

COLIN McCAHON

ON GOING OUT WITH THE TIDE

8 April – 30 July 2017

An exhibition of Colin McCahon works from the 1960s and 1970s, exploring his evolving engagement with Māori themes and subjects, curated by Wystan Curnow and Robert Leonard.



INTRODUCTION

The painter Colin McCahon is New Zealand’s most celebrated artist—his name is synonymous with New Zealand art. He emerged in the late 1940s and was active into the early 1980s. Over this time, his work underwent major formal and conceptual transformations. His diverse oeuvre includes landscapes, figurative paintings, abstractions, word and number paintings, and various combinations of these. McCahon’s work was inventive and inspiring—New Zealand art developed around it. Critics argued over its virtues and implications; other artists produced work in response to it. McCahon cast a long shadow. In 1987, he died.

In the 1990s, McCahon’s position in the culture changed. His work ceased to be part of the cut-and-thrust of the contemporary-art discussion and he became a more canonical, historical figure. In 1997, his works were reproduced on postage stamps. It is now fifteen years since the last McCahon survey show—*Colin McCahon: A Question of Faith* at Amsterdam’s Stedelijk Museum in 2002. Our project is a response to the questions: What aspects of McCahon’s work have not yet been fully explored? What kind of McCahon show might speak to the current moment?

On Going Out with the Tide addresses McCahon’s works on Māori subjects and themes from the 1960s and 1970s. These works have not been brought together before. The show locates them at the heart of his project. McCahon’s most radical and consequential work—the work on which his international reputation rests—is his later work, from the mid-1960s on. *On Going Out with the Tide*, then, is an opportunity to consider how things Māori influenced the most important period of New Zealand’s most celebrated artist. Now, in the twenty-first century, we can understand this work in terms of a tectonic shift in New Zealand culture—emerging biculturalism. This show seeks to place the work in its historical context: first, to understand it in terms of the times in which it was made; second, to attend to how it was interpreted and framed subsequently; and, third, to imagine how it might be read in the future, in the wake of Treaty settlements.

McCahon’s work was a product of its time. In the 1960s and 1970s, as Māori continued to migrate to the cities, mainstream awareness of Māori culture grew, a protest movement pressed for the return of Māori lands and the recognition of Māori language, and contemporary Māori artists and writers emerged—an alternative cultural narrative was revealed. This period has been called the ‘Māori Renaissance’. McCahon’s art fed off and contributed to it. In the early 1960s, McCahon began to incorporate Māori imagery and language into his work. In the late 1960s and 1970s, his interest deepened to include elements of Māori history and cosmology. Māori ideas became integral to his

project, his world view. McCahon’s interest was fed by new resources on Māori culture, friendships with writers and artists, and the births of his Māori grandsons, first Matiu, then Peter (Tui). While his interest in things Māori sustained and consolidated longstanding features of his work, it also changed it.

The 1980s were the beginning of a new chapter for New Zealand. The government began to embrace the Treaty of Waitangi as the nation’s founding document, it grappled with the implications of implementing biculturalism, and it extended the powers of the Waitangi Tribunal. As contemporary Māori art and its advocates became increasingly visible, prominent Pākehā artists who had incorporated Māori elements into their work in previous decades were now criticised as appropriators. In this time, contrary views on McCahon’s use of Māori material emerged. For instance, in 1986, the academic Ngahua Te Awekotuku criticised McCahon for quoting whakapapa in his 1969 painting *The Canoe Tainui*, considering it culturally insensitive. However, in 1992, the art historian Rangihira Panoho would celebrate McCahon’s work for sympathetically engaging Māori content, in contrast to Gordon Walters, whom he criticised for appropriating only the outward forms of Māori art. In the 1990s, a new generation of Māori artists—Michael Parekowhai, Peter Robinson, and Shane Cotton—created works drawing on McCahon and Walters that would complicate and shift the appropriation debate. Today, that debate, itself, seems to be part of history.

These days, McCahon is sometimes read, through post-colonialism, as a ‘settler’ artist, linking his work to the nationalism of such poets and commentators as Charles Brasch, Allen Curnow, and M.H. Holcroft. This emphasises McCahon’s earlier work, where he is seen as naming and claiming a silent and empty land, implicitly sidestepping prior Māori occupancy, history, and claims. From this viewpoint, his later works on Māori subjects and themes represent a change of heart, a course correction.

This reading distorts McCahon’s and his immediate circle of friends’ relation to the Pākehā mainstream. In his formative years, in the 1940s, McCahon was, in his own words, ‘a real Red’, like his Communist Party friend Ron O’Reilly. With Rodney Kennedy, McCahon briefly joined the Quakers (Kennedy was jailed during the war for his pacifist stance). McCahon’s closest painter friend, Toss Woollaston, successfully registered as a conscientious objector. When they gathered in the Nelson region, during the summer fruit-and-tobacco-picking seasons, they visited Riverside, the Christian Pacifist Society’s commune near Mapua. Established in 1941, it’s still a going concern. McCahon’s broad sympathy with its leftist Christian Pacifist values remains implicit in his work from then on, and, in

part, explains his interest in the Māori prophets. Like Riverside, Te Whiti’s Parihaka community was based on pacifist principles. Like Parihaka and Rua’s Maungapōhatu, Riverside is an experiment in independent community building.

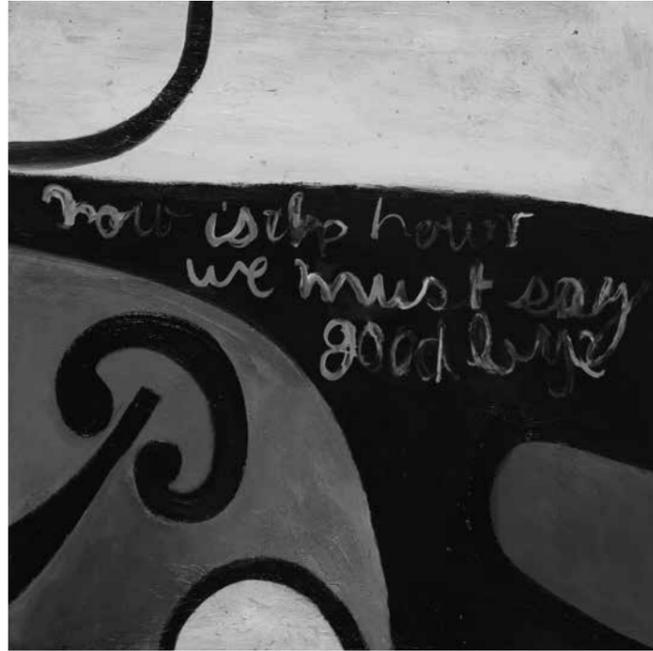
McCahon’s knowledge and understanding of Māori culture was partial and piecemeal. He related to Māori ideas through their spirituality, either seeing Christian and Māori ideas as parallel or looking to the hybrid forms of Māori Christianity. His biculturalism was entangled with his Christianity, which has been seen as limiting it. For Māori, Christianity remains a thorny matter. On the one hand, it was an instrument of colonialism; on the other hand, the Māori prophets hijacked and remade it in their resistance to colonialism. Questions hang over McCahon: To what extent does he engage with Māori cultural difference and to what extent absorb it into his syncretic Christian disposition? How does it change his Christianity? Does it subvert it? Does McCahon’s work represent an opening or an obstacle for the biculturalism that follows and for one yet to come—a gate?

On Going Out with the Tide is a research project. We intend it to be a platform for ongoing discussion, both about McCahon’s work and about the ways the cultural landscape it occupies has shifted. As part of the project, we will be presenting a programme of lectures, talks, and screenings. Our aim is to produce a substantial book later, drawing on what we learn as a result of doing the show and the responses to it.

—Wystan Curnow and Robert Leonard

Previous spread: Poet Hone Tūwhare reading at Barry Lett Galleries, Auckland, on 14 September 1972, the day the Māori Language Petition was delivered to Parliament. Showing Colin McCahon’s *Te Whiti, Tohu* (1972) and *Parihaka Triptych* (1972). Photo: John Miller.

GALLERY 1
Journey into a Dark Landscape 1962–5



In the early 1960s, McCahon was working as a curator at Auckland City Art Gallery. His milieu was extensive. His emerging interest in things Māori was fed by his professional connections and friendships. He was a good friend of Māori painter Buster Pihama (aka Buster Black)—they went to the movies together. He became acquainted with the emerging generation of Māori modernists, including Arnold Wilson, Ralph Hotere, Selwyn Muri, and Para Matchitt. When he moved into the inner-city suburb of Arch Hill in 1960, he became a neighbour of artist Theo Schoon, and, in 1966, he personally acquired a koru work on paper from Gordon Walters’s breakthrough show at Auckland’s New Vision Gallery.

