Colonial Objects in Northern Ireland

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This thesis is dedicated to the memories of my parents, Julian and Dr. Maurna Crozier, and grandparents, Ann and Dr. Douglas Crozier. It is for my brothers, Daniel and Matthew Crozier. Most of all it is for my family, Hugh, Rose, Corin and Darwin Widdis.

Abstract

In 2015 I inherited a collection of objects with an archive from the latter days of colonial Hong Kong (1931-1961). This project closely examines the artefacts, collectively termed the “Crozier Collection” in this thesis. Given that they derive from the late colonial period, and furthermore from a multicultural urban society, the thesis began with a central question: what makes the artefacts “colonial”?

By devising a new framework, the thesis aims to broaden understanding of what defines the “Colonial Object”. This Framework contests as artificial, dominant museological distinctions between the objects of Western and non-Western countries. The thesis furthermore exposes how Colonial Objects can function in the constitution of identities through a binary opposition: Us-ness, reflecting the identity of the viewer, and Otherness, reflecting a projection onto the viewed. Chapters adopt an exhibition format, with specific objects being examined in depth. The contributions to knowledge of the thesis is that it is an extended autoethnographic study of Colonial Objects of which no previous examples have been found; that it provides a way of integrating the study of private and public collections of such objects (the Colonial Objects Framework); and that it investigates particular collections and objects never before published in the depth that they are here.

The thesis concludes by recommending an extended usage of the term “Colonial Object” through the adoption of the Framework. Secondly, it emphasises the importance of Autoethnography in interpreting Colonial Objects within museum practice. Finally, that Northern Ireland’s ethnographic collections provide important evidence about its past in the British Empire, can be part of projects to build a shared society, and merit fuller research.

The core Methodology for the thesis is Autoethnography. It is interdisciplinary, but Museology is foremost.

Key Words

Autoethnography; Collections, Colonial Object; Colonial Objects Framework; Family; Us-ness; Otherness; Museology; Museum Ethnography; Northern Ireland.

Abbreviations

ANT – Actor Network Theory.

BNHPS – Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society.

CMG – Commander of St. Michael and St. George.

DUP – Democratic Unionist Party.

HKVDF – Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Force.

KGV – King George V School, Hong Kong.

HMS – His Majesty's Ship.

ICOM – International Council of Museums.

IMA – Irish Museums Association.

LLD – Doctor of Laws.

MA – Museums Association.

MEG – Museum Ethnographers Group.

NI – Northern Ireland.

NIMC – Northern Ireland Museums Council.

NMNI – National Museums Northern Ireland.

NMS – National Museums Scotland.

RMS – Royal Mail Ship.

SS – Steam Ship.

SCMP – South China Morning Post.

T:BUC – *Together: Building a United Community* (a Northern Ireland government policy).

UN – United Nations.

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

UNIDROIT – The International Institution for the Unification of Private Law.

Chapter One

Research Question, Objectives, Methodology and Thesis Structure

Introduction

This thesis is an Autoethnography. It began with a decisive event: the death of my mother, in January 2015, in Northern Ireland. I subsequently inherited a collection of objects and archives that come from the latter days of a British colony, Hong Kong. This PhD is the result of my desire to understand both the collection and the identities of its previous owners, my grandparents, Douglas and Ann Crozier, and parents, Julian and Maurna Crozier. The objects derive from the late colonial period (1931-1961), and furthermore were the products of a multicultural, urban society. For this reason, my initial searches focused on a central question: are these artefacts 'colonial' – and if they are, what makes them so? This thesis is an account of an investigation that has consequently revolved around a central Research Question – what makes any object 'colonial'? It follows that the Research Question has generated the first Research Objective: to Develop a Critical Framework for Understanding Colonial Objects.

The relevance of this Objective to what is happening in the world outside this thesis is that it is being written at a time when colonialism in museums is being debated as never before. Less than a week after it is submitted, the UK Museums Association will host its 2019 conference, in which Decolonisation is the central theme. Among the conference's stimuli have been the recent Restitution of African Cultural Heritage report commissioned by the French President, Emmanuel Macron; the reopening of Belgium's Africa Museum; and the commitment of the Netherlands' Museum of World Cultures to return all looted cultural artefacts. The Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Tristam Hunt has contrastingly argued that 'to decolonise is to decontextualise'. MA director Sharon Heal has pointed out the need to 'add detail and context that has been deliberately ignored'.[1]

I am writing the PhD conscious, therefore, that as a descendant of colonisers, as someone who has inherited a 'colonial collection', and as a former Curator of Ethnography, there may be some who from the outset question my motivations. For this reason, I emphasise three underlying values for the research.

Firstly, I do not support a reductive approach to Colonial Objects. Colonial

situations cannot be reduced to neat dualistic representations of colonised versus colonisers. There are always groups who find themselves between the extremes.[2] This is why, throughout this thesis, and through the narratives about objects I develop, I will demonstrate nuances in colonial and postcolonial identities. In doing so, I am meeting the need for detail and context for which Sharon Heal has called (see above).

The second underpinning value for this thesis is that, irrespective of whether we work in museums or not, we need to observe indigenous rights to cultural property. The legal and ethical conditions for this are set out within the thesis (Chapter Three). We also need to value and indigenous knowledge and where incorporate it within our interpretations. This is what I have done in this thesis; and I have furthermore acknowledged throughout that my own interpretation, being informed by my own professional and personal background, can only be partial.

This brings me to my third principle, which is that *all* interpretations of the past are subjective. The prejudices that arise from subjective positions are why, in Western museum discourse, within a discipline known as 'Ethnography' and now often described as 'World Cultures', the cultural heritages of indigenous societies from anywhere outside Europe have been aggregated under a single, totalising category. It is also why this is a division that I intend in this thesis to oppose. For this reason, the Colonial Objects Framework upon which this thesis rests *contests* colonial binaries. It asserts as artificial, distinctions between the objects of Western and non-Western countries that at the time of writing remain dominant within museum practice.

However, as I also show, conceptualisations of objects, being subjective, are the result of processes of self-construction. These processes derive from subjective concerns: self-interest, and ethnocentrism. Furthermore, colonial societies of the past were governed on the basis of cultural and political binaries. Therefore, analysis of how objects connect with identity must be informed by awareness of the presence of binary oppositions.

Given that this is so, I suggest in this thesis that we question *how* objects are subjectively conceived, in relation to a binary in the construction of which we all have a role. This is a binary that I have coined here as Us-ness and Otherness. It is designed to represent a spectrum of ideological positions across which, as I assert from the outset, there are limitless gradations. Both concepts are substantiated by

scholarly research, including having been established by postcolonial theorists who are referenced in Chapter Two.

This thesis relates to both individual and institutional subjective interpretations. Both a desire to generalise my findings so that the thesis can be of wider interest and benefit, and my background of working in museums, have motivated me to examine linkages between the objects that I inherited, and the aforementioned museological context. I have therefore integrated my interpretation of the Crozier Collection, with a second investigation of a collection that is publicly owned.

This process has been constituted through a second Objective that seeks to unify the study of 'colonial objects' that are in both private and public collections. It is framed as Research Objective Two: to apply the Colonial Objects Framework to objects in the Crozier Collection and to the World Cultures Collection of National Museums Northern Ireland. This segment of the study comprises research that has never been done in a holistic way before; and is presented through a series of object *vignettes*. Its originality comprises the fact that it provides new knowledge about the Crozier Collection and also the National Museums Northern Ireland World Cultures Collection. While the Crozier Collection is a family collection containing purely personal mementoes, the NMNI collection is a vital source of evidence on which to base analysis of the history of Northern Ireland in the British Empire; and furthermore, is the only discretely identified ethnographic collection[3] in the region.[4] It is hoped that this integrated study of both will generate substantial private and public interest.

The thesis has focused on Northern Ireland because it is the homeland of the Croziers; and is where both I and the private collection at the heart of my study are located. Given the geographical context, I have queried to what extent the development of colonialism as an interpretative theme in museums is prevented by divergent perspectives on the history of the British Empire that are still prominent in the region today. Political and cultural opposition in Northern Ireland is often described as having been defined by ideas about who and what constitutes an 'us' and a 'them'. This is why the binary of Us-ness and Otherness that I propose as the basis of the Colonial Objects Framework, is especially salient to the study of Colonial Objects in Northern Ireland. The Us-ness / Otherness Binary has echoes in 'us and them' discourse that has characterised political and cultural narrative in

Northern Ireland,[5] but also seeks to subvert it. This is demonstrated in how the usage of the Framework as the basis of Objective Two has led to the shaping of my third and final objective for the research. This is Objective Three: to identify Museum Practice outcomes of the thesis for use in Northern Ireland.

Terminology and Key Concepts

Colonial Object; Colonial Objects Framework; Us-ness and Otherness; Museology; Crozier Collection; Museum Ethnography; Autoethnography; Family.

The Colonial Object is the foundational Key Concept of this thesis. Therefore, where the whole phrase is used, the two words will be written as proper nouns and without quotation marks. The aim of the thesis is to establish a Colonial Objects Framework. This is the second Key Concept and will be similarly capitalised. The third Key Concept is a binary; that of Us-ness and Otherness. Both words will be capitalised to indicate this. Us-ness is a term that I have coined for specific usage within Museology through this PhD; Otherness is well-established in postcolonial theory and research practice. The objects, photographs and archival documents with which this thesis began are collectively termed the Crozier Collection. Museology is the core research discipline to which the thesis contributes. Museum Ethnography and how it has determined the interpretation of Colonial Objects is the museum practice discipline to which it relates. Autoethnography is the core research methodology. Family is a key term because the thesis emanates from a family collection. All the Key Concepts, Terms, Research and Practice Disciplines and Methodologies will be fully referenced in the body of the thesis.

Thesis Disciplines

The thesis is primarily located within Museology, but it has benefited too from interdisciplinarity. As outlined under 'Research Methods' below, it is founded on twenty-five years' worth of work in the museum and heritage sector. This includes experience as a Curator of Ethnography and hence, the thesis draws on Museum Ethnography as a research field. It is also inspired by the more general field of Museum Practice in which, as a policy officer and grant assessor, I have worked. A fourth founding discipline is History, because in order to interpret the variety of Colonial Objects that I include, I have widely referenced historical literature. As readers will observe, the fact that I have worked autoethnographically has required me to write creatively; therefore, the discipline of Life Writing will in parts be found. Finally, in order to interpret objects in both the Crozier Collection and the National Museums Northern Ireland World Cultures Collection, I have needed to

understand the biographies of which they were in the past part. Family history research is therefore included. Because genealogical research fits closely within Public History, I regard the latter as a sixth discipline for the thesis.

Thesis Focus

As explained in the Introduction, the thesis focuses on two collections, one private, and one in a public museum. The first is the Crozier Collection, which I inherited from my grandparents via my parents. The second is the World Cultures Collection in National Museums Northern Ireland.

As previously set out, there are two reasons why the integration of the collections is helpful. The first is that Colonial Objects in both private and public collections have much in common but have never been compared before through the binary of Us-ness and Otherness. By contextualising private experience within a public setting I am consolidating the contribution of the thesis to knowledge.

The second reason is that the private context, where Colonial Objects are found in domestic space, is a source of rich data. The information derives from layers of documentation that can be found in the home, and from the physical settings in which the objects have been kept. Furthermore, the usage of private memory about family life, and drawing upon the emotions of the objects' present owners, can provide significant insights that are not often available in museums. This information can be used to reveal nuances about how the objects relate to human identities; producing deeper analysis than would be possible without it.

By contrast, when Colonial Objects are found in museum settings, much of the information has already been stripped away. This is because firstly, having been removed from the environments in which they were previously used, it is already more difficult to understand how the objects functioned. Secondly, paper archives found in the home often appear at first to be ephemeral or unrelated to the objects, and are as a result not collected at the point when objects are acquired for public collections. Thirdly, it is more commonly the case than otherwise that, when the objects were acquired, the group narratives, memories and emotions that attended them have gone unrecorded: to ask people how they *feel* about objects is only a recent development.[6]

Thesis Setting

The setting for the thesis is, as aforementioned, Northern Ireland. As also explained above, the first reason for this is that Northern Ireland is the place in which most of the Croziers about whom I am writing here were born and have lived. The second is that both the Crozier Collection and I are situated here. The majority of the objects from the Collection have been kept in Northern Ireland since 1967. This was the date when their owners, Douglas and Ann Crozier, came 'home' to Tandragee in County Armagh. Since 1961 they had lived in London, having retired there, from Hong Kong, at that date.

By one reading, these objects can be described as 'colonial' *because* they derive from Hong Kong, which was at the time a British colony. Furthermore, they were acquired because Douglas Crozier was a colonial civil servant working to a British Governor. First a teacher, and later Director of Education, he married Ann and raised his family in a British-ruled Hong Kong. Other objects in this study, though, are not from Hong Kong. Instead they are from Ireland and Northern Ireland, or from places un-defined. As I argue, objects from disparate parts of the world can be considered 'colonial'. This is because, irrespective of where it comes from, an object can represent the subaltern.[7] In this way, it can symbolise and be a vehicle for the expression of perspectives on the Other. Secondly, an object can be *colonising* by occupying the heart, mind and identity of the viewer. In this sense, it can come to represent Us-ness. The connection made in this thesis between Colonial Objects, Us-ness and Otherness has resulted in a broad definition of the Colonial Object that is completely new and is set out in greater detail in this chapter.

The Crozier Collection as a Motivation for the Thesis

The Crozier Collection is a *bricolage*[8] of objects including paper and photographic archives; ceramics; paintings; metalwork, carvings and furniture. As made clear above, much of my research has focused on those objects from within it that can be defined as 'colonial' due to the time and place in which they were made and exchanged. Thus, throughout the thesis are woven examples of Colonial Objects from the phase in my family's imperial past, in Hong Kong, that were acquired in the mid-twentieth century by Douglas and Ann Crozier.

As stated above though, my thesis also includes Colonial Objects from everyday life. I have come to regard them as such due to the colonising effect that

they have had on people; or, conversely, to the ways in which they have become dispossessed of meanings. As I will show, dispossession of meaning has come about through both subconscious and deliberate forgetting. Such objects include, for example, a trunk of memorabilia from mid-twentieth century County Donegal; a family photograph of a forgotten ancestor; and a basket of stones gathered in the fields around our home. A quantitative outline and brief description of preparatory work undertaken on the Crozier Collection is outlined in the Appendix. Its components will, by the end of the thesis, be easy to envisage.

The objects were kept until recently at Lisnacreevy House in County Down, my childhood home. Beginning with the death of my father in 2006, I became aware of the impact on my own identity of the encroaching loss of these symbols of my own and our ancestors' lifetimes. This previous bereavement made encountering our belongings during the three-year process of emptying the house for its sale, following the death of my mother in 2015, all the more painful.

The objects that I took from Lisnacreevy still evoke memories of being raised in a household filled with my extended family and are poignant reminders of all the love and the battles that family life entailed. The house was in the countryside, and so was a geographically distinctive nucleus around which we all revolved. The people to whom its contents had belonged were my grandparents on both sides, including Douglas and Ann Crozier; my parents, Julian and Maurna Crozier; and my brothers and me. No community within our lives was more central than that which existed at home. Due to the abundant interest that Maurna and Julian maintained in the outside world though, Lisnacreevy was filled with people: many were the parties they threw; the weekends were rare when there was not someone staying; and several of them lived with us for years on end. These networks, quite naturally, populated the house with things. The handling of them was thus a means through which we processed our human connections, both within the family and with others whom we cherished.

The effect on this research of Maurna Crozier's death, occurring three months into the project, was cataclysmic. When we had to sell Lisnacreevy, whilst grieving for my mother, I was forced to physically separate the objects from the fabric of our former lives whilst simultaneously studying them as an academic. The subsequent occupation of my own family's home with artefacts from Lisnacreevy then led me to perceive the subject of Colonial Objects in a new light. My academic

impetus, infused with sorrow at losing Maurna and leaving Lisnacreevy, became more instinctive. Previously mementoes of a shared past now broken apart by the loss of cherished people, the objects gained heft as burdens. I had never asked for the objects that had always, before, represented an abstracted generality of ancestral guilt. Instead, as their new owner, the guilt was mine.

Research Question, Aim and Objectives

The outcome of taking on colonial guilt[9] as transmitted to me in the form of the Colonial Objects that I inherited, has been an alteration of the Research Question that I originally set out to answer. In addition to, as at my doctoral outset, centring on how objects *from colonies* informed the identities of Others, my searches also began to revolve around how Colonial Objects had constituted Us, the Crozier family. As suggested by the Introduction, this led me to frame a new Research Question: in what ways, and for what reasons, can objects *become colonial*?

This revision has in turn altered the ways in which my work contributes to knowledge. By examining the Research Question via an autoethnographic narrative, I began to generate new ideas about what a Colonial Object might be. The ideas needed to be corralled into a structure that allowed me to set out my findings; doing so led to the framing of Research Objective One: To develop a Critical Framework for understanding Colonial Objects. Furthermore, I did not want to restrict my study to the Crozier Collection alone. I wanted to open up my findings about Colonial Objects in family experience in such a way as to make them applicable to the sector in which I work. This is what led to Research Objective Two: to apply the Colonial Objects Framework to objects in the Crozier Collection and the World Cultures Collection of National Museums Northern Ireland. Objective Three: to identify Museum Practice outcomes of the thesis for use in Northern Ireland, flows from Objectives One and Two and is a necessary contribution to wider society.

Development of Research Objectives

Research Objective One: To develop a Critical Framework for understanding Colonial Objects

During the writing of this thesis, I have reviewed ways in which museologists have used the term ‘colonial object’. As I show in Chapter Two, previous references to such objects have tended to avoid the phrase altogether. The closest usage to mine is

that of Annabel Cooper, Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla, who investigate for New Zealand, how objects are 'pathways into … colonial history', and 'were designed to be touched, worn, held, exchanged and gifted, or to be heard, played or read'.[10] As the studies in their book make clear, a Colonial Object can only be comprehended in relation to human biography. Flowing therefore as the concept does around perceptions of identity, what the Colonial Object comprises is in the eye of the beholder: it is, consequently, a subjective and a prejudicial thing.

As stated above, the Framework has been developed from subjectively conceived experiences, in which I have considered the Colonial Object's roles in homes far and near. Such is the literature on objects in the home[11] that it is clear that by having myself felt 'inhabited', head and heart, by stone and mortar and by all that they encase, I am not alone. Yet there is no pre-existing means of understanding the ways in which people feel their identities to have been, specifically, *colonised* by objects, as I have done.

This thesis therefore presents a new Framework for arriving at an understanding of what defines the Colonial Object. Without a Colonial Objects Framework, we can parochially describe the ways in which objects reflect the cultures of the human populations we are studying; and we can also describe the identities of individuals and communities living within those populations. Resulting invocations of memories about how, where and amongst whom objects were found, including Colonial Objects from occupied regions, is the customary stuff of museum exhibitions. There is also a separate, but related and burgeoning, field of study dedicated to the effect on people of engaging with past events through objects.[12] Yet how *inseparable from themselves* people have perceived objects to be, has for the most part been studied within Psychology rather than in Material Culture Studies.

It is therefore necessary to synthesise the two fields: how, in the study of collections, can we relate the evidence of objects' provenances to the ways in which they have captured our hearts and minds? The importance of Objective One is that by seeking to re-define the Colonial Object through the creation of Categories, it relates objects *from former colonies* in museum collections, so often investigated through Museum Ethnography and in historical and anthropological discourse, to those that *colonise people* in their private spaces. By basing the Framework on four Categories reflecting the Us-ness / Otherness Binary to which I have alluded, I have developed a way to include objects relating to people who *are* from countries that

were formerly imperial colonies, alongside objects relating to people who are *not* from former colonies. Through this integration the thesis will increase understanding of how to discuss Colonial Objects, whether in public or in private collections, in an inclusive and holistic manner. The Framework will also be holistic in the sense that it will take into account objects' emotional dimensions, as well as accounting for aspects of their histories and physical composition such as those on which museum exhibitions customarily focus.

Research Objective Two: to apply the Colonial Objects Framework to objects in the Crozier Collection and the World Cultures Collection of National Museums Northern Ireland

Having established the Colonial Objects Framework through Objective One, I will then proceed to investigate specific objects that fit into each of the four Framework Categories (see below). For reasons outlined above, the examples of Colonial Objects that I will use will be drawn from both the Crozier Collection and the NMNI World Cultures Collection. Some of the objects represent Us-ness or Otherness because they come from former British colonies, or have arrived in Northern Ireland as a result of colonial exploits. Others of the objects have been viewed through metaphorical lenses acquired as a result of dichotomised imperial experiences in the past. In other cases still, the objects are apparently innocent, but carry imperialistic undertones associated with inherited ideas about human subalternity. As I also find, recent owners have not wanted to embrace the fact that objects were in the past intrinsic to colonial ideological systems. These are the cases where the objects sit at the margins of identity: having represented Us-ness in the past, they are now rejected. In these cases, the objects are often hidden.

Research Objective Three: to identify Museum Practice outcomes of the thesis for use in Northern Ireland

Through Objective Three, as described above, I seek to establish the relevance of my work as a contribution to that of museums in Northern Ireland. Some of the museums contain Colonial Objects derived from the role of the northern region of Ireland in the British Empire. These include museums' 'ethnographic' collections that, according to the most recent available survey of all museum collections in Northern Ireland (2007), number 3812 items.[13] A detailed survey of what exactly

these collections comprise has never been done. Furthermore, the objects that are owned by National Museums Northern Ireland, which holds the majority of Northern Ireland's ethnographic objects, are currently in stasis. With very few on display, they are not being actively researched. I argue in this thesis that this is a legacy of an institutional history of disinterest in the Other, and a waning sense that the objects represented Us-ness. It is my intention that this thesis will help revive the collection, and my hope that the Colonial Objects Framework can play its part in the revival.

Primary Methodology

The key Methodology for the thesis is Autoethnography because, for reasons made clear above, it is the most clearly available method for the unusual context in which I have worked. My usage of it has enabled me to write about my own experiences of Colonial Objects, while also allowing me to project my findings into the more generalised setting of museums in Northern Ireland. A key outcome of the usage of Autoethnography here, is that it should be more widely used in museums (see Chapter Nine). This is simply because *all* people own objects; and relating to them in emotional ways is an aspect of our shared humanity. Deep thinking about the stories that they contain, where and how we learned them, our own roles in the objects' biographies, and how we feel about those roles and the objects themselves, can be recorded and kept with the objects' documentation, although rarely has been. If museums had records of how people historically related to objects – and therefore about the relationships, that produced the collections, that were gathered over the course of the colonial engagements of the countries in which the collections are now located – the museums would be able to interpret the objects in much greater depth. For this reason, as I argue, the autoethnographic revelation of the human relationships underpinning conceptualisations about Colonial Objects, can help to identify, and so to shatter, the boundaries of Us-ness and Otherness (see Chapter Two).

For this reason, Autoethnography is a tool through the use of which museums can contribute to the development of shared societies in a meaningful way. Within Northern Ireland, the policy aim of fostering a 'shared society' is of particular importance. It is upon this value that the entirety of the region's legislative and executive institutions of government, established under the Northern Ireland Act 1998,[14] rest. At the time of writing this Introduction however, the Northern Ireland

Assembly has not met for two years and eight months, indicating a grave breakdown in shared society. As is well known and as I show in this thesis, a source of disunity between competing social groups and their political representatives in Northern Ireland has been the presence of divergent perceptions about the history of Britain in Ireland. There is also division within the region about the history of the British Empire in other parts of the world. This makes it especially difficult for museums here to interpret Colonial Objects. I will show (Chapters Five and Six), that the World Cultures Collection in National Museums Northern Ireland have as a result suffered from research deficits. It also means though that, having been neglected as a result of political conflict, the objects now provide a fresh opportunity for building dialogue. By reflexively analysing the World Cultures Collection via the lens of Us-ness and Otherness, NMNI can reinvigorate its interpretation, can acknowledge how the collection is linked to contemporary cultural and political discourse, and can promote the concept of a shared future.

Why Autoethnography?

It has been explained that this thesis works across both private and public domains and that this context is made possible through the use of Autoethnography. My usage of the method has been informed by a reader edited by Adams, Jones and Ellis, who set out four reasons for undertaking Autoethnography.[15] How the thesis relates to these reasons is explored in the following paragraphs.

1. ***To critique, make contributions to, and extend existing research and theory:*** Autoethnography is a form of narrative that places the self within a social context.[16] Through reflexive descriptions of cultural beliefs and practices it embraces the subjectivity of 'I', enabling connections between individuals' experiences and those of the societies in which the individuals are located.[17] In addition, autoethnography applies academic discipline and methodological rigour to the identification and expression by individuals of their beliefs and emotions, so as to connect them with broader social interests, including to questions of social justice.[18] Autoethnography's focus on connecting individual and societal experience, on academic rigour and on social justice, makes the method ideal for research both on Colonial Objects

in private hands and those that are in museums, such as that which this thesis is simultaneously aiming to deliver. This combination also makes the method uncommonly fitted for examining how and why such collections have political ramifications. For these reasons, by using Autoethnography in this project, I aim to contribute to facilitate its extended use for museological research and within the field of Museum Practice.

2. ***To embrace vulnerability as a way to understand emotions and improve social life:*** My application of *Auto*ethnography to this research is a means of acknowledging the primary disciplinary tradition for Colonial Objects, which is Museum Ethnography. In this research, my background as an anthropologist, Curator of Ethnography and museum professional has come up against a requirement to seek out and analyse the power relations from which I have personally benefited. Exposing myself and my family to the public gaze in this way has been profoundly uncomfortable. Given though that this thesis is a *critique* of colonialism (through objects), it seems imperative to acknowledge my own subjective position in relation to the collection that I am studying; and the privilege to which that position has led. Autoethnography is therefore the most appropriate methodology to use. This PhD has provided opportunities to address emotional concerns centring on memories of human relationships that objects provoke. It is these memories, above all, that have made me feel vulnerable. Contrary to my expectations of the research as I wrote its aims and objectives as a PhD applicant, the context in which I first encountered the objects – Lisnacreevy – has at times inhibited my ability to objectify Douglas and Ann Crozier's possessions as proxies for them; and has rendered the examination of objects as exemplars for colonial life of only secondary priority. Studying the objects with which I am living has therefore had the effect of making me a stranger to myself. My discovery that Autoethnography is a good method for dealing with this paradox, and of how it may be used to examine how personal identity is encapsulated in objects, is an emergent finding. By embracing Autoethnography as a method for interpreting material culture, I have also contributed ideas as to how museums can understand the emotions and social lives that are encapsulated in and evidenced by objects.

3. ***To disrupt taboos, break silences, and reclaim lost and disregarded voices:*** Autoethnography is a system of research peculiarly fitted to this project because it relates to a collection of *colonial* objects. As mentioned above, in the past such collections have been studied primarily through the lens of Museum Ethnography. This, too, has been the scientific term used to describe the role of curators of 'world cultures' materials.[19] Ethnography as a discipline has historically been based on 'a substantive and prolific landscape of indigenous, postcolonial, and poststrucural conceptualisations of the Other', with those conceptualisations having been immersed in structural relations of power.[20] This thesis was motivated by previous studies of objects' life-histories, many of them centring on power inequalities. Through this enquiry I have encountered an ellipsis: in Western academic culture, when we write about 'othering', it is nearly always about *others* othering. A consumer of an ethnographic monograph may well therefore finish reading it without knowing how the work was stimulated by the author's own experiences and identity. Whilst museum curators' voices are often publicly heard, they rarely speak about experiences of objects in the first person. The lack of expression about the emotions that are stimulated by working with objects, corresponds with a sectoral reserve that is tantamount to a taboo.

4. ***To make research accessible to multiple audiences:*** Although not a drama in a purist sense, my work is an 'original auto-ethnodramatic monologue'[21] because it is a one-person performance about personal experience, albeit one that is played out in written form. The reason *why* this is a monologue, is that its central motivation was the identification of the Crozier Collection, ideas about which are now being projected outwards through a one-person, written, narrative performance. However, the research presents artefacts from the Crozier Collection as in *dialogue* with the display of Colonial Objects in public museums; and in *being* performed is furthermore *dialogic*. A dialogic study is a process of constituting oneself as the sum of an assemblage of the objects that are presented to others. As Spry finds, this dialogic process is one that makes the 'I' unsettled.[22] It follows that by reconstituting and re-

packaging my family's identities through an investigation of their social objects,[23] and in this way, communicating a new version of those identities to the outside world, I am unsettling the 'I'. I hope that this process will help to open up the possibility of investigating what Colonial Objects mean to the identities of a wider range of people, and in particular those of people in Northern Ireland. As a system that is easy to use and communicate, the Colonial Objects Framework I have developed can work within a range of contexts, and for a diverse range of users.

'Ethnographic' and 'World Cultures' Objects

The designation of non-Western objects to the category of 'ethnographic' is problematic. Meaning 'relating to the scientific description of peoples and cultures with their customs, habits, and mutual differences',[24] the word can be applied to *any* people or culture. As demonstrated by recent issues of the *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, although still often used mainly in relation to non-European objects, 'ethnographic' can also encompass the study of material cultures in general.[25]

Recognising its cultural generalisability, and in search of a more respectful means of distinguishing non-European artefacts as a discrete group, in the thirty years or so surrounding the turn of the twentieth century museums began to allocate the taxonomy of 'World Cultures' to non-Western objects. This encompassing of non-European collections under a 'World Cultures' or 'Cultures of the World' grouping is widely used in the UK – it is, for example, present in Liverpool Museums, the British Museum, and National Museums Scotland.[26] As is relevant to this thesis, 'World Cultures' is also the designation accorded by National Museums Northern Ireland to objects 'acquired by people travelling and working abroad' in Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Pacific.[27] The use of the term 'World Cultures', which should clearly include objects from cultures in *any* part of the world, is an attempt to continue to apply the same Enlightenment-derived principles to the scientific grouping of collections that produced the word 'ethnographic'. Both expressions universalise non-Western objects by separating them out from those items produced, by (mainly) white people and (mainly) within the European continent and limiting the former group to a single disciplinary category. By contrast, European objects and those made by white people are arranged within a

greater range of disciplines[28] such as Archaeology, Art, Folklife, Social History, Technology, and Transport.[29]

What 'ethnographic' and 'World Cultures' have in common, is that they have sought to bind all of human endeavour using classifications determined by binary geographical and racial denominations. Repeated academic and museum emphasis on this binary is inferred by former Director of Glasgow Museums, Mark O'Neill, when he states that the term 'World Cultures' indicates the presence in a museum of 'flabby relativism'.[30] In cognisance of this relativism, works on Colonial Objects have often sought to avoid or subvert the totalising impact that is its legacy. An example of avoidance is Barringer and Flynn's *Colonialism and the Object* which focuses on objects from only non-Western cultures.[31] An example of subversion is Nicholas Thomas's *Entangled Objects* which instrumentalises objects as signifiers of exchange between colonisers and colonised.[32]

This thesis will help to tackle binary relativism by developing ideas about what Colonial Objects are. Here, by integrating objects from places that were both formerly colonised and metropolitan within a single framework, I am seeking to break down the disciplinary structures described above. I hope by doing so to help tackle the artificial dichotomy between objects from diverse geographical regions according to a West / non-West division. It is a mark of the importance of doing so that I have been unsuccessful in avoiding the terms myself. The usage in museums of the terms 'ethnographic' and 'World Cultures' have so isolated the former possessions of non-white and non-European indigenous peoples from those in other parts of the world, that they have become normative. For this reason, and in order to describe collections that have been grouped in this way, I do so here. This does not mean, however, that I accept this as a rational way of perceiving human cultures or their products; in fact, the thesis argues the opposite.

Re-defining Categories of Colonial Object

For reasons outlined under 'Research Objective One' above, and building on my argument in the preceding paragraph that the divisive thinking behind the terms 'ethnographic' and 'World Cultures' should be questioned, in Chapters Three to Eight I will present evidence that the term Colonial should be applied not only to objects taken from geo-political colonies, but also to objects that, themselves, inhabit human identities, or have done so in the past. As aforementioned and for reasons that

will be clarified in Chapter Two, the Critical Framework that is the target of Objective One has produced four categories of Colonial Object. These are (Category 1) Colonial Objects representing Us-ness; (Category 2) Colonial Objects representing Otherness; (Category 3) Colonial Objects representing both Us-ness and Otherness; and (Category 4) Colonial Objects representing neither Us-ness nor Otherness. In the Conclusion to the thesis, I propose that these categories can form the basis of a toolkit for museums. By analysing the degree to which an object represents Us-ness and Otherness, an interpreter can quickly come to terms with the ideas about identity and alterity as perceived by subjective viewers. The value to Museum Practice of the Categories will also be shown within the Conclusion.

Research Methods

This section summarises the methods used to deliver the Objectives. My research methods have emerged and evolved over the course of the project; and have taken shape through a variety of approaches.

Qualitative Approach.

This is a qualitative research project comprising an experience-based explication the meanings of which I have ordered in a storied format.[33] The chief approach through which I have constructed the narrative is known as 'journal methods'.[34] Although ordinarily referring to the regular keeping of diaries in written form or through use of video or audio footage, the term 'journal methods' can also include written enquiry that refines ideas, beliefs, and responses to research in progress.[35] My form of journal-keeping has comprised qualitative writing, used to explore and generate meanings. Produced almost daily, but not, like a diary, as a series of sequential entries, the writing has taken multiple forms. These have included emails, poems, preparatory writing and conference papers, through all of which I have processed and shaped my ideas. In addition to writing, my enquiry has proceeded through a number of other approaches. These are described below.

Research on the Crozier Collection

1. ***Emergent Design.*** I have demonstrated in the Introduction why there has been no pre-existing definition of the 'Colonial Object' with which I could work. Furthermore, holistic, unified analyses of private and public collections are rare.

I have found no specific paradigm to encompass what I have wanted to do and so have had to construct ways of interrogating my family's collections as the research has progressed. As a consequence of living this research as I have been undertaking it, my responses have shifted continually between those that have been academic and structured, and those that are emotional and impulsive. These shifts have caused the thesis methodology to become clear only during the course of the project. Hence, it can be described as having been produced through Emergent Design. This is an established method in which data is collected and procedures for analysis are constructed as research progresses, in response to what has been learned during earlier parts of the study. Using emergent methods, researchers develop new ways of accessing data and generating theory while in the process of exploring how to think about and frame knowledge.[36]

The ways in which I have built knowledge during the course of the project have been contextual, local and partial. This is because as Chapter Three will further elucidate, the scientific tenet of objectivity has been unachievable. Unlike more traditional studies within Museology, the project could not have been anything *other* than subjective, for it is an unavoidable fact that I am genealogically connected to the family unit that has generated the social context for the research. I cannot seek to represent a totality of experience in relation to Colonial Objects that I intended as a PhD applicant to investigate, precisely *because* of my subjective position in relation to the collection that the Crozier family owned. The failure of objectivity has made the disciplinary 'home' for the project unclear; and the thesis has instead emerged through a search of interstices between the academic disciplines already outlined.

2. ***Selecting Colonial Objects from the Crozier Collection.*** The Crozier Collection comprises objects from Lisnacreevy. It is loosely defined, its boundaries depending on that which has been incorporated for this project alone. This is because Lisnacreevy was an entire household full of things, that it would have been neither practical nor desirable to have noted down. Furthermore, the Collection is the result of a process of disbandment; and the list does not include that of which we disposed. The inventory that I have compiled to help define the

scope of this thesis is therefore quite unlike a museum catalogue, based as such a catalogue is on a range of pre-determined information fields. Rather, mine has been a working list that I used to gain sufficient mastery of the material to allow me to determine the focus of the research. A summary is provided in the Appendix.

During the course of the research, Lisnacreevy was emptied in preparation for its sale, and so the opportunity to decide on which objects to focus was time limited. These were qualitative judgements, predicated on experience of working in museums and on practical considerations, including for example the availability of documentation. My choices though have also been driven by emotions deriving from, for example, a desire to resolve questions about the significance of specific objects when the humans who could have answered them had died; and pangs of nostalgia that the artefacts evoked.

A different researcher would approach the collection in different ways. As identified by David Westbrook, many academics believe that narrative research inquiry is an exercise in which subjective judgements have no place. The distinction that he makes between 'research' and 'judgement' is that research *has its own narrative*: through it, one identifies how 'this leads to that'. By comparison, judgement is purely a matter of deciding what one thinks, a decision that can be described but which cannot be predicated on a scientific sequence.[37] In selecting Colonial Objects for discussion though, I have used qualitative judgement *in order to create* a narrative and it is from this process that I have formed arguments that I hope will be useful to others.

3. ***Historical Reviews of Social Networks.*** In order to better understand the social networks in Hong Kong and the events that led my grandparents to collect and retain specific items, I have read a range of historical literature on the former colony, focusing on the early and middle twentieth centuries. As explained, proceeding through the research at the same time as proceeding through *life* has led to the incorporation of Northern Irish items and for this reason I have also digested literature on the history of region. As will be seen in all the chapters and especially in Chapter Seven, this thesis is partly concerned with the analysis of Colonial Objects within historical social networks. Therefore, an historical review on migration within the British Empire was fundamental to the initial

scene-setting for my study and I have written cognisant of the abundance of relevant writing from within Migration Studies. Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin's *Migration in Irish History*[38] provides an essential reference work on the Irish diaspora, arranged in chronological order. Enda Delaney and Donald MacRaild 's *Irish Migration, Networks and Ethnic Identities since 1750* documents networks in specific Irish and British regions; and Johanne Devlin Trew's *Leaving the North* is a temporally relevant study of the impact upon families and communities in Northern Ireland of migration to Britain.[39]

Other works that I have examined detail British-led imperialism within specific colonial settings: Barry Crosbie for example focuses on Irish experiences in India;[40] whilst Alan Lester has examined the impact of colonial networks on identities in nineteenth century Britain and South Africa.[41] Fedorowich and Thompson have demonstrated that the emergence of colonial identities within the Empire altered ideas about Britishness in the United Kingdom. They evidence imperial society as having been generated through the institutions of education, religions, employment, and social organisations; and argue for a more central role for networks, as opposed to national historiographies, in our analysis of the colonial past. These, they claim, provide more nuanced understandings of Britishness as it operated throughout the Empire.[42]

As Federowich and Thompson have shown, a network-based approach to historical analysis facilitates understanding of how people operated at the level of small groups and individuals. Therefore, it enables a more plural interpretation of how Britishness was conceived in the past; with a downplaying of polarised concepts such as home versus away, indigenous versus colonial and metropole versus periphery. Network analysis is especially useful for Hong Kong, because it works for colonial urban settlements inhabited by heterogenous populations, so facilitating scholarship of how imported British and Irish identities became amalgamated within new cultural and societal forms that were then transmitted back to the United Kingdom.[43] Certain historical works providing technical background to the workings of colonial careers like Douglas Crozier's have proved invaluable. For example, David Lambert and Alan Lester's *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire* covers the subject for an

earlier period[44] and Anthony Kirke-Green's *On Crown Service* illuminates how colonial civil servants were recruited and employed.[45]

It has been necessary to develop some mental stitching to link the theme of imperial networks emanating from Northern Ireland with the work of specialist historians of Hong Kong. Monographs that illuminate specific forms of social network include, for example, Elizabeth Sinn's *Power and Charity*[46] which examines the communities surrounding the Tung Wah Hospital, a charitable institution whose committee is represented within photographs in the Crozier Collection. Tony Banham's *We Shall Suffer There*[47] brings together private archives connected with Prisoners of War of the Japanese in Hong Kong between 1942 and 1945, of whom Douglas Crozier was one. *Imperial to International*[48] by Stuart Wolfendale documents the history of St. John's Cathedral in Hong Kong, an edifice to which Crozier, an Anglican convert from his Methodist upbringing in County Fermanagh who served on the Cathedral vestry, appears to have been devoted from at least his marriage to Ann Hobbs in 1934 until their departure from the colony in 1961. John Carroll's historical works on Hong Kong, in particular *Edge of Empires*, examine strategic relations between Chinese and British in the colony, providing social context for the collection.[49] Robert Bickers' multiple works examine how society operated in Chinese treaty ports: *Britain in China*, for example, details British cultural life in Hong Kong and Shanghai, providing historical context for many of the items found in the Crozier Collection.[50] The Hong Kong History Project[51] at Bristol University is making inroads on the subject; and I benefited greatly from presenting my work alongside its researchers in 2018.[52]

4. ***The Social Lives of Objects.*** This thesis contributes to the field of Material Culture Studies that, following Appadurai *et al*, focuses on the 'social lives' of objects.[53] This contribution has come about by identifying the human networks that created the Crozier Collection (see above), and that the collection, in turn, has perpetuated. In the past, object-human networks linked Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, Great Britain, and Hong Kong. They also linked human colonisers with human colonised. Building knowledge of these geographical and human networks has provoked consideration of how Colonial Objects have

mediated in human society more recently. By investigating this interplay, which as I repeatedly demonstrate exists in relation to artefacts in both private and public collections, I have provided insights into both the impacts of Colonial Objects on family life (Chapters Three, Four, Seven and Eight), and the history of their investigation within Museology in Northern Ireland (Chapters Five and Six).

Research on social networks in the past has also generated twenty-first century object-people networks. This has especially taken place through recourse to three websites. *Hong Kong War Diary*[54] provides an online database of military personnel and those civilians who served alongside Douglas during the Battle for Hong Kong in 1941. Detail on specific families with whom the Croziers sustained friendships has been drawn from *Gwulo*, a Hong Kong-focused website that gathers information on people who lived in Hong Kong, most of them British, during the early and mid-twentieth centuries.[55] These websites have enabled me to become acquainted with Hong Kong residents and former residents who remember its colonial period. I have also 'met' people with whom the Croziers knew, through the Facebook page *Hong Kong Past – The Early Days*.[56] Its subscribers have helped to identify the people and places connected with the Croziers' Hong Kong archives and objects, of which I have uploaded photographs to the websites for discussion.

At conferences, I have described engagement with these websites as 'social networking in the past', because through them, I have been able to make contact with people, never before known to me, who knew my father, his sister, and their parents when they lived in Hong Kong. My present-day social networking contacts have helped to symbolically resurrect the dead, by identifying faces and places that they intimately knew. Previously relegated in my mind to a period of family history that had been forgotten, the artefacts have been re-activated as 'social objects'[57]: through these online networks, my knowledge of where and from whom they came has become more detailed.

5. ***Visiting Hong Kong.*** Virtual contacts have proved more productive for the PhD research than a trip to Hong Kong, to which I travelled for the first time in April 2017. This is because, online, one can present images of objects and photographs and get rapid responses to them. By contrast when I visited the

region itself, these items were too cumbersome to carry. However, photographs that I took of that trip do diarise the discoveries that I made. They show for example that I visited St. John's Cathedral; and how I learned during museum visits about the sparsity of colonialism in Hong Kong's contemporary official record. This photographic diary demonstrates how I sought traces of the lives of Douglas and Ann, through trying without success to track down comparable objects in museums to those that I had found at home. I also visited the Hong Kong Museum of Coastal Defence where there is a display on the actions in the Second World War of the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Force of which Douglas was a member. I toured to sites that I knew, from the photographs within their collection, were familiar to Douglas and Ann. These included for example Lantau Island, accessed by them by boat, but now connected to Hong Kong Island by an underground train, motorway and cable car; and the places in which they had lived – Tregunter Mansions, Kennedy Road, and The Peak. Both the Tregunter Mansions and Kennedy Road buildings have now been replaced by apartment blocks. 152 The Peak, their home at the apex of Douglas's career, is now the site of an enormous shopping centre. Therefore, this pinnacle of his colonial life has been supplanted by commerce, a force that Douglas feared, as he had indicated in his acceptance speech for the figure of Bai Juyi (see Chapter Seven), would alter Hong Kong. First-hand knowledge of the city thus led to more fine-grained analysis of Ann and Douglas's archives (see 'Visual Ethnography' below).

6. ***Analysis of Family Archives.*** Several chapters in this thesis refer to what I am terming the Crozier Collection Archive. This comprises numerous documents that I have used to shed light on three-dimensional objects. These papers have not hitherto been accessible outside my family, nor, within it, exposed to scrutiny in the manner that they are here. Antoinette Burton discusses the 'personal, structural and political pressures' that are imposed upon the authors of histories by the circumstances of their own engagement with the archives on which they draw. These pressures are produced by the way in which each researcher perceives history in a manner shaped by their own identity and by its determinants: national origin, gender, race, class and professional background. She argues that, although historians are voluble in private about their

experiences of engaging with archives, they rarely write about them.[58]

Although this thesis is not primarily about archives, *Colonial Objects in Northern Ireland* is a contribution to addressing the gap noticed by Burton. By examining family papers in this thesis, I engage with the three sources of pressure about which Burton writes. These have informed the three research objectives for the thesis. None of the objectives is driven by Burton, but they do roughly flow with the divisions she noted. For example, structural pressures appear especially in relation to Objective One in which I create the Colonial Objects Framework (Chapters One and Two); personal pressures in Objective Two in which I use specific examples of objects from my own experience to prove the value of the Framework (Chapters Three, Four, Seven and Eight); and political pressures, as represented by the context for the operations of Northern Ireland's museums, in Objective Two (Chapters Five and Six) and Objective Three (all chapters and Chapter Nine).

7. ***Life History Research and Genealogical Enquiry.*** Comprising research focusing on a family-owned collection, this study could not have been executed without family history enquiry. As Faye Sayer notes, genealogical methods are regarded by some researchers as non-academic. However, her *Public History: A Practical Guide*, notes descriptions for the discipline as including 'the engagement of the public in the practice and production of history'. She argues that historians should regard the word 'public' to refer to 'a patchwork of individuals, each with their own unique perceptions of history that are contextually and personally specific'.[59] Museum professionals, themselves amongst the practitioners of public history,[60] are part of that 'patchwork'. As one of their number I am *inside* this research, whilst also being of that same public with which I wish to engage.

   It is on this basis that I defend my use of genealogical research (examined below) for this project. The forms of it in which I have engaged have included viewing documents in public archives, both in their original form and online from home; family tree mapping in order to connect Colonial Objects to the passage of time; and contacting relatives so as to address previously unanswered questions. While reconstructing the Croziers' biographical timeline, I have

accessed archives in the National Archives of Ireland; and the Northern Ireland General Register Office. I have corresponded by email with specific institutions that have provided alumni data, including Douglas Crozier's *alma maters*, Wesley College (Dublin), Portora Royal School (Enniskillen) and Queen's University Belfast; and, for Ann Crozier, The Latymer School in Edmonton (London). Subscriptions to commercial genealogy websites have also been useful, because they provide the facility to build complex family trees based on online archives and databases that can be digitally searched.[61]

These routes have enabled me to learn about the innumerable ways in which the Croziers' objects were entangled in their colonial lives; and some of the biographical pathways through which, in the middle part of the twentieth century, Ulster, Britain, and Hong Kong were connected. Although not at the core of the writing, this understanding has provided a foundation to contextualise my recall about more recent human networks and their relationships with objects. Julia Creet describes the process of researching family documents as an 'expedition' and a 'quest' that helps to overcome the 'stasis' of archives the creation of which is a 'last stage of memory'.[62] Like her, I have found family history research to be a voyage of discovery. Combining family research with Autoethnography is, as alluded to above, a complicated way to go about things, because it sets up a subject-object paradox that is not only, as in the case of all Autoethnography, analysing oneself, but also analyses others. Within families, experiences are dynamic and multi-dimensional and hence, perceptions, feelings and life events of members are relevant. The creative productions by individuals living in families – for example, videos, photography, and writing – are outward expressions of group identities that are gaining credibility as research evidence.[63] For this PhD, I have analysed creative expressions – in the form of photographs, oral recordings, writings, and Colonial Objects that family members collected – and have moulded that analysis according to my own perceptions as a researcher.

8. ***Photographic Journal.*** This thesis has relied much on journalising through photographs. Filed automatically on my computer in the order in which they were taken, these images record the objects on which the research has progressively focused. The sequence shows how I prepared my PhD application

on the basis of bundles of letters and the scrolled-up paintings that were hidden in the Lisnacreevy attic. After enrolment, the journal moved to Hong Kong objects distributed throughout Lisnacreevy. These photographs capture both the places in which they were displayed, and some in which they were concealed. Photographs in this period include for example images of the Hong Kong scrap book that my father was looking at for the first time in decades shortly before he died; textiles that I unearthed from deeper recesses of the attic; and items in the Treasure Cupboard (see Chapter Three).

After this, I took photographs of slides and boxes of documents that I had found in tea chests in the barn, and of ceramics that were on display. I began to analyse the family photograph album that had belonged to Ann and Douglas Crozier. I photographed the Croziers' homes – the places that had made up their lives, and the friends and acquaintances present within them. I began visiting Douglas's home village, Ballinamallard in County Fermanagh, and researched family history sites – the graveyards in which Douglas, Ann and other members of the Crozier family are buried; the churches they attended; and the schools where they were educated. I then digitised the Croziers' official photographs, capturing each and every one in order to try and make sense of the dense, complex information that they encode. I also photographed Douglas's Masonic costume that I had discovered in a trunk as we were clearing the buildings of the Lisnacreevy farm yard (see Chapter Five). Subsequently I digitised the photographic slides, identifying the order in which they were taken in order to inform my investigations of a colonial world.

By providing multiple points for cross-reference, the photographic journal comprises a body of evidence on which to base my interpretations of historical attitudes to race and gender; and how these were differently expressed in public and private spheres. It also informed my thinking about the comparative levels of detail that are available for private and public collections. Pursuing this line of enquiry, I photographed museum exhibitions that include material from the British Empire. This is an example of how the photo journal resulted in further practices that emerged during the research.

Due to the way in which an iPhone orders photographs, all of these photographs *of* photographs, documents, objects and exhibitions, are interspersed, on my computer, with others showing the characters of my non-

academic life. A large number, as I was preparing to leave it, were taken to record my last days at Lisnacreevy. From then on, more and more capture stays at Doaghcrabbin in Donegal (see Chapter Three), a place in which I and my family have sought out old and new connections. After Lisnacreevy was sold, my photographs of items from the Crozier Collection began to dwindle. This was not only because I had reached the write-up stage of the project. It was also because I was beginning to 'let go' of Lisnacreevy. No longer handling the objects from it whilst situated in that place, but only in my own home where their visceral impact on my senses was more subdued, helped to create emotional distance. As I attained this more detached mode, the photo journal gave way at last to the thesis, and the written word. I observed from this the importance of creating records about Colonial Objects when they are still in domestic settings. The fluxing potency of objects to symbolise emotional connections between people and places, is a subject that is carried through Chapters Two to Eight.

The above has described how and why the photographic journal has not only provided technical evidence for the research, but now also encapsulates the flow of the project as a whole and simultaneous researcher movement from an insider towards an outsider research position. It was not intended at the outset to provide this function; but was simply a technique for working with disparate material objects. Here then, is another instance in which the project design has been emergent.

9. ***Visual Ethnography: Assessing Photographic Archives.*** The visual materials in the Crozier Collection are presented in a range of different formats. Photographic images have provided critical evidence for my analysis by helping to recreate the Croziers' biographies; providing insights into their private and professional social worlds; and demonstrating the presence of other objects in their lives. Their volume has been an asset to the research, because it has provided multiple points of reference on which to substantiate it. However, in order to use the photographs as evidence, they had first to be prepared and analysed. I began by taking photographs of archival documents. As I researched them I stored them in virtual albums, according to years, institutions, and specific events to which they related; using standard iPhoto software for iPhone

and Mac. Through these albums I cross-referenced materials. For example, digitised photographs of people and institutions are catalogued within albums alongside photos of artefacts given by them. Photos of artefacts are accompanied by photos of the places in which they were stored or displayed. Images of photos, places, people and objects are stored alongside screenshots from social networking sites that elucidate their biographical detail. The following is a breakdown of the photographic material.

A. ***Official photographs:*** The Crozier Collection contains 879 photographic prints. Most were taken by government photographers; others by the institutions that Douglas and Ann Crozier were visiting. Many of the photographs appear in contemporary press articles, or are part of photographic series in which different shots were used. Photographs especially appeared in the *South China Morning Post*, established in 1903, and widely read by the British community.[64] They also appeared in the *China Mail*.[65] Some of the newspaper articles are present in cuttings in the Crozier Collection.

   These photographs contain extremely rich information on how the Chinese and British worked together in colonial Hong Kong. They span a period between 1949 and 1969, with most concentrating on 1951-1961 when Douglas was Director of Education. Many of the people shown within them were household names, and appear in both public records for the time and in published historical works. From these photographs, I identified 408 names. I then undertook biographical research on many of them. I did this with reference to dictionaries of biography; reading biographical articles and books; online searches; sending images to family members to identify; and posting photographs for discussion on social networking sites.

B. ***Slide photographs:*** The collection contains 1167 photographic slides. Of these, approximately 200 were taken to publicise the development of educational establishments, for example the Grantham Technical College. However, all of the remaining slides were taken by the Croziers as part of their interactions in private life. Compared with the photographic prints, which are mostly of Chinese people with the Croziers at their centre, the people shown in the slides are mostly

European and the Croziers are behind the camera. The exception to this is where they were photographing Hong Kong as part of outings and excursions. Here, the slides are almost anthropological in nature; their subjects are Chinese, and very often poor. The differences in the narratives that were clear from the photographs and slides informed the development of the Us-ness / Otherness structure to the Colonial Objects Framework.

C. ***Photo Albums and Scrapbooks:*** There are thirteen albums and scrapbooks containing a further 1,636 photographs and 38 newspaper cuttings. One of these albums in particular features the Croziers' family life. Each album could itself have been the subject of a thesis chapter; but these were not the focus of the thesis. See the Appendix for further information on what the albums contain.

D. ***Books*****:** There are 113 surviving books from Douglas and Ann Crozier's collection. A majority of these are connected to relationships with those with whom they associated in Hong Kong. I photographed the front covers of the books, and inscriptions on their inside covers, many of them written by individuals who appear in the photographs. Other books are associated with objects in the collection; for example, they are catalogues of paintings by artists from whom the Croziers collected. These are stored alongside photographs of these individuals in iPhoto catalogues. Cross-referencing of the books with the photographs informed my judgement about the Croziers' social networks.

10. ***NVivo.*** I used NVivo in order to analyse the photographs. This is a software package that enables the coding and quantification of qualitative materials so as to identify themes that have the potential to become research topics.[66] NVivo helped to determine the emphasis that my research would take by providing information about the relative frequency of people, organisations and locations in the Croziers' lives. It also demonstrated even more clearly than was at first apparent, that the black and white photographic prints are very different, in human subject matter, from the colour slides. Despite its utility for identifying these patterns, NVivo's functionality for this project was ultimately limited.

Whilst it can be used to systematise detail within documents, it is not yet sufficiently developed to code detail within images, but only to allocate a theme or themes to each image as a whole. Therefore, for example, one can tag an overall image with the name of an individual appearing within the photograph; but it is not possible to tag a specific area of the photograph that shows what that individual is doing in order to relate that action to an overall theme which is generalisable across the entire collection.[67]

A second source of its limitation for this project is that, because the Croziers' photographic archive is large, the people, places and events to which it relates are numerous and diverse, and the visual symbols that are used within them, although ripe for coding, are almost limitless. Therefore, the quantitative approach made possible by NVivo threatened to become a detailed data cataloguing exercise that would consume too much time. This was a further reason why my synthesis of the collection was predicated on qualitative judgement.

11. ***Visual Ethnography: Compositional Analysis and Cultural Biographies of Photographs.*** It is clear from the above that the Crozier photographs could form the basis of a very substantial but separate research project. I have therefore selected those that best encapsulate my findings for the photographic component of the Crozier Collection Archive as a whole. These are that colonial photography positioned the British in photographs so as to magnify the importance in Hong Kong of the British contribution; that it manipulated images of élite Chinese so as to make them appear less important; that poor Chinese were photographed in ways that reflect the imperial gaze by objectifying them; and that lower class Chinese were elided from both the official and private record. All of these findings will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

My analysis of the photographs was informed by the work of Elizabeth Edwards. Her foundational *Raw Histories* showed that, whereas many museums have used colonial photographs solely as illustrations for objects, the photographs are also important as objects in themselves. This is because they are sources of empirical evidence about power relations: as she showed, photographs can 'spring leaks' in the official record.[68] Edwards' work, too, has shown how one can undertake cultural biographies on assemblages of photographs that are comparable to those of the Croziers that I have found.[69]

Gillian Rose's *Visual Methodologies* was also helpful. She guides readers on how to develop a 'good eye' by attending to the focus and spatial organisation of imagery.[70] From this I gained insights on compositional analysis, and how to consider the angle from which the viewer regards the viewed. For example, as demonstrated in Chapter Eight, many of the Croziers' print photographs are shot from angles that physically elevate them, with the photographer apparently kneeling in front of them; whilst others are taken from perspectives that present them as equals to the Chinese with whom they worked. Further devices, present for example in the form of the Union flag in the image taken at the opening of the Salesian School in 1960 (Chapter Eight), show the Croziers supporting visual metaphors for imperial power. As is the case in the Ho Tung Technical School opening photograph,[71] the composition in many of the images is deceptive, apparently elevating élite Chinese whilst also pushing them to one side.

Choosing Emotions (Not Choosing Affect)

As is by now clear, my engagement with the Crozier Collection has been one attended by strong emotions. Being socially mediated, emotions are constitutive both of individuals' constructions of the past, and of their perceptions of the accuracy of those produced by others.[72] When individuals have in common an association with a specific geographical homeland, as do members of families and as did members of colonial communities, heritage in the form of objects embodies shared memory and so re-constitutes shared emotions.[73] Objects can symbolise memory and in this way, can inspire empathy. It is the combination of all five factors – past experiences, membership of social groups, memory, emotions, and objects – that consolidates the influence of objects on the formation of identities.[74] Therefore, a discussion of emotions is indicated if we wish to understand how we have come to conceptualise our relationship with objects. Because I am considering how objects have mediated in such networks, I regard the usage of discussions about the emotional dimensions of Colonial Objects, as methodologically valid to this thesis.

The stimulation by objects of memories that are connected with emotions, contributes to a phenomenon described by others as *Affect*. This concept is used to describe how experiences of heritage provoke physiological responses in individuals, that can ripple through the bodies of others in whose company they are located. This

project comprises research on objects that have had a physiological impact on me, because I have lived alongside them for most of my life. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge the relevance of Affect to the study. I especially recognised the importance of the concept of Affect when working on objects for this thesis at Lisnacreevy. On many days I felt physically unwell, beginning to feel better as I drove away. It was above all then, Affect, from which arose my idea that objects can colonise people. It was this experience that in turn persuaded me to expand my study of Colonial Objects to include those not from former colonies.

Despite though the fact that Affect stimulated initial thesis ideas, for reasons that I will now explain, it has not been a useful concept for its delivery. Each affective response to an object is the product of a specific and circumstantial complex of interactions between place, personal agency, and social or cultural context.[75] Any object has the potential to be subject to divergent human interests, and these can produce a potentially endless array of response. As physiological responses are accordingly circumstantial, it is difficult to capture, especially in oneself whom one witnesses from the inside, how those responses flow outwards to others. Furthermore, being circumstantial, the physiological effects produced by emotions (triggered by memories that have been stimulated by objects) shift over time.[76] Therefore, the Affect of objects is impossible to observe on a longitudinal basis. Nor can we apply it across human groups who have lived within different timeframes.[77]

Because it is not possible to extend analysis to human subjects who are dead, it would also be impossible to study the affective impact of objects in both colonial and postcolonial eras. It follows that whilst I can easily recall my own recent physiological responses to the Crozier Collection, I cannot relate to the reader its physical effects on my parents and grandparents, which were not recorded. This lack of physical impact record is common to all collection histories, irrespective of whether they have been held in private or public hands.

Affect's lack of longitudinal applicability may be the reason why its role in identity production has largely been studied in relation to time-bound and physically bordered interactions. Audrey Reeves for example has deployed her own embodied responses to the Holocaust Gallery at the Imperial War Museum as a methodological resource to investigate the ways in which that museum contributes to the construction of knowledge about Britain's role in global conflict. Reeves outlines the

distinctions between Emotions and Affect, demonstrating that whereas the latter is unconscious, pre-subjective, difficult to describe, and non-representable, emotions are conscious, subjective, and easy to verbalise and represent.[78]

It follows again, that I can account for both recent and more temporally distant emotions that have been stimulated by the objects; and for those experienced both by me and by other family members. This is because, as Reeves observed would be the case, the emotions have been expressed in ways that have been consciously verbalised. Again, this is a common factor shared by collections of historical objects, for which there may be emotional records. Joy upon sight of objects may for example have been shown by laughter, sadness by crying, nostalgia by anecdote, revulsion by expostulation, and interest by exclamation. In addition, any of these emotions may have been evidenced in visual records or have been discussed in written form.

Therefore, studies of how objects have contributed to the historical construction of identity can search for the presence of *emotions*, as recorded within memories of group behaviour, verbalised within group narrative, captured on camera or written into archival documents. In this way, we can identify across generations how emotions have become associated with objects that symbolise the structural inequalities that existed in British colonies, and that contributed to the naturalisation of those inequalities over time.[79] By contrast as I have said, due to its lack of longitudinal capability we cannot observe how Affect had a corresponding impact.

Despite the temptation of the currency of Affect within recent academic discourse therefore, this thesis places emphasis on an *emotional* engagement with Colonial Objects, rather than a physiological one. The above distinction explains how I can relate my emotional responses to the Crozier Collection objects in the present, with traces of emotion as experienced by my parents and grandparents. I have retrieved these from my own memories about their interactions with the objects; from inherited family narrative about them; and from archival documents and photographs. This is how my analysis of objects has included commentary on the emotions of previous generations. Traces of this analysis are especially found in Chapters Three, Four, Seven and Eight.

Northern Ireland Museums and the NMNI World Cultures Collection

My thesis on Colonial Objects incorporates substantial analysis on the history of the

World Cultures Collection at NMNI, and of objects within it. My research methods for this derive from practice developed during prior experience in the museum and heritage sector. I have long been interested in NMNI's World Cultures Collection, having first volunteered to work with it as a recent graduate in 1991. During five subsequent years as a Curator of Ethnography (Africa, Oceania and the Americas) at National Museums Scotland (NMS) in Edinburgh (1994-1999), I worked with a similar collection whose biographical origins are similar to those of that in Belfast. The collection for which I cared there included, for example, items from the Solomon Islands and a comparable Hawai'ian feather cloak that, having known them, gave me an affinity with the objects collected by John Casement and Gordon Augustus Thomson that I investigate in Chapter Six. While at NMS I was Secretary to the Museum Ethnographers Group and met colleagues in Ethnography some of whose names are mentioned or whose work is cited in this PhD. As a long-standing subscriber to and participant in the training opportunities and conferences provided by the Museums Association and Irish Museums Association,[80] my writing owes much to professional memory about museum practice in other places as well as to the thesis-specific methodologies that I describe in this chapter.

My investigation of the degree to which the exhibition and research of Colonial Objects has been considered to be timely or apposite in Northern Ireland, was especially inspired by five years of working as a Heritage Officer and Acting Culture and Arts Manager in Belfast City Council (1999-2004), and a further eight as Assistant Director at the government-funded Northern Ireland Museums Council (2004-2012). During this time, I witnessed at first hand the political machinations upon which the resourcing of cultural activity is based in Northern Ireland, was involved in writing policies and strategies for heritage and museums and wrote and assessed grant applications.

It is due to having worked in the museum and heritage sectors that the conversations, upon which my analysis of the ethnographic collections at National Museums Northern Ireland are based, have arisen organically. In some cases, these have been continuations of earlier discussions rather than having been deliberately organised for this research project. Where specific appointments were made to ask questions and discuss my research ideas, these are cited in the text. Although I notified my interlocutors prior to meeting them of the subjects I wished to cover, meetings were not based on pre-determined sets of questions or prescribed interview

methods. Rather, they were free-flowing conversations in which topics of mutual interest were discussed. At the outset of them all though, I requested permission to take notes, sending copies of the notes for approval thereafter. Those on whose words I have drawn have had the opportunity to comment on chapter drafts.

As Chapter Five outlines, NMNI's World Cultures Collection is not large. As that chapter also illustrates though, several objects within it are internationally significant. In addition, many further objects, the Northern Ireland biographical backgrounds to which former Curator of Ethnography Winifred Glover extensively researched, are known to be of significant national interest. Furthermore, and as I argue here, *all* items invoking memories of human history have stories to tell. Armed with the prior knowledge of these collections, and with a working awareness of the political context within which the sector operates, I have focused in this thesis on the reasons why Colonial Objects' stories have been so neglected by our museums.

Case Study Method?

This thesis is an Autoethnography. It is not a Case Study although it has some elements in common with Case Study Research. It is an *example* of one person's engagement with collections of artefacts. In this respect, it is similar to what Robert K. Yin defines as a 'descriptive' case study. It is also a case study in that there are aspects of this study that are generalisable.[81] For example, I have generalised my autoethnographic findings on Us-ness and Otherness and used them to interpret objects in museums. It had previously been established that as objects have symbolic value for me, they also do to people in general.[82] I show too through the Framework, how Colonial Objects in general can be set apart from other types of object, because they can be interpreted as indices of difference[83] (Us-ness / Otherness). This work is not a Case Study because it does not incorporate the five aspects of Case Study research design that Yin defines as central.[84] Explanation follows.

1) ***An initial question or set of questions.*** The research has centred on an initial question – what makes an object 'colonial'? However, the emergence of the understanding that this question can only be subjectively answered made the other elements of the project unlike a case study, as follows.
2) ***Propositions that the research sets out to prove or disprove.*** The research had no such propositions. I did not propose for example, that Colonial Objects *have* an impact on identity in general. Rather, I was preoccupied with how in the past

the Crozier Collection impacted on that of my family, and how this experience could be related to the interpretation of similar objects in museums.

3) ***Units of analysis that are established at the outset.*** The units of analysis for this project were objects and archival documents. These derived from two large collections; the Crozier Collection, and the NMNI World Cultures Collection. Identifying which specific objects on which to focus from within these collections was integral to the delivery of the research project. Therefore, the units were not established at the outset.
4) ***Logic linking data to the research propositions.*** There being no propositions at the outset, the data ultimately derived from these units could not be linked to any proposition in particular.
5) ***Criteria for interpreting the findings.*** Criteria for interpreting the findings were not required. Instead, I have been interpreting *objects*. Identifying interpretative *methods* is aim of the first and founding Research Objective: to establish a Colonial Objects Framework. As set out in Objective Three, the purpose of the thesis was also to *establish* the findings of the delivery of the Colonial Objects Framework (as achieved through Objective Two). Therefore, it was not pertinent to have pre-set criteria for *interpreting t*he findings.

Thesis Structure

Over the course of writing the thesis, I have become attuned to Tami Spry's 'storytelling, performative I'. Here, as she states, 'biography collides with culture and structure, turning historical discourse back on itself'.[85] For this research I have had first to define the historical discourse on which to 'turn back', by means of extracting it from both private archives, and through drawing on memory about how objects were used in our family. The thesis is a classic Autoethnography because, as a result of 'turning back' in this way, it is a translation of the personal into the political.[86] The process of taking this step led to the thesis being structured in the way that it is.

Chapter Two contains the core arguments for establishing the Colonial Objects Framework around the Us-ness / Otherness Binary. The Chapter sets out the Four Categories of the Framework. These are Category 1: Objects Representing Us-ness; Category 2: Objects Representing Otherness; Category 3: Objects Representing Us-

ness and Otherness; Category 4: Objects Representing Neither Us-ness nor Otherness. Chapters Three to Eight are arranged around these Categories.

Chapter Three establishes how Colonial Objects can be interpreted as representing Us-ness (Category 1 of the Colonial Objects Framework). This is a foundation upon which all the remaining chapters are built. The chapter also demonstrates why there is a need for a wider definition of the Colonial Object, to include those that do not come from formerly occupied geographical regions, as well as those that do. The objects discussed in Chapter Three are very deeply 'Us', artefacts that have been profoundly connected with my own identity, and with that of other members of my family.

Chapter Four, as its partner, examines objects that I have never known well. These are Crozier objects that express views upon, and denote, an Other (Category 2). As I explain, the Othering of these objects has meant that they have been subject to curiosity; have been deemed to capture an image of the Other who as a result has been possessed; and have been used to represent racist views of the Other that, through the passing on of the objects, have been consumed and learned across successive generations. Both Chapters Three and Four provide interpretative *vignettes* of specific objects. These chapters deliberately mimic the format of museum exhibitions, where particular objects are put on display. This format helps to provide a structural link with the context of museums, that is developed in Chapters Five and Six.

Chapter Five brings the political context for the thesis into focus. Both chapters Five and Six test the Categories of Colonial Object (Us-ness / Otherness) that have been established in Chapters Three and Four. Furthermore, they make the applicability of these categories generalisable, applying them in the public setting of Northern Ireland's museums, with a particular focus on the NMNI World Cultures Collection. The interpretation of Colonialism by Northern Ireland's museums has never been investigated before; and nor has the history of interpretation of the NMNI World Cultures Collection. In Chapter Five, both these deficits are addressed. This chapter demonstrates that there have been no recent examples of museum programmes or exhibitions that interpret colonialism; and that their paucity is

connected with the under-interpretation of the World Cultures Collection. It also shows why.

Chapter Six: Through the Categories of Us-ness and Otherness I proceed to examine objects in the NMNI World Cultures Collection that have been under-interpreted. Specifically, I consider how and why two objects of international significance – a canoe from the Solomon Islands and a feather cloak from Hawai'i – have been neglected. As I argue, this is a legacy of historical attitudes to Colonialism in general, and to ethnographic collections in particular, the existence of which has been established in Chapter Five.

