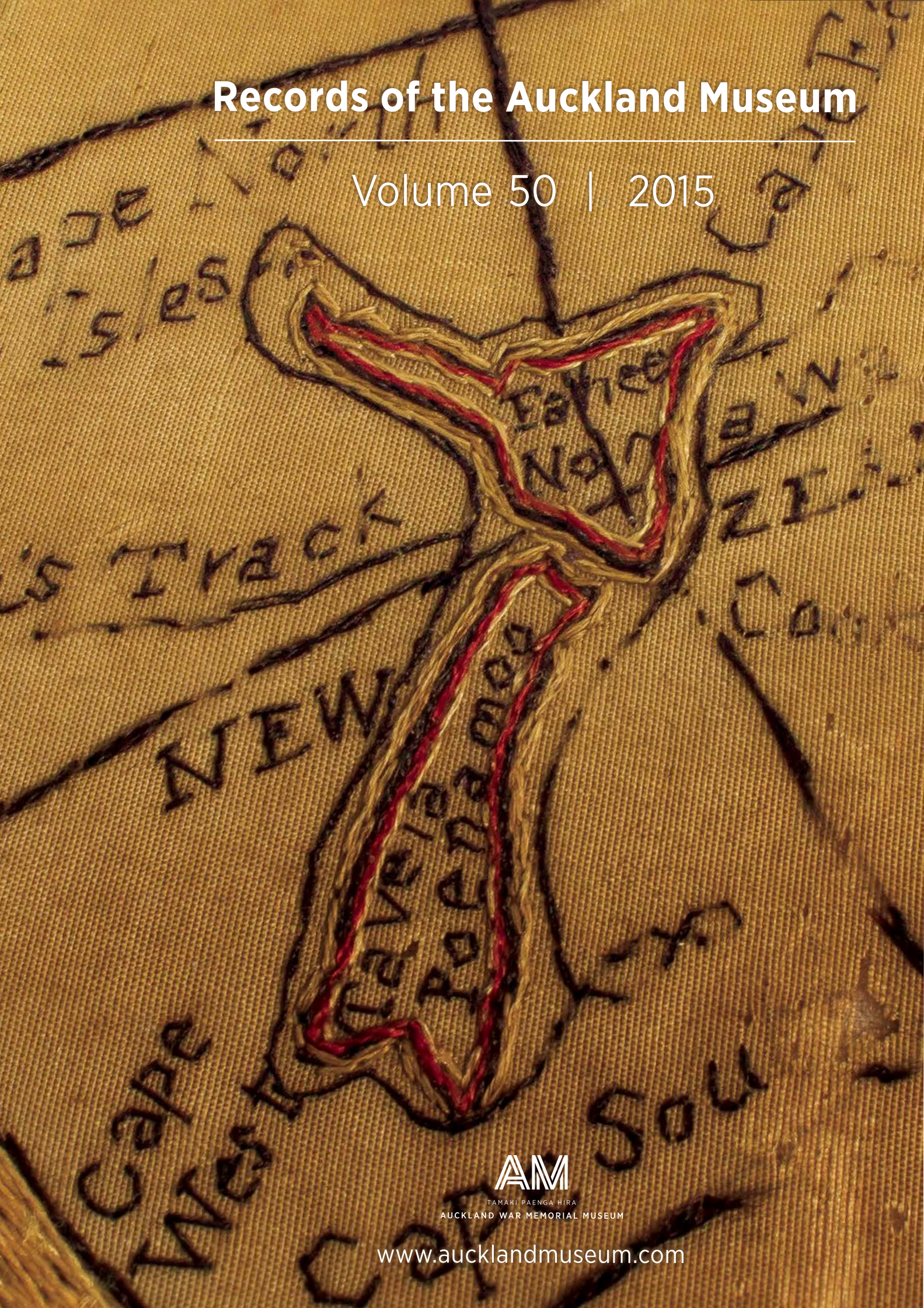


Records of the Auckland Museum

Volume 50 | 2015



TAMAKI PAENGA HIRA
AUCKLAND WAR MEMORIAL MUSEUM

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Auckland, New Zealand, 2015.

RECORDS OF THE AUCKLAND MUSEUM

ISSN 1174-9202 (Print)

ISSN 2422-8567 (Online)

In continuation of *Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum*

Volume 1, Number 1 (June 1930)

Published by Order of the Trust Board

Roy CLARE C.B.E., Director

[Vol. 49 was published on 14 December 2014]

Editors

J.W. EARLY and P.F. PEREIRA

Production

L. FUREY

The Auckland War Memorial Museum has a statutory role to advance and promote cultural and scientific scholarship and research that is met in part by publication of the *Records of the Auckland Museum*. The *Records* have been published continuously since 1930. Issues are annual.

The *Records* contain the results of original research dealing with material in the collections of Auckland Museum, and research carried out by Museum staff members in their particular subjects. All papers are refereed. Instructions for authors are given at the end of this, or recent volumes. The *Records* are distributed, largely by exchange, to libraries at about 250 academic institutions-throughout the world. Proposals for exchange agreements should be addressed to the Auckland Museum Library Manager.

The contents of the *Records* are reported in *Index New Zealand*, *Anthropological Index* (Royal Anthropological Institute, London), *Anthropological Literature* (Harvard University), *Biological Abstracts*, *Kew Record of Taxonomic Literature*, *Zoological Record* and *GeoRef* (American Geological Institute). Vol. 34 contained indexes to the contents of volumes 1-33. Monographs are produced occasionally in the series *Bulletin of the Auckland Museum* (see website: Library Services/Museum Publications).

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Cover image: Detail from sampler sewn by Martha Gibbons showing New Zealand and the use of Te Reo placenames. 1784. Image courtesy of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira. 2014.1.1.

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Cook map samplers: women's Endeavours

Vivien Caughley Auckland War Memorial Museum

Abstract

Between 1770 and 1840 Double Hemisphere embroidered maps of the world were made by English and European-encultured women. To the women who made them they represented, for the most part, large, decorative, and cutting-edge works displaying their knowledge of the world and their place in it.

The undated sampler attributed to Elizabeth Cook, the widow of Captain James Cook, held in the Australian National Maritime Museum collection, records the cartographic achievements of her late husband's monumental maritime career in a woman's accomplished and well-recognised form of artistic expression.

By benchmarking this sampler against other extant similar map samplers, connections to the Cook voyages of discovery can be made. A sampler made in 1784 displays the first recorded handcrafted example of Cook-recorded *Te Reo* in the hand of an English-speaking woman. A sampler made in 1804 displays an embroidered *kowhai* flower "discovered by Joseph Banks", beside the stitched New Zealand.

With English women immediately assimilating their own newly-gained knowledge into their artistic endeavours, this paper shows evidence of small but profound expressions of women's art that represent "new discoveries".

Keywords

Captain James Cook; Mrs Elizabeth Cook; Joseph Banks; sampler; map; embroidery.