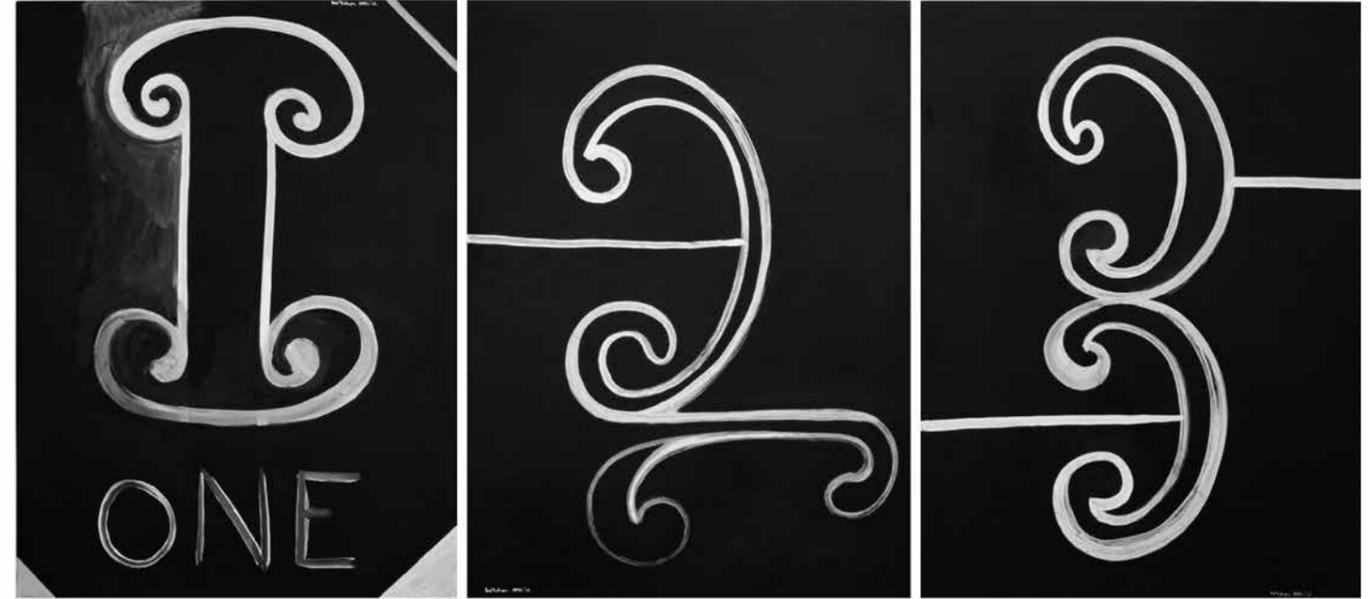
Writers were also key. In 1961, McCahon designed the set for an Auckland City Art Gallery production of Frank Sargeson’s play *A Time for Sowing*, which was concerned with Thomas Kendall, the early Pākehā missionary who pioneered Māori orthography. The following year, he, Sargeson, and Chris Cathcart set up the New Independent Theatre at the Gallery, and staged a public reading of John Caselberg’s play *Duaterra King*, which was concerned with the early history of New Zealand race relations. An old friend and collaborator, Caselberg had studied Māori language under Bruce Biggs—the first person to teach it at the University of Auckland. In 1964, McCahon left the Gallery to teach at the University’s Elam School of Arts. Writer Bill Pearson, another old friend, was lecturing in the English Department and was a member of the University’s Māori Club. McCahon sought his opinion regarding his use of Māori material in his art.

Māori motifs and language first appeared in McCahon’s work in 1962: motifs in his *Koru* paintings and *Now Is the Hour*, and language in *Heoi Anō* (aka *The Koru Triptych*). The *Koru* paintings and *Now Is the Hour* set koru within abstracted landscape forms. They recall McCahon’s sexualised *Kauri* landscapes from the 1950s. McCahon thought of the koru as phallic. In a letter to Caselberg, on 29 May 1968, he draws a koru and notes: ‘This is just what it looks like. A penis and not a curled fern frond and as all Māori art is based on this one form what a useful symbol on which to build a genealogy.’

***Now Is the Hour* 1962 ↵**
 oil on hardboard
 606 x 602mm
 Private collection, Auckland

Now Is the Hour sets its single, upward-pointing koru into an abstract-biomorphic landscape. The inscription—‘Now is the hour we must say goodbye’—quotes lyrics from a hit song that evolved out of ‘Po Atarau’, a song used to farewell Māori soldiers going off to fight in World War I. By combining a koru with these words, McCahon emphasises their connection for Māori, interweaving intimations of sex and loss, life and death.

In 1965, McCahon returned to Māori material. Since the late 1950s, he had been developing a body of works playing on the ways numbers can be represented graphically—in Roman numerals, in Arabic numerals, in words—exploiting



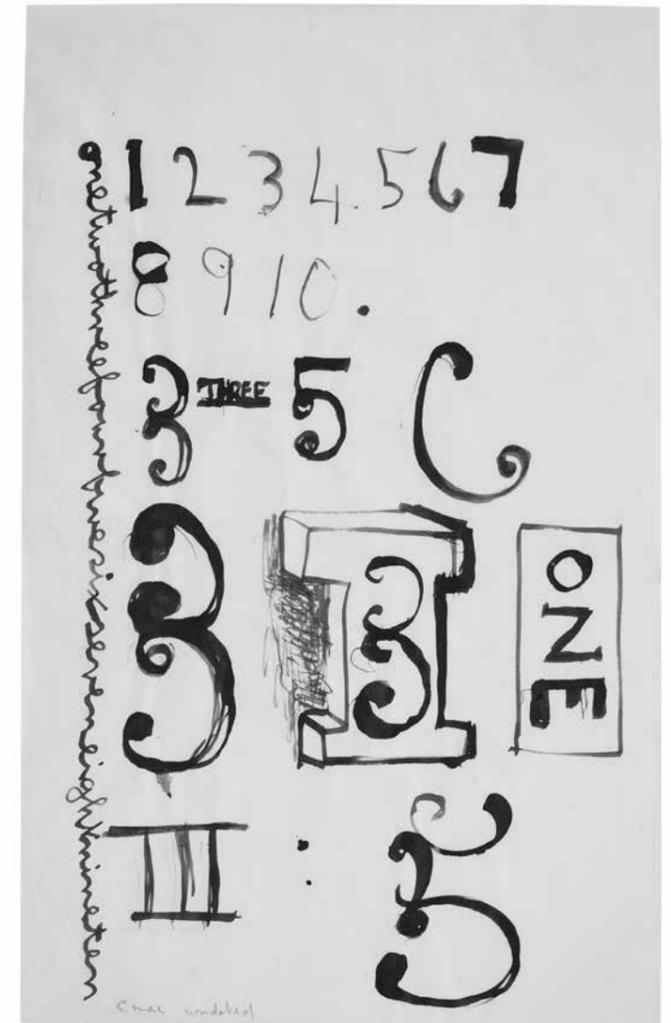
Koru 1, 2, 3 1965

the suggestive qualities and interplay of these representational systems. In 1965, he created several works featuring koru-style Arabic numerals. In *Koru 1, 2, 3*, the numbers represent a progression from singularity, to duality, to multiplicity. Their organic treatment makes us think of numbers as generative—mating and morphing—as genealogical. McCahon was interested in how number begins (0, 1), in the identification of the first-person singular with the number 1 (peculiar to written English), and in how numbers grow (1, 2, 3). He was also interested in the coincidence of one and zero (or ten) with the name of Io, the Māori supreme being, Io Matua Kore.

***Journey into a Dark Landscape No. 2* 1965**
 sawdust and acrylic on hardboard
 1218 x 914mm
 Collection J. Gibbs Trust, Auckland

In 1965, McCahon made a number of monochromatic black landscapes, creating texture by adding sawdust to his paint. These works may have been influenced by Buster Black, who painted similarly textured views of cities and mountains at night.

***Numerals* c.1964–6 →**
 ink on paper
 336 x 210mm
 Collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington





Koru 1965
acrylic on hardboard
1212 x 905mm
Parliamentary Collection, Wellington

Koru 1, 2, 3 1965
PVA on hardboard
1218 x 2775mm
Collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa,
Wellington

Io 1965 ←
acrylic on hardboard
1220 x 916mm
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki,
on loan from a private collection

Io, the parentless one, was described by the early ethnologists S. Percy Smith and Elsdon Best. However, the idea that the polytheistic Māori had such a Christian-style God is questioned. In the painting *Io*, an I and an O hover in the light over a black gravestone-shaped void. McCahon conjures with something and nothing, self and other, figure and ground, darkness and light. Suggestions of a Māori metaphysics will often lurk in the darkness behind McCahon's word and number paintings. In 1965, McCahon also used koru-form letters to represent Christ, in his Christogram paintings *XP* and *IHS*. The final panel of McCahon's 1965 thirteen-panel painting *Numerals* features alternative numerals for ten: 10 and X. 10 could be Io, X could be a Christogram.