Chapter Seven delivers analysis of Category 3 – Objects that Represent Us-ness *and* Otherness. This is an analysis that can only be undertaken with respect to a collection into which the interpreter has deep insights and with which she/he can work in a sustained fashion. Therefore this chapter returns to the Crozier Collection; and in so doing, the political and the personal are again re-merged. Chapter Seven examines how objects, exchanged in Hong Kong between the Chinese and British, were associated by the Crozier family with both Us-ness and Otherness. In recent times though, their Otherness has been hidden in plain sight. I employ two key devices – the concept of Networks and that of Entanglement – to demonstrate how Us-ness and Otherness are represented in the objects. Chapter Seven again uses the *vignette* format.

Chapter Eight completes the implementation of the Colonial Objects Framework by providing a deep analysis of objects from the Crozier family representing neither Us-ness nor Otherness (Category 4). Again using an exhibition format, I look specifically at archives that demonstrate that the Croziers' views of the Chinese were racist. As I explain, the availability of this interpretation is so blatant in the Crozier documents that Julian and Maurna, when they inherited them from Douglas and Ann, no longer wanted to regard them as 'Us'. However, being private papers and moreover almost entirely authored by them, these documents could not be regarded as Other either. For this reason, as I argue, they were kept in the Lisnacreevy attic, providing evidence of how, when we reject colonialist views of the past, we also reject and hide the evidence of those views.

Chapter Nine delivers upon Objective Three by drawing out the significance of the overall findings. These are 1) that the Colonial Objects Framework can be practically applied. 2) That Autoethnography is useful for museological research. 3) That the NMNI World Cultures Collection requires significant research input. The chapter then provides recommendations for the future and concludes the thesis.

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2. van Dommelen, Peter. 2013. 'Colonial Matters: Material Culture and Postcolonial Theory in Colonial Situations'. In *Handbook of Material Culture*, 104 – 24. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: SAGE. p. 108.

3. 2007. *Survey of Museum Collections in Northern Ireland*. Belfast: Northern Ireland Museums Council. p. 6.

4. Throughout this thesis I refer to Northern Ireland as a "region". The purpose in doing so is to avoid describing it as a "country" (which in constitutional terms it is on its own not), or a "province" which, comprising only six counties of the nine within the province of Ulster, it is not. Being part of the UK it cannot be described as a "state". "Region" is preferred because the term refers to a geographical unit.

5. The presence of oppositional 'Us'' and 'Them' ideologies in Northern Ireland society is well-established. For recent overviews, see (1) Mitchell, Claire. 2016. *Religion, Identity and Politics in Northern Ireland: Boundaries of Belonging and Belief*. Oxon: Routledge; and (2) Cochrane, Feargal. 2013. *Northern Ireland: The Reluctant Peace*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

6. Emotion has only recently been developed as part of museological discourse. Relevant publications include for example: (1) Wetherell, Margaret. 2012. *Affect and Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications; (2) Moran, Anna, and Sorcha O'Brien, eds. 2014. *Love Objects: Emotion, Design and Material Culture*. London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury; (3) Smith, Laurajane, Margaret Wetherell, and Gary Campbell, eds. 2018. *Emotion, Affective Practices, and The Past in the Present*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

7. My usage of the term 'subaltern' is throughout this thesis intended to refer to colonial populations who are socially, politically or geographically outside the colonial hierarchy of power. This usage is drawn from Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 271 – 313. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. When using the term, I am especially cognisant of Spivak's idea of 'epistemic violence' in which the ways of understanding of indigenous people are derided and dismissed. My usage has also been informed by later writers including Joanne Sharp who developed Spivak's idea that Western intellectuals marginalise non-Western ways of knowing by characterising them as more trivial cultural forms. See Sharp, Joanne. 2009. *Geographies of Postcolonialism*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Singapore: SAGE Publications. p. 109-111. This understanding is particularly apt within the context of the Crozier Collection given that it derived from the career of a colonial Director of Education.

8. A *bricolage* is a construction from a diverse range of things. For relevant discussion see Dezeuze, Anna. 2008. 'Assemblage, Bricolage, and the Practice of Everyday Life'. *Art Journal* 67 (1): 31–37.

9 Colonial guilt, or 'white guilt', is often discussed as a postcolonial condition. This is the collective guilt felt by some white people for harm resulting from racist treatment in the past. See for example: Maddison, Sarah. 2012. 'Postcolonial Guilt and National Identity: Historical Injustice and the Australian Settler State.' *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* 19 (6):

695 – 709; *The Times*. 2017. 'Colonial Guilt', 16 December 2017. Accessed 26/09/2019. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/colonial-guilt-6sp6pgxmz.

10. Cooper, Anna, Lachy Paterson, and Angela Wanhalla, eds. 2015. *The Lives of Colonial Objects*. Dunedin: Otago University Press. p. 13, 18.

11. See for example, in relation to the material culture of 'home'' in empire: (1) Rose, Sonya, and Catherine Hall, eds. 2006. *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; (2) Blunt, Alison. 1999. 'Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24 (4): 421 – 40. Substantial writing exists too on archives, comparable to that of the Croziers, denoting ideas of home whilst far away; see for example Fitzpatrick, David. 1995. *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*. Cork: Cork University Press.

12. Smith, Laurajane, Margaret Wetherell, and Gary Campbell, eds. 2018. *Emotion, Affective Practices, and The Past in the Present*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

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15. Adams, Tony E., Stacy Holman Jones, and Carolyn Ellis. 2015. *Autoethnography: Understanding Qualitative Research*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 36.

16. Reed-Danahay, Deborah E., ed. 1997. *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social*. Oxford and New York: Berg. p. 9

17. The rigour of Autoethnography is sometimes disputed. See Le Roux, Cheryl. 2016. 'Exploring Rigour in Autoethnographic Research'. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 20 (2): 1 – 13.

18. Adams, Tony E, Stacy Holman Jones and Carolyn Ellis. 2014. *Autoethnography: Understanding Qualitative Research*. New York, NY, United States: Oxford University Press. p. 1.

19. The Museum Ethnographers' Group is the UK professional body for curatorial staff working with such collections. See www.museumethnographersgroup.org.uk. Accessed 06/12/18. Collections containing non-European objects are routinely described as 'ethnographic'. For example, the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford is described by its governing body, the University of Oxford, as housing 'one of the world's great ethnographic collections'. See https://www.ox.ac.uk/admissions/graduate/courses/social-sciences/anthropology-and-museum-ethnography?wssl=1. Accessed 06/12/18.

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25. The *Journal of Museum Ethnography* publishes proceedings of the Museum Ethnographers

Group, a collective of curators and academics working primarily in British museums. See www.museumethnographersgroup. org.uk. Accessed 14/09/2019.

26. (1) 'World Cultures'. n.d. Liverpool Museums. Accessed 28 September 2019. https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/wml/collections/ethnology/. (2) 'Treasures of the World's Cultures'. n.d. The British Museum. Accessed 28 September 2019. https://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/tours_and_loans/international_exhibitions/treasures.aspx. (3) 'World Cultures Galleries'. n.d. National Museums Scotland. Accessed 28 September 2019. https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/things-to-see-and-do/world-cultures/.

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Chapter Two
Us-ness, Otherness and the Colonial Objects Framework

Introduction

As Chapter One made clear, both through its content and through use of the autoethnographic method, this thesis centres on a binary between Us and Other. Identifying the analytical potential of this binary and establishing it as the basis of a new Colonial Objects Framework, has been the major contribution of this research project. The purpose of this chapter is to establish why this is so, and to set out the Framework. Focusing as it does on the Key Concepts of the thesis listed in Chapter One, Chapter Two also provides an overview of the central ideas. These are then evidenced and fully referenced in Chapters Three to Nine.

Subjectivity, Objectivity and the Us-ness / Otherness Binary

The interplay between subjectivity and objectivity that is suggested by the Us-ness / Otherness Binary established by this thesis, is reflected throughout this document by modal shifts between first- and third-person narrative. The reason for these shifts derives from the fact that, as an interpreter, I have been presented with subjective-objective tensions. As its owner and a descendant of those who collected it, my position in relation to the Crozier Collection is subjective. As an academic interpreting the Collection, I have gained some objectivity. In addition, as a writer but not its custodian, I also maintain a more objective stance in relation to the NMNI World Cultures Collection, than I can in relation to the Crozier Collection.

Countering my admission of subjectivity in relation to the Crozier Collection, it is important to note that although this project centres on objects once owned by my grandparents and parents, these people are *not myself*. Although beloved by me, the distinctiveness of their identities from mine has become even more clear through this research project than it was before: they lived across colonial and postcolonial geographies and time-periods whereas I have exclusively inhabited a region close to the capital and administrative centre of a British Empire that has ended. The existence of the different temporal and geographical lenses, through which I and other family members have regarded the world, have created the conditions within which it is possible to critique the ways in which my nearest and dearest lived their lives. The dangers of, as a result, *criticising* them have become even more apparent

as I have disposed of their possessions and arranged the sale of the family home. This is because by thinking about their identities as an academic, whilst discharging these personal responsibilities, I have gained a more objective stance in relation to my family, and to the melded identities of its members. As alluded to in the first chapter, the process of gaining sufficient objectivity to critique their social world has been a moral barrier to circumvent, and a cause to scrutinise my own motivations.

Subjective-objective tensions also apply to the interpretation of Colonial Objects in museums and as I demonstrate in Chapters Five and Six, National Museums Northern Ireland exhibits that it is working between and on both platforms. This is because World Cultures Collection objects that NMNI holds represent biographies of people from Northern Ireland who are or have been deemed in the past by the institution and its predecessors, to be Us. However, the objects also represent people whose biographies have been ignored or who have been unknown, resulting in interpretations that can be construed as representations of the objects and their former owners as Other.

The subjective-objective position of Northern Irish museums is furthermore present in relation to the entire subject of Colonialism as a potential interpretative theme. This is because the museums represent a population within which differing social groups have adopted oppositional stances in relation to the history of the British in Ireland. This includes population segments who are (or are perceived as being / perceive themselves to be), descended from those who were colonised by the British in Ireland; *and also,* other segments of the same population who are (or are perceived as being / perceive themselves to be) descended from the colonisers.[1]

Surrounding the theme of Colonialism, there is a second source of subjective-objective tension for museums to confront. This is that the interpretation of objects taken from places in the British Empire outside Ireland, raises the issue of the history of the Irish diaspora. Some historical narratives represent Irish migrants as having left the island due to poverty or suffering that they deem to have been the fault of the British (for example, the Famine),[2] whilst other narratives relate to how migrants thrived in the Empire, including by subjugating members of the indigenous populations amongst whom they subsequently lived.[3]

As an inhabitant of Northern Ireland, I too have an interest in its historical narratives. Furthermore, as a practitioner working in the region I have empathy with and am therefore partially an insider to the position of museums in balancing

conflicting accounts. However, due to the inflections of objectivity described above, Chapters Five and Six, which deal with National Museums NI, are not written from the point of view of the 'storytelling, performative I' to which Chapter One has referred.[4] In writing Chapters Seven and Eight, I have struggled with the volatility of 'I', because they discuss objects that I know well, and that are connected to my direct ancestors, and therefore, to me, represent Us-ness in a contemporary sense. Those same, related, people were though also Other, because for the reasons set out above, they were culturally different to me. The objects also represent Others due to the fact that they are unrelated and unknown to me. In addition, whether or not the human actors I discuss were known to me, *all* are Other because (given that I am writing about a period that began eighty-eight years ago) they are dead and therefore belong to the past.

In museum settings, work in the subjective mode is becoming increasingly evident. Examples include the work of Zawadski Krista Ulujuk, who has examined how Inuit art reveals 'the Inuit gaze as dominated by Inuit representations of ourselves, allowing for Inuit agency in what is represented in the art'.[5] Victoria Bishop Kendzia has combined ethnography and autoethnography whilst working with high school students to observe how Jewishness is differently perceived between private space and the public arena of the Jewish Museum in Berlin.[6] Adult educators Colleen Kawalilak and Janet Groen have accounted autoethnographically for their own learning experiences in the Glenbow Museum in Calgary.[7] However, as yet there is no autoethnographic parallel to what I am doing here: integrating a study of a collection that I intimately know with a collection in a museum. This is because, on the whole, museologists' approach to research derives from scientific traditions that locate and examine the Other as a subject.[8] For me, the usage of Autoethnography has enabled the shifts between subjective and objective positions that I have described. Furthermore, it has enabled me to reflect on family prejudices associated with Othering. Just as the autoethnographic method has enabled me to change gears throughout the thesis, the work of the above-listed writers has indicated a new, autoethnographic turn away from working in the third person as the *status-quo* for museums. Thus, this thesis is a contribution to an exciting new field.

The Colonial Objects Framework

Introduction to the Framework

As alluded to above, my interest in the Us-ness / Otherness dynamic that impacts Colonial Objects stems from those with which my research began. While studying the Crozier Collection I have formed the view that, even though I am in possession of more of their biographical detail than is normally present within a museum, the objects within that group represent both Us-ness and Otherness. They represent Us-ness because I have lived in the house in which they were most recently found; because I am of the family that lately owned them; and because they are now in my possession. However, the objects also represent Otherness, because they were made in a distant place, in a different era, by people from another culture, whom I will never meet nor, in most cases, whose identities can be found. Concerning the human provenance of the majority I still know only that they were traded or otherwise exchanged between Chinese and foreigner in Hong Kong, a territory under British Crown rule.

Through combining research on this collection with research on the NMNI World Cultures Collection (see Chapter One), I have found that the insights into artefacts that we privately acquire can be far deeper than those we achieve about objects in public museums. This is because, whereas we are likely to have a detailed grasp of the histories of the Colonial Objects that we own, for many of those in museums, what we can know is very limited. In many cases for example, museums possess little detail about the objects' roles in specific past lives; as a result, they cannot deeply interrogate the intentions with which the objects were made and gathered. By contrast, for the items in the Crozier Collection, as an example of a private assemblage, not only can I personally recall how they were used in a domestic context, but through integrating research on the objects with research on the family archive, I can become more deeply informed about their impact on the identities of people in the past. Notwithstanding the differences in the volume of background information available for them though, as outlined above, Colonial Objects in private collections and those in museums have in common that each one has been a repository for ideas about Us-ness and Otherness.

In previous studies of Colonial Objects, the presence of these ideas have often been referred to only obliquely. This is seen for example in Gosden and Knowles, who title their analysis of museum objects from Papua New Guinea

Collecting Colonialism.[9] In so doing, they infer that the objects are signifiers of colonialism as a political force that has affected communities that produced the objects. Claire Wintle places the emphasis in her title on the *collecting* as colonial, as a means of suggesting the erasure of pre-existing wisdom by collectors, and of advocating the reincorporation of indigenous knowledge into postcolonial interpretation.[10] John Mackenzie's book on *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* demonstrates through its subtitle that it is easier to describe human identities than objects as colonial.[11]

All of these books examine the processes of gathering objects that were made possible by the colonial standing of their collectors; and show the ways in which these individuals' socio-political stances motivated their practices. Each also discusses the networks of relationships that led to the collecting, and the impacts of these on indigenous communities. This biographical approach lends weight to the importance of investigating colonial societies, as part of defining the importance of the Colonial Objects themselves. This is because as I will show, where there is no specific human network or individual character to account for its history, the artefact is a thin thing, a reminder of an ever-more loosely-remembered identity that was, in an increasingly distant past, arresting to a social group that itself becomes ever more imaginary.

If, by contrast, an object is re-connected with the life of a specific person (or more than one), its meanings can be brought back to life,[12] and the contemporary interest thus galvanised, in turn, secures its future. For this reason, it is productive to delve, beginning with the present, as far back as we can into the identities of those who owned an object in the past; and to learn as much as we can about how these actors perceived the object to represent those with whom they interacted. I wish through this thesis therefore to establish the phrase 'Colonial Object' as a new device for thinking about the investment of objects with representational meaning. This device is a fresh interpretation of what constitutes such an object. By attaching the word 'Colonial' to the Object, we can directly address the social dynamics that have surrounded it over its biographical lifetime.

My previous experience of working as a curator tells me however that a museum staff member has little biographical data to go on. She may know from approximately which location an object derives. She will also know about the facts of its materiality: its measurements, the substances from which it is made, and, from

its physical appearance and condition, the approximate date to which it belongs. She will be able to find the date that it entered the museum from its accession register. She may personally know her predecessor and the way in which (s)he interpreted that item; why the museum collected it; and whether the object was bought or was received as a donation. It is, though, unlikely, for the vast majority of Colonial Objects in her care, that a curator can ever know to whom *exactly* an item belonged; know whose were the human hands that made it, picked it up and used it. She can never know, either, from whom that person acquired the object – was it collected by her as a child? Made for him by a mother? Received by a couple as a wedding gift? Used by a woman to work? Sent with a man into death? Nor can she find out how, when it was acquired by the museum, its owner felt about losing it. Because she cannot as a result relate to the object's former owner as she would to a living person, and whilst she may even work with it for her entire career, its intrinsic Otherness will remain resistant and hard to dispel.

Severin Fowles connects the development of Material Culture Studies with a postcolonial crisis of representation in which Western scholars became unable to claim authoritative positions in relation to other people, 'as colonised or otherwise disempowered communities … challenged the right of anthropologists to study them and as critical scholarship continued to pick and scrape at the imperial legacies bound up in the ethnographic project itself'. Fowles' statement that 'things have the advantage of being safer to study than people'[13] is true not only in relation to the people hailing from the traditional subject societies of Anthropology. Precisely *because* they were close to home and may be re-presented in the present by others who have the power to object on their behalf, is also true of those people who were the cultural progenitors of contemporary academics. Furthermore, even members of a viewer's own family can be Othered through their objects. For example, in photographs of Douglas and Ann I can only barely see family resemblances. Their letters and audio recordings tell me that their attitudes and accents derive from the past. Their Otherness was borne out by every aspect of everyday lives as they played out a century ago. Ann and Douglas lived in climatologically warmer, racially more segregated, socially more classified, educationally more stratified, politically more imperialised, sexually more dichotomised; and in sum, an altogether more *colonial* place and time. It is the objects' ability to represent Otherness – here, as symbolic representatives of abstracted Chinese people of the past; of known relatives now

dead; and even of the people who may own them after me – that leads me to consider how, in a range of senses, objects can be Colonial.

Furthermore, as do all objects, those gathered through foreign excursions carry varying meanings for different people, and the messages that they convey change over time.[14] For the twentieth century, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent an object may be determined to have been Colonial in a cultural sense, or even to represent cultural alterity to a sufficient point where postcolonial analysis is a necessary or effective methodological tool. Although the political, economic and cultural structures of twentieth century colonial societies were successors to those established by the British Empire at its zenith, by its twilight, the period on which I focus, those societies could no longer depend for their continuation on the separation of the existential spheres of dominant minorities and subaltern peoples.[15] Furthermore, objects that were circulated on a global scale, like many of those in the Crozier Collection (for example paintings, ceramics and photographs), were used in this period by both indigenous and incomer communities. For the later British Empire, it is the proclivity of a Colonial Object to work as a lens to focus on *either* Western *or* non-Western society that produces an ethnographic 'Catch 22': we may wish to study the object as a proxy for humanity, but *which* humanity the object represents is ambiguous.

I have summarised above the ways in which the Crozier Collection represents Otherness: the objects within it were made and used during other times, in other places, by other people, within other cultures, and represent other things of which we have only partial knowledge, or even none. I have shown too why, as an example of a colonial collection, that of the Croziers not only demonstrates the particular intractability of objects from the late British Empire. It also illustrates why it is necessary to re-structure our understanding of the Colonial Object in general. To do so is essential if we wish to comprehend the power relations at play at the point when an artefact was collected, and how power has been applied to the interpretation of the object ever since. For reasons I have explained, central to our enquiry into how these power dynamics affected or are represented by an object, must be the examination of the lives of those, who owned it over the course of its biography up until now, and for whom, as for us, it represented Us-ness and / or Otherness. The reason why this is so is explained in fuller detail through the four Categories of Colonial Object that are set out below.

Why an Us-Ness / Otherness Binary?

In what follows, I am establishing the Categories as a new Colonial Objects Framework. First though, I need to defend the Us-ness / Otherness binary on which the Framework is based because, since it raises the question of oppositional cultures, it is one the discussion of which may be perceived a retrograde step. Frederick Cooper states that although useful for describing colonial dynamics, the imposition of interpretive binaries between categories such as coloniser / colonised, western / non-western, and dominance / resistance constrain the interpretation of how colonial power was enjoyed, contested and appropriated.[16] He is of course right that colonial relations were complex and context-specific. For this reason, I have ensured that my interpretation is nuanced and multi-layered. However, I have also found that in the interpretation of Colonial Objects, a binary representation of the past is inevitable.

This is because, to British colonists from the earliest days of Empire, the centrality of white power was critical, and its definition depended upon the imaginative grasping-hold of what constituted an Orientalised Other.[17] In addition, whilst within countries of the British Empire, supposedly civilising missions imposed from the outside aimed to discipline and train citizens ruled by colonial governments, 'too much civilising' was regarded as a potential cause of constitutional instability, due to the threat of political upheaval that, it was believed, newly competent subalterns might wreak. Colonial projects for social reform were therefore predicated on binding the interests of indigenous groups to colonial states, whilst also curtailing the levels of education, and the access to rights, of those who were governed.[18] In short, Imperialism depended for its very existence on defining who was Us, who Other, and the means through which rights and privileges could be withdrawn from the latter group.

This thesis breaks new ground by investigating what objects reveal about how, in the present, we continue to be affected by the legacies of these divisions. One result has been that ethnographic collections in museums, defined as Other in the imperial past, have come in some cases to be habitually ignored. Another has been that imperialist attitudes, if evolved, disguised, and hidden, are still applied to objects in important respects. In pursuit of Objective One, I will now demonstrate how and why this is so.

Us-ness

The Crozier Collection is large and complex enough to provide a sustained project for any researcher. However, I am not any researcher, because I own and am living with the collection. It is because I care about the objects that I have sought to understand them and the ideas I have developed around them have impacted upon my subjective world. This is universally the case; as museums across the planet demonstrate, the exploration of what objects mean to people permits the sharing of human experience and facilitates the examination of pasts that coincide and collide. *All* people own things; and all, past or present, family member or academic, are influenced by the objects in their lives. Built on this understanding, my thesis exemplifies how all interpretations of material culture, irrespective of whether they take place in private or public realms, revolve around processes of self-construction. It is based on the premise, too, that these processes can occur at the levels of individuals, families, social groups, museums and in wider society.

Joe Simpson usefully defines a variant of the term ('Usness') in a general sense, as 'a group collective behaviour in which *homo sapiens*…adapts to shared ways of doing and thinking, based on shared narratives around shared experiences, embodying values of parochial altruism'.[19] My usage of Us-ness is broadly based on this definition. It is also akin to Gordon Allport's idea of the 'In-group' which relies on belonging to the same race, family, tradition, religion, caste, occupational status, or gender.[20] It is similar too, to the well-known concept of 'we' feeling, used in Sociology to define the societal forces that mobilise individuals to effect change. This can operate at the level of the social group or community, including of the family.[21] Another similar usage is 'For-Us-Ness', as developed by Felipe León, to describe a kind of mutual awareness that occurs through the unification of the feelings of two individuals, and through experiences of interpersonal connection. It is, in León's words, 'a mutual awareness of co-presence….of co-attending to an environmental object that may elicit different responses'.[22]

In educational settings, Us-ness is used to define the needs of learners upon the basis of which new student facilities are arranged.[23] Seungho Moon references the idea of 'us-ness' in Korean epistemology, in which it is used to express 'who is considered the knower and the known'. Importantly for this thesis, Moon specifically uses the term within a context of indigenous studies that are aimed at decolonising knowledge, as a means of 'interrupting the Eurocentric, imperialistic notions of

important knowledge in education'.[24] As is also relevant, James Wertsch, working within the disciplinary context of Memory Studies, develops an idea of 'Us-ness' out of Jan Assman's term 'ethnocentric narcissism', to examine the way in which mnemonic communities interpret the past as conveyed in narrative texts.[25]

The ideas about 'us' summarised above have included 'in-groups', ''we' feeling', 'for-us-ness' and various permutations of 'usness'. In these constructions, people relate to one another because they share genetic relationships, memories, personal physical needs and group loyalty. Therefore, these usages primarily operate in dyadic interpersonal relationships, or at the level of human groups. My term 'Us-ness' can include the relational networks that these formulations encompass. What is new though about my Us-ness is that I am investigating how it is associated with artefacts, and specifically with Colonial Objects. By Us-ness, I am describing a non-corporeal force that limits the extent to which an individual, a social group *or a museum* will engage with an object representing external groups and ideas. Us-ness can denote the way in which an object is associated with individuals, families and social groups, but it also encompasses the way in which it is associated with museums as organisations, and with the populations and geographical regions that they represent.

Most importantly for this thesis, when Us-ness is invested in objects, the objects gain the power to represent the ideas about cultural belonging to which the Us-ness in human groups is tied. In museums, Us-ness is defined according to the borders that are used to define that belonging, and also by the limits of pre-existing collections. Us-ness drives museums to take decisions, and to formulate policies, determining the groups in society that they will serve, with whom they will work, and that they will seek to represent. In summary, the reason why I am coining a new usage of Us-ness for this thesis, is because of the sense of group belonging that Colonial Objects encapsulate for individuals, and also the ways that museums employ objects to represent whole societies and geographical areas.

Otherness

Just as Allport's In-group cannot exist except in opposition to an Out-group,[26] in counterpoint to Us-ness there must be a segment or segments of humankind that fall outside the boundaries by which Us-ness is defined. This is because Us-ness is a

process of defining the subjective viewer, and so, following Hegel, depends on the existence of Otherness.[27]

The applicability of Otherness to the context for this thesis derives from the defining presence of 'Us' and 'Them' ideologies in Northern Ireland society[28]: by using the terms Us-ness and Otherness I am deliberately invoking that discourse. Although (as described in Chapters Five and Six) Northern Irish museums have trodden carefully on perceived cultural boundaries between 'Us' and 'Them', I do not in this thesis oppose the term Us-ness with that of 'Them-ness'. I prefer to use the word 'Otherness' instead. This is because for the reasons outlined above I believe that ideas about Us-ness are, more often than Them-ness, at the heart of what museum activities in Northern Ireland are about; indeed, I cannot think of a single exhibition whose curator has deliberately set about objectifying a *them*. Furthermore, as I demonstrate throughout this thesis, very often the Other is ill-conceived, or has no fixed identity. Whereas 'them' denotes an Other who is specifically identified or definitive, 'other' can mean *any* other. The resultant loose-ness of the term is the more useful to Colonial Objects, because when objects represent an Other, that identity is often un-named and entirely unknown.

From this point on, I will use the words 'Otherness' and 'Orientalism' interchangeably. I acknowledge that whilst the two concepts are closely aligned in meaning, they are subtly different. Whereas 'Otherness' can refer simply to the concept of Alterity (from the Latin *Alteritas* meaning 'the state of being other or different; diversity),[29] Orientalism, an ideology first described by Edward Said, specifically invokes a Western misrepresentation of a colonised person as inferior.[30] In Orientalism, acculturated clichés founded on nineteenth century notions about the biological bases of racial inequality provided justification for colonisation, where entire populations were regarded not as citizens, but merely as 'problems to be solved or confined or … taken over'.[31] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, who coined the term 'Othering', defined it as a process by which an empire can define those it colonises, excludes and marginalises. Othering is also a process in which, by asserting geographical and racial Others as subjects, the empire defines itself.[32] The oppositional nature of Otherness, in which alterity was used by colonialism as a tool to stereotype and control, was consolidated by Homi Bhabha. He demonstrated the development of politically expedient human stereotypes arising from Orientalist attitudes to be a fundamental basis upon which colonial discourse depends. This is

because Othering 'fixes' specific characteristics (for example, disorder and degeneracy) to members of occupied populations. 'Fixity' ideologically constructs Others through rigidly defining them according to physical and mental characteristics that are fetishized. In the past, it was deployed in order to facilitate the hegemony of colonial governments[33].

It is on the basis of the synergies between the two terms as used by these theorists that I feel at liberty in this thesis to use 'Otherness' and 'Orientalism' interchangeably. Where below 'Otherness' (invoking Spivak and Bhabha) are read, this should also be taken to indicate Orientalism in a Saidian sense, and vice versa. As I use them here, both Otherness and Orientalism can be applied to Colonial Objects. This thesis shows that through the usage and transmission of artefacts across space and time, ideas about the Other have been projected and inherited.

Us-ness, the Other and ethnocentric interpretations of Colonial Objects

A further reason for the usefulness of the Us-ness / Otherness binary is that Colonial Objects in exhibitions and museum programmes have often been used to convey the identities of far-off or little-known Others, who have been conceived from an ethnocentric perspective. I assert that where, for individuals, self-interest in the interpretation of the past may focus on discovering the meanings of family collections and archives, in museums it is found in the form of ethnocentric partiality.

As I explore below, museums' ethnocentrism is founded upon ideas about whether and how groups within human societies fall within or outside their collecting processes, interpretative themes and audience interests. Ethnocentrism is a trait of which museums are often accused. This entails the evaluation of other cultures according to preconceptions originating in the standards and customs of one's own culture. It distorts the representation of cultures because it inclines or prejudices an actor for or against specific people and groups[34]. A term deployed to indicate the belief of a group that it occupies a high point of humanity,[35] ethnocentrism also involves divisions between in- and out-groups.[36] In Chapter Five, I will explore how Us-ness, transposed into the museum context as ethnocentrism, is a factor that has influenced the interpretation of the National Museums Northern Ireland World Cultures collection. By merging the concept of ethnocentrism in

museums with that of individual self-interest, I am coining the term 'Us-ness' in a way that can specifically be used within Museology.

In museums in the past, the practice of ethnocentrism in the interpretation of Colonial Objects has been associated with the presence of imperial power hierarchies.[37] For this reason, it is frequently presented as a negative force, and even a moral failure, that museums must strive to overcome. For example, following the events to mark the four hundredth anniversary of the arrival in the Americas of Christopher Columbus, Bonnie Kelm wrote that 'the lessons museums have learned…about ethnocentrism, cultural respect and input, and collaborative ventures, have been consistently limited to specific cases brought to light through insistent political pressure'.[38] In a project named *Virtual Museums for Intercultural Dialogue*, UNESCO states that in the current era of globalisation in which museums have become 'mediators of intercultural understanding', their roles in education and research facilitate encounters between different cultures and civilisations, 'as opposing to nationalistic or ethnocentric views of history and societies'.[39] In an article on cultural exclusion and the role of museums, Kevin Coffee associates their power to act as 'repositories for normative examples of artistic expression, history, ideology and taste' with the promotion of 'racist, sexist and ethnocentric ideologies…the cultural practices, beliefs and symbols of 'others' are portrayed in stereotypic caricature of as naïve practices…rather than according to their authentic complexity'.[40]

It is well established that the extent of any museum's social responsibility[41] depends upon its willingness and ability to build connections, both within and beyond its prescribed geographical, social and cultural limits.[42] Building these connections is furthermore essential to a museum's competitiveness: when it adheres too strictly to ethnocentric paradigms, the museum cannot change, and without change, it will fail.[43] However, the inclusion in museum exhibitions of a Colonial Object can expose both the museum, and the individuals with whom it interacts, to political risk. Some of the reasons for this are examined in Chapter Five, which references cultural and political division in Northern Ireland, and how the use of the word 'colonial' can arouse inter-communal mistrust and racist discourse. I argue that it is because they are held to be politically dangerous that Colonial Objects are under-presented and under-researched in Northern Ireland's museums. In short, they fall outside the limits of what is presently conceived of as Us-ness in the region.

In 2019 in NMNI museums, non-Western objects are available to view in a very honed-down form. One place in which they are present is in the Ulster Museum's ground-floor *Window on Our World*[44] displays. These lead to in-depth exhibition galleries further into the building, focusing on human history centred on Northern Ireland, in which a small number of ethnographic objects are sparsely distributed. As does many a shop window, *Window on Our World* places objects from diverse geographical regions side by side with little or no contextual information. The comparisons between cultures therefore do not reinforce the impression that the Museum values the objects for their intrinsic worth; in fact, the display achieves the opposite effect by conveying the notion that non-Western objects are a passing fancy, something attractive to look at before getting into the meat of Northern Irish history upstairs. In addition, the display in the Modern History Gallery,[45] showing 'World Cultures' through the lens of Northern Ireland in Empire, suggests the presence of ethnocentric values. As I make clear in Chapter Five, this does not reflect the true position of NMNI now; but is a legacy of how the ethnographic collections were treated in the mid to late twentieth century. In Chapter Six, I look closely at how during that period, ethnocentrism resulted in the side-lining of these collections.

This is not though to say that ethnocentrism does not have a place. As herein demonstrated through examples from the Crozier Collection and from public collections, subjectivity in the form of self-interest at the level of the individual (Chapter Three), and ethnocentrism at that of the museum (Chapter Five), can enrichen the interpretation of objects, and are necessary to secure the objects' long-term future. Without attaching subjective value to them, individuals would not collect, and without collectors, museums would not exist. Ethnocentrism is furthermore cyclically useful: without museums having a subjective reason to keep them, collections would not remain in public hands in perpetuity.

I therefore argue that Us-ness, in the form of self-interest and ethnocentrism as expressed by collectors and institutions, should not always be regarded as antithetical to good museum practice. Instead, these forms of subjectivity are prerequisites to what museums do. While no museum can fully claim *not* to be behaving in an ethnocentric manner, its ability to resist subjectivity depends on its constitutional status. A breakdown of the museum categories that exist in relation to the Northern Ireland context, demonstrate how in the region this is the case.

Categories of Us-ness in Northern Ireland's Museums

'Universal' Museums: In 2003, nineteen European and US signatories published a joint *Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums*. Neil MacGregor, then Director of the British Museum, argued that the Declaration was needed, in order to resist 'a great loss to the world's cultural heritage' through repatriation of objects to their countries of origin.[46] The aspiration of (self-ascribed) 'universal' museums to act globally translates into their acquisitions policies. That of the British Museum, for example, is to 'maintain and improve the Museum's cultural and historical record of the world's cultures and civilisations'.[47] The Declaration was heavily criticised, with counter-arguments including that museums' universalist claims were fundamentally ethnocentric.[48] In Northern Ireland there are no signatories, signalling that none claims a global purview within the scope of what they do. For the reasons that are outlined below, museums in the region instead adhere in their collecting and exhibition practices to local geographical limits within the six counties.[49]

National Museums: These are museums funded by the central government of each of the United Kingdom's 'nations', England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. National Museums Northern Ireland[50] operates three such venues: the Ulster Museum, the Ulster American Folk Park, and Ulster Folk and Transport Museum. Unlike all other museums in Northern Ireland, National Museums Northern Ireland's existence is required by law. The Museums and Galleries (Northern Ireland) Order 1998 is the source of its definitions of Us-ness, specifying that 'In carrying out its functions the [NMNI] Board shall have particular regard to the heritage of Northern Ireland'.[51] As outlined in its Collections Development Policy, NMNI's priorities for future collecting include materials to illustrate migration from Ulster to North America; Ulster folk life and agriculture; archaeological materials found in Northern Ireland, and objects that reflect the history of the region itself.[52] Here therefore, the geographical limits of Northern Ireland bound the museum's collections and are at the core of all that NMNI does: therefore, this national museum organisation aims primarily to represent the memories of those from Northern Ireland. By default, collections and audience groups deriving from, and collecting and programming themes relating to, physical areas and human societies outside these geographical boundaries fall to a lower priority.

Local Authority Museums:[53] These are also covered by the 1998 Order, which provides that 'A district council…may provide and maintain museums and galleries.'[54] Each of the eleven district councils runs at least one museum, and my research and visits research[55] have identified that although not specifically required to do so by the Order, these Local Authority museums house collections that almost exclusively reflect the histories of the geographical areas over which the district councils as governing bodies have authority. A sample Collections Development Policy provided by the Ballymoney Museum, run by Causeway Coast and Glens Borough Council, exemplifies local authority museums' focus of on the possessions and memories of local citizens. The Policy covers artefacts associated with the domestic, commercial, community and sporting life of the Borough; Archaeology with a Ballymoney provenance; photographs and film footage depicting the Borough; and motorcycle racing in Northern Ireland.[56]

Independent Museums: The term 'independent museums' signifies those owned and managed by universities and charities whose remit is dependent on their origins. For example, the Armagh Robinson Library collects in order to continue to augment its existing collection of books, manuscripts, prints, drawings, coins, and gems.[57] Its interests are therefore defined not by a geographical boundary but relate to a community of interest: those who furnished, and continue to be inspired by, items from the museum's collections. It is these people, and primordially Archbishop Robinson (1708-1794) who founded the collection, upon whose memories the Library concentrates.

Regimental Museums: 'Regimental Museums' preserve military heritage, and most often those of specific regiments. Whereas, therefore, the Royal Ulster Rifles Museum in Belfast collects memorabilia connected with that regiment, its counterpart in Enniskillen does the same for the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, and that in Armagh for the Royal Irish Fusiliers. As demonstrated by their encyclopaedic displays of medals detailing the service biographies of named individuals, their core collecting interests concern the histories of specific military forces, and the memories of former regimental personnel.

The Usefulness of Us-ness and Otherness for examining Colonial Objects

As shown by the above categories, every kind of publicly funded museum in Northern Ireland deploys boundaries of Us-ness. Chapters Five and Six demonstrate

how Us-ness has been used to distinguish non-Western from local objects in the history of the collections that are now held by National Museums Northern Ireland. As I demonstrate there, each successive institution that led to its founding has defined Us-ness in different and increasingly narrow ways. For example, the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society did so according to the scientific inquiry practised by collectors throughout the British Empire, whereas the Belfast Art Gallery and Museum engaged with the collections of local citizens. In the era of these museums, Colonial Objects were abundantly presented, in formats recognisable as having been influenced by Cultural Relativism (see Chapter Five). However, in the case of the Solomon Islands canoe collected by Captain John Casement (Chapter Six), when the state of Northern Ireland was formed in 1921 the boundaries of Us-ness shifted to the extent that an object associated with an agent in the Easter Rising began to be ignored. Following the merger of the previous museums leading to the foundation of the Ulster Museum in 1962, the institution strengthened its focus on local history and archaeology and, as I argue, this move heralded an era when the geographical boundaries of Us-ness began to shrink, with the effect that the Curator of Ethnography had an uphill battle to keep human history objects from outside Ireland in the public eye (Chapter Five).

The devices of Us-ness and Otherness are useful for analysing Colonial Objects because they effectively synthesise the way that museums relate to the objects in public space, with the way that individuals relate to such objects in private and within families. As I argue over the course of the following chapters, irrespective of whether an object is held in private or in public ownership, where an object can be held to denote Us-ness, it will be kept, displayed and discussed; where it signifies Otherness, the opposite is more likely to be the case. As in the case of the Solomon Islands canoe and Hawai'ian feather cloak in NMNI (Chapter Six), when objects have not been held to contain sufficient Us-ness, they are put away from public view and are under-researched. In the Crozier Family, ideas about Us-ness have changed; whereas in its colonial period these encompassed a strong family identification with the civil servants of the British Empire and their ideologies, in Northern Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s the family quietly stopped mentioning this heritage, and objects and archives that clearly reflected its own colonial past were hidden. By contrast though, other objects *did* reflect Us-ness and still do; a selection of these are examined in Chapter Three.

Us-ness, Otherness and Museum Representation in Northern Ireland

The representation of diverse identities is a perennial concern for museums, raising questions about whose heritage they should transmit, the audiences for which they are equipped to cater and the views to which they will give voice. For this reason, Viv Golding has described the museum as a 'frontier', a place where new identities can be constructed, and connections forged between disparate groups.[58] The Northern Ireland Government Good Relations strategy *Together: Building a United Community* (*T:BUC*) emphasises this role for museums, stating that

> Collaborations between museums and communities can provide a vital role in understanding our shared history, heritage and culture. Museums can help to address issues of social inclusion and cohesion and support the cultural rights and expressions of people and communities in our society. They can be catalysts for bringing communities together both physically and through formal and informal opportunities to explore the complexities of history and culture.[59]

While an indication of governmental support for the acceptance of diverse points of view on history and heritage, the sub-text of this passage is clear; the words and phrases 'shared', 'cultural rights', and 'complexities of history and culture', combined with the lack of clarity on precisely whom the document intends museums to serve, betrays that its true purpose is to provide a catch-all that will enable museums to continue to provide projects that build peace between Catholic / Nationalist / Republican and Protestant / Unionist / Loyalist communities. This impression is reinforced by the fact that a previous Northern Ireland Executive Good Relations Policy had been a little clearer on the limits of Us-ness, requiring museums' activities to be 'representative of the diversity [of] the geographical area from which local visitors come and … issues pertinent to the cultural diversity of the geographical area served'.[60] This geographical emphasis, indicating service development based on demography, was destined to result in ethnocentrism, for in Northern Ireland, the recorded population is still 98.2% white.[61]

The *T:BUC* policy has however failed to significantly impact the diversity of human groups represented. As aforementioned, in the human history galleries of the Ulster Museum for example, the world outside Northern Ireland is reflected only minimally. Instances of this include the 'Window on our World' exhibition showcasing large ethnographic objects with minimal explanation,[62] while others are

presented in the context of displays on the Boer War and manufacturing in the British Empire.[63] As I will explore further in Chapter Five, when other Northern Irish museums reflect on international subjects, this is primarily in relation to diaspora from Ulster to former British colonies now dominated by white governments.[64] In the regimental museums, non-European objects are deployed as evidence of military campaigns, and in order to provide biographical backdrop to the lives of British soldiers.[65]

I argue that the under-representation across the Northern Ireland museums sector of anywhere – and anyone – outside Northern Ireland, is due to the fact that the way in which museums are constituted and governed, as reflected in the above categories, entails that the isolation of a discrete 'Us' in contrast to an 'Other', however amorphously conceived the latter may be, is intrinsic to their operations. The constitutional status of each museum both determines the boundaries of its ethnocentrism and is the chief means of deciding which objects and therefore whose memories are 'in', and what or whom remains on the margins or outside. On the basis of these boundaries are predicated all of the museums' activities, ranging from how they are funded, to what they collect, to the programmes of exhibitions, events and other services that they provide.

Colonial Object Framework Categories

As all of the above has shown, both private and public collections of objects can be understood through the lens of an Us-ness / Otherness binary. This established, I will now set out the Categories of Colonial Object that constitute the Framework I have devised.

Category 1. Colonial Objects Representing Us-ness

Much of this thesis concentrates on objects that can be defined as Colonial because they were made, used or collected in places inhabited by people who were colonisers, or were colonised, and in times when European empires were active. Much has been written within Museology and Museum Ethnography about these kinds of Colonial Objects, and many of these works are referenced in this thesis. In all that follows, the reader should assume that when I refer to the Colonial Object, I am invoking ideas about objects gathered through imperial activity.

In addition though, the term Colonial Object can be interpreted as suggesting that objects have agency to behave in an imperialistic fashion *themselves*. I find this duality useful. As I argue further in Chapter Three, artefacts *do* have a colonising effect, both by consuming mental energy and through occupying physical space. Therefore, I assert that the concept of the Colonial Object can include both objects that were not gathered in geo-political colonies, and also other objects that were.

In making this claim I am building on the psychoanalytic studies of Winnicott, who established that we first perceive ourselves as separate from the external world through contact with objects,[66] and Klein who showed that infants gain autonomy by perceiving distinctions between good and bad qualities in objects.[67] I am also influenced by Daniel Miller's employment of the word 'stuff' to capture materiality that has a hold on individuals by connecting them with others, and with surrounding society.[68] Uppermost in my mind though have been aforementioned experiences of objects whilst living in, and leaving, Lisnacreevy. As a result in this thesis I reinforce the idea, first developed by Alfred Gell, that the propensity of an object to represent relationships gives it power.[69] As I demonstrate (Chapter Three), this is even the case when those relationships have been imagined rather than being factually secure.

In Chapter Three I also show how emotions that are connected with relationships become invested in objects. The objects can then behave as proxies for the people who formerly engaged in the relationships. By providing the means through which a relationship with a dead person can be maintained, the object becomes inalienable to its present owner(s). By being so potent, it becomes Colonial. Becoming bereaved as this research started, Miller's chapter on the 'Matter of Life and Death' influenced the first Category of Colonial Object that I have shaped. He describes possessions reflecting the two marriages of Dora, a Londoner. From the first, 'mired' in poverty, she had only a condolence letter and an engagement ring. From the possessions resulting from the second she retained only a 'resumé' of material things. 'The more relationships one has lived through', Miller concludes, 'the more any one … has to be pruned back to one or two totalising mementoes'.[70] In this thesis I show how, through such distillation, mementos of the dead can become Colonial.

Conversely however, when emotions become detached from the objects of the dead, even an object that was once quintessentially Us is at risk of being

discarded. Through an example of a family photograph, I will show that this happens when the person to whom an object was most meaningful has been forgotten. This example shows how the Us-ness in objects can begin to drain away. When this happens, the object may only be mnemonic of a *someone*; its importance in a real human life or lives becoming ever more elusive with each successive interpretation and with the passage of time. This is how an object that at first appeared to represent Us, can begin to transform and so represent an Other.

Category 2. Colonial Objects Representing Otherness

Category 1 concluded with objects in the process of being transformed from Us into Other. There are also Colonial Objects that have *always* been so. By describing Colonial Objects as representing Otherness, I mean here to describe the ways in which objects have been used to capture some imaginary essence of the Other as ascribed to people and cultures that are or were deemed to be alien. These are the objects that are used as proxies for people to whom, through the ideology of Orientalism, stereotypes have been attributed.

Category 2 contains objects that are both used as receptacles for Orientalist attitudes, and those that are vehicles for their further promulgation. In the thesis, I show how in my family's domestic spaces, objects were used as metonyms in order to typecast other humans on cultural and racial grounds. In this way, the objects enabled family members to perceive their own roles in the world through an imperialistic lens. As writing in the Crozier Archive shows, Otherness was invoked from objects to oppose Us-ness, and this was important to the construction of family members' identities. In addition, the presence of Colonial Objects representing the Other in our home – the ultimate location of Us-ness – facilitated the internalisation of colonial perspectives. Using examples in the Crozier Collection, I show in Chapter Four how Objects deemed to be connected with Other peoples and Other cultural ideals can emanate from both Western and non-Western societies. As a result of their association with Otherness, Colonial Objects examined in this thesis have been subjected to the ethnocentric gaze, so becoming invested with ideas about entire populations. In this sense, the objects have been vessels for the imaginative capturing of colonised humans.

As I have previously argued, if we desire the capacity to convey the significance of Colonial Objects to humanity in the present, we need to understand

why people cared about them in the past. As I argue here, the availability of this information is also critical to de-colonising the object. It is essential for postcolonial material culture studies to identify biographical specifics – by and for whom objects were made and used, the human connections through which they came to be in their current owners' possession. Without such information, we can only continue to interpret objects with inherited cultural determinism that is based on stereotypes. This is why, throughout the course of this thesis, I have striven to learn about how objects signified human relationships in the past. Otherwise, I could discuss them only in ranges, classified by the observable characteristics of their materiality or by association with universalised human groups. It is well known from museum contexts that such classifications of objects have contributed to the continuation of imperial discourse, and have erased the prior claims of colonised peoples.[71] Coming to understand how a Colonial Object has been deployed to represent the non-specific Other helps to de-colonise it, opening the object up to indigenous interpretation.[72] Simultaneously, in order to specifically identify the real people of the present to whom the interpretation of the object is important, we need to research its biography to find the real people to whom it was important in the past. In doing so we can unhinge the object from Otherness, and so build bridges between individuals and groups.

Category 3. Colonial Objects Representing both Us-ness and Otherness

Even in the case of objects that appear to represent Otherness, there are often elements of Us-ness. An example can best illustrate this point. Chris Gosden and Chantal Knowles begin their book *Collecting Colonialism* with an exposition on a small, brown strip of barkcloth found in the Pitt Rivers Museum. This belonged in the 1930s to a woman, Alola, who had used it to bind the head of her baby daughter, Awadingme. She did so in order to shape Awadingme's developing skull into the elongated form then favoured by the Arawe people.[73] Traded with Alola in exchange for beads by Beatrice Blackwood, the binding (*ewep*) had previously been used as a man's belt (*malu*). Blackwood acquired it on behalf of the Museum's Curator, Balfour, who was interested in head-binding in New Britain. His interest stemmed from the fact that, although still widespread in Vanuatu,[74] the practice had become rare in the western Pacific. Because he considered the practice in New Britain to be a residual form of a once widespread custom, he found the artefacts resulting from it to

be of (Western) cultural value. He aimed, too, to collect bound skulls for the Museum, as evidence to inform contemporary debate about whether head-binding affected intelligence, and due to missionaries' concerns about the tradition as an expression of idolatry.

Based on this biographical information, Gosden and Knowles indicate the range of perspectives that surrounded the possession and collection of the *ewep*. To Awadingme, its physical impact would become central to a lifetime of identity, especially given that she would be a member of the last generation whose heads would be bound. To Blackwood, the object was a tangible result of her work, a cultural-historical record for the longer term, and a vehicle for teaching and research in the university museum where she worked. To colonial administrators and missionaries in Papua New Guinea, the head-binding cloth was a vestige of a negative cultural form, and its removal from its original location a symbol of progress. To the Pitt Rivers Museum at the time of writing in 2001, it was connected with 274 other objects that Blackwood collected, and to her photographs, diaries and notebooks. Furthermore, it was linked to other collections made in Papua New Guinea, and to other forms of fieldwork conducted there. Through analysis of these assembled object-human networks, the authors conclude that an object 'is always in a state of becoming' because irrespective of where it is housed, its significance changes as its history accumulates.[75]

In the case of the barkcloth strip, there was a wealth of information upon which Gosden and Knowles could draw when forming their analysis. Most important within it, perhaps, were the names of some of the individuals who had once owned it. Crucially, these included names deriving from both sides of the colonial divide. The *ewep* example demonstrates how critical it is to gather biographical specifics when collecting objects. However, notwithstanding the richness of its surviving documentation, there is still much about it that we do not know. We cannot determine from Gosden and Knowles' write-up, for example, whether Alola was content to give it up when Blackwood collected it; and if so, why that was. Was it because Awadingme no longer needed it? How would Alola use the beads for which she exchanged it, and why? Did the barkcloth signify to her traditional values that she had been persuaded by her colonial correspondents were primitive?

All of these unanswerable questions concern networks of human relationships, and how these operated across colonial divides. By posing them, I

mean to provoke consideration of how, when a person is connected with an object, it represents a facet of the identity through which they connect to a social group – Us-ness. I am also indicating that when an object passes into the possession of a museum, its Us-ness is changed. From the above example, it is evident that an object can easily be described as Colonial when it was produced or collected in a colonial era, and in a colonised place.

This description can also be applied to the Hong Kong material in the Crozier Collection, despite its multicultural and late colonial provenance. Colonial forces shaped Douglas and Ann Crozier's cultural attitudes and their conceptualisations of their own places in the world. The objects that they collected, made and in many cases given to them by interlocutors who were Chinese, were both tokens of their own identities and invested with their ideas about racially differentiated others. During the course of the objects' transmission to my parents as their inheritors, the identities of the Chinese people who had given them were forgotten, but several of the objects nonetheless sustained Julian and Maurna Crozier's interest. One reason for this was that they represented a family history. Another was that they were aesthetically attractive. Another still, was their functional purpose. Providing decorative backdrop to family life through their usage and display at Lisnacreevy, these objects became part of the identity of the younger nuclear family. Thus, Douglas and Ann Crozier's ideas about Us-ness and Otherness were carried forward in time, if in a diluted form, through the objects.

In Chapter Seven, I will show further how objects can be described as Us and Other because of the colonial networks in which they have been entangled. Having mediated between social groups in the colonial past, such objects will represent the identities of both groups until the social connections derived from the networks have been forgotten. My analysis in that Chapter focuses on the gifts that Douglas and Ann received from people amongst whom they worked. As I demonstrate, these objects clearly reflect the Croziers' ideas about the Chinese, but they also reflect ideas that the Chinese as the host community had of them. Through objects, Chinese colleagues informed the Croziers about the sophistication of their culture, and sent subliminal messages about Chinese superiority. Having been caught up in these negotiations but later retained to represent family identities, the gifted objects contain both Us-ness and Otherness at the same time.

Category 4. Colonial Objects Representing Neither Us-ness nor Otherness

As previously discussed, many museums lack sufficient documentation for the objects that they hold.[76] When this is the case, claims about their past emotional significance can only be generic, if not speculative. I have also described above why it is that an object from which a biography pertaining to a specific human group or individual in the past has been excised, is stripped of an important facet of its identity. It can as a result be regarded only as abstracted matter, a phenomenological archetype reflecting the material culture tradition from which it came.

The Object that represents Neither Us-ness nor Otherness is one that can be held to indicate only generalisable human activity. This especially applies to ethnographic objects in museums that have been extracted from their original locations due to colonial incursions. In the process of having become representative of the identity of the colonial agent who did the extraction, in a majority of cases the name of their original owner, and indeed the precise location from which the objects were taken, have been forgotten. When even the identity of their collector has been forgotten about, the object is emptied of association with any real human being, and then becomes bereft of character.

The ways in which I believe colonial processes of claiming possession over objects can result in forgetting the human biographies that they contain is best illustrated through an example. In *Tangible Things*, Thatcher Ulrich *et al.* define objects that embody colonial ideas as 'portals' that 'convey viewers to another world or state of being'. One such object is an Angolan basket that had no spiritual value to its collector, a Reverend Merlin Ennis, who in 1939 donated it to the Peabody Museum. The authors infer that the basket was important to this Christian missionary only through identification with a named tribe, the Chokwe, and with the Benguela Highlands whence it came. By contrast, to the Chokwe people, the fifty-four items inside the basket were a means to perceive the past and future. In the hands of their diviner, the basket became a gateway to the unknown.[77] By failing to record the identity of this individual, Ennis arranged the forgetting of the power that it had held. The basket therefore represents the Othering of its original owner by Ennis, as is clear from what little documentation of it survives in the Museum's records.

Poor documentation such as this renders as narrow the spectrum of approaches that are available to those who seek to understand such objects. Without data to trace their relationships to specific individuals and source communities, there

is a risk that analysis of the objects will represent them as metonyms of entire societies. Interpreted in this totalising way, an object becomes subject to a process of imaginative distancing on behalf of the viewer, who conceives of it as representative of an amorphous and mistakenly conceived identity. This is an identity that bears little or no relationship to the geographical and cultural locations upon which the viewer's sense of Us-ness is predicated. In this way, the Colonial Object becomes representative of neither Us nor Other.

A further reason why the object might be so lodged in this liminal imaginative space, is that the ideas that it represents have been rejected by the group or institution that now houses it. Perhaps it raises problems connected with the behaviour of the antecedents to the possessing body in the past. It may even invoke colonial guilt and shame. I have found this to be truest of objects in which the unequal power dynamics of colonial societies are most visible. In the Crozier Collection (as will be explored in Chapter Eight), it is found in photographs that show Douglas and Ann interacting with Chinese people (including where they are behind the camera), and in letters and diaries that clearly express their racist views. When cultural perspectives of colonists in the past, that are contained in the objects, have been rejected by the objects' current owners, the objects are a source of discomfort. In these cases, the owners may not acknowledge their connection with themselves, and are unlikely to put them on display.

Category 4 makes the point that, because of lost information and because of guilt and shame, some objects can never represent Us-ness, but have equally become detached from the identities of the alienised Other. In museums, Colonial Objects representing an Other who has been demonised can be visceral – I vividly remember for example the five *mokomokai*[78] that were in the stores of National Museums Scotland when I first arrived there as a curator. Even for the *mokomokai*, so obviously not only *representative* of other human beings, but holding their faces, the names of these people had never been recorded.[79] Objects possessing strong connections to unknown Other people confront the owners with obvious questions: how could you (or your ancestors) have thought it acceptable to take an object that so clearly belonged to someone else? And how could you not even know to whom it once belonged? When a museum or an owner does not want to be answerable for these questions, they are unlikely to claim that the object represents themselves.

These questions are, of course, central to established debates about and systems of practice for museum restitution and repatriation[80] that are too extensive to form part of this thesis. However, Category 4 does focus on how, even when biographically connected with objects, the loss of fine-grained documentation, guilt about the taking of objects in the past and shame resulting from how the objects reflect upon their own histories, incite both families and museums to put objects out of sight. Nonetheless, understanding that previous owners may have moral or legal rights to know about and / or claim objects, families may decide not to permanently dispose of such unwanted inheritance. I am convinced that these perceived rights were what prevented the disposal of the Croziers' paper archive, left in boxes in the Lisnacreevy attic. Subjected to this deliberate act of forgetting, the documents continued nonetheless to represent Others who may one day value the information they contained. Museums are prevented from disposing of objects by professional ethical codes;[81] and their equivalent response is to keep the object in a museum store. Relegated to marginal space, this is the fate of the object that is Neither Us nor Other.

Conclusion: The Colonial Objects Framework

In this chapter I have demonstrated that previous works on non-Western objects have avoided explicit usage of the phrase 'colonial object', and that there has been no clear framework for communicating what it means. I have also laid the foundations for establishing such a definition and demonstrated that it can be applied to objects both in private collections and in museums. By exploring family treatment of Crozier Collection objects, and museum representation in Northern Ireland, I coined the term 'Us-ness' for usage specifically within Museology.

I then developed Us-ness and Otherness as a conceptual binary, demonstrating that it provides a useful tool for comprehending how objects have been perceived and interpreted, and the cultural values with which they have been invested. I established that the binary is applicable to objects irrespective of in whether they are kept in private or public settings, because Us-ness denotes subjectivity. Where in individuals it derives from self-interest, in museums it derives from ethnocentrism. Therefore, objects are perceived through the Us-ness / Otherness framework in both museums and in domestic space. Within this context, I emphasised the importance of researching objects' biography, in order to identify

specifically to whom they have been important, both as a basis on which to understand the perspectives from which they have historically been understood; and as a means of de-colonising representation.

I then arranged the Colonial Objects Framework around the Us-ness / Otherness binary, by setting up four categories of Colonial Object. In the following chapters, I will test the Framework according to these categories. Chapter Three relates to Category 1: Objects Representing Us-ness and Chapter Four to Category 2: Objects Representing Otherness. Chapters Five and Six relate to National Museums Northern Ireland's collection, and how it has been impacted by the Us-ness / Otherness binary. Chapter Seven relates to Category 3: Objects Representing both Us-ness and Otherness. Category Eight relates to Category 4: Objects Representing neither Us-ness nor Otherness.

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Chapter Three
Us-ness in the Crozier Collection

Introduction: Colonial Objects that Colonise

Chapter One explained why my personal connection with the Crozier Collection has impacted upon my interpretation of it. In Chapter Two, based on this experience, I established four new categories of Colonial Object. The first of these (Category 1) is Objects that Represent Us-ness. Chapter Three will explore this category and demonstrate its importance. I will do so by examining how objects can gain the power to colonise people and how, in turn, the objects can become colonised. This type of Colonial Object is one that occupies people's minds by embodying memories associated with their own biographies.

Within my examination of it here, I will include objects from Northern Ireland, Hong Kong, the United States and other places. This is because narrative recall about objects, irrespective of whether they are colonial in a geo-political sense or not, is a means through which people build their own identities, and this, in turn, gives the objects agency.[1] As I have argued previously, objects' capacity to furnish people with such capital is a source of their ability to occupy the mind. In addition, the iterative transfer of knowledge about the identities an artefact symbolises, through the re-telling of its biography, is a way of transmitting knowledge about human identity across time. It is this process that constitutes and builds upon Us-ness, and Us-ness is, in turn, the essence that gives the object colonising power.

Chapter Three develops the link between Colonial Objects in private collections and those that are in museums. It does so by examining how, irrespective of who owns it, we can think of an object as colonial when its ability to trigger biographical memory helps us to define and constitute ourselves. My thinking on this is partly influenced by Sharon Macdonald who explains why, conversely, people working in museums conceive the act of forgetting biography as resulting in 'a kind of death'. She describes the process of 'salvaging' objects from human biographies by moving them from private to public collections as one in which memories are 'musealised'. By securing the longevity of biography through retaining the possessions of people who are dead, and by arranging the technologies for the systematic retrieval of biographical memory as captured in objects, museums help to deny human ephemerality. In this way, museums helps societies to resist the passage

of time.[2] I will demonstrate, in Chapters Five and Six, that in doing so, museums transmit Us-ness on the level of regions. This chapter, though, explains how Us-ness is captured in family-owned objects. Here, I show how Us-ness can make objects in the home colonial. The chapter's focus is upon the Crozier Collection.

Theoretical Grounding

As an interpreter of objects gained from a once-subaltern population, my analysis has been informed by Bruno Latour's argument that previous work on objects has treated them as proxies for colonised peoples. He claims that the objects are as a result handled 'at best' as, 'loyal servants' and that 'at worst, they are brutes or slaves'.[3] From Latour, it can be inferred that the objects can be regarded as colonised *themselves*.

Although (as made clear in Chapter Two) I am strongly persuaded by postcolonial studies of material culture of which Latour's is a prime example, at the start of this research, my experiences of dealing with artefacts had led me to believe that in object-human relations, it was the humans who were subordinated. This view had been developed through reading from Psychoanalysis. As referenced in Chapter Two, I had focused on research on human attachments to 'cherished possessions' that had been developed since Winnicott's famous 1953 paper on objects that aid developmental transitions.[4] This includes for example that of Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, who demonstrated that objects can alter the internal workings of the mind;[5] Russell Belk who explained objects as 'extensions' of the self;[6] and Schultz, Kleine and Kernan who stated that objects are a means by which we both express our own individuality and integrate ourselves within larger social groups.[7] Mehta and Belk have shown objects to be useful in helping migrants to acclimatise,[8] Helga Dittmar that objects provide psychological nourishment,[9] and a number of others, for example, Ekerdt and Sergeant[10] and Kroger and Adair,[11] that, in old age, personal objects smooth relocations to residential institutions.

These studies all provide evidence of human dependence on the emotional support that objects provide, with most of those cited above showing this support to be especially important for people who are older. Furthermore, objects have been shown to be critical to assuaging bereavement, with multiple studies demonstrating how people use objects to reconstruct the mimetic world. For example, Margaret

Gibson, writing on 'melancholy objects', found them to function both as metaphorical and metonymic traces of corporeal absence, providing material to smooth the passage of the bereaved into a new kind of life following a death.[12]

These scientific articles are supported by a wide range of personal accounts. In a 2012 article for *Smithsonian Magazine* for example, Verlyn Klinkenborg wrote that the presence of his possessions reinforced to her the fact that her father was dead. Upon visiting his former home, she found its contents, suddenly, to be 'merely objects. The person whose heart and mind could bind them into a single thing – a home – had gone'.[13] Her article exemplifies how to confront the objects of those who have died is cathartic, enabling those left behind to transit into a phase in their life in which there is a new, human, vacuum. In these cases, it is their ability to signify the identities of deceased loved ones, that gives inherited possessions their power.

It is my conviction that, by transitioning across generations, especially in the charged emotional condition of bereavement, chattels can become actors in themselves. In these circumstances, individuals and families often focus on an object's connection with the person who most recently owned them, and / or with the identity of the one who owned it first. It is the biography of these two key individuals – one clearly remembered, the other sometimes mythical – that instils in the object what Curasi *et al.* describe as an object's 'coercive inalienability'. They also state that an owner's subsequent resistance to losing the object then causes her or him to keep a possession that she / he would not herself / himself choose.[14] This is because to lose the object would be to damage both the individual and collective identities that are invested in the object.[15] In this chapter, through a series of *vignettes*, my analysis demonstrates how identities, built upon biographical memories, that are signalled by objects, can give 'coercive' objects the power to colonise people and their homes in the present. It shows, too, that when those memories are lost, the objects' colonising power dissipates.

Vignettes of Us-ness in the Crozier Collection

In this section I show how biographical details in domestic life, that over the course of a family's history have become associated with its possessions, are critical to their power to colonise the human imagination. By contrast, when biographical memory about an object fades as successive generations grow old and die, the fate of the

object becomes uncertain. Whereas a memory that is associated with an object can increase its longevity, a failure of Us-ness (as denoted by biography and captured in memory) shortens an object's lifespan.

In order to demonstrate the colonising effect of objects representing Us-ness, I will begin below with the originating object, that led to my conviction that objects could be Colonial by occupying the mind. This was Lisnacreevy House in County Down, the place that, until my father's death in 2006, was so fundamental to my identity that it had never until then occurred to me to think of it, or the objects within it, as 'colonial' in any sense at all. By describing some of my experiences of Lisnacreevy at my father's wake and funeral, I will demonstrate why the importance of objects – in this case, a house – to biographical memory, can be such that the object becomes *colonising*.

I will then turn to other objects, taken from a broad geographical and temporal spectrum, to explore the power of objects 'at home' to colonise. The example with which I begin is one that at first appears empty of colonising potential: a mere basket of stones. Through it I will show how, because human biography can invest an object with Us-ness, the artefact can come to occupy the mind. The stones show how this is the case even when the object is insignificant to others. In the sense that they take hold in our minds, we can think of objects from any place, and any time, as 'colonial'.

The subsequent example – that of Hong Kong objects at another former home, Lisnisk – shows that the erosion of memories about object biographies, including, as here, through their repeated relocation within domestic space, can blank out their former meanings. Through this process of effacement, the objects become canvasses on which to depict new forms of identity. In these cases, the artefacts can become vehicles for new meanings, and the new phases of human biography into which they then move re-invest them with significance. Hence, the objects gain a new power to colonise domestic space.

I will then show why the diminution over time of biographical knowledge causes people to regard objects as unimportant to their identities and therefore to neglect them. The Nearly Gone Person advances this idea by providing an example of how a detachment of biographical memory from a photograph, and the subsequent fading of its capacity to evoke a real human life, weakened its power. As I stated in

the Introduction to this chapter, humans and objects are in a reciprocal relationship with one another, with each depending upon mutual and continuous memory re-investment. When we 'let objects down' by forgetting the life-lessons that are entangled within them, possessions become prone to becoming disposable. We, in turn, lose historical knowledge about ourselves and others. Neither we, nor the objects, can then convey into the future the Us-ness with which the objects were once associated. When this happens, we humans begin to wonder whether we need the objects in our lives at all.

***Unheimlich*-ing the *Habitus* at Lisnacreevy**

As stated above the aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how people feel colonised by objects due to their attachment to biographical memory. This *vignette* begins at the start of a process of *de*tachment, when my thoughts on the diminishing power of objects began to be formed. Chapter One explained that my ideas about Colonial Objects began at Lisnacreevy where, as occurs in any family home and throughout many lifetimes, I had encountered the private possessions of close relatives. In keeping with the experience of Klinkenborg, and with the findings of Gibson and Curasi (see above), following bereavement I encountered these well-remembered objects as *new* forms, their significance magnified by charged emotions. Our resultant resistance to giving objects away, despite deriving limited pleasure from them ourselves, has troubled my brothers and me for some time.

My father died suddenly, in hospital, at eight o'clock one morning in 2006. By the time my mother, brothers and I had arrived home, the first visitors had already arrived. In the week that followed, we were never left alone. In this period, our home was no longer only ours: it housed many others who came to visit and stay, and the objects, especially the super-abundance of the food, that they brought. Through reading for this thesis I have come to believe that during this time I experienced what Freud termed the *unheimlich* ('uncanny').[16] His usage refers to the way in which internal agency threatens cultural norms.[17] At times during that wake and in the funeral's aftermath, I felt disconcerted because the flooding of the house with people made it seem as though we were hosting an excellent party: their presence temporarily disguised the fact that our Dad was not in our midst. It was, too, *unheimlich* to witness the performance by others of grief in our home. This

unheimlich jarred with the *habitus* – Bourdieu's concept that cultural practices (in this case, those surrounding death), inscribe order within the human mind.[18] The *habitus* helped to invoke a new kind of order; our community besieged us for long enough to provide a cushion against the social world outside.

That death was the beginning of an increasing sense of the *unheimlich* and made way for a twelve-year disinterment of objects from Lisnacreevy that ended with its ultimate sale in 2018. This thesis is in itself, in part, a process of reforming the *heimlich* and re-gaining the *habitus*, by telling stories about the possessions of dead people. It is furthermore motivated by my finding that moving family assemblages around is, as for Susan Pearce, a hunt for 'a continuing series of presents, so that the past continues to exist with all its capacity for perpetual re-interpretation'.[19] Much of my thinking in this thesis is a development on Appadurai's work on *The Social Life of Things*,[20] in which contributors, most specifically Kopytoff, demonstrated that objects themselves have both social lives, and political value.[21] Thinking about this whilst emptying Lisnacreevy, I came to realise that by relocating vestigial objects within domestic space, I was simultaneously reinforcing the power that they held.

The reason why they gained in power during the process of their relocation, was that the objects evoked memories of human connections that, through the sensations of handling, rose to the surface. Charged with and empowered by resulting emotions, the objects gained symbolic value that secured for them a longer-term presence in my life. As a result of this experience, I argue that the act of re-attaching a memory to an object, recalling its associations with past events and human networks that we have valued, is a means of cherishing the object and in doing so, of ensuring that it is cherished by others in the future. Re-constructing the object's story is also a way of re-linking past events and social networks, to social networks in which the object is embedded in the present. Verbalising, sharing and writing down stories about its networks, invites an object to become part of the social group participating in the network; in other words, to become part of an Us. In addition, by committing it to narrative in this way, a writer can, as an individual, come to embody an object's meaning. To this extent, interpreting objects is a self-interested project; and also one that helps to define the nature of a human group.