Embroidered Hemispherical Map Samplers made in England between 1770 and 1840 exhibit some of the earliest evidence of New Zealand to be found in an English-speaking woman's handcrafted world. The largest of the map samplers are Double Hemisphere maps which have been either stitched or printed onto cloth, and sometimes labelled Old and New Worlds, or Eastern and Western Hemispheres. Sometimes the same information has been worked on matching pairs of Single Hemisphere samplers. Map specialists have historically tended to see these embroidered map samplers as a "cartographical oddity" (Hodgkiss 2007: 100-110), while sampler researchers have considered them a "fashion" (Scott 2009: 57), or simply a means by which "capex and bays were given visual form" (Kay 1979: 74). Recent research has collated some of these maps and samplers, and placed them into men's cartographic¹ and women's educational contexts,² as well as the world of women's art.³ These samplers portray unique glimpses both of new horizons and new worlds being introduced into the consciousness of English and European-encultured society, as well as illuminating the specific worlds of the women by whose hands they were made.

By the end of the eighteenth century a needlework sampler functioned as an artistic diploma of educational accomplishment, no longer merely a record of stitched pattern and technique. A marking sampler, with its

rudimentary "marks" of letters, numbers, words and ornament, was likely to be the first sampler made in the course of a woman's education. A map sampler was likely one of the last, recording knowledge of geography, art and current events, in a socially acceptable means of gendered self-expression. Many extant hemispherical samplers were left unsigned or have become separated from their provenance, but their size guarantees that they must have been worked by embroiderers who not only were well educated, but also had sufficient means to commit to their completion. They comprise an art form that must have been considered cutting-edge and modern at the time of their creation, and provided spectacular diplomas and/or exhibition pieces.

Most hemispherical map samplers display the stitched words "Cook Tracks", or "Cooks Track", or similar, against a stitched line through the Pacific, sometimes in more than one place. Read in combination with the words "New Discoveries" or "A Map of the World" which often appear in the embroidered cartouche, these words highlighted the national pride and excitement the voyages engendered in Britain. That these samplers may have been originally created, sold and embroidered specifically as Cook souvenirs at any time after 1771, but especially after 1780, is supported by the existence of a small number of "Nelson Samplers" which celebrated and commemorated Lord Horatio Nelson.⁴

No European women physically accompanied Cook to the Southern New World, but this did not preclude them from either travelling with him in their imagination or expressing their own understandings of his discoveries afterward in their own ways. Much has been made in the official Cook legacies of the work of the male artists who travelled with him and both imaged and imagined the Pacific. Art historian Bernard Smith (1992: ix) defined this “imaging” as constructing an image in its presence, and took particular notice of the work of artists who travelled with Cook. He defined this “imagining” as constructing the image while not in direct sensory contact with it, taking further interest in the ways artists continued to shape Cook’s legacy after they returned home. The transference and assimilation of new knowledge to both English men and women began immediately after the return of the *Endeavour* to Britain in mid-1771.

JOSEPH BANKS AND MARY DELANY

Joseph Banks made the earliest-known recorded reference to samplers in a New Zealand context. On 30 March 1770, his penultimate day in New Zealand, he described a cloak with a decorative border (probably



Figure 1. Sir Joseph Banks. Painted by Benjamin West. Engraved by J. R. Smith. London Molteno Colnaghi, 1788. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. C-017-016. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22796842>.

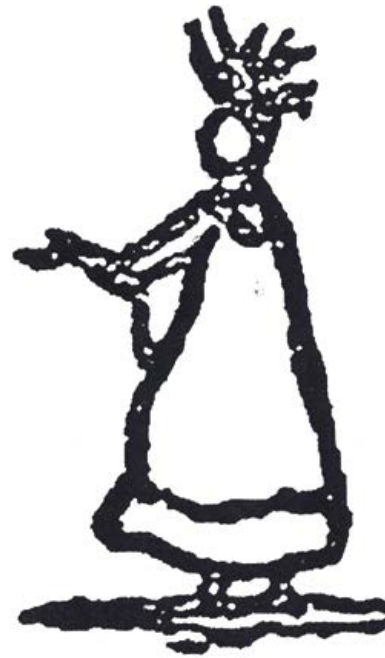


Figure 2. “Otahetian Gown”. Mary Delany, 18 December 1771.

a kaitaka with taniko border) then in his possession, in great detail. This description included comments on the garment’s structure, being “formd by Many threads running lengthwise and a few only crossing them which tie them together” (Beaglehole 1962. Banks Journal II: 14–15), its inherent pattern, which was “sometimes stripd” (*Ibid.*), its fibres, “the threads that compose it are prepar’d so as to shine almost as much as silk” (*Ibid.*), and that “they [Māori] work borders of different colours in fine stitches something like Carpeting or Girls Samplers” (*Ibid.*). His concluding phrase, concerning how the embellishment could have been attached “with an ingenuity truly surprizing to any one who will reflect that they are without needles” (*Ibid.*) revealed that he had neither seen the borders being created, nor one of these garments with borders in the process of construction, which he later confirms: “But they have besides this several other kinds of cloth and work borders to them all, which I have before mentioned, but as to their manner of doing I must confess myself totally ignorant.” (Beaglehole 1962. Banks Journal II: 25). Banks’ iconic 1773 commissioned portrait by Benjamin West, surrounded by his travel souvenirs, depicts him wearing this garment, or one similar to it, and pointing to the feature he confessed he didn’t understand and that, to his eyes was similar to girls’ samplers.⁵

Two extant family letters written by Mrs Mary Delany in December 1771 reveal that Banks’ new discoveries found an immediate female audience at the elite level of society. Mrs Delany was a friend and companion of the Dowager Duchess of Portland, who in turn was patron to botanist Daniel Solander, and owner of a vast natural history collection. Banks and Solander visited the two women soon after the return of the *Endeavour* (Llanover

1862: 369-370). On 16 December, 1771, the women made a return visit to the Banks's home in London. To her brother the next day, Mrs Delany noted "the fruits of [Banks's] travels" in natural science and art, having seen paintings, seeds and blossoms (*Ibid.*: 384). To her niece, she recorded seeing "a charming entertainment of oddities" (*Ibid.*: 387) and garments (*Ibid.*).⁶ Her accompanying sketch (Fig. 2) showed her understanding of a garment and headdress worn by an "Otaheitian" [Tahitian] and is the earliest-known artistic depiction of Pacific textiles by an English woman.

THE COOK MAP SAMPLER

The definitive sampler of all the hemispherical map samplers which name Cook is the Cook Map Sampler. 'The Cook Map Sampler' refers to the specific sampler (Fig. 3) which is attributed to Mrs Elizabeth Cook. 'Cook Map Samplers' include any hemispherical map sampler with the name 'Cook' on it. For many years the attributed sampler-maker has been Elizabeth Cook, widow of Captain James Cook, although neither her name nor a date of making are stitched into the cloth. This specific sampler, a single Western Hemisphere sampler with four embroidered floral corners, has been in the collection of the Australian National Maritime Museum since 1988. A black and white image⁷ has been held in Sydney's Mitchell Library for a longer period, and the associated provenance with the image relates to an undated sale catalogue: "Tyrrells/ A Relic of Captain Cook/ A chart of the Western Hemisphere, embroidered in silk by /Mrs Cook, wife of the great circumnavigator./ This is a most interesting relic, as it shows how Mrs Cook/ followed the navigator's track around the Western Hemisphere,/ including New Zealand. It came from the home of Mrs Cook at/ Clapham where she lived for many years after Cook's death./ The original frame is preserved, and the whole now enclosed/ in a glazed hanging case. Size 14"x17½". Price £100."⁸

The reputation of Elizabeth Cook as an embroiderer without the visual presence of her signature is well established. Two unfinished waistcoat front panels on *tapa* cloth, reputedly sourced by her husband on his second Pacific voyage and worked while he was away on the third voyage, now form part of Sydney's Mitchell Library collection.⁹ These two panels have been exhibited regularly and they indicate for some the poignancy of Elizabeth Cook's grief when she learned of her husband's death (Bushnell 1991: 4-5).¹⁰ Her undated sampler records events that occurred after her husband's death in 1779. The correct placement of the continuing tracks of her husband's final ship the *Resolution*, coupled with her use of the name "United States" which first occurred in the 1776 Declaration of Independence, and which was ratified in 1783, enables dating of her sampler to be definitely after 1779 and probably after 1783.