Caltex 1 1965 →
acrylic on paper
506 x 814mm
Collection National Gallery of Australia, Canberra

Caltex 2 1965 →
acrylic on paper
508 x 813mm
Collection Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki

Caltex 3 1965 →
acrylic on paper
508 x 812mm
Collection National Gallery of Australia, Canberra

McCahon made a series of studies for a mural for the foyer of the Caltex Oil building in Auckland's Fanshawe Street, writing the familiar company name in koru letters. Some of the studies recall his cubist-lettering experiments of the 1950s. The indigenising treatment seems strikingly arbitrary, having no apparent connection to the subject, while anticipating the future absorption of Māori motifs into the language of New Zealand corporate branding. The commission didn't proceed.



GALLERY 2
The Tail of the Fish 1969

In 1968, McCahon's daughter Victoria and her Tainui husband Ken Carr had a son, Matiu. Around this time, his other daughter, Catherine, gave him a copy of a new book, *The Tail of the Fish: Māori Memories of the Far North*. In it, Matire Kereama, a Te Aupōuri elder, sets down stories of her people, 'their homes, their victories in battles, their defeats, and their lives'—along with whakapapa (genealogies). Together, grandson and book prompted McCahon to return to Māori subjects.

In 1969, McCahon produced a flurry of text works quoting from Kereama. It's fascinating to see how much McCahon drew from this small book, what he took from it, and how he treated it. The works included paintings on sets of hardboard squares. There were two whakapapa paintings, the eight-panel *The Canoe Tainui* and the four-panel *The Canoe Māmari*. He also painted the four-panel *O Let Us Weep* and the three-panel *On Going Out with the Tide*, combining texts in Māori and English for the first time. All these works were included in McCahon's July 1969 show at Peter McLeavey Gallery, Wellington. McCahon explained:

This is a personal and 'family' exhibition. The paintings 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, are all for Matiu Carr, our grandson (No. 5, for his first birthday). His birth and the discovery of Matire Kereama's book by my daughter Catherine ... has made these paintings happen and become real to me.

That year, McCahon continued to make works drawing on Kereama, including *The Lark's Song*. McCahon made no mystery of his indebtedness to Kereama, frequently acknowledging her. 1969 proved to be a prolific year, and McCahon suffered for it. He wrote to Ron O'Reilly:

Have a good attack of 'tennis elbow' again ... this time I'm not reporting to hospital but have returned to my old keep fit job of 30 pushups each morning (which doesn't seem to do much) ... it's bloody painful.

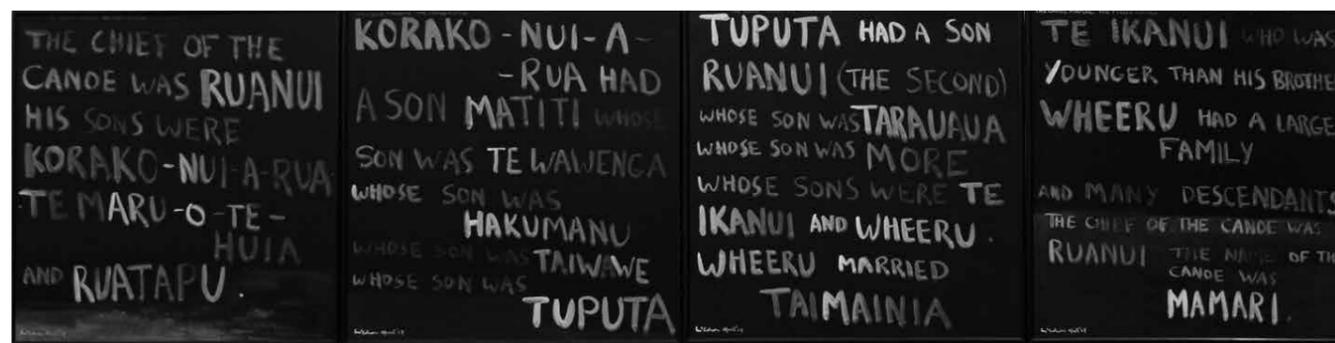
The Canoe Tainui 1969 →
 acrylic on eight hardboard panels
 each panel 603 x 603mm
 Courtesy Gow Langsford Gallery, Auckland

Whakapapa underpins Māori culture. *The Canoe Tainui* recounts the whakapapa of the Tainui waka, one of the ocean-going canoes that brought Māori to New Zealand, as it appears in Kereama's book. As Ken Carr is Tainui, this whakapapa connected with him and Matiu. McCahon painted the descendants' names with different levels of emphasis, suggesting how they might be spoken, highlighting the oral nature of whakapapa. He would not have known the significance of individual names, but was drawn to the idea of genealogy in general. He wrote to Ron O'Reilly:

Have made a new move, this has been happening for the last six months or more & at last have a heap of stuff down (a smallish heap) ... [including] a series of eight 2' x 2' panels all in words embracing the history of the Tainui Canoe from 'the chief of the Canoe was Hoturoa'—through to lovely later names 'Ngawini McMath whose son was Wiremu McMath whose children were Arthur & Bella'. All this is permeated with a certain horny symbolism. Had a tryout on this last Saturday. Very mixed. One said 'I know Arthur & Bella.' Others just shocked. Another recognised the chant form in the tone & colour etc.

The Canoe Māmari 1969 →
 acrylic on four hardboard panels
 each panel 603 x 603mm
 Collection J. Gibbs Trust, Auckland

O Let Us Weep 1969
 acrylic on four hardboard panels
 each panel 610 x 609mm
 BNZ Art Collection





On Going Out with the Tide 1969 ←
acrylic on three hardboard panels
each panel 602 x 602mm
Collection J. Gibbs Trust, Auckland

On Going Out with the Tide refers to Māori beliefs about the afterlife, a theme McCahon will return to in later works. In her text 'Going Out with the Tide', Kereama wrote:

When I was a child no person died without first asking about the state of the tide, whether it was full or low. People always liked to die at low tide because the tide had to be completely out to enable them to reach Te Rerenga Wairua, 'The Leaping Place of the Spirits', in the Far North. This is a large hole at the bottom of the sea which is exposed at low tide, permitting the spirits to go inside.

On each panel, the texts begin with the imperative 'Sing', asking us to perform the painting, sing it aloud. The writing features signs that look like scansion marks, hinting at how words could be stressed. Here, as elsewhere, McCahon emphasises the oral basis of Māori expression.

Lark Singing Was Almost a Daily Ritual 1969
conté on wallpaper
1675 x 650mm
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki,
on loan from a private collection

The Song of Kawiti Te Riri: Part One and Part Two 1969
charcoal on two sheets of wallpaper
each sheet 1680 x 650mm
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki,
on loan from a private collection

Whatever Money I Seem to Make from the Sale of these Paintings 1969
conté on wallpaper
1680 x 650mm
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki,
on loan from a private collection

A lot of work would arrive in strange ways, I remember one exhibition, which were written panels on paper, and he arrived with the whole lot rolled up under his arm. They were about 20" wide and about 5' to 6' tall. He had one which was the first one saying 'written paintings by Colin McCahon', and the only instruction was to pin that one up near to the beginning and then pin the rest up, butting them edge to edge, exercising no taste or judgement as to how they went. They could go any way, just as the bundle was. He hadn't put them in any order.

He didn't intend any order, as long as you didn't exercise any tastefulness, that was the way to go about it.
—Rodney Kirk Smith, 1986

For his October 1969 show, *Written Paintings and Drawings*, at Barry Lett Galleries, Auckland, McCahon wrote texts on lengths of plain wallpaper. Some 'scrolls' include texts from Kereama. In one, he pledges: 'Whatever money (I seem) to make from the sale of these paintings is to go to the Māori Education Foundation'. The Foundation was established in 1961 to encourage Māori into tertiary education.