It follows that by telling a story about the objects from Lisnacreevy, I am

enabling them to symbolise that place, and progressing my own detachment from the building itself. As a result, the power of the house to colonise my mind is diminished. Simultaneously I am re-forming myself, by establishing biographical references for the possessions that I have retained. Sometimes we *want* to be colonised by objects, as have I. Furthermore, I am consolidating group identity – the group in question being my family – by ensuring that Lisnacreevy and our attachments to it are not forgotten.

My conclusion to this *vignette* is that through narrative, objects can fill up the spaces in our souls. Telling stories about Lisnacreevy is a means to deflect its colonising power, aiding recovery from grief by sloughing away that building from my mind. Simultaneously, it is a way of reflecting on our family, and of building a new family identity for the future. To follow, I will use examples taken from the contents of Lisnacreevy. These denote the biographies of other members of my family, and the family as a whole.

Fig. 1. Lisnacreevy House. April 2017. © Daniel Crozier.

An Illusory but Colonial Object: Maurna Crozier's basket of stones

I now move to a smaller Colonial Object. Having been colonised in the past by a member of my family, it has in reciprocal fashion become *colonising*, and so developed the 'coercive inalienability' that Curasi *et al.* described (see above). Thatcher Ulrich's example of the Chokwe divination basket (Chapter Two) has

visual and symbolic similarities to one that I found in the outdoor room at Lisnacreevy in which my mother wrote her own PhD. Of this one, in the same way in which the Peabody Museum is as an institution the custodian of the diviner's collection, I have become custodian as an individual. However, unlike the Chokwe assemblage, Maurna Crozier's basket is not Colonial due to its cultural aetymology. Instead, I am newly defining it as such, even though its meaning was entirely constructed.

The basket contains stones that she, my mother, gathered. Her habit of doing so gathered pace when in the late 1980s, she brought to the Ulster Museum a piece of pottery. There, it was subsequently identified as B Ware, a type of late Roman ceramic found in monastic and monarchical sites.[22] Afterwards, she searched for further evidence that beneath Lisnacreevy were buried archaeological secrets of an interesting kind. Some of the stones, which could perhaps have been worked by humans of the past, are still labelled with poignantly evocative signposts. These are recognisable only to members of our family; for example, 'Toboggan field near bottom hedge – 15 paces from pony field hedge'.

Shortly after her death, I was dismayed when upon taking them to an archaeologist friend, he conclusively identified the basket's contents as rocks. It turns out, therefore, that they have no meaning to anyone except for us, the community that was our family. Like the diviner's basket though, if only up until their re-identification, the stones had in our minds held the capacity to be gateways into another world. Even now that this possibility has been denied, the object remains significant, because it is still laden with family memory. It is this narrative layering that has turned a 'no-thing' into an Us-thing. The basket's Us-ness, in turn, still gives it the power to occupy space in my house, and it has sat beside my desk throughout the course of this PhD.

In the same way that the stone-basket is meaningful to me because of its connection with the person I first cherished most, an object in a museum contains potential to be important to a kindred group. However, in cases where specific human biographies have not been recorded (in contrast to the unusual case of Awadingme's *ewep* mentioned in Chapter Two), the museum cannot know who that group is, or where they are located. An effect of this lack of knowledge is that it reduces the power of the object to be Colonial, in the sense of occupying a curator or

museum visitor's mind. We can imagine the baby Awadingme and her mother, Alola; by contrast, where a different object has become dissociated from biography, its ability to inspire empathy has gone. The object emptied of narrative has lost its grounding in shared human interest and connection. In this way, its Us-ness can narrow to the point that it can switch to the 'Other' side.

This same propensity also exists, of course, for any object, irrespective of from where it comes. Furthermore, the potential of an object to be associated with biography, invested with memory, and then to provide connections between people in the present exists, irrespective of the environment in which the artefact is found. Whether in a home or a museum setting, an object asserts its right to exist when, through some aspect of its biography, it colonises human minds. As the example of the basket of stones demonstrates, its capacity to do so is even present when the object's original meaning has been invented.

This is a different sort of Colonial Object, to that which is considered to be such because it comes from an occupied territory. Referring to the Colonial Object Framework set out in Chapter Two, the Chokwe basket is in a different category to that which belonged to Maurna Crozier. With the basket from the Benguela Highlands,[23] ideas about human alterity were projected so profoundly onto the object that Ennis, or one of its subsequent handlers, erased the identity of its original owner from history. In that case therefore, the basket was not colonising, but was *colonised*. This is what sets the object that contains the Colonial Object representing Us-ness apart from the Colonial Object representing Otherness that I shall develop in Chapter Four.

Within the context of objects representing Us-ness, I wish within this *vignette* to make a final remark on how objects that are bound up with place can become especially Colonial. In the example presented here, my mother invested her basket of stones with a projected community; the peoples who had lived at Lisnacreevy in its Neolithic past. The basket of stones was a means through which she connected with that community; through this, she forged a stronger imaginative connection to the place in which she had found the stones. Even though imaginary, this projection established a triangular relationship, in which person, place and matter became mutually bound.

In a like manner to that which John Falk observes amongst museum visitors,

who connect with objects they see by connecting them with their own biographical events,[24] for me, the association between a life (my mother's) and an object (the basket of stones), remains, despite my archaeologist friend's proclamation. However, my mother's labels, and my memories of walks with her across the fields in which she found them, for me tie the basket to Lisnacreevy and my childhood. Remembering how she colonised the stones with meaning, I have inherited her love for the basket. Now, it is a *new* Colonial Object. It has colonised *me*, and I have it still.

Fig. 2. Maurna Crozier's basket of stones, gathered in the fields around Lisnacreevy. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

Using Objects to Colonise: Hong Kong in Lisnisk

As stated in Chapter One, the corralling of artefacts in museums alongside those found in the home, under the term Colonial Object, is a central thrust of this thesis. As I explained there, my research has encompassed objects that derive from experiences in the British Empire as well as those that do not. In the interests of completeness for this chapter, I therefore introduce now an example of objects that are 'colonial' in a geopolitical sense. These are items from Hong Kong and are in the Crozier Collection.

In 2001 I moved with my husband to Lisnisk, a house named after the townland in which it stands by the family that built it in the 1820s. The house had lain derelict for several years, but was still heavily redolent of that family, and particularly of the last of them. She, Sally McCrum,[25] had drowned herself in 1966 in the roll-top bath that was still in the house. Under her will, her husband had been

permitted to remain there until his death, after which it had passed to the ownership of her church. Upon gaining it in 1991, the church sold it to a farmer. Interested only in the land that came with it, he rented it out until, after a decade, the Northern Ireland Housing Executive issued a ‘closing order' declaring it unfit for human habitation.[26] In the interim, one of his tenants, an alcoholic, had also died there.

I became aware of this history only on the first evening on which we were invited to dine with neighbours after moving in. Even had I known the facts prior to our purchase though, it is unlikely that they would have put me off. Despite their dereliction, the house and barns, set on top of a drumlin, were beguiling. Their views over the Mountains of Mourne held the gaze, and the wetlands surrounding the hill, evinced in local place names, were evocative. Nonetheless, superstitious at the thought that we had taken on a place in which difficult memories were entrapped, soon afterwards I began to take steps to imbue it with different ones. Among my strategies was to import objects from a place characterised by happy experiences – my childhood home at Lisnacreevy.

Lisnacreevy did not give up objects lightly and so, rather than removing objects that were already in the house, I began to unearth material remains from Hong Kong that, although not revealed since Ann Crozier’s death, provided opportunity for sustained contemplation through decorative interest. These included a stone carving, some china ornaments, embroidered hangings and a painting, all of which I had found stored in tea-chests in the Lisnacreevy barn. Because I had never seen them before, by moving them to Lisnisk I was knowingly ascribing to them a status that had skipped a generation.

Re-visiting these events now, I have realised that my interest in the Hong Kong objects in 2001 was not based upon previous knowledge of what they themselves were. Instead, it derived from an emotional commitment to the abstract totality of family history that they represented. My intention was not therefore to engage with each object as a material thing, but rather, by using them as a group, to make incursions into the atmosphere of a house with which neither I nor the objects had previously tangled. I was intertwining my imaginings about unrelated people who in sad circumstances had died in that place, with my perceptions about my own identity and how it had been shaped by the colonial family past from which the objects derived.

Over the fourteen years that we lived at Lisnisk, three sets of biography began to impress themselves upon one another. These were the human narratives about my grandparents and parents; the object biographies of the Hong Kong artefacts and of the Lisnisk bath that we began after all to enjoy; and my own story, that, as our children were born, started to unfold in newly fulfilling ways. The intertwining of these biographies, made possible through the co-location of artefacts, altered the atmosphere of Sally McCrum's home so that it began to feel like my own.

This story about a twenty-first-century colonisation by objects of human space, is also one that invokes ideas about contemporary migration. My husband and I were migrants to a close-knit rural area where, despite the gentleness with which we were welcomed, we were always conscious that we were outsiders. Furthermore, it is about the history of the British in Ireland: the anglicised name of Lisnisk, derived from *Lios an Uisce* and meaning 'fort of the water',[27] reflected the occupation of land in Ireland's own past.

The entanglement between these historical phenomena and ideas – the British Empire in Hong Kong; the British Empire in relation to Ireland; people of the past; people of the present; and objects – was never so profound that it could not be untied. The Hong Kong objects collected by Ann and Douglas were always visibly discordant when arrayed on the walls of their County Down setting. The identity migration that I, during the fourteen years when I lived alongside them at Lisnisk, performed, has never quite held, a fact indicated by how we moved away, and by my discussion of them even now.

The points here derive from the fact that *I* was Other in that locale. An outsider in Lisnisk, I was recruiting Colonial Objects – being such because they came from a geopolitical colony – to the cause of my own acceptance that I belonged. It was not the fact of their historical coloniality that made the objects useful. Rather, it was because they had been associated with my family. *Even though* they were unfamiliar to me (having been kept in tea chests up until then), I found in them the potential to project a family past. I attempted to use them to overlay Sally McCrum's story, and so to replace it with that of Douglas and Ann Crozier. This was made possible, of course, because I knew about enough about the Hong Kong phase of the Croziers' biography to connect the objects with Us.

Here therefore is an example of how, even when we do not ourselves possess

memories about objects, the objects can become useful vessels for our own, more recent, selves. The Hong Kong paintings and other artefacts at Lisnisk, foreign though they were to me in both cultural and temporal terms, were still a means by which I could take an old, familiar identity, and use it to build a new one in an unfamiliar place. In this example, objects that were Colonial because of the time and place from which they came, were deliberately used to *colonise*.

Fig. 3. Painting of a cicada displayed at Lisnisk, Co. Down in 2001. By Huang Leisheng (1928-2011), a pupil of Zhao Shao'ang.[28] *Hong Kong. 1950s. Crozier Collection. Photo: Briony Widdis.*

Colonised by a *Bricolage*: The Lisnacreevy Treasure Cupboard

Under '*Unheimlich*ing the *habitus*' above, I have shown how re-constructing an object's meaning through a memory-inspired narrative helps to dispel its power to colonise. As in the case of the diverse roles of the *ewep* in the various lives it has entered, in domestic life too, subjective understandings about objects continuously mutate as the objects shift across time and place.[29] It follows that the narrative that we attach to objects is based upon memories, that themselves are predicated upon the cultural context within which the observer lives.

Thus, and as previously stated, the interactions of objects with identity are too complex to document in any long-term way.[30] This is one reason why in academic writing there is little longitudinal evidence of the impact of objects on identities. The evidence instead resides, in most literature on the subject, in discrete case studies. Much of the work of the anthropologist Daniel Miller, for example, hinges upon time-bound textual portraits depicting the relationship of individuals to 'stuff'.[31] Other studies on human-object relations have rested on structure more than on the formulation across time of collective identities. Annette Kuhn, for example,

presents objects as ‘memory texts’ that interact with societal regulations;[32] whereas Rachel Hurdley analyses the way in which the display of objects in domestic space helps to establish internal social order that inhabitants subsequently externally transmit.[33]

The following example follows those of Daniel Miller in its biopic nature, of Kuhn in treating objects as ‘memory texts' and of Hurdley in describing how the meanings of privately-owned objects have been externally mobilised. This was a *bricolage* of small items deriving from disparate parts of the world. These were contained in a niche in the wall of the Lisnacreevy spare bedroom, surmounted, at the instigation of my mother, with glazed Georgian cabinet doors. Into this space, defined by her and subsequently by every member of the family as the ‘Treasure Cupboard', she put an assortment of found items. These had all become mementos, for someone in the family, over the course of her lifetime and those of previous family members. The objects included, for example, a collection of Swiss and French dolls given to her as a child by her mother and grandmother; jade figures, concentric ivory balls, and zodiac figurines from Douglas and Ann Crozier's Hong Kong sojourn; painted wooden souvenirs from the travels of a cousin in Russia and the Himalayas; spinning tops and other toys from my childhood and those of my brothers; and a range of disparate, ceramic miniatures picked up by innumerable other relatives.

The cupboard, although carefully ordered when first filled, became very cluttered over time. Like many family storage spaces, it had multiple functions. It was somewhere to put things that were small and fragile. It was a place in which to display the material indicators of our memories. Its contents were continually activated, through additions (and only rare removals), and through objects being handled and played with by people in the family. Through their containment in the same cupboard, these artefacts of our past formed a distinctive collection.

The location of the cupboard in the spare bedroom, a liminal space,[34] meant that it did not belong to any one of us more than to any other. It was, instead, a place where we could all come to turn things over in our hands and our minds. Through their handling, they became ever more precious to me. This may have been because we were rarely in the spare room together, so could individually reflect there on the memories associated with the objects. It was thus that my personal attachment to

them was formed.

Some of the objects summon memories that we within the nuclear family shared with our grandparents, because they had been brought back from holidays together, been gifts from one person to another, or had been handed down between generations. Many though, including those from Hong Kong, came from places or were the result of relationships of which the extant members of the family had little or no personal recall. These became the occasional focus of new or reconstructed stories that we would relate to one another. Furthermore, the cupboard had no lock and so guests occupying the spare bedroom could look at and then ask about the objects. Therefore, by layering upon the objects their own speculations, these non-family members shared with us in the production of memories.

With so much both metaphorically and literally in store, the process of emptying the Treasure Cupboard following Maurna Crozier's death was a melancholy one. My brothers did not come to do it with me and so, unassuaged by their presence, or their desire to take any of the objects themselves, I filtered out that which I wanted to keep, from that which I did not want but of which I could not bring myself to dispose. Inevitably as I pruned, the biographical identity of this diminutive collection was diminished.

The sorting process in which I engaged has become, for me, a microcosm of the synchronous processes both of clearing a beloved home, and of authoring doctoral interpretations of Colonial Objects. In the former, I have been a family member, and in the latter, an academic. The perspective from which I have written this *vignette* up has been altered by the co-terminosity of the two activities. The lingering presence in my home of the objects that I did not want but in the end kept, is a reminder of the objects' colonising power. Although those that I selected are now on display around the house, the rest remains in a crate in the loft. These differing locations show how I have sublimated some memories whilst rejecting others that nonetheless refuse to be sifted away; an idea that is relevant to both publicly- and privately-owned objects and to which I will return in Chapters Six and Eight.

The objects that I put in the loft still impinge on my consciousness; 'stuff' that has not yet been disentangled from my life. Neither they, nor those from the Treasure Cupboard that, arranged on shelves around me, give my visual pleasure

each day, have yet been 'undone': both the valued and the less-valued objects remain, for now, tied to my own biography. In this way, they may one day become coercive to the next generation. The pleasing downstairs, the non-pleasing in the loft, may be re-formed as Colonial. Having learned about Colonial Objects and Us-ness through this thesis, perhaps, at its end, I will begin to address them.

Offered such a collection as an acquisition, a museum would not regard the *bricolage* as having anything to do with its own Us-ness – by which I mean, here, the human groups the museum intends to represent, or the scope of its existing collections. Instead, it would disperse the contents of such a cupboard, separating out those that met its Acquisitions Criteria from those that did not. Any objects it might choose to acquire would then be separated into discrete disciplinary categories and allocated to disparate parts of the museum building.

By contrast, to the family member, it is the whole as well as the constituent parts that merit interpretation, because the whole embodies group memory as a physical cultural space. In the case of the Lisnacreevy Treasure Cupboard, the Hong Kong objects *and also* those from other parts of the world including from both Britain and Ireland have been equally *colonising* of our family pasts. This is because they have all represented Us-ness in some form. My Colonial Objects framework, in which the meanings of objects for the identities of living people as well as those in the past are prioritised, is a toolkit for the holistic treatment of groups of items, irrespective of the provenance of each.

Fig. 4. Lisnacreevy Treasure Cupboard. Co. Down. 2017. © Briony Widdis.

Fading Colonial Power: the Nearly Gone Person

In the example of the Treasure Cupboard, an assemblage of objects gained colonising power because, due to their association with personal memories, I decided not to dispose of them. This contains echoes of what happened when Julian and Maurna Crozier inherited the Hong Kong possessions of Douglas and Ann, placing some on display and some in the Lisnacreevy attic; a position to which I will return in Chapter Eight. What though happens to an object about which its current owner possesses no memories? This is what I will examine in the current *vignette*.

The example I will use is a photograph of an unknown woman. This person was displayed until 2018 on the wall in the house of my maternal grandmother, who had lived beside us at Lisnacreevy. I vaguely remember, as a teenager, being told who the woman in the photograph was, but cannot recall anything about her now. The best time to see her is at dusk. I have to shield her under the shadow of my desk to get her to come out. In the light, she is hardly there at all: one can only perceive a barely visible outline of her clothing and her two pale hands.

Although it was the daguerreotype mirror that ensured that her image survived for so long, this is now the very material that obscures our view. It traps the woman so firmly within the image, that all I see when I try to capture a picture of her to put her in this thesis, is my own reflection and that of the mobile phone with which I am trying to photograph the photograph. In this way, she, or rather the imprint of her, appears to fight against the technology that I use to try and take hold of her, and because I am reflected back, the operation appears to be about my identity rather than hers.

So here we are seeing a nearly-gone person. Furthermore, she is one whose image creates the illusion that she wants to be on her way. Because I never committed her story to memory, I do not have the narrative wherewithal to recount it to another generation. Instead, my evidence is derived from mimetic scraps that render her only generic. For example, the studio inscription on the frame shows that the daguerreotype was made by Nathaniel Jaquith at 98 Broadway, New York, dating it to between 1848 and 1857. I have no idea why this ancestor of my English grandmother was in New York, or where and when she was born or died. As a result of this lack of knowledge, she now seems culturally as well as temporally more

similar to other Jaquith portrait subjects that I can find on eBay, than she does to me.

My interest in her has nonetheless been suspended by a persistent sense of guilt, caused by a familial obligation that is becoming more urgent as her image fades. This guilt stems from my removal of her from my grandmother's dark back hall to my own bookcase in a well-lit room, an action that accelerated her retreat. My grandmother and then my mother kept her safe: perhaps I should have inherited their practice along with the image. Soon, she will no longer exist at all, not even on this mirror that has held her for close to one hundred and seventy years. Furthermore, my inability to recall any story for her means that whatever implications her identity had for my own, or that of my brothers, or for that of our families, has been lost. My denial of my part in her custodianship is almost complete; and my guilt is the only devotion to this forgotten ancestor that I can pay. She once, in the past, was *so* Us, she was Us *before* Us – and now, to my discredit, she is slipping into a state of Otherness.

In *Image Music Text*, Barthes explains how, as this one now does, a photograph conjoins the 'here-now', referring to the moment when it was taken, and the 'there-then', referring backwards in time, from that in which the viewer is located.[35] This is one quality that makes the transience of human life so perceptible in old photographs: we can physically see their now-dead human subjects, and they remind us of our own mortality. Like photographs, the ability of any old object to provoke awareness of fleeting time is a quality that can make it compulsive. This is one reason why we become embroiled in constructing stories around artefacts. By telling tales about belongings, humans attempt to rebuild circuits of meaning that link the past in another place with the present in this one. If objects are to remain active in the social world, their meanings must be recounted from one generation to the next.

I argue therefore that human guilt is a building block of interpretative possibility. Evolving objective narratives are the means by which families overcome the diachronic nature of the stuff that they pass down. They are the means by which the 'temporal anteriority' that Barthes identified is smoothed over. His 'here-now' becomes 'here-now-*us*'. His 'there-then' becomes 'there-then-*us*'. The story enables each successive generation to sustain its interest in the object, providing the glue that adheres identity to matter.

As with all those examined in this thesis, this is a personal narrative about an object. Being a family photograph, the object is one the interpretation of which is especially influenced by self-interest. Notwithstanding the degree to which this subjectivity might be perceived by some academics to undermine the narrative's credibility, this example in my view demonstrates an important point. The point is that subjectivity is intrinsic to the interpretation of objects. Without subjective investment in it, an object fails to become imbued with value by an individual, by a family, by a community or by a museum. Partiality *must* be attached to objects, for without them, as is poignantly demonstrated by the example of the Nearly Gone Person, feelings of responsibility, and therefore commitments to the objects, begin to drain away.

The Nearly Gone Person shows too how, unless an object is actively re-colonised through a continuously reconstructed narrative, the object's Us-ness is eroded until, within a few generations, it becomes Them-ness. Without the narrative, the object is in danger. When the story-wheel stops turning, the object is discarded, destroyed, or (like so many from Lisnacreevy) handed in at a charity shop. Material culture therefore depends for its survival on self-interest. If the Us-ness cannot be sufficiently maintained, even for long enough to carry it through the doors of a museum, or into the home of someone else, the object's lifespan is at an end. An object *must* be colonised with Us-ness, because when Us-ness dwindles, its future is bleak.

Fig. 5. The Nearly Gone Person (a photograph of a forgotten ancestor). New York. 1848 – 1857. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

Us-ness and Otherness at the Irish Museums Association Conference

My idea that clearing out the Treasure Cupboard might be interpreted as a curatorial act came about because its role bore clear resemblances to the public and storage spaces of the museums in which I had previously worked. I perceived it as simultaneously like an exhibition, and a room behind the scenes of the museum. It was comparable to a storage room because it was initially carefully arranged, and over time came to lack the capacity to contain more. In addition, there were criteria for filling it that could be compared to the priorities of a museum acquisitions policy: it was considered suitable for objects of specified substance, size and cultural origins, and that were meaningful to a defined social group (the extended family). The combined family members and guests who could look inside it were like museum staff and a visiting public.

Despite the Treasure Cupboard's usability as an opener for comparisons, when speaking about the Crozier Collection at the 2016 Irish Museums Association conference I felt ill at ease. To discuss the meanings of private collections in museum discourse is intrinsic to what they do.[36] However, publications in museum journals on the topic are almost exclusively written from an objective perspective, rather than from that of the private collector.[37] There were furthermore no personal accounts about private collecting in previous IMA conference proceedings.[38] I have since considered why it was that crossing the boundaries between private and public collecting felt controversial. The concerns that I believe my paper raised, and the reasons behind them, follow.

The first surrounded the potential to financially benefit from the sale of collections. Specific guidance against museums and their staff doing so is contained in the ethical codes of both the UK Museums Association[39] and the International Council of Museums.[40] The second concerned trade in cultural property, especially from former colonies that were subject to asymmetries of power. Museums are prevented from acquiring objects that could have been stolen or illegally exported from their country of origin both by the MA and ICOM codes of ethics,[41] and by international law.[42] The Crozier Collection, still in private hands, fell outside of the ethical codes, causing professional disquiet.[43] The third concern derived from the subject of colonial biography, regarded by some as distasteful: Chapters Five and Eight will demonstrate why this is especially the case in Northern Ireland.[44]

While all of the above potential causes of my unease had a role to play, the source of the drag on my conscience was greater than the sum of them all. It derived from my subjective stance in relation to the Crozier Collection whilst also standing on a platform in the role of a museum professional. At the IMA Conference, I was working within a context where private collectors are normally on the opposing side of the museum acquisition process. I was expressing self-interest in relation to the collection, where normally museum personnel profess an objective stance.

My discussion of the Crozier Collection at the IMA Conference encapsulated the reasons why it is difficult for museums and their staff to acknowledge the presence of subjective stances in relation to colonial collections; and my simultaneous occupation of the positions of both Us-ness and Otherness there was a microcosmic form of the position of Northern Irish museums in relation to the subject of Colonial Objects. As explained in Chapters Two and Five, the history of Northern Ireland places museums in dual positions as representatives of both insiders and outsiders to colonial experience. Furthermore, as human beings and as interpreters, all museum staff are both inside and outside relationships with objects. At the IMA Conference, I was trampling on the border between Us-ness and Otherness. Here then, is a further reason to propose that a Framework be developed that balances subjectivity and objectivity, so as to allow museums and their staff to overcome the Us-ness / Otherness divide.

Us-ness, Otherness and the Power of Colonial Objects

This chapter has explored how memories may be ‘trapped' in the objects of former generations. Because they are subject to multiple memories, *all* are, or have the potential to become, symbolically hybrid, representing elements of both Us-ness and Otherness. Deriving from disparate parts of the world but still all having a shared past due to their co-location at Lisnacreevy, the examples of objects provided here together comprise a study in how, when humans interact with any object in a sustained fashion, it can become imbued with an Us-ness that gives it a colonising power.

I propose that the term Colonial Objects is useful in helping to demonstrate that strong emotions about objects are part of generalised experience. For this reason, it has the potential to help to break down controversies about objects, and to

support conversations, between museums and source communities (see Chapter Four) that enable collaborative participation in object interpretation, and provide more sustained and rewarding access to the objects in museums' care. Through the example of Lisnacreevy as I experienced it during my father's wake, I have shown too how academic consideration of objects, even when they are foundational to the academic's own identity, can have a useful distancing effect. This distancing, as I argue throughout this thesis, is a capability that Autoethnography can help to bring about.

For me, academic distancing had first to be achieved in a practical way. When clearing Lisnacreevy, at first unconsciously and later deliberately upon realising that it had become a useful strategy, I gave objects a 'cooling off' period in the garage before bringing them into my own house or disposing of them. This helped to provide separation between the objects and the place from which they came, and so to detach them from the identities of which in the past they had been part and the powerful emotions that they had invoked. Cooling-off periods are, for some museums, a procedural approach. Such is the emotive 'hotness' of some objects that are on the Us-ness / Otherness border, especially if they promote memory of trauma, that the objects can pose risks to their owners and to the museums.[45] As seen in my account of my discomfort as a conference presenter, the risks of being on that border can include being perceived to be behaving unethically and / or undermining public credibility in the museum or institution in which one works. This is because, especially when objects are brought to light that have been hidden, their meanings are open to re-contestation and so become volatile. This in turn happens because the objects represent Us-ness to competing groups, creating a source of conflict between the museum and those to whom the objects are emotionally important.

As a result of their relationships with people over time, the Crozier objects have become chipped, bashed and faded. These disfigurements are physical reminders of their ability to become Colonial. As Tim Ingold argued upon considering a wet stone sitting on his desk that dried out during the course of writing his article, the histories of objects are immanent within them. Artefacts come to contain their histories through use when they are acted upon by people, and from the ecologies in which they have been situated. Histories are then activated when the

objects are re-used and re-interpreted.[46] Ingold's article suggests the importance of enlivening the interpretation of Colonial Objects by bringing contemporary experiences of engagement with artefacts into play. The broader definition of the term proposed in this chapter can strengthen understanding of how people engage with objects. As I have argued, 'Colonial Objects' can be used irrespective of whether they are old or were recently made, and whether they derive from former imperial colonies or not.

Using the case of Hong Kong objects at Lisnisk, I have demonstrated how humans can use objects to colonise spaces in which they are outsiders. In the example of the Nearly Gone Person, a photograph degraded by light reflected the effacement of memory in a literal sense, so that the object's history became trapped within it. That example showed how, when an object's story is not successfully transmitted through narrative, it cannot colonise us, except perhaps through residual feelings of guilt. It also showed how when it cannot colonise, it is at risk of disposal. As the personal *vignettes* in this chapter have shown, subjectivity mobilises a desire to communicate biographical knowledge about objects. It is therefore an important ingredient in the movement of objects from private to public space. They make evident, too, that biographical data is essential in the interpretation of objects.

Conclusion: Us-ness / Otherness and the Interpretation of Colonial Objects

I have deliberately used the term Colonial here in multiple contexts. At first, only those objects that were Colonial in a geopolitical sense appeared to be relevant to my study. However, I soon found that this categorisation excluded other objects that could be useful for the project. Furthermore, it imposed a boundary between Western and non-Western objects, and between colonial and postcolonial time periods, that I considered to be artificial. This chapter has demonstrated that by recording and investigating to whom, and how, objects can be Colonial, researchers and museums can unleash fresh perspectives on the biographies of objects. This includes but is not limited to those played out in imperialised[47] worlds. Colonial Objects as a concept is ripe for development because, as discussed through the *vignettes* in this chapter, it can help to elucidate how even ordinary artefacts can provide unique insights into how humans relate to place; how they represent themselves; and how they relate to others. This is the case irrespective of whether the objects reside in public or in

private collections, and in fact as I have demonstrated that the two go hand in hand.

Chapter Two established the utility of the concept of Us-ness for interpreting objects that have been subjectively conceived; as I have shown in Chapter Three, this subjectivity should be welcomed for the insights that it reveals. By examining subjectivity through the relatable lens of Us-ness, we can mobilise new research on how people become invested in things. When they deploy it in professional contexts, academics can do so with expert eyes, regarding and reviewing subjectivities with historical rigour. In their capacity as cultural institutions that work within communities and regions, museums can harness Us-ness to collaborations that benefit society as a whole. These partnerships can positively impact relationships with people and nations from which objects were taken, as well as within those museums and countries in which the objects are now located.

Finally, I note that Us-ness is a useful device for considering objects that are both Western and non-Western, both colonial and postcolonial, within a unified theoretical regime. As one part of a binary that is easy to understand, museums can use Us-ness to demonstrate empathy for how both their staff and users regard themselves; and see others. Us-ness therefore enables museums to expand the intellectual boundaries within which they operate, and the ranges of collaborators with whom they can work. As I argue, Us-ness's counterpart – Otherness – is equally useful as an analytical tool. The reasons for this will be examined in Chapter Four.

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30. See Chapter One on Emotion and Affect.

31. See for example Miller, Daniel. 2008. *The Comfort of Things*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Also Miller, Daniel. 2009. *Stuff*. Cambridge: Wiley, John & Sons. The chapters of both of these publications are arranged around analyses of the impacts on individuals' identity of their relationships with possessions.

32. Kuhn, Annette. 2000. 'A Journey Through Memory.' In *Memory and Methodology*, edited by Susannah Radstone, 179 – 96. Oxford and New York: Berg.

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34. 'Liminality', used here as in Anthropology, refers to thresholds or middle stages, especially in the form of rituals (e.g. birth, initiation, marriage, death) marking life transitions when a person's status belongs to neither their previous nor their subsequent condition. A 'liminal space' is a frontier or border that does not clearly belong to one person or group and is often used to describe a location that people are passing through. See Thomassen, Bjørn. 2009. 'The Uses and Meanings of Liminality'. *International Political Anthropology* 2 (1): 5 – 27.

35. Barthes, Roland. 1987. *Image Music Text*. Edited by Stephen Heath. Fontana Press.

36 Relevant publications are numerous; see for example Jin, Ying Chen. 2012. 'Are Donations 'Cost Free'? *The International Journal of the Inclusive Museum* 4 (3): 27 – 37. Also Varutti, Marzia. 2014. 'Polysemic Objects and Partial Translations: Museums and the Interpretation of Indigenous Material Culture in Taiwan'. *Museum Anthropology* 37 (2): 102 – 17.

37 For an example that attempts to understand the viewpoint of the private collector, see Adams, Monni. 2009. 'Both Sides of the Collecting Encounter: The George W. Harley Collection at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University'. *Museum Anthropology* 32 (1): 17 – 32.

38. The meanings of objects in families are rarely discussed at museum conferences in relation to objects from delegates' own families. A search of the past five years' UK Museums Association and Irish Museums Association conference programmes did not reveal any papers on this topic.

39. Museums Association. 2016. *Code of Ethics for Museums*. London. p. 13.

40. International Council of Museums. 2013. *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums*. Geneva. p. 5

41. 'ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums'. 2004. International Council of Museums. https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/ICOM-code-En-web.pdf. p. 33. Accessed 6 March 2019. See also Museums Association. 2015. *Code of Ethics for Museums*. London. p. 13.

42. The 1970 United Nations Convention on Cultural Property requires member states to inventory, certificate, and monitor trade in cultural materials, and to recover and return any cultural property imported after 1970. The 1995 UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects aims to empower dispossessed people, institutions or states to reclaim objects that have been stolen or illegally exported. See *UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects*. 1995. https://www.unidroit.org/overviecp/english.The Museums Association's *Code of Ethics* (covering museums in Northern Ireland), specifies that museums must 'reject any form of purchase, loan or donation if there is any suspicion that it was wrongfully taken during a time of conflict, stolen, illicitly exported or illicitly traded, unless explicitly allowed by treaties or other agreements, or where the museum is co-operating with attempts to establish the identity of the rightful owner(s) of an item'.. They must also 'deal sensitively and promptly with requests for repatriation both within the UK and from abroad'. See *Code of Ethics for Museums*. 2016. London: Museums Association.

43. Being privately owned none of the objects in the Crozier Collection fall under the 1970 Convention. Nearly all were acquired at least nine years before it was signed. There is no evidence that any were taken without the consent of their former owners. Indeed, many are touristic souvenirs, some mass-produced.

44. Colonialism is widely known to be a contentious subject in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. See Chapter Six. For recent examples of commentary, see also for example Bennett, Huw. 2012. 'After the Release of Colonial Records – What about Northern Ireland?' *The Guardian*, 20 April 2012, online edition https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/apr/20/colonial-records-release-northern-ireland. See also Mac Gabhann, Conn. 2018. 'Why Praise Our Colonial Past?' *The Irish Times*, 30 November 2018, online edition. https://www.irishtimes.com/blogs/generationemigration/2012/03/28/why-praise-our-colonial-past/. Both accessed 14/09/2019.

45. A cooling off period was, for example, proposed at the Cunningham Dax Collection in Parkville, Australia, when acquiring items donated by Holocaust survivors, to provide them with time to change their minds about permanent donations. See Koh, Eugen, and George Halasz. 2011. 'Back of House/under the House: Some Psychoanalytic Aspects of the Acquisition and Exhibition of Art by Survivors of the Holocaust'. *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies* 8 (1): 74 – 88.

Museums and Galleries New South Wales advises museums to place objects proposed for disposal in a 'cooling-off' area of their storeroom for a minimum of twelve months to allow for further information as to relevance, value, and provenance to come to light. See 'Fact Sheet: Deaccession and Disposal in Small Museums: Clarification of Terms'. 2011. Woolloomooloo: Museums and Galleries NSW. https://sustainingplaces.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/deaccession-and-disposal-in-small-museums.pdf. Accessed 6th March 2019.

46. Ingold, Tim. 2007. 'Materials against Materiality.' *Archaeological Dialogues* 14 (1): 1 – 16.

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Chapter Four
Otherness in the Crozier Collection

Introduction: Representations of Otherness in the Crozier Collection

In Chapter Two, I established the basis of Us-ness and Otherness as a means of investigating Colonial Objects in this thesis. In Chapter Three, I demonstrated how the category of Us-ness can be used to discuss their symbolic meanings. Based on the findings set out there, I now conceive of Lisnacreevy, as a building that belongs to someone else, to be in the process of transforming from Us into Other. To later generations as I already know from talking to my children, the house will represent less Us-ness than it does for me, because its period of biography in their family is in the past. This is the case, too, with my relationship with Douglas and Ann Crozier's Hong Kong possessions. They do not, to me, signify Us-ness to the same extent as they did to them; it was not I who first acquired them and brought them home to Ireland. They are therefore 'foreign' to me in relational as well as in temporal and geographical terms.

I have explained in Chapters One and Two how the concurrence of leaving Lisnacreevy, emptying it of possessions, and writing a PhD thesis on Colonial Objects, caused me to look at the objects anew. This new context opened the way to questioning how the objects from Hong Kong had been invested by members of my family with Orientalist ideologies of the kind brought to light by Said,[1] and Otherness in the senses developed by Spivak[2] and Bhabha.[3] As stated in Chapter Two, I am using Us-ness and Otherness as twin concepts, with the existence of each being predicated on that of the other. I will lay the foundations for Otherness here. Specifically, I present the reasons for my finding, based on analysis of the Crozier Collection, that Otherness is invested by people in objects. In addition to being stimulated by postcolonial theory, and by the collection itself, my investigation of Otherness as a theme has been mobilised by personal memories. These concern family narratives, connected with objects in our home, about engagements between my parents and grandparents and populations of the British Empire in Asia and Ireland. In addition, I have drawn on family archives that indicate the tenure of racist attitudes by my ancestors. I will introduce these here.

Chapter One located this thesis in the geographical and cultural context of Northern Ireland. Here, I further attach my research on Colonial Objects to this

place. This is the basis on which the study will begin to build from the foundation of the Crozier Collection towards the context of public museums. This chapter leads to an investigation of the combined concepts of 'Us-ness' and 'Otherness' as reflected in the historical handling of NMNI's World Cultures Collection that is presented in Chapters Five and Six. The chapter also promotes the argument developed in Chapter Three, that museologists should seek to end the disciplinary distinction between Western and non-Western objects. As it furthermore demonstrates, the same argument can be used for distinctions between objects hailing from before and after colonial contact, and before and after the end of the British Empire. From whichever party ideas about Otherness derive, if in museums we are to avoid repeating the fixity of stereotypes that reside in rigid differentiations of people based on ideas about the categories into which they fall, in relation to the transaction of material possessions it might serve us well to begin to differently interpret the end of Empire as a temporal boundary.

Such a reconsideration would help us to study objects that were created or used when colonial contact was well-established.[4] It would also assist with the study of objects the 'colonial' or 'postcolonial' status of which is difficult to determine. Both of these conditions apply to the late-colonial Hong Kong objects in the Crozier Collection. While the global significance of the end of the British Empire is without question, having the facility to examine objects on both sides of the temporal colonial divide is potentially useful to museums and the people that they serve. This is because it allows us to look at attachments to objects, not only as part of the colonial, or conversely the postcolonial condition, but also as an aspect of our shared humanity. As some of the examples below show, this can be the case even when those objects are redolent of racist attitudes.

Vignettes of Otherness in Colonial Objects

I tackle the colonial / postcolonial boundary below by asserting that objects on either side of the divide in the Crozier Collection contain Otherness: both kinds of object may be regarded as having been colonised with Orientalist attitudes. I do so by pursuing the same distillation process used by Chapter Three that presents single objects in an exhibition format.

Douglas Crozier's Japanese Swords

The following discussion of two Japanese fighting swords (*guntō*) demonstrates how objects about which we know little can become even stranger to us by being hidden. This, in turn, results in a failure in our power to tell stories about them. I found the swords in the Lisnacreevy attic in 2015. Although I had not until then known of their existence, their ownership was clear from a label on one which reads 'D.J.S. Crozier'.

Douglas Crozier must have gained them whilst serving in the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Force during the Second World War. He was captured by the Japanese on Christmas Day 1941, when the battery on which he was stationed on a hill above Stanley village became the last in Hong Kong to fall.[5] Two letters from him to his wife Ann connected with that day survive: one was written on 29th December 1941 whilst being detained, and the other in 1943 from a Prisoner of War camp. After this there are no further letters from Douglas until one written to Ann and his mother upon his release, at the end of the Asia-Pacific War, in 1945.

These swords have clearly been used; their purpose was not to complete a dress uniform. *How* they were used is explained by published memoirs that detail the use by the Japanese captors of Hong Kong of similar swords for hand-to-hand fighting, intimidation and beheadings.[6] It is probable that they were surrendered to Douglas, as a HKVDF Captain, after his release. This is because Mountbatten had ordered that Japanese officers in the South Asia Command area should be obliged to surrender their swords; and many, as a result, found their way back to Britain as trophies.[7] There is a display of such swords in the Imperial War Museum.

The swords are mentioned nowhere in his archive, but in his 1945 letter Douglas writes:

> During the interregnum and in order to keep down looting I took out a party of Volunteers and protected all the houses between McDonnell Rd. and Bowen Rd. Among other things we saved was 1 1/2 tons of opium. The work was interesting but in our condition very tiring. But its great compensation was the knowledge that the occupants whom we had displaced were themselves as destitute as we had been.[8]

In the Crozier Collection, a few objects survive that provide a contrasting view of relations with Japan. One, for example, is a book on Japanese flower arranging given in 1951 by a Frank Maunder to Ann Crozier. Here, then, are two sets of material

evidence the interpretative potential of which is different. The swords were captured as a result of conflict, and the book received in peace-time as a gift. Whereas I have supposed that to Douglas the swords represented the captors whom he hoped would become 'destitute', the book betokens the sharing with Ann of an interest in the gentler arts of Japan.

Both the swords and the book are invested with ideas about what constituted Japanese identity, and both indicate Douglas and Ann Crozier's involvement in the construction of ideas about Japanese alterity. Whereas though the book appears to have been a simple gift, due to the endurance of the Second World War in public imagination, the swords, as souvenirs, are more compelling. The attachment of the swords to public narrative about the Second World War – a more dominant one, in the UK, than that concerning flower arranging – skews the way in which the Crozier Collection, and the Japanese culture that it represents, is likely to be presented.

For decades in Northern Ireland, the swords were hidden. As a result lacking grounding in family narrative, they were foreign items to me. My interpretative re-construction is therefore based on events that I *think* must have resulted in their tenure by Douglas. The truth, however, might be different: perhaps he acquired them not from a Japanese captor, but from a friend. In the latter case, these same items would not represent Otherness in the sense of *enmity* but rather, a shared understanding, or a type of Otherness that was appreciated, absorbed, by Douglas. The nature of Orientalism with which the swords are invested differs between the two interpretative positions.

This example demonstrates the interpretation of objects to be dependent upon the respective dominance of the narratives with which they are connected. As with the millions of items in museums for which there is limited or no documentation, the viewer's acculturated perspective (mine) has been the primary influence on her interpretation of the material world. In this case, the previously hidden nature of the swords, combined with their existing place in public discourse, has ensured that they have been construed not as Us, but as Other. In addition, the swords have been layered with an inherited family narrative about Douglas's capture by the Japanese; and onto this furthermore has been superimposed the reading of his archive. In summary, on the basis of all of the available sources that indicate to me how the swords were regarded by Douglas and Ann and then by Julian and Maurna – public

discourse, hidden-ness, family narrative, and archive – I have classified the swords as 'Other'.

As the example of the swords reinforces (and as explained earlier), Otherness is imbued in objects according to specific characteristics by which people are typecast.[9] For the swords, typecasting is associated with Japanese cruelty. There are three indicators of this. These are memories of descriptions given by my father about Douglas's period in an internment camp; the allusion in Douglas's letter to the 'destitution' forced upon prisoners there; and from the physical appearance and materiality of the swords themselves.

These three sources of evidence upon which we typecast the people who owned objects before us (narrative; archive; physicality) are potentially available for any artefact. It follows that Orientalist attitudes can reside in objects associated with people regarded as different from ourselves, irrespective of the objects' geographical origin. These constructions may be linked, through our simultaneous associations between those same objects and personal memories, with our own identities.

Fig. 6. Japanese swords found in an attic room in Lisnacreevy. Used in Hong Kong, 1941 – 1945. Collected by Douglas Crozier c. 1945. Crozier Collection.
© Briony Widdis.

Julian Crozier's 'Fishing Trip' Letter

Based on inherited typecasting, even objects that are postcolonial can facilitate the internalisation of Orientalist perspectives. Some of these perspectives though can be traced to historical experiences of imperialism. The next example shows how this is the case. This is a letter written by Julian Crozier, in August 1957, about County Donegal in the Republic of Ireland. After this example I will align it with another one, of a trunk from the same county, that was acquired by Julian and his wife Maurna in 1997. Together, these demonstrate my point that even objects from

'home' can be invested with ideas about others who have been deemed to be, as Said put it, 'lamentably alien'.[10]

As the present example demonstrates, Julian Crozier's conception of Irishness was influenced by a confluence of colonial identity emanating from experiences in Hong Kong, with a cultural identity focused on Ireland. In later chapters (Chapters Seven and Eight) I will show how the Hong Kong in which he grew up (1935-1957) was one whose social structures had been shaped by colonial bureaucracy; it was here that Julian acquired his attitudes to the human subjects of Empire. Of these, Irish Catholics had been amongst the earliest[11] and the content of Julian's letters to his parents, then still living in Hong Kong, from postcolonial Ireland, was in keeping with a persistent British narrative about the Irish as a subaltern people.

As Paddy Duffy has shown, an English system of land management was used to colonise Ireland, and to translate British moral values in topographical form. As part of this project, the native Irish were described in terms such as 'wild', 'wily', 'cunning', 'feckless' and physically inferior. These verbal and oral characterisations helped to justify the establishment of networks of colonial gentry houses, and outdoor pursuits such as hunting in landscapes newly cultivated for the purpose, that were also home to local populations.[12]

Julian's 1957 letter embodies how this characterisation was deployed within the Crozier family. In it, he recounts a fishing trip with a friend to Donegal, during which they stayed with a family living near the village of Cloghan. He writes about this experience:

> they own 25 miles of the best fishing in Ireland, and 40,000 acres of shooting. To the visitor anyway, they seem to think solely in terms of salmon, grouse, snipe and poachers. Against the latter they wage a constant war, and are known feared…and hated all over Donegal. They fight tooth and nail against not only the rod pitchers but primarily against those who poison and bomb their rivers… Just the mere knowledge that we were associated with them, made the local people (already very Catholic and pro IRA) unfriendly. …they refer to the Irish as 'the white Mau Mau' which of course no Irishman will tolerate.

Apparently conscious of his hosts' imperialistic worldview, Julian was clearly also influenced by his own colonial experiences, gained through his privileged upbringing in Hong Kong. This visit to his father's homeland was but a brief

sojourn, taking place during the summer break between graduating from Cambridge and embarking on his own career in the colonial service in Northern Rhodesia. He continues with a disparaging comparison between the natural and human landscapes that he has observed during the trip:

> Richard and I of course were delighted to stay for we were in the real Donegal country which you all and I love – the wild wind blown hair tussling country of bare heather trodden mountains of sheep and few cottages which where the air is invigorating and life giving but where the hours on the hills with purple and shadowed dimpled in the fading evening are full and almost with foreboding impressing on one as they do a sense a problem and mystery which poverty and religion have brought so much to Ireland with feuds and tragedy. This is not so much the quiet easy going life which I once described of Fermanagh. It has even surpassing beauty of scenery but here, man is more primitive and one is so much more impressed by the hardship, by the struggle to eat and live in a life where a man's sole pleasure is the meagre food he extracts from the barren fields and destitution has to get drunk in a pub and his wife brings up his children shouting squealing and squalid and cursed in Gaelic. But, the rivers, fresh after rain roar through rocks churning over rapids runs boiling through the pools in which the salmon lie. In their slower reaches they doze and swirl deep and black with the turf from the bogs and mountains whence they come, not still but deep.[13]

These extracts demonstrate Julian's working-through of experiences of witnessing the legacies of British colonialism in Ireland. Here we see a burgeoning attachment to a homeland, in which he figures himself within the Donegal landscape through a poetic narrative about his physical engagement with it. These views were to become foundational in the formulation of his adult life; for Julian's association with Donegal was to be lifelong (about which more below).

Aged twenty-two when he writes this letter, he is reflecting on the presence of Us and Other in a 'homeland' that he does not yet know well. This is shown in how he compares the harshness of human life that he has perceived in predominantly Catholic Donegal, with childhood experiences of a predominantly Protestant area of Fermanagh, which he contrasts as 'quiet' and 'easy going'. As the length and grammatical complexity of the first sentence demonstrate, Julian has recorded his reflections rapidly, providing insights into how his unconscious view that the homes, or 'few cottages', of the Irish, are intrinsic to the natural environment. From the outside during the day, these are viewed as refreshing ('wild and wind blown'); but with evening, they become associated with the 'problem and mystery' of poverty and

religion that have resulted in conflict. The paragraph progresses to an internalised representation of Irish rural life in the 1950s, in which a man comes home from labouring in 'barren fields' to a scene of destitution, becoming drunk in a pub while his deserted wife shouts at their children.

The use of the word 'Gaelic' stands out because it is presented using the title case. Thus, the Irish language, used in order to curse, becomes objectified as causal to problems on both domestic and political scales. These are issues that for now Julian is apparently ill-equipped to comprehend, for in the final sentence of the extract, he resorts again to the natural environment, where the memory of rivers, 'fresh after rain', can dislodge from his mind an uncertainty over his own position. He appears to be caught between the landlords at Cloghan to whom he regards local resistance as their just desserts, and the Irish to whom he has been trained by his parents, the intended recipients of this letter, to condescend. The lower reaches of rivers that are 'not still but deep', are a metaphor for an experience of Ireland that has caused a tumult in his own mind.

As referenced above, ambivalence about his Irishness, as a child of colonial servants, continued to find expression in the homes that Julian constructed in married life. By way of evidence of the longevity of investment in objects of Orientalism as attached to the Irish within the family, I will now link the 'fishing trip' letter with the contents of a trunk found in Donegal nearly forty years later.

The McCarrons' Trunk at Doaghcrabbin

Whereas Julian had only imagined the lives of the Irish living in Cloghan in 1957, the current example is factually associated with people working within a subsistence economy. This is a travelling trunk, that I interpret here as representing continued investment in objects of imperialistic ideas originating, on the one hand, from middle-class Protestant identity in Northern Ireland, and on the other, from Crozier experiences as colonisers in Hong Kong.

My account of the trunk is based on stories originally told to me about a farm in the townland of Doaghcrabbin, on the Fanad peninsula in Donegal, by my parents. The trunk contains memorabilia that once belonged to the McCarron family, who until 1996 lived there. Inhabited until then by three surviving unmarried siblings from a family of six, the house and land had been left upon the death of the last to

the Roman Catholic church which sold them to a local developer. Against the backdrop of the booming 'Celtic Tiger' Irish economy that was resulting in house-building across the Donegal landscape, Julian and Maurna became apprehensive about the environmental damage that would result if rumours about the developer's plans to build eighty second homes on the unspoilt headland turned out to be true. When therefore the developer's luck changed and the property came up for re-sale, they stretched themselves financially in order to protect it by purchase. The house still contained personal items belonging to the McCarrons; the trunk, which was among them, contains letters, postcards, photographs and mass cards exchanged between members of the family since the 1940s.

The McCarrons' trunk was in Maurna Crozier's study when she died. It had therefore been transferred to my garage, by the time a former museum colleague came to lunch to help me to think through my PhD. I showed it to her as an example of the Lisnacreevy items whose abundance was making the selection process for the research difficult. Upon this, she expressed the firm opinion that although it was mine in a legal sense, I could not claim the trunk morally. It was, she said, simple curiosity to wish to look at its contents. By contrast, my proposed investigation of the items from Hong Kong that I showed her, also recently unearthed at Lisnacreevy, was legitimised by the fact that they both belonged and had previously been assembled by members of my own family.

Before this conversation, I had not questioned my right to open the trunk, so strongly connected to a family narrative about the rescue of heritage had it been. This McCarron belonging had not been acquired by Julian and Maurna as a result of a close relationship. Instead, it was an accidental transaction, that had come about through the deaths of the former residents of Doaghcrabbin. Neither the Church, nor the developer who subsequently bought their farm, had removed it. The acquisition was therefore an act of salvage, not an 'abduction' of the kind ascribed to some Colonial Objects in museums.[14]

As a curator, I had been keenly aware of professional codes of ethics surrounding the acquisition of cultural property.[15] Such considerations are not often translated into private life. Nonetheless, upon discussing it with my museum friend, it was with some discomfort that I acknowledged that hegemony had been involved in the transaction of Doaghcrabbin. Her comments gave me cause to question for the

first time the power asymmetries that had made way for the trunk's acquisition. If private collections of postcolonial Irish material are not circumscribed by cultural property legislation, the trunk was still covered by societal norms of courtesy, in which permission is required before delving into the belongings of others.

The difficulty, of course, was that the McCarrons were no longer around to ask. Instead therefore, I relied on gauging the extent to which they and we were Other to each other. Julian and Maurna Crozier had met members of the family some years previously. However, this was an acquaintanceship rather than friendship; they would not have asked, let alone been granted permission, to peer at the McCarrons' personal memorabilia. This lack of a close relationship is the reason why it was morally impermissible to handle the twentieth century 'memory texts' that they had collected.

The handling by our family of these materials derived from past hegemony in three respects, that relate to comparative educational opportunities, wealth, and religiosity within the McCarrons' and Croziers' respective homes. By 1997 when they bought the farm, three generations of the Croziers had accessed education to third level or above. The letters received at Doaghcrabbin in the 1940s provided insights into educational opportunities available there at that time. One, for example, written on 4th December 1949, runs for two sides almost without punctuation:

> Dear Mother Just a note to say that I am well & working Hoping this note finds you as good as can be Expected and wishing you a Merry & Happy Xmas & Good Health for the Coming Year I suppose that you are Keeping John Busy all I Hear over hear [sic] Is When did you Hear from John. I suppose that Margaret told you that Yon Eugene had a son now & he sure can cry. How is the store doing or do they still Have it. How is Eddie & Giley and Annie doing also Hugh Ralph & family I heard Hugh Houals was getting the Pension. We have very nice Weather here now no snow yet I heard that John got a lot of fish last summer This about all at present. Hoping to Hear from you Your Fond Son Charlie P.S. I am sending a Money order to you. but it will be late as usual writing now for the [three words unreadable] Hold it until the advice Reaches the Post Office.[16]

Secondly, it had been affordability that had enabled Julian and Maurna's possession of these fragments of the McCarron home. By contrast, other finds from the house indicate that even in the 1990s shortly before their deaths, the surviving McCarrons had been living from one day to the next. For example, there were patchwork quilts

made up of scraps of fabric – on the women's beds, my mother recalled, taken from dresses and curtain fabrics; and on the men's, from pyjama and suit material.[17] A letter written to a John McCarron[18] indicates financial strain by requesting goods against a promise of later payment:

> I am asking you to oblige me this time as I dont like asking you for anything without the money but I will come down on Monday and give you your money I want a pair of shoes for Daisy size six and I think she would also like a pair of high heels and a pair of light stockings. So she will tell you the colour of the shoes herself. So I am giving you trouble.[19]

The third distinction between the Crozier and McCarron households relates to the nature and degree of their comparative religiosity. Julian and Maurna Crozier were both agnostic. By contrast, the contents of the McCarron trunk suggest committed Catholicism. In addition to the mass cards, there are, for example, a pamphlet on the ceremony of ordination to the priesthood, printed prayers for Missions, Christmas cards depicting the Virgin Mary, a book on *The Life and Death of Pope Pius* XII, a pocket-sized book of Rosary Novenas and a tract entitled *Souvenir of Lough Derg: One Golden Hour with Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament*. The degree of care invested in these items can be seen in how the last two of these have been hand-stitched with new coverings; one has been made from another Christmas card; the other from a fragment of apparently carefully-harboured brown plastic.

In respect to economic prosperity, educational opportunity and religious background, therefore, the gaze of our family upon the property of the McCarrons was, as Julian's on the landscape of Donegal in 1957 had been, a view from the outside. The circumstances that allowed us to look into the trunk were brought about by privilege. The reason why I bring up these three indices of difference – education, religion, and wealth – is that all three have echoes within Julian Crozier's fishing trip letter to his parents. Therefore, a continuous line can be traced, through this apparently disjointed domestic collection, from the roots of imperialist hegemony from which he had benefited in Hong Kong, to his mid-twentieth century attitudes in Ireland, and to my parents' expression of interest in objects from Ireland in 1997, well into the postcolonial age.

Like the Doaghcrabbin trunk, many acquisitions, both for private and public collections, are the result of the ultimate power imbalance – the fact of being alive, while others are not. The impending disappearance of Ulster folklife had been a

longstanding concern for Maurna Crozier,[20] whose doctoral thesis focused on continuity and change in the patterns of hospitality in the rural County Down community in which she lived.[21] For example, her stated intention in writing the thesis, recorded on the first page of a draft of her Introduction, was 'to show that while recent economic factors have led to the disappearance or modification of certain practices, hospitality nevertheless restates long-standing local values.'[22] The concern expressed in her PhD that traditions would falter, set against the hope that they may continue in some form, was due in part to Maurna's background in Social Anthropology,[23] in which the study of social change brought about through colonial contact had been a focus since the 1930s.[24]

Against Maurna's background in the social sciences, we can compare the position of museums. As a variety of previous studies on museums' scientific approaches to objects have demonstrated, many have been inspired by colonialist perspectives.[25] Therefore, even when rooted in academic inquiry, and whether undertaken by an individual or by a museum, investigations of Colonial Objects can be figured through subjectivities inherited from the imperial past. In these cases, the objects may be profoundly imbued with ideas about the Other.

In this case, the intersections between Science, object and Otherness are visible in relation to evocative postcolonial objects found within the home. Whereas a museum investigates belongings of the past in the public interest, our reason for doing so stemmed purely from our own. Therefore, where the 'fishing trip' letter provides evidence of Julian Crozier's colonial identity, still current at the time that he wrote it, the McCarron trunk is an example of an object that was, as a result of the waning presence of that same identity in our household, 'occupied'. Furthermore, the *right* to occupy had been assumed through the imposition of an Orientalist perspective of the kind expressed in Julian's letter, of which traces are, through Crozier family interest in the contents of the trunk, perceptible as having still been present by 1997.

This example has also signalled how the mere act of keeping objects once cherished by others – even when one cherishes them oneself – can be perceived as an act of colonisation. In the Crozier family, our assumption that we may keep and look inside the trunk lay in the fact that we cared greatly for the place which once the McCarrons had, if in a different way. Our peering at their belongings was driven by

curiosity, a desire to grasp hold of more understanding of an Other whose farm we had acquired.

Fig. 7. Contents of the McCarrons' trunk. Doaghcrabbin, Co. Donegal. 1940 – 1996. Photographed in 2014. Now in Donegal County Museum. © Briony Widdis.

De-orientalising the past: A portrait of a 'servant' in Duleek, County Meath

Douglas and Ann Crozier's scrap book and photo album contain items of great personal interest to me. Among these are images of my great-grandmother, Myra Henly.[26] Stimulated by these, and by her diary entry made aboard the *SS Rimutaka* voyage home from New Zealand in 1897 (see Chapter Eight), I have long been curious about Myra. A distant cousin whom I encountered during the genealogical phase of this research owns a matching copy of Myra's diary. She also owns a painting of cows by a pond executed by Myra's sister, Flossie Henly.

This discovery has enabled me, at last, to identify a picture with which I myself was raised. This is a powerful portrait of an old woman, by whom I felt spooked when passing her at night as a child. Turning to it again having met my cousin, I found on the reverse a note written by my mother shortly before she died. This stated that what had been known within our family as 'The Old Lady Painting' was also by Flossie. Its subject was, according to my mother's note, a 'servant in Duleek', the county Meath village in which Flossie and Myra's father was born.

There is no suggestion that Flossie acquired life experiences of British Empire colonies outside of Ireland. However, The Old Lady Painting has been Othered in three ways. It has happened through the objectification of a subaltern subject by Flossie; by the description by my mother (presumably inherited) of the aged subject as a 'servant'; and thirdly, by my physical response to the portrait itself.

By bringing the woman, if only on canvas, into the present, the portrait synthesises the relational networks of dead and living generations. It also provides a basis on which the contemporary family can claim a history that is based on having the upper hand in a power asymmetry. In this way, as evidenced by my mother's usage of the word 'servant' in her label (a term she did not use to describe anyone herself), it has maintained the identities of a family member and her subject. Furthermore, it communicates Flossie's views across a temporal distance now of five generations, about who, and what, constitutes the Other.

However, through this research, the degree to which the 'Old Lady' herself is Othered has begun to diminish. Regaining knowledge of Flossie as the artist of the painting, and locating the subject to Duleek, have brought the Old Lady 'home' in my mind. Through the new information that she was known to a family member about whom I have often heard, and that she lived in a some-time family home in a place not far from where I live, the Old Lady has begun to re-gain a sense of Us-ness. Through this research process, the woman has begun to be de-Orientalised.

Fig. 8. The Old Lady Painting: 'Portrait of a servant in Duleek'. (Attribution by Maurna Crozier). By Flossie Henly. Co. Louth. c. 1900. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

Māori Christians and the Ancient Others: Florence Hobbs' Memoirs

As I have shown above (this chapter) and will again revisit in Chapter Eight, the verbal denigration amongst themselves of indigenous, imperialised subjects is clearly present in the Croziers' paper archive. Making a connection between documents and three-dimensional objects in the study of Colonial Objects is

important. This is because, where the former, whose implications may be discerned if they are read, can easily be hidden and ignored within domestic space and in public archives and museums, the hegemonic noise of objects, is harder to subdue. Objects, which are more difficult to store, are more likely to be on public display and therefore have a more coercive presence in our daily lives. At Lisnacreevy, clear distinctions were made between Douglas and Ann Crozier's archive and their metal, ceramic, ivory and stone objects. Whereas growing up I was visually familiar with most of the artefacts, I had not seen these letters and photographs, within which racism was so much more clearly expressed but that were hidden in attics, barns and cupboards, until I began to discover them in 2014.

Because paper documents when read can shout loudly about events and attitudes in the past, my analysis of Douglas and Ann's racist outlook on their Chinese peers (see below, also Chapters Five and Six) was first mobilised by this archive. My first encounter with it was in the form of a document written by Ann's mother, Florence Hobbs. This is a memoir, probably based on notes made while travelling, recording her missionary journeys for the Salvation Army in 1928 and 1929. In these, two references to artefacts survive. During a trip to Australia and New Zealand to conduct 'holiness' services, visit indigenous reservations and inspect welfare institutions, in the Wairakee Valley she 'walked around the Native village and attended the Maori Church'. There, she noticed that 'the pews were beautifully carved, but some were badly disfigured because of portions stolen by tourists'. Her voyage home was broken with an extensive tour of the Holyland and of classical sites. During this, at Pompeii, she concluded, 'I was reminded how true is God's word. The city paid dearly for its days of licentiousness, luxury and ease. All around were fruits of their prodigal living'.[27]

Of all of the artefacts that Florence Hobbs may have collected during this journey, a single piece of Pompeii mosaic survives. As an object this can be linked, through Florence's writing, with her missionary outlook. From a contemporary perspective, it appears that in contrast with the Māori carvings removed from a church that in her view given their Christian context ought to have survived, Pompeii and its mosaics deservedly had not. By keeping the mosaic fragment with her memoir about her journey and by handing them on to Ann, Florence Hobbs communicated her views on the cultures she encountered to the next generation.

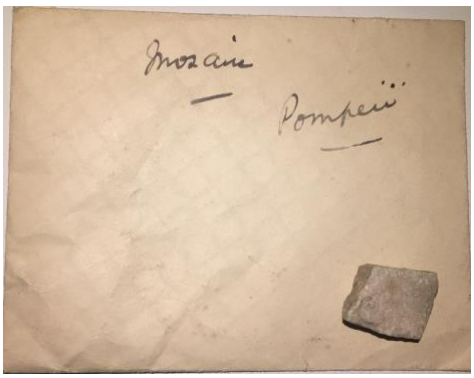

Fig. 9. Mosaic fragment from Pompeii. Picked up by Florence Hobbs in 1928. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

The diminution of the Other: Smallness in Chinese collectibles

From reading documents in the Crozier Archive, including Florence's journal, I have formed the opinion that the liberal views by which I considered myself surrounded as I grew up, can only have been imbued with patriarchal colonial presentiment that earlier generations in the family felt themselves at liberty to express. This opinion is partially founded on my discovery through her own letters that Florence's daughter, Ann, inherited this habit.

In the following example, I examine this further. This example is designed to forge a link between Ireland and Hong Kong that is required in order to build upon the ideas in this chapter about how Colonial Objects *in general* represent the Other. As I shall argue later, the Otherness in all of the objects exhibited in Chapter Four have echoes in those from colonial Hong Kong (see Chapters Seven and Eight).

Here, I will examine how typecasting of Chinese people was achieved through collecting three dimensional decorative objects that were displayed and used in the home. As this example shows, the diminution of the status of the Other can happen even when objects are apparently innocent. It also shows that diminution can happen, even, when the objects were produced by the Other themselves. While the Croziers clearly participated in segregation between local and foreigner that characterised social life in colonial Hong Kong, their direct denigration of Chinese appears to have been covert rather than overt. This is clear from careful readings of their private letters and both private and public photographs for which I will also account in Chapters Seven and Eight.

As the present example shows, just as Douglas and Ann had inherited racist viewpoints from their mothers through lifetime fragments like the mosaic, so they silently passed on their own in the form of Chinese objects. Among the forms that

this concealment took were small, collectible ceramics. As I will argue, one role of these objects in Hong Kong was to package, for Western consumption, ideas about what Chinese-ness entailed. When collected and retained, they were a daily reminder of the roles in which the Chinese had been typecast. In this way, the objects recurrently reconstituted racist ideas. These ideas, wrapped up in decorative and therefore apparently acceptable form, continued to be present in our lives in the form of inherited small Chinese objects at Lisnacreevy.

Smallness is a feature that unifies the majority of the Hong Kong ceramic objects in the Crozier Collection. Among those shown below, for example, the tallest, measuring only seven centimetres in height, is the figure of Lü Dòngbīn.[28] The remaining five items are (clockwise from top right), a dolls' tea-set of which the tallest item (the kettle combined with the stove) measures 6.5cm; diminutive human and architectural figures (3cm); a teapot (4.5cm); a small elephant tusk carved as an imaginary landscape (5cm); and a Jingdezhen-ware bowl (4cm) produced in the same tradition as the 'Hundred Boys' jar to be examined in Chapter Seven.

There are of course a range of reasons why the Croziers might have acquired small possessions while in Hong Kong. Not least among these is that the Chinese produced them for their own consumption. This was connected with the art of *penjing* ('container scenery'), in which, as in the Japanese art of *bonsai*, plants of life-sized proportions are trained to grow in miniature. Among its Chinese forms is *shuihan penjing*, in which plants are combined with water, and with ceramic figures of humans, buildings and animals (of which those in the fourth image below are an example), to create tiny landscapes, in pots and in aquaria.[29]

By the Croziers' time, and since at least the Tang dynasty and popularised during the Ming, *penjing* had been influenced by the construction by the wealthy of intricate gardens. These gardens were then imitated, on a tiny scale, by others. Over time, *penjing* themselves, and the art of arranging them, came to denote aesthetic refinement and high social status.[30] During the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-76) the art of *penjing* was considered a bourgeois pastime, and many private collections were damaged or neglected.[31] As did other kinds of artist, some practitioners gained sanctuary in Hong Kong; it is possible that Chinese refugees brought with them these small, transportable items as they fled, later selling them to British collectors through street-markets in the city. It was in search though not of

political asylum, but economic opportunity, that Wu Yee-sun (1905 - 2005), a philanthropist and billionaire founder of the Wing Lung Bank, had moved into the colony from Guangdong in the 1920s. Grandson and son of *penjing* craftsmen, Wu staged a highly successful Hong Kong exhibition of *penjing* (1968) and publication of *Man Lung Garden Artistic Pot Plants* (1969). These reflected, and re-fuelled, a prevalent popularity within Hong Kong, and in both Chinese and Western circles, for the consumption of all things miniature.[32]

Penjing landscape figures are still widely available and celebrated. For example, there is a Man Lung ("scholar farmer") Garden at Hong Kong Baptist University; and the National Bonsai and Benjing Museum in the National Arboretum, Washington, has a Chinese Garden Pavilion named after Wu.[33] Notwithstanding its ongoing representation as part of normative Chinese culture, though, I argue that during the 1950s and 1960s, British colonial attention to smallness arose, not only due to the availability of small objects in Hong Kong that Wu Yee-sun was sponsoring, but also from intrinsic factors. Widely used by the British within the colony, these objects were formative to a visual discourse of control, in which the symbolic diminution of non-Europeans helped to secure authority over the Orient.[34]

In his study of colonial childhood in Asia, David Pomfret discusses the British treatment of mature domestic staff as children, a mechanism designed to resist the threat of Asian 'others' who were involved in their intimate affairs.[35] As we will see in Douglas's mockery of the language of his domestic helper, 'Ah On',[36] and his stern handling of the pregnancy of an *amah*, 'May' (Chapter Eight), Douglas' attitude was, at best, a paternalistic one. Through the Crozier Collection, we can link his attempts to suppress the social status both of poorer Chinese and also those who were extremely rich.[37] We can also link the findings based on visual discourse within the photographic archive with these apparently innocent, decorative objects, to show that all were part of the same deliberate and racist ploy to control.

As Sarah Cheang has pointed out, in Britain since the nineteenth century, small Chinese objects were associated with paradigms of femininity.[38] Due to their usage in such a manner within my own family, I believe also that their popularity stemmed from the fact that they could easily be transported 'home' in packing crates on board ships, and therefore made good presents for friends and relatives there.

Examples of these are the *penjing* above, most likely intended as doll's house miniatures, that were given by Ann Crozier to my mother, whom she knew as a child. They thereby created an impression of Chinese-ness in the acculturation of children, that consequently reverberated down generations living at the former metropolitan core.