Attempting to be more specific about the date of making requires knowledge of both written sources and other map samplers. Of the currently-known examples of map samplers with 'Cook flowers' floral corners

embroidered with identical surface fibres to those used by Elizabeth Cook, only two are dated, both to 1784. This is too small a sample from which to draw definite conclusions. Captain Cook's personal coat of arms, granted by the College of Arms in London in 1785, displayed a single hemisphere showing tracks through the Pacific including the east coast of the country now known as Australia, but as there is no known surviving example of this as an embroidered hemisphere, few conclusions are possible.

Whenever Elizabeth Cook embroidered her sampler, it was likely to have been promoted as a complete sampler package suitable for stitching which included a map printed on cardstock, ground cloth and surface fibres. Although no advertisements or unembroidered commercial packages for this specific sampler have been found, other identically-cornered map samplers to Elizabeth Cook's one confirm that hers will have originated as a commercial design. Their observable technical similarities, such as placement of specific text and use of layered ground cloths, suggest a common source map. Other similar map samplers, also commercial packages, survive as fully printed maps on ground cloth, upon which an embroiderer added her own over stitching with her choice of surface fibres, and printed or freehand embroidered corners. Few of these samplers survive with a full provenance. Many lines of explorers' tracks across oceans would have been placed on the source maps by the publishers with the expectation that an individual embroiderer would trace or otherwise transfer them onto the ground cloth herself as she so chose.

Elizabeth Cook's choices of tracks, land and sea features, therefore, would have been printed on the accompanying source map, and she chose which of them she would embroider. The tracks of the *Endeavour* are named on her sampler, once on the South American east coast and again in the Great South Sea. All three tracks of Captain Cook's ships through the Pacific are stitched, but are not named similarly. Mrs Cook is likely to have used the prick-and-pounce method to transfer her choices to her ground cloth, the same stitched technique found on the Cook *tapa* waistcoat fronts.

The presence of the unnamed tracks of English Lord Anson, the Spanish galleons he pursued across the Pacific from the 1740s, and Frenchman Louis-Antoine de Bougainville travelling down the South American coast and across the Pacific were chosen because they too could be found printed on the source map. These tracks are selectively represented on a number of similarly embroidered map samplers. Lord Anson had been First Lord of the Admiralty after his successful return to Britain, and Bougainville was Cook's contemporary. All their voyages were to the forefront of popular English and European imagination in the late eighteenth century.

The awkward spacing of the word "Newfoundland" provides a clue to the provenance of the source map. It had been similarly published on a double hemispherical map engraved by George Rollos as early as 1753.¹¹ Rollos was active in both France and England in the second half of the eighteenth century. This duality

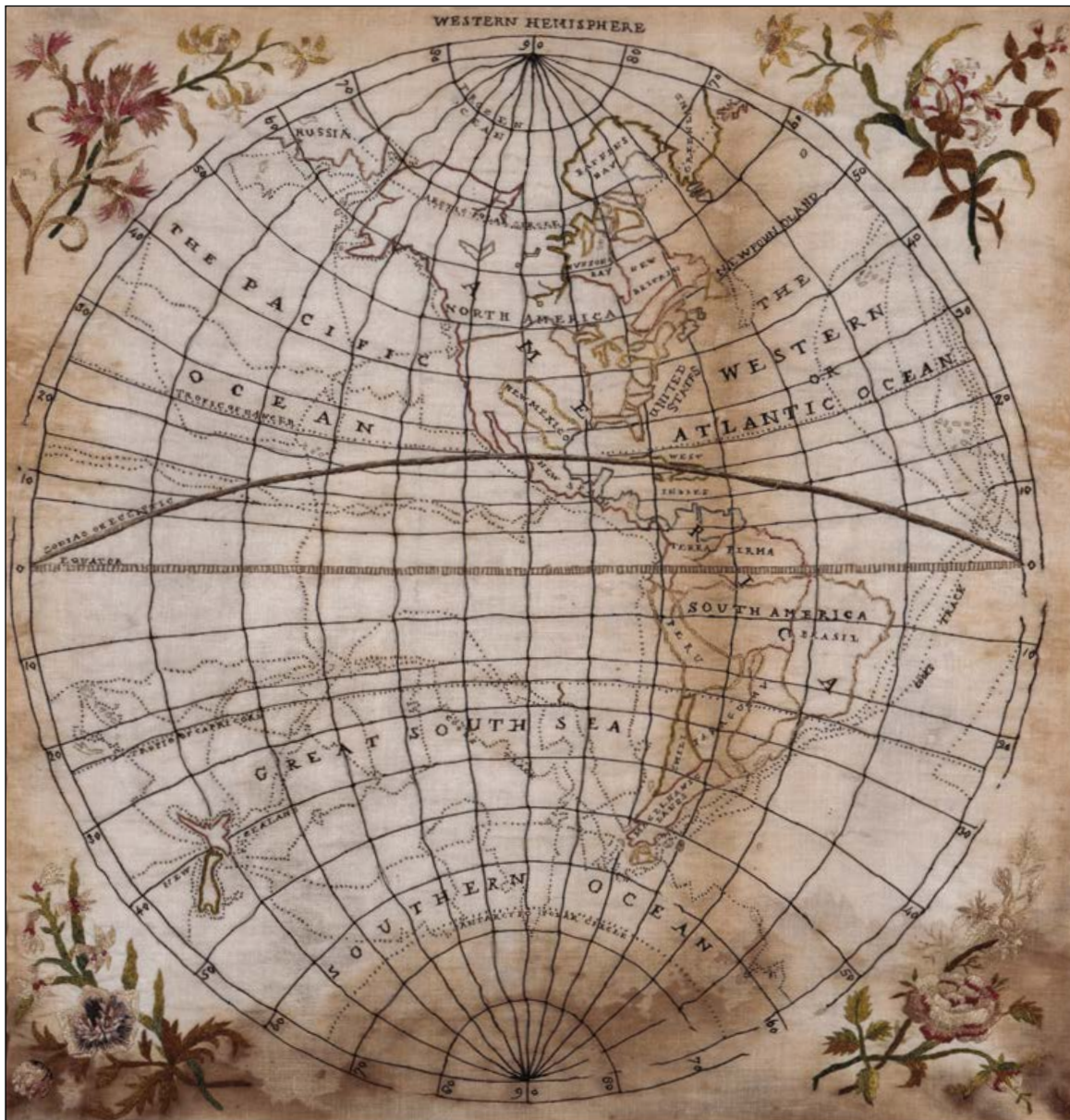


Figure 3. Elizabeth Cook, attributed (1741-1835). Embroidered Map of the Western Hemisphere Showing the Tracks of the Voyages of Captain James Cook. Linen, silk 745mm x 550mm, United Kingdom. Australian National Maritime Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the museum. 00004991.

of country of origin is substantiated with the naming of 'Magellanic Lands' in South America, a direct translation of the French 'Terre Magellanique', and not its English alternative. "Patagonia" is the name Cook recorded for the region. The 1753 map excludes the three Pacific land masses yet to be charted by European navigators; New Zealand, the east coast of Australia, and the Pacific North West coast of North America; as well as most of the Pacific island groups. The naming of the oceans and their placement on the 1753 Rollos-engraved map is consistent with its possible later retooling for use by embroiderers, including Elizabeth Cook.