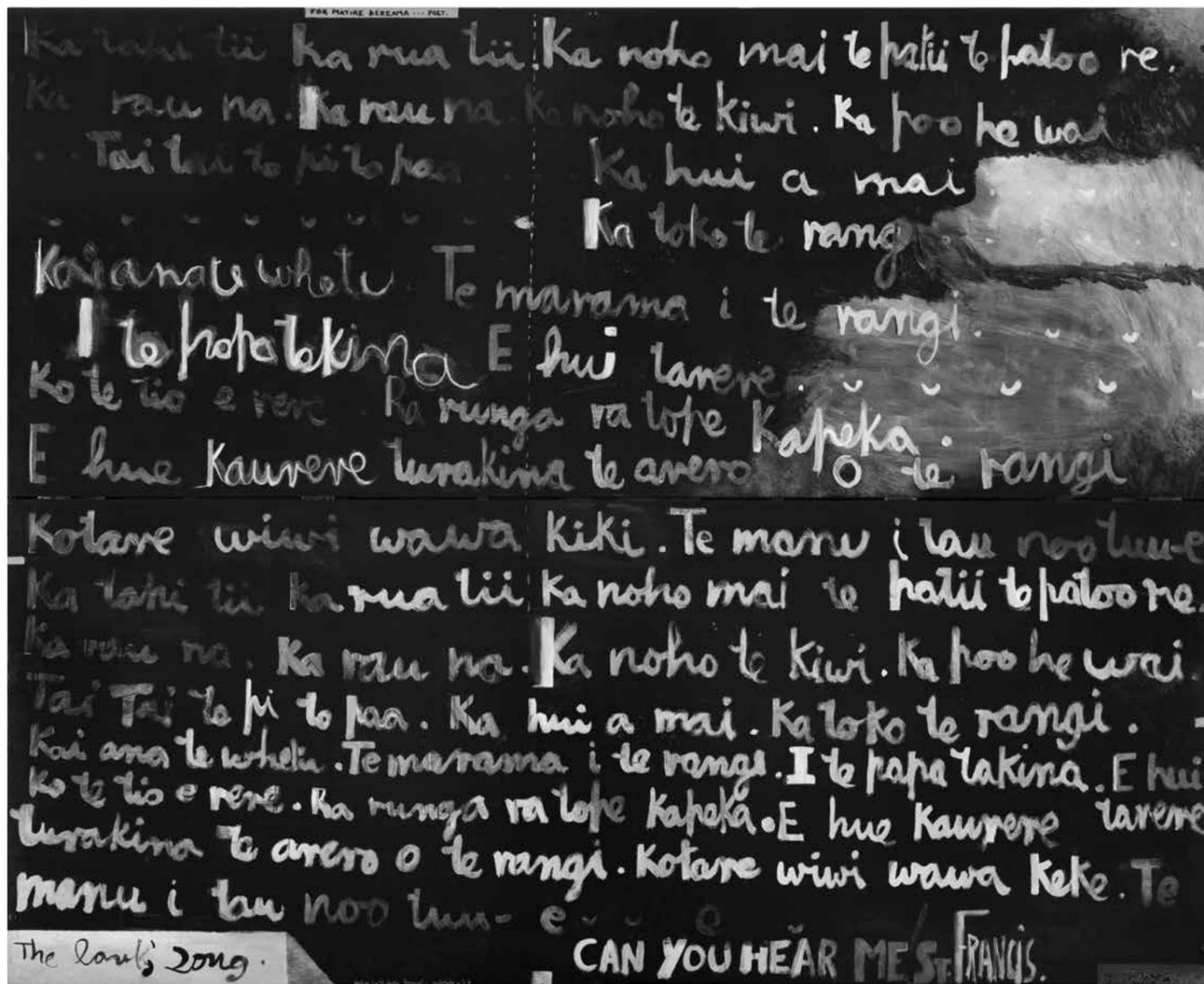
The Lark's Song 1969
PVA on wooden doors
1630 x 1980mm
Collection Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki,
gift of the artist, 1982

In her book, Kereama explained that the Māori words of 'The Lark's Song' approximate the sound of the bird. The song was part of a children's game. The aim was to sing it with the fewest breath pauses. In McCahon's painting, the lyrics are written twice, with variation in the treatment, on two door panels. McCahon recalled:

From August to October I struggled with Mrs Kereama's Lark's Song. I loved it, I read the poem out loud while I painted and finally the little lark took off up the painting and out of sight. The words must be read for their sound, they are signs for the lark's song. The whole series of paintings gave me great joy. Please don't give yourself the pain of worrying out a translation of the words but try for the sound of the painting. But never forget that these are the words of a poet too. Some people can read them.

Beneath the song, McCahon adds a line in English, from New Zealand poet Peter Hooper, 'Can you hear me St Francis', referring to the Saint who communicated with birds, transcending language barriers. A dotted line runs vertically through the painting and its text, suggesting the lark's upward flight. Gordon Brown reported:

McCahon states that when *The Lark's Song* was exhibited in Auckland, Matire Kereama visited the gallery. When it was almost cleared of people she chanted the words of the song. It was an experience that deepened McCahon's understanding of the song, its meaning and the subtlety of its poetical sounds and rhythms.



The Lark's Song CAN YOU HEAR ME ST. FRANCIS.

GALLERY 3
Muriwai 1971–4



Tui Carr Celebrates Muriwai Beach 1972

... the first time I saw the place [Muriwai], years ago now, was in a 'white out' mist, white mist blowing in & Tora & I on the scooter & seeing a new world.

—Colin McCahon, to John and Anna Caselberg, 23 February 1974

I had all February out here painting in the new studio. Almost the best time I've ever had in my life. Endlessly hot & clear I work from 5.30 or 6 in the morning to 9 or 10 at night. The studio is unlined tin & hot but 22' x 18' and the best yet ... I have years of painting to do before I catch up with beauty & freedom.

—Colin McCahon, to Ron O'Reilly, 21 March 1970

In May 1969, McCahon erected a studio on a property at Muriwai Beach, forty minutes drive north-west of Auckland. Moving to the beach marked the beginning of his most productive period. Here, he would be able to stretch out, to work on a large scale. In January 1971, he left his job teaching at Elam to paint full time.

The beachscape inspired him. Of all the sites around which our show is organised, Muriwai is the most personal and generative. It's theatre, stage, studio, and canvas; a home, a geography, and a cosmology. As he enjoyed being a grandfather, McCahon took particular interest in the birds nesting on the cliffs and on Motutara, the rocky stack beyond. There were fairy terns raising their offspring, and, later, gannets. McCahon noticed that the stack offered protection but was also precarious. He abstracted the forms

of the cliffs and stack into his signature 'Necessary Protection' motif: two dark rectangles confronting one another, leaving a T (Tau cross) or I shape between them, suggesting light descending from the sky into the land or sea. McCahon would explore this motif in a large number of works. Several include fingerpainted flurries of birds in flight. McCahon didn't stop there. He accorded other landscape features narrative, psychological, and moral significance—Oaia Island became Moby Dick.

According to Māori legend, the spirits of the dead, on their journey into the afterlife, travel up the coast to Cape Rēinga. There they leap off the headland, then descend to the underworld, to return to their traditional homeland of Hawaiki using Te Ara Wairua (the spirits' pathway). McCahon saw Muriwai as a landing and taking-off place for souls heading north—via Ahipara, Ninety Mile Beach, and Haumu Hill—to Cape Rēinga, the tip of 'the tail of the fish'. This idea informed McCahon works that made no obvious reference to Māori imagery or language, such as *Walk (Series C)* (1973), a lengthy beachscape elegy to James K. Baxter, and *Series D (Ahipara)* (1973). Death would remain on his mind. Into 1974, he would also mourn the recent deaths of his mother and his friends Charles Brasch and R.A.K. Mason.

McCahon conflated different places, times, and frames of reference. For instance, *The Days and Nights in the Wilderness Showing the Constant Flow of Light Passing into a Dark Landscape* (1971) is ostensibly a Muriwai landscape, but is inscribed 'Ninety Mile Beach with Haumu Hill' (referring to Northland) and 'Homage to Van Der Velden'

(recalling the nineteenth-century Dutch artist's favourite landscape, Otira Gorge, in the South Island), suggesting these landscapes are somehow linked, interchangeable, entwined. McCahon's Muriwai works also include more overtly bicultural landscapes, in which Christian and Māori ideas coexist. His *Jet Out from Muriwai* drawings (1973), for instance, address Māori cosmology via Christian symbolism. McCahon illustrates the idea of the spirit's flight after death with an airborne cross, suggesting the resurrection and a jet plane taking off.

Moby Dick Is (Was) a Volcano c.1971–3 →

charcoal and pencil on paper

281 x 357mm

Collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington

Oaia Sits and Nibbles the Sea c.1971–3

charcoal and pencil on paper

281 x 357mm

Collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington

McCahon made map-like drawings for friends, to explain his thinking about the Muriwai landscape. *Moby Dick Is (Was) a Volcano* and *Oaia Sits and Nibbles the Sea* were made for Caselberg.

The Days and Nights in the Wilderness Showing the Constant Flow of Light Passing into a Dark Landscape 1971 →

acrylic on unstretched canvas

2360 x 1840mm

Collection Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, New Plymouth



Tui Carr Celebrates Muriwai Beach 1972

acrylic on canvas

858 x 1742mm

Private collection, courtesy Martin Browne Contemporary, Sydney

McCahon shares in his grandson's delighted response to the beach, as a mythic Moby Dick (Oaia Island) looms on the horizon. McCahon again cites a whakataukī from Kereama's book: 'Hinga atu ana he tetekura. E ara mai ana he tetekura.' (When one chief falls, another rises to take his place.)

Tui & I walked on Muriwai at very low tide a few months ago—all alone—way down by the water. The place got him, he put his arms up, saw the sky, the sea, black & purple sand—the necessary protection area & Oaia island (my Moby Dick). Celebrated the occasion.

—Colin McCahon, to Peter McLeavey, 1973

Our Tui is so lovely ... His mouth curls with all the splendour of his Waikato ancestors. He smiles with all the smiles of his paternal ancestors and can laugh, lucky guy. I love him most dearly & feel proud to be allowed to push his pushchair.