In Northern Ireland, the miniatures then provided metonyms for prior British rule over a colonised people in a distant land. All of the items below, and many others like them, featured in our daily lives at Lisnacreevy. The tusk, tea pot, ceramic figures and tea-set were in the Treasure Cupboard (see Chapter Three), where they were often looked at and enjoyed. The bowl and figure of Lü Dòngbīn were displayed in an alcove in the dining room. The salt and pepper sets were used whenever invited guests ate with us: I remember vividly my ten-year old self watching a rural neighbour's discomfort as, during lambing season, he struggled with his great, red hands to extract salt on a tiny silver spoon. Through recall of domestically-acquired memories like these, one can perceive how ideas about what constituted Chinese-ness, generated in Hong Kong by an entire system of imperial rule, became transformed in the minds of those at home. Based on my memory of the responses of our neighbour, I even suspect that these representations continued to be subconsciously deployed, to assert social distance, in rural Northern Ireland in the late twentieth century.

Associated in our case as these objects were with the much-loved grandparents whose lives they had furnished (see Fig. 16), the racist values that the small objects disguised were brought to heel. Rather than acting as signifiers of the monstrous inequalities that had existed 'out there' in Empire, they appeared to represent a mode of family *being*. As I have shown, Chinese diminution was symbolically activated through children's playthings; the same attitudes were invoked at celebratory family events. Therefore, we were surrounded by Colonial Objects representing the Other in apparently acceptable forms. Over these were layered potent, inherited oral discourses concerning kindred ties and family loyalty. When investigated, these innocent objects are found to hide a suppressed belief. This is the idea that not only the artefacts, but also the Chinese people that they signified, were small and insignificant. This belief was fed to us with Sunday lunch.

Fig. 10. 'Mud-man' depicting Lü Dòngbīn. Shewan. c. 1960. (11) Dolls' tea-set. Shiwan, Guangzhou. c.1946. (12) Shuihan penjing *figures. Shiwan, Guangzhou. 1950s. (13) Teapot. Yixing. 1950s. (14) Ivory tusk landscape bought in Hong Kong. 1961. (15) Bowl. Jingdezhen. 1910-1950. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.*

Fig. 16. Ann Crozier at 8 Oakwood Court, Kensington. November 1965. Chinese ceramics and other small collectibles are visible on the shelves behind her. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

Conclusion: Otherness and the Interpretation of Colonial Objects

As this chapter has shown, objects in the Crozier Collection clearly demonstrate how Otherness has operated within domestic space. Each *vignette* above has demonstrated the categorisation of people as Other by members of the Crozier family. The first showed a pair of Japanese swords obtained by Douglas Crozier in Hong Kong. These can be interpreted as Orientalist objects in the sense that they were acquired within an occupied region governed by the British. However, I proceeded to juxtapose the swords with objects from Ireland; and asserted that objects from both countries, irrespective of whether they were collected before or after independence, could be regarded as equally Colonial.

Through the combined examples of the 'fishing trip letter' and the McCarrons' trunk, I have shown how objects are colonised through their investment with characteristics, imagined and real, that are attributed to Others. The letter showed that Otherness can be found to be present in family archives created by those who had direct experiences of colonialism. However, evidence of the presence of hegemonic attitudes even in the very recent past, was found in the McCarrons' trunk, which Julian and Maurna Crozier did not acquire until 1997.

As I also demonstrated however, through the example of the portrait of the 'servant at Duleek', Orientalism can be found to have been present in representations of people at home, even where occupants had no direct experience of the British Empire. As the Duleek painting showed, Orientalised objects when adequately researched can provide foci for the expansion of human networks in the present. Thus, while Colonial Objects can continually reinforce the boundaries of Us-ness versus Otherness, by contrast they can also be used by contemporary interpreters help to *fracture* these boundaries. This example shows, too, how Otherness is presented in objects created by family members. In a like fashion, Florence Hobbs's memoir casts light on how paper archives convey racism across generations. The Chinese miniature ceramics does the same for objects, demonstrating how typecasting of the Other can persist even into the present.

By way of concluding this chapter I wish to return, briefly, to the basket of stones whose Neolithic provenance Maurna Crozier had imagined (Chapter Three). One distinction between that basket and the items I have discussed in Chapter Four derives from the fact of human survival. The stones have particular significance to

me and my brothers, as Maurna's closest living relatives. It follows for Colonial Objects in general, that when there is a closer living relative to an object's creator than us, there is someone whose right to interpret it is greater than ours and we need to make every effort to trace them. By my friend's interpretation, I had inherited not only legal ownership, but also moral title, to the Hong Kong items that had belonged to Douglas and Ann. This was not the case, however, with the McCarrons' trunk. As a result of the research I conclude that, when without their knowledge we hold onto objects once owned by other families, we curtail their opportunities to build upon the relational networks between objects and humans in which people can engage in the present. With this in mind and having consulted those members of the McCarron family whom I have been able to trace, I have donated the trunk and its contents to the Donegal County Museum. A commonplace approach to the divestment of objects, this has also been a direct response to deep thinking about *Colonial* Objects, and Us-ness and Otherness, undertaken through this PhD. The giving-away of the Colonial Object has positive implications for Us-ness. By passing material possessions on, a social group gains the opportunity to promote heritage as an experience to be shared – in other words, to expand the Us-ness boundaries.

As museums often do upon object acquisition, my family perceived its preservation of the McCarrons' trunk to be an act of rescue. I have acknowledged above though that this acquisition was one made possible through a privileged position. The domain of museums, to which I have donated the trunk, is itself one customarily described as set apart by privilege.[39] My justification for having donated it to a museum is founded in my belief that making objects accessible to contemporary human networks in places as close to their origins as possible, through their donation to public institutions, is integral to addressing social and racial inequalities.

A further reason for this is that, to have access to the means to construct narratives about objects, is one mode in which we can accord importance to them. By asserting ourselves as their 'sources', we derive from objects our own posterity. Providing opportunities to access objects and so to share in posterity-gaining with as numerous and diverse a range of people as possible is an essential component in de-colonising the past. Moving objects from private to public domains is therefore a

critical means of addressing Orientalism and the racist ideologies on which it has been based.

We should not however forget that the processes of symbolic colonisation can produce their own form of knowledge transfer. Both in museums and in private, this act can promote objects' survival. This is the subject of Chapter Five.

1. Said, Edward W. 2003. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books. For writings specific to Ireland, see Lennon, Joseph. 2004. *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History*. London: Syracuse University Press

2. Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 271–313. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

3. Bhabha, Homi K. 2004. 'The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism'. In *The Location of Culture*, 94–120. Oxon and New York: Routledge Classics.

4. The impact on indigenous material culture of colonial contact has been widely studied. There is also a growing research field known as 'Contact History'. See for example 'Indigenous Cultures and Contact History'. n.d. National Museum Australia. Accessed 14 September 2019. https://www.nma.gov.au/learn/encounters_education.

5. For a contemporaneous account of the fall of the Second Battery of the HKVDF in Hong Kong, see *A Record of the Actions of the Hongkong Volunteer Defence Corps in the Battle for Hong Kong December, 1941*. 1956. Hong Kong: Ye Old Printerie, Ltd. This contains information taken from Douglas Crozier's war-time diary, the original of which is in the Crozier Collection.

6. See for example Wright-Nooth, George. 1994. *Prisoner of the Turnip Heads*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books Ltd. Also Carew, Tim. 1960. *The Fall of Hong Kong: The Lasting Honour of a Desperate Resistance*. London: Pan Books Ltd.

7. 'Japanese Officer's Sword Presented to Lord Mountbatten'. n.d. Imperial War Museum. Accessed 25 September 2019. https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30002902.

8. Letter from Douglas Crozier, written as a 'Liberated Allied Prisoner of War c/o Australian Army Base, Melbourne, Australia', to his wife Ann Crozier. Addressed to his mother's home, Brookville, Ballinamallard, Co. Fermanagh. 6 September 1945. © Crozier family. Crozier Collection.

9. For a more complete definition, see also Ashcroft, Bill, Helen Tiffin, and Gareth Griffiths. 2000. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. London: Routledge. p. 169-173.

10. Said, Edward W. 2003. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin Classics. p. 205.

11. Daunton, Martin, and Rick Halpern. 1999. *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. p.5.

12. Duffy, Paddy. 2005. 'Colonial Spaces and Sites of Resistance: Landed Estates in 19th Century Ireland'. In *(Dis)Placing Empire: Renegotiating British Colonial Geographies*, edited by Lindsay J. Proudfoot and Michael M. Roche. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate.

13. Letter, Julian Crozier to Douglas, Ann and Corin Crozier, written at 40 Cadogan Park, Belfast and addressed to 152 The Peak, Hong Kong. 17 August 1957. Crozier Collection.

14. The idea that objects might be perceived to be 'abducted' is borrowed from Sally Price who, writing on ethnographic objects in museums, quotes from Michel Leiris' diary: 'Before leaving Dyaboughou, visit the village and abduct a second *Kono*, which Griaule had spotted when he slipped

unnoticed into its special hut'. In *Primitive Art in Civilised Places*, by Sally Price, 68-81. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. p. 71.

15. See references to cultural property in Chapter Three.

16. Letter from Charlie to Mrs. McCarron, Doaghcrabbin, Co. Donegal. c. 1940. Now in Donegal County Museum.

17. The Doaghcrabbin patchworks are now in the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum and Donegal County Museum.

18. Letter from John McCarron, Doaghcrabbin, Co. Donegal, to unnamed recipient c. 1940. Now in Donegal County Museum. I do not know whether this is the same or a different John McCarron to that mentioned in the previous letter.

19. From a letter in the McCarrons' trunk. Now in Donegal County Museum.

20. Multiple copies of the *Ulster Folklife* journal were found on her study shelves; as were publications by Estyn Evans, one of the founders of the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum.

21. Crozier, Maurna R.M. 1985. 'Patterns of Hospitality in a Rural Ulster Community.' Queen's University Belfast.

22. Draft copy, author's own.

23. As an example, one of the books found on the shelves of the room in which she wrote her PhD was Marshall Sahlins' *Stone Age Economics*, a classic Marxist text in which Sahlins argued that primitive tribes were the 'original affluent society' and were based on a system of economic reciprocity that was in a state of decline.

24. De L'Estoile, Benoît. 2008. 'The Past as It Lives Now: An Anthropology of Colonial Legacies.' *Social Anthropology* 16 (3): 267 – 79. p. 270-271.

25. Bennett, Tony. 2004. *Pasts beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. New York: Routledge. For recent articles, see for example 'Science Still Bears the Fingerprints of Colonialism'. n.d. Smithsonian.Com. Accessed 14 September 2019. https://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/science-bears-fingerprints-colonialism-180968709/. See also Nasmus. 2019. 'The National Museum, Colonial Science and the Republic of the Orange Free State in 1877'. National Museum Publications. 22 July 2019. https://nationalmuseumpublications.co.za/the-national-museum-colonial-science-and-the-republic-of-the-orange-free-state-in-1877/.

26. Spelt 'Henley' by current family members.

27. Hobbs, Florence. 1929. *Diary of a Missionary Journey with the Salvation Army to Australia and New Zealand, Returning via Egypt, Ceylon, Jerusalem, Greece and Italy*.

28. One of the eight Taoist Xian ('immortals'). Often depicted, as is the case here, as a scholar.

29. My thanks to members of the Facebook group 'Hong Kong Past – the Early Years' for their help in identifying the association between *penjing* and aquaria.

30. Ryor, Kathleen. 2002. 'Nature Contained: Penjing and Flower Arrangements as Surrogate Gardens in Ming China.' *Orientations* 33 (3): 68 – 75.

31. Davis, Rosalie H. 1987. 'A Gift from the East'. *Horticulture*, no. August: 51.

32. Wu, Yee-Sun. 1969. *Man Lung Garden Artistic Pot Plants*. Hong Kong: Wing Lung Bank Limited.

33. 'Wu Yee-Sun'. n.d. Wikipedia. Accessed 24/05/19. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wu_Yee-sun.

34. Said notes that in Orientalism, the Oriental is always seen as 'irrational, depraved...childlike, 'different'; the European as rational, virtuous, mature, and 'normal'. Said, Edward W. 2003. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books. p.3.

35. Pomfret, David M. 2015. *Youth and Empire: Trans-Colonial Childhoods in British and French Asia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. p. 61.

36. The prefix ‘Ah’ was a British usage borrowed from Chinese to denote familiarity.

37. *cf* the photograph of Sir Robert Ho Tung, see Chapter Eight.

38. Cheang, S. 2007. ‘Selling China: Class, Gender and Orientalism at the Department Store’. *Journal of Design History* 20 (1): 1 – 16. p. 8.

39. Museums are frequently described as places of privilege, including of ‘white privilege’. See for example Simon, Nina. 2013. ‘On White Privilege and Museums’. *Museum 2*. 6 March 2013. http://museumtwo.blogspot.com/2013/03/on-white-privilege-and-museums.html. See also Jennings, Gretchen, and Joanne Jones-Rizzi. 2017. ‘Museums, White Privilege, and Diversity: A Systemic Perspective’. *Dimensions*, Association of Science and Technology Centers (Special Edition): 63 – 74. See also ‘Got White Privilege?’ 2018. Museum Detox: The BAME Network for Museum and Heritage Professionals. http://museumdetox.com/got-white-privilege. Accessed 14/09/19.

Chapter Five
Us-ness, Otherness
and Colonial Objects in Northern Ireland

Introduction: Us-ness, Otherness and Colonial Objects in Museums

In Chapters Three and Four I demonstrated the usefulness of studying Colonial Objects via the binary concept of Us-ness and Otherness. As I showed, these concepts can be used to analyse how, through objects, humans were categorised in the past. Several of the examples I deployed to demonstrate this phenomenon also exemplified how, when they are enwrapped in family narrative, objects can be used to project racist ideologies.

As the previous chapters also showed, objects can transmit ideas about oppositional identities both across generations and within social groups. The chapters clarified how Orientalist ideologies can be found to be present in objects, irrespective of whether they come from former geographical colonies or not, and irrespective of whether they have been obtained within a colonial or a postcolonial timeframe. As has been argued throughout the thesis so far, Colonial Objects (as defined under Category 1) have also the power to colonise people, through their occupation both of human space and of human imagination.

In Chapters Three and Four, I concentrated on items from within the Crozier Collection that were connected with personal memories about family life and discourse. As explained in Chapter One I have inherited them along with an accompanying paper archive in which social values were expressed to which I have cross-referred in interpreting the artefacts. Through access to the information embedded in the archive, it was possible to investigate in some depth how Us-ness, Otherness, objects and identities are intertwined. These evidential sources had previously been disparate both in household location and in cultural origin; and could only be inter-connected through biographical knowledge of the entire domestic context from which the collection was extracted. This prior knowledge enabled connections to be made between disparate objects, for example, between Julian Crozier's letters to his parents as a recent graduate and the Doaghcrabbin trunk; and between Florence Hobbs' Pompeii mosaic fragment and the small ceramic objects from Hong Kong that Douglas and Ann Crozier used to furnish their home.

As I have also referenced (in relation to the Treasure Cupboard in Chapter Three), it is unlikely that if these fragments, adding up to more than the sum of their parts within a family context, were offered to a public museum, the museum would keep them all together. As I also argued there however, the dissipation of such collections reduces their interpretative potential. I wish therefore in this chapter and in the one that follows, to test how Us-ness and Otherness can be used to interpret Colonial Objects in museums, where no emotional memory and limited contextual information remains. For reasons outlined in Chapter One, the collection on which I will focus is the World Cultures Collection in National Museums Northern Ireland.

Colonialism, Community and Northern Ireland's Museums

As I outline below, NMNI interpretations are influenced by ideas about Community. This is a concept that is widely used by museums to determine the human groups that they will represent, with whom they will collaborate, and from whom they will collect. It is relevant to discussion of museums in Northern Ireland because, as suggested in Chapter One, the bifurcation of communities here has created problems for the development of shared society.

As Elizabeth Crooke points out, in Northern Ireland sustained conflict has produced a specific set of problems relating to definitions of 'community'. She highlights how, since the 1990s, publicly funded museums have participated in programmes that have sought to contribute to the promotion of reconciliation and emergence from conflict. Increasingly, museum projects have deployed multiculturalist representations. These have been motivated by a perceived requirement to tackle cultural, political and religious divisions between Catholic/Nationalist/Republican communities and those which are Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist. Museum projects have, furthermore, been a response to the arrival of immigrants from other countries and the potential for inter-racial conflict.[1]

Specific concerns within Northern Ireland about how best museums can work across communities, can be viewed in the light of museums' work with communities in general. I wish briefly to return to Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's example of the Chokwe diviner's basket in the Peabody Museum (Chapter Two). This showed that when like Merlin Ennis we are not members of the communities from which we

collect, we are less likely to perceive the human values already invested in the material possessions that we acquire. Given however that *no-one* knows the biographical context of the objects owned by others, it is complex for anyone to imagine the emotions with which the objects are imbued. I argue that, by recording how people feel themselves to be emotionally connected with or distant to objects, museums can enable non-community members to feel empathy. In Northern Irish museums, doing so can be an effective means of working against community divides.

Museums across the world have been rightly concerned to ensure that contact is made with cultures affected by the forces of colonialism; and to focus their resources on seeking out representation from within communities of people whose ancestors were done-*to*; in addition to re-contextualising histories written in the past by the done-*by*.[2] Conscious of the importance of providing rights of access to cultural property, and that in many cases they lack the indigenous knowledge to interpret many of the objects in their care, especially since the 1990s museums have increasingly sought to work with what Laura Peers and Alison Brown define as 'source communities'. In their volume, they demonstrate how working with museums containing objects deriving from their own cultures, has also proven valuable in enabling groups to confront the legacies of having been colonised. As Peers and Brown state, 'artefacts prompt the re-learning of forgotten knowledge and skills, provide opportunities to piece together fragmented historical narratives, and are material evidence of cultural identity and historical struggles.'[3]

There is a danger, though, of reinforcing race distinctions by describing formerly subaltern populations as 'source communities', whereas, in many cases, those indigenous to Western countries are described simply as 'communities'. This is especially the case in relation to objects produced in the comparatively recent past. As Sheila Watson points out, in the twenty-first century the mobility of populations is so fluid as to render the concept of 'community' almost meaningless; and the essential characteristics of what comprises a community are in any case determined internally and not by museums. As she however goes on to argue, there are contexts in which the term 'communities' is useful to cultural institutions. Among these are circumstances in which human groups are defined by shared historical or cultural

experiences; by residential location; by national, regional or local identities; and by experiences of exclusion from other groups.[4]

In these circumstances, a museum may regard it as important to prioritise analyses of the meanings to objects of formerly colonised 'source' communities, over those of 'communities', as do many of the contributors to Peers' and Brown's book. In selecting the interested parties with which it will work to interpret objects, the key questions for the museum must then be whether the human group it identifies shares a history with the object, comes from the same culture as it does, or lives / has lived in the place in which it was collected. For the reasons outlined above, a further salient consideration might be whether people in that group have suffered from injustice meted out by colonists within that history, upon that culture, or within that place.

For reasons to which I have alluded in Chapters One and Two, museums in Northern Ireland are potentially working within a rectangular matrix of conceptualisations about communities. This matrix comprises conceptions about historical experiences of having been colonisers in Ireland; having been colonised in Ireland; having been colonisers elsewhere in the British Empire; and having been colonised elsewhere in the British Empire. The problem posed by this matrix relates to how Us-ness and Otherness are represented by the object. The Colonial Object acts like a pair of binoculars between human societies; where the society being examined is differently perceived by the viewer and the viewed. In Northern Ireland though there are more than one, or several, pairs of binoculars, and thus the lens provided by the object becomes clouded.

Therefore, the complexity of Northern Ireland's interrelationships with Ireland, Great Britain, the UK and the Empire,[5] makes the topic of Colonialism especially intractable for museums in the region. Furthermore, there is evidence that the public mention of the word has the potential to be politically inflammatory. This was demonstrated by controversy arising from a statement made by former Northern Ireland Assembly Member, Anna Lo. Lo described herself as 'anti-colonial' and in favour of a reunification of Ireland, due to a rejection of colonialism as a result of having grown up in British-governed Hong Kong.[6] Ensuing commentary included a statement from Arlene Foster[7] that Lo had used 'deeply insulting language'. Foster asked

> what exactly does her reference to being 'anti-colonial' mean? Does Anna Lo believe that Northern Ireland is comparable to a colony and does she view unionists as colonists? Northern Ireland is not a colony; it is a full and equal part of the United Kingdom.[8]

Subsequently, election posters showing Anna Lo's face were placed on Eleventh Night[9] Loyalist bonfires.[10] One of these read 'Anna Lo ate my dog'.[11] This incident, and the vitriol surrounding it, exemplified the centring of debate about the constitution of Northern Ireland, upon whether the region is itself experiencing the legacies of colonialism, or is a postcolonial state.[12] The example demonstrates, too, how quickly mention of the word 'colonial' can produce racist discourse.[13]

I argue that museums are approaching the topic of colonialism with caution, due to the political danger that can arise when it is publicly discussed. As I have previously shown (Chapter One), possessions embody memory;[14] and this is naturally as true for those collected through imperialism as for any other kind. Furthermore, discursive practices upon objects, whether they occur in museums or in private, invest the objects with value.[15] It is this value that results, to use Sara Ahmed's term, in objects' 'stickiness'[16] – their ability to symbolically adhere to an individual, and also, as here, to museum institutions. It is not surprising then that, as demonstrated below, museums are resistant to the interpretation of Colonial Objects. By examining their meanings, they could themselves be accused of adopting imperialistic or, alternatively, disloyal values.

However, a museum that avoids the symbolic Empire references with which Colonial Objects are entangled, will inevitably recall the memories of some, whilst displacing those of others. Those whose memories might be neglected include both the historical members of the source communities from which the objects came and their surviving descendants;[17] and historical subscribers to the British imperial project and theirs. Given the region's own dual position within the Empire, a Northern Irish museum has a specific set of considerations when choosing how best to represent these memories; and these considerations involve how identity is connected with ethnicity and race, both inside and outside Northern Ireland. Decisions centre on how to balance the representation of the memories of the mainly white, Northern Irish / Irish perceived victims of colonialism; the mainly white, Northern Irish / Irish perceived agents of colonialism; the mainly non-white, non-Northern Irish / Irish perceived victims of colonialism; and the mainly non-white,

non-Northern Irish / Irish perceived agents of colonialism. These decisions also involve balancing representations of both 'majority' groups and minority ethnic groups living in Northern Ireland and who are also Northern Irish. One can see, given this complexity, how difficult it is in the region to distinguish an interest in an object deriving from a 'source community', from that which emanates from a 'community' (see discussion above). The problem is, in short, which kind of Us or Other to represent.

This problematic established, I will now specifically examine the ways in which the interpretation of colonialism in Northern Ireland's museums has been under-developed. I will begin with an example of a group of objects that I gave to NMNI that represent one aspect of Northern Ireland's relationship with the Empire and are on the Us-ness / Otherness boundary.

Freemasonry, Us-ness and Museum Acquisitions

The following example of a museum acquisition illustrates the point made in Chapter Two that, when objects fit within a museum's pre-existing boundaries of Us-ness, the museum may be willing to take it on. It also shows how when an object is on the boundary between Us-ness and Otherness, an individual will be prepared to donate it to a museum.

I gave Douglas Crozier's Freemasonry items to National Museums Northern Ireland in 2016. The reason why I did so was that they belonged to an aspect of his life with which I had no personal affinity and for which, furthermore, I felt no fondness. My rejection of them was associated with how the British behaved within the Empire. The objects included five sashes and five aprons, a pair of cuffs and a mysterious brown cloak, black hood and neck cord.[18]

I had taken them out of hiding at Lisnacreevy, where I found them covered in mould, buried under carpet, in a trunk under a pile of others in the old stables. To accompany them were an array of documents that I had found gathering dust in the attic. These included certificates, newspaper cuttings and a photograph inscribed by its donor, 'To my dear Brother D. Crozier with sincere fraternal Greetings & thanks for having honoured my Investiture with his presence'. Featuring only men,[19] and furthermore almost all Europeans, the photograph, which appears to relate to

Crozier's membership of a Hong Kong lodge, provides one account of the society that he kept as a Freemason there.

Director of Collections William Blair states that NMNI accepted the regalia for the following reasons:

> Freemasonry sits within the fraternal brotherhoods tradition, which has been an area of active collecting by the museum since the 1980s …this was particularly associated with the work of the late Dr Tony Buckley.[20] His research in this type of material culture was most fully expressed in his 'Brotherhoods in Ireland' exhibition[21] at the Ulster Folk Museum in 1988. He brought his critical theory and skills as an anthropologist to his museum practice and his work remains original and relevant.
>
> The Hong Kong Freemasonry material also clearly connects to the theme of empire and colonialism. This can be easily stereotyped in terms of European power, dominance and exploitation. But it's important to go beyond the ideological 'isms' and introduce a greater complexity into our understanding of these colonial relationships. The mid-20th century provenance of the Hong Kong material offers an opportunity to look at colonialism through different prism – very different to the souvenirs of colonial wars. The family history context also allows for greater insight in the motivations, outlook and mindset of someone from here, over there, at that time.[22]

This email extract speaks of the factors that made the Freemasonry material a suitable acquisition for NMNI. Firstly, the collection complimented the museum's pre-existing collections, namely, those associated with fraternal brotherhoods in Northern Ireland. Secondly, the assemblage also invoked the work of a former curator whose work the existing staff admired. Thirdly, the collection fitted with themes in which NMNI is currently interested – those of Empire, Colonialism and associated human relationships. Finally, the collection derives from a local family, a context that can provide rich background information. All of these factors – collections, former staff, thematic relevance, and local geographical provenance – speak of NMNI's policy priorities, and also of its boundaries of Us-ness.

This example also conveys how private and public collections intersect on an Us-ness / Otherness boundary. I had given the objects to NMNI because I did not regard them as sufficiently Us any longer to keep. However, were it not for my emotional attachment to the memory of one of 'Us' – Douglas Crozier my grandfather – I would not have minded whether they were in future looked after by a

museum. For NMNI, they were of interest because they could be connected to the Us-ness that is discoverable in the archives of a still-remembered home.

Blair's email shows that a density of Us-ness, furnishing as it does specific biographical detail, will facilitate a more nuanced investigation of Northern Ireland in Empire than would have been the case were the contextual information to be unavailable. Through these biographical specifics, NMNI will gain the capacity to extract narratives of national and international interest, concerning Northern Ireland's involvement in the dynamics of colonial societies in the waning years of the British Empire, and in urban contexts. The email suggests, too, that NMNI may develop Colonialism as a theme, advancing from a heterocthonous interpretation of conflict resulting from British imperial expansion, to richer narrative layers. In other words, and paradoxically, the Freemasonry regalia of a white, 'Northern Ireland community' man will help the Museum to expand its Us-ness boundaries. Here then, is a case in which the self-interest of a donor can be viewed as complimentary to the ethnocentrism that, as I have demonstrated (Chapter Two), is inevitably present in museums. As the example also shows, self-interest and ethnocentrism are essential for the preservation of material culture, an act that can benefit society as a whole.

However, an object on the Us-ness / Otherness boundary can also be a source of political risk, both for the donor and for the museum institution. In this case, the risk to the donor is caused by the aura that surrounds the subject of Freemasonry. Should the materials become publicly associated with members of the Crozier family through the public mention by the Museum of our names, they could be damaging to our reputations. This is because of the social exclusion with which membership of the masonic orders is popularly associated,[23] from which we might, as Douglas's descendants, be perceived to have benefited. The risk furthermore derives from the possibility that remaining members of the family might be perceived as approving of exclusion. This risk applies even if we accept that Freemasonry is not founded upon exclusionary practices. A brief diversion into the subject of Freemasonry will show why this is the case.

As aforementioned, the Freemasonry items exemplify how objects can be entangled in colonial social networks (a concept that will be more fully demonstrated in Chapter Seven). Jessica Harland-Jacobs shows that in British colonies, Freemasonry enabled members to straddle national identities whilst also prolonging

members' attachments with home by centring on their commonality of cultural origin. The movement facilitated the movements of the upwardly mobile élite into and within imperial destinations; and provided advantageous international connections.[24] By the zenith of the British Empire in the early twentieth century,[25] Freemasonry was a global movement, providing fellowship, social activity and financial aid to members. It centred on replicating family linkages by describing members as 'brethren', and its centres in England, Ireland and Scotland as 'mother grand lodges'. This idiom of kinship helped to bind men to one another as to biological relatives, leading to the preferential treatment of signatories and members of their families, especially in relation to employment and promotion.[26]

Despite being based on a universalist rhetoric, admissions were often predicated on the categorisation of applicants according to race, class and social standing.[27] Freemasonry therefore provided a useful vehicle for expressing a theoretical commitment to a global brotherhood, whilst also enabling members to practice segregation.[28] In India for example, the majority of British Masons refused to accept indigenous candidates until forced by metropolitan authorities to do so, and

> even those who wanted to uphold 'the great Masonic Doctrine of the Universal Brotherhood of man' …did so only on the grounds that their participation in Freemasonry would help raise up childlike natives 'to the level of European civilisation and culture'.[29]

This quote relates to the mid-nineteenth century, but it is apparent from the assembly represented in the photograph below (Fig. 18) that in Hong Kong by the 1950s, Freemasonry had departed little from its earlier dogma. Therefore, Crozier's Freemasonry materials, especially when supported by his paper archive, suggest the presence in colonial Hong Kong of Us-ness in a specific form.

The degree to which his Masonic membership worked to Crozier's advantage is clearly evident when charting his career advancement against his progression through the Freemasonry ranks. He first joined the fraternity immediately after qualifying as a teacher in the University of London, using the Kipling Newporton Lodge in his home village of Ballinamallard as a convenient stepping-stone.[30] Nine days before sailing from London to Hong Kong in July 1931, he used this local membership in Dublin as a guarantee to acquire certification from the Grand Lodge of Ireland. This in turn eased his acceptance into the University Chapter in Hong Kong where, two years later, he was admitted as a regular Royal Archmason, rising

in 1946 to the office of District Grant Steward. In 1949 he was President of the District Board of General Purposes, in 1953 District Grand Organist of the Royal Arch Chapter of Hong Kong and South China, and by 1955, an Excellent and Perfect Prince Rose Croix in the eighteenth degree.[31] The development of his career as an educationalist is chronologically equivalent. He arrived in Hong Kong as a schoolmaster to teach in King's College in 1931, becoming Temporary Senior Inspector of Schools and Director of a Special Bureau within the Education Department by 1949.[32] In 1951 he was appointed as Director of Education. Thereafter, he reached the apogee of the colonial administration by first joining he Legislative Council (1951), in 1956 being appointed to the Executive Council.[33]

Among the signatories who certificated Crozier's Freemasonry progression were Alfred Morris, a Principal of King's College in Hong Kong; Philip Colville Smith; a recipient of the Commander of the Royal Victorian Order (CRVO); and Harry Owen Hughes, a Justice of the Peace and Managing Director of an import company, Harry Wicking and Co.[34] These connections were not so directly connected with his career as to substantiate a claim that Crozier's promotions did not also involve merit. However, his advancement is clearly synchronous with his movements between local, national and Hong Kong lodges, and with his promotion through the Freemasonry ranks. This synchronicity suggests that Douglas used Freemasonry both as a form of cultural passport, and to mobilise social capital. Therefore, Douglas's collected Freemasonry artefacts and documents betray aspects of his personality that were prone to the influence of racist, sexist, and classist views. Consequently, the bringing to light of these possessions would have the potential to subvert pre-existing narratives about Crozier's identity, by retrospectively damaging his reputation.[35] Furthermore and by extension, they have the capacity to affect perceptions of the identities of surviving members of his family.

As Chapters Seven and Eight will show, Crozier's Freemasonry materials exemplify how his collection in general strongly indicates the presence of his painstaking subscription to social and racial boundaries. They also exemplify his careful management of relationships with both British and Chinese in order to secure personal prestige and access to bureaucratic power. As alluded to above, the corresponding potential of such Colonial Objects to present the risk of reputational damage affects the Museum as much as it does the family. This is because, by

representing imperial communities the boundaries of which were based on societal exclusion, the interpreting institution could be accused of showing sympathy for their historical values.[36] Furthermore, just as the practices of Freemasonry are associated with secrecy,[37] and its material culture would therefore be easy without insider knowledge to misrepresent, so the examination of the identities associated with any object become more considered in the presence of insider knowledge. This is, of course, why identifying 'source communities' with whom to collaborate is so important to museums; and this brings us around again to the Northern Irish problematic. For these reasons, although a society situated at the heart of a British Empire,[38] Freemasonry is a subject the interpretation of which might endanger the museum.[39] This explains why, beyond the work of Anthony Buckley[40] to which Blair refers, there has been so little engagement to date in Northern Ireland with Freemasonry within its publicly-funded cultural institutions; and also why NMNI willingness to tackle the subject that Blair's email indicates is a sign of institutional progression.

As the Freemasonry example demonstrates, Us-ness is volatile. We can see from it why some objects, once so clearly connected with an 'Us', can become caught up with ideas from which we wish to dissociate ourselves and are allocating to Other. On the boundaries between Us-ness and Otherness, an object can be politically dangerous. However as is also suggested at the beginning of this example, a re-allocation from Us-ness to Otherness on the part of a donor can be helpful to the museum. To understand why this is so can be evaluated within the context of previous programmes in Northern Ireland. For reasons I will examine further now, these have avoided tackling the topic of Colonialism head-on.

Fig. 17. Douglas Crozier's Freemasonry regalia shortly after being found in a trunk in a barn. Lisnacreevy, 9th April 2016. From the Crozier Collection, now in National Museums Northern Ireland.[41] *© Briony Widdis.*

Fig. 18. Douglas Crozier (centre, wearing glasses) celebrating the investiture of a Freemasonry 'brother' in Hong Kong. 13th January 1959. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

Northern Ireland's Museums and the avoidance of Colonialism

In 1995, Anthony Buckley and Mary Kenney surveyed perceptions of Otherness in Northern Ireland and described the widespread usage of ethnic stereotyping that was based on apparently distinctive forms of cultural expression. According to them, differences in what Northern Ireland's divided communities regarded as 'Other' arose from geographical and class separation and from distinctive religious and national identities.[42] As the example of Anna Lo's mention of the word 'colonial' given above illustrates, competing ideas about the legacies of colonialism in Northern Ireland are among the causes of political opposition.

As referenced above, the source of this discord concerns the status of Northern Ireland within the political context of the island as a whole.[43] At its heart is a divided perspective on Ireland's past stemming from a belief that the ancestors of some living on the island today suffered from colonial conquest, occupation and administration, whilst the ancestors of other extant groups were agents of these same exploits. As Máiréad Nic Craith has shown, while nationalists have regarded the Plantation of Ulster as an example of cultural occupation and have self-defined according to a perceived dichotomy between 'natives' and 'foreigners', Unionists have described the Plantation as economic migration within a Crown jurisdiction. Nic Craith states that museums and other public bodies can help to resolve differences of opinion about the past by embracing and exploring the theme of Colonialism; in the process, they can help to consolidate peace.[44]

Nic Craith furthermore identifies divergent opinions on the history of migration to Ireland as having become associated with Orientalist ideas, describing the 'monolithic myths' of Protestants who have characterised themselves as 'clean, industrious, loyal and democratic' in opposition to Catholics as 'lazy, dirty and priest-ridden'. By contrast, Catholics have self-identified as 'tolerant, open, and appreciative of their culture' in opposition to Protestants as 'money-grabbing, narrow-minded bigots'.[45] The intractability of these perceptions is such that there should be an agreed process of accommodation in which the government of Ireland should try to convince Protestants and Unionists that a united Ireland would be 'a comfortable home for them to live in', and the British government must reassure Northern Irish Catholics and nationalists of their equal status within the United

Kingdom. Both should emphasise the fluidity of community boundaries, including in respect to minority ethnic groups.[46]

Northern Irish museums have undertaken a range of projects to interpret divisive subjects. These include, for example, participation in centennial commemorations of the signing of the Ulster Covenant; outbreak of the First World War; Armistice Day; the Easter Rising; Battle of the Somme; Suffrage; the War of Independence; Government of Ireland Act; and Irish Civil War.[47] As Elizabeth Crooke has observed, many of these programmes have sought to portray Northern Irish identity in a multi-culturalist perspective, and have reclassified key events as shared rather than exclusive to the memories of specific communities.[48] As an example of the former, in 2001 the Northern Ireland Museums Council produced a touring exhibition and associated booklet, *Our People, Our Times*, which posed the question, 'Are we not all migrants or descendants of migrants to this land?'[49] The latter approach was exemplified by the Mid Antrim Museum Services' *Making History* programme (2006-2008). This was designed 'to enable participants to explore their local history and cultural diversity, with a particular emphasis on shared history and experiences whilst recognising divisible histories'. It also aimed 'to critically examine established historical narratives and encouraging a broader perspective on what 'history' is, as a way of promoting plural histories, whilst permitting multiple viewpoints to be acknowledged'.[50]

The stated aims of such initiatives highlight the importance to Northern Irish museums of the political stability deriving from the 1998 Belfast/Good Friday Agreement .[51] This is noticeable too in the balanced view achieved by the Ulster Museum's Modern History Gallery, where Irish history is extensively referenced against the backdrop of the British Empire. This exhibition addresses a range of divisive subjects. Panels on *Home Rule to Partition*, for example, cover the Boer War, the Ulster Covenant, the Easter Rising, and the Battle of the Somme. Issues central to colonialism are covered through the detailed biographical interpretation of specific objects. These include, for example, an eighteenth century half-penny token issued by the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade;[52] and a wooden meat dish taken in 1893 by a soldier from a village in Matebele (Ndebele) during a military campaign that destroyed the kingdom of King Lobenguela.[53]

Other, smaller initiatives in Northern Ireland have also addressed occurrences of colonialism outside of the region itself. These include, for example, the website www.culturenorthernireland.org [54] which provides biographical articles, for example on the first Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Henry Pottinger.[55] In 2007, the Linen Hall Library and Public Record Office delivered a touring exhibition, lecture series and book marking the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade and its connection to protagonists from the north of Ireland.[56] However, notwithstanding Nic Craith's call for it, and as referenced in Chapter One, no museum projects in Northern Ireland have yet addressed Colonialism outside Ireland as a specific theme. Instead museums have side-stepped the subject by focusing on two alternative forms of representation. These have been, firstly, to cast migrations from within Ireland to other British Empire colonies as diaspora and secondly, to focus on the movement of Ulster peoples to countries within the former New World.

Both are tendencies that are shared with other types of public history institution in the region, where colonialism is discussed almost exclusively within the context of migrations to Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States. For example, a website developed by the Ulster Scots Agency examines 'the first organized migration of Scots and Irish-born Presbyterian people on their way to a new life in the New England colonies'.[57] Down County Museum examines the transportation of prisoners to the Crown Colony of Australia including through a long-standing exhibition and a public database of convicts.[58] This too is the focus of the Ulster American Folk Park where visitors can 'follow the trail' of nineteenth century emigrants to the American frontier.[59]

Although museums in Northern Ireland have examined the subject of Colonialism only obliquely and have done little to examine indigenous experiences elsewhere in the Empire, research has begun south of the Irish border. In a thesis based on interviews with visitors to the National Museum of Ireland at Collins Barracks and Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, and the Museum of Treasures in Waterford, Alan Kirwan has posited that in the Republic of Ireland there are similarities in the ways in which indigenous citizens and those from minority ethnic backgrounds perceive themselves in relation to the British Empire. There are, he states, 'collective identities' shared across minority ethnic communities that intersect with 'postcolonial identity' present within (white) Irish culture; together these

comprise 'a rich source of material with which to explore future concepts of Irish identity and intercultural understanding'. Based on interviews with visitors at the three sites, Kirwan concludes that a 'majority' of Irish respondents share an ethnic and cultural identity that can be traced to Ireland's past as a colony. This colonial experience, Kirwan suggests, has the potential to 'act as a bridge around intercultural debate and understanding amongst the country's diverse ethnic groups…It is, after all, the shared experiences of colonialism and empire by peoples worldwide that suggests Irish identity is not seen as an exclusionary force'.[60]

It is important to emphasise though, that as outlined in Chapter One, experiences of Empire were particularised and local. For reasons I have already outlined, those experiences in Ireland were *not* shared; and in fact, as Ireland's ethnographic collections widely testify, the Irish as colonisers brought objects back.[61] As both Kirwan's thesis and Jenny Siung's work has shown, contemporary communities in Ireland desire to see their cultures specifically represented;[62] and there are potentially limitless differences in the ways in which minority ethnic individuals living in Ireland today may define themselves. Furthermore, research is still lacking that shows whether recent migrants to Ireland feel a greater *generalised* sense of connection to museums' non-European objects than do other Irish citizens. The examination of the biographies of ethnographic objects could, in fact, highlight differences as well as similarities in contemporary attitudes, and so would not necessarily result in building a shared Irish society. Approaches that conflate present-day ideas about 'majority' versus 'minority' status with those about historic experiences of Empire could in fact replicate rather than demolish twenty-first century societal division.

Ideological blending of contemporary with historic identities is connected with the problems of defining the boundaries of 'community' versus 'source community' to which I have alluded earlier in this chapter. For those Colonial Objects deriving from points in time after the (often unknowable) dates of first cultural contacts, acts of determining when each derives from within a 'source community' as opposed to from within a mere 'community' depend on subjective judgements. These judgements may stem from the point in time in which the observer is situated, and whether or not they are directly involved in the object's biography.

The word 'source' here denotes the idea that an object *originates* from, in the sense of being made within or having special functional or sacred significance to, a particular human group. If the identities of *originating* communities risk becoming elided through present or historic failure to annotate specific names and biographical detail (as in the example of the Chokwe basket collected by Ennis, Chapter Two), so too can those of any other persons caught up in an object's lifetime. Therefore, where identity elision can affect those who were subjugated by the forces of geo-political imperialism, it can also impact subsequent owners who may be equally forgotten through the wielding of power, including by museum curators. If we rely on objects as indicators of binary relationships in which power was uni-directional, being meted out by colonists against colonised, we subsequently forget that those objects may encapsulate narratives about non-'source' owners in all of their complex humanity.

What I am arguing for here therefore, is a holistic re-visitation of the subject of Colonialism in Northern Ireland's museums. For the reasons I have explained, examination of the theme would have to overcome ideological boundaries about what and whom represents the idea of 'community' in either an historical or contemporary sense. Paradoxically though as I will show below, if we are to investigate attitudes in the past, oppositional binaries are an excellent tool.

Us-ness, Otherness, and the NMNI World Cultures Collection

The example above of Crozier's Freemasonry garb, and how it straddles a wavering border between Us-ness and Otherness, demonstrated that it is *because* humanity is complex that some Colonial Objects carry personal and professional risks. Risky objects are what Elizabeth Crooke describes as 'fearful', raising interpretative problems for museums that can result in the avoidance of their investigation. Crooke defines the 'fearful object' as one that 'extends a challenge or a threat today'. Characteristics of such objects are: association with a past event that caused trauma or distress; an ability to represent authentic experience; a connection with a place, especially one in which the object is hidden due to fear or shame deriving from the events to which it is connected; and the ability to activate an emotion-fuelled response.[63] As I have demonstrated in Chapters Three and Four, these are all traits that apply to Colonial Objects.

As evidenced above, the topic of Colonialism *as a whole* has the potential to become 'fearful' in Northern Ireland. I argue that a legacy of historical fearfulness is still preventing the effective interpretation of ethnographic collections here. This is one reason why the collections have remained underdeveloped, with no museum, at the time of writing, collecting actively within the discipline. As a result, the collections appear to be in stasis: one estimate sets the collections at a total of only 3812 objects across all Accredited museums in Northern Ireland, and less than 1% of overall collections. Of these, National Museums Northern Ireland maintains 83% (3180),[64] covering North, Middle and South America, Africa, the Pacific, and Asia.[65] Therefore, as a source of knowledge about Northern Irish colonial history, NMNI holdings are essential.

The NMNI collection originated in two earlier collections that in a series of stages have been corralled under the present institution. These collections were, firstly, that of the Belfast Natural History Society (BNHPS), which, beginning in 1821, appealed to travellers, merchants, sea captains and army and navy officers, to bring home with them natural and human history specimens. The BNHPS displayed these, from 1831 until 1910, in the Belfast Museum, situated on College Square North. Secondly, there was the collection of the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery,[66] first established by the Town Council, on Royal Avenue, as part of the Belfast Free Public Library, in 1888. In 1909, the BNHPS offered its entire collection to the City of Belfast under the auspices of the Council. As a result, the two collections were merged, initially within the Public Library building before finally coming together through the erection of a new building. This was the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery,[67] completed in 1929 on the Stranmillis Road.[68] An extension to this building was opened in 1972.[69]

With the Museums (Northern Ireland) Order 1973, both the Ulster Museum and Armagh County Museum were removed from local authority responsibility and allocated in their entirety to that of central government; the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum was already separately under its control.[70] The Ulster American Folk Park was established in 1976. In 1998, under the Museums and Galleries (Northern Ireland), the four museums (Armagh County Museum, the Ulster American Folk Park, the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum and the Ulster Museum) were merged. Named the National Museums and Galleries Northern Ireland under

the legislation,[71] this is the museum group that is now branded as National Museums Northern Ireland.

At one time in the history of these collections, there was great interest in collecting from other parts of the world: according to Jonathan Wright, the members of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society *'thought* in global terms'.[72] No photographs have been found to demonstrate how objects belonging to the BNHPS were displayed prior to their handover to the Town Council in 1909. Those that survive from the Council's Belfast Museum and Art Gallery, however, reveal quite a lot. For example, a turn of the century photograph (Fig. 22, Chapter Six) taken on Royal Avenue shows objects displayed in a 'cabinet of curiosities' style, popular throughout Europe since the sixteenth century.[73] Another, slightly later, shows ethnographic displays typologically[74] displayed (Fig. 19). [75] In an 'Ascent of Man' case, photographed c. 1929 (after the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery opened on Stranmillis Road), a skull that appears especially white in colour is placed at the pinnacle of an evolutionary display representing 'living races' (Fig. 20).

From these scant images, we can infer that Belfast's ethnographic displays were subject to a hegemonic perspective. Deriving from a tradition associated with the Great Exhibition of 1851, this involved the ascription of the British to themselves of a primordial role in the civilisation of the non-Christian world. Museums across the United Kingdom provided ballast to this view through the representation in metropolitan centres of processes of cultural evolution that were, for the most part, imaginary.[76] As a result, artefacts were placed on supposed spectra ranging from primitivism to civilisation.[77] By conforming in this way, in 1929 the newly-formed Belfast Museum and Art Gallery was adhering to conventions that were well-established within museum practice nationally; and this can be seen as an attempt to reinforce its scientific reputation within the Empire.[78]

It is clear that during this period, human history collections from outside Ireland were regarded as of less importance than those from within it, and this was evident again after the end of the 1939-1945 war. During the bombing of Belfast in 1941, the collections were moved from Stranmillis Road to safer locations. Whilst significant Irish artefacts were housed in Hillsborough Castle, by contrast several important ethnographic items were left *in situ*, or were stored, wrapped in newspaper in tea chests and cardboard boxes, in a concrete room under a bridge on Tate's

Avenue, a main thoroughfare into the city. There, perhaps due to perceptions that they were of low cultural value, as are apparent from the way in which they were stored, these precious items survived several break-ins by vandals. The items under the bridge included, for example, a Northwest Coast frontlet, ivory and human hair necklaces from Hawaii, two Māori *tāniko* (twined) cloaks, and a Māori model canoe, left hanging from the roof, donated by a Dr. Birnie from Ballyclare in 1915.[79] There they remained until the late 1960s, when they were removed by the first and still only ethnographic Curator, Winifred Glover.[80]

During her curatorship (1978 – 2009), Winifred Glover displayed what is now known as the World Cultures Collection in a dedicated Ethnography Gallery. A mix of permanent display and changing exhibitions, this allocated to each culture a single display case, or an area within one.[81] From the stasis in Ethnography after the Second World War, it appears that in embracing this Cultural Relativist[82] approach more fully than had previously been the case, Glover may have been helping Belfast to catch up with what had been happening in museums elsewhere for a period approaching eighty years.

Appointed in 1967 as his Secretary, Glover had been encouraged by Keeper of Antiquities Laurence Flanagan to pursue her own initiative. She tackled the ethnographic collection because it was one not being actively curated by others,[83] becoming its Curator in 1978.[84] By this time, there were five Departments in the institution – Art, Antiquities, Botany and Zoology, Geology, and Technology and Local History.[85] Within none of these categories did human history items from outside Europe appear to have a place. Looking back on her career in 2012, Glover wrote that up until 1978 and even afterwards, the Museum's collecting policy was 'almost exclusively directed towards increasing its holdings of Irish archaeological specimens'.[86] However, Glover identified the collection as having merit separate from other items under Flanagan's jurisdiction from which, upon her arrival, it had been considered undistinguished.[87] As she explains, from early on she aimed

> to show that Ireland was not a stand-alone society but one which had many links with the wider world. I also wanted to change the public perception that the objects were not just examples of foreign curiosities but the works, and often very significant ones, of the peoples who made and used them in their daily lives. The other thing that I wanted to show was that we are all part of the same human history.[88]

Fig. 19. Pre-1908. Grainger Room, Belfast Public Library, Royal Avenue. Displays combine a Relativist and a typological approach: although some objects are grouped within approximate cultural context, similar objects from different cultures are also seen placed side by side. The purpose was to show sequential development of objects of similar form and function. BELUM Y.W.10.21.244. © National Museums NI.

Fig. 20. 'Ascent of Man' case in the Natural History Gallery of the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery, Stranmillis Road. c. 1929. Note that amongst the 'living races of man', an especially white (in colour) skull is placed at the top. BELUM.Y.W.10.79.46. © National Museums NI.

Opportunities to represent non-Western objects on an equal footing with those from 'home' remained elusive to Glover throughout her career. The Belfast Museum and Art Gallery's renaming as the Ulster Museum after 1973 coinciding with its handover to central government[89] had signalled its embrace of an idea of 'home' centring on Northern Ireland. Glover's memory that during the 1970s and 1980s the ethnographic collection was, except for her own attentions, ignored, has echoes in how, in Noel Nesbitt's history of the institution (1979), the collection is mentioned only twice, and then fleetingly. These mentions relate to the BNHPS as a founding institution in the early nineteenth century, and to the construction in 1929 of an Ethnography Gallery as part of the new Belfast Museum and Art Gallery when it opened on the Stranmillis Road.[90] From this we can infer that by 1979, the ethnographic collection was considered to be anachronistic: Nesbitt apparently perceived it as having relevance primarily to a nineteenth and early twentieth century history of collecting and display. As I will show, this down-playing of the Ethnography collection in the late 1970s, at the same time as she was becoming well-known internationally as its Curator, was of a piece with the ethnocentric antipathy for the objects in her care that Winifred Glover faced.

According to William Blair, with the advent in 1972 of the direct rule of Northern Ireland from London in response to civil conflict, the Museum gained the ability to act more independently of local politics. As a result a 'diversity of exhibitions reflected the encyclopaedic nature of [its] collections, along with a growing desire to reflect international trends, particularly in fine art'.[91] Blair argues that the institution was already outwardly focused, as indicated by the employment of John Hewitt, an Art Curator between 1930 and 1957. Hewitt, whose poem *The Colony* is an allegory of English and Scottish settlement in Ireland,[92] described himself as 'by birth, an Irishman of Planter stock, by profession an art gallery man, politically a man of the Left'.[93] His career at the Museum concluded in disappointment at not being appointed as Director, an outcome he attributed to his associations with Catholics and Communists.[94] Blair however questions this outlook, asserting that his quarter of a century at the Ulster Museum provides contrary evidence that in this period, the ethos of the institution was 'liberal-minded'.[95]

Nonetheless, as had been indicated by its neglect up until her arrival, the ethnographic collection had not been considered important within the ethnocentric

boundaries that characterised the Ulster Museum's outlook at the time; perhaps it was deemed to have served an imperial purpose for which the need was now gone. Notwithstanding the continued focus of the institution on Northern Ireland history and the lack of colleagues' interest that she recalls, during this period of intellectual efflorescence in relation to other areas of the institution's collections, Glover had free reign (if, as she stated in conversation with me, no budget) to explore the ethnographic collections as she chose. Her publications are evidence of this, showing that she was at liberty to examine some of the complexities that apply to the interpretation of colonial collections. She states for example that 'there was…no humanitarian motive' behind engagements with indigenous peoples that resulted in the Museum's acquisitions.[96]

It is clear from this statement that the institution was not especially exerting editorial control over Glover's writings on Northern Ireland's role in British imperial history. Perhaps the reason for this was that no such control was required. Her exhibition catalogues and articles, the majority produced between the 1970s and 1990s, focus on key strengths of the ethnographic collections and approach local biography in positive terms; for example:

> With very few exceptions, the Polynesian collection was donated by donors ranging from the avid collectors of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society (founded 1822) to individuals. Most of these generous people were Ulster men and women who either collected 'in the field' or were related to those who had themselves travelled among the Islands. Thanks to their generosity we can appreciate and marvel at the skill and ingenuity of the native races of Polynesia at a time when their societies were at their finest'.[97]

The above quote illustrates the way in which Winifred Glover aimed to harness the collections to an acceptable field of Northern Ireland narrative. In combination with sub-text that she provided to support my project, it also however elucidates the impact of the organisation's *laissez-faire* attitude to the collection. During my conversations with her, Glover explained how in back offices she had faced extreme indifference for ethnographic material; how senior staff were impressed by objects' financial value rather than by their intrinsic worth; and that there was an ever-present threat that the collection would be sold and the money used for acquisitions for the Irish collections.[98] She explained too how in the 1970s and 1980s, the sole items in which her curatorial colleagues demonstrated interest were a *tapa* cloth figure from

Easter Island because it is one of only three in the world,[99] and a Hawaiian cloak associated with King Kamehameha III[100] (see below). This history of interest in these objects, alone, indicates that the Museum was primarily motivated by the garnering of prestige for itself, rather than in the internationally rich seams of indigenous heritages it had at its disposal. In development of my theme of Us-ness, I infer from this that it was from the desire for self-aggrandisement emanating from within the organisation that Glover's positive interpretative strategy derived.

At the time, moreover, there was limited public awareness of the cultural importance of material heritage from other parts of the world. Glover notes, for example, that her 1978 exhibition, *North American Indians* was popular due to finding 'common interest' amongst audiences who had been inured to biased representations of indigenous Americans: 'people remember playing cowboys and Indians from an early age and also from seeing them portrayed in films'. The local response to later exhibitions of Polynesian, Melanesian and African objects (1979, 1980 and 1982) was, by comparison, 'low-key' and 'unmoved', except in relation to a Māori *mokomokai* (a tattooed head) 'which elicited the same sort of grisly interest usually reserved for the Egyptian mummy'. Audience appeal therefore appears to have derived from bringing the boundaries of Otherness into sharper focus, and not from her attempts at generating increased understanding. From these experiences, Glover concluded that 'the comfort of observing familiar things' must be found in order to excite visitors about objects of which they had limited previous experience. This, she stated, could be secured through 'home' biography:

> About 90% of it had been donated by people born in the north of Ireland. So I decided that that was how I intended to present the collection…to place them in their historical setting and to explain the reason why they were in a museum in Belfast.[101]

This approach reveals further the way in which Glover felt pressurised, by colleagues' overweening partiality for Northern Irish history, to fight for internal recognition of the collection by harnessing it to local names.[102] According to her writing, with few exceptions, the objects had derived from 'wealthy members of society [who] socialised together' and 'Ulster men and women who had collected 'in the field', while travelling abroad, or … their relatives, to whom they had given or bequeathed the objects',[103] and it was upon these local connections that she concentrated in her publications.

Arising from her recognition that institutional support could be found in Northern Ireland biography, and in items that could raise the Museum's own prestige, Glover identified parochialism and the pursuit of power as acquisitions criteria that could win support for the additions to the collection that she wanted to make. The two examples of acquisitions meeting this policy, that she gave in an interview for this thesis, were a Cameroonian stool and a pair of sperm whale tooth scrimshaws.[104]

These are among few ethnographic items that are still on display.[105] The way in which they are shown today echoes Glover's impression of the Museum's dedication to local biography and to the embodiment by objects of social capital that would benefit the Museum. They also show how the Museum has invested that capital in a postcolonial vision of Northern Ireland's past. The stool is displayed in the Ulster Museum's *Modern History* gallery in a case entitled *A World War*. Its text reads

> African stool. Irish men and women serving in the First World War saw action all over the world. This stool was given to Captain Meneely from County Down, by a chief whom he helped to escape from the Germans during fighting in the Cameroons.

The scrimshaws are in the same gallery, in an *Expanding Horizons* case. Their label reads,

> Scrimshaw was a popular activity for British and American whalers from the 1700s. Designs were inscribed on teeth, bone or ivory. These examples show King George III (1760-1820) and his wife Queen Charlotte, together with religious scenes.

The scrimshaws are displayed beside a 'Captain Cook Atlas, 1785' which is explained thus:

> This atlas belonged to William Perceval, a member of a prominent County Sligo family. It reveals new discoveries made by Captain James Cook during his three voyages around the world between 1768 and 1779. Britain's expanding power in this period benefited Irish trade and industry.[106]

The text on Captain Cook is important to note at this stage, because the impact of Cook's voyages is readily seen in a Hawai'ian cloak that I will examine in Chapter Six. It is perhaps understandable, given the Northern Irish historical context in which they are displayed, that the objects are interpreted in this way. However, as two of a very small number of items for which Glover cared, the stool and scrimshaws do

exemplify that ethnographic objects remain in use in the Ulster Museum, only when they can be interpreted in relation to local biography. We are not told, for example, the name of the 'chief' and what happened to him after the War. We do not know whether Captain Meneely visited Cameroon again, and whether the two became friends. We have no insights into the experiences of the whalers, or what their impact on local populations was. As I will emphasise in Chapter Six, this does not necessarily reflect contemporary staff attitudes to non-Western material. Rather, it is an inherited legacy of what has gone before. If Jonathan Wright is correct that the members of the BNHPS 'thought in global terms' (see above), this thinking was in the context of Belfast's own role in Empire; and did not connect with the identities of other communities or nations. In short, the interpretation of the collection has always been dominated by Us-ness concerns.

Conclusion: Colonial Objects in Northern Irish Museums

This chapter has woven together disparate influences on the interpretation of Colonial Objects in Northern Ireland's museums, and has explored how within them ideas about Us-ness and Otherness have been articulated. It began with a discussion of some constructions of the word 'community'. I related this to the history of conflict in Northern Ireland and its legacy of divided communities. On the basis of this, I proceeded to show that it is especially difficult in the region to determine difference between 'source communities' and 'communities'; and that this, in turn, complicates how museum professionals can interpret Colonial Objects. I also looked at how museums have tackled the politics of representation against the backdrop of the Troubles. I discussed how one strategy that they have used has been to broaden definitions of 'community' to include a greater diversity of cultures. However, as the range of projects I listed showed, few of these have targeted the theme of Colonialism as it relates to any place outside of Ireland.

Based on a review of previous research that has represented the topic in Ireland, I suggested that in Northern Ireland, the topic of colonialism should be revisited as an investigative theme. Invoking the example of NMNI's acquisition of Douglas Crozier's Freemasonry artefacts, I suggested that intervals in time when objects are on the boundaries between Us-ness and Otherness present opportunities for museums to gather rich interpretative data. As I also argued however, their

liminal position in relation to who and what they represent is a reason why Colonial Objects can become 'fearful' as in Elizabeth Crooke's usage of the term. Invoking as they do strong emotions, including those connected to racist values, to social exclusion and to memories of trauma, 'fearful' Colonial Objects can present risks both to individuals and to museums.

I then reviewed the history of World Cultures Collection in NMNI which, as I demonstrated, has been subject to dwindling institutional interest. Since at least the beginning of the twentieth century, Ethnography has been de-prioritised within the upper echelons of the organisation in favour of objects 'sourced' in Northern Ireland. Exceptions to this have included objects that represented financial value, and those that have raised the profile of the Museum. I showed too how Winifred Glover's interpretative strategy as a curator was honed to respond to this agenda. By focusing on Northern Ireland biography and on objects with prestigious connections, she promoted the collection for a period of several decades. This strategy worked because it fit an ethnocentric, or Us-ness, agenda.

In 2019, other priorities are competing with ethnographic objects. These include the commemoration of the Troubles and the Decade of Centenaries.[107] The lack of resource allocation to the World Cultures collection though, means that the ways in which the objects have been meaningful to people still remains to be explored. What I am arguing for therefore, is an alteration in perspective, that examines objects in greater depth, and includes a greater range of human biographies. I am also suggesting that museums collaborate with other museums and countries more, in order to arrive at these interpretations. As the next chapter will show through specific examples, the boundaries of Us-ness and Otherness have resulted in highly significant items being ignored, and this is to the detriment of society as a whole.

1. Crooke, Elizabeth. 2008. 'Museums and Community Relations in Northern Ireland'. In *Museums and Community*, 95 – 108. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

2. Examples of museums collaborating with formerly colonised communities are many; see for example the case studies in Golding, Viv, and Wayne Modest, eds. 2013. *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

3. Peers, Laura L., and Alison K. Brown, eds. 2003. *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. London: Routledge. p. 5-6.

4. Watson, Sheila, ed. 2007. *Museums and Their Communities*. Oxon and New York: Routledge. p.3-8.

5. In constitutional terms, Ireland, including the six counties that now make up Northern Ireland, was an integral part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from the Act of Union in 1801 until the Government of Ireland Act in 1920. This provided for the existence of Northern Ireland, which remained integral to the UK thereafter. However, as set out in the previously cited references, many political and historical narratives argue that the integration of Ireland within the UK was the result of acts of colonisation by England and people from Scotland.

6. *The Irish News*. 2014. 'Leadership about Having Vision: Lo', 20 March 2014. http://www.irishnews.com/news/2014/03/20/news/leadership-about-having-vision-lo-86783/.

7. At the time of this statement Arlene Foster was Northern Ireland Minister for Enterprise and Investment. She later became First Minister.

8. (BBC). 2014. 'Anna Lo: 'United Ireland' remarks 'insulting', say Unionists.' *BBC News Northern Ireland*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-26667174. Accessed 27/09/2019.

9. The Eleventh Night, on which bonfires are lit, precedes the commemoration of the 1690 Battle of the Boyne, which takes place across Northern Ireland annually on 12th July. It is an event in which participants are primarily Protestant and politically Unionist and / or loyalist. 'Unionist' refers to people who are members of, or vote for, Unionist political parties. 'Loyalist' refers to people who maintain a strong desire to remain part of the United Kingdom. The latter term is often used to describe people who publicly express adherence to this political ideology, e.g. by marching in parades, displaying flags, and participating in events on 11th and 12th July.

10. Smyth, Michelle. 2014. 'Alliance's Anna Lo 'disgusted' by Loyalist Bonfire Posters'. *Belfast Telegraph*, 7 July 2014. https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/alliances-anna-lo-disgusted-by-loyalist-bonfire-posters-30410894.html. Accessed 27/09/2019

11 For image see Donnelly, Chris. 2014. ''Anna Lo ate my dog' - huge slogan on cultural bonfire. Fusion of racism & sectarianism becoming ever clearer.' 11 July 2014. Accessed 27/09/2019 https://twitter.com/chrisadonnelly/status/487611902659670016?lang=cs.

12. For discussion see Howe, Stephen. 2000. *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Jeffery, Keith, ed. 1996. *'An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Blyth, Robert and Keith Jeffery. 2009. *The British Empire and Its Contested Pasts*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press; Kenny, Kevin. 2004. *Ireland and the British Empire*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press; Miller, David. 1998. *Rethinking Northern Ireland: Culture, Ideology and Colonialism*. London: Longman; Whyte, Nicholas. 1999. *Science, Colonialism and Ireland*. Cork: Cork University Press.

13. It was also claimed that the incident resulted in the mainstreaming of racism in the political sphere and created further tensions for ethnic minorities. See McVeigh, Robbie. 2015. 'Living the Peace Process in Reverse: Racist Violence and British Nationalism in Northern Ireland'. *Race and Class* 56 (4): 3 – 25.

14. See especially Hecht, Anat. 2001. ''Home Sweet Home: Tangible Memories of an Uprooted Childhood.' In *Home Possessions: Material Culture Behind Closed Doors*, edited by Daniel Miller, 123 – 48. Oxford: Berg.

15. Macdonald, Sharon. 2013. *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*. Oxon: Routledge. p. 106.

16. Ahmed, Sara. 2014. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

17. Many such historical communities were extinguished by the forces of colonialism. See for example Breen, Shayne. 2011. 'Extermination, Extinction, Genocide: British Colonialism and Tasmanian Aborigines'. In *Forgotten Genocides: Oblivion, Denial and Memory*, edited by Rene Lemarchand, 71–90. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Press.

18. This cloak had been cut through laterally and then roughly tacked back together with thread. The reason for this is not yet known; it may have been ritualistic. The black neck cord and hood appear also be associated with an initiation ritual.

19. Freemasons only admit men, although in 2018 the policy of British lodges changed to ensure that trans men can remain members. See Gayle, Damien. 2018. 'Freemasons to Admit Women – but Only If They First Joined as Men'. *The Guardian*, 1 August 2018, online edition. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/aug/01/freemasons-to-admit-women-but-only-if-they-first-joined-as-men. Accessed 28/09/2019. Females may join a separate Order of Women Freemasons. See 'The Order of Women Freemasons'. n.d. The Honourable Fraternity of Antient Masonry. Accessed 2 July 2019. https://www.owf.org.uk..

20. Anthony Buckley was an anthropologist and Curator at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, one of three museums that are now part of National Museums Northern Ireland. He published extensively on the use of cultural symbols and the operations of fraternities in Northern Ireland, and on the representation of history in Northern Ireland's museums; and was a much valued source of advice for this project. He died in 2019. For further information see Buckley, Anthony. n.d. 'Anthony D Buckley'. Accessed 2 July 2019. http://www.anthonydbuckley.com/index.html..

21. See Anthony Buckley's exhibition catalogue. Buckley, Anthony, and Kenneth Anderson. 1988. *Brotherhoods in Ireland*. Cultra: Ulster Folk and Transport Museum.

22. Blair, William. Email to Briony Widdis. 30 May 2019.

23. The belief that freemasons practice nepotism and social exclusion is widely held. See for example 'Freemasons Explain the Rituals and Benefits of Membership'. 2018. BBC News. 28 February 2018. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-43005770. Accessed 28/09/2019. Also Cubitt, Geoffrey. n.d. 'Squaring the Triangle: Freemasonry and Anti-Slavery'. 1807 Commemorated: The Abolition of the Slave Trade. Accessed 26 June 2019. https://www.history.ac.uk/1807commemorated/exhibitions/museums/squaring.html.

24. Harland-Jacobs, Jessica. 1999. ''Hands across the Sea': The Masonic Network, British Imperialism, and the North Atlantic World.' *Geographical Review* 89 (2): 237 – 53. See also Lewis, Su Lin. 2012. ''Rotary International's 'Acid Test': Multi-Ethnic Associational Life in 1930s Southeast Asia.' *Journal of Global History* 7 (2): 302 – 24.

25. Ferguson, Niall. 2004. *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*. New York: Basic Books.

26. Harland-Jacobs, J. 2003. 'All in the Family: Freemasonry and the British Empire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.' *Journal of British Studies* 42 (4): 448 – 82. p. 450-54

27. Harland-Jacobs, J. 2003. 'All in the Family: Freemasonry and the British Empire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.' *Journal of British Studies* 42 (4): 448 – 82.

28. Harland-Jacobs, J. 2003. 'All in the Family: Freemasonry and the British Empire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.' *Journal of British Studies* 42 (4): 448 – 82.

29. Harland-Jacobs, J. 2003. 'All in the Family: Freemasonry and the British Empire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.' *Journal of British Studies* 42 (4): 448 – 82. p. 448.

30. From certificate held by Crozier family dated 20th December 1966.

31. Freemasonry Certificates, from a series. 1930-1961. Crozier Collection.

32. Sweeting, Anthony. 2004. *Education in Hong Kong, 1941 to 2001 Visions and Revisions*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p.162.

33 Executive and Legislative Council appointments are evidenced in the Crozier Collection Archive.

34. *Hongkong Album 1961-2*. 1962. Hong Kong: Sin Poh Amalgamated (H.K.) Limited.

35. This impression derives from the fact that Crozier was publicly commemorated. See for example 'Ninth Congregation Conferment of Honorary Degrees: Dr. D.J.S. Crozier'. 1969. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong. It has also been conveyed to me through recent communications. For example, a conversation with a correspondent not previously known to this author reads, 'He

played an important role in rebuilding education in HK after the war and prior works leading to the establishment of HK's second university. Admiration and salute from a Hong Konger, given limited resource and flood of civil war refugee, your grandfather did a great work in laying the foundation of post-war HK. Another salute for his fight for HK!' (The Battle of Hong Kong. www.facebook.com June 2019.)

36. For an example of how politicised accusations of ethnocentrism levied at Freemasons can become, see Clark, Ronald. 2012. 'Anti-Masonry as Political Protest: Fascists and Freemasons in Inter-War Romania'. *Patterns of Prejudice* 46 (1): 40 – 57.

37. Hodapp, Christopher. 2005. *Freemasons for Dummies*. Indianapolis: Wiley.

38. Several members of the British royal family have been Freemasons. See for example 'The Museum of Freemasonry in London Will next Month Put Jewels Owned by Edward VII on Display'. Freemasonry Matters. 8 September 2018. https://freemasonrymatters.co.uk/latest-news-freemasonry/the-museum-of-freemasonry-in-london-will-next-month-put-jewels-owned-by-edward-vii-on-display/.

39. It should be noted however that museums operating from inside Freemasonry can provide an effective and informed basis from which to do so. See for example Freemasons' Hall, Dublin. 'Freemasons' Hall'. n.d. Grand Lodge of Ireland. Accessed 25 June 2019. https://freemason.ie/freemasons-hall/.