This retooling may have happened in Britain to coincide with both the safe return of the *Endeavour* in 1771 and the publication of Bougainville's *Journals*,

translated into English, in 1772. New Zealand was now visible in the manner Cook had charted it in 1770. It showed only two main islands with the southern one elongated and thin. This reflected Cook's errors, with the incorrectly named Banks Peninsula indicated as an island, and the omission of the strait separating what we now know as Stewart Island from the mainland. The fabled *Terra Australis Incognita* had yet to be disproved, and the approaches to the famed North-West passage had yet to be charted, the results of the two later Cook voyages.

Cook's maps and charts were the property of his employer, the Admiralty, but were not published by them. They were sent out to separate publishers. To prepare the charts for publication the chart needed to be engraved onto plates. This resulted in names of both a publisher

and an engraver often appearing somewhere on the finished work.¹² These plates were constantly updated, with information added and subtracted, throughout the decades the samplers were embroidered.¹³ Elizabeth Cook's map sampler probably had the four decorative corners added by a publisher or engraver, hence their consistency in other samplers. The 1753 Rollos-engraved map reveals that one upper cartouche was in place and that the corners of the map were empty in that year.

The intertwined flowers in the four corners of the Elizabeth Cook map sampler appear to be English garden flowers, not specific Cook-discovered or collected botanical specimens. Hers is the only currently-known single hemisphere sampler to show these four corners. A matching Eastern Hemisphere sampler may have also been worked, but if so, its current whereabouts is unknown.

The two extant 1784 double hemisphere samplers with Cook flower corners showed a 1772 retooling, with part of the landmass now known as Alaska as a 'globular tongue' rather than a tail of islands.¹⁴ Cook scholar Glyn Williams described this depiction as a "bloated peninsula" (Williams 2002: 291). The shape of this landmass has been updated and redrawn on Elizabeth Cook's map sampler and may represent the use of a later retooled map published after 1784. Confirmation of this on samplers with both Cook flowers and later dates has yet to be found. Alternatively this cartographical change may reflect Elizabeth Cook's privileged knowledge of her husband's extensive Pacific legacy before 1784, the year of publication of her late husband's final journals. If so, this altered coastline provides likely confirmation of both a purpose for the sampler's creation; the correction of a cartographical error she may have considered a contributing factor to her late husband's death, and a correspondence of profound significance.

MRS COOK'S LETTER

The journal of David Samwell, surgeon on the *Discovery* during Cook's third voyage, provides a possible clue. On 'Monday Oct^r 19th 1778', in Unalaska, Samwell concluded his journal entry with a summary of the day's events. "Captⁿ Cook drew up a summary Account of our Transactions since we left England & the Discoveries we had made & committed them to [the care of Greg. Ismiloff], to be transmitted by the first opportunity the ensuing Summer to Kamtchatka & from thence by Land through Russia to England, for Lord Sandwich the 1st Lord of the Admiralty, with a Letter for M^{rs} Cook." (Beaglehole 1967. Volume 3: 1141). Cook, in his journal, stated "I intrusted a letter to the Admiralty in which was inclosed a chart of all the Northern coasts I had Visited." (*Ibid.*: 457)

Other shipboard journals confirmed these official events. This was the last day, indeed the only day, in which Cook was recorded as writing and sending a letter to his employers, the Admiralty, since the end of November 1776 when the expedition left the Cape of Good Hope. Samwell's journal records the only observation of the parallel and unofficial existence of Cook's last letter to his wife.

There are two extant copies of Cook's last official Summary Account, one unsigned which reached Lord Sandwich on 10 January 1780 and the other, signed, which arrived nearly two months later (*Ibid.*: 1533). News of Cook's death also arrived in London in January. It is unclear when Mrs Cook received her last letter from her husband, but regardless of whether it was in January or March, she would have known that her husband was deceased when the letter reached her and was read for the first time.

The letter's full contents remain unknown and unknowable, yet questions abound. Did Cook outline his disappointment of not yet successfully accomplishing the Admiralty's mission, and his somewhat dashed hopes for success in the future? Did he tell her about his discovery of new islands which he had named 'Sandwich Islands', and to which he would be returning? Did he mention the stores and provisions on board the vessels? Did he sketch and name the discrepancies between the confusing Alaskan charts with which he was sent out, which he may have shared at home before the voyage, and his newly-charted coastline? Did he speak of his fellow travellers at all? As this was discussed in his recorded summary account for the Admiralty, he may well have repeated himself in his letter to his wife Elizabeth, written on the same day.

Scholars have also noted Cook's apparently altered temperament on his last voyage: "it is possible that, just as an unexpected strain on his mind was beginning to affect his attitude to the human situation, so, in relation to unexpected geographical possibilities, he was beginning to experience a certain tiredness?" (*Ibid.*: cvii). If Cook had somehow also communicated this state, how would his widow have received and understood it? With the wisdom of hindsight, if she recognised it, how would she then have chosen to act? Did these final words also include words of love, support and encouragement only ever intended for herself and their family? Did this embroidered map reflect the contents of her late husband's last letter to her, subsequently recorded on cloth? Unfortunately, we will never know. For reasons known only to Mrs Cook, the letter has not remained part of her husband's legacy.

What can be known is that the purpose for stitching the sampler was most probably not to make a public statement. Unlike the *tapa* cloth waistcoat fronts, embroidered by a hopeful and optimistic wife, the three stitched Cook tracks illuminate Mrs Cook, the embroiderer, as a grieving widow.

MOURNING SAMPLERS

Samplers are made to commemorate many events, including deaths. Mourning samplers tend to commemorate specific people, often family members, with the deceased identified by name, often using black thread to do so. Sometimes the embroiderer's name and the date of creation are also included. Read in this light, Elizabeth Cook's map sampler displays some personal family choices.