—Colin McCahon, to Pat France, July 1972

Ahipara 1973 ←

charcoal on paper

273 x 355mm

Private collection, Wellington

Boy, I Would Say Get Out 1973

charcoal on paper

307 x 460mm

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, on loan from a private collection

Jet Out 1973 ←

charcoal on paper

282 x 350mm

Collection Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki

Jet Out to Te Rēinga 1973

charcoal on paper

338 x 273mm

Collection Peter and Helen Simpson, Auckland

Series D (Ahipara) 1973

acrylic on five unstretched canvases

1865 x 2130mm

Dunedin Public Art Gallery Loan Collection



The Song of the Shining Cuckoo 1974 ↑

acrylic on five unstretched canvases

1770 x 4511mm

Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Dunedin

The Song of the Shining Cuckoo was inspired by the words of a waiata given to McCahon by Ralph Hotere, who had learnt it from his father, Tangirau. The shining cuckoo is a migratory bird. Here, McCahon associated it with Māori ideas about the flight of the soul after death.

The work was painted on five drops of unstretched canvas, hung edge to edge. Each drop is subdivided into abstracted landscapes. Horizontal lines suggest frame edges (the edges of a view, spatial and temporal) and/or horizons (within views)—it isn't clear which are which. Roman numerals superimposed over the views recall the idea of the fourteen Stations of the Cross, the Christian meditative practice whereby the faithful identify with Christ by retracing key moments from the day of his crucifixion. Across this arrangement, McCahon drew a dotted line, suggesting the bird's—the spirit's—passage from left to right. In some painted frames, gaps open up hospitably, as if to let the bird pass through, as if it could transcend conventional spatial and temporal limits. Lines from the waiata are inscribed on the painting.

There are two principal ways through the painting—counting the numbers or joining the dots—representing alternative but coexisting paths. The work is bicultural; it suggests distinct and not necessarily compatible ideas concerning death and the afterlife—Christian and Māori.

GALLERY 4 Parihaka 1972

PARIHAKA REJECTS \$9m CROWN PAYMENT OFFER
Parihaka, a village at the centre of non-violent resistance to land confiscations in Taranaki during the 1870s, has rejected the cash offer as part of a deal with the Crown ... In 1879, under the leadership of prophets Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi, men set out from Parihaka to plough land illegally confiscated from Māori ... Their defiance led to 1,600 government troops sacking the settlement on 5 November 1881, arresting its men and imprisoning them in the South Island. Parihaka Papakāinga Trust chairwoman [Puna] Wano-Bryant said ... \$9m was not enough to get Parihaka back on its feet ... 'The idea is to take Parihaka back to where it was in its former glory. And not just structurally ... but spiritually where our people were thriving. This is an opportunity for us to start again.'
—Robin Martin, *Radio NZ News*, 2 March 2017

McCahon's *Parihaka Triptych* (1972) is one of two major history paintings in this exhibition—the *Urewera Triptych* being the other. Both are important McCahon works and rare events in our art history. The fact they are over forty years old and concern serious injustices that go back well over a century—which to this day, still require redress and still make headlines—shows how deep-rooted Pākehā reluctance to righting historical wrongs done to Māori has been and continues to be. There's still work for these paintings to do and neither is fully understood. The *Parihaka Triptych* is about historical memory. It asks: How are we to remember the heroes of the Māori resistance to Pākehā colonisation? What is the legacy of the Taranaki pacifists, Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi of Parihaka? And what is the relation of living memory to the historical archive?

In April 1972, James Mack, the young Temporary Exhibitions Officer at the Waikato Museum and Art Gallery, wrote to McCahon about 'a comprehensive exhibition paying tribute to Te Whiti o Rongomai' that he was organising:

You'll remember John Caselberg's new book devotes a considerable section to this tremendous gentleman. (A copy of John's notes enclosed—have told John have sent you same.) Would you be prepared? Interested? In submitting painting(s), drawings ... ?

Four days later McCahon replied: '... after IN HASTE. Come up and Talk. I'm all for doing the whole job ... I immediately know what I feel and think.' During May and June, he produced a number of studies. In these, the Necessary Protection cliff-and-stack motif morphs into what might be monuments to pairs of Māori prophets—Te Whiti and Te Ua Haumēne, Te Whiti and Tohu—but not yet into the coffin-like objects that appear on the

right-hand wing of the *Triptych*. However, it is only when Māori flags and Ratana Church paintings enter into the reckoning and he opts for a cross-shaped triptych that McCahon fully determines what he is feeling and thinking. The painting is dated July, but he continued to work on it at least into August. The exhibition, *Taranaki Saw It All: The Story of Te Whiti o Rongomai of Parihaka*, opened the following March.

The polysemic Necessary Protection motif remains part of the *Triptych's* back story. The play with crosses continues in the work's literal shape, which also suggests an altarpiece. McCahon quotes Te Whiti and Tohu's declarations: 'I stand for peace'. 'War shall cease and no longer divide the world.' Te Whiti identified himself with Christ:

He is God. I will be a God. I sacrifice myself that peace may be. I am here to be taken! Take me for the sins of the island. Why hesitate?

For these Christian pacifists, God is the Necessary Protector.

The words written in the middle of the central canvas—'a monument to Te Whiti'—accompany the cross above them and the stone over which they float, but also refer to the work itself. Itself a memorial, the painting asks to belong with those people who most cherish Te Whiti's memory (indeed, the words 'to the people of Parihaka' appear lower down on the canvas). However, this painting was, in a sense, already gifted, not to the Māori of Parihaka, but to the Pākehā. On its left-hand wing, in the space of dedication, McCahon has written the curious phrase 'an ornament for the Pākehā', referring both to the horizontal cross and the work itself. It rhymes with 'a monument to Te Whiti', as though we were looking at a gift with two recipients, a gift with two meanings, but nevertheless to be shared.

When Mack suggested McCahon might like to gift one of his Parihaka works to the people of the village, he chose the *Triptych*. It was thought it could be held at the Govett-Brewster Art Gallery on their behalf. On 17 April 1973, he wrote to Mack:

Before the big painting gets handed over the Govett-Brewster must want it—and the people of Parihaka. I want it to be wanted then it's a pleasure to give it. I myself in no way want to be involved in any handing over ceremony. It's the painting that may be useful—never the artist—he just makes the thing.

But what about that 'ornament for the Pākehā'? McCahon's main source in this work is Caselberg's *Māori Is My Name: Historical Māori Writings in Translation*. It was not published until 1975, but Mack had sent McCahon a copy of the text.



It includes an excerpt from a speech made in the House of Representatives on 31 May 1882 by Hōri Kerei Taiaroa concerning Te Whiti's arrest and detention without trial in the South Island following the sacking of Parihaka. The Government's idea in holding him in custody without trial was, in Taiaroa's words, 'to take him about and have exhibited to him all the ornaments of the Europeans [our italics], and the wonders to be seen there, with the object of enlarging his mind. But I say this: that is the best way of teaching Te Whiti what to do when he gets back to [Parihaka]'.

Te Whiti was indeed taken around the *International Exhibition* in Christchurch, but Taiaroa's use of the word 'ornament' is not at all complimentary. This did not escape Caselberg's attention, and he used the phrase to title the excerpt. Nor McCahon's, obviously. By changing it to 'an ornament for the Pākehā', McCahon seems to turn Taiaroa's irony against his own work, discomfiting its relation to its Pākehā recipients.

Parihaka Triptych 1972 ↑

acrylic on canvas

1754 x 4370mm

Gift of the artist, 1973. Held by the Govett-Brewster Art Gallery for the people of Parihaka. He tākoha nā te ringatoi, 1973. E tautiaki ana te whare whakairi toi o Govett-Brewster mā te iwi o Parihaka.

An Ornament for the Pākehā 1972

pencil on paper

318 x 407mm

Collection One Tree Hill College, Auckland

CROWN APOLOGISES TO PARIHAKA FOR PAST HORRORS

Treaty Negotiations Minister Chris Finlayson ... said it was important the history of what happened at Parihaka was put on the record ... [it is] not understood or known, even today ... He said for many people at the ceremony the history ... is anything but history, it's remembered, it's lived everyday ... In the apology, Finlayson detailed the Crown's failings ... [and] said the Crown regretted these actions, which had burdened it with a legacy of shame ... In addition to the apology, both parties signed two documents, a Deed of reconciliation and a Parihaka-Crown Relationship Agreement. [Puna] Wano-Bryant, chair of the Parihaka Papakāinga Trust, said the reconciliation—which includes a payment of \$9 million as well as deals for development services from ten Crown agencies and three local councils—was about more than just money and legislation, it was about the reconciliation of spirit. 'That is the priority...' , she said.