40. Buckley, Anthony. 2000. 'Royal Arch, Royal Arch Purple and Raiders of the Lost Ark: Secrecy in Orange and Masonic Ritual'. In *From Corrin to Cultra: Folklife Essays in Honour of Alan Gailey*, edited by Trefor M. Owen, 163 – 80. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast; Buckley, Anthony. 2007. ''Rise Up Dead Man, and Fight Again': Mumming, the Mass, and the Masonic Third Degree'. In *Border-Crossing: Mumming in Cross-Border and Cross-Community Contexts*, edited by Anthony Buckley, Séamus Ó Catháin, Criostóir Mac Cárthaigh, and Séamus Mac Mathúna, 19 – 38. Dundalk: Dundalgan.

41. Accession numbers pending.

42. Buckley, Anthony D., and Mary Catherine Kenney. 1995. *Negotiating Identity: Rhetoric, Metaphor, and Social Drama in Northern Ireland*. Smithsonian Institution Press.

43. Howe, Stephen. 2000. 'The Irish Republic as 'Postcolonial' Polity.' In *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*, 146 – 68. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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45. Nic Craith, Máiréad. 2002. *Plural Identities, Single Narratives: The Case of Northern Ireland*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn. p. 49-92.

46. Craith, Máiréad Nic. 2003. *Culture and Identity Politics in Northern Ireland*. Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 189-208.

47. See Community Relations Council and Heritage Lottery Fund. n.d. *Creative Centenaries*. Accessed 28 February 2019. http://creativecentenaries.org. See also individual Northern Ireland museum websites listed at www.nimc.co.uk. Accessed 14/02/2019.

48. Crooke, Elizabeth M. 2014. 'The Migrant and the Museum: Place and Representation in Ireland'. In *Museums and Migration: History, Memory and Politics*, edited by Laurence Gourievidis, 189–201. Oxon: Routledge.

49. Northern Ireland Museums Council. 2006. *Our People, Our Times*. Belfast: Northern Ireland Museums Council.

50. Quotes on museums' programmes from Northern Ireland Museums Council. 2009. 'Learning and Access in Museums: Case Studies from Northern Ireland.' Belfast: Northern Ireland Museums Council.

51. There are multiple other examples of museum projects specifically aimed at contributing to peace-building but they are too numerous to list here. The majority have been funded by the European

Union. See for example: 'Peace III Community History Project'. n.d. Down County Museum. Accessed 14 February 2019. http://www.downcountymuseum.com/Learning/PEACE_III_PROJECT. Also Fermanagh and Cavan County Museums' 'Connecting People: Peace III Funded Cross Border Project Delivered by Cavan County Museum with the Aim of Exploring the Shared and Diverse Cultural Heritage of Cavan and the Border Region.' n.d. Cavan County Museum. Accessed 14 February 2019. http://www.cavanmuseum.ie/connecting-people.htm. Also 'Learning: Past Programme: Community History Programme'. n.d. The Braid: Mid-Antrim Museum. Accessed 14 February 2019. http://www.thebraid.com/learning-specific.aspx?dataid=179410..

52 'Expanding Horizons'. 2009. In *Modern History Gallery*. Belfast: Ulster Museum.

53. 'Struggles for Power'. 2009. In *Modern History Gallery*. Belfast: Ulster Museum.

54. www.culturenorthernireland.org was until recently funded by the Arts Council for Northern Ireland and by other sources of public funding including for example Belfast City Council.

55. 'Sir Henry Pottinger: Soldier, Diplomat and First Governor of Hong Kong'. n.d. Culturenorthernireland.org. Accessed 14 February 2019. http://www.culturenorthernireland.org/article/553/sir-henry-pottinger.

56. McGrath, Grace. 2007. *Hidden Connections: Ulster and Slavery, 1807-2007*. Belfast: Linen Hall Library.

57. 'The Scots-Irish Journey to the New World'. 2006. The 1718 Migration. Accessed 14 February 2019. www.1718migration.org.uk

58. 'Transportation'. n.d. Down County Museum. Accessed 14 February 2019. http://www.downcountymuseum.com/About-Us/The-Gaol/Transportation.

59. 'Ulster American Folk Park'. n.d. National Museums Northern Ireland. Accessed 14 February 2019. https://www.nmni.com/our-museums/ulster-american-folk-park/Home.aspx.

60. Kirwan, Alan. 2012. 'Construction of Irish Identity and Its Representation at the Nation's Museums'. *Enquire* 5 (1): 60 – 82.

61. See ÓSíocháin, Séamas, Pauline Garvey, and Adam Drazin, eds. 2012. *Exhibit Ireland: Ethnographic Collections in Irish Museums*. Dublin: Wordwell.

62. Siung, Jennifer. 2011. 'Renegotiating Irish Identity: The Chester Beatty Library and Ireland (Unpublished)'. In *The Museum 2011 Conference*. Taiwan: National Museum of History, Taipei.

63. Crooke, Elizabeth M. 2017. ''The Fearful Object': The Heritage of Culpability and Blame'. Dublin: Trinity College. Unpublished.

64. 'Survey of Museum Collections in Northern Ireland.' 2007. Northern Ireland Museums Council, Belfast. p. 6-8. 3180 ethnographic items are held in national museums; 610 in local authority-owned museums and 22 in independent museums. The fact that all 3180 in national ownership are within the Ulster Museum was communicated by email from the Northern Ireland Museums Council to me, based on data produced by that Survey, 12 November 2015. By comparison, items classified under Archives make up 40% of the national museums' overall collections; scientific collections 26%; Archaeology 19%; social history 5%; both coins and medals, and costumes and textiles, 3%; decorative and applied arts 2%; industry, commerce, transport and maritime collections 2%; and warfare less than 1%.

65. Glover, Winifred. 2003. 'Power and Collecting: Big Men Talking.' *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 15: p 19-20. In contrast to the estimate submitted for the above NIMC *Survey of* Collections (2007), an estimate from Winfred Glover puts the total number of ethnographic artefacts in the Ulster Museum at 4,000. See Glover, Winifred. 2001. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886'. In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton, 203 – 22. London: The Horniman Museum & Gardens. p. 203.

66. Also referred to in various publications as the Belfast Public Museum, Belfast Art Gallery and Museum; it appears that the name of the institution was in flux for several years at the turn of the nineteenth century and up until it moved to the Stranmillis Road. The photographer, Welch, for example, labelled photographs of this institution 'Belfast Public Museum'. The Grainger Room,

which was in the Belfast Public Library building on Royal Avenue (now the Belfast Central Library), was so-named after one of the Museum's donors. Initially all Museum and Art Gallery objects were displayed in this room; later they were split between the Museum room (still referred to as the Grainger Room), and an Art Gallery room on a lower floor. For Museum history see Nesbitt, Noel. 1979. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum.

67. Also referred to as the Belfast Municipal Museum and Art Gallery. e.g. see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulster_Museum#cite_ref-3. Accessed 28/09/2019.

68. Nesbitt, Noel. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum, 1979. p. 23-36.

69. Nesbitt, Noel. 1979. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum.

70. *Museums (Northern Ireland) Order 1973*. 1973. 591-615. https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1973/feb/27/museums-northern-ireland-order-1973. Accessed 28/09/2019.

71. *Museums and Galleries (Northern Ireland) Order 1998*. 1998. *N.I.2*. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/nisi/1998/261/contents. Accessed 28/09/2019.

72. Wright, Jonathan Jeffrey. 2016. 'A Depot for the Productions of the Four Corners of the Globe'. In *Spaces of Global Knowledge*, edited by Diarmid A. Finnegan and Jonathan Jeffrey Wright, 143 – 66. London and New York: Routledge. p. 146.

73. Impey, Oliver. 2001. *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Europe*. Looe: House of Stratus.

74. 'Pitt Rivers and Typology'. 2010. Rethinking Pitt Rivers: Analysing the Activities of a Nineteenth Century Collector. November 2010. http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/rpr/index.php/article-index/12-articles/287-Pitt Rivers-and-typology.html. Accessed 17 September 2019.

75. See also National Museums Northern Ireland photographic collection, BELUM.Y.W.10.21.242; BELUM.Y.W.10.79.50; BELUM.Y.2666.

76. Corbey, Raymond. 1993. 'Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930'. *Cultural Anthropology* 8 (3): 338 – 69.

77. Comparative display according to object function was a widespread practice in Europe and North America and related to the ideology of cultural evolution. See van Keuren, David K. 1984. 'Museums and Ideology: Augustus Pitt Rivers, Anthropological Museums, and Social Change in Later Victorian Britain'. *Victorian Studies* 28 (1): 171 – 89. Also Jenkins, David. 1994. 'Object Lessons and Ethnographic Displays: Museum Exhibitions and the Making of American Anthropology'. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36 (2): 242 – 70.

78. For museums and their projection of the evolutionary past within the context of Colonialism, see Bennett, Tony. 2004. *Pasts beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*. New York: Routledge.

79. Glover, Winifred. Email to Briony Widdis. 2019, 12 June 2019.

80. Glover, Winifred. 2018 Conversation with Briony Widdis.

81. This statement is based on my own memory of Winifred's exhibitions, and from photographs of her gallery openings within the NMNI archive. It is, furthermore, suggested by the series of exhibitions and catalogues she delivered that are cited in Chapter Five.

82. Established as a foundational concept in Ethnology by Franz Boas, Cultural Relativism was critical of imperialist ideas about 'civilisation'. See Etinson, Adam. 2018. 'Some Myths About Ethnocentrism'. *Australian Journal of Philosophy* 96 (2): 209 – 24. p. 220. Also Hegeman, Susan. 1998. 'Franz Boas and Professional Anthropology: On Mapping the Borders of the 'Modern' *Victorian Studies* 41 (3): 455 – 83. p. 460.

83. Between 1967 and 1978 Winifred Glover was also Secretary to the Director and a Research Assistant. Glover, Winifred. 2018 conversation with Briony Widdis.

84. Glover, Winifred. 1997. 'The Folks Back Home: Connections Between Ethnography and Folk Life'. *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 9: 21 – 32. p. 21.

85. Nesbitt, Noel. 1979. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum p. 54.

86. Glover, Winifred. 2012. 'Here, There and Everywhere: The Origins of the Ulster Museum's Ethnographic Collection'. In *Exhibit Ireland: Ethnographic Collections in Ireland*, edited by Séamas ÓSíocháin, Pauline Garvey, and Adam Drazin, 73 – 86. Dublin: Wordwell. p. 65.

87. Blair, William. 2018. Conversation with Briony Widdis.

88. Glover, Winifred. 2019. Email to Briony Widdis., 20 August 2019.

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94. Hewitt, John. 2013. 'From Chairmen and Committee Men.' In *North Light: Twenty-Five Years in a Municipal Art Gallery*, edited by Frank Ferguson and Kathryn White, Four Courts Press. Dublin.

95. Blair, William. 2018. Conversation with Briony Widdis.

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97. Glover, Winifred. 1987. *Polynesia: The Polynesian Collection in the Ulster Museum Belfast*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 5.

98. Glover, Winifred. 2018. Conversation with Briony Widdis.

99. Hooper, Steven. 2006. *Pacific Encounters: Art & Divinity in Polynesia 1760-1860*. London: The British Museum Press. p. 144.

100. See Glover, Winifred. 1993. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook.' *Familia: Ulster Genealogical Review* 9 (2). Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation: 46 – 61. Also Glover, Winifred. 1987. *Polynesia: The Polynesian Collection in the Ulster Museum Belfast*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. Also Glover, Winifred. 2012. 'Here, There and Everywhere: The Origins of the Ulster Museum's Ethnographic Collection.' In *Exhibit Ireland: Ethnographic Collections in Ireland*, edited by Séamas ÓSíocháin, Pauline Garvey, and Adam Drazin, 73 – 86. Dublin: Wordwell. Also Glover, Winifred. 2003. 'Power and Collecting: Big Men Talking.' *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 15: 19 – 24.

101. Glover, Winifred. 2012. 'Here, There and Everywhere: The Origins of the Ulster Museum's Ethnographic Collection'. In *Exhibit Ireland: Ethnographic Collections in Ireland*, edited by Séamas ÓSíocháin, Pauline Garvey, and Adam Drazin, 73 – 86. Dublin: Wordwell. p. 67-68.

102. Glover, Winifred. 2018. Conversation with Briony Widdis.

103. See Glover, Winifred. 2012. 'Here, There and Everywhere: The Origins of the Ulster Museum's Ethnographic Collection.' In *Exhibit Ireland: Ethnographic Collections in Ireland*, edited by Séamas ÓSíocháin, Pauline Garvey, and Adam Drazin, p. 65-66, 73 – 86. Dublin: Wordwell.

104. These are dated to approximately 1820. Both scrimshaws depict full-length portraits of George III (1760-1820) and his wife Queen Charlotte, each holding a crown and sceptre. On the reverse side of each is a drawing of a man with a Biblical reference underneath. It is thought that the illustration of George III may have been based on a print by Metz after Heath, dated 15 March 1783, published by J. Cook in Raymond's 'History of England'. Information by email from Winifred Glover subsequent to conversation. See also Glover, Winifred. 1994. *Realms of the Pacific*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 61. For background, see Flayderman, E. Norman. 1974. *Scrimshaw and Scrimshanders: Whales and Whalemen*.

105. *Modern History: Home Rule to Power Sharing*. Belfast: National Museums Northern Ireland: Ulster Museum. 2009 – ongoing.

106. *Modern History: Home Rule to Power Sharing*. Belfast: National Museums Northern Ireland: Ulster Museum. 2009 – ongoing.

107. Blair, William. 8 September 2019. Email to Briony Widdis.

Chapter Six
Us-ness, Otherness
and the National Museums Northern Ireland
World Cultures Collection

Introduction: Challenging Histories of Us-ness

As is by now clear, whether or not Colonial Objects are regarded as significant depends on the perspective of the viewer. Furthermore, private interactions by individuals with such objects are comparable to those in which large numbers of people engage in museums. This is because the interpretation of the significance of the items, both in private life and in museums, is constructed with reference to a binary opposition between Us-ness and Otherness.

Chapter Five showed this by demonstrating how, in the history of the Ulster Museum, the World Cultures Collection as a whole was de-prioritised in favour of a focus on Northern Ireland. Chapter Six will expand on this to show how ideas about Us-ness and the Other have flowed through specific objects. The two objects on which it focuses also both show how the ideologies have been pitted against one another in Belfast. The first is a canoe from the Solomon Islands that is the largest ethnographic item that National Museums Northern Ireland holds. As I show, this canoe has not since the 1920s been considered by the Museum to sufficiently represent Us-ness; as a result, it has waned as an institutional priority to a point where it is now hidden from view.

The second example I will use is a Hawai'ian feather cloak (*'Ahu 'ula*), acquired by Gordon Augustus Thomson and given by him to the Belfast Museum in 1841. This was mentioned in Chapter Five as one of two objects in which senior staff exhibited interest during Winifred Glover's career. As I argued there, this interest derived from Us-ness as perceived from the cloak's ability to bring prestige to the Museum. This chapter will expand upon another reason why it was of interest. This was its biographical association with Gordon Augustus Thomson, a member of an élite family in Northern Ireland. Conversely, however, a similarly élite connection for the canoe was in the early twentieth century deliberately overlooked. Donated by a cousin of a protagonist of the Easter Rising, Roger Casement,[1] the reason for its neglect is connected with the history of the state of Northern Ireland.

Chapter Six will show how the physical conditions of the canoe and the cloak have over time been altered. In the case of the canoe, damage happened while it was in the Museum and was deliberately disguised. The alterations to the cloak, however, happened before it was acquired. The lack of research to resolve this puzzle is an indication that it has been under-interpreted in recent times.

Both Gordon Augustus Thomson, who collected the cloak, and Roger Casement, a cousin to the canoe's donor, are thought to have been gay. With these objects already, given their Empire connections, no longer fitting a Northern Irish narrative by the mid-twentieth century, this fact compounded their conceptualisation as Other. As I will show, their stories have been altered and effaced through this Othering, and the identities of the communities to whom they may have been important under-researched. Building on the conclusion in Chapter Five, I will show, however, that ideas in NMNI about what constitutes Us-ness are changing. This change heralds a time when Colonial Objects, including the canoe and the cloak, may again be activated through research and public discourse.

The Othering of a Solomon Islands Canoe[2]

This section focuses on a canoe from the Solomon Islands (*niabara*) that is the largest and amongst the most significant items in the NMNI ethnographic collection. Winifred Glover's 1994 *Realms of the Pacific* exhibition catalogue states that the canoe was brought back to Belfast lashed to the steamship *SS Pladda* in 1896.[3] However, the same publication explains that, as indicated on the log of *HMS Rapid*, it may have been captured on 10 August 1897. [4] The Museum's documentation dates its acquisition to 4 April 1898.[5]

The canoe is published as thirteen metres long although, as will be explained, it is likely to have been considerably longer in its original condition. The prow is incised with the head of a crocodile and is topped with a finial of a carved wooden double human head.[6] Such canoes are very rare in collections internationally; a similar canoe, dated to a decade later (1910) and commissioned by a colonial actor, has been described as "the largest water craft in the British Museum's collections", "one of the admired highlights in the Ethnography galleries for 40 years", and a "highly significant cultural heritage object".[7]

The canoe was collected by the *Rapid*'s commander, Captain John Moore Casement.[8] The Belfast Art Gallery and Museum's Stock Book states that the canoe 'was fighting in a 'head-hunting' (cannibal) expedition in 1896'.[9] Apparently based on this documentation, Winifred Glover states that Casement captured the canoe in retribution or as a deterrent.[10] Such canoes were used for raids between islands; and were often used for head-hunting expeditions,[11] so it is possible that the canoe was taken as part of British attempts to subvert head-hunting practices. However, there is insubstantial evidence for this because no original documents that may have accompanied the canoe appear to have survived.[12]

After Casement's death, his widow gave the Museum a canoe prow ornament[13] which, due to this biographical connection, it has been assumed belongs with it,[14] although this is not necessarily so. Due to the association of the ornament with the island of Choiseul,[15] the canoe has been published as having derived from that island.[16] It is possible however that Casement captured the canoe on Mbili island, which is close to the island of Marovo.[17] Marovo Island is close to Choiseul but its material culture exhibits different artistic styles. Mbili was the last stop recorded on the log of the ship *HMS Rapid* on its route between the islands of Gavutu and Nggatokae in 1897; and one Ulster Museum correspondent believes that the people of Mbili may have captured it on a raid of Marovo[18] Deborah Waite has by contrast associated the canoe with another nearby island, Roviana.[19]

The Canoe in Belfast

Winifred Glover explains how the canoe was removed to Belfast:

> In transit, the prow and stern pieces were cut off and the canoe re-assembled and repaired in a room in the Museum that was specially built for it. This is now the permanent Ethnography Gallery although it is still popularly known as the Boat Room'.[20]

This is one of two references[21] that confuses the Ethnography Gallery / Boat Room with an exhibition space in the former Belfast Museum,[22] then run by the Town Council,[23] on Royal Avenue. The Royal Avenue museum opened in 1890,[24] eight years before the canoe was acquired. Therefore, a gallery cannot have been built around it there. Furthermore, as Nesbitt's history of the institution states, since 1929 the canoe has resided, some three miles away, on Stranmillis Road;[25] and it is in this

building that the Ethnography Gallery / Boat Room to which Winifred Glover refers is located.

In 2019 the canoe is still situated in the 'Boat Room', although the gallery is now re-named *A Window on History.* It is barely visible there, for it is walled in to make space for temporary exhibitions (Fig. 29, 30). Winifred Glover recalls how during her career, the canoe was considered an obstacle by other staff who wanted to use the gallery. In a 2006 internal memorandum she stated that, especially having been carefully conserved following damage within recent history,[26] the canoe was too fragile to be moved.[27] As she stated in conversation for this research, having to defend its position in the gallery was to her symbolic of the continued uneasy position of the ethnographic collections overall (Chapter Five).[28]

The fact that the canoe is still in the same gallery demonstrates that the memorandum's recipients respected Glover's judgement. Recent discussions with NMNI staff confirm that the canoe's position in the gallery is problematic, because, being so large and furthermore with the building having been constructed around it, it prevents the efficient usage of the whole space for other exhibitions (Figs. 29 and 30).[29] From correspondence with existing NMNI staff, it is clear that the canoe is now regarded as significant; but that it has been subject to competing priorities, amongst which the representation of Northern Ireland's history comes foremost.[30] However, its having been walled-in does suggest that, at present, the canoe is marginal to contemporary Museum narrative.

Furthermore, this PhD research has shown its marginality to be nothing new. Photographs taken by Robert Welch (1859-1936) and his apprentice William Green (1870-1958) show that it has always had to make way for European objects. These are shown, in date order, at the end of this section (Figs. 21-28). It is true that at the Ulster Museum the 'Boat Room' was built around the canoe; for two images show the canoe in the gallery when it is under construction. In the first (Fig. 24), taken in 1925,[31] the room lacks plaster, flooring and windows.[32] In a 1928 image (Fig. 25), these have been added, and glass cases, still unfilled, have been put in place.[33]

Other photographs show though that even from the 'Boat Room', the canoe was occasionally relocated. Moreover, the room was apparently not in this period dedicated to Ethnography; instead, it was subject to changing exhibitions. Fig. 26 shows the 'Boat Room' filled with European objects. In Fig. 27 the canoe has been

taken away in favour of non-ethnographic displays. In Fig. 28, the canoe is back again, but jostles with costume, badges and an Irish harp.

Based on the photographic analysis, I therefore argue that Glover's 'Boat Room' nomenclature, and her conflation of the two buildings in which it has been located, reflects curatorial protectiveness of the canoe. I have shown too how the representation of non-Western cultures has not been prioritised (above and Chapter Five). As one of the most significant objects in the collection, the elision of the canoe has been a nadir of this neglect.

Forgotten Destruction

A 1925 *Belfast Telegraph* article, publicising the development of the new Belfast Museum and Art Gallery on Stranmillis Road, featured the photo, of the canoe in the uncompleted room, that is shown in Fig. 24. The article stated,

> The first of the exhibits to be housed in the new building may be seen the great war canoe captured from a raiding party by Captain Casement, R.N. and brought home in one piece – not cut in two as usual for ease of carrying. It is the finest war canoe in Europe. [34]

An un-dated annotation to the 1898 Stock Book had claimed that it had been damaged by the voyage:

> The Canoe was damaged by storms en route, and the broken parts were stitched together after arrival here, the stitches being (mainly) covered with putty; the places of the missing pieces of pearl were painted in white, so as to clearly distinguish our work from that of the natives. Nearly 1000 pieces were missing.[35]

Contrary to this annotation, the Museum's photographs of the canoe, brought together and ordered in sequence for the first time here, show that at least some of the damage to the canoe post-dates its transit from the Solomons, and happened, instead, in Belfast. Images taken by Welch and Green show the canoe being prepared for display and on exhibition at its first Northern Ireland location, the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery on Royal Avenue. In one, taken by Welch in 1908 (Fig. 21), he isolates an image of the canoe from that of the gallery behind in order to use it for a Museum postcard.[36] This shows the canoe's prow to be of a noticeably different shape to that in which it is later presented. Where in this photograph, the end of the canoe is flat in section before steeply rising to the finial, later photographs

taken in the same room show the same end shaped in a curving crescentic form (Figs. 22 and 23).

The British Museum canoe, comparable in every other way, is flatter in form, further demonstrating that the Belfast canoe has been reduced in length.[37] It is possible that Welch composed the 1908 'white-out' image (Fig. 21) using only a detached end, holding it manually in a flatter presentation than it would be again when re-attached to the canoe. However, given the length and therefore the weight of the part of the canoe shown, and the lack of anyone in the photograph to hold it, a more likely scenario is that the flat portion of the canoe's stern disappeared after 1908, the date when this first surviving photograph was taken.

This suggests that the *Belfast Telegraph* account that it was not cut up for the voyage to be true: it was certainly more intact upon its first installation, on Royal Avenue, than it was by the date of the photos in Figs. 22 and 23. As I suggest in the annotations to the photographs, it seems likely that the Accession Register note about damage in storms was a *post-hoc* addition. This first phase of damage appears to have happened c. 1908, when the contents of the Grainger Room in the Belfast Public Library were being rearranged to create separate Art Gallery and Museum rooms.[38]

Secondary damage appears to have happened during or after the canoe moved to the Ulster Museum in the mid-1920s. Whereas no vertical cuts are visible in the Royal Avenue photographs, in the 1925 and 1928 images taken by Welch on the Stranmillis Road (Figs. 24 and 25) the stern has been removed. In one taken c. 1929, there are clear joins showing where it has been re-attached (Fig. 28).[39] That further portions may have gone missing by the time it was pieced back together for the Stranmillis Road gallery, is also suggested by contrasts between its appearance then, with how it had earlier appeared on Royal Avenue. On Royal Avenue, the edges had been smooth and dark (Figs. 21 and 23); on Stranmillis Road, the section below the crocodile mouth is clearly patched, and the white paint is visible (Fig. 24-27). *If* white paint was applied to cover missing pearl shell lost at sea, it was minimal compared with the amount added later. The Accession Register entry therefore may have been made between the installation of the canoe in the empty Stranmillis Road gallery, and the date of the opening of the building in 1929. As I suggest below, the

cover up of the first act of destruction and the undocumented nature of the second, was of a piece with a prevailing attitude of disregard.

The Canoe and the Easter Rising

As noted above, when I visited the canoe in the 'Boat Room' in February 2015 and again in June 2019, it was hidden, behind temporary exhibitions of Ulster photographs and Irish maps (Fig. 29, 30). This concealment shows that Glover's insistence that the canoe must remain in the Ethnography Gallery was based on a substantiated concern. So clearly can its current elision be read as a metaphor for its having been historically ignored by the Museum, that explanation of *why* the canoe has been concealed is called for. As I argue in this section, the cause may partly have been a legacy of distaste for it arising from its vicarious association with the Easter Rising. Once neglected due to political factors, this neglect became habitual. However, it may also have been caused by political considerations associated with the history of the establishment of the Ulster Museum.

The donor of the canoe, Lieutenant (later Rear-Admiral) John Moore Casement (1877-1952) was a half-cousin[40] to Roger (1819-1877), a Captain of the King's Own Regiment of Dragoons. From Ballymena in County Antrim, this Roger was father to the better-known Roger David (1864-1916), the famous Irish revolutionary leader. Roger the younger's life is not only recalled due to his memorialisation as a rebel. It is also widely known[41] that he served in the French Congo as British Consul, with the result that, in 1904, he authored a report on abuses of indigenous peoples perpetrated under Leopold II, King of Belgium.[42]

Of Congolese collections in Europe, that of the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren is among the most well-known. Situated on the edge of the Belgian capital, its recent redisplay and re-branding as the Africa Museum has required sensitive handling.[43] NMNI's own human history collections from Congo are limited, but certain relics of imperial conflict in the region merit greater recognition for the postcolonial concerns that they raise. Amongst these are botanical specimens collected by Roger Casement in Congo and donated to the Belfast Museum by him.[44] Later as a consul in South America, Roger Casement investigated slavery on rubber plantations, where in Brazil, Peru and Colombia native populations were being subjected to exploitation, starvation, physical abuse and rape. NMNI

displays Casement's camera, thought to have been used by him to expose exploitation in the Congo and Peru.[45] His subsequent report[46] provoked outrage in Britain and led to anti-slavery campaigns.[47] It was for this report and subsequent activism that Casement acquired a Knighthood, an honour to build on the CMG[48] gained earlier for his work in Africa.

However, Roger Casement was stripped of these medals when in Dublin in 1916 he was convicted for treason, and then executed as an Irish revolutionary, in Pentonville Prison. From this stage, too, NMNI has material evidence. The items on display include his spectacles, worn in Pentonville where he was hanged;[49] propaganda medals issued in Germany after his execution;[50] and a framed memo written in pencil noting a 'pilgrimage' walk to take place on 4th August 1916, the day after he was 'cruelly murdered'.[51] In *Remembering 1916: Your Stories* exhibition, staged as part of the Ulster Museum's contribution to the *Living Legacies 1914-1918* programme,[52] the latter was displayed alongside a contemporary booklet, 'Dublin and the 'Sinn Féin Rising'.[53] From these representations, it is clear that in recent years, NMNI has embraced Roger Casement's biography.

As already referenced, Casement's name was never in fact covered up in the Ulster Museum and its predecessors – it appeared, for example, in the 1925 *Belfast Telegraph* article in association with the opening of the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery on Stranmillis Road. Furthermore, returning to the canoe, Winifred Glover on the Museum's behalf did not shy from mentioning John Casement's name: she repeated the attribution in several publications,[54] and her exhibitions also contained that detail.[55] Even so, given its impressive size, its centrality to the history of its dedicated gallery, and the apparently dramatic story surrounding his capture of it, it is noticeable that the Casement connection has never been developed as part of its interpretation. This is in contrast to what was happening before the Easter Rising. Indeed, the lack of development of this story has become more noticeable over time. A label on the canoe, which from its typeface appears to date to the re-labelling of specimens in the Royal Avenue Museum and Art Gallery in 1905,[56] reads

> Native War Canoe, with ten paddles. Length 39 ft beam 3 ft 6 inches. Made of planks chopped into shape by stone hatchets, stitched together with split rattan and covered with native gum. Engaged in a 'head hunting' expedition in 1896. Solomon Islands. Donor – Capt. Casement, R.N. 963.[57]

No label exists to elucidate how the canoe was interpreted after it was moved to the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery in 1925, but there are two clear reasons why a gallery was built around it there. Firstly, the canoe's presence in the museum denoted the prestige of the Northern Irish, symbolising their involvement in the great European effort of quelling colonised peoples. Across the United Kingdom, the ways in which ethnographic objects were used to lend weight to this cause included the somatic recall of native brutality.[58] In Belfast, as demonstrated by the canoe's museum documentation and the exhibition label, this was made viscerally evident: in these, the canoe was associated, perhaps dubiously, with indigenous head-hunting practices.

Secondly, the canoe was large and visually impressive, and so had the potential to act as a centrepiece in a diorama. A popular early twentieth-century approach to the interpretation of early and non-European cultures, dioramas presented objects in naturalistic scenes. In these, clothed figures were shown seated or standing around a central object, often before a painted backdrop, in poses that contextualised the people, along with their objects, in a Natural History setting.[59] Given that the 'Boat Room' was constructed in an era in which dioramas were common, such a presentation may have been intended for the canoe.

However, there is no evidence from photographs that this approach was ever used. Instead, as it appears from the discussion above, the 'Boat Room', used during Glover's curatorial jurisdiction as an Ethnography Gallery, had earlier been used for changing displays of both Irish and ethnographic objects. Therefore, the room has always acted as a temporary exhibition space. Despite its centrality to the history of the building of the gallery, the interpretation of the canoe in ethnographic context has never been guaranteed.

The reason for this may be explained by a review of the period in which the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery building project came to fruition. First conceived as an idea in 1910 and with its plans drawn up in 1914, the erection of the building that would later become the Ulster Museum was halted by the advent of the First World War. The laying of the foundation stone was as a result delayed until 1924,[60] seven years after the Easter Rising and only a year after the end of the Irish Civil War, and by which time Northern Ireland had come into being.

Further research is needed to elucidate to what extent other museum objects were exhibited within the context of the life histories of their donors in this period. It is possible though to suggest that by the time the Gallery was built and opened in a new Northern Ireland, the official record on the Casement name was poor. It would have been surprising, in this context, if the Museum had elaborated on an object that, connected with such a dramatic story and being so strikingly large, John Moore Casement might otherwise have reasonably expected to be used, to memorialise what would in his time have been considered great naval deeds.

In Northern Ireland in this period, the commemoration of Easter 1916 was seen as a threat to those in authority, and alien to the re-construction of Northern Ireland post-Partition. From 1926 onwards, individual commemorations were banned by law, with an outright embargo on all Easter Week commemorations between 1936 and 1949. 1966, the fiftieth anniversary, was cited by the Unionist leader-to-be, David Trimble, as having started the 'destabilisation of Ulster'. In that year, the Northern Ireland Prime Minister, Terence O'Neill, moved a general election forward in order to avoid clashing with the commemoration.[61]

As the Minister of Finance who oversaw the transfer of the Museum from the Belfast Corporation to the Northern Ireland Government, O'Neill's involvement with the Museum was a close one.[62] President of the Friends of the Ulster Museum, O'Neill was also a governor of the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin, but distanced himself from the Irish Republic, describing his allegiance to it as 'purely a cultural one'.[63] However, it was he who promoted the Bill in Parliament that established the Ulster Folk Museum at Cultra, a move that its founder, Estyn Evans, described as 'one of his first attempts to knock down dividing walls and build bridges'[64] within Northern Ireland itself.

Given the avoidance by the Northern Ireland Government of the topic of the Easter Rising in general, and O'Neill's public emphasis on political harmony at the point in time when the institution was founded, it is not surprising that in neither the Ulster Museum nor its predecessors since at least the Rising, has the canoe been interpreted in any depth. Winifred Glover's detailed work on the Gordon Augustus Thomson collection (see this Chapter below) shows how ripe for biographical interpretation the canoe, as a pinnacle of the World Cultures Collection, is. By ignoring John Moore Casement's story, so, too, has the Museum ignored the lives of

those from whom it was taken. That this is so is evidenced in the canoe's most recent label, dating to 2009 and a later Museum re-opening following a building project. Apparently drawing on what little documentation about it that is contained in the Museum's accession register, the 2009 label describes the canoe in purely generic terms:

> The Solomon Islanders practised headhunting as part of their religious customs. They considered the head to be the most sacred part of the body, with those of their enemies having particular power. Headhunts took place during times of celebration, such as marriages and the all-important yam harvest. Special canoe houses were erected to protect canoes when not in use.[65]

The contrasts between the c.1905 label and that from 2009 may, of course, be explained by developments in labelling styles between the two periods. However, it also seems possible that the differences derive from a legacy of post-Rising elision; and that the colonial connections of the object have been increasingly forgotten as time has moved on. I argue that emphasis on the word 'Casement' – even in connection with a distant cousin to Roger himself – was perceived for decades as damaging to the reputation of the nascent Museum and Art Gallery on Stranmillis Road, and to that of the Ulster Museum into which it evolved. This was due to the foundations of the Ulster Museum as a British establishment: its foundation stone had, after all, been laid by the Duke of York.[66]

The Canoe Entangled

As all of the above demonstrates, while it has been in Belfast, the symbolic meanings of the Solomon Islands canoe have been altered. This is evident from the published and unpublished references to its locations; the damage it has sustained; and how it has been labelled. These all lead to a conclusion that the canoe's story is not one that the Museum has deemed it pertinent to relate. From the physical damage the canoe sustained after the Rising (c. 1925), we can infer that its association with the Casements had caused it to be devalued long before Winifred Glover came into post. By the time of her appointment as a curator in the 1970s moreover, the subject of Empire had become intractably divisive.[67] Subsequently needing to defend the object, whose neglect given its significance was all the more poignant, Glover argued that it could not be, nor had ever been, moved.

As aforementioned, a further story with which the canoe is entangled is akin to one associated with Gordon Augustus Thomson (below). This is its association with LGBTQ+ history.[68] Roger Casement the younger suffered a damaging campaign by the British Government, centring on the public release of journals dubbed his 'black diaries', an act that the government used to excoriate him on account of (supposed or real) sexual encounters with men. As recent newspaper reports confirm, narratives about Casement's sexuality have only begun to be re-examined in recent years.[69] This may be a further reason why the canoe has never been interpreted through the biographical analysis that otherwise appeared due to illustrious figures. Despite its description by the *Belfast Telegraph* as the 'finest war canoe in Europe' (see above), the prestige of the family from which it derived, and therefore of the canoe itself, fell, following the Easter Rising.

In my view, the ongoing lack of clarity about the canoe, in respect both to damage to it that clearly occurred in Belfast, and whether or not it could be moved from what is now the *A Window on History* gallery, is a reflection of a history of stasis in the interpretation and display of ethnographic collections overall. As I have argued in Chapter Five, the source of this stasis has been uncertainty over how to present Colonial Objects in Northern Ireland. This concern has limited the effective connection of the canoe, and the collection overall, to either local or global narrative.

In summary, the canoe represents a hidden history for several reasons. These have included historical dedication to the project of Empire in which even such an important object was regarded as less so than those from Europe; distaste for the head-hunting practices with which it had (perhaps incorrectly) become associated; anxiety about its association with Roger Casement on account both of his politics and sexuality; and finally, emphasis, since 1962, on a Northern Ireland narrative. For all of these reasons, since it arrived in Belfast the canoe has been considered too Other. It has therefore presented a mis-match with the discourse in which the Museum has wished to engage.

By one reading, in fact, the canoe has colonised the room in which it is still located. As seen by how it pokes its prow above the wall, we can see that the canoe refuses to accept its elision; reminding us of a colonial past that cannot be erased. It is, by this reading, a Nearly Gone Boat (*cf* Chapter Three). As Figures 29 and 30 show, the temporary exhibitions in the gallery are only made possible by the

walling-in of the canoe. NMNI states that the canoe is recognised as a significant object;[70] but that other interpretative agendas have, in William Blair's words, 'washed against' it. In relation to its future interpretation, he writes,

> the question of 'de-colonising the museum' now features prominently as an issue within the sector. And this undoubtedly requires deeper, considered engagement on our part institutionally. And our approach must be guided by modern ethical principles.[71]

Perhaps then, the canoe, and the complex issues it raises, will be brought to light in the not too distant future.

Fig. 21. April 1908. Belfast Public Library, Royal Avenue. The photographer, Robert Welch is isolating the canoe from its background[72] for use in a postcard. This image shows the canoe's stern to be longer and flatter than in two later photos, taken by William A. Green, in the same building on Royal Avenue (see Figs. 22 and 23). This photograph may have been taken as the art and artefact contents of the Belfast Public Library were being separated to create a Belfast Public Museum (in the Grainger Room) and an Art Gallery through the removal of the art exhibits to a separate room.[73] Together, the two rooms would be known as the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery, but were still situated within the Belfast Public Library building.[74] BELUM.Y.W.10.245 © National Museums NI.

Fig. 22. Date unknown, but after 1908. Belfast Public Library, Royal Avenue. The photograph has been taken after the art and artefact exhibits have been separated; this room is now called the Belfast Public Museum or the Grainger Room. The canoe is in the same room and position as in Fig. 21, but is photographed from slightly across and at the opposite end of the room. This would place the crocodile mouth end of the canoe to the front right of the photograph. A postcard showing the canoe as photographed in Fig. 20 is seen on a pillar to the front left of this image. WAG 3785. © National Museums NI.

Fig. 23. Date unknown, but after 1908. Belfast Public Museum (Grainger Room), Royal Avenue. This is the same room as Figs. 21 and 22. From the same series as Fig. 22 and taken from the same end of the room, but from a different angle. Cases showing spinning wheels are seen behind the canoe. The entire canoe is not visible here, but it appears to be shorter and more curved than in the April 1908 photograph (Fig. 21). The canoe may have been shortened as part of the rearrangement at the time of the Belfast Public Museum (Grainger Room) / Art Gallery split. (This photograph is apparently earlier than Fig. 19 when the spinning wheels, seen here behind glass, have been moved to the tops of the cases to accommodate ethnographic material). HOYFM.WAG.3786. © National Museums NI.

Fig. 24. 1925. Belfast Museum and Art Gallery, Stranmillis Road. The canoe is now in what, during Winifred Glover's era, was to become the Ethnography Gallery (colloquially described by her as the 'Boat Room'), while it is under construction. The end of the prow has not yet been re-attached to the canoe following the move to the new museum site. The crocodile mouth is at the prow end. Clear damage is shown by white markings, not present in the earlier photographs. This demonstrates that the damage did not, as suggested by the museum's Accession Register, occur as a result of 'storms en route' while in transit from the Solomon Islands. BELUM.Y.W.10.79.3. © National Museums NI.

Fig. 25. May 1928. Belfast Museum and Art Gallery, Stranmillis Road. The canoe is in the same gallery as Fig. 24 but is photographed from the opposite end. It is clearly shorter than in Fig. 21 and in this photograph, more white paint is visible than in the earlier photos in Figs. 22-23 which show the same end of the canoe. BELUM.Y.W.10.79.32. © National Museums NI.

Fig. 26. After 1929. The gallery later known as the Ethnography Gallery, Belfast Museum and Art Gallery, Stranmillis Road. The canoe has been replaced by cases of glass and costume. Taken from the same end as Fig. 24. BELUM.Y.W.79.30. © National Museums NI.

Fig. 27. After 1929, and later than Fig. 26. This photograph is taken from the same end of the gallery to Figs. 24 and 26 and from the opposite end to Fig. 25. Probably later than Fig. 26. This photo shows the canoe being displayed alongside other ethnographic objects. The display cases have been updated since Fig. 26. Some bicycles remain, although some have been removed. Y.W.10.79.34. © National Museums NI.

Fig. 28. After 1929, later than Figs. 25-27. Ethnography Gallery, Belfast Museum and Art Gallery, Stranmillis Road. Taken from the same end as Fig. 25. The display cases have been updated again, but a low Victorian case has also been used. Here, the canoe is competing again with non-ethnographic objects. Bicycles have been added again to the tops of the cases. boatroom_lookingsouth29. © National Museums NI.

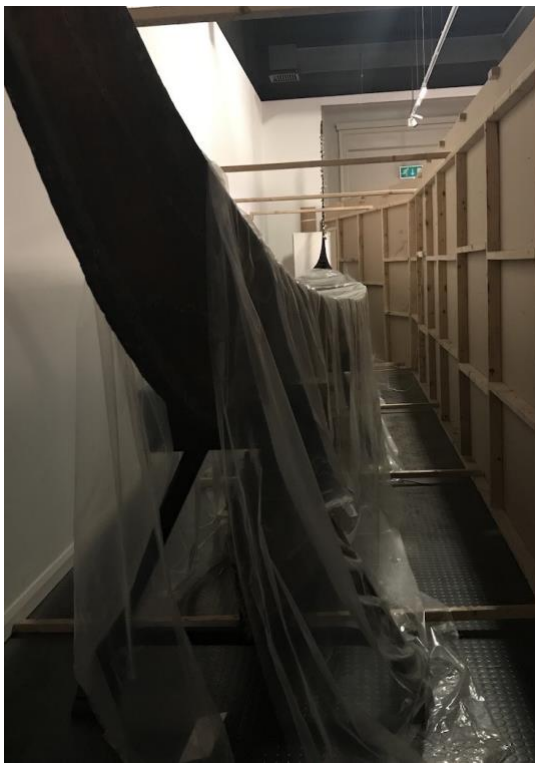

Fig. 29 (left), Fig. 30. The canoe in February 2015 and June 2019 in the "Boat Room" at the Ulster Museum. In the first (Fig. 29), taken from the same end of the gallery as Figs. 25 and 28, the canoe is just visible behind an exhibition of Ulster photographs. Fig. 30 is taken from the same end as Figs. 24, 26 and 27. The canoe is walled in within a temporary exhibition of Irish maps and the gallery has been renamed 'A Window on History'. © Briony Widdis by kind permission of National Museums NI.

King Kamehameha III's Cloak

The fact that in recent years NMNI has concentrated on the local and avoided other narratives is elucidated by its failure to display an important Hawai'ian cloak. While examining 'the colonial past of Northern Ireland'[75] through local biography, Winifred Glover focused especially on Gordon Augustus Thomson (1799-1886). Glover's 1989 exhibition 'In the Wake of Captain Cook' and subsequent write-ups review his travels, which resulted in a Museum collection of 353 objects.[76] Her writing is redolent of Thomson's agency as a colonial collector, upon which I have elaborated through further research. Examination of Thomson's colonial networks reveals the depth of obligation that Northern Ireland owes to the 'source communities' of his collection, which contains the most internationally significant ethnographic material that NMNI holds. Furthermore, these linkages demonstrate the power of the collection to connect with contemporary debates within Museology, on which I will also develop later.

Thomson was the grand-nephew and main beneficiary to the will of an uncle, Robert Gordon, owner of several sugar plantations on the island of St. Vincent.[77] Gordon Augustus shared with two brothers the inheritance of Gordon's 'Spring Estate',[78] where in 1834, 79 enslaved people were registered to their names.[79] The ensuing capital, and that supplied by the Commercial Bank in Belfast[80] of which Gordon Augustus's father was a founder, and a brother was first Managing Director,[81] funded his lifelong exploits on a global stage. This family background was also the source of his credibility as a gentleman, a status that opened the door to connections smoothing his passage across the world and resulting in substantial material[82] record.[83]

Among the most striking of the objects that Thomson collected derive from the connections he forged with Polynesian nobility,[84] with the result that he deposited a rich collection with the BNHPS in 1834 and the 1840s. The objects now in NMNI include a ring and ball game from Elisabeta Kinau, daughter to King Kamehameha I, that is engraved with her name, and a feather fan with a bone handle from Princess Boki, daughter to Kamehameha II. The prize of them all, however, was the cloak of Kamehameha III. As claimed by Glover (Chapter Five),[85] this cloak was one of only two ethnographic objects in which the attention of senior staff was

sustained during her career.[86] An article from the October 1862 *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* provides a history.[87]

> Mr. Gordon A. Thompson [sic.], in the course of his extensive travels, happened to visit the chief island of the Sandwich group, and as was his custom everywhere, [he] took opportunities of procuring curiosities… at the time of his visit the Monarch of the Sandwich Islands was involved in a quarrel with the French, who demanded a sum of money as indemnity for some alleged injury, and had laid an embargo on the place. In order to procure the means of satisfying their demands, a variety of valuable articles were offered for sale, and, among the rest, a very handsome cloak entirely made of birds' feathers. This was purchased by Mr. Thompson, and is now in the Belfast Museum.[88]

In response to my email querying why during her curatorship it had been the focus of directorial attention, Winifred replied, 'The reason that the Hawai'ian cloak was usually displayed was because it had belonged to a King of Hawai'i. You know how people are impressed by royalty'.[89] It was also its elite connections that had first brought the cloak to prominence in the Belfast Museum. Most obviously, these included Kamehameha III and Gordon Augustus Thomson himself. More vicarious linkages were asserted with Kamehameha I ('the Great') and Captain James Cook. An almost contemporary account by George Washington Bates, re-published in the *Belfast Mercury* in 1854, stated the importance of a similar cloak obtained from the same royal line:

> Before this cloak came into the possession of Kamehameha I, its fabrication had been going on through the reign of eight preceding monarchs. Its length is four feet, and it has a spread of eleven and a half feet at the bottom. Its ground-work is a coarse netting, and to this the delicate feathers are attached with a skill and grace worthy of the most civilised art. The feathers forming the border are reversed; the whole presenting a bright yellow colour, resembling a mantle of gold. The birds from which these splendid feathers were taken had but two feathers of the kind, and they were located one under each wing. It is a very rare species (Melithreptea Pacifica), peculiar only to the higher regions of Hawaii, and is caught with great care and much toil. Five of these feathers were valued at one dollar and a half. It is computed that at least a million dollars have been expended on the manufacture of this gorgeous fabric. The garment itself would be a fitting portion of the regalia of any European monarch. Viewing it in the scarcity of the article of which it is composed, and the immense amount of time and trouble employed in procuring to, it would be impossible for despotism to fabricate a more magnificent or costly garment for its proudest votaries.[90]

This extract does not mention that there is at the time another example of such a cloak in the BNHPS museum on College Square North, but contemporary readers may have known about Thomson's there. The Thomson cloak appears still to have carried prestige on the Stranmillis Road site in the twentieth century, for newspaper articles cover a talk on 'The Glamour of Hawai'i' that took place at the Museum in 1934. In this, accompanied by a Hawai'ian musician named William Kamoku, the lecturer, Mabel Steedman,[91] 'gave an interesting account of the early days of Hawai'i, where a barbaric civilisation had grown up in spite of the isolated position of the islands'. She also drew attention to the cloak in the Museum which was 'of enormous value, being made from the feathers of a bird now long extinct'; and casually inferred a connection with Captain Cook. [92]

While Winifred Glover was Curator during the 1970s, objects associated with Cook came to worldwide attention in connection with the bi-centennials of his voyages in the Pacific, marked by exhibitions in the US, Australia, Canada and New Zealand.[93] In the lead-up to these events, museums in the UK initiated efforts to record their Pacific collections, a process that, with the establishment of the Museum Ethnographers Group in 1974,[94] became a sector-wide project.[95] This led to growth in awareness of and concern for the interests of contemporary Pacific peoples,[96] fuelling desire to make information about museum collections of Oceanic materials more widely accessible.

Exhibition catalogues, for example that by Adrienne Kaeppler which published research on objects collected on Cook's voyages,[97] hailed an international sharing of knowledge about such collections, and in many museums, informed their re-interpretation. For fifteen years following this, Winifred Glover staged exhibitions on the Pacific region: *Polynesia* in 1979, *Melanesia* in 1980, *Treasures of the Ethnographic Collection* in 1986, *Travelling at Port Phillip* in 1988, *In the Wake of Captain Cook* in 1989, *Te Ao Maori, The Maori World*[98] in 1990, and *Realms of the Pacific* in 1994.[99]

In her *Polynesia* catalogue, Glover hints at a nuanced story about the cloak. By recording later insertions in detail, she shows that it originally had a red background, with, at the back, one large and two smaller yellow crescents. At the neck and down the sides there remain, as previously, a pair of half-crescents and two sets of three yellow triangles. However, each of the three crescents circling the cloak

has been cut into, with sections of yellow feathers replaced by red. A close inspection of the cloak for this project showed how crude these insertions are.

Figs. 31 and 32. Photos taken in NMNI store. Fig. 31 shows the patched and extended cloak. Fig. 32 illustrates a section of the reverse, showing variations in netting density and the crudeness of the patches. June 2019. © Briony Widdis, by kind permission of National Museums NI.

Winifred Glover suggests that the cloak as sold to Thomson comprised sections from a number of different originals,[100] a suggestion I will examine here. As can be seen in Fig. 31, various qualities of *olonā*[101] fibre knotwork have been used, ranging from loose netting to very fine. This confirms that as Glover suggests, 'a perfectly good cape was cannibalised to repair this one'.[102] Upon my speculation that Kamehameha III altered the cloak prior to its sale,[103] Glover replied,

> The cloak may have been refurbished for sale to Thomson. I have discussed its alterations with Dorota Starzecka[104] … We each agreed that it had been extensively clumsily repaired.[105] Yellow feathers were much more highly prized than red ones as the yellow feathers came from a little black bird which was caught in the wild, the yellow feathers removed and then it was freed to grow more.[106] We conjectured that quite a lot of the yellow feather design had been removed, perhaps to sell them for a higher price. Thomson had a 'good eye', and collected whatever interested him and which he knew would be worth collecting.[107]

The shape of the Belfast cloak also requires analysis. According to Adrienne Kaeppler, cloaks acquired by Cook had straight and wide necks, a prototypical form to later, narrower, curved-necked cloaks that were fashionable in Hawai'i at the turn of the eighteenth century. The early (but not the later) cloaks were believed to be sacred, and were worn in battle for protection. Their power was obtained from their red feathers, which were highly prized, and through becoming entangled by prayer

incantations whilst the netted backing (*nae*) was being constructed. Early, straight-necked cloaks might be made in small pieces and then sewn together, with the making of each piece being accompanied by prayer recitations. Capes were made more sacred through being added to through smaller additions.[108]

As can be seen from the above photographs, the Belfast cloak has a straight neck. It also has an upper cape section, which was cut into when pieces were added on. This suggests an early initial date for the piece. In addition as Kaeppler explains, during the reign of Kamehameha I, designs based on triangles were associated with him as the ruling chief.[109] Because there are triangles on both the upper cape section as well as on the lengthened sides, I suggest that these additions happened during his lifetime (1758-1819). It is conceivable that the cloak belonged to him, given that it came from Kamehameha III his son. This may be suggested, too, by the fact that Thomson kept a portrait of Kamehameha I, a copy of an aquatint that accompanied the 1821 publication of Otto von Kotzbue's voyages in the Pacific in 1815-1818.[110]

By the early nineteenth century, the straight-necked type of cloak had fallen out of fashion with Hawai'ian royalty. This, combined with the fact that cloaks had lost their sacred status, meant that Kamehameha III and his household began to sell and give cloaks away. By then the colour red had also lost its sacredness, and yellow fathers had become exclusive to nobility due to their growing scarcity.[111] It is possible that the yellow feathers had been replaced for red feathers and the cloak extended during the Kamehameha I period, when both actions would have made the cloak more sacred. However, given the crudeness of the patching it appears to be more likely, as Kaeppler suggests,[112] that the removal of portions of the yellow crescents, which were replaced with poorly-matched and roughly joined red patches, most likely happened as Kamehameha III prepared the cloak for sale.

It may be surmised that the reason why Thomson accepted this mish-mash derives from the status in Britain of Hawai'ian cloaks at the time. By the time of his acquisition, cloaks, although in small number, had been arriving in Britain[113] for decades. For example, there were two cloaks in the British Museum now thought to have been gifts to Charles Clerke, second in command on Cook's third voyage (1778), from Kaneoneo, Chief of the island of Kaua'i, and from Kahekili, Chief of Maui.[114] Thomson may also have known about the cloak[115] placed upon Captain Cook's shoulders by the nobleman Kalani 'öpu 'u during a *Resolution* voyage in

1779.[116] This cloak was exhibited in Piccadilly between 1812 and 1819 at the private museum of the jeweller and collector of curiosities, William Bullock,[117] when Thomson was a young man. In addition, Adrienne Kaeppler has traced a total of six cloaks to a visit to England by Kamehameha II and Queen Kamamalu in 1824, one of them now in National Museums Scotland in Edinburgh,[118] about which Thomson is likely to have known.[119] Furthermore, several contemporaneous paintings depicting the death of Cook by stabbing, on Kealakekua Beach in Hawai'i in 1779, show an indigenous actor wearing such a cloak.[120] One of these, by Johann Zoffany, was presented to Greenwich Hospital by Cook's widow in 1835,[121] so may have further influenced Thomson's searches during his Hawai'ian islands tour in 1840.[122] Another painting, completed by George Carter in 1781, appears to have been in circulation in London until 1946.[123]

From the approximate contemporaneity of acquisition by other British institutions of comparable cloaks, and when combined with the imagery of the cloaks produced in the paintings, it may be inferred that Thomson planned to acquire such a cloak over several years. One can even conjecture that he may have been prompted to do so by the BNHPS, as early as 1834 when he would have encountered its members while presenting the Society with his first donations to it (of African objects).[124] This impression is reinforced by how Thomson appears to have planned carefully for approaching Hawai'ian nobility by informing himself about previous negotiations. The manuscripts he acquired that appear to show this include, for example, a copy of a letter from Captain George Vancouver to Kamehameha I dated 2nd March 1794. Thomson also focused on correspondence between representatives of European countries and King Kamehameha III, from whom he would eventually acquire the 'Belfast' cloak. Documents he owned include a copy (1836) of 1826 arrangements made with the Hawai'ian king by the United States agent, Thomas Catesby Jones;[125] and a copy of a Treaty signed by Kamehameha III with Great Britain, also printed in 1836, that had been negotiated by Captain Edward Russell.[126]

Significantly, Thomson also owned transcripts of letters between Kamehameha III and Frederick William III of Prussia, in which both mention the gifts that they have exchanged. These include references to gifts from Frederick William of articles of royal apparel, a saddle, and portraits of himself and other nobles painted by Gebauer; and from Kamehameha in return, a war cloak. Thomson

also owned a copy of a later letter from Gebauer, in which he follows the gift of his portraits from Frederick William III, with further paintings of Christ and views of Berlin.[127] From these copies, it seems likely that Thomson was attempting to learn what would be required for his own acquisition, and the context for negotiation over valuable Hawai'ian objects. This appears to be confirmed by a small bunch of red and yellow feathers, also in the NMNI collection, providing samples of those of which the cloaks are made. This was sent, by Kamehameha III to Thomson, in 1839. Kamehameha writes,

> Enclosed are a few feathers of the kind mentioned in the last No. of the Hawai'ian Spectator.[128] The smallest kind, named mamo are the most expensive. The established price of them was five mamake tapas each which are now valued at one dollar and a half. When you look at these, you will perhaps call to mind what Hawai'i was.[129]

Although there is no documentation to prove it, it is possible that Kamehameha III was sending the feathers to Thomson in the lead-up to his purchase of the cloak, which he did not give to the BNHPS until 1841. This is because here, the king is trying to convince Thomson of the importance of the cloaks. In this extract, he references the value of the feathers from which the cloaks are made; the fact that they are widely known about; and that the society which produced them is disappearing. He may, perhaps, have been trying to exact a high price. Ultimately though, perhaps through a lack of being offered a more prestigious cloak, or having insufficient funds, Thomson acquired one of lower value than those about which he must have known that were, by then, circulating in Europe. He may even have regarded Kamehameha's feathers as a sort of royal consolation prize.

Although Glover states that Thomson met Kamehamheha III[130] there is in fact no primary evidence of this, or that Thomson acquired his cloak directly from him. Nonetheless, the theory about the NMNI cloak expressed in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* article, that Thomson bought it following Kamehemeha III's prior offer of it to the injured French[131] rings true. This is because the (by then) more valuable yellow feathers were indeed removed and replaced by the red, which were, by the time that Thomson bought it, the easier to procure. This suggests a rapid cobbling-together by Kamehameha III of a cloak to offer to the French, while also limiting the cost to himself of such sacrifice. The patchiness of the cloak may have resulted in its subsequent rejection by France, and also then in Kamehameha's

retaining the damaged item. Such a decision may, then, have resulted in Thomson's opportunity to purchase it. This was an opportunity that had been unheard of before the arrival of the more illustrious Cook sixty years previously, when the gift of such a cloak had been what Henare describes as 'an honour indeed'.[132] However, by the time of Kamehmeha III, the majority of the cloaks in the older style had been sold or given away,[133] and, as a result, were in short supply.[134]

According to Amiria Henare, even items that *are* directly associated with Cook have in Britain been subject to 'mood-swings of taste and intellectual fashion. Despite the significance attached to them soon after collection, artefacts gathered by Cook and his men in the Pacific lost status in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'.[135] The lack of international focus on the Belfast cloak – comparable to that of the Ulster Museum on the canoe but contrasting to that which has taken place for other surviving examples of such cloaks that exist across the world – is of a piece with this argument. This suggests a non-committal response amongst worldwide scholars to the Belfast cloak. This chapter hopes to boost further investigation of how the cloak's condition came about, a topic that is clearly ripe for interpretation and has hitherto been neglected.

As previously stated, there is evidence that, for a while following the Hawai'ian cloak's acquisition by BNHPS in the 1841 and again in the 1930s, it was the object of some local attention. However, as the *Mercury* and *Belfast Telegraph* articles suggest, this was not due to local interest in the culture that the cloak represented or even to its association with Kamehameha III. Instead, the interest derived from a questionable link with Captain Cook, a more certain linkage with Kamehameha I, and an orientalised image of Hawai'ian society. The two indices of value that appear to have been applied to it, therefore, are alike in quality to those Glover observed in the Ulster Museum during her career: prestige to the Museum that could be garnered from the cloak; and a representation of a typecast Other.

Distracted by these ethnocentric values, the Museum failed to pay attention to an authentic story that had the power to richly reveal a colonial narrative at the other side of the world. This was a story about what had happened to the indigenous society from which it came, to make it so important that the cloak be sold. One reading to bring the cloak to greater light is to interpret its alterations within the history of what was happening in Hawai'i at the time, viz., the destruction of

indigenous culture.[136] As Sumner La Croix has conclusively shown, the arrival in 1778 of "white-sailed British ships" captained by James Cook led to wholesale change in Hawai'ian ideology and society, and to a dramatic decline in its population.[137] As evidenced above, this story is enwrapped in the fabric of the cloak. Instead of leading to its fuller investigation though, puzzlement in Belfast over the cloak's physical condition, combined with the supposition that it was otherwise a prestigious item evoking a royalty elsewhere that had first been conquered by the British Empire, has resulted in the cloak's denigration. This unique item therefore deserves deeper and more collaborative research and can fuel richer museum narratives than have taken place to date.

The travels of Gordon Augustus Thomson as a source of collaboration

As Winifred Glover's research made clear, Thomson's collection is important as a biographical index to him, and as evidence of the colonial realms that as a member of the Irish bourgeoisie he explored. However, from the above example, it is also apparent that the institution's overweening interest in local biography has occluded the interpretation of the collection as material evidence of the histories of places far from Northern Ireland that – as Glover repeatedly argued[138] – were taking place when European travelogues were just beginning.[139] The potential global interest of the Thomson collection is shown in the map below, compiled for this research (Fig. 33).

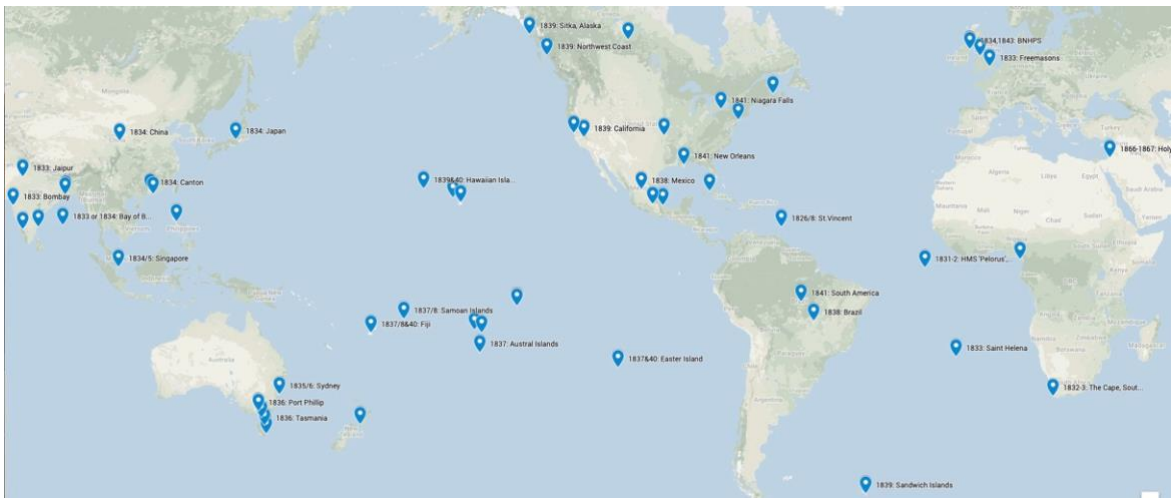

Fig. 33. Map reconstruction showing locations where Gordon Augustus Thomson collected BNHPS objects.[140] Briony Widdis, using GoogleMaps.

NMNI has much to gain from the development of new networks, with current populations, the potential for which is evident from this distribution. Potential gains include the revelation of narratives connected with historically subaltern cultures behind those objects whose former owners are still nameless. More research is needed to uncover the modern successors to the peoples with whom Thomson had contact. They include, for example, the indigenous Australians living close to Port Phillip with whom Thomson's friend, the 'wild white man' William Buckley, had settled with his two local wives, and from whom via Buckley Thomson gained an aboriginal axe and other items.[141] The Pacific island workers described as *kanakas* who traded with sailors from whom he procured Polynesian items also merit memorialisation. It may be possible, too, to find out more about the un-named 'native artist' or artists who supplied Indian paintings, of gods and buildings in the collection.[142] Two cloaks and a jade ornament from New Zealand that as Glover infers may have been acquired through introductions provided by the 'vicious' magistrate, Samuel Marsden,[143] also require study.

A critical theme that demands research concerns the legacies of slavery. More precise knowledge is needed about those by whose conditions on the captured Spanish brig, the *Segunda Teresa*[144] he was 'revolted', and about their fates upon their release from his bark, *HMS Pelorus*.[145] A similar narrative is suggested by a leg ornament belonging to a slave landed on Fernando Po.[146] Even darker shades of Thomson's collecting activities included his desecration of graves on the Hawai'ian islands to obtain two skulls and several leg bones: by his own account, he had decapitated the bodies himself. Like the Pitt Rivers curator, Balfour, who a century later showed interest in the head-binding that had belonged to the New Britain baby Awadingme (see Chapter Two), Thomson was intrigued by indigenous practices of compressing the heads of new-borns. It was for this reason that he collected the skulls in Hawai'i, and a cedar wood cradle from the American Northwest Coast into which babies had been bound.[147]

As I have alluded to with reference to Roger Casement (this chapter), a further contemporary narrative to which his collection is relevant concerns the fact that Thomson himself suffered from prejudice. Glover questions[148] the account provided by his nephew, General Sir Edward Selby Smyth, that he was not trained in a profession because he was 'delicate in his youth'.[149] Rejected in Ireland due to a

preference for the company of men, Thomson was 'shipped off by his family and more or less paid to stay away'.[150] 'The truth seems to be', writes Glover,

> that Thomson had little interest in women and it may have been that his regard for his men servants was more than polite society could accommodate. This would have been a potent reason for his hasty departure from Ireland and for staying away for seventeen years, funded by money from his family. It would also explain his reluctance to write down a detailed account of his travels since it is easier to remain secret if one has committed nothing to paper.[151]

Besides those of Hawai'ian and Tahitian nobility, the only non-European name contained in published accounts of Thomson's collection is that of Santiago Pedro Castenon, a Mexican 'native servant' and possible lover by whose sudden death in Liverpool Thomson was 'devastated' as they returned to Belfast to live in 1842. It is notable, too, that notwithstanding his later acceptance in Belfast as indicated by his position as a Councillor (1849-1854), Thomson's repatriation to the town that had spurned him as a young man did not transpire as a lifetime commitment. Having arrived in 1842 at 'Castleton' (the family home in North Belfast by then inhabited by his brother), he moved to Donegall Street where he lived for five years before building a large home on the site of the present-day Mater Hospital that he named after Robert Gordon's St. Vincent establishment, 'Bedeque'. Notwithstanding this (to him) positive association, in 1872 Thomson returned at last to Melbourne where upon his death fourteen years later he left his remaining property to another servant, also male.[152]

Winifred Glover chronicled the evidence of Thomson's sexuality clearly but with subtlety. This is unsurprising, for it is only in recent years that LGBTQ+ histories have come to the fore in public discourse.[153] As her work nonetheless indicates, the Thomson collection provides fertile ground for the project of 'outing the past' taking place through the work of museum activists in the present.[154] From these slim facts, all of which require enlargement through further research, it is highly conceivable that in addition to the Kamehameha cloak many other items in Thomson's collection represent untold stories. In 2018, National Museums Northern Ireland was named 'Queer of the Year' for its support for LGBTQ+ rights by Belfast-based organisation Queerspace;[155] and the time has come to extend this progressive ethos to discovery and the provision of access to its ethnographic collections.

Conclusion: Sticky Totems of Neglect

I have argued in this chapter that the absence of recent interpretation, of either the Solomon Islands canoe or the cloak of Kamehameha III, has resulted in failure within the Ulster Museum to forge international connections with contemporary peoples in the Pacific. It is also limiting contact with other museums that, across the world, are engaged in anthropological research. Instead, those Colonial Objects that have been displayed, now and in the past, have been selected due to their potential to garner prestige for the Museum and, through the lens of local biography, for Northern Ireland. As is indicated by the Queer stories connected with both, these examples also show that within the history of the institution, even the interpretation of local biography has been selective.

Returning to the evidence provided in Chapters Two and Five, I argue that the reason for this has to do with the history of colonialism in Northern Ireland itself. My analysis of both objects has demonstrated the importance of more fully investigating the history of collecting, caring for and interpreting Colonial Objects in Northern Ireland. As internationally significant objects, these are at present providing powerful negative symbols of the region's neglect and misrepresentation of its colonial past.

Contrary to published claims, the canoe's location has not been static since its arrival in Ireland, for it has moved between the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery on Royal Avenue and the 'Boat Room' on Stranmillis Road; and has also been repeatedly relocated in each of these places. A further misrepresentation of the object has come about in the form of claims that its structural integrity has been protected. The canoe appears, instead, to have been deliberately cut up in the Belfast Public Library building, and to have been damaged again between 1925 and 1929. Similarly, an important story is enmeshed in the physical condition of the cloak, but this is one that has never been uncovered through the Museum's failure to support sufficient collections research.

Both the cloak and the canoe are therefore good examples of Colonial Objects that have not been considered to sufficiently represent Us-ness as to merit the care and attention that such important objects should be considered to deserve. Moreover, both have represented Otherness in forms that the institution has

historically rejected. They are furthermore Colonial Objects that, like those to be examined in Chapter Seven, have become so entangled with contemporary political and cultural ideas about the past of the place in which they are now situated as, paradoxically, to have resulted in the deliberate elision of their original social environments.

Yet it is this same entanglement that makes such objects vital sources of narrative for NMNI in the present day. Through local biography, these objects connect potently with both historical and contemporary political discourse. This is pertinent to museology in the twenty-first century due to discussions ongoing at the time of writing – for example, in the case of the canoe, in relation to centennial commemorations of the Easter Rising and Ireland's Partition. As is evident at Tervuren, and in other museums globally, if interpreted in biographical context these Colonial Objects can also be re-connected with the histories of other European Empires, and with the efforts of museum activists to combat oppression.[156] Among the many contemporary debates with which both can be connected, for example, are those concerning how to tackle heteronormativity and more adequately represent queer histories on the island of Ireland.[157]

Thus, it can be said that these are Colonial Objects that have the power to speak to a multiplicity of themes, and on local, national and international levels. These link to the historical themes of Northern Ireland in the UK; Britain in Ireland; and Britain in other parts of the Empire. In addition, because these two objects have suffered both physical and narrative divestment, the cloak and the canoe also convey a history of the institution that is now National Museums Northern Ireland. This was one in which their peoples suffered the loss of them alongside the deliberate erosion of their culture, when (in the case of the canoe) objects were damaged in supposed acts of preservation, and when narrative journeys were cut short.

