jewellery & decorative arts*, 6-8 August 2002, p. 4, lot 11.
211. *The Drinking Pool* (p.c.), oil on canvas, 44.5 x 60 cm.



- Leonard Joel, *Australian, British, New Zealand & European historical and contemporary paintings, etc.*, 13 November 1990, lot 1096. Sold for \$500.
212. *The Edge of the Bush, Colac Bay, Southland* (p.c.), oil on board, 28 x 45 cm, signed and inscribed verso.  
International Art Centre, *Important, early and rare art*, 31 March 2009, lot 92.
213. *The End of the Breakwater, Greymouth* (p.c.), oil 40 x 60 cm, signed, titled on reverse.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *17 July 1996*, lot 140. Sold for \$600.
214. *The Ford on the River at Waiwera South* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 14 x 27 cm.
215. *The Head of Lake Manapouri* (p.c.), oil, 13 x 23 in.  
Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1974 -1975*, unpaginated. Sold 1974 at \$150.
216. *The Kaikoura-Blenheim Road* (p.c.), oil on board, 28 x 46 cm, signed.  
'Oil painting, 20 x 11 in', International Art Centre, 1996, lot 104;  
International Art Centre, *Celebrating our 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary 1971-2001. Auction catalogue, contemporary & traditional, New Zealand & European art*, 26 July 2001, p. 95, lot 157L. Est. \$1,500 – 2,500.  
Ibid., 8 November 2001, p. 87, lot 157.
217. *The Lagoon, Waikouraiti* (p.c.), oil, 28 x 46 cm, signed.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *17 July 1996*, lot 278. Sold for \$120.
218. *The Manuka Gorge, Otago* (p.c.), oil, 12 x 18 in.  
Newrick, (comp), *N.Z art auction records 1969-1972*, p. 86.  
Sold 1970 at \$30.
219. *The Remarkables* (p.c.), oil on board, 29 x 47 cm, signed lower left.  
Watson's, *Fine art auction*, 12 July 2005, lot 141. Sold for \$600,
220. *The Square on the Upper Wai... River* (pc.), oil, 24 x 39 cm, titled on reverse.  
Dunbar Sloane, Wellington, *16 April 1997*, lot 48. Sold for \$350.
221. *The Termination of the Catlin Bush* (p.c), oil on board, 29.5 x 45.5 cm, signed, title inscribed, attached to the reverse a label for Moultray's services as a tutor.  
Webb's, Auckland, *Newmarket sale*, 12 October 1994, lot 47. No sale.
222. *The Vuhi Vuhi, Kaikoura* (p.c.), oil on canvas, 44 x 75 cm, signed. International Art Centre, *Fine art auction*, 27 March 2002, p. 81, lot 179. Sold for \$800.
223. *Timaru Bay, Lake Manapuri* (p.c.), oil on board, 26.5 x 45.5 cm, signed lower left.  
Watson's, *New Zealand and international art auction*, 31 July 2007, lot 136. Sold \$500.

224. *Twilight, Southland* (p.c.), oil, 47 x 30 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *Traditional and contemporary art*, 31 October 1995, lot 168. Sold for \$300.
225. *View Down the Popotunoa Gorge, Clinton* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 30.4 x 48 cm.
226. *View down the Waitaki Valley, New Zealand* (p.c.), 22 x 28.5cm, signed.  
Clevedon Salerooms, 2011, lot 114.  
[http://www.clevedon-salerooms.com/sale\\_cat\\_keyword.aspx](http://www.clevedon-salerooms.com/sale_cat_keyword.aspx), accessed 26 July 2011.
227. *View Near Kinloch, Queenstown.* (p.c.), oil on board, 18.5 x 29 cm, signed.  
Webb's, *Historical works of art, fine jewellery & watches, NZ history, antiques & decorative arts, important works of art*, 16-22 September 2008, sale 299, lot 47.  
International Art Centre, *Important, early and rare art*, 30 March 2011, lot 83.  
This could be *Kinlock, Queenstown*, n.d. (p.c.), oil on board, 20 x 29 cm.
228. *View from Earnslaw Creek, Paradise Valley, Wakatipu* (p.c.), oil on board, 30 x 46 cm, signed.  
International Art Centre, *Auction catalogue, contemporary & traditional New Zealand & European art*, 15 October 1999, p. 289, lot 82. Sold for \$400.
229. *View of the Foot of Lake Hawea* (p.c.), oil, 11½ x 7½ in.  
Hemmings (ed), *NZ art and antiques* 1984, p. 101. Sold in 1982 at \$400.
230. *Waikouaiti Bay by Moonlight* (p.c.), oil, 8½ x 12¼ in.  
Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records Jan-Dec 1973*, p. 28. Sold 1973 at \$130.
231. *Waitati Stream* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 28 x 46.5 cm (sight), 52 x 71 cm in frame.
232. *Walter Peak, Lake Wakatipu* (p.c.), oil, 11¾ x 18 in.  
Newrick (comp), *NZ art auction records 1969-1972*, p. 86.  
Sold 1972 at \$45.
233. *Worsley Arm, Lake Te Anau* (Dunedin: Hocken), oil on board, 35.3 x 45.5 cm.