—Tara Shaskey, *Taranaki Daily News*, 9 June 2017

GALLERY 5
Te Urewera 1975–9

Te Urewera is the country in which we can see most vividly the path this piece of the Pax Britannica has made through New Zealand history: the umbilical cord connecting what the Victorians and Edwardians called 'Māoriland scenery' to our national parks and wilderness zones. The state's attempt to secure what William Massey called 'samples of the primaeval scenery that existed in the country at the advent of European occupation' are evidence of a bitter and bedrock paradox of New Zealand history: preservation was also subordination. That paradox, I suspect, is what led Colin McCahon, when commissioned to express 'the mystery of man in Te Urewera', for the Urewera National Park's visitors' centre, to create the Urewera Mural—depending on your politics, New Zealand's most famous or infamous painting. Smoulderingly beautiful in its own way, Colin McCahon's paean to land as whenua rebukes the state's attempt to institutionalise beauty, to take the 'picturesque region', as [Elsdon] Best called Te Urewera, from Māori homeland to Pākehā wilderness. Echoing with ancestral names McCahon's dark hills are as profoundly cultured as they are wild. Ironically, the name that Tūhoe required McCahon to delete from the first version of the mural had been found by McCahon in writings only made possible by material gathered by Best in the 1890s.

—Geoff Park, 2000

McCahon's *Urewera Mural* (1975) is not in this exhibition, even though it's one of his most important works on Māori subjects. Its absence, however, may speak louder and more clearly of its historical moment. Commissioned in 1974 by the Urewera National Park Board for its Āniwaniwa Visitor Centre, then under construction, the *Mural* was first shown in Auckland the following year, just before the Māori Land March began to head South, from Spirits Bay to Parliament House, and prior to the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal.

Now, all these years later, the Waitangi Tribunal Report on Tūhoe's historic claims against the Crown has been released (2009–12) and radical changes to the legal identity and governance of Te Urewera have been enshrined in the *Te Urewera Act* (2014). The National Park Board has gone, the Visitor Centre has been demolished, and the *Mural* has passed into the hands of Tūhoe. The forty years, which separate the *Mural's* commissioning from the passage of the *Act*, define the work's historical moment and set the terms for today's understanding of it.

When Te Uru Taumatua Board turned down our request to borrow the *Mural* for this show, they pointed out that it came hard on the heels of the painting's return to 'its rightful home after a turbulent period to bring that about', and added that, as a result, there was 'no will to let it go again albeit for a short time'. Rightful, because the *Act* wrote

into law the central proclamation of McCahon's painting: 'TŪHOE UREWERA THEir LAND'. And rightful, because, as long as the painting remained in the Park's hands, its proclamation was compromised, in being commissioned by the very state that had taken the land.

On 5 June 1997, Tūhoe activists removed the *Mural* from the Visitor Centre in the dead-of-night. It was not theft, they said, when they give it back fifteen months later, but a temporary 'confiscation', intended to impress on Pākehā what it is like to be robbed of your taonga. Before the heist, the *Mural* was the least known, certainly the most neglected, of McCahon's major works. After, it becomes the most famous (or infamous).

The *Urewera Triptych*—which here stands in for the *Mural*—is a study for it. It has the same dimensions, basic composition, and conceptual structure. It looks like his first excited response to the commission (the stark simplicity and raw urgency), just as the *Mural* looks like it might have been subject to second thoughts (its elaborated landscape imagery and overpainting). It's no great surprise that McCahon wondered whether the *Triptych* was the better painting.

When the *Mural* was first presented to the Board for its approval, which it gave, McCahon was asked to change four words because they would cause offence among Tūhoe: 'Ko Tūtakangāhau te tangata' (Tūtakangāhau is the man). McCahon agreed, replacing them with the words 'Ko Tūhoe te iwi' (Tūhoe the people). However, since then, his 'mistake' has been interpreted as cultural ignorance and/or insensitivity. Trouble is, he was quoting directly from the Board's own handbook, which it had sent to McCahon to guide him. His view was that he'd been misled on the wording. The problem, it seems, inhered in the Board's own relation to Tūhoe. The offending words remain in the earlier *Triptych*.

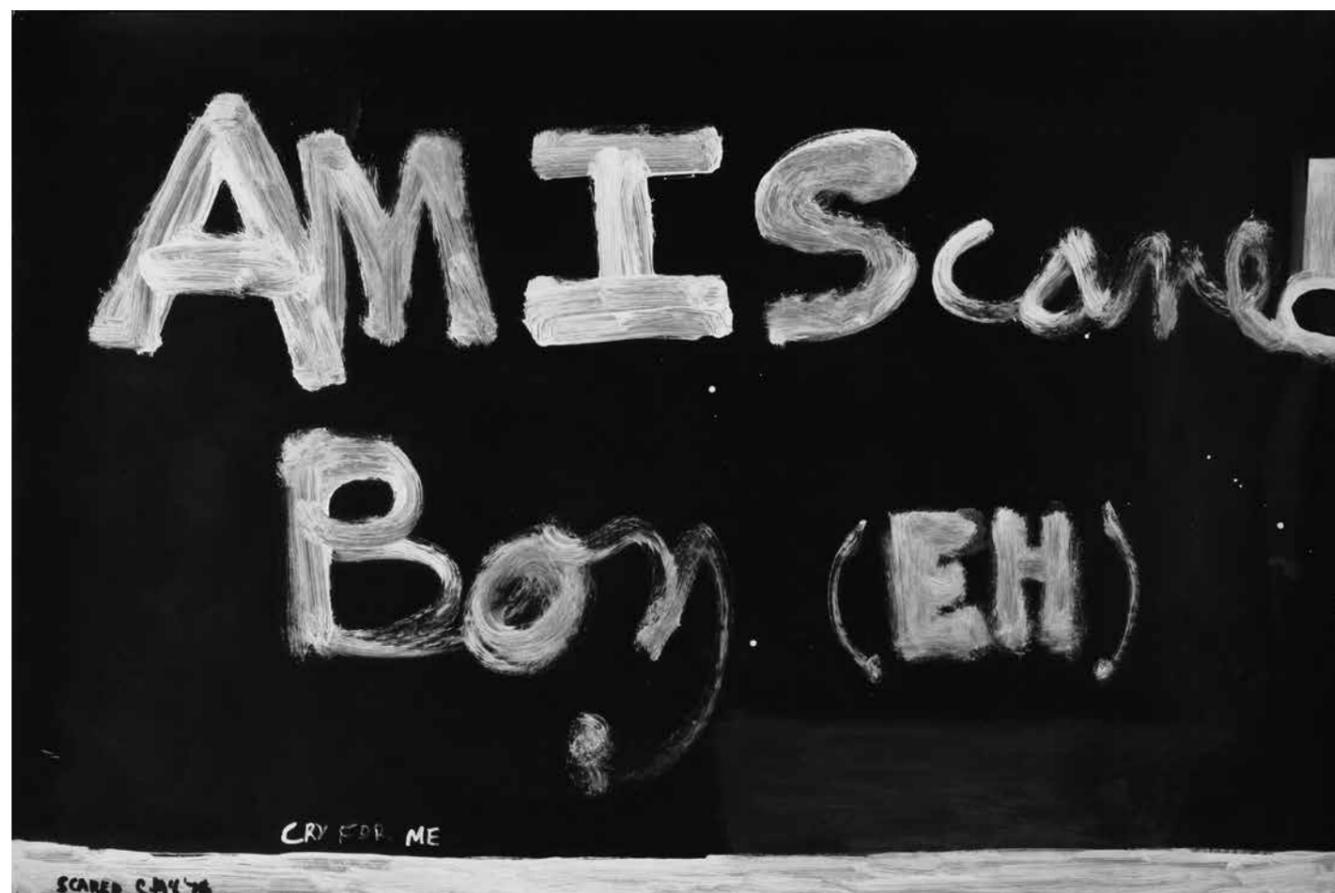
Just prior to the presentation, McCahon worried that he hadn't risen to the challenge the subject and his clients had set for him. Was it too much? He'd written to Pat France:

It's a feeling the place has. It sits over it all & must have been there for hundreds & hundreds of years. I feel it now as silence & rain & waterfalls & bush lived in & land so loved I don't really feel at home there. I'm a part of it all but can't be of it. I wish I could belong. I just sit outside & look in. It is all so lovely and terrible. We will have to go down & hold this area in great terror. We have been there have done it but to go & put up a painting for the Tūhoe people will be tough—they may not like it why should they. But I am trying to understand them. I hope I can.