Returning to Ahmed's concept of 'stickiness', it appears that the metaphorical glue that has adhered to the cloak and the canoe caused them at one time to become 'fearful objects' (see Chapter Five). Although not the appropriate term to apply to NMNI's responses to the cloak today, a legacy of historical fearfulness, connected with institutional concern about its credibility within the local political environment in which it has been situated, has meant that the canoe and the cloak continue to be ignored. As recent communication with NMNI shows however,

historic caution regarding how best the ethnographic collection may be interpreted is now being countered by plans for a more active approach.[158]

In conclusion, the present physical concealment of the canoe behind the temporary wall in the 'Boat Room', and the inaccessibility of the feather cloak in a museum store, imbues them with totemic power. This is a power to symbolise the subjugation over time of ethnographic collections in favour of local history. This lapse has resulted in an absence of attention, however unintentional, to the source populations in whose lives people from the north of Ireland have contributed, as subjects of the British Empire, to 'profound and devastating changes'.[159] Precisely because the Museum's policies and processes for display have stripped away their meaning, these objects also lend weight to an assertion of Colonial Objects as part of a hidden history in Northern Ireland. As I will examine further in Chapters Seven and Eight, examining objects as the products of an Us-ness / Otherness dynamic can forge a way to new conversations that cover and also extend beyond the British imperial past, broadening the relevance of Northern Irish museums to audiences in the present day.

1. Publications on the Easter Rising detailing Casement's role are very extensive. See for example McGarry, Fearghal. 2016. *The Rising Ireland: Easter 1916*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

2. National Museums Northern Ireland. BELUM.C963.

3. This account is repeated in a recent typewritten note on the canoe in NMNI's documentation file. I have been unable to trace the source of the statement that it travelled to Belfast on the *SS Pladda.* Searches of contemporary newspapers demonstrate that the *Pladda* operated up and down the west coast of England and Scotland and on the east coast of Ireland, stopping at Cork, Glasgow and Belfast. A press release for *Realms of the Pacific* (1994) states that the canoe was first transported by Royal Navy destroyer. (NMNI archive).

4. Glover, Winifred. 1994. *Realms of the Pacific*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 43. Glover researched the ship's log in the National Archives at Kew. (Glover, Winifred, email to Briony Widdis, 11 June 2019).

5. *HMS Rapid'*s posting to the Australia Station under Commander John Casement was relieved by the *HMS Mohawk* under Commander Frederick Freeman on 13 October 1897. Casement then continued to command as the *Rapid* sailed to Devonport via Aden and Malta, arriving on 25 March 1898. *The Times*. 1898. 'Naval and Military Intelligence', 14 October 1897, 3,4 and 25 March 1898.

6 In *Realms of the Pacific* this double headed form is described as a *janus*, a term that is common in museum usage. The word *janus* is not used here as it is a Western construct not applicable to the cultural context of the canoe.

7 Hess, Mona, Stuart Robson, Francesca Simon Millar, and Graeme Were. n.d. 'Niabara - the Western Solomon Islands War Canoe at the British Museum'. In *15th International Conference on Virtual Systems and Multimedia*. UCL. Accessed 29 September 2019. http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1305320/1/1305320.pdf.

8. Glover states that Casement was stationed in Australia between 1895 and 1898. Glover, Winifred. 1994. *Realms of the Pacific*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 66-67. There is some contradiction in dates however; see also Note 4.

9. A 1925 newspaper article repeats this statement. See *Belfast Telegraph*. 1925. 'Belfast New Public Art Gallery and Museum', 14 November 1925.

10. Glover, Winifred. 1994. *Realms of the Pacific*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 66.

11. Waite, Deborah. 2000. 'An Artefact / Image Text of Head-Hunting Motifs'. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 109 (1): 115–44. Waite, Deborah. 1999. 'Toto Isu (NguzuNguzu): War Canoe Prow Figureheads from the Western District, Solomon Islands.' *World of Tribal Arts* 5 (3): 82–97.

12. Its association with head-hunting derives from the canoe's Stock Book entry, as apparently made at the Belfast Museum in 1898.

13. National Museums Northern Ireland Accession Register, 'Solomon Islands canoe-BELUM.C963'. By courtesy of NMNI.

14. Glover, Winifred. Letter to F. Sandilands. 1990, 25 October 1990. NMNI Archive.

15. Waite, Deborah. 1999. 'Toto Isu (NguzuNguzu): War Canoe Prow Figureheads from the Western District, Solomon Islands.' *World of Tribal Arts* 5 (3): 82–97.

16. Glover, Winifred. 1994. *Realms of the Pacific*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 43.

17. Richards, Rhys. Email to Winifred Glover. 2005. 'Re: Western Solomon Islands Artefacts', 18 April 2005. NMNI archive.

18. Richards, Rhys. Email to Winifred Glover. 2005. 'Re: Western Solomon Islands Artefacts', 18 April 2005. NMNI archive.

19. Waite, Deborah. 2000. 'An Artefact / Image Text of Head-Hunting Motifs'. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 109 (1): 115–44. p.117.

20. Glover, Winifred. 1997. 'The Folks Back Home: Connections Between Ethnography and Folk Life'. *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 9: 21 – 32. p. 21.

21. The other reference to the canoe having been kept in the Boat Room since its arrival in Belfast is in Glover, Winifred. 1994. *Realms of the Pacific*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 67.

22. Also known in some records as the Belfast Public Museum. See e.g. postcard, 'Belfast Public Museum Series, 8. War Canoe'. 1908. Belfast. National Museums Northern Ireland.

23. See also Glover, Winifred. 2012. 'Here, There and Everywhere: The Origins of the Ulster Museum's Ethnographic Collection'. In *Exhibit Ireland: Ethnographic Collections in Ireland*, edited by Séamas ÓSíocháin, Pauline Garvey, and Adam Drazin, 73 – 86. Dublin: Wordwell. p.67. Note also the contradiction to the 1896 date: according to the Accession Register, the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery did not acquire the canoe until 1898.

24. Nesbitt, Noel. 1979. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 23.

25. Nesbitt, Noel. 1979. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 32-33.

26. Winifred Glover's memo explains that damage was caused by steps falling onto the canoe during the installation of a mezzanine floor in the adjacent gallery. This most likely happened prior to 1971 when the extension to the Belfast Art Gallery and Museum, through the construction of new floors between old floor levels, was completed, leading to its reopening as the Ulster Museum. See Nesbitt, Noel. 1979. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 57.

27. Glover, Winifred. 2006. Memo, 'The Solomon Islands Canoe'. Belfast. NMNI Archive.

28. Glover, Winifred. 2018. Conversation with Briony Widdis, 19 June 2018. A further example given by Glover of the collection's neglect was that the ethnographic collection had never been accorded its own acquisitions budget.

29. Blair, William. 2019. Email to Briony Widdis, 11 September 2019.

30. Blair, William. 2019. Email to Briony Widdis, 11 September 2019.

31. Photograph dated for this research based on its appearance in the following article: *Belfast Telegraph*. 1925. 'Belfast New Public Art Gallery and Museum', 14 November 1925.

32. See also Welch, Robert. c. 1929. BELUM.Y.W.10.79.31. National Museums Northern Ireland Photographic Collection.

33. See also Welch, Robert. c. 1929. BELUM.Y.W.10.79.33. National Museums Northern Ireland Photographic Collection.

34. *Belfast Telegraph*. 1925. 'Belfast New Public Art Gallery and Museum', 14 November 1925.

35. National Museums Northern Ireland Accession Register, 'Solomon Islands canoe-BELUM.C963'. By courtesy of NMNI.

36. 'Belfast Public Museum Series, 8. War Canoe'. Postcard. 1908. Belfast. National Museums Northern Ireland.

37 Hess, Mona, Stuart Robson, Francesca Simon Millar, and Graeme Were. n.d. 'Niabara - the Western Solomon Islands War Canoe at the British Museum'. In *15th International Conference on Virtual Systems and Multimedia*. UCL. Accessed 29 September 2019. http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1305320/1/1305320.pdf.

38. See also Welch, Robert. 1908. BELUM.Y.W.10.79.37. National Museums Northern Ireland Photographic Collection.

39. See also Welch, Robert. 1928-1929. BELUM.Y.W.10.79.33. National Museums Northern Ireland Photographic Collection.

40. Roger Casement (1829-1877) the father of Sir Roger Casement of the Easter Rising, and Rear-Admiral John Moore Casement (1877-1952) who collected the canoe, were half-cousins, being the products of the respective first and second marriages of their grandfather, Roger Casement (1756-1832). A family tree tracing the connection between Rear Admiral John Casement and Sir Roger Casement has been constructed for this research based on data found at http://lordbelmontinnorthernireland.blogspot.com/2014/06/magherintemple-house.html; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Casement; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roger_Casement; and on www.ancestry.co.uk Accessed June 2019.

41. See for example Louis, William Roger. 1964. 'Roger Casement and the Congo,' *The Journal of African History*, 5.1 (Cambridge University Press): 99 – 120.

42. This report had a bearing on British renegotiation of the Berlin Agreement (1885), the document that had resulted in the carving-up of Africa by fourteen European powers. This ended Leopold's control in the region, and resulted in Congo's annexation to the Belgian government. See Roger Louis, W. 1965. 'The Stokes Affair and the Origins of the Anti-Congo Campaign, 1895-1896'. *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire* 43 (572 – 584).

43. Hasian, Marouf. 2012. 'Colonial Amnesias, Photographic Memories, and Demographic Biopolitics at the Royal Museum for Central Africa (RMCA)'. *Third World Quarterly* 33 (3): 475 – 93.

44. Glover, Winifred. 1997. 'The Folks Back Home: Connections Between Ethnography and Folk Life'. *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 9: 21 – 32.

45 'Struggles for Power'. 2009. In *Modern History Gallery*. Belfast: Ulster Museum.

46. Casement, Roger. 1997. *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*. London: Anaconda Editions. See also companion volume of testimonials and other documents, Mitchell, Angus. 2003. *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness: The 1911 Documents*. The Irish Manuscripts Commission.

47. Goodman, Jordan. 2010. *The Devil and Mr. Casement: One Man's Battle for Human Rights in South America's Heart of Darkness*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

48. Commander of St. Michael and St. George. A former British Empire medal in the British Honours system. Now used for services to Commonwealth and foreign nations.

49 'War and Revolution'. 2009. In *Modern History Gallery*. Belfast: Ulster Museum.

50 'A War Like No Other'. 2009. In *Modern History Gallery*. Belfast: Ulster Museum.

51. Pilgrimage for Roger Casement. 1916. National Museums Northern Ireland Collection. See https://www.nmni.com/collections/history/1900-1923-home-rule-to-partition/1916-easter-rising/belumw20111316.

52. Hassell, Jill. 1988. 'Notes on Oceanic Objects in 'Treasures of the Ethnographic Collection' Exhibition at the Ulster Museum'. *Newsletter (Museum Ethnographers Group)* 22 (August). p. 92.

53. 'Home Rule to Partition: War and Revolution'. 2009. National Museums Northern Ireland. Accessed 12 June 2019. https://www.nmni.com/collections/highlight-tours/home-rule-to-partition.

54. Glover, Winifred. 1994. *Realms of the Pacific*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 66.

55. Hassell, Jill. 1988. 'Notes on Oceanic Objects in 'Treasures of the Ethnographic Collection' Exhibition at the Ulster Museum'. *Newsletter (Museum Ethnographers Group)* 22 (August): 92.

56. Nesbitt, Noel. 1979. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p .24.

57. Extract denotes the entirety of the text on a label stuck to the canoe. Accessed 10/06/2019.

58. Erb, Maribeth. 1991. 'Construction Sacrifice, Rumors and Kidnapping Scares in Manggarai' Further Comparative Notes from Flores.' *Oceania* 62 (2): 114 – 26.

59. Marsh, Diana E. 2015. 'Reassembling the Social Life of a Medicine Man: Reassessing Otherness, Agency and Authorship in the Wellcome Archives.' Journal of Material Culture 20 (202): 211 – 45.

60. Nesbitt, Noel. 1979. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 28-29.

61. Higgins, Roisin. 2016. 'The Politics of Commemorating the Easter Rising'. In *Remembering 1916: The Easter Rising, the Somme and the Politics of Memory in Ireland*, edited by Richard S. Grayson and Fearghal McGarry, 43 – 61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 56-57.

62. Nesbitt, Noel. 1979. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 50.

63. *Belfast Telegraph*. 1973. 'Lord O'Neill Opposes Museum Charges', 28 February 1973.

64. Evans, E. Estyn. 1970. 'The Personality of Ulster'. *Belfast Telegraph*, 1 September 1970.

65. From a label found beside the canoe, June 2019. 2009 is given here as its date due to its design and format, and because this was the date of Glover's most recent exhibition, *Rites of Passage: Birth, Marriage and Death Customs round the world.* (Exhibition list received by email from Winifred Glover, June 2018). The Ulster Museum was refurbished in 2006-2009, during which it was closed for a period of three years.

66. Nesbitt, Noel. 1979. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 29.

67 Lowry, Donal. 1996. 'Ulster Resistance and Loyalist Rebellion in the Empire'. In *An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland the the British Empire*, edited by Keith Jeffery, 191–216. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

68. Jaeger, Elizabeth. 2011. 'Roger Casement: How Effective Was the British Government's Smear Campaign Exposing the Homosexual 'Black Diaries'?' *Éire-Ireland* 46 (3&4): 132 – 69.

69. See for example McGreevy, Ronan. 2018. 'The Gay Patriots Who Helped Found the Irish State'. *The Irish Times*, 21 June 2018.

70. Crowdy, Hannah. 2019. Email to Briony Widdis. 25 September 2019.

71. Blair, William. 2019. Email to Briony Widdis. 11 September 2019.

72. My thanks to the NMNI Picture Library for this suggestion.

73 Nesbitt, Noel. 1979. *A Museum in Belfast: A History of the Ulster Museum and its Predecessors*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 25-7.

74. For a history of the institution see Sawyer, Andrew. 2011. 'National Museums in Northern Ireland'. In *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010*. Bologna: Linköping University Electronic Press. http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/064/026/ecp64026.pdf. Accessed 25/09/2019.

75. Glover, Winifred. 2003. 'Power and Collecting: Big Men Talking'. *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 15: 19-54. p. 19.

76. Glover, Winifred. 2001. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886.' In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton. London and Coimbra: Horniman Museum and Gardens; Museu Antropológica da Universidade de Coimbra. p. 203-222. Also published as Glover, Winifred. 1993. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of Gordon Augustus Thomson (1779-1886), Principal Donor of Ethnographic Objects to the Ulster Museum, Belfast'. *Familia: Ulster Genealogical Review* 2 (9): 46 – 61.

77. This account runs contrary to the statement in the above-cited chapter and article that Thomson's grand-uncle Robert Gordon (d. 1829) was a Governor of St. Vincent. The claim appears to have come from an obituary of Thomson, see for example the Melbourne *Argus*. 'Death of One of the Oldest Melbourne Residents', 8 June 1886. A different Robert Gordon (1768-1814) was twice a Lieutenant-Governor of Berbice, a region of Guayana and former British colony. See 'Robert Gordon of St. Vincent, ???? – 1829: Profile & Legacies Summary'. n.d. UCL: Legacies of British Slave-Ownership. Accessed 6 June 2019. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146642835. See also 'Robert Gordon of Berbice, 1768-10th Jan 1814: Profile & Legacies Summary'. n.d. UCL: Legacies of British Slave-Ownership. Accessed 6 June 2019. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644341.

78. 'Gordon Augustus Thomson 1799 – 1886: Profile & Legacies Summary'. n.d. UCL: Legacies of British Slave-Ownership. Accessed 5 June 2019. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146642841.

79. 'Spring Estate: St Vincent'. n.d. UCL: Legacies of British Slave-Ownership. Accessed 5 June 2019. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/3542.

80. Later the Belfast Banking Company.

81. McTear, Thomas, and Francis Joseph Bigger. 1899. 'Personal Recollections of the Beginning of the Century'. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 5 (2): 67 – 80. p. 79-80.

82. Mumbai.

83. Winifred Glover annotates material evidence of several élite introductions which helped Thomson. E.g. an invitation received at the outset of his exploratory career from Captain Richard Meredith to join a 'cruise' to hunt slaving ships off the east coast of Africa in 1831; receipt of a 'passport' (in the form of a pellet of hardened clay) from a Lieutenant Kerr to travel in the area of Marikeri (formerly Coorg) in India; an introduction to Lord Clare who supplied letters of introduction to government officials and 'native potentates' east of Bombay; a stay in China with a wealthy Hong Kong merchant, Thomas Dent; another with John Batman, a representative of the Port Phillip Association that had acquired 600,000 acres of land in or near Melbourne, Australia; an invitation from a Major Fairweather to a ball in Launcestown, Tasmania to mark the departure of the Lieutenant Governor, Sir George Arthur in 1836; a letter of safe conduct through Brazil from resident Consul, Robert Hesketh; and in 1839, a letter of introduction from a John C. Jones to Mariano Vallejo, founding General of the State of California. In turn, Thomson's collecting career was made possible by the contact with indigenous leaders that he forged through these European networks. E.g. example the 'native potentates' east of Bombay to whom introductions had been supplied by Lord Clare, See Glover, Winifred. 2001. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886.' In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton. London and Coimbra: Horniman Museum and Gardens; Museu Antropológica da Universidade de Coimbra.

84. These included meetings with King Kamehameha II and with his second wife Ka'ahumanu II (Elisabeta Kinau, daughter to King Kamehameha I); Kamehameha II's daughter, Princess Boki; with the Hawai'ian Governor John Adams Kuakini and through him with Queen Kapiolani, Consort to Kalākaua (a later Hawai'ian king); and with a 'chieftain', Kapilani. He also met Pomare IV, Queen of the Society Islands; and Tahiatahaani, a noblewoman in Tahuata (one of the Marquesas Islands).

85. Glover, Winifred. 2018. Conversation with Briony Widdis.

86. The other was a *tapa* cloth figure from Rapa Nui (Easter Island). Unlike the cloak however there is no evidence that this acquisition was considered important when Thomson collected it. See Glover, Winifred. 1987. *Polynesia: The Polynesian Collection in the Ulster Museum Belfast*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 26, 53; Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 2003. 'Sculptures of Barkcloth and Wood from Rapa Nui: Symbolic Continuities and Polynesian Affinities'. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 44: 10 – 69; Hooper, Steven. 2006. *Pacific Encounters: Art & Divinity in Polynesia 1760-1860*. London: The British Museum Press. p. 144; Gunn, Michael. 2014. *Atua: Sacred Gods from Polynesia*. Canberra: National Gallery of Australia.

87. This account has not been substantiated during a search of Museum records for this project. It appears to have been repeated in NMNI publications as a result of this source.

88. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* October 1862, as quoted in *The Northern Whig*. 'The Royal Feather Cloak at the Late International Fisheries Exhibition', 16 January 1884.

89. Glover, Winifred. 2019. Email to Briony Widdis. 11 June 2019.

90. From Bates, George Washington. 1854. *Sandwich Island Nortes. By a Häolé.* New York: Harper & Brothers. Extract reported in *The Belfast Daily Mercury*. 1854. 'The Sandwich Islands', 29 August 1854.

91. Mabel Steedman (1886-1942) was a travelling lecturer born in Ripley, Yorkshire who toured extensively in the United States and Hawai'i. Information gleaned from Birth and Death Records and Passenger Lists found at www.ancestry.co.uk

92. Belfast Telegraph. 'The Glamour of Hawai'i' touches Belfast. Paradise of Loveliness.', 15 November 1934. See also *The Northern Whig and Belfast Post*. 1934. 'The Glamour of Hawai'i: Lecture in Belfast Museum', 15 November 1934.

93. Henare, Amiria. 2005. *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 44.

94. Winifred Glover was an early member of MEG.

95. Gathercole, Peter. 1997. 'Twenty-one Years On?' *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 9: 7 – 20. p. 8.

96. Herle, Anita. 2005. 'Pacific Ethnography, Politics and Museums'. *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 17: 1 – 7. p. 1.

97. Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 1978. *'Artificial Curiosities': An Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on The Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N.* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

98. Curated and toured by the National Museum of Ireland.

99. Exhibition list kindly supplied by Winifred Glover, June 2018.

100. Glover, Winifred. 1987. *Polynesia: The Polynesian Collection in the Ulster Museum Belfast*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p.13-14.

101. *Touchardia latifolia.*

102. Glover, Winifred. 1987. *Polynesia: The Polynesian Collection in the Ulster Museum Belfast*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 14.

103. Glover also states that the cloak may have been 'an old cloak [that] was quickly re-furbished for sale'. See Glover, Winifred. 1987. *Polynesia: The Polynesian Collection in the Ulster Museum Belfast*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 14.

104. Dorota Czarkowska Starzecka, former Assistant Keeper of Ethnography specialising in Oceania at the British Museum. See 'Dorota Czarkowska Starzecka (Biographical Details)'. n.d. The British Museum. Accessed 18 June 2019. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=35293.

105. The above photographs also demonstrate the presence of white thread on the cloak, a likely Museum addition to secure the patches. These appear to be Museum repairs: given the rarity of the fabric, it is doubtful that the museum post-acquisition would have procured the sections used in the patches.

106. An account of this practice is given in *Tales from Te Papa Episode 52: A Captain's Chiefly Gift*. n.d. Wellington: Te Papa Tongarewa. Accessed 13 June 2019. https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/2908.

107. Glover, Winifred. 2019. Email to Briony Widdis. 11 June 2019.

108. Kaeppler, Adrienne. 1985. 'Hawai'ian Art and Society: Traditions and Transformations'. In *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*, edited by Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman, 105 – 31. Auckland: The Polynesian Society.

109. Kaeppler, Adrienne. 1985. 'Hawaiian Art and Society: Traditions and Transformations'. In *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*, edited by Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman, 105 – 31. Auckland: The Polynesian Society.

110. Starzecka, Dorota. Letter to Winifred Glover. 16 March 1978. National Museums Northern Ireland. The publication of the portrait to which Starzecka's letter refers is on p. 1, Kotzbue, Otto von. 1821. 'Tamaah-Maah, King of the Sandwich Islands'. In *Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits...in the Years 1815-1818.* Vol. 1. London.

111 Kaeppler, Adrienne. 1985. 'Hawai'ian Art and Society: Traditions and Transformations'. In *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*, edited by Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman, 105 – 31. Auckland: The Polynesian Society.

112. Kaeppler, Adrienne. 1985. 'Hawai'ian Art and Society: Traditions and Transformations'. In *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*, edited by Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman, 105 – 31. Auckland: The Polynesian Society.

113. For European voyages in the Pacific in this period see the timeline in Hooper, Steven. 2006. *Pacific Encounters: Art & Divinity in Polynesia 1760-1860*. London: The British Museum Press. p. 9.

114. Clerke left his collection to Sir Joseph Banks, who gifted it to the British Museum in 1780. See Kaeppler, Adrienne. 1985. 'Hawai'ian Art and Society: Traditions and Transformations'. In *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*, edited by Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman, 105 – 31. Auckland: The Polynesian Society. See also Collection Online: Cloak (Oc, HAW.133)'. n.d. The British Museum. Accessed 13 June 2019. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=515295&partId=1&searchText=Hawai'i+cloak&page=1.

'Collection Online: Cloak (Oc,HAW.134)'. n.d. The British Museum. Accessed 13 June 2019. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=515294&partId=1&searchText=Hawai'i+cloak&page=1.

115. The cloak with its helmet were returned to Hawai'i by New Zealand in 2016. See 'Te Papa to Return Treasures Gifted to Captain Cook to Hawai'i'. 2016. Museum of New Zealand: Te Papa Tongarewa. 16 February 2016. https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/about/press-and-media/press-releases/2016-news-and-media-releases/te-papa-return-treasures-gifted.

116. Beaglehole, J.C., ed. 1967. 'Journal of Lieutenant James King'. In *The Journals of Captain Cook. The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, 1776-1780*. Part One. Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society.

117. Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 1974. 'Cook Voyage Provenance of the 'Artificial Curiosities' of Bullock's Museum'. *Man*, New Series, 9 (1): 68 – 92.

118. '2.10 Introduction to Pacific Collections: Material Culture of the Hawai'ian Islands'. 2013. *Pacific Collections in Scottish Museums: Unlocking Their Knowledge and Potential.* Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland.

119. Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 2010. *Sanctity and Danger: Divine and Chiefly Featherwork of Old Hawai'i.* Edited by Willem de Rooj and Benjamin Meyer-Krahmer. Vol. 1. Intolerance. Berlin: Nationalegalerie Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

120. For these and other paintings showing the Death of Cook see Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 1978. *'Artificial Curiosities': An Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N.* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press. p. 21-30.

121. 'The Death of Captain James Cook, 14 February 1779'. n.d. Royal Museums Greenwich. https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/11916.html.

122. Glover, Winifred. 2001. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886'. In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton, 203 – 22. London: The Horniman Museum & Gardens. p. 209.

123. Williams, Nat. n.d. 'Captain Cook's Apotheosis'. National Library of Australia. Accessed 13 June 2019. https://www.nla.gov.au/blogs/behind-the-scenes/2017/02/01/captain-cooks-apotheosis.

124. Glover, Winifred. 2001. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886'. In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton, 203 – 22. London: The Horniman Museum & Gardens. p. 205.

125. Jones had negotiated the 1826 Hawai'i-United States Treaty. See Stauffer, Robert H. 1983. 'The Hawai-i-United States Treaty of 1826'. *Hawai'ian Journal of History* 17: 40 – 63. p. 42.

126. This document has not been sighted from this research but is mentioned in Glover, Winifred. 2001. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886'. In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton, 203 – 22. London: The Horniman Museum & Gardens. p. 210.

127. For historical context see Moore, Anneliese W. 1973. 'Prussian Presents – Military and Millinery'. *The Hawai'ian Journal of History* 7: 79 – 87.

128. The reference Kamehameha III refers to is *Hawai'ian Spectator*. 1839 2 (3): 364.

129. Kamehameha III. Letter to Gordon Augustus Thomson. 1839. 'My Respects to You...', 12 September 1839. National Museums Northern Ireland.

130. Glover, Winifred. 2001. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886'. In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton, 203 – 22. London: The Horniman Museum & Gardens.

131. This theory is repeated by Kaeppler, Adrienne. 1985. 'Hawai'ian Art and Society: Traditions and Transformations'. In *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*, edited by Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman, 105 – 31. Auckland: The Polynesian Society. p. 122.

132. Henare, Amiria. 2005. *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 35.

133. Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 2010. *Sanctity and Danger: Divine and Chiefly Featherwork of Old Hawai'i.* Edited by Willem de Rooj and Benjamin Meyer-Krahmer. Vol. 1. Intolerance. Berlin: Nationalegalerie Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

134. Starzecka, Dorota. Letter to Winifred Glover. 3 April 1978. NMNI Archive.

135. Henare, Amiria. 2005. *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 43.

136. See Glover, Winifred. 1987. *Polynesia: The Polynesian Collection in the Ulster Museum Belfast*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 14.

137. La Croix, Sumner. 2019. *Hawaii: Eight Hundred Years of Political and Economic Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter Four. Kindle edition found at https://www.amazon.co.uk/dp/B07PG1PLXB/ref=rdr_kindle_ext_tmb. Accessed 27/09/2019.

138. Glover, Winifred. 2001. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886'. In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton, 203 – 22. London: The Horniman Museum and Gardens. p. 217.

Glover, Winifred. 2012. 'Here, There and Everywhere: The Origins of the Ulster Museum's Ethnographic Collection'. In *Exhibit Ireland: Ethnographic Collections in Ireland*, edited by Séamas ÓSíocháin, Pauline Garvey, and Adam Drazin, 73 – 86. Dublin: Wordwell. p. 75; Glover, Winifred. 1988. *Travelling at Port Phillip: The Australian Aborigines at the Time of European Contact*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. p. 8.

139. The earliest documented Polynesian artefacts were brought back to Europe c. 1767. See Hooper, Steven. 2006. *Pacific Encounters: Art & Divinity in Polynesia 1760-1860*. London: The British Museum Press. p. 22.

140. Map based on Glover, Winifred. 2001. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886'. In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton, 203 – 22. London: The Horniman Museum and Gardens. Constructed using Google Maps. A full list of dates and entry points is available on request.

141. See Glover, Winifred. 1988. *Travelling at Port Phillip: The Australian Aborigines at the Time of European Contact*. Belfast: Ulster Museum.

142. Glover, Winifred. 1994. *Realms of the Pacific*. Belfast: Ulster Museum; Glover, Winifred. 1988. *Travelling at Port Phillip: The Australian Aborigines at the Time of European Contact*. Belfast: Ulster Museum. See also Glover, Winifred. 2001. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886'. In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton, 203 – 22. London: The Horniman Museum and Gardens. p. 219.

143. Winifred Glover's chapter cites Marsden as William Marsden, a missionary. However, I believe his correct name to have been Samuel. While Samuel Marsden was a chaplain in New South Wales, he was primarily a settler and magistrate. See Yarwood, A.T. 1967. 'Marsden, Samuel (1765-1838)'. In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Vol. 2. Online. http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/marsden-samuel-2433. Also Hughes, Robert. 1986. *The Fatal Shore*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. p. 187-188; 247.

144. Glover, Winifred. 2012. 'Here, There and Everywhere: The Origins of the Ulster Museum's Ethnographic Collection'. In *Exhibit Ireland: Ethnographic Collections in Ireland*, edited by Séamas ÓSíocháin, Pauline Garvey, and Adam Drazin, 73 – 86. Dublin: Wordwell. p. 74.

145. See for example 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership'. n.d. UCL. Accessed 18 June 2019. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/. Slavery archives, including those associated with Portugal, may be found in The National Archives, see 'British Transatlantic Slave Records'. n.d. The National Archives. Accessed 18 June 2019. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/british-transatlantic-slave-trade-records/.

146. Modern-day Bioko.

147. Glover, Winifred. 2001. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886'. In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton, 203 – 22. London: The Horniman Museum & Gardens. p. 217.

148. Glover, Winifred. 1993. 'In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of Gordon Augustus Thomson (1779-1886), Principal Donor of Ethnographic Objects to the Ulster Museum, Belfast'. *Familia: Ulster Genealogical Review* 2 (9): 46 – 61. p. 47.

149. Selby Smyth, Edward. 1892. In private possession. (National Museums Northern Ireland transcript).

150. Glover, Winifred. 2001. ‘In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886.’ In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton. London and Coimbra: Horniman Museum and Gardens; Museu Antropológica da Universidade de Coimbra. p. 212 and 204.

151. Glover, Winifred. 1993. ‘In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of Gordon Augustus Thomson (1779-1886), Principal Donor of Ethnographic Objects to the Ulster Museum, Belfast’. *Familia: Ulster Genealogical Review* 2 (9): 46 – 61. p .56.

152. Glover, Winifred. 2001. ‘In the Wake of Captain Cook: The Travels of G.A. Thomson, 1799-1886’. In *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*, edited by Anthony Shelton, 203 – 22. London: The Horniman Museum & Gardens. p. 217.

153. It is notable also that the first version of Glover's paper *In the Wake of Captain Cook* (1993) speculates in greater detail on Thomson's sexuality than does the second (2001). The differences in the audiences for the two publications in which the articles appeared may explain this.

154. ‘OUTing the Past' is an increasingly important interpretative theme in museums. For recent and forthcoming Northern Irish examples see ‘Festival Programme: Belfast'. 2019. LGBT History Month. 28 January 2019. https://www.outingthepast.org.uk/festival-of-lgbt-history/outing-the-past-2019-festival-programme-belfast/. See also Reid, Kris. ‘LGBTQ+ Representation in Museums’. Hillsborough: Ulster University. 19 February 2020 (forthcoming) and Reid, Kris. Forthcoming. ‘Queering the Exhibition’. *Museum Ireland 2019*.

155 Kelly, Niamh. 2018. ‘The Place of Young People in the Museum’. Culturenorthernireland.Org. 19 December 2018. https://www.culturenorthernireland.org/features/heritage/place-young-people-museum.

156. Museum Activism is an important and growing field. See for example Maura Reilly. 2018. *Curatorial Activism: Towards an Ethics of Curating*. London: Thames and Hudson.

157. Queer histories are a neglected area of Irish museum practice. See Reid, Kris. Forthcoming. ‘Queering the Exhibition’. *Museum Ireland 2019*.

158. Blair, William. 2019. Email to Briony Widdis, 11 September 2019.

159. Brunt, Peter, and Nicholas Thomas, eds. 2017. *Oceania*. London: Royal Academy. p. 71.

Chapter Seven

Us-ness *and* Otherness in the Crozier Collection

Introduction: The entanglement of Colonial Objects in social networks

In Chapter Three I demonstrated how objects in domestic settings become symbolic repositories for a family's identities, and how as a result they come to represent Us-ness. In Chapter Four, I showed how, when objects represent Otherness, people reject them, or alternatively try to occupy their previous meanings, through visual and narrative re-interpretation. Chapters Five and Six demonstrated how the effects of Us-ness and Otherness operagrapte in the public and non-public spaces of museums, and how this has affected the interpretation of objects in National Museums Northern Ireland. In this present chapter, I will show how objects can represent both Otherness *and* Us-ness, at the same time.

The reason why I am developing this type of Colonial Object is that it is within this group that there appears to be the most potential to make an impact in the present. When an object represents both Us-ness and Otherness to the viewer, it seems logical to suppose that she is going to be the most open to sharing it. The challenge, though, if we wish to share Colonial Objects, is to find ways of developing Us-ness from Otherness objects, and Otherness from Us objects. As I reveal in this chapter, a good way to do this is to begin by looking at how objects have been entangled in social networks.

A further reason why the network is useful for analysing objects is that clearly it is something that we all share: within and beyond the family context that I have discussed previously, there are many kinds of social group that produce memories based on objects.[1] By focusing in this chapter on ceramics and decorative objects, I will show how networked social groups straddled colonial divides. These objects come from the Crozier Collection because as evidenced already, this is a collection I can investigate in depth. Chapter Eight will demonstrate how one of the practical forms that network analysis can take is the charting of colonial correspondence lists. In this present chapter though, I will begin by showing how the concept of networks can enable cross-references to be made across multiple evidential sources; for example, documents, photographs, newspaper cuttings, and three-dimensional artefacts. By basing our analysis on a broad range of data such as

this, we can develop a sounder understanding of the social arteries through which people and objects moved.

Networks are furthermore useful for contemporary biographical analysis; with the late Empire still in living memory, it is still comparatively easy to chart social connections and the objects that they produced. Analysis of networks fits, too, within historical study, including as it relates to Ireland. For example, Enda Delaney and Donald MacRaild support the application of biographical data to the interpretation of migrations from Ireland to Britain. They state that a network-based approach is useful for understanding migrations motivated by the exercise of individual choice; and funnelled through established movement pathways.[2]

After Networks, the second key concept for the chapter is that of Entanglement. As I have found, entanglement is especially useful for analysing objects from the late British Empire. This is because by the twentieth century, global movements of objects and people were comparatively easy, and migrations across the Atlantic from Britain, and within Africa, Asia and the Pacific were a frequent occurrence.[3] In addition, in the period after the Second World War, interracial co-working became more common. This then was a time in which the gifting and other forms of exchange of objects across networks became more familiar practices to their members.

No work has yet been done in Northern Ireland though, to link up methodological approaches to networks that are widely used in History, with the study of objects and how they are entangled.[4] This is an area to which this chapter aims to make a contribution. It will argue that by looking at the imperial social networks within which objects were entangled, we can bring to light the interactions of the Northern Irish, working as British colonial servants, in a globalised world. A network-entanglement method can also scrutinise what happened to perceptions about objects when they were brought ‘home’, and became physically, culturally and politically distant from their origins.

As was also the case in my last chapter, my argument here includes that through movements across time, Colonial Objects move in meaning. Where they were valued by colonial owners in the past, that value can later disappear. However, they may still be cherished in new contexts. By discussing these contexts with current owners, we can reconnect the current symbolic value of the objects to the

histories from which they came. This is a stitching that this chapter provides. To begin with though, I will show why it is that objects entangled in networks are important to people. Given the context for the thesis, I will start with Northern Ireland.

Why is it important to understand how objects are entangled in social networks?

As stated at the outset, my ideas about Colonial Objects are influenced by emotional experience. In each of my chapters, emotion has been a feature; and as acknowledged in Chapter One, this brings the thesis into contact with an emerging critical focus on heritage and affect.[5] Much of this writing discusses how objects provoke physical responses, due to the way in which they enable individual recall. By coming together in places where they are experiencing memories provoked by objects, individuals begin to construct new social groups.

One example of such writing focuses on a very large object. This was *Temple*, a 72-foot high construction made of balsa wood, created by artist David Best that was built in 2015 on a hill on the outskirts of Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland. Best's stated purpose was to allow whomever should experience it to move on from difficult memories, by recalling them within a creative space. They did so, for example, by writing thoughts down on the Temple, and attaching mementoes to it, before the night of the vernal equinox on which the memories and mementoes, with the artwork, were burned.

Reviewing the project, Margo Shea finds that it enabled collective emotional expression that was particularly needed in the city, where traumatic experiences, although acquired individually, are rooted in commonly remembered historical events arising from political conflict. By symbolising disparate trauma in a shared space, the edifice facilitated progression. Furthermore, it enabled the bringing together of Troubles-related memories, with other traumatic memories acquired through domestic experiences. Therefore, the project 'made possible a shared engagement with emotions that defy easy and neat boundaries', 'and refuse to be contained within binary frameworks like before/after, war/peace, public/private and us/them'.[6]

Also writing on *Temple*, McDowell and Crooke argue that its healing power derived from its liminality, both as a temporary structure and one situated on a hill on the outskirts of the urban area. It was this liminality that enabled its usage as a shared space within the city of Derry-Londonderry, the physical geography of which is marked by social segregation.[7] Together, the two articles show how people and their memories can be unified through objects, and how this is especially the case when the objects are on boundaries.

Conversely, as each chapter in this thesis has shown, difficult memories can become *lodged* in objects. In many instances, these are kept rather than, as with *Temple*, burned. Often hidden, in domestic cupboards or in museum stores, their seclusion is antithetical to the possibility of visible liminality. By enduring in an un-shared state, their potential to perpetuate old wounds, or cause more, persists. Furthermore, and as evidenced by the last chapter, Colonial Objects are especially wrapped up with difficult memories that are not shared. Therefore, they have unique potential, especially when hidden, to cause harm.

One means to overcome the proclivity of Colonial Objects to cause harm (by remaining hidden and individuated rather than being brought to light and shared), is to discuss the ways in which they have mediated in the past within and between human groups. My idea for this is drawn from Rana, Willemsen and Dibbits who propose the use of networks for investigating multiplicities of emotional response to heritage. Having observed diverse reflections on racism given by participants at urban 'pop' events in the Netherlands, the authors suggest that heritage workers should arrange opportunities for 'physical encounters among people who do not converse regularly or perhaps at all'. Among their examples is an event in which Saidiya Hartman read mesmerically from her book *Lose Your Mother* which recounts personal histories of the enslaved. One audience member responded with 'where in Saidiya's account was the story of the master?' This question provoked shock around the room. In conclusion, Rana *et al.* argue that heritage encounters shared by people of different backgrounds can be important in enabling 'emotion shifts', making 'people see and feel the everyday in the way others do … in order to not only make heritage meaningful, but also the connections between those who produce its meaning'.[8]

Especially given the example that it provides, this article shows how the sharing of colonial heritage can mobilise private memories that when collectively expressed can provide opportunities to challenge attitudes in contemporary society. Conversely, as I have shown (Chapter Three) and will return to later (Chapter Eight), when memories are 'stuck' in objects, the opposite is the case. This is of course because if objects have agency, the agency can be used to forget as well as to recall.

Museums' power to collude with memory denial, by holding on to objects in which emotions reside, is the reason why research on the deposition of memory in objects most often takes place in that sphere. Divya Tolia-Kelly for example discusses the museum space as a 'theatre of pain' that 'petrifies' artefacts symbolising violence perpetrated on colonised peoples. Focusing on Māori encounters in the British Museum, she finds display methods can 'disturb, give pain and sadden'. By reconstructing objects' meanings through exhibitions, museums can misrepresent indigenous identities, homogenising them within national and international narratives. Such misrepresentations, she argues, emerge from Orientalist perspectives, that in museums result in the physical framing of objects through the epistemology of the West. Tolia-Kelly states that museums should not privilege the visual rights of their visitors while subordinating other senses, including how it feels to have understood an object through touch and through usage: 'the act of looking onto an object can make known the culture of a peoples [*sic.*] through a singular colonizing gaze'.[9] In this way, an object's symbolic value is reduced, and aspects of its meaning are effaced. Building on my previous discussion of memories entrapped in stored objects, both in a home and in museums, from Tolia-Kelly's article we can see the importance of ensuring that not only are objects shared, but also that we share in the opportunities to build narrative around them. As she proceeds to argue later in her article, museums alone cannot sufficiently discover the symbolic importance of objects. [10]

As Joy Sather-Wagstaff shows, objects can be polysensual, interacting with memories in continually shifting ways.[11] Therefore, acknowledging the validity of meanings that have mutated according to whom, over time, has been doing the meaning-making, can be central to sustaining an object's significance, and our knowledge about it. I argue that even when viewers derive from a culture that is alien at the outset to that of the object, the change effected upon the object's

meaning by the presence of that alien is part of its story. Sustained human contact with an object is as likely to happen in a home as in a museum; and it follows that a social network approach to it is equally valuable in either context. If we are to understand the symbolic value of objects, especially when they have been brought away from the people that knew them best, we need to examine them in relation to how entangled they were in social networks, and what those networks have been.

Applying the Concepts of Network and Entanglement to Colonial Objects

As described in Chapter One, the initial methodological focus of this thesis on Douglas Crozier's biography came about not only because biographical approaches are common in the work of museums,[12] but also due to my stance as an interested party. A third and pressing purpose that has since arisen is to resist the theoretical abstraction I have encountered within museum and heritage studies. Others too have noticed this abstraction. Tim Winter attributes it to the facts that museum interpretations are often Eurocentric, and that Heritage as a concept and set of practices has emerged from the West. One outcome of this has been that Western scholars have authored universalising accounts of heritage, in which 'localised inflections are subsumed in a narrative of totalising[13] change'.[14] For example, Dipesh Chakrabarty, when faced with imperialistic perspectives within the historicization of the Indian subcontinent, argued for its re-inscription 'from and for the margins'.[15] Winter also references Raewyn Connell, for whom theoretical abstraction emerged due to binary oppositions within the social sciences between core and peripheral geographies.[16] Arguably therefore, some causes of theoretical abstraction in the field of heritage studies derive from the course of imperialism itself.

A further useful explanation of why heritage theory has been abstracted from heritage practice is contained within Emma Waterton and Steve Watson's distinctions between theories *in*, *of* and *for* heritage. Theories *in* heritage are those that focus on systems of producing and displaying material culture. These are concerned with questions of authenticity, communication and community heritage that emerged during the 1980s and 1990s. Theories *of* heritage, also dating to the 1980s, centre on heritage as an 'industry' that 'feed[s] not the nation's past and abjuring any concern about its future'. As such, theories-of are concerned with subaltern values, the questioning of hegemonic meanings, and changes in social

attitudes resulting from economic restructuring and globalisation. Theories *for* heritage raise 'questions that ask us about our very being, and what happens to our bodies, ourselves…how have we changed, what is different…at their core, these are questions about the role played by the personal, the ordinary, and the everyday, *within* spaces of heritage, whether they are physical, discursive or affective'.[17] As the authors suggest,[18] it is within this last theoretical grouping that studies linking heritage, memory and emotion reside. The chapters of my study leading up to this one, driven by emotive memories of objects that have been central to human discourse, have exemplified the working-through of theories *for* heritage within Waterton and Watson's categorisation of theoretical positions.

As has also been described however, my analysis coalesces not only around memory but concerns too the entanglement of objects in colonial networks in the past. This is partly an echo of the work of Nicholas Thomas who in *Entangled Objects* compounded the idea that Colonial Objects become enmeshed in inter-societal relations. Thomas's book begins with a statement of his commitment to 'displace an essentialist claim about patterns in the use of material culture with historical and political specificity'.[19] With this, Thomas demolishes the previously popular approach to ethnographic objects, that regarded them either as authentic representations of traditional cultures, or having been altered by colonial contact; in other words, that made the distinction between non-Westernised and Westernised objects that is a core characteristic of traditional Museum Ethnography. Thomas considers the circulation of objects in Melanesia, both within indigenous groups, and between these and colonial incomers. Through case studies, he exemplifies what he describes as the 'promiscuity' of objects, that in different phases of their existence and through being owned by a variety of individuals, had a range of functions extending beyond those intended by their makers. Therefore, for example, through progressive social re-contextualisation, an object having become commodified through exchange may also become a gift and thus provide social capital for an individual or a social group.[20]

Since Thomas several other authors have built on his Entanglement concept. A recent example is Sarah Longair and John McAleer's *Curating Empire*, an anthology of biographical chapters examining objects from Africa, Australia, India, Sri Lanka and New Zealand.[21] In similar treatments, Claire Wintle discusses objects

from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands that are now in British public collections,[22] and Chris Gosden and Chantal Knowles' earlier *Collecting Colonialism* examined how material culture in museums reflects the changing nature of colonial relations in Papua New Guinea.[23]

However, 'entanglement' has also been examined in a more theoretical sense. On the 'archaeology' of entanglements involved in human-object relations, Ian Hodder argues that 'humans depend on things in order to build, maintain and justify power'.[24] Through analysis of studies that have variously asserted the power of objects to have agency over humans – including by Alfred Gell who asserted that things gain 'secondary agency' from humans[25] (see also Chapter Two) and Bruno Latour who argued that things could control human actions[26] (see also Chapter Three) – Hodder asserts that objects have *primary* agency, in that 'they act in the world as a result of processes of physical interaction, transformation and decay. Materials and the forces that flow through them afford humans certain potentials and constraints. In these ways things are actors.'[27] In Hodder's view then, objects' materiality renders their entanglements with people both irreversible and increasingly complex over time. For this reason, humans and societies become entrapped in serving the material world.[28]

Elizabeth Edwards, too, uses the term 'entangled' in a theoretical sense. She addresses how photographs can be understood through their 'orality, tactility and haptic engagement'. In her view, embodied engagement with photographs, taking place within the context of social relations, is strongly determinant of their significance. The entanglement of objects with the senses, and hence with the emotions of humans, renders them 'profoundly social objects of agency'.[29]

Here, then, are three forms in which objects are 'entangled' in human networks. For Thomas, objects are entangled in relations between people, bringing increased richness and complexity to colonial relations and the understanding of them. For Hodder, they are entangled with power, and with both the ability of humans to control it and that of objects to have agency over their owners. For Edwards, objects are entangled with the senses and in this way impact upon individuals' emotions and physicality.

All of these forms of entanglement are pertinent to my investigation of the Crozier Collection. Because the objects have passed through several types of

ownership and were involved in colonial relations, Thomas's 'promiscuity' is relevant here. So, too, after Hodder, is it essential to unveil some of the ways in which the assertion of power relations in colonial Hong Kong involved the deployment of objects. This chapter also shows how in line with the work of Edwards, the physical handling of objects (and photographs among them) can be a profoundly emotive experience.

In exploring these forms of entanglement, I am now crossing deliberately away from Waterton and Watson's theories *for* heritage (that were engaged in preceding chapters) and toward their theories *in* heritage. This chapter deals with the circulation of items denoting cultural value, and also with those that furnished their owners with social capital. As is indicated by the third kind of entanglement enlisted above in which objects engage the emotions, the shift between the two approaches is made possible by my autoethnographic position.

It must be noted here that crossing between theories-for and theories-in heritage within a single work is unusual. An explanation for this absence could be the lack of other studies of objects written in the autoethnographic voice. Another may be that it can be difficult for those working in public institutions, such as in museums, to construct interpretive narratives that combine detail about objects' emotional impacts, which are personal and therefore individuated, with contextual factual detail that is of interest to local, national and international audiences. In addition, there remains a division between studies that focus on how people privately reflect on objects, and those that discuss how objects are received in public domains. The same *lacuna* causes Laurajane Smith and Gary Campbell to describe the emotional impact of objects as 'the elephant in the room',[30] meaning that knowledge about how people experience objects does not translate easily into pragmatic agendas for museums. The importance of acknowledging that objects have diverse emotional impacts and stimulate complex affective responses, they argue, is that these impacts and responses are fundamental to ensuring that the work of museums is politically informed.[31]

As shown in Chapters Three and Four, my autoethnographic stance in this thesis allows engagement with the emotional impact of objects at first-hand. However, by way of development, in this chapter it also facilitates close analysis of objects to reveal their socio-political functions. It is to acknowledge the interplay

between the personal and political dimensions of the Crozier Collection that this chapter describes objects that have triggered emotions in the present, and *that were entangled in social networks in the past.* This interpretative juxtaposition is a component of my argument that, given that *all* made objects are involved in social networks in some shape or form, the theme of networks is as inexhaustible a source in Material Culture Studies as it is in the aforementioned field of History. In an anthology on the subject, Byrne et al. examine the multiple modes in which people can act as agents of objects, including as creators, collectors, brokers, curators, and public witnesses. They use the term 'networks' in a range of senses, but all relating to the means of handling collections of museums. There are, for example, 'networks of [human] agency', 'material networks' referring to the routes through which objects are physically exchanged; 'networks of association' between museums in their nations, and networks of 'donors, loaners, dealers and swappers' whose efforts have built collections. As with Hodder, these authors embed their work in Actor-Network Theory (ANT), in which humans and things connect via sets of social relations. ANT's implication, they assert, is that humans can only gain agency when they build it upon a 'scaffolding of other people and things to make actions happen in the world'.[32]

For Liz Conor, networks between objects dreamed up by curators, by grouping natural history specimens into 'networked zoological categories' accompanied by racialist designations of human morphology, were a means through which people became typecast.[33] In a review of the collecting career of the Australian public servant Reynell Eveleigh Johns, Conor considers the 'topographies of racialized literacy' that are visible when one brings together the components of a colonial biography – in the case of Johns, a 'landscape' of diverse materials and life experiences that was reflected in items from his collection. These included, for example, sheep trotters carried by white 'runhunters' with which to indent the ground and so convince authorities of their occupation of land; Aboriginal 'trackers' who could interpret such marks as a reader deciphers words on a page; the samplers of European females that exemplified white skills in fabric to which those of aboriginal women were unfavourably compared; scrapbooks compiled by Johns himself containing newspaper articles on and engravings of Aborigines; cicatrise markings on aboriginal skin that were represented by his contemporaries as

primitive; and government gazettes that he kept containing instructions on land regulation that aided in white occupation of it.[34]

In her article on an exhibition at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, curated in partnership with the Fiji Museum,[35] Anita Herle examines object histories as having been produced by networks of colonial exchange. The exhibition was designed to critique how systems of colonial relations had determined the Museum's collecting practices. These systems included interactions between the Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon and his entourage, who with the help of powerful Fijian chiefs bedecked Government House with locally-produced artefacts that would become central to the founding of the Museum in the late nineteenth century. Describing the exhibition as an attempt to provide redress for a general museum sector record in ethnographic exhibitions that have ignored the colonial origins of collections, Herle examines the sensitivities that its curators sought to respect in some detail. Factors they considered included earlier exhibitions that infamously reinforced stereotypes and aroused anti-racism backlash, such as for example *Into the Heart of Africa* at the Royal Ontario Museum (1989). A further difficulty was synthesising objects into a display approach that acknowledged the sheer complexity of Fiji's colonial relations, and the profundity with which objects were entangled within them. A third was the diverse range of responses that museum visitors might have to the material and to the history it represents, requiring a careful juxtaposition of items to bring out nuanced stories. Herle concludes with a view on the importance of developing contemporary human networks, and with building relations with present-day source communities, because 'contemporary responses to historic objects…demonstrates how the political is continually reconstituted by things'.[36]

The above-cited works together demonstrate how the terms 'entanglement' and 'network' encapsulate a range of concerns facing those who interpret Colonial Objects. Liz Conor indicates how a biography of networked objects, comparable with that represented by the Crozier Collection, can express a lifetime of enmeshed colonial experiences and imperialist attitudes. Rana *et al.* attest to the importance of enabling emotion networking in heritage space using similar approaches to those deployed here. Herle reflects on the power of museum collections to unlock knowledge about historical networks that can be used to build contemporary ones,

and as shown in this chapter, this practice has enriched the current study too. It is noteworthy that for all of the above-cited writers, working on both entanglements and networks, the background to the usage of both terms is political.

It is with this all these writers in mind that I move to an analysis of the networks in which items in the Crozier Collection were entangled. Embedded as it was within a colonial government, it is ripe for investigation through this combination of concepts, even though they are not, as in all of the above examples, within a public collection. What follows is a series of *vignettes* that employ them as explanatory tools.

Images of Childhood: A Jingdezhen-ware Jar

For my mother's funeral in 2015, a granddaughter arranged a mantelpiece with images of her that were familiar to all of us, because they had been kept in a drawer of photographs into which we all frequently delved. These photographs, which showed Maurna Crozier in a range of phases in her life, partially occluded a beautiful Chinese jar, also on the mantelpiece, that my mother had placed there a few months before.

The jar had been put away in the attic in 1981, concealed under Hong Kong tea-cloths in the fruit crate in which it had been removed from Ann Crozier's house. Perhaps due to the sheer superfluity of things at Lisnacreevy, it had never been unpacked. After her cancer diagnosis, my mother had found it there and brought it downstairs as an attractive addition to the room in which she often sat in her last days. To dismantle this mantelpiece[37] when leaving Lisnacreevy was profoundly sad. It was poignant, too, to wonder how in her illness my mother had found the energy to climb the stairs to the attic. The jar on the mantelpiece was therefore caught up, on an emotional level, with memories of her courage as she faced her last months, as well as, on a physical one, with the photographs of her in happier times, placed there when they had ended.

The jar is from the famous ceramics-producing town of Jingdezhen in southern China. Jingdezhen is the source of the majority of the porcelain in the Crozier Collection, but unlike the other items, most of which are mid-twentieth century, the jar is from the late Qing and dates to between 1880 and 1920.[38] The iconography on the jar is the 'Hundred Boys'. Designed to represent the hundred

sons of the legendary founder of the Zhou Dynasty, Zhou Wénwáng, the motif, which is still popular, appears frequently in the Chinese decorative arts of the Ming and Qing dynasties and shows boys, usually in a garden, carrying auspicious items.[39] The photograph below of the jar, for example, shows one boy holding a branch of *cassia* to which is attached a scroll, signifying the passing of the Chinese civil service exams. The boy in front is holding a book representing scholarship. To the left, another offers a deer, signifying a wish that the recipient should rise in rank or receive a rise in salary. On the left side, a tall boy wears a lock around his neck and carries a box, indicating that he is a bearer of precious items. The boy carrying a child who is holding a flag symbolises children at play.[40] As is clear from these symbols, the 'Hundred Boys' is a motif suggesting good wishes for the bearing of male progeny and the successful continuation of a family line. It is frequently to be found on tapestries decorating a marriage bed,[41] and although there is no information as to how the Croziers acquired the jar, it is therefore possible that they received it as a wedding gift in 1934.

The imagery on the jar provides stark contrast when set amongst photographs of children taken by the Croziers in the late 1950s. In their slides, images of infants and young people often appear. In particular, these focus on people who were poor. The Croziers took the photographs on the outskirts of the urban centre, such as in the village of Stanley, and in places in the New Territories, including Sai Kung, to which they made day-trips by car. These were some of the areas in which refugees from the mainland settled, during the 1940s and 1950s, in the wake of the Chinese Civil War and Cultural Revolution. The Government of Hong Kong was slow to accommodate this influx, securing a release of land that was initially wholly inadequate to accommodate the new arrivals, who were thereby forced, when moved on as they often were, to squat in an ever-expanding range of areas.[42]

Ann Crozier later used these slide images of children to illustrate talks, given in Guildford and Armagh, to describe life in Hong Kong.[43] As her lecture notes show, at the heart of her talks was an emphasis on the role of the Government in addressing what she described as the 'waves of refugees'. In them, she contrasted images of destitute children, both with their families and alone, with others that demonstrated new services that by the late 1950s the Government, including Douglas as Director of Education and a member of the Legislative and Executive

Councils, had begun to establish – health care buildings, schools, training colleges and resettlement homes.[44]

The language and interpretative approach used by Ann in her talks show that, when set against their photographs of children, the Croziers' retention of the jar connects with a prevalent characterisation by the British of poorer Chinese in Hong Kong. The Croziers' own response to children bore striking resemblances to nineteenth century British attitudes to the Chinese as, in Christopher Munn's description, an 'undifferentiated mass'.[45] The Croziers' approach, too, clearly followed the long-established British habit of stereotyping Chinese people. This had existed for example in ethnographic drawings made by the British, on voyages of discovery in the eighteenth century, that depicted the Chinese as part of natural landscapes. In the early nineteenth century, prints produced in China for mercantile export deployed stereotypes inherited from this illustrative tradition. From 1827 when Chinese goods began to enter British markets and were shown in London exhibitions, representations of China in Britain were influenced both by European-made Chinoiserie and by the earlier tradition of ethnographic painting.[46] The jar and the slide photographs were both, therefore, part of a continuing tradition of representing Chinese both in stereotyped form, and as 'masses'.

The Croziers still benignly participated in this habit in retirement. For example, they procured *City of Children*, a Hong Kong Government publication issued after their departure from the colony, in which a further range of officially sanctioned stereotypes were provided. Beginning with the statement that 'In Hong Kong 43 out of every 100 people are children under 16', this book contains 171 images of mostly smiling children being well-cared for in the public settings provided for them by the Government that Ann had described in her talk – schools, parks, hospitals, libraries, and the arts.[47]

The jar has an ethnographic and art historical aura; the slide photo an anthropological and documentary one. Notwithstanding their resultant apparent resistance to postcolonial reproach, when analytically networked together as here, an alternative narrative is produced. In combination, the two modes of representation of children shows collected items to be an insidious means of objectifying them too. I have disentangled the two sets of imagery from their recent domestic context – the jar on open display and evoking a public expression of emotions; and the slides

hidden and capable upon being encountered of provoking shock and even anger. Their re-entwinement has produced a richer analysis.

The lustrous presentation of children on the jar, in which their presence in large number was presented as wholly positive – especially when offered to the British as a form of good wishes for their own fecundity – can be seen to pose disquieting opposition to how the British in Hong Kong represented vulnerable children in the mid-twentieth century. The Croziers continuously photographed children, not only when they were daytime tourists to the places in which they lived, but also, in their roles within Education, as part of a machinery of government, in order to represent the supposedly praiseworthy efforts of the British abroad. It is moreover notable that *City of Children* was written and presented as a touristic brochure might be. Here, as on the jar and in the photographs, children were deployed as a means to reinforce cultural power, by the British over the Chinese, and were a means for the British to reassure themselves that their own hegemony was justified.

Fig. 34. Jingdezhen ware jar showing the 'Hundred Boys', 1880-1920. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

Fig. 35. Children at a squatter camp on the Tai Hang Road. c. 1958. Slide photograph. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

A Gift to the British: A Figure of Bai Juyi

The second entangled object that I wish to discuss, entangled in the past in colonial relations, is an ivory male figure. Between 1981 and 2015, this was situated at the back of an alcove in the Lisnacreevy dining room. It was shown there devoid of context (as can be seen in the photograph below), being juxtaposed with British ceramic and glass items. Chinese sealing wax boxes, most likely acquired in Hong Kong, and a glass snuff bottle were similarly surrounded on the shelf above. Therefore, the display of the figure, lacking in useful clues as to its origins, showed it as merely a decorative object. By dis-entangling it from the display, and re-networking it with a selection of contemporaneous objects, this research has recovered some of its symbolic meaning.

Other objects, photographs and documents within the Crozier Collection show that for several weeks leading up to his retirement as Director of Education in April 1961, Douglas and Ann Crozier attended dinners and receptions hosted in their honour at which they received farewell gifts. The ivory figure was one such example. This was presented at a reception hosted by Bishop Lorenzo Bianchi, the Italian Roman Catholic Bishop of Hong Kong. When placed correctly on its mount, a plaque at the front reads ‘From the Bishop and the Catholic Community of Hong Kong. To a Great Educator. Dr. The Hon. D.J.S. Crozier. 25.4.61’. The plaque on the reverse reads ‘Pak Keu Yih. Tang Dynasty Scholar’.

'Pak Keu Yih' is scholar-poet Bai Juyi (772-846),[48] Governor of Hangzhou from 822-824 AD. As multiple editions of Chinese poetry[49] still in print attest, he is widely remembered as among the greatest of all Tang poets. On visiting Hangzhou to give a conference presentation as part of this research in 2018,[50] I learned that he is also remembered there; a recently-erected bronze statue commemorates Bai Juyi, as one of the city's most outstanding governors, on the shores of the famous West Lake.

As an exchange item between Europeans in Hong Kong, the gifting of 'Pak Keu Yih' to Crozier carried a range of meanings. Bai Juyi had not long previously been popularised in England by Arthur Waley, an Orientalist and former British Museum employee who had never visited China.[51] In 1918, Waley had published *One Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, a volume in two parts in which the entirety of the second was devoted to the work of Bai Juyi (under a further transliteration as Po Chü-i). Waley's biography of the poet,[52] published in 1949, had focused nostalgically on Bai Juyi's role in Chinese imperial history.

It is notable that the biography coincided with the foundation of the People's Republic of China.[53] As Director of Education, Douglas Crozier had secured stronger Departmental controls over schools. This was a bid to raise standards but was also designed to resist Communist influence. The Chinese History curriculum that he oversaw emphasised China's imperial and cultural past and ended at 1945.[54]

The Catholic Centre therefore appears to have considered this gift to him of Bai Juyi apt for four reasons. Firstly, the poet had been 'discovered' by a British establishment scholar from the metropolitan heart of the Empire, emphasising the centrality of Britain to the interpretation of Chinese culture. Secondly, in a period of deepening opposition between China and the West, as attested by Waley's 1941 volume *Translations from the Chinese* which accounts for Bai Juyi's exile, resulting from his poetic rejection of imperial campaigns,[55] the historical poet represented resistance to a Chinese regime. Thirdly, Bai Juyi's lifetime had taken place a millennium before the rise in Chinese Communism, and so he was a figure that could be celebrated by the British without fear of controversy. Finally, as a result of Waley's focus upon him, he was one of a limited range of famous Chinese characters that were accessible to readers in English[56] As such, here was a means for Europeans to gain knowledge of, and therefore power to further interpret, Chinese culture.

The gift to Crozier was recorded, three days after Bianchi made it, on the front page of a Catholic newspaper. Bianchi's address to Crozier, which is printed verbatim, states, 'Pak Keu Yih was a great scholar in the China of over 1,000 years ago. In years to come, you will be proud to remember that in these difficult days you have laboured valiantly and successfully to perpetuate great, ancient, and now imperilled traditions of Chinese learning'. In reply, Crozier said that 'the infusion of Christianity into education enriches education greatly. Never has this inclusion been more needed in the world than today and in no place more than in Hong Kong where temptations and materialism infiltrate insidiously'.[57]

The subtext of their mutually congratulatory words was clear. Bianchi was referring to the threat to the British colonial regime in Hong Kong posed by Chinese Communism, against which European educators must fight 'valiantly'. Against a historical backdrop of British economic domination in Hong Kong (beginning with the cession of the colony to open Britain's access to opium trade in China in 1842), Crozier was demonstrating support for the ongoing dominance of Western values. At this time, Chinese investment in and therefore influence over the colony's education, made possible by growth in indigenous business following the War, was rapidly gaining ground.[58] For all of these reasons, although the exchange of the figure of Bai Juyi *appeared* to demonstrate British respect for Chinese politics and culture, it also represented a shared European discomfort with Hong Kong Chinese economic success, and political fear of mainland China, in 1961.

Fig. 36. An ivory figure of Bai Juyi in an alcove at Lisnacreevy. 2014. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

Fig. 37. Douglas Crozier looks at the figure shortly after receiving it at a Catholic Centre reception in Hong Kong in 1961. Bishop Lorenzo Bianchi is behind him; the Centre's Director, Charles Vath, is the third person in the photo. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

A Chinese Reminder: A Lamp depicting Li Shizhen from Yuen Long

At Lisnacreevy there was one Hong Kong object of which we were all aware because of its size, and because like the Bai Juyi figure it was displayed in the dining room, but in this case more prominently. The dining room as I have said was often used to entertain guests as well as ourselves. This object was a lamp featuring a ceramic figure of a man. Unlike other Chinese objects in the house (including both the previous examples in this chapter), this was surrounded by others from Hong Kong that visibly located it within the art historical traditions of that place.

Julian and Maurna Crozier positioned the lamp on a Chinese writing-desk that was used as a sideboard, alongside a Chinese jewellery box, and adjacent to a set of Chinese shelves. Under the desk (although not shown in the photograph below) was a Chinese scholar's stool. It seems that Ann and Douglas Crozier had also displayed the lamp in this way, for a slide photograph was taken in the London apartment to which they retired, at Oakwood Court in Kensington, showing it in a hallway, set on the same writing desk and with the stool underneath. There, however, it was contextualised in even greater depth, for also situated nearby were a Chinese mirror and a large red chest (both of which, in my parents' time, were distributed to other domestic locations). As can be seen from the photographs below, the Kensington setting provided by Ann and Douglas was devoid of the clatter of non-Chinese objects that occluded the lamp's striking appearance after Maurna and Julian had moved it to Lisnacreevy.

Documents from the Crozier archive that I have re-discovered through this research show that the lamp was given to Douglas Crozier by the Yuen Long Secondary School in the New Territories. As with many of the objects, the occasion was a prize-giving ceremony;[59] this one took place in December 1960. As indicated by a label that accompanied the gift, the figure on the lamp is Li Shizhen (1518-1593), author of the 52-volume *Compendium of Materia Medica*. Li Shizhen is still a much-celebrated personage, described for example by the website of the School of Medicine at Hong Kong Baptist University for a quinquennial project marking his birth as 'one of the greatest pharmaceutical scientists in ancient China'.[60]

This ceramic representation of Li Shizhen takes a standard form, produced in a type of figurative earthenware colloquially described as 'mud-men'. From a category of Chinese ceramic known as Shewan-ware, these are made in Shiwanzhen,

an area of Foshan city in the province of Guangdong. Popular still for the wide range of figure types in which they are produced in the region, 'mud-men' are collectible, and as a result are often to be found on online auction sites. The figure of Li Shizhen has continuously been produced in almost precisely similar (and up to almost life-size) form, as can be seen in images on one potter's blog of a visit to the kilns.[61] The label that accompanied the lamp reads,

> Lee See Chun was born in Kay County in 1518 during the Ming Dynasty. He was well over seventy when he died. He was at one time appointed an Officer in charge of the ritual ceremony in the house of Chor Wong, a prominent noble. He spent thirty years in research, studying books of no less than 800 different authors. He wrote the famous 'Items of herbs' which consists of 52 volumes. This book was, and still is, an authority on Chinese medicine.

From this, it can be gleaned that the gift was designed to inform Crozier, and perhaps through him the wider colonial constituency in which he was an actor, about the superiority of the Chinese. It conveyed messages concerning the status of China as a locus for dynastic inheritance, wisdom, learning, and scientific enquiry. It emphasised Chinese medical research excellence. Perhaps most importantly in the context of Crozier's role within the Department of Education, the label transmitted information about a long and extensive history of scholarship in China.

This one was far from the only occasion during which Douglas Crozier was reminded, through being recruited by the Chinese to help memorialise prominent indigenous figures, of the authority of those over whom the British governed. Other photographs in the collection that betray the same message show, for example, Crozier's role in the unveiling of a statue of Yu To-sang (d. 1944),[62] a millionaire philanthropist who had been a Director of two charitable institutions, the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals[63] and the Po Leung Kuk.[64] A further example is shown in photographs taken in April 1961 at the Po Kok Primary School, when Crozier is shown aiding the Governor, Sir Robert Black, at the opening of a new building erected in the name of his erstwhile colleague on the Legislative Council, Sir Lo Man-kam.[65]

Thus, when combined with other photographs within the collection, through the lamp figure of Li Shizhen, we can form a new, materially-based interpretation of Sino-British relations in Hong Kong during this period. Together, the artefact and the documents provide multi-layered evidence of the subtle ways in which, through

gifts and diplomatic occasions, British colonial rulers were carefully manipulated by the Chinese to assert their own cultural, historical and economic supremacy. These reminders were being given, furthermore, in a colony the end of which, by 1960, was on the horizon.[66] Therefore, the Li Shizhen lamp, and possibly too other diplomatic objects like it that were exchanged in this period, were instruments of subversion, deliberate tools that were used to intimate that British hegemony had not long to run.

At Lisnacreevy and in Oakwood Court, the lamp was displayed for more than its visual attractiveness alone. There are several other 'mud-men' in the collection, and neither generation of the Croziers exhibited any as prominently as this one. What the Li Shizhen figure had in addition to the others was its functionality as an electric light within domestic space. Moreover, as the separation of the lamp from the documents that reveal its source and symbolic meaning demonstrates, the lamp was not put on display, either by Ann and Douglas or by Julian and Maurna, out of respect for the cultural significance that its donors intended to convey.

We can see also that, when displayed by Julian and Maurna Crozier, its context of origin was diluted when compared with the way in which it was showed by Douglas and Ann, through a more oppressive presence of non-Chinese objects. The two generations of Croziers chose to show it in their homes because it was functionally compatible with their needs, and as a remnant of their cosmopolitan past. If the double-edged nature of the gift had been perceived by Douglas Crozier when he received it in 1961, he, and then his family even further, elided any discomfort they may have felt through the manner of its display.