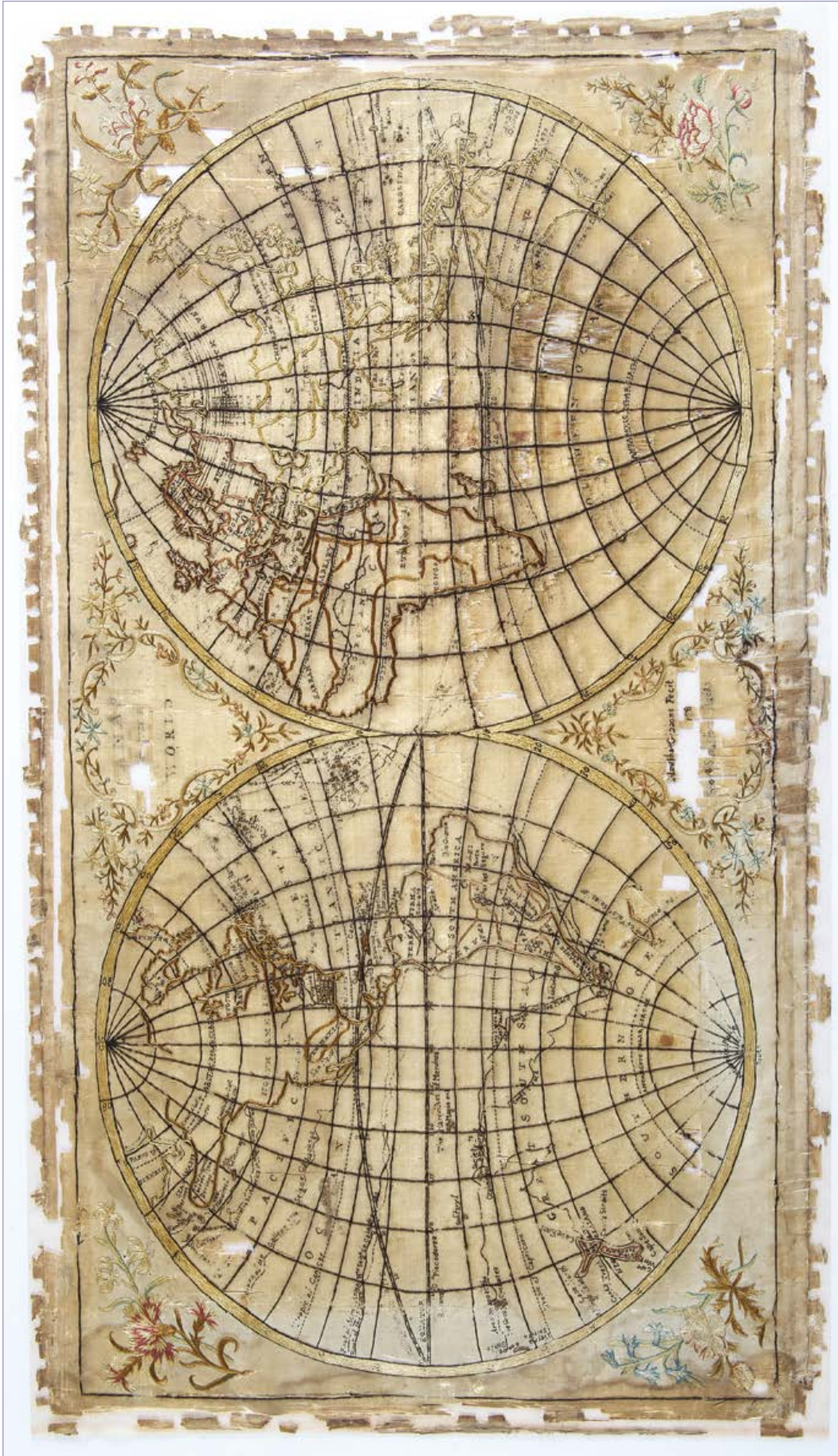


Figure 4. Martha Gibbons. Sampler, 1784. Silk, 406 x 810mm. Image courtesy of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira. 2014.1.1.

Newfoundland, with its irregularly-spaced stitching, speaks clearly of her husband's work in the Royal Navy after their marriage and prior to the voyages of discovery. The name "West Indies", used on the Cook Map Sampler, is where Nathaniel, the Cooks' second son, a midshipman, lost his life in the Great Hurricane of October 1780, a meteorological event estimated to have cost over 20,000 lives, many of them British. Given that so many lives were lost, the name West Indies would be a poignant one for many after 1780, and subsequent retoolings of the plates may have included this addition.

The place where the tracks of the third voyage intersect in the northern Pacific, a series of small stitched dots hardly visible and given no name on the sampler, would be known for the next half-century as the 'Sandwich Islands', the name Cook gave them (*Ibid.*: 278). They were also known as 'Owhyhee' [Hawaii], the native name as heard, or misheard, and recorded by Cook (*Ibid.*: 604) or, according to many European map publishers, simply 'the place Captain Cook was killed'. For Elizabeth Cook, no name was needed here. This was her husband's burial place. Cook's journals record that her husband's remains were committed to the deep there on 21 February 1779, while his ship the *Resolution* was still at anchor (*Ibid.*: 567).

These final two places represent in visual form the two family burial places Mrs Cook was unable to visit in person. In conceptual terms, the flowers at the corners could be seen as flowers left by a grieving widow and mother at these watery graves. All other Cook burial places – and Mrs Cook, in her long years of both widowhood and childlessness, would have known them all – were able to be visited.¹⁵ Only one hemisphere was required for this specific purpose.

In her widowed world the artistic images she imagined, understood, and inherently trusted were less likely to be those which her husband's fellow travellers either brought home with them or subsequently remembered. They were more likely to be the maps charted by her husband. The embroidered map sampler simultaneously reflected *his* mapped world, the culmination of *his* monumental career, and *her* personal commemoration of their marriage and his death, in *her* accomplished fashion.

MARTHA GIBBONS 1784

The sampler (Fig. 4) worked by Martha Gibbons incorporates embroidered silk threads on a silk background, and at each corner is a floral motif while at the centre, top and bottom, two cartouches displaying the title and maker's name. This sampler was generously gifted to the Auckland War Memorial Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira by Sue Horn-Caskey, of Oregon, and after significant conservation work funded by the Auckland Museum Circle, it was accessioned into the museum's collection in 2014.

The double hemisphere map sampler of Martha Gibbons displays a snapshot of one Englishwoman's view of the world in 1784. Martha Gibbons was either Mrs Martha Gibbons, wife of Richard Gibbons, Stoney

Stratford's Surgeon and Apothecary, or their fifteen year old daughter Martha.¹⁶ The family would have known, through its apothecary connections, that Banks brought his botanical species back to Kew and the Chelsea Physic Garden, also known as the Apothecaries' Garden.¹⁷ The four stitched capes of New Zealand on Gibbons' sampler were Capes North, South, East and West, named by Cook on the *Endeavour*,¹⁸ and the words "Cook's Straits" separating the two islands were stitched.

While the Gibbons cartography reflected the New World of 1772, rather than 1784, the addition of indigenous language currently provides the earliest-known rendition of Cook's recorded Māori language, *Te Reo*, in the hand of a woman. Although Gibbons would have copied this from the source map, to choose to include it was her decision.¹⁹ Gibbons added the Māori names for the two islands "*Fahe()/No M()awe*" in the north, and the south, "*Ta Veia Poenamoo*." On 31 January 1770, while at Queen Charlotte Sound, Cook noted in his journal that he had been told, by an old man there, that the names of two of three islands were "*Tovy-poenammu*" and "*Aeheino mouwe*" (Beaglehole 1967. Vol I: 243).²⁰ These spellings were his best approximations of what he, or others with him, heard. Thereafter he struggled for consistency with them. These first attempts at the Māori names for the islands began to appear on published maps after the return of the *Endeavour*, in both English and continental publications with a variety of spellings, even when they all originated from Cook himself.²¹

In 1784 Gibbons was unlikely to have heard anyone speak these words. She well understood their meaning, given their placement, but it is unknowable whether she stitched these words as they had been presented to her on the source map. Today's standardised spellings, "*Te Ika A Maui*" and "*Te Wai Pounamu*", were not introduced for these sounds and these places until well into the nineteenth century.



Figure 5. Detail showing New Zealand and Te Reo. Martha Gibbons, 1784. Image courtesy of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira. 2014.1.1.