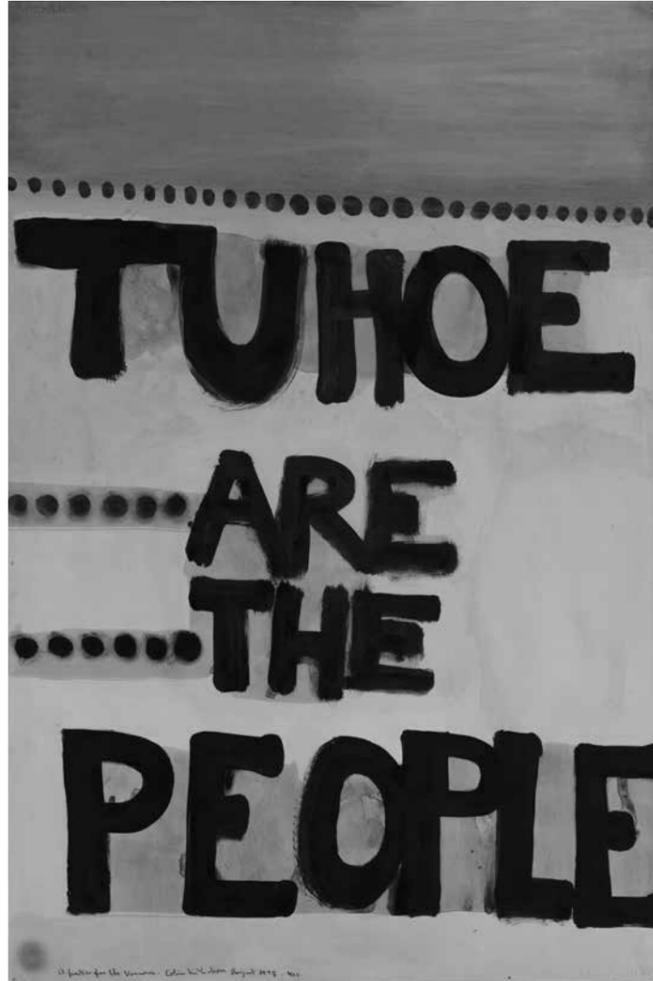
After the meeting he wrote to McLeavey: 'I got scared.'



Urewera Triptych 1975



Am I Scared 1976



It's true that McCahon set out to scare his viewers. In this case, it was the tourist types on the Park Board he had in his sights. But, he also sought ways to scare himself and to raise the bar for the sake of his art. In December 1975, Peter McLeavey, who had included McCahon's *A Poster for the Urewera No. 2* in a group show—sent McCahon a photo of two young Māori men hovering with uncertainty in the doorway in his Gallery. The *Poster* hangs out of their sight, in the next room. In response, McCahon painted *Am I Scared* (1976), featuring the words 'Am I Scared Boy (Eh)'. Inscribed in tiny capitals on the lower edge is the plaintive utterance: 'CRY FOR ME'. This is not as contemporary as the work's colloquial title sounds. According to Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, the phrase is from 'a letter written by Wiremu Hiroki to his whanau, on the eve of his execution in New Plymouth in June 1882. Tried and hanged for killing a Pākehā surveyor, the outlaw had been apprehended by the British colonial authorities from his place of refuge at Parihaka.'

The works in this Gallery deal with aspects of the violent and unjust treatment of Māori during the colonisation period. McCahon is not a professional historian, anthropologist, or politician. The works show us more about his thinking as a history painter. He is interested in the Māori prophets because they hybridised Christian and Māori beliefs and practices for political ends, and because he sees a connection between the poetics of prophecy and those of painting.

The late poet, Leigh Davis, called the Māori prophet Te Kooti's biblical hybrids 'creole moments':

Politics, conflict, translation are part of its moment but they do not give it its art-history importance. The art-history importance comes from grace and complexity of sense. It is where something brown came to stand in a particular relation with something Western. Something unfamiliar to Europeans became bound to something with which we are very familiar and took it over. But it is not hostile per se, this new thing that stepped into the field. We do not experience negation of that with which we are familiar, but are calmed and charmed by a new actor, which takes what is a high culture narrative for us to disrupt it, overlay it with apocrypha, make it encounter a new authority, and, in this time, accord it reverence and take up a position of submission before it. In short, ravish it. The Bible was thus abstracted in a fascinating call and response.

(Te Whiti's remark—'I am here to be taken! Take me for the sins of the island. Why hesitate?'—was another such creole moment.)

Rua Kēnana claimed to be the successor Te Kooti prophesied, and, after Te Kooti's death, built a New Jerusalem, at Maungapōhatu, beneath Tūhoe's sacred mountain. Rua's name shares pride of place with Te Kooti's on the *Mural* and the *Triptych*. He's also the subject of McCahon's allegorical triptych, *A Song for Rua, Prophet (Dreaming of Moses)* (1979). It depicts the progress of God's cloud cover of the Israelites (Iharaira) as Moses leads them out of captivity in (Pākehā) Egypt to freedom and the Promised Land of Te Urewera.

A Poster for the Urewera No. 1 1975 ←
acrylic on paper

1097 x 723mm

Collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington

A Poster for the Urewera No. 2 1975 →
acrylic on paper

1089 x 720mm

Collection Aratoi Regional Trust, Wairarapa

Urewera Triptych 1975

aka *A Painted Drawing for the Mural*
acrylic on three unstretched canvases

2520 x 5370mm

Courtesy Gow Langsford Gallery, Auckland

Am I Scared 1976

acrylic on paper

730 x 1105mm

Collection Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, New Plymouth

A Song for Rua, Prophet (Dreaming of Moses) 1979

acrylic on three sheets of paper

each sheet 730 x 1100mm

Fletcher Trust Collection, Auckland

I have 1400 men here and I am not going to let any of them enlist or go to war. You have no king now. The King of England he is no good. He is beat. The Germans will win. Any money I have I will give to the Germans. The English are no good. They have two laws. One for the Māori and one for the Pākehā. When the Germans win I am going to be king here. I will be king of the Māori and of the Pākehā.

—attributed to Rua Kēnana, 12 February 1916



DOCUMENTS GALLERY

This room contains archival materials that offer insight into works in the show. These include facsimiles of McCahon letters in the Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Dunedin.

'Māori painters' as Ralph Hotere & Buster deny being—only painters are being themselves, now in time—Arnold Wilson—to a great extent Para Matchitt don't know yet where they stand—New Zealand painters or 'Māori' painters. I would like to see the term Regional painters adopted all over the world—acceptable to art historians in very restricted ways—Florentine, Venetian, Rotorua, Auckland, Dunedin, etc ...

Tell me, who is really saying the truth amongst the Māori sculptors & painters—and do they know—and are they courageous enough to try?

Muru makes his raids on the other tribes with great success—he has been Woollaston now Nolan ... Woollaston-Nolan substitute or a Māori Painter.

They have a world that I've tried to make, (to make—to get with) at their fingertips and I've got a world they want at mine—we don't allow each other, all prohibitions and 'not telling'. Arnold 'If you paint Māori Symbols, I'll paint Christian Symbols'—I don't mind.

Ralph is just a good painter—

Buster is just a good painter—

Rita Angus is just a good painter—

Woollaston is just a good painter—

Para Matchitt is trying to be a Māori painter—

Selwyn Muru is trying to be a Māori painter—

Arnold Wilson is trying to be a Māori sculptor—

Molly Macalister is a good sculptor. Etc..

Its all too difficult and the answer is being able to accept.

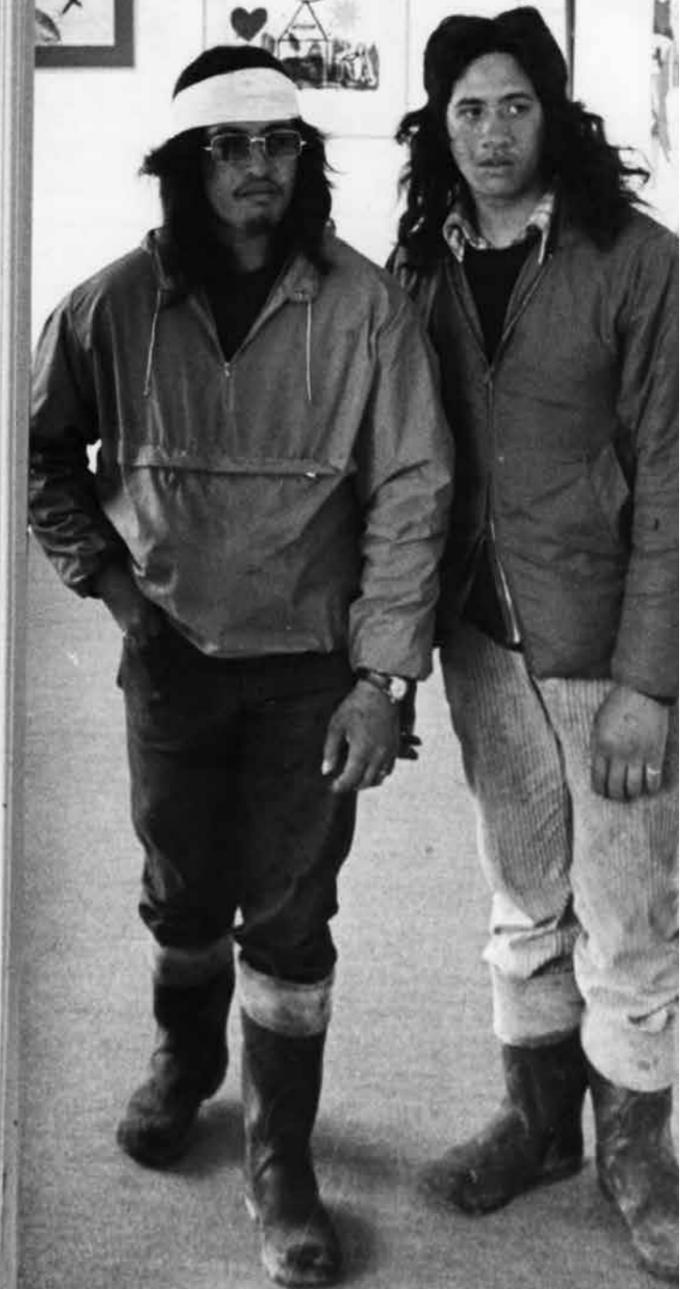
Darkness & enlightenment have nothing to do with the colour of skin—nor on intellect but on the grace of God (any colour).