As the present-day statue of Bai Juyi in Hangzhou and the 500th Anniversary project dedicated to Li Shizhen at Hong Kong Baptist University show, interest endures in the figures represented on the diplomatic gifts that the Croziers received. Therefore, there is contemporary relevance to the investigation of why these characters were chosen as presents for the British in late colonial Hong Kong. Also, as online conversations undertaken as part of this research have helped to identify, these objects invoke shared memories among both present-day residents of Hong Kong, and members of the families of Europeans who lived there in the period. Therefore, in a similar vein to the point that Anita Herle made concerning the importance of opening conversations about objects with contemporary source communities in Fiji, it can be said of even recent and privately-owned collections

such as these, that they can be openers for discussion about the dynamics of colonial relations in the past.

Like the objects from Fiji that were received from indigenous rulers by Sir Arthur Gordon and other residents at Government House, the Crozier ones, too, were diplomatic gifts. They lack the illustrious provenance, and the rarity value, of the objects in the Cambridge Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology. However, in being more commonplace – items of a kind that other households must also hold – the collaborative analysis of these can make a contribution to the interpretation of the colonial past, that is both innovative and compliments such projects in public institutions.

Fig. 38. Douglas Crozier receiving the figure of Li Shizhen, as part of a lamp, from Tang Pui King[67] *at the Yuen Long Public Secondary School. December 1960. Crozier Collection. Photo © Briony Widdis.*

Fig. 39. Lamp on display at Douglas and Ann Crozier's Kensington apartment, 8 Oakwood Court, London c. 1964. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

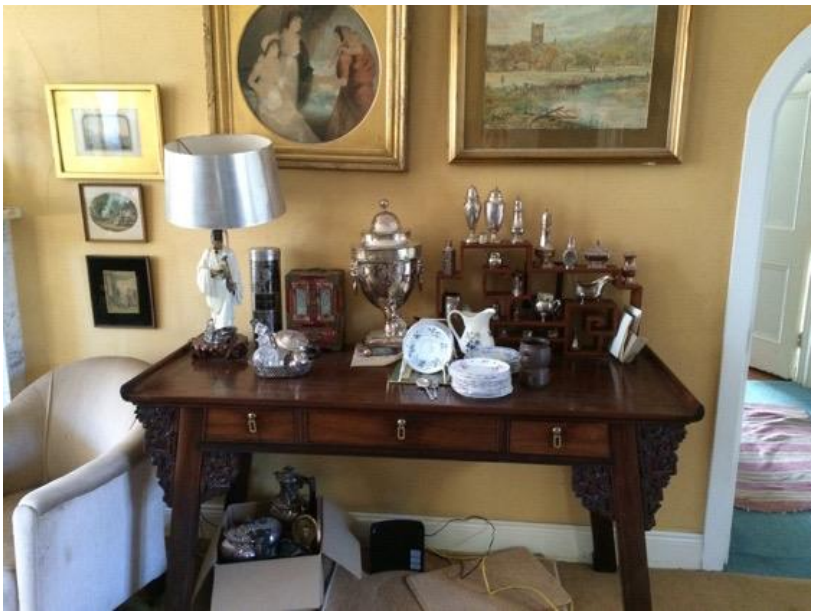

Fig. 40. The same lamp on display in the Lisnacreevy dining room, 2015. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

Conclusion: Colonial Objects Entangled in Social Networks

I have demonstrated in the Introduction to this chapter how common it is to apply the concept of 'network' to History, and of 'entanglement' to museum collections. What I hope to have contributed to this body of work here, has been to apply the concepts in combination, and to do so in the study of privately-owned Colonial Objects.

This chapter has shown through three examples how in a family home, Colonial Objects have been caught up in a range of human networks. It has also shown how they have been symbolically embroiled in competing meanings generated for them by their users. Some of these derive from the way in which they have been suspended in domestic space alongside a multiplicity of other household items. As is common in domestic settings, items from what is now described as the 'Crozier Collection' had become scattered across multiple rooms and spaces. As Hodder observed about the general propensity for material culture to become entangled, the intermingling of Chinese objects with those from other places has become increasingly complex as time has marched on, and as a result, their meanings have become ever more buried. Furthermore, as demonstrated in my opening paragraphs, the emotions with which they have been connected, as a result of their physical location in the home and their ensuing connections to recent memory, were such as to occlude the colonial past from which they derived.

These examples testify to the range of human interests that surround Colonial Objects. Their provenance does not only relate to the place in which they are made – in the case of the jar, for example, Qing dynasty Jingdezhen. As I showed in Chapter Seven, objects are entangled in networks beyond, as well as within, those that produced them. Therefore, we need not always think of those who first owned Colonial Objects as 'source communities' and later owners only as 'communities'. This is a distinction that is in my view artificial, especially for objects from the latter phases of the British Empire: as shown here, it is often the usage of objects as intermediaries between colonised and colonisers that makes them Colonial.

It is because of this political consideration that this research does not seek to privilege either the original owners or the contemporary Western family as the abiding source community. Arguably, it is the interaction between the two forms of 'source' that makes the field of Colonial Objects a richly informative research ground. These objects are both Other, *and* Us, because they were produced by, and

produced, the political environments in which they were situated. Establishing new knowledge about the complexities of these, by analysing objects through the dual concepts of entanglement and networks, can establish foundations for their interpretation in the present.

This chapter has shown that by being interpreted as bearers for postcolonial as well as colonial identities, Colonial Objects hold potential for a new form of engagement with our imperial past. They carry undisclosed information about how coloniser and colonised manipulated material forms, in order to assert their competing authority as the British Empire waned. In this respect, these objects – even when presented in mundane forms that may still be readily and cheaply acquired – contained and signified cultural capital.

It is notable from the examples of the figures of Bai Juyi and Li Shizhen above that it was Crozier who was receiving the gifts. Contrary to a tradition of diplomatic relations that had been established between the Chinese and British since the Qing Dynasty,[68] he did not bring with him reciprocal presents. These objects were designed to be read, therefore, as uni-directional tribute to him from the hosts of the receptions that he attended. These were not exchanges between the figureheads of nations, but instead were ostensibly presented as an individual's rewards for services rendered. That they were received as such is clear from the fact that he brought them with him into the private life of his retirement: the image of Oakwood Court shows that Douglas and Ann displayed Chinese objects in shrine-like form, a memorial not in the end to the Chinese, but to the career of a public servant. Therefore, we can imagine that the couple regarded the objects as reminders-to-self of the acknowledgement of the governed that their own lives in Hong Kong had had value. As can be seen from the photograph of the lamp, its display at Lisnacreevy took an inherited form. Here, its placement on the scholar's desk mimicked what Julian and Maurna remembered about its earlier presentation by Douglas and Ann. By this time however the objects invoked only half-memory, their diplomatic function and significance to Douglas being weakly recalled.

I construe that this forgetting was deliberate and was due to the political environment in which they were inherited. The British Empire has been a cause of enmity, and colonial lives are suspect.[69] Julian and Maurna Crozier gained responsibility for the objects in 1981, just as the Northern Ireland conflict[70] reached

a nadir.[71] The burial in the attic of informative archival documents and photographs, that would have leant context to the decorative objects downstairs, was, especially given the socio-political context within which they were then living, an oblique form of the younger couple's resistance to postcolonial guilt.

As shown by the Jingdezhen jar, displayed as it was at Maurna Crozier's funeral, contemporary emotions surrounding objects connect deeply with the social networks in which, in the present, they are entangled. However, I have also shown with reference to Māori heritage, and *Temple* in Derry-Londonderry, that invoking emotion brings objects 'alive', conjuring new forms of relevance to the contemporary world. As discussions with friends and online colleagues with whom I have shared items from the Crozier Collection have shown, it is as true for domestic objects, as for those in museums, that engaging with memory diversity brings a broader community of knowledge to object interpretation. Chapter One outlined my early anxieties about discussing this private collection in public. One finding of Chapter Eight has been that collaborative interpretation of domestic Colonial Objects need not be regarded as politically dangerous. Instead, it is an obvious choice, a means of learning more, faster, and of building network in the present. I can therefore re-state the finding of Herle that shared memory revival forges new contacts, creates better findings, and informs new ways of thinking.

Museological analyses of Colonial Objects routinely incorporate historical biographies with which the objects have been connected. I have shown in this chapter how historical biographies *are part of* the objects' entanglement with recent emotions and identities. I conclude from this that the positive emotions to which objects can be connected by individuals – concerning, for example, filial love, family unity, private memory and aesthetic pleasure – can through autoethnographic collection research help to bring into a sharp focus the hardest, collectively experienced, realities of colonial worlds. Given that emotions continue to impact on the objects in the present, autoethnographic research also connects them to issues in the postcolonial world upon which conscientious museums now focus – including for example racial inequality, political interference, cultural stereotyping, economic exploitation and territorial occupation. By reviewing objects to which *both* sets of values apply, and by including in our reviews both private and public collections

(with each informing the other), we can help to address realms of postcolonial mistrust.

In summary, the contribution of the chapter to the overall thesis has been to evidence how a review of the entanglement of possessions within social networks generates a new way of thinking about Colonial Objects. It envisages two outcomes for scholarship in general. Firstly, it has shown how holistic analysis of object biographies, within the combined frameworks of the terms ‘entanglement' and ‘network’, aids the crossing of scholarship between public and private collections. Secondly, it has addressed the gap, noted earlier as having been identified by Smith and Campbell, between individuated emotional responses to objects and the information about them that is of relevance to society as a whole. In this way, examining Colonial Objects via the concepts of Entanglement and Networks can help to break down the boundaries between Us and Other that as I have shown in previous chapters, was such a prevalent feature of how objects were used in the past, and the legacies of which, as I have also shown, we continue to experience.

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2. Delaney, E. and MacRaild, D.M. 2007. *Irish Migration, Networks and Ethnic Identities since 1750*. Oxon: Routledge.

3. Fedorowich, Kent, and Andrew S. Thompson. 2013. *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*. Manchester. p. 7.

4. Numerous biographical studies based on family archives exist; see for example Gailey, Andrew. 2015. *The Lost Imperialist: Lord Dufferin, Memory and Mythmaking in an Age of Celebrity*. London: John Murray. There is a lack of research on imperial networks as reflected in privately-owned Colonial Objects, although blogs exist. See for example Oddie Brown, Sharon. 2013. ‘Hong Kong and Ireland: Two British Colonies’. The Silver Bowl. 2013. http://sharonoddiebrown.blogspot.co.uk/2013/01/both-british-colonies-hong-kong-ireland.htmlhttp://sharonoddiebrown.blogspot.co.uk/2013/01/both-british-colonies-hong-kong-ireland.html. Accessed 06/05/2019. This author has found no such studies for Colonial Objects emanating from the British Empire that are in Northern Irish museums.

5. Smith, Laurajane, Margaret Wetherell, and Gary Campbell, eds. 2018. *Emotion, Affective Practices, and The Past in the Present*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

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8. Rana, Jasmijn, M. Willemsen, and H. C. Dibbits. 2017. 'Moved by the Tears of Others: Emotion Networking in the Heritage Sphere'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23 (10): 977 – 88.

9. Tolia-Kelly, Divya P. 2017. 'Race and Affect at the Museum'. In *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, edited by Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterton, and Steve Watson, p. 39. London and New York: Routledge.

10. Tolia-Kelly, Divya P. 2017. 'Race and Affect at the Museum'. In *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, edited by Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterton, and Steve Watson, p. 33-46. London and New York: Routledge.

11. Sather-Wagstaff, Joy. 2017. 'Making Polysense of the World: Affect, Memory, Heritage'. In *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, 12 – 29. London and New York: Routledge.

12. The biographical interpretation of Colonial Objects by museums has since 1989 found theoretical grounding in Appadurai and Kopytoff's work in *The Social Life of Things* and remains current. For some recent examples see Hill, Kate, ed. 2014. *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities (Heritage Matters)*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

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17. Waterton, Emma, and Steve Watson. 2013. 'Framing Theory: Towards a Critical Imagination in Heritage Studies'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19 (6): 546 – 61.

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56. Watson, Burton. 1971. *Chinese Lyricism: Shih Poetry from the Second to the Twelfth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press. p. 184.

57. Sunday Examiner: Catholic News of the Week. 1961. 'The Bishop's Farewell to Dr and Mrs Crozier: Moving Reply by Dr Crozier,' April 28.

58. See for example Chinese Manufacturers' Associate investment of HK$1m in the construction of a new Technical College, Sweeting, Anthony. 2004. *Education in Hong Kong, 1941 to 2001: Visions and Revisions*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p. 167-168.

59. From the Crozier photographic archive it appears that he attended a continuous round of prize-givings. A photograph of the same occasion shows the outside of a Yuen Long school building with a banner reading 'Yuen Long Public School Award Giving Ceremony. Best wishes from the Chairman and the School Board of Director Mr Chao, the Parent Teacher Association, Mrs Chang and all the committee members'. With thanks to online friends on the Facebook page, 'Hong Kong in the 60s' for their help with this translation.

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62. South China Morning Post. 1961. 'Bust of Yu To-Sang Unveiled', 29 March 1961.

63. The oldest and largest charitable organisation in Hong Kong, that runs an extensive network of schools. For history, see Sinn, Elizabeth. 2003. *Power and Charity: A Chinese Merchant Elite in Colonial Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

64. A charity founded in 1882 to support abducted and trafficked women. See Sinn, Elizabeth. 1994. 'The Chinese Patriarchy and the Protection of Women in Nineteenth-Century Hong Kong'. In *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, edited by Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers, 141 – 67. Hong Kong: Zed Books.

65. A Eurasian lawyer and member of the Legislative and Executive Councils. Married to Victoria, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Ho Tung (see Chapter Eight). See Carroll, John M. 2007. *A Concise History of Hong Kong*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. p. 97, 103, 113, 130.

66. Especially following the Korean War, and at risk of becoming a flashpoint during the Chinese Civil War, it became clear in Hong Kong during the 1950s that the colony would end with the return of the New Territories to China in 1997. See Tsang, Steve. 2007. *A Modern History of Hong Kong*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd. p. 157-160.

67. A well-known village elder in Ha Tsuen, Yuen Long. My thanks to online colleagues for this identification.

68. Harrison, Henrietta. 2018. 'Chinese and British Diplomatic Gifts in the Macartney Embassy of 1793'. *The English Historical Review* 133 (560): 65 – 97.

69. Bickers, Robert. 2003. *Empire Made Me*. London: Penguin. p. 1.

70. Although I have earlier acknowledged and do again here that whether or not Ireland was a colony, and whether Northern Ireland remains one, is still widely disputed. See for example McDonough, Terrence. 2005. *Was Ireland a Colony?: Economics, Politics and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

71. Ann Crozier's death coincided with the 1981 hunger strike, a nadir of civil conflict in Northern Ireland.

Chapter Eight

Neither Us-ness nor Otherness in the Crozier Collection[1]

Introduction: Cultural Distortion in a Colonial World

Chapters Five and Six demonstrated how due to the expression of Us-ness in Northern Irish museums in the form of an ethnocentric focus on local narratives, ethnographic objects have been ignored and the potential for their interpretation has been undervalued. Chapter Seven showed how objects can represent both us *and* other, and so be displayed or hidden depending on their symbolic content. In Chapter Eight, I will discuss the Croziers' archive. As I will argue, this was concealed by Maurna and Julian Crozier. Through this example, I explain how relics of the past are hidden when their present owners cannot identify either Us-ness, or Otherness, within them.

As I show using this example, colonial archives may be concealed because their present owners do not identify Otherness within them, and reject the Us-ness that they once contained. To be clear though, the respect in which the documents on which this chapter focuses did not represent either Us or Other, relates only to the perspective of the generation that inherited them (my parents). To Douglas and Ann, by contrast, these visual texts were both Us *and* Other; a phenomenon that I have already explained in Chapter Seven.

When I first encountered the letters and photographs to be discussed here, they were kept with much of the rest of the archive in the Lisnacreevy attic. In my view, the reason why this was so, was that my parents did not relate to them. They did not identify with Douglas and Ann in periods in their lives that they could not themselves remember; nor did they recognise them in their official roles. Furthermore, they did not know, or perhaps did not feel empathy with, any of the Chinese depicted in the photographs. In this way, the archival collection became neither Us, nor Other.

In the present chapter I will deploy archival documents from the Crozier Collection that demonstrate the depth of symbolism that such sources contain; and why it is that this symbolism can lead to their forgetting. I will focus on ephemera such as are common in many family archives. These are often opulently redolent with detail that can elucidate the interpretation of the past, but in practice are

frequently discarded when former colonial homes are emptied. Chapter Eight will unleash private archives to reveal the ways in which the British engaged in cultural distortion – and, therefore, how they help to illuminate the construction of Us-ness through the denigration of the Other. In the case of Hong Kong, the cause of this distortion was the desire of the British to keep colonial subjects in their place, and that of the Chinese to assert their cultural, economic and political prestige. The specific form of cultural distortion on which the chapter focuses is the racism of the colonial British, about which, by concealing such documents and ignoring their significance for family narrative, Julian and Maurna Crozier arranged the deliberate forgetting.[2] Colonial guilt and postcolonial distaste, as this example shows, are important reasons why such documents are rejected.

This chapter provides a range of evidence to suggest the former racist attitudes that the family had forgotten. In their correspondence with one another, the Croziers had used linguistic devices reflecting a perspective that indigenous people were subaltern. Their private snapshots signified a patriarchal British view of the Chinese, and especially those who were poor. In the photographic prints of Douglas and Ann that were circulated for public consumption, the need to harness local power whilst also keeping it at bay was perceptible. Through these collected parts of their archive in the present, we can see how, as British colonial servants throughout the Empire did,[3] Douglas and Ann resisted the growth of local power, Chinese infiltration into settler society, and the merging of indigenous and British social realms.

The contribution of this chapter to knowledge is to exemplify how when interpreted holistically and in depth, archives and objects in private collections can reveal themes that make them as relevant to the study of the colonial past as are those in public collections. The role of the chapter in the thesis is to demonstrate how through autoethnographic research into private papers and objects that may otherwise be rejected as sources, family members can interrogate their identities in new ways. As I will argue in conclusion, private collections are a rich field for uncovering the operations of the British in their racially divided colonial world.

The chapter presents four forms of evidence that this resistance existed: private memoirs and diaries; letters that the Croziers wrote to one another; snapshots taken for personal use; and official photographs. It repeats the exhibition format used in Chapters Three, Four and Seven. To commence however I will review the

theoretical context for the investigation of colonial archives. After that, and by way of communicating the morphology of the Croziers' racially stratified world, based on a new database of the their correspondence records I will show how their social networks were tilted towards the UK and the British.

Us and the Other in Colonial Texts

For Edward Said, written culture and colonialism are inextricably linked. In *Culture and Imperialism* he argues that the presence of an 'us' and a 'them' has been evident in texts throughout the history of Europe's colonisations[4] and that European fiction has aided in the construction of Empire:

> Stories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world…The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them.[5]

In addition to published fiction, the private writing of those engaged in colonial domination was an aspect of imperialism's project of control. It was also an everyday means of expressing racist opinion that was produced by, and enabled, colonial domination. Colonial bureaucracies throughout the British Empire classified indigenous society through censuses, surveys and ethnographies. Through these, they appropriated information from native cultures that would be used to categorise human individuals. These categories were in turn used to distinguish between locally-born constituents who were cast as the natural products of an uncivilised world, and in relief, colonial rulers as non-partisan adjudicators.[6]

By establishing these boundaries around Us and Other, colonial governments generated oppositions between colonisers and colonised.[7] Individuals within the imperial project, including civil servants like the Croziers, internalised these oppositions, adapting them for their own professional and domestic circumstances. They also continuously reconstructed them in their daily social practices, so reflecting between themselves on the human upon which their system relied.

Private writing is uniquely useful as a means of understanding colonial society; and demonstrates that the nature of social relations cannot be properly understood solely through traces left in the official record. As Jinadu has pointed out, an over-reliance on the evidence generated by bureaucratic systems can lead to ignoring nuanced expressions of social and cultural difference emanating from

within both indigenous and settler societies.[8] Among the theorist Fanon's primordial contributions has been to provide an understanding that the forms of violence, which could de-humanise both colonised and coloniser, took psychological as well as physical and structural forms. These forms included for example the usage by settlers of their own language to assert cultural superiority which, when adopted by native groups, denoted their acceptance of their own inferiority.[9] Therefore, the expression of language in written form, especially within the context of biographically-differentiated archives, is a powerful indicator of the respective dominance and subalternity of cultures at specific points in time.

As Nicholas Thomas argues, the detail of localised colonial writing allows us to uncover diverse, particularised attitudes that articulated colonising and counter-colonising representations.[10] These documents are also a form of travel writing, which, as Mary-Louise Pratt observes, generated Europeans' perceptions of imperial order, and helped them to locate their place within it. Writing made colonial expansion meaningful, projecting a sense of excitement and moral fervour onto its recipients who were thus induced to join global movements.[11] It was, too, a means by which bourgeois writers encoded the competencies and suitability of subalterns as workers, helping to frame the types of indigenous human who might, for example as employees of colonial governments or as domestic servants, gain access to imperial privilege.[12] In my view, private letters and diaries written by bureaucrats are important for understanding how, trained in the gathering and usage of such records, these individuals incorporated practices of racial classification to justify the expression of personal prejudice within their immediate social groups. Moreover and as is also relevant to the Crozier archive, such documents circumscribed the 'culture of whiteness' through which Europeans affirmed to themselves, and to one another, the distinctions that enabled both the separating-off of staff and the local aides who separately supported them in their private and professional lives, from the restricted-access physical, ideological and emotional spaces that were open only to family members.[13]

As I have discovered, documents in the Croziers' archive provide fascinating insights into a racist colonial world. However, their richness as sources is disguised by their apparent mundanity. Like the snapshot photographs observed by Geoffrey Batchen, as similarly banal cultural forms they oscillate between 'cliché and sublimity, sameness and difference, truth and fiction, public and private'.[14] It is

indeed likely that only a researcher with a personal interest would, upon first glance, be drawn to them. Therefore, to desire to interpret them requires partiality even before the bias that the archivist of colonial papers must inevitably produce.[15] As described throughout this thesis, my own partiality stems from the nature of my encounter with the Crozier archive; one in which my grandparents were colonists, whereas I am a descendant of colonists. Additionally, I have confronted the archive, produced before decolonisation, during bereavement resulting in a post-familial nostalgia of a most unacademic kind. As a viewer of the documents therein, I am therefore simultaneously genealogically complicit, yet also, by conviction and generational shift, not. This ambivalent position comprises a form of triangulation of my roles, as a descendant who is personally affected by the archive; as an academic; and as a museum professional.

Thus, I am entangled in a web of meaning in the archive, suspended on the boundaries between Us-ness and Otherness. As indicated by the degree to which the current project has required family history research (see Chapter One), I am not only embroiled in a historical dichotomy between coloniser and colonised.[16] I am also caught up in re-discovering them as a relation, and so find myself intrigued by the ephemera of the Croziers' lives in a manner in which an unrelated researcher would not be. Their archive is not rare, as apparently proven in multiple ways. Douglas Crozier's success was shared with thousands who wielded colonial power. As will be explained below, their documents are in standard formats for their time. In addition, their photographs are husked with behavioural clichés that make them seem ordinary. This mundanity stirs up my own 'epistemic anxiety'. Yet, like Ann Laura Stoler's Dutch Indonesian papers, the archive also betrays, and resulted from, officials' incisions. 'Colonial statecraft required the calibration of sympathies and attachments', she writes, 'managing different degrees of subjugation both among its agents and those colonized'.[17] In family-owned colonial archives, forms of subjugation may, as with that of the Croziers, be all the more apparent because within them, private views are expressed that, when picked up through research, can reinforce our knowledge about the attitudes that informed the forms of statecraft in which past bureaucrats engaged. As indicated above, it follows that even these ordinary colonial documents can be investigated for signs of cultural distortion.

Charting Us-ness and Otherness in the Crozier Archive

As a way of illustrating the meanings of the archive on which this chapter hinges, the charts below show the distribution of all the Croziers' correspondents of whom a record survives within their private archive. The sources on which the charts are based include letters written between members of the family from 1933 to 1941; the Croziers' Visitors' Book, used between 1949 and 1976 in Hong Kong, London and Northern Ireland; a typewritten list of names of those who congratulated Douglas on his receipt of a CMG (1957); the address book he used shortly before and after his retirement (1961-1963); Ann's postage book, used in Oakwood Court, Kensington, in 1966; her 1972-1978 telephone book; letters of sympathy Ann received when Douglas died in 1976; and those sent to her son Julian upon her death in 1981. In format, the documents do not look promising; they are standard for the time.[18] However, mining them for names has been productive in tracing the Croziers' social networks.

The first pie-chart below represents the 693 addresses that are listed across all of these sources (Fig. 41).[19] The resulting analysis demonstrates that the Croziers' social world was not Eurocentric,[20] but was UK-centric: whereas 441 of the addresses with which they communicated were in the UK, only 35 were in any other European country. It is noteworthy too that, despite having spent three decades and their entire careers in the colony, the number of addresses for Hong Kong (156) is below one-third that of the UK. The chart demonstrates also that the Croziers' reach outside of the UK and Hong Kong – including elsewhere within Asia and in Africa, Oceania, and North America – was limited, with only 63 addresses for all four continents combined (10%).

In addition to mapping the location of addressees, I have charted the continents from which named correspondents originated (Fig. 42).[21] This analysis is based on individuals' biographical records where available,[22] and through accessing detail from the Croziers' letters.[23] Analysis of the resulting data, comprising 397 correspondents, provides further insights into the parameters of the Croziers' social world. Fig. 42 demonstrates that the Croziers maintained links with four and a half times as many UK correspondents (277 / 70%) as they did with Chinese (61 / 15%). Few correspondents came from the Republic of Ireland, with these making up less than half of those who were Chinese (28 / 7%). Correspondents originating from any

place besides these three countries are infrequent, comprising only 8% (31) of the total number.

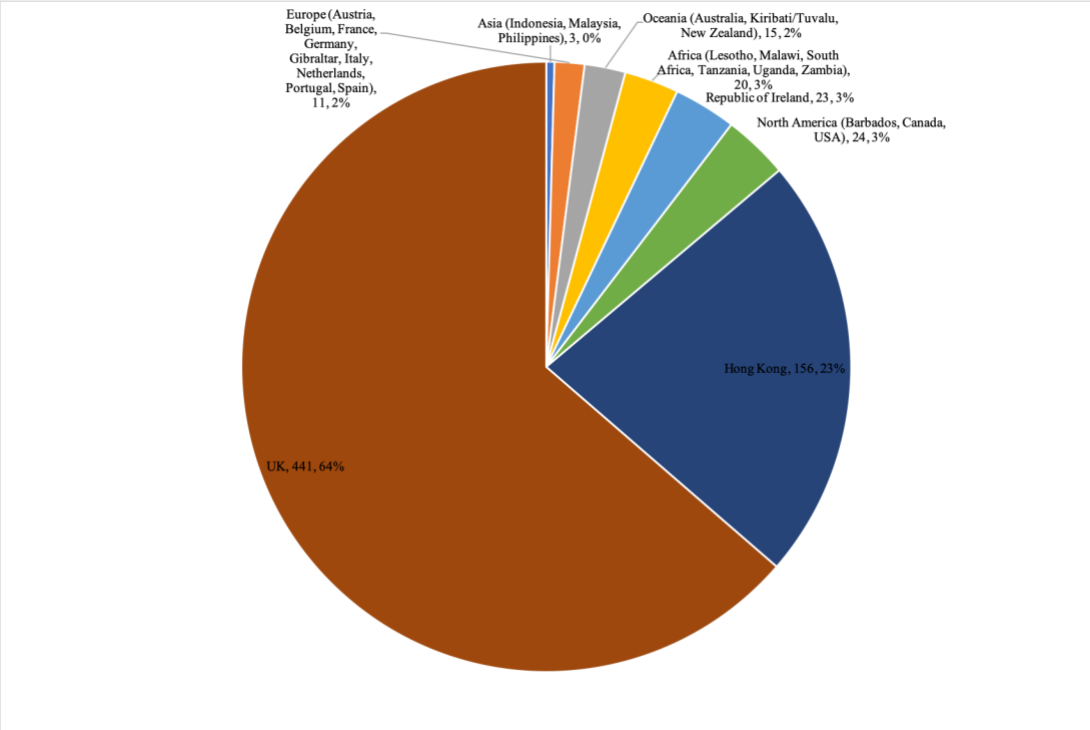

Fig. 41. Continental Distribution of all correspondent addresses (693) shown in the Crozier Archive (distinguishing UK, Hong Kong and Republic of Ireland). 1933-1981. © Briony Widdis.

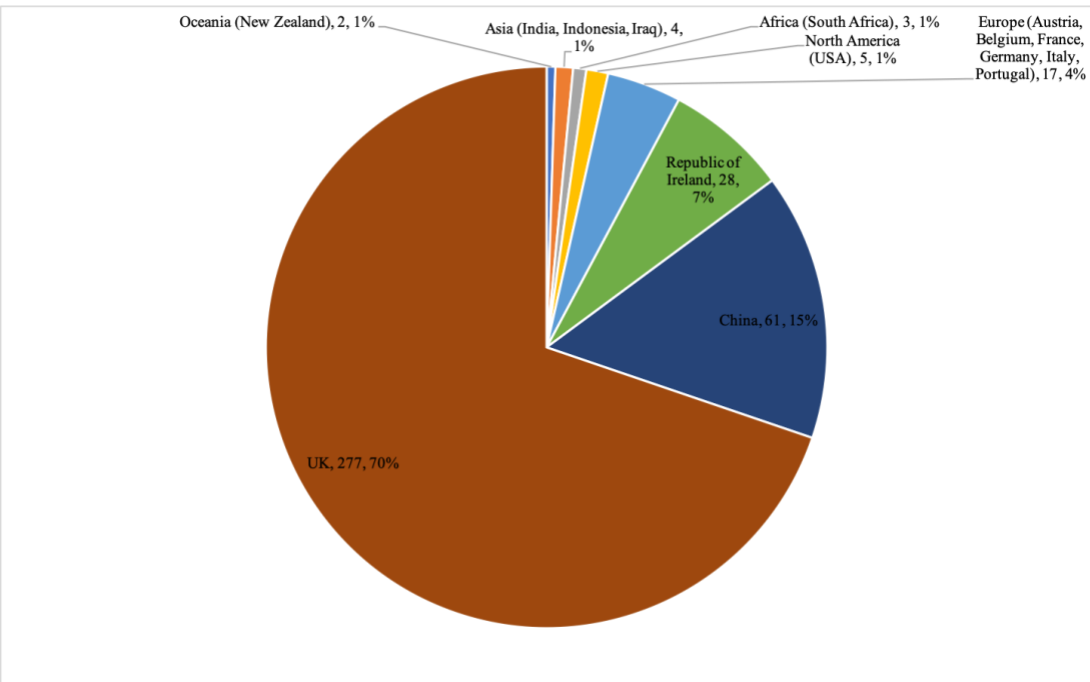

Fig. 42. Continental Origin of all correspondents (397) shown in the Crozier Archive (distinguishing UK, China and Republic of Ireland). 1933-1981. © Briony Widdis.

Demonstrating that the social networks in which they were most invested centred on the UK, the above analysis reinforces my argument that apparently mundane archives are a rich source for understanding the cultural leanings of collectors of Colonial Objects. Harvesting data from these sources supports our understanding of the cultural preferences of colonial bureaucrats; of how they maintained social capital; and of the extent to which diverse contacts remained important throughout their lives.

The exercise also reveals much about the Croziers' comparative commitment to the cultural groupings with which they engaged in Hong Kong. With the exception of the 1933-1941 letters, all of the directories from which the above data is drawn were used following their retirement. Given the comparatively few correspondents who were from China, we can infer that, just as the Croziers themselves had been sojourners in Hong Kong, so the appearance of the Chinese within their lives was time-limited, with these relationships having been expedient and connected with the execution of Douglas's career rather than becoming a lifetime commitment. Clearly the couple favoured the British to the Chinese as friends.

In addition, it is possible to infer the degree to which Ireland, as a cultural homeland, was important in their lives. Despite the fact that Douglas was aged thirteen by the year of Partition, so would have had a clear recall of a unified Ireland (then entirely within the UK), and that he had relatives living south of the border with whom he could reconnect when he retired to Northern Ireland, correspondents from the Republic made up only a small portion of the Croziers' social world. These charts enhance our understanding of the colonial Irish, not as committed to a 'home country' on the Emerald Isle, but rather as self-identifying as British both within Ireland, and within the Empire as a whole. Considered in the light of other sources, for example Douglas and Ann's identities as recipients of Julian Crozier's 'fishing trip letter' from Donegal and as his genetic forebears, this analysis of archival ephemera reveals a cultural bias that was rooted in Britishness as it was first forged and then experienced in Empire.

This impression is reinforced when combined with the analysis below that considers the extent to which the Croziers' other texts reflect cultural preferences. As their official photographs reveal, Douglas and Ann presented as people who were (and indeed, most likely were) very concerned about Chinese affairs. For reasons

dictated by the needs of colonial government, those Chinese with whom the Croziers interacted were more often wealthy than otherwise. However, based on the above charts, I assert that even their relationships with this élite group were maintained for only as long as they served imperial purpose; they did not often translate into long-lasting friendship.

Writing on An Other's Home: 'Teeming' Streets, Douglas' dominance, and Women's Bodies and Minds

Chapter Four contained extracts from a 1959 letter from Julian to his parents, in which he imagined a family of peasant Irish, that I argued he had constructed based on his inculcation into inherited racist colonial attitudes first developed in Hong Kong. My argument for this, as I will show here, was informed by the fact that the embodied Other had been similarly imagined by his father, Douglas, as a young man. Writing to Ann before becoming engaged to her in 1933, Douglas had described the exotic life to which he hoped she would be attracted. Although it can be read as an expression of his curiosity about, or perhaps even appreciation for, the novelty of the cultural environment in which he found himself situated, the passage also evokes a sense that he felt overwhelmed by the strangeness of his surroundings. As a result, he wrote about them in a racialised way:

> There is some weird fascination which orientals have over one which, even while one curses them and their country, one cannot, nor would not, get away from….on sudden impulse you will forsake the European quarter and dive into the dank, crowded, filthy Chinese streets with their stifling smells and sing-song sounds….I am only beginning to appreciate the sounds – the continuous tinkle of bells (every hawker of every different race has his distinctive bell) and the quaintly musical wail of fruit vendors rising above the continual hub-bub of voices which come from streets for which no other adjective is suitable but 'teeming'.[24]

As a way of compounding my assertion that these attitudes were inherited through successive generations within the family, I can show how this letter from Douglas echoes previous writing from his mother, Myra Crozier. As a young woman, she had sought recourse to racist description as a means of validating her own form of imperialist endeavour. In 1897, in a diary of her voyage home to Ireland with her family from New Zealand,[25] the twenty-one year old had described arriving in the port of Rio de Janeiro, where, whilst re-stocking with fruit for the next leg of the journey, 'we had to do business with big, fat, black negroes, wearing turbans on their

heads, strings of coloured beads on their necks and arms; long white garments which are continually slipping off their shoulders'. Having returned to the ship, she found fellow passengers in the act of 'coaling' one another, where 'everybody who had remained on board during the day were as black as the niggers themselves'. Later, whilst waiting for their boat to set sail from Santa Cruz, the family 'amused ourselves with the little negro divers'.[26]

Ann, too, had inherited her own ideas about the embodied native. In 1929 her mother, Florence Hobbs, who was a Salvation Army missionary, had travelled from London to Australia to place distressed female passengers in service. Returning via Sri Lanka, while inspecting a Salvation Army hostel, she observed, 'The National religion of Ceylon, of course, is Buddhism, 90% still heathen, 8% Roman Catholic, 2% Christian'. Florence also recounts a report of the hostel's matron that

> A few miles away, at a place called Little England, lived a native woman who lived promiscuously with the planters. Many of these women are married, but their husbands raise no objection, the children resulting eventually bringing in money. A certain man, taking pity on these poor Eurasians, has been making provisions for some of them to be educated – boys in one school, girls in another. It is a sad thing, say our officers, to see these fair Eurasians working in the fields alongside the coolies. There seems little prospect for them'.[27]

These texts written by Myra and Florence exhibit popular imperial themes that are often to be found in contemporary writing by and for women. These included patriotic interest in Britain's imperial expansion; the civilising influence of Christian missionaries; commerce and exchange within the British Empire; and emigrants' opportunities. These were constitutive of a sexually and racially differentiated world that, in turn, garnered new roles for British women, especially in virtuous attempts to effect change for colonised humans.[28] The diary extracts from Florence Hobbs and Myra Crozier express clearly the 'grammar of domination' observed by other writers,[29] that helped to define their own roles: in Florence's, in a presage of Douglas and Ann's later relations in Hong Kong (see below), Eurasians were considered to deserve better treatment from planters than mere 'natives'.

Florence's commentary about Eurasians is noteworthy, not least because, according to Phillipa Levine, imperial attitudes to interracial sex fluctuated: where in some quarters it was regarded as a useful form of introduction to local communities, in others, it was thought to threaten political stability.[30] Male colonisers' sexual

relationships with local women ranged from marriage to rape.[31] The history of Hong Kong, known for its sex industry in which migrant Chinese women serviced a 'white man's playground',[32] can also be interpreted from a gendered perspective. As Angela Woollacott has found, beliefs about gender were central to strategies of Othering in colonial worlds.[33] As texts written for private usage, the above extracts operate within a range of normative colonial discourse in which female roles and beliefs about Empire were ascribed by a society dominated both metaphorically and physically by men.

Irrespective of on which side of the colonial binary a female actor was located, throughout the Empire, her identity and her body were locations for male interests. The Croziers' archive abundantly demonstrates their attitudes to indigenous sexuality in Hong Kong (see below); but it is important to note that the collection evidences these to be part of a continuum of ideas about women in general. As Douglas's letters to Ann commenting on his contact with other British men intimate, British women as well as Chinese were regarded as commodities over which they were free to assert their own physicality. The imagery in the Collection that demonstrates this presumption includes for example, a photograph of his daughter, Corin Crozier, aged sixteen. Most likely taken in 1954 aboard P&O's *RMS Carthage* during a voyage to Liverpool[34] the photograph shows an older man with his arm around her in a pose that, to contemporary eyes, appears predatory.[35] Sexual harassment on voyages 'home', was, for the young British female, a known danger.[36] That, far from being discouraged by her parents, Ann and Douglas, this was accepted and even regarded as normal, is indicated by the facts that both of them were also present on board, and that they kept the snapshot in their family album.

Fig. 43. Corin Crozier with unnamed fellow passenger. Probably taken in 1954 on board the P&O RMS Carthage *whilst sailing from Hong Kong to Liverpool.*
Crozier Collection. Photo © Briony Widdis.

A further finding in the archive about the gendered female body relates to the pathologization of her psyche. This is seen multiple times in the Croziers' letters to one another, and concerned both other British women whom they knew, and that of Ann herself. For example, Douglas writes to Ann in 1940 (one month after their separation by evacuation),

> Quite frankly, darling, the state of mind your last letter betrays makes me think I should be with you. You appear to be very overcome at times and I don't like it…Life here is none too pleasant since you left but that is no excuse for succumbing to depression. I would feel far happier if you were more composed. I know you will be able to take this in the sympathetic way I mean it. As I have often said before, you owe it to me, the children and yourself to get as much fun out of life as you can.[37]

Apparently in acquiescence with his assertion that she cannot cope on her own, Ann confesses a few months later that

> I am of course finding this teaching + the housekeeping heavy going…I have had to do without Olga,[38] especially as there's the 7-8 weeks Feb holidays without my teaching money.[39]

By contrast however, when writing to her mother Florence, Ann emphasises her physical and mental strength, when in the absence of servants,

> I can tell you I infinitely prefer the active life now to that I live in H.K. I like hard work – I like doing everything for my own children (not that I call that hard work). I like having my house to myself – and when the news is bad I'm jolly glad I've got some cleaning or

> washing to get done etc.[40]

Her change in tone is not explained by the passage of time, because not long afterwards, Ann again seeks Douglas's approval:

> I am working hard at present – harder maybe than I've ever worked before but I get a great satisfaction out of working like this…masochism you'll say I suppose but since I can't go to the war, since I can't be at home since I can't be with you – well I can imagine I'm doing something by working at this pressure – illogical maybe – But you know I'm not depressed, I'm not worried…you know I'm feeling far more out of myself mentally as well as physically – I'm more alert – I'm not drifting – I like having to do all the thinking and I enjoy having the house to myself.[41]

From the contrasts between these letters, we can observe that the way in which Ann self-represented to her mother differed to the self-critical profile she maintained for her husband. Although in both, Ann explains her enjoyment of her new-found independence, by describing herself to Douglas as 'masochistic' and *lacking* in depression – features that are absent from the full text of her letter to Florence Hobbs – Ann is complying with his earlier suggestion that she is mentally unstable. Her subscription to his theme accords with Susanna Hoe's statement that in Hong Kong, western women 'lived a private, not a public life', speaking out only 'against the grain, not as of right'.[42] Douglas's letters to Ann are riven with detailed questions and instructions, whilst in hers to him, she faithfully responds. Simultaneously, as indicated by her decision to cancel Olga's employment, he controlled the flow of resources to her. A further example of this is contained in a 1940 letter in which he writes that he cannot send the *amah*,[43] 'May', to Ann whilst she is evacuated to Sydney because

> you might find May too financially arduous in proportion to everything else…May would have to amass the additional fare from Australia…the expense involved is prohibitive …you are better for the time being to be without the responsibility for her welfare.[44]

She appears to have asked again for May, for only three days later, he ramps up his reasons for not doing so:

> 1. Expense – which I cannot afford at present. 2. The uncertainty of your movements until you finally do settle down in a place of your own. (May would cost you a lot more were you staying at a hotel for a time.) 3. The additional responsibility of having another person to look after. 4. Her, as yet, unknown condition.[45]

As early as January 1940 and while still in Hong Kong, Ann Crozier had advertised May's services for alternative employ, but apparently without success[46] because, in a further letter from Douglas, all hope of it seems lost: 'Mary says that May is definitely fatter than when she saw her last. So that appears to be that.'[47] By September, Douglas is complaining that she is a burden:

> I have still got May on my pay-roll…She is so dependent on us and such a willing servant. Mary tried to get her a job as hospital amah, but there were no vacancies'.

In the same letter, he states that their domestic helper, 'Ah On',

> has only now become convinced that you will not be coming back soon: he never gave up hope while you were in Manila…That reminds me: I must have them inoculated for cholera.[48]

Douglas's view that May was disposable, and his denial of agency to both female and male Chinese staff, are in retrospect, chilling, especially in the light of events that would soon unfold. Upon their occupation of Hong Kong in December 1941, the Japanese took concerted action to reduce the population of native Chinese, subjecting them to both deliberate and random atrocities. Starvation, disease and privation were such that throughout the occupation, 300-400 corpses were collected daily from the streets.[49] From the Croziers' photographs (see below), it is known that Ah On survived, returning to them after the War and remaining with them until they retired. By contrast, the fate of May remains unknown because in their letters, the Croziers referred to her only by the pet-name. As a servant of the British, and moreover an expectant mother, she was especially vulnerable: as one commentator remarked shortly after the invasion, 'My Chinese houseboy was bayoneted. My amah was raped'.[50]

The Chinese as a Colonial Underclass

May's expendability came about, of course, because in the 1940s, Chinese domestic servants were treated as an underclass within an ethnic group already allocated by the British to a subaltern role. The imposition of this perspective had been parodied by a pseudonymous writer, 'Ajax' in an article for the St. John's Cathedral magazine. He had written that British life was one of 'entertaining and being entertained and keeping fit so to be more entertained…a social life that must astonish the Chinese'. The British, he wrote, regarded Chinese life as

> childish, yet our religion stamps sophistication as a deadly sin…We make no attempt to study their culture…we segregate clubs…we haggle over 50 cents…we show indifference to the burdens of coolie labour.[51]

From the outset of their colonial careers, the Croziers' social engagements reflected the hierarchical Christian patriarchy of which they were part. Not long after his arrival in Hong Kong for example, Douglas debated the forms of Ideal Government as a YMCA Committee member[52] and attended an Empire Day Cathedral service on Church and Loyalty.[53] Ann was active in the charitable Helena May Institute[54] (which she addressed on the subject of 'History in English Poetry'),[55] and of the Society for the Protection of Children with which she campaigned against the Chinese practice of *mui-tsai*.[56] First as Secretary to the Women's Auxiliary section and then as General Secretary,[57] she raised funds for impoverished families;[58] and through British-run charities like the Salvation Army, the couple made their own donations.[59]

According to John Carroll, the social lives of the British enabled a privileged middle class 'to flaunt and affirm status and prestige, to one another, to the Chinese, and to lower-class Europeans'.[60] In keeping with this, Douglas and Ann's letters and photographs reveal that the couple were kept entertained by a continuous round of almost exclusively British parties. Therefore, if their philanthropic activities were addressed to solving social problems, the racial segregation that characterised their more frivolous engagements can only have accentuated them.

Through their photo album and letters, Ann and Douglas Crozier represented the many ways in which they and their family was 'clubbable',[61] becoming accepted in progressively more élite British circles as Douglas's career progressed. Before the War, Ann was seen in a photograph approaching the viewer through a crowd at the Happy Valley races; following her evacuation to Sydney Douglas kept her informed by letter, written on Hong Kong Club-headed notepaper, of parties that continued despite the encroaching onslaught of war; when the couple returned to the colony following its re-occupation by the British in 1946, they appeared in press photographs of events demonstrating their increasing proximity to the colonial holders of power.

These events included for example the St George's Day Ball and St. Patrick's Day Ball: at the latter, they are shown seated next to the Governor. In more than one photograph we see them meeting British royalty; an entire scrap book is dedicated to

Douglas's arrangements for the visit to the colony of, and his interactions with, the Duke of Edinburgh in 1959. The archive also exhibits the couple's children, Julian and Corin, being seen in all the right places: at a Shek-O Club swimming gala; singing in the St. John's Cathedral choir; attending a sports day and a needlework exam at King George V School; and winning prizes at the Ladies' Recreation Club diving competition.[62]

Ann and Douglas's charitable and social commitments can be perceived not only as confirmation of their acceptability in bourgeois circles, but also as signs of how they worked to bolster a well-established system of British domination. That this domination defined social relations before the War is evidenced by the circumstances surrounding two contrasting appearances that the Croziers made in the *South China Morning Post* (SCMP). The first, reported six times by the paper, was a case in which a British child had died of meningitis. This had been the funeral, in 1934, of eleven-year-old Helen Ingram, daughter of the YMCA Secretary. Douglas Crozier and friends[63] were in the congregation alongside prominent British citizens, including for example Alfred Swann, Dean of St. John's Cathedral. Those who sent floral tributes included Lady Southern, wife of the Colonial Secretary, three branches of the YMCA, the staff of the Central British School (later King George V School) at which Douglas was then teaching, a battalion of the Lincolnshire Regiment, the Australian and New Zealand Association, and several packs of Girl Guides and Brownies. A Women's Guild launch picnic was cancelled in view of the sad occasion; and donations to charity were given in Helen Ingram's memory.[64]

In the second case, a Jardine Matheson[65] employee named Gardiner, while returning from a party, ran over Ann's dog as she was waiting by her broken-down car on the Tytam Tuk Reservoir viaduct. Shortly thereafter Ann, now a passenger in Gardiner's car, witnessed him knocking down a 'little boat girl'. Nine-year old Kwok Tai-Kam, who had been carrying water across the road from a fire hydrant to the boat on which she and her family lived, died in hospital the following day. Her ten-year-old sister, Kwok Ho, was called as a witness to give evidence to a coroner's inquiry. This returned a verdict of death by misadventure: neither the driver nor the victim 'appeared to have been keeping a lookout.'[66] Gardiner's sole punishment was to be censured for his speed, and to be told to check his brakes.[67]

Focusing as it does on a Chinese child, whose life when compared with that of Helen Ingram can be seen as having been treated by the British community as

having less value than that of one of their own, the incident recalls Fred Chiu's ascription to the British of a perception of the Chinese as infantile. This perception was based on a supposition that Chinese loyalty could be exchanged for order and security offered by the colonial state.[68] The Croziers' photographs depict a society that had changed little since the nineteenth century when, states Frank Welsh, 'the Governor and his senior officials inevitably spent most of their time in the company of a small number of most prominent European citizens', whose clubs had 'not a single Chinese member between them'. Welsh records how, in business circles, élite, white society remained unthreatened right up until 1980, when, still,

> almost every Taipan had, as a matter of course, been to either Oxford or Cambridge – meeting at the Hong Kong Club, the Yacht Club and the Jockey Club, such men formed a closely-knit circle who could co-operate easily, both together and with senior government officials.[69]

Douglas Crozier as a recent arrival in 1930 fitted Antony Kirk-Green's picture of the typical Colonial Administrative Service cadet as a member of the 'university-educated elite',[70] but had attended Queen's University in Belfast rather than Oxford or Cambridge. For her part, Ann was a teacher-trained London grammar-school girl.[71] Thus in order to win success, the Croziers had to concertedly work upward through the social ranks of the British administration. Nor could they rely on the automatic respect of the Chinese, for most were disinterested in imitating the lifestyle of the British:[72] according to Austin Coates in 1968, 'A foreigner in China *is* inferior. He is inferior because more than 700,000,000 people all around him think so'.[73] Therefore, for Douglas to be effective as a Director of Education, he had to prove his worth among Chinese leaders.

Furthermore, the success of the British in Hong Kong had long depended on combining Chinese industry with home-grown capitalism. Since the 1911 Xinhai Revolution and throughout China's Republican period (1912-1949), entrepreneurs had moved to the colony to open new factories, and as a result during the 1920s, the Hong Kong government had received millions of dollars in Chinese investment in new land leases. By the late 1930s, over two thousand Chinese-run factories were employing in excess of one hundred thousand people; and following the Communist victory in China in 1949, migrant entrepreneurs from Shanghai arrived in large number, boosting and eventually underpinning the colony's post-War recovery. Hong Kong's developing commercial strength therefore resulted more from its

political separation from mainland China than it did from its status as a British colony.[74]

It follows that, by the time Douglas Crozier's career had peaked in 1951,[75] British colonial servants were finding new and lucrative ways to build bonds with wealthy Chinese. Many of the Croziers' photographs show them to be working with this new élite, but close analysis of the images also shows them to have been resisting the growth of Chinese power. The expression of this resistance differs depending on the medium. As exemplified below, in the prints taken for press usage, they are seen to be working alongside, whilst also undermining, prominent Chinese figures. In their photographic slides and family album snaps, the Croziers are displayed as domestic employers and day-trippers: here the family is served, and surrounded, by those who were poor. As I will show, the group into which 'May' and Ah On were placed was regarded as *other* Others. Consequently, their lives were particularly undervalued.

Ah On's Photograph: An Other Chinese.

With the exception of a photograph of 'Our First Staff' (see below) and a few of an *amah*[76] holding their infant son, no Chinese appear in the Croziers' photograph album prior to 1945, for before the War, housing, schools, clubs, and jobs were segregated. Thereafter responding to damaging Japanese propaganda,[77] and to subsequent expectations for Chinese self-rule that jeopardised Hong Kong's colonial status,[78] the returning British ramped up social reform.[79] Political manoeuvres included, in 1949, the establishment of a Special Bureau to counter Communist influence in schools, of which Crozier was appointed Head.[80] The commencement of schooling in the Chinese vernacular, and the de-segregation of government-run schools, followed; as did the temporary appointment of N. G. Fisher who was tasked with providing recommendations on improvements to the provision of Education.

From this point on, official photographs of the couple bring to light the aforementioned British policy of nurturing a synarchy. Many illustrate the colonial policies that Douglas meted out in his capacity as Director of Education, in which role he was required to reflect only those aspects of Chinese culture that the British legislature deemed acceptable.[81] Appointed as Director in 1951, Crozier's response to Fisher's report was a Seven Year Plan (1954-61) that was intended to fulfil the United Nations Charter principle of free, universal and compulsory primary

education.[82] The Plan was a strategic milestone, objectives of which included the creation of 26,000 additional school places a year; new government, subsidised and grant-aided buildings; and the extension of teacher-training facilities.[83] It exceeded its targets;[84] an achievement that, as Crozier later acknowledged, could not have been realised without funding from Chinese industry.[85]

Douglas's photographic print collection thus depicts him and Ann engaged in diplomatic relations, with the Chinese business élite, in educational settings. Under his leadership, the Department produced Hong Kong's first textbooks printed in Chinese and introduced the first School Certificate Examination to enable Chinese students to progress from middle schools to third level education.[86] Books in his collection evidence his professional interest in Chinese literature, and his contacts with the Chinese intelligentsia. These include, for example, Lu Hsun's[87] *Brief History of Chinese Fiction*[88] and an English-language script of *Lady Precious Stream* adapted by Hsiung Shih-I; Douglas's copy is signed by its author.[89]

Notwithstanding his apparent interest in Chinese culture though, as is evidenced by distinctions between his official and personal photographs, Douglas's associations with Chinese people were restricted to his professional life. Furthermore, what associations there were, appear to have extended only to the upper echelons of Chinese society, and not to the majority as represented by the diminutive figure of Kwok Tai-Kam (see above). The contrasts between the handling of her death, and that of Helen Ingram, had illuminated the Croziers' involvement in the familiar British practice of protecting their own: the tragedies of the non-useful were presented as only to be expected. This cursory treatment of the non-élite had earlier emerged in written form, in a 1940 letter from Douglas to Ann:

> Being the 'double ninth'[90] there are literally great comings and goings up the Old Peak Road and onto the Peak Tram. This is the day when the Chinese succumb to their claustrophobia and make a dash for the Peak…one is reminded of Hampstead Heath at its worst. But we mustn't begrudge them their pleasures, and they certainly are having a grand day for them.[91]

These statements coincide with a British practice of demarcating social realms that was especially prevalent before the War. Far from feeling the need to learn about the 'double ninth' festival, Douglas here is representing its adherents as subject to a futile Chinese desire to rise, both physically up the Victoria Peak, and metaphorically in their station in life. He is furthermore reassuring both himself and

Ann, that this wish will be humoured only once a year. As we have already seen, the infantilisation of lower-class Chinese was practised upon those who supported the Croziers in their domestic life. Of the birth to their friends Mary and Stephen Jones[92] of a son, Crozier describes Ah On as 'hanging about listening to the details and later he went to Elaine and said 'Perhaps now missy, your master can catcha son too!''[93] Referring to Ann's lack of servants in Australia, he says of Ah On, whom he has kept on while sharing wartime accommodation with his friends Elaine and S. G. Davis,[94]

> What price Ahon! And wouldn't he love to go! He is always asking for you: you are still his real missy in spite of his present one being very kind to him. I am still of course 'master'. Dave is the 'other master'.[95]

In these quotes, the figure of Ah On denotes ordinary Chinese as justly desirous of British kindness, but ultimately to be mistrusted: they 'hang about' eavesdropping, having even the temerity to comment on British reproductive affairs. Douglas's characterisation of him speaks too of a patriarchal obligation to a servant that, through passing him on to Elaine and 'Dave' Davis during the War whilst Ann and their children were evacuated, the Croziers had managed to shed. This is an example of what Ann Laura Stoler describes as '[an] imperial disposition[s]…marked by that from which those with privilege and standing could excuse themselves'. Colonial refusal to witness the outcomes of personal actions were here, as in the case of Kwok Tai-Tan, 'the well-tended conditions of disregard'.[96] Although this disregard was especially blatant in relation to people who were poor, when looked at closely, as we shall see later on the contents of many of the letters and photographs in the Crozier collection bear witness to cultural dismissal of the Chinese irrespective of their social background. One mode in which power was exerted was through the re-purposing of Chinese motifs.[97]

In many of the Crozier images, pictorial narratives about ordinary Chinese only just make themselves visible, and always despite the colonial prism of their creators. To be invisible was, of course, an everyday experience for indigenous witnesses to colonial photography in general. For example, Erik Mueggler's *The Paper Road* opens with the revelation of the full name of Zhao Chengzhang, guide, collector, and explorer who worked between 1906 and 1932 for the Scottish botanist, George Forrest. He coordinated twenty-two others in support of Forrest's

expeditions in Yunnan, sending 'tens of thousands' of plants to Edinburgh's Botanic Garden, and so transforming garden landscapes throughout Britain. Referred to by Forrest only as Lao Chao ('Old Chao'), Zhao, who labelled specimens for Forrest for twenty-six years, was nearly effaced from the archive deposited in Forrest's name.[98]

There is a visual parallel in the Crozier archive to the story of Zhao. This is a slide of 'Ah On's Farewell Luncheon'. The above images of him are two of only six (or seven) appearances that he makes in the collection, despite a period of nearly three decades in their employ. He may be one of those appearing, immediately after their marriage in 1934, in Ann's photograph of 'Our First Staff'. As in Southeast Asia about which Claire Lowrie has written, Ann was subscribing here to the well-trammelled visual culture of depicting servants, at the ready, as a source of colonial power.[99] A recently arrived wife of modest background, she was luxuriating in the new-found experience of *having* staff.[100] At the Silver Wedding party that Douglas and Ann threw in 1959, Ah On was again photographed, in white uniform, as a member of the serving staff. In a colour slide, he serves Ann a drink as she sits in her living room. In a family cine film, he catches a small Crozier dog. His penultimate appearance, at this, his 'farewell luncheon' (precipitated by their departure from the colony), we finally see that this man, who has been a solid support for twenty-seven years (returning to them even after the hiatus of the Second World War), has a family of his own. A wife, children or children-in-law, and three grandchildren stand with him, outside the Croziers' house at 152 The Peak. The Ruttonjees[101] – for whom, perhaps, Ah On will now work – are present. So, too, are two serving women who are not having the day off.

The 'farewell luncheon' photograph is therefore an outlier in representations of Ah On within the collection. This is because it is the only time when we see his own social context. He and his family have dressed carefully. The children look respectfully at the camera, arms by their sides. The outstretched hands of the smallest, and the steadying hold of their grandfather upon his brother, show that they have been straining to behave to the impeccable standards expected by the employers of Ah On. The face of their grandmother shows that for her (in contrast to Douglas and Ann, whose demeanour is casual and even liberally bad-tempered) the occasion is not an easy one. Ah On looks aged, and a little unwell. Together, the children's rigid stances, his wife's expression, and his potential illness, demonstrate that the family's class shift, as guests rather than servants, is only for the day. This

impression is reinforced by the presence of other domestic helpers, who have themselves never appeared in the archive before, nor will again. We are reminded by this, that occasions when it was considered necessary to photograph servants were rare: if one is to take a snap of any, one might as well get them all in.

As with that of the forgotten botanist Zhao Chengzhang, and also that of May, the real name of Ah On goes unrecorded in the archive. His contribution to the Croziers' lives is memorialised in the photographs, but the images are mute as mementoes for *him*. Denigrated to the status of a child close to the start of his career by Douglas's gossip, its end is thus also diminished. He has been rewarded for his service by the lunch and a simple snapshot taken whilst out of uniform. The Croziers' failure to attach his name to the image demonstrates how flimsy has been their claim to interest in a permanent record. The final occasion on which we hear of Ah On is in 1976, not in the form of a photo but in a condolence card to Ann on the death of Douglas. It is signed not using names but simply, 'From Ah On's family'. The Croziers have not known these people, in his background but not their own, at all.

In their slide collection the Croziers are depicted, alongside British friends, in both urban and rural scenes. Here, Chinese people are the unwitting subjects of their touristic gaze. Vernacular images taken for private consumption, these slides, as in Geoffrey Batchen's words 'implode the presumed distinction between tactility and visibility'.[102] This is because through the images, one can apparently experience again, if only through sight, what it meant to be an ordinary Chinese person living in 1950s and 1960s Hong Kong. The slides in this way appear to have reflected back, to their creators, sights and scenes of which they wished to gain sensory possession. The pictorial representation of the family of Ah On was part of a continuum in which the Croziers visually assured themselves of the subordinate status of most of those among whom they lived.

Similar assurances were present also in their official photographs but, because they were intended for press usage, they took more guarded and complex forms. The slides were manufactured for the Croziers' sensory consumption *of* others, whereas in the prints, Douglas and Ann were depicted for visual consumption *by* others. This distinction between the two genres resulted in differential depictions of what was nonetheless the same racialised place. From their documentary nature and large quantity, it is clear that the official prints were commissioned, as a matter

of Departmental routine, whenever the Croziers met upper-class Chinese and senior British colleagues. They therefore both match and do not fit, Ben Highmore's description of everyday photography as a record of lives 'swept aside by the onslaught of events instigated by elites'.[103] Colonial bureaucrats in Hong Kong had also their everyday, and it was one in which to be photographed was the norm. Being intended for public circulation as proxies for their human subjects, many of the photographic shots emphasise sensory distance between viewer and viewed; and show, by their absence, who, and what, they left out.

The cataloguing and interpretation of 'cacophonies' of previously ignored objects,[104] is, as Highmore establishes, a political act.[105] Here, it revivifies (if only on paper) once-blatant quotidian experiences of dominance and subordination. Xiaobing Tang writes of Hong Kong within the 1940s Chinese social imaginary as a 'city of the future', offering a commodified existence provoking both anxiety and covetousness in a post-revolutionary world.[106] The Crozier archive was part of the type of capitalist lifestyle available in Hong Kong that stimulated these concerns, and emphasised in contradistinction the daily experiences of non-élite Chinese contemporaries.

Despite showing British and Chinese within the same frames, both the prints and the slides were part of a deliberative visual system to perpetuate separation between the respective lives of the two communities.[107] Especially when viewed in the light of the charts interpreting their correspondence that are included above, the contrasts between these two media show that it was only at work that the Croziers' social spheres, and those of whom they were patrons, were blended. In common with the images of 'tennis matches and tea parties' in China taken by the Customs officer, Hedgeland, three decades earlier,[108] the subjects of the prints are innocuous. From handshakes, to tree-planting, to prize-giving, to ribbon-cutting, to assembled guests, the impression they convey of Sino-British relations is spotless. The images promoted an untarnished visual record of colonial presence, whilst the formal poses of their subjects ensured continued personal distance.

Portable cameras had been available in China since the 1890s,[109] but in the 1940s and 1950s, they were still affordable only to western citizens and government photojournalists.[110] In Hong Kong, the medium remained financially out of reach for the refugee majority at whom education policy began to be directed, especially after a disastrous fire annihilated the immigrant shantytown at Shek Kip Mei in 1953. As

a result, it was easy for the British in Hong Kong to deploy visual schemata evoking favourable impressions about those few who had privileged access to photographic technology, and to do so apparently on behalf of the many.

Fig. 44. Slide photograph: 'Ah On's Farewell Luncheon'. Showing Ann and Douglas Crozier; Ah On and family; Anne and Dhun Ruttonjee. The names of the female domestic staff are unknown. 152 The Peak, Hong Kong. April 1961. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

Fig. 45. Ann's snapshot of 'Our First Staff', 1934. From a photo album. On the left is 'Ah Lum'. On the right may be 'Ah On'. 'May' is perhaps one of the two middle figures.
9 Leighton Hill, Hong Kong. September 1934. Crozier Collection. © Briony Widdis.

Neither Us-ness nor Otherness in Official Hong Kong Photography

The Croziers' photographic trove was a product of a generalised imperialist intervention that has been comprehensively observed elsewhere. In relation to Fiji for example, Nicholas Thomas has observed how, including through photography, 'depiction and documentation … constituted political actualities in themselves. Travelers and colonists could regard a space and another society…as a thing depicted or described, that was immediately subject to their gaze'.[111] Unsurprisingly, the manipulation of the photographic record to serve a colonial version of reality is also a common theme in discussions of the genre in mainland China. Robert Bickers, for example, has examined the British use of photography in treaty ports as part of a data-collecting exercise, a means 'to understand, to visualise and to control'. In keeping with my preceding example, his analysis reviews the taking of images of Chinese staff – for example, as a form of reference material accompanying the circulation of servants – alongside the creation of *cartes de visite* depicting British sojourners, which acted on their behalf as forms of currency, both in China and at home.[112]

The Crozier photographs regenerated a similar political regime, but in them, the medium was subverted primarily to manipulate the gazes of the colonised, rather than to act as a visual record for colonisers. As part of this visual distortion, complex human scenes were constructed in order to bolster officials' prestige. Of the many devices used, two merit attention here. The first is the elevated positioning of the British within the photographs, where they are shown in leading and central roles.

The Opening of the Salesian School, January 1960.

Figure 46 below was taken at the opening of the Salesian School[113] on 12 January 1960. Here, Ann Crozier is shown beside the Governor, Robert Brown Black. These two dignitaries are centrally positioned within the image, and are physically elevated, standing on an upper floor, apparently condescending to what- or whom-ever is below.

The embrace of the surrounding building lends itself to their eminence. Its square apertures, forming balconies on an external corridor behind which are classrooms backing onto a hill, create a sense of simultaneous space and internality. The British are therefore seen both as expansive patrons, and as insiders whose intervention has through this new physical structure tamed the wildness outside. The

dark drape in front of Crozier and Black (perhaps one they are preparing to drop to signal the opening of the school) draws attention to them, in contrast to the entourage that stands at a respectful distance in the opening to their left,[114] and the school-boys dressed in scout costume to their right.

Bunting dresses the new building in celebration, both of its opening, and of their presence. Ann's white hat compliments the building's colour: she is a subscriber to this edifice to British educational achievement, and it to her. Bishop Lorenzo Bianchi, leader of the Catholic Diocese of which the school is part, stands, side-lined, against the pillar to Black's right. Chinese and European figures in the central aperture – probably the school's governors and principal – are united in dark apparel, so clumped together as to appear indistinguishable. To Robert Black and Ann Crozier's left, and at the extreme right, are hints at what the exercise is for. A staff photographer, who has followed them, now looks downward as they do. A second photographer waits for the British to turn toward him, and another shot.

Fig. 46. Salesian School opening, 12 January 1960. Centre (left-right): Ann Crozier (white hat), Sir Robert Brown Black, Bishop Lorenzo Bianchi. Crozier Collection. Photo © Briony Widdis.

The Opening of the Ho Tung Technical School for Girls, March 1953.

The second device is the visual trope of the Union flag. To contemporary eyes the frequency of its appearance in the Crozier archive seems shameless, especially given the Chinese contexts in which it is seen. An example is in a photograph taken at the opening of the Ho Tung Technical School for Girls. The prominent Eurasian businessman Sir Robert Ho Tung (1862-1956) who began his career in Jardine Matheson & Co and was the richest man in the colony by the age of 35, is often used as the classic Hong Kong example of a late-nineteenth century economic and political *comprador*.[115] A forceful advocate of Chinese rights,[116] he was early adopted by the British as a negotiator on their behalf.[117] A contemporary source said of his philanthropy to both that 'any scheme having as its aim the betterment of the condition of the Chinese or European is sure to enlist the sympathies of this warm-hearted knight'.[118] Father and grandfather to names of renown,[119] his was a dynasty whose success transcended racial barriers from the late nineteenth century onward.[120] At the heart of a network of intermarried Eurasian families[121] filially described in memoirs by three of Sir Robert's nine daughters, the Ho Tungs' complex identities have been widely assessed.[122] Where Sir Robert himself appears in the Crozier collection he wears his customary dress of skullcap and robe, for he claimed Chinese nationality, a strategy that re-balanced his ancestry in favour of China and away from Europe.

Irene Cheng, Ho Tung's daughter, appears prominently within the Crozier collection. Her own affiliations, if imperially planted,[123] subsequently became convincingly Chinese. Teacher-trained in 1920s Britain and with a University of London PhD, she was married to a descendant of a Chinese governor and by the time of this photograph had taught at Lingnan University and in the Nanking Ministry of Education.[124] As an interlocutor with the Chinese population in general and her own family in particular, in 1948 Cheng became a useful Education Department recruit. Crozier as Director soon appointed her as the first non-foreign Senior Inspector of Schools,[125] ostensibly to advise on female education.[126] The photographs show her role to have been far broader: she attended most of the same functions that he did and introduced him to other notables.

Through Cheng, Crozier persuaded her father to fund a government school,[127] the Ho Tung Technical School for Girls, which opened in 1953.[128] In Fig. 40 showing that occasion, Cheng is at Ho Tung's side. Her positioning is deliberate:

she is not only his daughter, but is also, as a Departmental official, this revered man's guide. Ho Tung's commitment to Chinese culture, and furthermore his non-allegiance to the imperial project, were well known. He had famously fought for Chinese rights: it was for example his challenge in 1906[129] that began the end of the Ordinance for residential segregation preventing Chinese compatriots from living on the Victoria Peak.[130] It had been he who had made the founding of the school possible, and so he was positioned as an ostensible guest of honour to the Governor's right. However, the photo (with others in the same series that Crozier did not keep; see below) would be the only viewing of the occasion to which the majority of the population would have access, and in this, he would appear on the Governor's left. In this way, rather than being a true reflection of the event, the photograph is a mirror image of it, reversing the order of Chinese-British relations that its participants are performing.

Perhaps made uncomfortable by the crashing symbol alongside which he has been forced to appear, in the photograph Ho Tung sits physically apart. This matters little to the British, for, though a long-time British associate, he is fading, both physically and in usefulness. He has already made the last big personal donation to schools that he likely to produce.[131] Kitty Cheung, a Ho Tung cousin,[132] is to Irene's left. Principal to the new school, her place on the stage appears to be an after-thought. Her face is efficient: she is mentally preparing for the next stage of proceedings. The positioning of the Ho Tung contingent, at the margin of the image, conveys the impression that the occasion is a Chinese affair only in name. In strategic direction and the public benefit that will ensue from the opening, this is presented as, at its heart, a British gig.