ALICE SWAIN, 1804

Alice Swain's 1804 double hemisphere map sampler (Fig. 6) now in the collection of the Whitby Museum, is another specific creative response making a distinctive New Zealand-sourced connection. Swain, whose life-story is lost but for this sampler, stitched a *kowhai* flower beside New Zealand in the lower left corner.²² The *kowhai* (*Sophora tetraptera*) was collected by Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, drawn by Sydney Parkinson, taken to England and propagated at Chelsea Physic Garden, and today *Sophora tetraptera* (*Leguminosae*) is Plate 430 in the Banks Florilegium. Swain's stitched cartography was embroidered with black thread with an unstable dye, which has bled profusely in the last two centuries. Cook's first and third voyages only were tracked, and unfortunately they are now difficult to distinguish.

Swain's sampler has full floral corners and borders yet to be found on any other double hemisphere map sampler. Her *kowhai* is not based on that drawn by Parkinson. Its direct line to the *Endeavour* is still via Banks, through Curtis's Botanical Magazine. This periodical was started by William Curtis, an employee



Figure 6. Alice Swain (unconfirmed birthdate). Double Hemisphere Sampler, 1804, detail. Linen, silk, 535mm x 890mm. United Kingdom, Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society Museum, Yorkshire, CBE84.

at Kew, and first published in 1787 with copper-plated colour engravings. Women interested in botanical pursuits, either professionally or recreationally, with sufficient means to purchase the periodicals, were able to see and learn about new plants brought from around the globe to Britain. Alice Swain's embroidered *kowhai* is sourced from the drawing of a *kowhai* plant found in Curtis's Botanical Magazine.

In 1791 the magazine published information about the first New Zealand plant to be featured in its pages: "The magnificent and highly curious species of *Sophora* here represented, is one of many plants discovered by SIR JOSEPH BANKS at New Zealand, where it forms a tree of a considerable size. A finer sight can scarcely be imagined than a tree of this sort, extending to a great breadth on a wall with a western aspect, in the Apothecaries Garden at Chelsea, where it was planted by MR. FORSYTH about the year 1774, and which at this moment (April 28, 1791) is thickly covered with large thickly covered branches of yellow, I had almost said golden flowers; for they have a peculiar richness, which it is impossible to represent in colouring." (Curtis Volume V 167, 1791)

Of the eight major plants bordering the map, three are from England and Europe. The three other corner plants include Virginia Lungwort and Robinia from the continent of North America, and the China-Rose Hibiscus from the continent of Asia. The Clammy Crane's Bill placed in the lower centre is sourced from the continent of Africa. Every flower embroidered by Alice Swain is sourced to Curtis' Botanical Magazine.²³

Despite the lack of provenance for Alice Swain and her sampler, some conclusions about her life-story can be drawn. Swain, whatever her age, was well-educated, well-read, had a wide range of accomplishments, and must have had access to means with which to keep herself up-to-date with modern discoveries. Although Cook's maritime adventures were not open to English women as participants, the opportunity to participate in words, objects, images, and imaginings of the travellers thereafter was open to anyone who was culturally literate.

ANNE MARGARET HAMMOND, 1812

The sampler (Fig. 7) of Anne Margaret Hammond, dated 1812, now in the collection of Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa, displays continental corners, placing the four continents of the world into the four corners of the world. While Hammond's cartography appears to be an updated rendition of the source map embroidered by Elizabeth Cook, her continental corners have thus far been located on other map samplers from 1783 to 1823.²⁴ These concepts were already to be found in seventeenth-century women's art, both in beadwork and embroidery.²⁵ As with the Alice Swain sampler, there is very little accompanying provenance for the Hammond sampler.

America was the fourth continent to be discovered by Europeans, in 1492. Prior to this, European understanding of the world's geographical features was

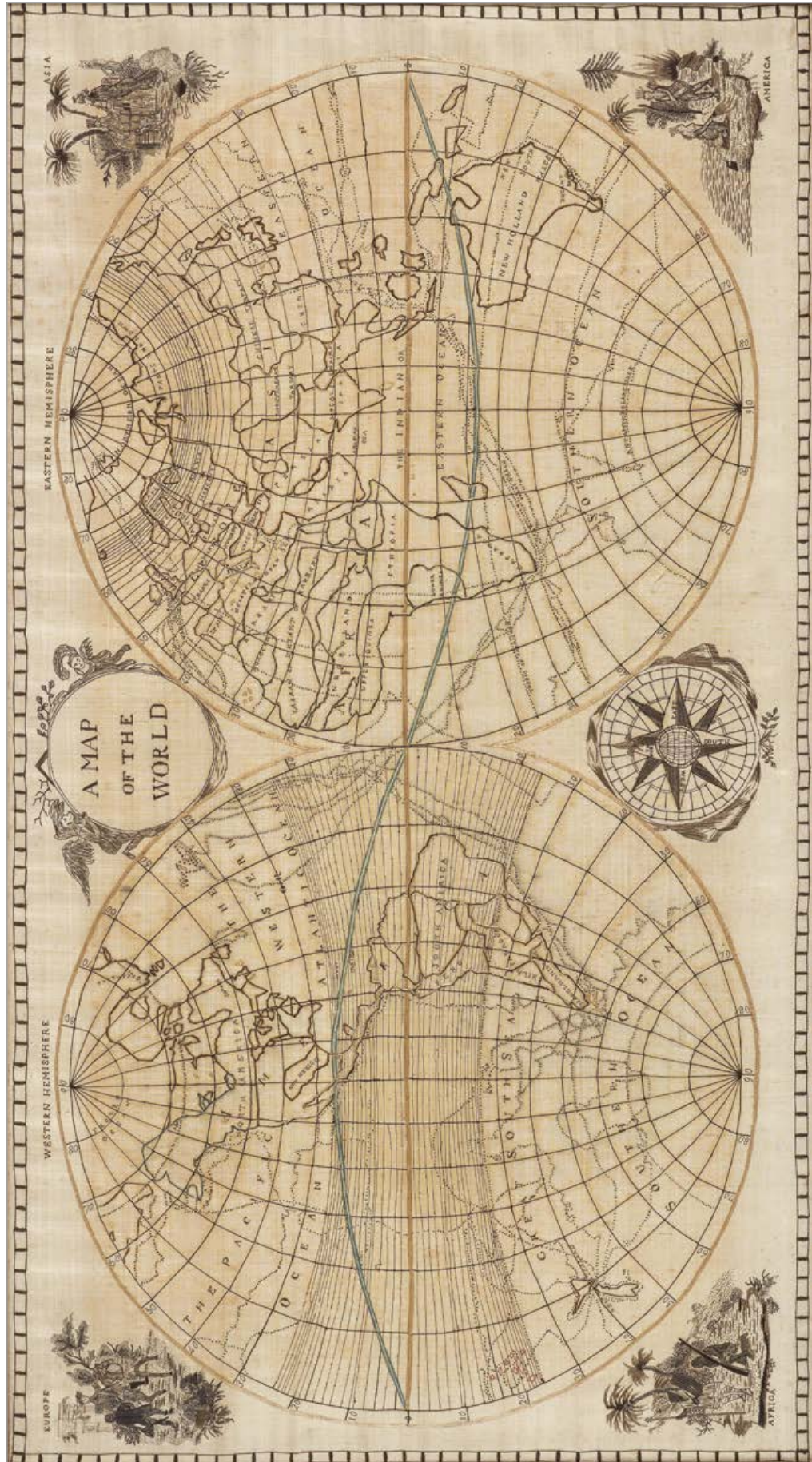


Figure 7. Anne Margaret Hammond (unconfirmed birthdate). Double Hemisphere Sampler, 1812. Silk, cotton, 419 x 722mm. United Kingdom. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (purchased 2010), GH016925.

historically limited by the concept that the earth was defined by the three continents of Europe, Africa and Asia. Renaissance thought developed to include America and depict four continents visually, in conjunction with four seasons, four corners of the earth, four earth elements, four muses, four winds and four human temperaments.²⁶ By the late eighteenth century these concepts were well established in educated and literate popular culture. The four stitched continents, Europe, Africa, Asia, and America, with recognisable selections of animals, headdresses, weapons, surrounding foliage, costume, skin colour, and accompaniments would be readily understood by those literate in European popular culture. The images depicted a shared story and every detail served to underscore the superiority of Europe through its power, wisdom, technology and accoutrements of civilisation.