Hotere has a recent work (Benson & Hedges) almost right—but so good, pure, lovely. The surviving soul must be black white yellow brown and the common red.

—Colin McCahon, to John Caselberg, 29 May 1968

What an awful place Parihaka is. Where is the spirit now. Who wants Rhodadendrons up Egmont when bashed spirits stand under the Raj. I find it hard to take. I trust my cross for the Pākehā annoys some people & could restore faith to some others. Boy, I feel little hope there, and very little hope for your local painters ... And who could dance now on Parihaka soil—and the Raj blooming on the mountain side. I feel personally responsible for the visitors gawking. I also feel responsible for past terror. I am not an invader. I saw a lot but I will never again invade such a place. On Sunday—myself to blame, I did, but I saw an awful truth. I know a lot more now. Egmont takes the whole of your soul and all invasion should be stopped—bang—the right name restored, the daffodils & chalets & muck got rid of ...

—Colin McCahon, to Ron O'Reilly, 18 July 1977



Public Programmes

Deane Lectures

Monday 29 May, 6pm

Wystan Curnow on McCahon's *The Lark's Song*.

Monday 12 June, 6pm

Vivienne Stone, Andrew Paul Wood, and Shannon Te Ao on McCahon House and artists' responses to it.

Thursday 29 June, 6pm

Ngāi Tūhoe Chief Negotiator Tāmami Kruger and former Prime Minister Rt Hon Jim Bolger discuss the post-Treaty-settlement process.

Monday 3 July, 6pm

Jacob Scott, Gregory O'Brien, and Peter Simpson on Colin McCahon's *Urewera Mural* and its original home, architect John Scott's recently demolished Āniwaniwa Visitors Centre.

Monday 24 July, 6pm

Jeff Sissons on the Māori prophet Rua Kēnana and the poetics and truth of prophecy.

The lecture programme has been supported by the Deane Endowment Trust. Further Deane Lectures will be announced. Speakers will include Robert Leonard and Ngahiraka Mason.

Saturday Talks

Saturday 8 April, 11am

Wystan Curnow with Robert Leonard.

Saturday 27 May, 3pm

Artists Shane Cotton, Brett Graham, and Shannon Te Ao with Hūhana Smith.

Saturday 17 June, 3pm

Gregory O'Brien on James K. Baxter and McCahon.

Saturday 24 June, 2.30pm

Laurence Simmons.

Saturday 24 June, 3pm

Composer Robin Maconie on McCahon, music, and orality.

Saturday 1 July, 3pm

Peter Simpson on McCahon's sources, including John Caselberg, Matire Kereama, and James K. Baxter.

Saturday 1 July, 3.30pm

Damian Skinner on McCahon and Māori in the post-Treaty-settlement era.

Saturday Screenings at Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision Corner Ghuznee and Taranaki Streets

Film screenings exploring New Zealand race relations in the 1960s and 1970s. A joint project with Ngā Taonga.

Saturday 10 June, 4.30pm

Protest-movement documentary double feature: *Tē Matakite o Aotearoa: The Māori Land March* (dir. Geoff Steven, 1hr, 1975) and *Bastion Point: Day 507* (dir. Merata Mita, Leon Narbey, and Gerd Pohlman, 27min, 1980). Introduced by Sharon Hawke, daughter of Joe Hawke, one of the Bastion Point protest leaders.

Saturday 17 June, 4.30pm

Don't Let It Get You (dir. John O'Shea, 1hr 20min, 1966), New Zealand's answer to *A Hard Day's Night*, featuring Howard Morrison, Kiri Te Kanawa, and the Quin Tikis, preceded by *Avondale Dogs* (dir. Gregor Nicholas, 15min, 1994). Introduced by Ray Ahipene-Mercer and Robert Leonard.

Saturday 24 June, 4.30pm

Runaway (dir. John O'Shea, 1hr 42min, 1964)—'the intimate, daring drama of a young killer on the run and the women in his life.' With Kiri Te Kanawa and Selwyn Muru. Introduced by Laurence Simmons.

Saturday 1 July, 4.30pm

The Governor (1977) is an epic TV docudrama on the life of George Grey, an early Governor of New Zealand, featuring laudanum, lechery, and land confiscation. Lawrence McDonald introduces the concluding sixth episode, *To the Death* (1hr 15min).

Saturday 8 July, 4.30pm

To Love a Māori (dir. Ramai and Rudall Hayward, 1hr 43min, 1972) addresses issues facing Māori heading to the cities via an interracial love story.



NGĀ TAONGA
SOUND & VISION

Further Reading

Judith Binney, *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera, 1820–1921* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2009). See 'Introduction', 1–15.

Marja Bloem and Martin Browne, 'Chronology', *Colin McCahon: A Question of Faith* (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 2002), 159–239.

Gordon Brown, *Colin McCahon: Artist* (Auckland: Heinemann, 1984). See 'Under the Prow of the Great Canoe: The Māori Influence', 155–63.

John Caselberg, 'The Song of the Shining Cuckoo', *Islands*, vol. 5, no. 4, July 1977: 404–8.

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—'Muriwai to Parihaka', *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance* (Wellington: City Gallery Wellington and Victoria University Press, 2001), 139–44.

—'The Shining Cuckoo', *Interpreting Contemporary Art*, ed. Stephen Bann and William Allen (London: Reaktion Books, 1991), 27–46.

Leigh Davis, 'Māori Bay Quarry: Māori Prophets in the Work of Colin McCahon', *Art Asia Pacific*, no. 23, 1999: 82–9.

Ngarino Ellis, 'Looting and Theft in Colonial-Era Aotearoa/ New Zealand', *Art Crime and Its Prevention*, ed. Arthur Tompkins (London: Lund Humphries, 2016), 148–60.

Rick Gekoski, *Lost, Stolen, or Shredded: Stories of Missing Works of Art and Literature* (London: Profile Books, 2013). See 'Possession and Dispossession in New Zealand: The Theft of the Urewera Mural', 18–36.

James Mack, 'Ko Taranaki Maunga Anake ki te Mōhio: Taranaki Saw It All', *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance* (Wellington: City Gallery Wellington and Victoria University Press, 2001), 117–20.

Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, 'The Class of '66', *Off the Wall*, no. 1, March 2013, <http://arts.tepapa.govt.nz/off-the-wall/4130/the-class-of-66>.

—'An Ornament for the Pākehā: Colin McCahon's Parihaka Triptych', *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance* (Wellington: City Gallery Wellington and Victoria University Press, 2001), 129–38.

Bernice Murphy, 'Colin McCahon: Resistant Regionalist or International Modernist?', *Art and Australia*, vol. 27, no. 1, 1989: 66–71.

Gregory O'Brien, *Colin McCahon: A View from Urewera* (Wellington: City Gallery Wellington, 1999).

Rangihīroa Panoho, 'Māori: At the Centre, On the Margins', *Headlands: Thinking through New Zealand Art* (Sydney: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1992), 123–34.

Geoff Park, 'The Ecology of the Visit', *Theatre Country: Essays on Landscape and Whenua* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), 139–42.

—'“I Belong with the Wild Side of New Zealand”: The Flowing Land in Colin McCahon', *Theatre Country: Essays on Landscape and Whenua* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), 54–67.

Francis Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand: Art and National Identity 1930–1970* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2009).

—*The Space Between: Pākehā Use of Māori Motifs in Modernist New Zealand Art* (Auckland: Workshop Press, 1994).

Neil Rowe, 'Notes Toward a McCahon ABC', *Art New Zealand*, no. 8, November 1977–January 1978: 43–5.

Chris Saines, et al., *Urewera Mural: Colin McCahon* (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery, 1999).

Peter Simpson, *Answering Hark: McCahon/Caselberg Painter/Poet* (Nelson: Craig Potton, 2001).

—'The Canoe Tainui', *The Tim and Sherrah Francis Collection* (Auckland: Art+Object, 2016), 80–9.

Ngahuaia Te Awekotuku, 'Ngahuaia Te Awekotuku in Conversation with Elizabeth Eastmond and Priscilla Pitts', *Antic*, no. 1, 1986: 44–55.

Ian Wedde, 'Living in Time: A Day at the Footie' (1997), <http://www.nzepc.auckland.ac.nz/authors/wedde/living.asp>.

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John Miller

Laurence Simmons

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Marti Friedlander 'Colin McCahon: Written Paintings
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Courtesy Gerrard and Marti Friedlander Trust.