Enlightenment thought, including growing awareness of Australasia and the Pacific region, would embrace, enlarge and challenge these concepts, observable in the continental corners. The recorded glimpses by Cook of the primitive Pacific world of the “noble savage” have been described as reading “as if he had spent the voyage reading Rousseau” (Beaglehole 1974: 251). Influential French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s “noble savage” concept held that in a state of nature, humans were essentially good. Equally, “primitivism” held that life was essentially better or more moral during early stages of mankind or among primitive peoples and which had deteriorated with the growth of civilisation, generally understood within a European context.

How the audience for a sampler may have understood these stitched images remains open to question, especially as growing knowledge of the South Pacific presented a new continental enigma. Could there be more than four continents? Yet these four stitched images represented the official understanding of the British Colonial Office, which from around 1822 until 1843 was organised into four main departments, the Mediterranean, African, West Indian, and Eastern departments, which included New Zealand (Moon 2002: 14). In 1843 a fifth department was proposed, to be known as the catch-all “Miscellaneous” (*Ibid.*: citing Pugh 1962: 9).

However the concepts were understood, the realities of English life meant that the newly charted lands in the Pacific were not only imaged and imagined, but also understood geo-politically as potential territorial expansions of the British Empire. As a consequence of wars, revolutions, and changing circumstances in Britain, travellers with Cook not only provided the British people with glimpses of the New World inhabited by “noble savages”, but also provided the British Government with assurances that the newly charted lands around the Antipodes could sustain human life. English women physically travelled to settle, voluntarily, and involuntarily, in these otherwise non-European-encultured lands from 1788 onwards.²⁷

CONCLUSION

The years from 1770 until 1840 were tumultuous ones politically, geopolitically, educationally and commercially in the English and European world, and these samplers strongly hint at these profound societal changes. The South Pacific was first introduced to those English women who were in a position to learn of it directly from Cook and his fellow travellers. These men charted the new world, collected scientific knowledge, traded English goods for ‘curiosities’ and took them to England. These were disseminated in commercially successful travelogues and other media to a wider literate public. Those men in a position to do so immediately expressed a desire to return on another voyage into the unknown. The options for translating this new knowledge into creative endeavours by women were limited to their experiences and understandings within their home culture until 1788 and beyond.

By the time Hammond worked her 1812 sampler Dinah Hall, wife of missionary William Hall, the earliest-recorded English woman to leave Britain with the stated intention of settling permanently in New Zealand, had arrived in New South Wales, and Hannah King had married John King, a missionary-in-waiting in Parramatta, New South Wales.²⁸ In 1814 an English woman’s handcrafted world changed again as English missionary wives now resided in New Zealand. On 22 June 1815 an English woman, Hannah King, taught a Māori woman, Ehura, to make a European-styled garment for the Māori woman to wear (Elder 1934: 99), and in 1820 a “sampler” made in the King home by “Oreo”, a Māori woman, was sent to England (King 1820). By the time Elizabeth Cook died 13 May, 1835, aged approximately 93 years, English women had lived and communicated with embroidered samplers across cultures and across oceans from the Old World to the New, and back again.

Map samplers that name Cook hint at a much larger world opening up for eighteenth century European-encultured women. These proofs illuminate women embroidering and weaving who not only commemorated an event, but who also shared an excitement of the new, a desire to confront and understand the possibly confusing information now before them, and a pride in all their achievements. Further examples of these samplers and these garments, and similar objects, wherever they are found, are likely to underscore these worldviews even more clearly.

Women’s textiles provide evidence of unheralded women’s worlds in unsung women’s words and unnoticed women’s ways. These Cook-named map samplers *are* women’s Endeavours.

NOTES

1. For further context regarding maps in the Age of Enlightenment, based on twenty-four maps from the British Library collection, see Geoff Armitage, 2012. *The World at their Fingertips: Eighteenth-Century British Two-Sheet Double Hemisphere World Maps*.

- Sylvia Ioannou Foundation and The British Library, London. Pp. 6–7. Armitage's well-reasoned conclusions have limitations with respect to map samplers, given that the number of British maps published in the 18th century upon which to base any study is "almost certainly upwards of two hundred and fifty" and the society in which he places them seems not to include women.
2. For further context on map samplers as part of a woman's education, see Judith A. Tyner, 2015. *Stitching the World: Embroidered Maps and Women's Geographical Education*. Ashgate, London. This is only the second publication known devoted to this field of research after 'Mapped and Charted: Samplers and Historic Embroideries.' Witney Antiques Catalogue, 2005. Witney, Oxfordshire. California-based Tyner bases many of her conclusions on samplers with the sampler-maker and her school identified.
 3. For further context regarding a specific map sampler by an English woman, as an expression of women's art, see Vivien Caughley, 2013. 'The Cook Map Sampler: A Widow's Embroidered Response to her Husband's Voyages of Discovery.' Pp. 126–135; In Gardner, Anthony (ed.). *Mapping South: Journeys in South-South Cultural Relations*. The South Project, Melbourne.
 4. Examples: Sampler. Mary Gill. 1808, TXT 0031; Sampler. Mary Lupson, (n.d). "Nelson/ hero of the Nile/1799." TXT0029. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
 5. Of the several extant kaitaka with t̄aniko border known to have been collected by Banks, the exact garment modelled in his portrait is unconfirmed, although scholars claim that honour for one in the Pitt Rivers Museum collection in Oxford, England.
 6. "In the first place we saw the Otaheite dress, something more simple, but not so well suited to our climate, as our compounded dress, They only wear a mantle, which they tie about their neck, much of a square that hangs almost to the ground, so, one arm bare and the hair tied up in a knot; this is their common dress, their commanders are distinguished, with a little more ornament, a gorget made of pigeon's feathers and dog-fish teeth. Feathers in their heads, and caps almost as gallant as a modern English lady's."
 7. Map Image. SLNSW M1 120/1779/1. Mitchell Library, Sydney.
 8. James Robert Tyrrell (1875-1961) was a Sydney bookseller and collector who diversified into Cook memorabilia, amongst other objects, after the late 1920s. W.S. Ramson, 'Tyrrell, James Robert (1875–1961)'. Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/tyrrell-james-robert-8894/text15623>, accessed 14 August, 2013. The work is now separated from its original glazed hanging case.
 9. Waistcoat. SLNSW R198. Mitchell Library, Sydney.
 10. "With a sigh, perhaps even with a tear, she put away forever the needlework she had planned as a loving surprise against the time of her husband's return ... Of all the 900 items among the "Artificial Curiosities" that were exhibited at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in 1978, to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Europeans' landing in Hawai'i, this one was the most saddening." (Bushnell 1991:4–5)
 11. SLNSW M1 100/1753/1 Rollos : An Accurate Map of the World; London, 1753: Rollos/Brooks
 12. For example in the 1784 reprint of Sydney Parkinson's "Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas", originally published in 1773, the accompanying hemispherical maps acknowledge the publishers Dilly and Phillips, of London, but credit the engraver as Samuel John Neele of The Strand. Auckland Museum Library G460.
 13. This remodelling occurred also with the plates for globes. Elly Dekker, in 'Globes at Greenwich: A catalogue of the Globes and Armillary Spheres in the National Maritime Museum' Oxford University Press and National Maritime Museum, Oxford, 1999, p132. Table 9.1, published a sequence of the "Editions of the Ferguson-Dudley Adams-Lane" pocket globe with additions and subtractions to the base information on ten consecutive publications of the same plates between 1756 and c.1840. I (1756) has Australia drawn to Dutch discoveries, with Anson's Voyage depicted; II (1756) adds the name of the engraver; III (1775) is the same with the addition of Cook's First Voyage; IV (c.1795) is the first time Cook's third voyage is added; apart from Variation VII of the ten (c.1825), which separates Tasmania from the Australian mainland for the first time, the additions and subtractions tend to focus on publisher's details and names of engravers, instead of the updating of cartographic information.
 14. Sampler, Martha Gibbons, Stoney Stratford, 1784. Auckland Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira 2004.1.1; Sampler. Mary Mullins, 1784, Private Collection.
 15. Captain James Cook and his second son Nathaniel were buried at sea. Elizabeth Cook, her eldest son James and youngest son Hugh were buried in Cambridge; their other three children died in infancy and were buried in London.
 16. Miss Martha Hallifax, daughter of an apothecary, married Richard Gibbons in 1762 in St John's, Coventry. Their son John was born three years later and christened at Holy Trinity, Coventry, as was their daughter Martha in 1769. In 1773 the family moved to Stoney Stratford and took up a business there. Stoney Stratford is a village in Buckinghamshire. For genealogical information see www.ancestry.com.
 17. The Chelsea Physic Garden remains open today, with a Joseph Banks garden in pride of place.
 18. East Cape, Cook Journal I. 187. 31 October 1769; North Cape, Cook Journal I. 224. 19 December 1769; South Cape, Cook Journal I. 262. 10 March 1770; West Cape, Cook Journal I. 265. 14 March 1770.
 19. The other located 1784-dated map sampler, with Cook flower corners does not include this feature. It is in a private collection.
 20. Beaglehole's footnote contains many suggestions, in standardised Māori, for the exact phrases and spellings Cook may have heard.

21. The same chart as in Hawkesworth. 1773. In Andrew C. F. David (ed.). *The Charts and Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages attributed to Cook, James. 1728-1779*. London, Hakluyt Society, 1988-1997 shows this map with B. Longmalo as engraver, showing "Toai Poonamoo" and "Ea Heinom Auwe". The 1776 map, officially published by Antonio Zatta in Venice, Italy, entitled "New Discoveries Made in 1765, 67, and 69 in the Southern Seas" included the tracks of Byron (1764-1766), Wallis, Carteret, and those of Cook's First Voyage, and significantly included the phrases "Tavai Poenammoo" and "Fahei Nomawe", as well as the "bloated Alaskan Peninsula." Collection of Captain Cook Memorial Museum, Whitby.
22. Although this sampler is in the Whitby collection, there is no other provenance for it. Neither the identity of its maker nor when and how it comes to be in the Whitby collection is known.
23. Wing-podded sophora, [New Zealand; Kowhai], *Sophora tetraptera*, Curtis's Bot. Mag. Volume V, p.167, 1791 sampler lower left corner; Virginia Lungwort, [America; Virginia] *Pulmoneria Virginica*, Curtis's Bot. Mag. Volume V, p.160, 1791, sampler upper left corner; China-Rose Hibiscus [Asia; India], *Hibiscus Rosa Sinensis*, Curtis's Bot. Mag. Volume V, p. 158, 1791, sampler upper right corner; Rough Stalked Robinia or Rose Acacia [America; Carolina], *Robinia Hispida*, Curtis's Bot. Mag. Volume IX, p.311, 1795, sampler lower right corner; *Adonis Vernalis* (the only name given) [Europe; England], Curtis's Bot. Mag. Volume IV, p. 134, 1791, sampler upper centre; Heath-leav'd St John's Wort [Europe; Crete], *Hypericum Coris*, Curtis's Bot. Mag. Volume V, p. 138, 1792, sampler left centre; Clammy Crane's Bill [Africa; Cape of Good Hope], *Pelargonium Glutinosum*, Curtis Botanical Volume IV, p.143, 1791, sampler lower centre; Italian Pimpernel [Europe; Italy], *Anagallis Monelli*, Curtis Botanical Volume IX, p. 319, 1795, sampler right centre
24. 1783 Sampler, 57.122.212, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 1823 Sampler, Private Collection.
25. Two examples include 1649 English Pictorial Embroidery, "The Four Continents and The Sacrifice of Isaac", 47;1032. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; and 1651 English Pictorial Embroidery, "Lady and cavalier surrounded by the four continents". 59.208.68. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
26. For further reading on this body of understanding, refer in the first instance to books such as James Hall, with Introduction Kenneth Clark, "Hall's Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art" (London, John Murray, 1974) pp. 128–131 (page numbers refer to revised ed. 1996).
27. There were 222 females, including 188 convicts, recorded in the 1788 New South Wales census.
28. For further information, see Vivien Caughley. *New Zealand Historic Samplers: Our Stitched Stories*. Batemans, Auckland. 2014. Pp 23–31.

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EMBROIDERED WORK

Embroidered map on linen depicting the voyages of Captain James Cook in the Western Hemisphere, [Sampler, Elizabeth Cook (attributed), n.d.], ANMM 0004991, Australian National Maritime Museum, Sydney.

Sampler. Martha Gibbons, Stoney Stratford, 1784; 2014. 1.1, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland.

Sampler. Mary Mullins, 1784; Private Collection.

Sampler, Alice Swain, 1804; WHITM:CBE84, Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society Museum, Whitby.

Sampler. Anne Margaret Hammond, 1812; GH016925, Collection of Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

Sampler. Mary Lupson, n.d.(after 1799); TXT0029, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Sampler. Mary Gill, 1808; TXT0031, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Waistcoat. SLNSW R198, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

MAPS

Map, New Zealand charted by Cook; F0293, G263:1/2; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London; first published by Hawkesworth, 1773.

Map, An Accurate Map of the World; London, 1753; SLNSW M1 100/1753/1 George Rollos engraver.

OTHER

Image. The Cook Map Sampler. SLNSW/Mitchell Library/ M1 120/1779/1.

Letterbook, Church Missionary Society, London, John King. Microfilm 014 Reel 5. CMS [AJCP M225].

Paper Collage. Mary Delany. "Philadelphus Aromaticus Solander" "New Zeland Tea". AN331443001, The Trustees of the British Museum, Prints & Drawings, Registration number 1897 0505.661; British Delany Vol.07 PIIa.

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