The picture simultaneously highlights the ethnographic detail of Ho Tung's dress through its contrast with that of all others in the photograph, and also integrates British symbolism and formalised staging practice. It therefore imposes, as in Hight and Sampson's analysis of earlier examples of the genre, 'psychological and administrative order over the unfamiliar and sometimes threatening geopolitical disarray of the colonised'.[133] The 1950s was a decade of political activism in Hong Kong, when both nationalist and Communist movements were presenting mounting threats to colonial government. It was, as a result, one in which, as Governor, Grantham regularly met with the editors of both English-language and Chinese newspapers in a bid to promote pro-British public discourse.[134] This image is part of

his attempt to reinforce acceptance of a British presence that is potently symbolised by the backdrop. His face is correspondingly vacant: he has heard many a Chinese speech like this before and will again. The visual image will outlast Ho Tung's words.

Although Grantham appears to be located, as is customary, at the very centre of the stage, the photo, taken at an angle from the right, shows Douglas Crozier in that position. In the image, Grantham is not shown directly in front of the flag, whereas Crozier and his wife Ann are. It is Crozier who has masterminded the occasion and he who knows from which perspective the photograph will be taken. Perhaps therefore he has taken the initiative, in the face of Ho Tung's perceived insubordination, to consolidate the flag, placing himself directly between it and the camera. His near-slouch, a visual assurance that this is wholly natural, is also one of disregard for Ho Tung: he will do what is required to conclude the collaboration and little more. Ann sits upright looking directly at Sir Robert, struck – even offended – by what Ho Tung is saying. Her role is solely to remain by Crozier's side and reinforce his effort; her body lends itself to his translation.

Sir Chau Sik-nin, who was a new and specifically twentieth-century form of *comprador*, now working between the British and the new manufacturing class[135] of bourgeois Chinese who had in 1957 funded the new Hong Kong Technical College,[136] sits to Ann's right. According to Tak-Wing Ngo, Chinese *compradors* had, in the nineteenth century, demonstrated adjustable loyalties to both colonial and mainland governments that, although resulting in their political marginalisation on both sides of the border, helped to secure widespread economic success and titular recognition.[137] The above photograph is visual evidence of this process still in action in the mid-twentieth century. Chau's posture shows that he, the sole Chinese presence on the stage who is not of the Ho Tung party, is both engaged *and* in agreement. He leans toward the speech, his head apparently mid-nod. This is no coincidence, for Sir Chau is approaching the zenith of his career, both as a champion of Chinese business, and in his seniority in the colonial administration.[138] It is helpful to the British, and unsurprising, that Sir Chau, who unlike Ho Tung has some years left in which to serve colonial interests (and his own), does not, also in contrast to Ho Tung's stance, avoid the flag.

It is Ho Tung's commitment to China, as expressed here through the manner of his dress, that distinguishes his role in this photograph from that of Chau. Like

Chau a *comprador* but unlike him never an *evolué*,[139] Ho Tung is characterised as out of step both with him and the other Chinese who are costumed in Western styles, and with the British sitting in front of the flag.

The Ho Tung Technical School for Girls photograph is thus an Orientalist representation for the twentieth century. An Orientalist photograph, for Ali Bedhah, is an imaginary construct, 'marked by iconic fractures and ideological fissures yet it is nonetheless regulated by a visual regime that naturalizes its particular mode of representation'. It denotes to non-Western subjects both a visual and an ideological exoticism.[140] Far from framing the Chinese within an extrinsic eastern fantasy as do earlier photographs examined by Bedhah (for example, of a staged outdoor scene using props), the current image locates Ho Tung within an alternative romance: that of unwavering British mediation in local affairs, in the period after the Second World War when everyone knew it must, in fact, end. The image shows British photography continuing the earlier tradition, whilst also giving a nod to a new form of co-operation with local authority necessitated by the rise in colonial insecurity since Communist victory in China in 1949.[141] In a reversal of the tradition that placed indigenous peoples in constructed landscapes, in this image, Ho Tung's appearance is so out of keeping with that of others as to be made to look *unheimlich*.[142] This impression is reinforced by a published version of this photograph, in which we see that despite his apparent attempts to avoid it, Sir Robert Ho Tung is viewed as seated directly in front of the flag.[143] In this respect this image (in common with the Croziers' photographic collection as a whole) also marks a transition between earlier British Orientalism, and later bureaucratic photography.

Fig. 47. The opening of the Ho Tung Technical School for Girls, March 1953. Left-right: Kitty Cheung (Principal), Irene Cheng, Sir Robert Ho Tung, Sir Alexander Grantham (Governor), Douglas Crozier, Ann Crozier, Sir Chau Sik-nin. Crozier Collection. Photo © Briony Widdis.

Conclusion: Rejecting Us-ness and Otherness and Hiding a Collection.

This chapter has reviewed the Croziers' archive to reveal a number of reasons why Julian and Maurna Crozier put Douglas and Ann's papers and photographs away and forgot about them. At the beginning of the chapter, I showed how the Croziers' colonial world was firmly tilted towards the British; and how few Chinese became their lifelong friends. The archive is full of references to show how women in general, and two in particular, were disparaged; and it shows how this was part of a system of white male dominance in which Douglas was a leading character. I have demonstrated the Croziers ascribed infant status to Chinese domestic helpers, and how as colonial bureaucrats they treated even the presence of élite Chinese people with disdain.

The primordial reason for the hiding of the archive, therefore, was postcolonial discomfort at being associated with it through family ties. As with items discussed in previous chapters, the significance of all those examined here was concealed. Consequently, the racist values that the archive makes evident were not communicated onwards through time and space. In relation to public archives, Terry Cook states that the process of appraising what should be kept 'starkly determines which documents are destroyed, excluded from archives, their creators forgotten,

effaced from memory'. He links the exclusion of documents to the de-legitimisation of 'certain classes, regions, ethnic groups, or races, women as a gender, and non-heterosexual people…sometimes unconsciously and carelessly, sometimes consciously and deliberately…we are what we do not keep, what we consciously exclude, marginalise, ignore, destroy'.[144] In a similar vein, Gyanendra Pandey examines the means by which archival processes obliterate the histories of those deemed to be 'ephemeral', 'insignificant' and 'obscure'.[145]

Both writings are reflected in the Crozier archive. Remaining extant, the Croziers' collection of objects, as does that of anyone else, has the potential to serve as a comprehensive memorial to the (in this case, colonial) lives that they led. The objects that were kept shadow whom, and what, they wished to memorialise; and by doing so, they marked out for us to see in the present how they legitimated their identities and secured their power. As we have seen in Chapter Seven, the objects *have* determined the way in which they were remembered; from the analysis there, we can see how their possession of them in the first place had resulted from an exalted and racist colonial world.

By contrast with the objects, the private papers provide a blatant memorial, and this was not one that was later relished. These documents reveal aspects of their personalities that, being retained in their desk drawers and in Julian and Maurna's attic, were never intended to be available to public view. We can see from these how the records of their lives that have hitherto been in the public domain – those in archived newspapers, in history books and on websites – leave a lot out. They do not for example recall how as individuals they interacted with the 'poor and the weak' to whom Pandey in her article refers. These included the million refugees arriving after the Second World War who, until the late 1950s, had no right to public services. Although through his efforts, Douglas Crozier secured educational places for them in large number, the Hong Kong Government, on whose Executive and Legislative Councils he also sat, did not, for a decade after they began arriving, begin to consider them as residents who would stay when the Chinese civil war had ended.[146]

Furthermore, postcolonial readings of the official record have altered the way in which the Croziers can now be perceived. The power of the photographic images shown here and a thousand or so others in the Collection, is to bring to light forgotten human ranges in the Croziers' social world. This is why, of course, the images lay buried for over thirty years. The most accessible sources of biographical

evidence – the Croziers' documents, photographs and books – were almost obliterated by dust and insect activity whilst stored in attics and barns. It was only those items that could not be easily 'read' – decorative objects like the artefacts in previous chapters – that were put on display.

Perhaps, too, memories of this bourgeois couple were lost because their lives were regarded, in line with the apparent mundanity of the address books described at the start of this chapter, as 'trifling', 'so utterly ordinary and routine as to be taken as 'always so'.[147] Like the documents in the attic, for years Douglas and Ann Crozier themselves appeared, even within our family, to have been forgotten. One reason for this is that to attempt to re-invoke a colonial career carries with it a risk of bathos. Robert Bickers' study of the folly of Sir Frederick Maze, nephew and successor to Sir Robert Hart as Inspector General of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, is a cautionary precedent. Maze manipulated the historical record in order to substantiate his installation in the role and in history,[148] resulting, now, in historiographical ignominy brought about by Bickers' research. Ann and Douglas Crozier pre-dated Barthes' trail-blazing *Camera Lucida* and were neither inspired, nor encumbered, by postcolonial critique. Nor had they any idea that their photographs would come to represent an anterior familial narrative.[149] The same could not be said of the next generation who, in possession of postcolonial narrative, did not enjoy what they saw.

The more important cause for forgetting the archive though, derived from the postcolonial guilt to which I have alluded. Like all unarchived histories, colonial lives risk deletion because, as Bickers writes, to uncover them might be perceived to challenge the continuing nationalist movements that colonial writing itself covered up, through the projection of the official narrative. Retrospectively written histories, as he also observes, have 'smothered…the voices and actions of the colonialist, the missionary, the settler…voices which had been strident, actions which had often been violent'.[150]

It is hardly surprising then, if in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries by which time these colonial voices have been subdued, families like mine have kept their ancestors out of the public eye. In doing so, except in symbolic form through the objects they keep in their homes, many have forgotten the values and beliefs their progenitors held. In the case of Julian and Maurna Crozier who did not recognise the Chinese Other in the letters and photographs, they did not recognise Us in them either. Combined with the analysis in Chapter Seven, we can see how a benefit of

combining objects and private archives together in postcolonial analysis is that together they provide a more balanced representation of social networks in the past. Through mining their symbolism, we can reveal much about the past, and about how it continues to influence the present.

A concluding finding relates to the usefulness of the Otherness / Us-ness binary. As each of the preceding chapters has conveyed, a danger for the individual in publicly acknowledging their emotional response to objects in the private domain, is the discovery that this response has unwittingly been grounded in imperialistic ideas.[151] Throughout the thesis I have sought to support my evidence about how Colonial Objects operate in public museums, with sources that can only be gathered in domestic settings, including for example diaries, family photographs, and personal recollections. Just like three-dimensional artefacts, family ephemera are important in revealing human relationships in the colonial past. They are critical research sources because they can demonstrate the operation of Us-ness in casual forms. As I have argued here and throughout the thesis, the implications for the individual in discovering their identity to have been founded on Orientalism, are many. I have also shown, however, that families share these implications with their public institutions.

1. Elements of Chapter Eight are adapted from the author's article published as Widdis, Briony. 2018. 'Stock Photos: Family, the Mundane and Colonial Visualization in Twentieth-Century Hong Kong' in *The Chinese Historical Review* 25 (2): 181 – 95. Available online at *https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1547402X.2018.1522823* Published online November 2018.'.' © 2018 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.

2. Connerton, Paul. 2008. 'Seven Types of Forgetting'. *Memory Studies* 1 (1): 59 – 71.

3. Cooper, Frederick, and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. 1997. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. p.3-4,7.

4. Said, Edward W. (Edward William). 1994. *Culture & Imperialism*. London: Vintage. p.xxviii.

5. Said, Edward W. (Edward William). 1994. *Culture & Imperialism*. London: Vintage. p. xiii.

6. Cooper, Frederick, and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. 1997. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. p. 11.

7. Dirks, Nicholas B., ed. 1992. *Colonialism and Culture*. Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press. p. 2-3.

8. Jinadu, L. Adèle. 1976. 'Language and Politics: On the Cultural Basis of Colonialism'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, no. 63 – 64: 603 – 14.

9. Fanon, Frantz. 2007. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Revised ed. New York: Grove Press.

10. Thomas, Nicholas. 1994. *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, Government*. Cambridge: Polity Press. p.ix-x.

11. Pratt, Mary Louise. 2007. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge. p.3

12. Stoler, Ann Laura, and Duke University Press. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's 'History of Sexuality' and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham, NC, United States: Duke University Press. p. 99

13. Stoler, Ann Laura, and Duke University Press. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's 'History of Sexuality' and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham, NC, United States: Duke University Press. p. 112.

14. Batchen, Geoffrey. 2008. 'Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn'. *Photographies* 1 (2): 121 – 42.

15. Durba Ghosh argues that all archivists of colonial papers produce historical bias. See Ghosh, Durba. 2005. 'National Narratives and the Politics of Miscegenation: Britain and India'. In *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*, edited by Antoinette Burton, 27 – 44. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

16. For a useful discussion of anthropological approaches to this dichotomy, see Stoler, Ann Laura. 1989. 'Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule''. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1): 134 – 61.

17. Stoler, Ann Laura. 2009. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. p. 19, 40-41.

18. For example, the Visitors' Book is bound in brown snakeskin with the Croziers' names impressed on the cover. Douglas's address book contains the names of erstwhile colleagues, as does that of any retiree. Ann's address book, printed in the USA, has Chinese characters on the dust jacket. Her postage book, used to record Christmas card exchanges, is a 'Shell Series' stationery issue. The letters of sympathy are as full of hyperbole as any such letters are.

19. Because the contents of the combined documents are chronologically longitudinal in form, many of the names in them recur several times. Where a name appears more than once but at different addresses, every address has been counted; but where the same address appears more than once, it is only counted once. The majority of the addresses are attached to specific names; with only nineteen belonging to organisations or companies. Due to the low numbers of addresses from any country or dominion other than the UK, Hong Kong and the Republic of Ireland, all countries excepting these have been grouped under continents. Due to the low numbers from Northern Ireland combined with the Croziers' political leanings, Northern Ireland is counted as within the UK.

20. Colonisers' attitudes are frequently described as having been predicated on Eurocentric perspectives. See for example Dirlik, A. 2007. 'The Historiography of Colonial Modernity: Chinese History between Eurocentric Hegemony and Nationalism'. *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 1 (1): 97 – 115; Mazower, Mark. 2014. 'The End of Eurocentrism'. *Critical Inquiry* 40 (4): 298 – 313; Shah, Neha. 2016. 'How Britain's Old Empire Lives on in Universities'. *The Guardian*, 9 June 2016, online edition.

21. Analysing continent of origin has been preferred here to nationality because the purpose of this exercise is to discover whether the archive demonstrates a bias in the Croziers' social world towards those who are European or British. The term 'ethnicity' is avoided for two reasons: 1) it would combine all white European correspondents into one group, and this would confuse the geographical findings of the study; and 2) some of the Croziers' contacts self-identified as Chinese but were actually Eurasian. (Members of the family of Sir Robert Ho Tung being good examples). Where this is known to have been the case, correspondents have been counted as Chinese.

22. Biographical sources have included: Munn, Christopher. 2011. *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press; Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. 1991. *A Biographical Dictionary of the Colonial Service 1939-1966*. London: Zell. Bellis, David. n.d. 'Gwulo: Old Hong Kong'. https://gwulo.com; Banham, Tony. n.d. 'Hong Kong War Diary'. www.hongkongwardiary.com. Wikipedia.com has also been used.

23. Where correspondents appear under one archive entry as couples or families, they are counted only once. However, where members of extended families are under separate entries or at different locations (for example, siblings, or parents and their offspring, with whom the Croziers corresponded separately or who were living at separate addresses), each is counted as a separate unit. Where

correspondents appear in the archive only as first names, in order to avoid duplicating those individuals who might appear elsewhere under their surname these are not counted. For the purposes of analysing the cultural geography of their world, Fig. 35 distinguishes those who were from the UK and those from China. The identification of correspondents' geographical origins has taken into account historical factors. For example, where individuals with non-Chinese names appear in the archive in Hong Kong but are also later resident in England, to which a large number of British individuals retired, it has been assumed that their nationality was British. Conversely, where individuals with Chinese surnames appear early in the archive in Hong Kong but reappear later in Britain or the USA to which many moved in the 1960s and 1970s, it is assumed that their identity is Chinese. Where no national origin can be traced, the correspondent has been excluded from the results. In order to reflect the frequency of correspondents who were from Hong Kong, the UK and Ireland, these places are distinguished separately from their continents.

24. Crozier, Douglas. 1933. Letter to Ann Hobbs. 3 February 1933. Crozier Collection.

25. At the instigation of and with their parents, Myra Henly and ten siblings had emigrated from County Louth, Ireland, to New Zealand in 1893. They lived in Umutaoroa for four years before returning to Ireland.

26. Henly, Myra. 1897. *Diary of the Voyage from Umutaoroa, New Zealand to Plymouth, England via Cape Horn*. Transcript, Crozier Collection.

27. Hobbs, Florence. 1929. *Diary of a Missionary Journey with the Salvation Army to Australia and New Zealand, Returning via Egypt, Ceylon, Jerusalem, Greece and Italy.* Crozier Collection.

28. Rendall, Jane. 2006. 'The Condition of Women'. In *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, edited by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 105.

29. Lalu, Premesh. 2000. 'The Grammar of Domination and the Subjection of Agency: Colonial Texts and Modes of Evidence'. *History and Theory* 39 (4): 45 – 68.

30. Levine, Philippa. 2006. 'Sexuality and Empire'. In *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, edited by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 122 – 42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

31. Woollacott, Angela. 2006. *Gender and Empire*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 1-10. See also Woollacott, Angela. 1997. '"All This Is the Empire, I Told Myself": Australian Women's Voyages "Home" and the Articulation of Colonial Whiteness'. *The American Historical Review* 102 (4): 1003–29.

32. Hampton, Mark. 2017. 'A Man's Playground'. In *Hong Kong and British Culture, 1945-97*, 72 – 99. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

33 Woollacott, Angela. 2006. *Gender and Empire*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

34. Identified from biographical timeline reconstruction and position within the family photo album.

35. Thanks to members of the Irish-Chinese Cultural Society for highlighting this as a well-known feature of life in colonial Hong Kong.

36. Woollacott, Angela. 1997. 'All This Is the Empire, I Told Myself': Australian Women's Voyages 'Home' and the Articulation of Colonial Whiteness'. *The American Historical Review* 102 (4): 1003 – 29. p. 1023-1204.

37. Crozier, Douglas. 1940. Letter to Ann Crozier. 2 August 1940.

38. A housekeeper hired by Ann for a short period whilst in Sydney.

39. Crozier, Ann. 1940. Letter to Douglas Crozier. 3 December 1940.

40. Crozier, Ann. 1941. Letter to Florence Hobbs. 23 May 1941. Emphasis from the original.

41. Crozier, Ann. 1941. Letter to Douglas Crozier. 27 November 1941. Emphasis from the original.

42. Hoe, Susanna. 1991. *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong: Western Women in the British Colony 1841-1941*. Hong Kong, Oxford, New York: Hong Kong University Press. p.viii-ix.

43 An *amah* was a nursemaid or maid, especially in East Asia or India. Its etymology is unclear; it may have come from the Chinese *ah mah* (*ah* is a general prefix; *mah* meaning 'little mother'), Chinese *nai mah* ('milk mother'), or Portuguese *mah* ('nurse').

44. Crozier, Douglas. 1940. Letter to Ann Crozier. 2 August 1940.

45. Crozier, Douglas. 1940. Letter to Ann Crozier. 5 August 1940.

46. South China Morning Post. 1940. 'Mrs. Crozier Recommends Baby Amah'. 18 January 1940.

47. Crozier, Douglas. 1940. Letter to Ann Crozier. 8 August 1940.

48. Crozier, Douglas. 1940. Letter to Ann Crozier. 1 September 1940. There had been a cholera outbreak in Hong Kong during 1940; see Yip, Ka-che, Man-kong Wong, and Yuen-sang Leung, eds. 2018. 'The Control of Major Diseases and Epidemics before 1941'. In *A Documentary History of Public Health in Hong Kong*, 101 – 46. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press. p. 145.

49. Tsang, Steve. 2007. *A Modern History of Hong Kong*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd. p. 127-128.

50. Phyllis Harrop quoted in Bickers, Robert. 2017. 'Allies of a Kind'. In *Out of China*, 211 – 44. Boston: Harvard University Press. p. 227.

51. 'First Impressions of Hong Kong', St. John's Review, Vol. 10, no. 10, October 1938: 364-366. Quoted in Wolfendale, Stuart. 2013. *Imperial to International: A History of St. John's Cathedral, Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p. 169.

52. *South China Morning Post*. 1933. 'Fanling Golf', 11 November 1933; *South China Morning Post.* 1933. 'Winter Programme: YMCA Sports Meeting Elects Committees: Officers for the Year', 15 September 1933; *South China Morning Post*. 1933. 'Dictatorships Unsuited: Keen Debate Among YMCA Members: Ideal Government', 20 October 1933.

53. South China Morning Post. 1934. 'Empire Day: Anglican and Catholic Cathedral Services: Church and Loyalty', 25 May 1934.

54 For history, see Hoe, Susanna. 1991. *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong: Western Women in the British Colony 1841-1941*. Hong Kong, Oxford, New York: Hong Kong University Press. The Helena May Institute still exists; see 'About the Helena May'. 2019. The Helena May. 18 September 2019. http://www.helenamay.com/Public/10_about_the_helenamay_intr.php. Accessed 18/09/2019.

55. South China Morning Post. 1939. 'History and Poetry', 4 January 1939.

South China Morning Post. 1939. 'History and Poetry,' January 4.

56. South China Morning Post. 1937. 'Child Protection: Society May Consider Mui-Tsai Problem', 17 March 1937. The British-led campaign against the practice of mui-tsai, in which female children were sold into servitude, is well documented. See for example Samuels, Harriet. 2007. 'A Human Rights Campaign? The Campaign to Abolish Child Slavery in Hong Kong 1919-1938'. *Journal of Human Rights* 6 (3): 361 – 84. See also Hoe, Susanna. 1991. 'Mrs Haslewood and the Mui Tsai'. In *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong*, 232 – 46. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

57. South China Morning Post. 1938. 'Hongkong Society for the Protection of Children', 24 November 1938; *South China Morning Post*. 1938. 'Dolly Varden Spring Dress Show', 18 April 1938.

58. South China Morning Post. 1938. 'Dead-End Children: Rotary Club Contributes to Local Society', 21 December 1938.

59. South China Morning Post. 1939. 'Donations to Charitable and Other Objects'. 4 January 1939.

60. Carroll, John M. 2005. 'A Place of Their Own: Clubs and Associations'. In *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong*, 84 – 107. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press. p. 97-100.

61. Carroll, John M. 2005. 'A Place of Their Own: Clubs and Associations'. In *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong*, 84 – 107. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

62. For commentary on racial segregation in these institutions see Carroll, John M. 2005. 'A Better Class of Chinese: Building the Emporium of the East'. In *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong*, 37–57. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

63. Including fellow teachers, J.J. Ferguson and J.C. Grenham. Both appear in Douglas's photographs from the early 1930s.

64. *South China Morning Post*. 1934. 'Miss Helen Ingram: Large Attendance at Funeral of Meningitis Victim', 4 June 1934. See also further 1934 South China Morning Post newspaper entries relating to Helen Ingram's death: 2nd June (p. 12, 16); 4th June (p. 2, 12); 8th June (p. 2).

65. A trading company set up in 1832 in Canton (now Guangzhou) by Scots. See 'Early Trading Years, Building Hong Kong as a Trading Port'. n.d. Jardines. Accessed 26 September 2019. https://www.jardines.com/en/group/history.html.

66. *South China Morning Post*. 1935. 'Fatal Accident: European-Driven Car Hits Little Boat Girl', 27 July 1935. South China Morning Post. 1935. 'Motor Case Verdict,' July 31. *South China Morning Post*. 1935.

67. *Hong Kong Daily Press*. 1935. 'Around the Courts: Death by Misadventure'. 31 July 1935.

68. Chiu, Fred Y. L. 1997. 'Politics and the Body Social in Colonial Hong Kong'. p. 305. In *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, edited by Tabni E. Barlow. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

69. Welsh, Frank. 1993. *A Borrowed Place: The History of Hong Kong*. New York: Kodansha International. p. 304, 380, 495.

70. Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. 1999. *On Crown Service: A History of HM Colonial and Overseas Civil Services, 1837-1997*. London: I.B. Tauris. p. 94.

71. Ann had attended Latymer Grammar School, Edmonton.

72. Hampton, Mark. 2016. 'Chinese Britishness'. In *Hong Kong and British Culture, 1945-97*, 160 – 85. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

73. Coates, Austin. 1968. *Myself a Mandarin: Memoirs of a Special Magistrate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 225-6.

74. Carroll, John M. 2005. 'A Better Class of Chinese: Building the Emporium of the East'. In *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong*, 37 – 57. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

75. As Director of Education, 1951-1961.

76. Possibly May, although the identity of the sitter is unknown.

77. Snow, Phillip. 2003. *The Fall of Hong Kong: Britain, China and the Japanese Occupation*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. p. 303-304.

78. Sweeting, Anthony. 1993. *A Phoenix Transformed: The Reconstruction of Education in Post-War Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press. p. 66.

79. Hampton, Mark. 2016. *Hong Kong and British Culture, 1945-97*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 17.

80. Sweeting attributes Crozier's surprise appointment as Director of Education to his fulfilment of this position. See Sweeting, Anthony. 2004. *Education in Hong Kong, 1941 to 2001: Visions and Revisions*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p. 58.

81. As also shown in the example of the figure of Bai Juyi, see Chapter Seven.

82. Sweeting, Anthony. 1993. *A Phoenix Transformed: The Reconstruction of Education in Post-War Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press. p. 92-119.

83. *Hong Kong Annual Report*. 1955. Hong Kong Government Publications p. 87.

84. By December 1961, 318,000 places had been delivered as against the target of 215,000. Sweeting, Anthony. 2004. *Education in Hong Kong, 1941 to 2001: Visions and Revisions*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p. 171-2.

85. Interview with Douglas Crozier, from a Reel, Precise Date Unknown. 1967. Radio Hong Kong. Crozier Collection.

86. The third level options that were thus created were, for the time being, the School of Higher Chinese Studies and Grantham Training College. In doing so, Crozier was resisting influence on Hong Kong's education emanating from Taiwan. See Wong, Ting-Hong. 2002. *Hegemonies Compared: State Formation and Chinese School Politics in Postwar Singapore and Hong Kong*. New York: Taylor & Francis. p. 215-7. See also 'Ninth Congregation Conferment of Honorary Degrees: University Bulletin Special Supplement'. 1969. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong.

87. Also known as Lu Xun and Zhou Shuren. *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction* was influential as the first such survey to be published in China. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_Brief_History_of_Chinese_Fiction and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lu_Xun Accessed 3rd May 2018.

88. Hsun, Lu. 1976. *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press.

89. S. I. Hsiung: a writer and playwright in Beijing and London was the first Chinese person to direct a West End play. May have known Douglas Crozier in his role as the first president of Tsing Hua College in Hong Kong. See Zhou, Yupei. 2002. 'Shih-I Hsiung'. In *Asian American Playwrights: A Bio-Bibliographical Critical Sourcebook*, edited by Miles Xian Liu, 121 – 25. Westport, United States: ABC-CLIO.

90. The 'double ninth', falling on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, is the Chung Yeung festival, when families gather in cemeteries for the purpose of ancestor worship. Hiking on hilltops and mountains is also popular as a source of good luck. In Hong Kong, people picnic on this day, sometimes eating 'ko' cakes. The name, sounding similar to 'high' in Chinese, is thought to augur promotion to high positions.

91 Crozier, Douglas. 1940. Letter to Ann Crozier.,7 September 1940.

92 The Crozier Collection contains letters from Mary Jones, who given the imminence of the birth remained in Hong Kong, to Ann. Douglas saw the couple frequently after Ann's evacuation; and there are early photographs of their son, Christopher. Stephen Jones, as a HKVDF volunteer, was killed on Christmas Day 1941 during the Battle for Hong Kong. See www.gwulo.com; www.hongkongwardiary.com. Accessed 18/09/2019.

93. Crozier, Douglas. 1940. Letter to Ann Crozier. 22 September 1940. Crozier Collection.

94. S. G. Davis who in 1955 was made founding Chair Professor of the Department of Geography and Geology at the University of Hong Kong. In 1940 following the evacuation of his family Douglas shared accommodation with the Davises. A Geography teacher by trade, 'Dave' Davis wrote books on Hong Kong's Geology during Crozier's period as Director. In Hong Kong there is a youth hostel named after him.

95. Crozier, Douglas. 1940. Letter to Ann Crozier. 22 September 1940. Crozier Collection.

96. Stoler, Ann Laura. 2009. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. p. 256.

97. The ivory figure of Bai Juyi in the Crozier Collection provides another echo of this, see Chapter Four.

98. Mueggler, Erik. 2011. *The Paper Road: Archive and Experience in the Botanical Exploration of West China and Tibet*. London: University of California Press.

99. Lowrie, Claire. 2018. ‘‘What a Picture Can Do’: Contests of Colonial Mastery in Photographs of Asian ‘houseboys’ from Southeast Asia and Northern Australia, 1880s-1920s’. *Modern Asian Studies* 52 (4): 1279 – 1315.

100. The low cost of domestic labour in Hong Kong meant that having servants was standard for those on expatriate salary packages. Hampton, Mark. 2016. *Hong Kong and British Culture, 1945-97*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 30.

101. This photo is believed to show the businessman and philanthropist Dhun Ruttonjee, with whom Douglas served on the Legislative Council, and his wife, Anne Yip Khum-ho. Attribution inconclusive.

102. Batchen, G. 2000. ‘Vernacular Photographies’. *History of Photography: An International Quarterly* 3 (262 – 271). p. 269.

103. Highmore, Ben, ed. 2002. *The Everday Life Reader*. London and New York: Routledge. p. 1.

104. Highmore, Ben. 2002. *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge. p. 23.

105. Highmore, Ben, ed. 2002. *The Everday Life Reader*. London and New York: Routledge. p. 1.

106. Tang, Xiaobing. 2002. ‘Anxiety of Everyday Life in Post-Revolutionary China’. In *The Everyday Life Reader*, 125 – 38. London and New York: Routledge.

107. Carroll, John M. 2007. *A Concise History of Hong Kong*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. p. 89-115.

108. Ladds, Catherine. 2008. ‘A Customs Officer in the Treaty Port World: R.F.C. Hedgeland’s Photographs’. *International Institute for Asian Studies Newsletter*, February: 6 – 8.

109. Roberts, Claire. 2013. *Photography and China*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd. p. 55.

110. Cabos, Marine. 2017. ‘The Cultural Revolution Through the Prism of Vernacular Photography’. *Art and Vernacular Photographies in Asia* 8 (1).

111. Thomas, Nicholas. 1994. *Colonialism’s Culture: Anthropology, Travel, Government*. Cambridge: Polity Press. p. 111-112.

112. Bickers, Robert. 2012. ‘Lives and Deaths of Photographs in Early Treaty Port China’. In *Visualising China, 1845-1965: Moving and Still Images in Historical Narratives*, edited by Christian Henriot and Wen-Hsin Yeh, 3 – 38. Leiden: Brill.

113 The correct name for this building is now the Aw Boon Haw Memorial Building. Aw Boon Haw (1882-1954) was a Burmese entrepreneur who with his brother made a fortune from Tiger Balm, after which a public park was named in Hong Kong (Munn, Christopher. 2011. *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, p. 11-12.) Significantly for this chapter, the Crozier Collection contains a photograph of a meeting between Douglas and Aw Boon Haw, mediated by Irene Cheng, in January 1952. This is further evidence of Cheng’s importance in forging introductions with the Chinese élite that will be developed later in the chapter. From this it is apparent that a relationship with Aw Boon Paw was being fostered by the British to finance the school development programme; it is likely that he, or a foundation in his name, funded the building of the Salesian School.

114. ‘Left’ and ‘right’ here is intended to be as read from the viewer’s perspective.

115. The term *comprador*, which derives from the Portuguese meaning ‘buyer’, was widely used in Hong Kong in this period. It is specifically used with reference to East Asia to signify a native servant who, originally within the setting of a European household, represented their employer in bartering wares. In the process of acting as agent, *compradors* frequently set up trading concerns of their own.

116. Holdsworth, May. 2012. ‘Robert Ho Tung’. In *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*, edited by May Holdsworth and Christopher Munn. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p. 194-6.

117. Cheng, T. C. 1969. 'Chinese Unofficial Members of the Legislative and Executive Councils in Hong Kong up to 1941'. *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 9: 7 – 30. p. 22.

118. Faure, David. 1996. *A Documentary History of Hong Kong: V. 2: Society*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p. 120.

119. Ho Tung's eldest son Edward (1902-1957) founded the Chinese Gold and Silver Exchange and was Treasurer of the Chinese War Chest. His second son, Robert Ho Shai-lai (1906-1998), was a general under the Chinese Kuomintang regime. Edward's son Sir Joseph Hotung, a renowned Chinese art collector, has funded Chinese and South Asian galleries at the British Museum; and his son Eric (1926-2017), Ambassador-at-Large to Timor-Leste, continued through a family foundation to fund education in Hong Kong.

120. Sweeting, Tony, and Peter Cunich. 2015. 'Hong Kong Eurasians'. *Royal Asiatic Society: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 55 (2015): 83 – 113. p. 88.

121. For family connections see Hall, Peter. 1992. *In the Web*. Wirral: Hurst Village Publishing.

122. See Teng, Emma Jinhua. 2013. *Eurasian: Mixed Identities in the United States, China and Hong Kong, 1842-1943*. London: University of California Press.

123. Irene Cheng was presented in 1932 as a débutante to Queen Mary. Cheng, Irene. 1997. *Intercultural Reminiscences*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University. p. 209.

124. Cheng, Irene. 1997. *Intercultural Reminiscences*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University. Chapter 11.

125. *Growing with Hong Kong: The University and Its Graduates – The First 90 Years*. 2002. Hong Kong University Press. p. 225.

126. Cheng, Irene. 1997. *Intercultural Reminiscences*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University. p. 341.

127. Cheng, Irene. 1997. *Intercultural Reminiscences*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University. p. 313.

128. Sweeting, Anthony. 2004. *Education in Hong Kong, 1941 to 2001: Visions and Revisions*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p. 165.

129. Holdsworth, May. 2012. 'Robert Ho Tung'. In *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*, edited by May Holdsworth and Christopher Munn. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p. 196.

130. Carroll, J. M. 2012. 'The Peak: Residential Segregation in Colonial Hong Kong'. In *Twentieth-Century Colonialism and China: Localities, the Everyday and the World*, edited by Bryna Goodman and David S. G. Goodman, 81 – 91. Hong Kong: Routledge. p. 91.

131. Sir Robert Ho Tung died, aged 93, in 1956.

132. A distant cousin of Irene Cheng. Cheng, Irene. 1997. *Intercultural Reminiscences*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Baptist University. p. 313.

133. Hight, Eleanor M., and Gary D. Sampson, eds. 2002. *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)Ing Race and Place*. New York: Routledge. p. 15.

134. Lam, Wai-Man. 2004. *Understanding the Political Culture of Hong Kong: The Paradox of Activism and Depoliticization*. London and New York: Routledge. p. 102.

135. Goodstadt, Leo. 2012. 'Chau Sik-Nin'. In *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*, edited by May Holdsworth and Christopher Munn. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p. 81.

136. Sweeting, Anthony. 2004. *Education in Hong Kong, 1941 to 2001: Visions and Revisions*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. p. 167-8.

137. Ngo, Tak-Wing. 1999. *Hong Kong's History: State and Society Under Colonial Rule*. London: Routledge. p. 30-45.

138. Chau would serve on the Executive Council for a further nine years.

139. *Evolué* refers to an African or Asian who outwardly demonstrates her / his acceptance of alien cultural values and behaviour patterns, having become Europeanised through colonial processes of education or assimilation. This term, more commonly used in reference to French and Belgian colonies, was developed by Fanon in his 1952 analysis of Martinique culture, *Black Skin, White Masks*. See Fanon, Frantz. 2007. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Revised ed. New York: Grove Press.

140. Behdad, Ali, and Luke Gartlan, eds. 2013. *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute. p. 11.

141. Hampton, Mark. 2016. *Hong Kong and British Culture, 1945-97*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 17, 144-5.

142. See Chapter Three for definition and usage of this term.

143 'Ho Tung Technical School for Girls'. n.d. VTC. Accessed 24 September 2019. https://vpet.vtc.edu.hk/wiki/index.php?title=Ho_Tung_Technical_School_For_Girls.

144. Cook, Terry. 2011. ''We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are': Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future'. *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 32 (2): 173 – 89. p. 174.

145. Pandey, Gyanendra. 2014. 'Unarchived Histories: The 'Mad' and the 'Trifling''. In *Unarchived Histories*, 3 – 20. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

146. Goodstadt, Leo. 2013. 'Social Reforms: Too Little, Too Late'. In *Poverty in the Midst of Affluence: How Hong Kong Mismanaged Its Prosperity*, 111 – 38. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

147. Pandey, Gyanendra. 2014. 'Unarchived Histories: The 'Mad' and the 'Trifling''. In *Unarchived Histories*, 3 – 20. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

148. Bickers, Robert. 2006. 'Purloined Letters: History and the Chinese Maritime Customs Service'. *Modern Asian Studies* 40 (03): 691 – 723.

149. Ideas taken from Nickel, D. R. 2000. 'Roland Barthes and the Snapshot'. *History of Photography: An International Quarterly* 232 – 235.

150. Bickers, Robert. 2006. 'Purloined Letters: History and the Chinese Maritime Customs Service'. *Modern Asian Studies* 40 (03): 691 – 723. p. 723.

151. To reiterate: my idea that Colonial Objects can be invested with imperialistic ideas is owed originally to Latour, Bruno. 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chapter Nine
Conclusion
Colonial Objects and Museum Futures in Northern Ireland

Introduction

This thesis has delivered on three objectives. Research Objective One was to develop a Critical Framework for understanding Colonial Objects. This Objective was delivered in Chapters One and Two. Research Objective Two was to apply the Colonial Objects Framework to objects in the Crozier Collection and the World Cultures Collection of National Museums Northern Ireland. It was delivered in Chapters Three to Eight. Objective Three was to identify Museum Practice outcomes of the thesis for use in Northern Ireland. This final objective was delivered across the whole thesis. In conclusion, Chapter Nine will summarise how Objectives One and Two have been delivered and will substantiate and complete delivery of Objective Three.

The thesis had three key findings. Firstly, the Colonial Objects Framework, containing four Categories, is a useful basis on which to interpret objects. Secondly, Autoethnographic research is a highly effective way to apply the Framework in practice. This is because the Framework can interpret both indigenous and non-indigenous perspectives; and can be applied to both private and public collections. Thirdly, the theme of Colonial Objects in Northern Ireland, and its ethnographic collections, merit substantial further research which the Framework can support.

Research Objective One: to Develop A Critical Framework for Understanding Colonial Objects

At the outset of this thesis I called for a fresh examination of the concept of the Colonial Object. I argued that it was necessary for seven reasons, as follows.

1) There was no pre-existing framework. As I showed through reference to previous literature on Colonial Objects, there was no previous paradigm through which to answer the Research Question – 'What makes an object 'colonial'?'

2) Human networks in the colonial past were complex. The Crozier Collection from which this study emanates is from late colonial Hong Kong, where the cross-fertilisation of ideas took complex forms; and the exchange of objects between

native and incomer groups was a frequent occurrence. Many of the objects were produced for a mass market. It was therefore difficult to say what specifically made the objects 'colonial'. Looking for definitions, I found that previous work on the material culture of colonialism had examined the circumstances in which the objects had been gathered as colonial; or had defined the collectors as colonial. There had been an avoidance of discussing what made objects colonial *themselves*. In order to understand what made the Crozier Collection 'colonial', I needed to establish a new framework of categories.

3) Object biography is longitudinal. As an example of a collection of objects, the Crozier Collection (as are all collections) is biographically longitudinal, with phases in the lives of its objects dating to both before and after the end of colonialism. To emphasise only those parts of the objects' biographies that pre-date the end of the Empire would privilege some biographical phases at the expense of others; and would undermine a significant proportion of the objects' narrative possibility. I therefore identified a need for a model for understanding the Colonial Object that would incorporate both colonial and postcolonial timeframes.

4) The non-Western / Western divide in museum disciplines is artificial. In connection with both reasons (1) and (2), I found both indigenous and non-indigenous perspectives to be important for understanding object biography and symbolism. Attempts in Western museums to isolate indigenous objects within a discrete disciplinary boundary have depended on the imposition from the outside on human beings of racial categories, an effort that has also reinforced the imposition of epistemologies informed by the subjectivities of imperialism. For this reason, I rejected the traditional museological isolation of the material products of some indigenous cultures within separate 'ethnographic' or 'world cultures' collections categories. This division is artificial, setting up unhelpful distinctions between individuals who have lived within non-white or non-European populations, and those who have not. Therefore, the thesis has suggested a nuanced definition of what makes objects 'colonial' that overcomes the risk of privileging particular groups in society.

5) All people cherish objects. My study emanated from knowledge of objects in a former home. Given that context, I understood objects produced within a Chinese society to have had symbolic value for members of a Northern Irish family. Therefore, having looked for one in vain, I believed that a framework was needed to

synthesise the study of objects from former British colonies, with other work that had taken place within Psychology on the reasons why people become attached to objects.

6) Domestic collections are mixed. Not having been subjected to the artificial separation of objects based on ethnic and cultural separations, that occurs in museums as set out under (3), collections found in homes are mixed assemblages. The Crozier Collection is an example of such an assemblage. I found that a framework was needed that could incorporate such collections, encompassing together the objects within them that come from multiple parts of the world and multiple timeframes.

7) The word 'colonial' has two meanings. The phrase 'colonial object' can refer to an object deriving from a geo-political colony. However, it can also refer to the idea that the object *itself* is colonial. The Crozier Collection contains objects that have been so invested with emotion by members of the family as to have 'colonised' our physical and mental spaces. I described this as a feeling of being *inseparable* from objects, and that they are *coercive*. It was therefore necessary to define a framework that could take into account both senses of the term 'colonial object'.

In summary of (1-7), the purpose of the Colonial Objects Framework was to be inclusive. It would include objects from former colonies with those not from colonies. It would encompass human biography in all its dimensions. It would span objects from both colonial and postcolonial timeframes. It would ensure that both indigenous and non-indigenous actors could be included. It would break down the museological disciplinary division between non-Western ('ethnographic' or 'World Cultures') objects and Western (non-'ethnographic' or non-'World Cultures') objects. It would enable study of objects' emotional dimensions, as well as those that are physical and historical. Finally, it would establish the Colonial Object as an aspect of our shared humanity.

The Us-ness / Otherness Binary

In constructing the Framework, I established Categories of Colonial Object according to an Us-ness / Otherness binary. There were four reasons for this, which I developed in Chapter Two.

1) ***Museum Ethnography.*** Museum practice has depended on the aforementioned disciplinary division, in which museums have classified objects as either coming from Western or non-Western cultures. Such a division, I argued, relies upon the objectification of alienised Others. The supposed presence of these Others had, as established by Said, Spivak and Bhabha, depended on Orientalist ideologies. Therefore, analyses of Colonial Objects have relied on distinctions between insider and outsider perspectives. In order to comprehend how museums have interpreted the objects in the past, we need to refer to this binary representation.
2) ***Insider / Outsider perspectives.*** Insider and outsider perspectives exist also in relation to how any person studies an historical object, where they deem it to have been part of their own culture, part of someone else's culture, or a mix between the two. I knew this from my own position in relation to the Crozier Collection. I was an insider as a relative of the people who had owned it; as someone who had lived alongside the objects it contained; and given the memories that I had about them. However, I was also an outsider to the objects, because they came from people I could not identify and / or with whom I could not identify; from places I had not known; and from eras in which I had not lived.
3) ***Self-construction.*** As a result of (2), I argued that all interpretations of material culture comprise processes of self-construction, in which the interpreter establishes an object as representing an 'Us', or an 'Other' to a greater or lesser extent. Therefore, understandings of objects always derive from subjective perspectives.
4) ***Self-interest and Ethnocentrism.*** I extended the argument under (3) to show how, just as an individual interpreter understands an object in a subjective way, a museum does too. Where an individual's subjectivity can be described as *self-interest*, the museum's subjectivity can be described as *ethnocentrism*. As is relevant to this study, I then showed that in Northern Ireland, all publicly funded museums are constituted in such a way as to encourage ethnocentrism, to the extent that they are intended to serve specific geographical areas and specific communities. Therefore, distinguishing between an 'Us' whom they will serve, as separate from the 'Others' that they cannot, is intrinsic to how they are run.
5) ***Northern Ireland politics and culture*** are very often characterised as being defined by a binary division between Catholic / Nationalist / Republican and

Protestant / Unionist / Loyalist communities. Working as they do towards constructing a shared society, museums in the region are under particular pressure to interpret objects with respect to a two-communities model. Therefore, the Us-ness / Otherness binary is particularly relevant to them.

6) ***Divergent perspectives on the British Empire.*** I argued that the divisions set out under (5) had derived in part from differences in perspectives on the history of the British Empire. This was related to Northern Ireland's own position within Ireland, the UK and the Empire, with citizens being variously perceived as descended from either insider or perpetrator, or outsider and victim, to the effects of imperial expansion. Due to these effects being simultaneously experienced by the Irish both within Ireland and in other parts of the world, I described this position as one that was ideologically 'rectangular' (Chapter Five). Perspectives were founded upon perceptions about 'historical experiences of having been colonisers in Ireland; having been colonised in Ireland; having been colonisers elsewhere in the British Empire; and having been colonised elsewhere in the British Empire'. As I argued, due to the insider / outsider tension around which this rectangle pivots, museums in Northern Ireland are conditioned to interpret objects according to the objects' positions on an Us-ness to Otherness spectrum.
7) ***Binary divisions in colonial societies.*** A binary understanding of the colonial past is inevitable. This is because the British Empire was built and run on the basis of the formulation of categories of people, the foremost markers of division being those connected with race. Thus, we can infer that in the past, those who viewed objects in the Empire regarded them from insider and outsider positions.

Colonial Objects Framework Categories

Through the Us-ness / Otherness Binary explained above, I formulated the Framework around four categories of object. These are:

1) Objects representing Us-ness.
2) Objects representing Otherness.
3) Objects representing both Us-ness *and* Otherness.
4) Objects representing neither Us-ness nor Otherness.

I then proceeded to apply these categories to specific objects; in so doing, I delivered Research Objective Two.

Research Objective Two: To apply the Colonial Objects Framework to Objects in the Crozier Collection and the World Cultures Collection of National Museums Northern Ireland.

Each of Chapters Three to Eight substantiated the Framework through presenting arguments and examples of objects relating to each of the Colonial Framework Categories listed above. In what follows, I will summarise the findings of each chapter.

Chapter Three: Us-ness in the Crozier Collection (Category 1)

This chapter demonstrated how objects can represent Us-ness. As I argued, such objects can colonise our identities, and the spaces in which we live. In addition, we humans can invest objects with Us-ness in order to colonise space. I used five examples of this effect from the Crozier Collection. These included the house in which I grew up (Lisnacreevy); a basket of stones collected there by my mother; Hong Kong objects that I used to change the atmosphere of one of my own homes; the contents of a family assemblage (the Treasure Cupboard); and a fading photograph of a forgotten family member. As I showed through these examples, when objects are perceived to represent Us-ness, it is difficult to let them go. The Hong Kong objects at Lisnisk however, were an outlier in this group. This was because although they represented a family identity, they had not been effective in altering the home. As I argued, this was because the objects were too Other; their provenance related to a place, people and time with which I could not identify; and I could not sufficiently attach Us-ness to them.

Chapter Four: Otherness in the Crozier Collection (Category 2)

This chapter demonstrated how objects can represent Otherness. As I argued, this happens when they are used as metonyms for people about whom the observer has orientalist beliefs. My first example was a pair of Japanese swords taken by Douglas Crozier in Hong Kong in 1945. As I argued, these swords had been Othered for two reasons. Firstly, they had been understood to symbolise Japanese cruelty. Secondly, they had been 'othered' through failure to attach family narrative to them. For both these reasons, they had been hidden from view. My second example was a letter about a Donegal fishing trip written by Julian Crozier in the 1950s. This contains an artificial construction of the Irish, informed by imperialistic viewpoints absorbed in

colonial Hong Kong. I then related the letter to the McCarrons' trunk, collected in 1997 in the Donegal townland of Doaghcrabbin. I used the two in combination to demonstrate how disparate elements in family collections can be brought together to provide a richer interpretation of how objects have been used to denote Otherness.

My next example was a portrait of an old woman who had been 'othered' in three ways; by being objectified as subaltern by the painter; by being described as a 'servant' in family narrative; and by being regarded as frightening by me as a child. Setting out how this research has brought to light more information about where the woman came from and who painted her, I demonstrated how the re-attachment of Us-ness narrative can de-'Other' objects. Following this, I introduced the Crozier archive in the form of the memoirs of a missionary, Florence Hobbs. In these, her empathy for the loss of carved panels from a Māori Christian church contrasts with her view that a licentious Pompeii deservedly did not survive. Pompeii is symbolised by a mosaic fragment that Florence collected. I argued that this item combined with the memoir provided a vehicle through which a patriarchal view of Others could be transported across generations. I then extended this argument through the example of a group of Chinese ceramics, collected by Florence's daughter, Ann Crozier, and passed down by her to her son, Julian Crozier. I argued that the items, being diminutive, were tokens of the typecasting by the British of the Chinese as small. Furthermore, I demonstrated, these items had naturalised racist views by incorporating them, apparently innocently, into family life.

Chapter Five: Us-ness, Otherness and Colonial Objects in Northern Ireland

The aim of Chapters Five and Six were to broaden the context for the thesis, compounding its relevance to the work of others and its value for wider society. These chapters were concerned with how in Northern Ireland, a binary political and cultural division has made the interpretation of Colonial Objects difficult. By way of evidence, they focused on how the National Museums Northern Ireland World Cultures Collection has been interpreted according to the Us-ness / Otherness binary over time.

Chapter Five, as the first in the pair, highlighted distinctions in the uses within Museology of two separate terms, 'source community' and 'community'. Whereas the latter term is deployed to represent a wide range of contemporary communities with whom museums work, the former is strongly associated with

contemporary groups from whose ancestors objects were collected, and who are experiencing the legacies of having been colonised in the past. Therefore, the term 'source communities' specifically operates within a postcolonial context. I also showed that in Northern Ireland, there is cultural division between two divided *communities* surrounding the theme of colonialism, where the raising of the word 'colonial' in public discourse can increase political tension and provoke racism. Thus, the term 'source communities', and the set of ideas about indigeneity that it represents, connect the history of colonial collecting practices within the British Empire, with contemporary politics in Northern Ireland. Referring to a 'rectangular' frame through which experiences of colonialism are understood in the province, I suggested that for this reason the interpretation in the region of British Empire history through 'ethnographic' objects, derived from what in other museums would be framed as 'source communities', is intellectually and culturally complex. For this reason, attempts to investigate the theme of colonialism across Northern Ireland's cultural institutions have been very few. In summary, problems specific to the region in defining who represents Us, and who Other, have made it difficult to tackle the theme.

I then showed how a different kind of Us / Other tension had prevented NMNI from interpreting colonial history through its World Cultures Collection. This is that there was an exclusive emphasis within its predecessor institution, the Ulster Museum, upon the history of Northern Ireland. Within this context, ethnographic objects have been considered as too 'Other' to merit attention. Through the example of Douglas Crozier's Freemasonry regalia that I gave to NMNI, defined by me as 'Other' and defined by NMNI as 'Us', I showed that contrasting perspectives on the boundaries of Us-ness between private donors and museums can result in museum acquisitions connected with colonialism. However, I also argued that objects in NMNI's World Cultures Collection have been negatively impacted by considerations of Us-ness and Otherness. I showed how former Curator, Winifred Glover, had secured some support for the Collection through associating items with two Us-ness factors in which senior staff were interested. These were prestige (denoting the presence of self-interest within the Museum) and local biography (denoting the presence of ethnocentrism). However, where these Us-factors could not be found, ethnographic objects had been neglected by upper echelons within the institution.

Chapter Six: Us-ness, Otherness and the NMNI World Cultures Collection

Building on the findings of Chapter Five, Chapter Six closely examined two key objects in the NMNI World Cultures Collection. These are a Solomon Islands canoe given in 1898 by Captain John Casement, and a Hawai'ian feather cloak bought from King Kamehameha III and given to the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society by Gordon Augustus Thomson in 1841. Both objects had been evaluated within the history of the Museum according to the two above-mentioned 'Us-ness' criteria for assessing ethnographic objects: prestige and local biography.

The canoe has been neglected by the institution because both values were perceived as having been inverted. There was a negative biographical association due to its connection, via the name of the donor, with the Easter Rising leader, Roger Casement. This association appears to have had the effect that an extremely significant item was no longer regarded as prestigious. Therefore, although plans to build a gallery around it when the Museum moved to Stranmillis Road suggest that the Museum proposed making it a central object within its displays, by the time that those plans were executed four years after the Easter Rising, this interpretative strategy had been altered.

I demonstrated, too, a history of claims that the canoe has never been moved within the gallery, which are evidence of a former Curator having to defend the continued presence of the canoe in the Museum. By contrast with these claims, it has been moved several times. Furthermore, there was a previous history of claims that the canoe had not been damaged in Belfast. By contrast, it had been damaged on three occasions. On the first occasion, the damage was undocumented; on the second, it was misrepresented as having happened before the canoe arrived in Belfast. On the third occasion there was no attempt at dissimulation: damage to the canoe in the early 1970s is clearly documented within NMNI archives, and the canoe has been carefully conserved. Nonetheless, all three incidents suggest that the canoe has historically been de-valued. The first and the second aforementioned incidents, especially, make visible the Othering of the object.

This Othering can be accounted for on three grounds. Firstly, the canoe is iconic of the ethnographic collection overall which has been given lesser status than other collections in the history of the organisation (see under Chapter Five). Secondly the canoe has been associated with the name of a political activist regarded in the early twentieth century by one part of a divided community as infamous. The

third source of Othering derives from the supposed history of the canoe itself. The claim by the Museum that it was used for head-hunting in the Solomon Islands (a claim that seems realistic but for which this research has found no evidence), has led to its being associated with an alienised, human Other.

The cloak of King Kamehameha III, collected by Gordon Augustus Thomson, has been similarly Othered. Like the canoe, it has been affected by a negative attitude to the ethnographic collection in general. In addition though, it has been Othered due to its physical condition. An example of a type of object that at one time museums across the United Kingdom desired to obtain due to their association with Captain James Cook, it has never in reality had a provenance connected with that name. Furthermore, having been patched in the past, the cloak has not been internationally regarded as a prime example of its kind. For this reason, it has not been internally considered as a prestigious item. It appears even that Belfast has considered the cloak's condition to be shameful, shining a light on the city's inability to acquire one of similar standing to those elsewhere. In the process, a history of colonialism that the cloak can evoke, in which the culture of Hawai'i underwent unprecedented political and economic change including through the divestment of its cultural assets, has not been properly investigated.

Chapter Seven: Us-ness* and *Otherness in the Crozier Collection (Category 3)

This category considers how objects have been entangled in social networks. As I argued, these entanglements can encapsulate perspectives of both colonised and coloniser, both viewed and viewer. Correspondingly, this chapter combined the concept of 'networks', widely used in History, and 'entanglement', widely used in Museology, in order to analyse colonial materials. The unified concept of Colonial Objects' Network Entanglement could then be examined in some depth with reference to the Crozier Collection.

The first colonially entangled object I examined was a ceramic jar, displayed on a mantelpiece surrounded by photographs of Maurna Crozier, at her funeral wake in Lisnacreevy. The jar, which comes from Jingdezhen in China, carries The Hundred Boys motif, and it is probable that it was given to Douglas and Ann Crozier in good wishes for a fecund marriage. As such, it carries a very positive representation of Chinese children. I compared the jar to alternative representations of children within the couple's photographic slides, used by them to give public

lectures in Britain and in Ireland. These real children, who were represented by the Croziers as an undifferentiated mass, had migrated to Hong Kong as a result of Communist uprising and the onset of civil war in China, and were living in squatter camps. The placement within this thesis of the jar and a slide image side by side demonstrated the contrast between the romanticization by the British of Chinese culture as perceptible in the jar, and their treatment of Chinese people in reality. I showed too how by being layered with images of Maurna Crozier within the emotionally charged family context of her funeral, the jar had become entangled with a recent biographical phase. In summary, the example of the jar demonstrates how, when interpreting objects from the past, we are confronted with choices as to from which social networks they will be disentangled, and with which re-entwined. In the process, we must select which Us-ness-es and which Otherness-es to explore.

The next two examples also shed light on networked objects by bringing them back into contact with the family archive. These were an ivory figure of scholar-poet Bai Juyi (772-846) given to Douglas Crozier by a Catholic bishop, Lorenzo Bianchi; and a lamp depicting the historical Chinese medic, Li Shizhen (1518-1593), presented to him by Tang Pui King at the Yuen Long Secondary School. Both objects, recently entangled with other objects in the domestic context of Lisnacreevy, had been displayed there, whilst archival documents that proved their symbolic value within the historical context of Hong Kong were put away upstairs. These two objects were employed in Hong Kong for different purposes, both of them related to Us-ness and Otherness as construed by their givers. The Bai Juyi figure was given to Douglas to reassure him that British educational efforts in Hong Kong would be successful despite the rise in Chinese economic and cultural power. By contrast, the message behind the Li Shizhen figure was that the Chinese were culturally superior. In Lisnacreevy however, both messages had been surmounted through the hiding of the archive. This had enabled the objects to be used to denote a different kind of Us-ness – the successful life of a Northern Irish family member.

The examples in Chapter Seven collectively reinforce the finding that we cannot restrict analysis of objects solely to discovery of either their non-Western or their Western, indigenous or non-indigenous cultural contexts. The Colonial Object is, in fact, a multivalent thing. As I argued in the conclusion to Chapter Seven, the

application of Autoethnography to its investigation can considerably deepen scholarly analysis about how Us and Other have been defined.

Chapter Eight: Neither Us-ness nor Otherness in the Crozier Collection (Category 4)

Focusing on archives, chapter examined documents that could not represent Other because they had been created by family members; but whose Us-ness had been rejected because they symbolised attitudes that current generations found unpalatable. As a result, the documents were hidden. At the outset of Chapter Eight I explained that a reason for hiding colonial archival documents is that a shameful past is particularly visible within them. In the case of the Crozier Collection, this is a past that in the 1970s and 1980s in Northern Ireland provoked distaste and shame.

Building on charts that demonstrate that Douglas and Ann's social lives had been constructed around people who were British, I traced why this was. With reference to literature on imperial writing, and to journals kept by Douglas Crozier's mother (Myra Henly) and Ann Crozier's mother (Florence Hobbs), I demonstrated how colonial attitudes can be found within family archives. In the Crozier Collection, these are present in relation to racialised categories of people, and sexist attitudes to women. I then connected Myra and Florence's writings to those of Douglas and Ann, showing how the younger couple had subscribed to the same attitudes as their mothers. Therefore, as I argued, the inheritance of colonial attitudes can be proven through family archives. This, I inferred, is a reason why the Crozier archive had been hidden.

I then examined how attitudes to Us and the Other are revealed by Douglas and Ann's letters to one another, and by their photographs. The letters discuss Chinese domestic staff as an underclass, a conceptualisation that they especially framed through representation of the figures of a Chinese amah, 'May', and a domestic helper, 'Ah On'. Through their official photographs I showed too how their denigration of the Chinese was not restricted to those who were poor. By analysing a photograph of Ann Crozier taken at the opening of the Salesian School, I showed how British colonial representation depended upon visual self-elevation. Through another photograph taken at the opening of the Ho Tung Technical School for Girls, I showed how images of even the most élite were manipulated so as to treat them with disdain. I concluded Chapter Eight by demonstrating that recognition within

families of colonialist perspectives in such imagery brings profound discomfort. For this reason, these images and writings are not found to be Us. Unable to recognise within them the Other though, or perhaps fearful of such evidence, we restrict access to these sources, keeping them out of the public eye.

Research Objective Three: To Identify Museum Practice Outcomes of the thesis for use in Northern Ireland

The above summary of the preceding chapters has outlined how Objective Two has been delivered. It also provided the basis for fulfilling Objective Three: to identify Museum Practice outcomes of the thesis for use in Northern Ireland. The purpose of this section is to substantiate achievement of that Objective.

As outlined in the Introduction to the present chapter, this study has produced three outcomes for Museum Practice. The first (1), is that the Colonial Objects Framework and its four Categories are a useful basis on which to interpret objects. The second (2), is that autoethnographic research is a highly effective way to apply the Framework in practice. The third (3), is that ethnographic objects in Northern Ireland merit far more substantial research; and that the Framework would be an effective means of conducting it. Each of these findings will be supported below.

Finding 1: The Colonial Objects Framework can improve Museum Practice

In fulfilment of Objective Three, I will now summarise how the Critical Framework for Colonial Objects developed in this thesis has been proven to be useful. To begin though it is important to state that the foremost contribution of the Framework is that it provides a way of interpreting objects in all of their dimensions. Chapters Three to Eight of this thesis show how this is so. These chapters have examined Colonial Objects both as physical phenomena, and as metaphors. It has investigated them within both colonial and postcolonial timeframes. It has analysed their meanings in both colonising and colonised communities, and to both indigenous and non-indigenous groups. It has incorporated both the objects' contemporary, and their historical usages. It has included objects that are both decorative, and utilitarian. It has looked at objects that are both on display; and are hidden. It has covered objects that are both artefacts, and archival. It has handled objects that are both in a domestic collection, and in a museum.

The next contribution of the Framework is that it can easily be used in practical ways. The reasons for its ease of use follow.

1) ***Reflexive.*** As is clear from how I have explained and used the categories in this thesis, and from the autoethnographic context in which I have used them, the Framework is based on the premise that reflexive practice is important to integrity. The use of the Framework within both private space and the museum encourages reflexivity at individual level, and reflexive practice across the institution, including being adapted for usage with a wide range of collaborators.
2) ***Viewer perspective.*** The Framework is designed to be used from the perspective of the viewer, who does not as a result try to second-guess the meanings of objects to other people.
3) ***Breaks down artificial disciplinary categories.*** Due to reason (2), the Framework accepts that perspectives on culture are fine-grained, localised and subjective. It does not seek to distinguish between categories of knowledge and therefore does not rely on categories of indigeneity or race.
4) ***Works with Collaborators.*** The Framework can be used to discuss objects with collaborators in the present. One can easily ask, for example, 'Does this object represent Us to you? Does it represent Other? Does it represent Us *and* Other? Does it represent neither Us nor Other? And why?' From this, it is possible to discuss the memories and experiences upon which personal identities are founded, and to find out more about how outsider perspectives are construed by the viewer.
5) ***Useful for historical analysis.*** The Framework can be used to interpret historical perceptions about objects and the human phenomena that they represent. This is especially the case when the evidence found in objects is triangulated with evidence found in archival sources.
6) ***Museum documentation.*** The Framework can be used by museums to gather information from donors about what the meanings of objects have been within their own lifetimes, especially when it is used at the point when the objects are collected. This is because it has the capacity to incorporate both current perspectives on objects, and information about the significance of the objects to previous family members that may be gleaned from donor memory, family narrative, and family archives.

7) ***Analysis of social networks and entanglements; interdisciplinarity*.** The Framework makes a notable contribution to Museology and to History by enabling practitioners within these disciplines to more easily assess how objects are, and have been, entangled with social networks past and present. This is because the questions it raises (see under (4) for examples) encourage people to recall social networks within which objects have circulated. In this respect, it is interdisciplinary in application.
8) ***Relatable***. Being highly relatable, the concepts of Us-ness and Otherness on which the Framework is based will enable museum staff to easily discuss the meanings of objects with the diverse individuals and groups with whom they work, and so to identify and build upon common ground.
9) ***Non-oppositional*.** While the categories of Us-ness and Otherness *appear* to be oppositional to one another, when as individuals we apply them to the reading of objects from the past, they have the capacity to provoke questions leading to discussions about who we conceive of as Us in the present, and correspondingly, to break down our notions about who and what constitutes the Other. Furthermore, the Framework is also adapted for use within and between social groups and can therefore help to deconstruct and break contemporary oppositions within society.

Practical Application of the Colonial Objects Framework

I have based the Colonial Objects Framework on how objects are conceived of in relation to an Us-ness / Otherness Binary. In what follows, I will set out how this finding can practically be applied. The Colonial Objects Framework is based on four categories of object. These are: (1) Objects representing Us-ness; (2) Objects representing Otherness; (3) Objects representing both Us-ness and Otherness; and (4) Objects representing neither Us-ness nor Otherness. Chapters Three to Eight, in which I provided examples of objects that could be situated within each of these Categories, demonstrated that the categories should not be thought of as definitive, but instead that they should have the capacity to incorporate nuances of perception, with these nuances depending upon the identity and perspective of the viewer. Over the course of these chapters, the categories have in fact been set up as a quadrant, a diagram of which can be modelled thus:

Fig. 48. The Colonial Objects Framework Quadrant (the Us-ness / Otherness Quadrant). © Briony Widdis.

Given that it is designed to be subjectively used, when employing the quadrant in Fig.48 in a social setting (e.g. a museum workshop), given a fixed group of objects from which to choose, each person would be likely to place the same objects in different areas of the quadrant. Moreover, given an open choice of objects, each person might choose a set of objects that is unique to them. Therefore, the quadrant is a useful way of recognising the reasons for which the viewer identifies objects as having importance, and how their identification is based on their own partiality.

Clearly then, the objects in the bottom left hand cell are those that are closest to the heart of the viewer; most 'colonial' in the sense that they are likely to be inalienable or coercive (Category 1). By contrast, the top right cell contains those objects most strongly associated with the Other (Category 2). Both the top left and bottom right cells contain objects representing both Us-ness and Otherness (Category 3). However, the two cells are subtly different. The top left is Us-and-Other; the objects that are connected with ourselves or with close relatives, but for which we do not feel sympathy because they express values or evoke memories that we do not share. The bottom right quadrant contains items that are Other-and-Us. These are items about which we have limited understanding because they derive from other cultures, but that we care about because in some way they have come to represent our own identities. In this thesis (Chapter Two) I have not separated Us-and-Other / Other-and-Us objects into two categories because in practice, all objects flow across the binary and the findings would have been replicated. However, their separation on the chart above can allow objects that adopt different positions on an Us-ness / Otherness spectrum to be interpreted in nuanced ways.

Applying the Us-ness / Otherness Quadrant

To illustrate how the Quadrant can be used, I will apply it first to items from the Crozier Collection that were discussed in Chapters Three, Four, Seven and Eight.

1) ***Us:*** The chart in Fig. 49 shows, for example, that Lisnacreevy House, the Treasure Cupboard and Maurna's baskets of stones are, from my subjective perspective, resoundingly Us. This is because as objects, they were imagined, created and inhabited by the members the family whom I most cherished.
2) ***Us-and-Other:*** By contrast, Florence and Myra's travel journals; Douglas's freemasonry regalia and Julian's Fishing Trip letter are all Us-and-Other. This is because they were created by members of the family to whom I am closely related; but that signify values with which I do not identify. Flossie's Old Lady Painting is included in this category also because the painting was part of the backdrop to my childhood; but similarly, I do not share the values it represents. The degrees to which I feel 'related' to the items in the Us-and-Other cell are indicated by how far away they are positioned from the 'Us' cell.
3) ***Other-and-Us:*** Within the Other-and-Us cell are objects created in other places and by unknown people, but that became associated with Us-ness. These include, for example, the McCarrons' trunk; the small Chinese collectibles displayed and used in Lisnacreevy; the cicada painting I displayed at Lisnisk; the Li Shizhen lamp given to Douglas in Yuen Long and the ivory figure of Bai Juyi that he received from Bishop Bianchi upon his retirement (both in the Other-and-Us category because they became absorbed into family life). Again, these items are ranked from the bottom of the cell to the top in order of proximity to Us-ness.
4) ***Other:*** The Japanese swords that Douglas collected upon his release as a Prisoner of War remain in the Other category because they were hidden at Lisnacreevy and therefore were unfamiliar to me. The Pompeii mosaic collected by Florence was likewise hidden. The Pompeii mosaic is at the bottom of the cell because the mosaic is less 'fearful' than the Japanese swords (see Chapter Five).

Us and Other (Cat. 3)	The Old Lady Painting Florence and Myra's journals Douglas's Freemasonry regalia Julian's Fishing trip letter	Japanese swords Pompeii Mosaic	**Other (Cat. 2)**
Us (Cat. 1)	Treasure Cupboard Maurna's Basket of stones Lisnacreevy	McCarrons' Trunk Cicada Painting Small Chinese collectibles Li Shizhen lamp Bai Juyi Figure	**Other and Us (Cat. 3)**

Fig. 49. Applying the Us-ness / Otherness Quadrant (example). © Briony Widdis.

Category 4: Neither Us nor Other

Building on Fig. 49, it is important to note that each person / social group / museum might consider some objects to be *so* Other (Category 2) as to be off the quadrant. The objects might even be so unidentifiable, as having any importance to anyone they can conceive of, as not to merit a place on it at all. These are the objects that fall into Category 4: Neither Us nor Other. In these cases, discussion of which objects are off the quadrant, and why, will help to clarify the root causes of the viewer's interpretative perspective. Therefore, there can be a fifth, 'floating' cell into which to place Category 4 objects. This is illustrated in Fig.50.

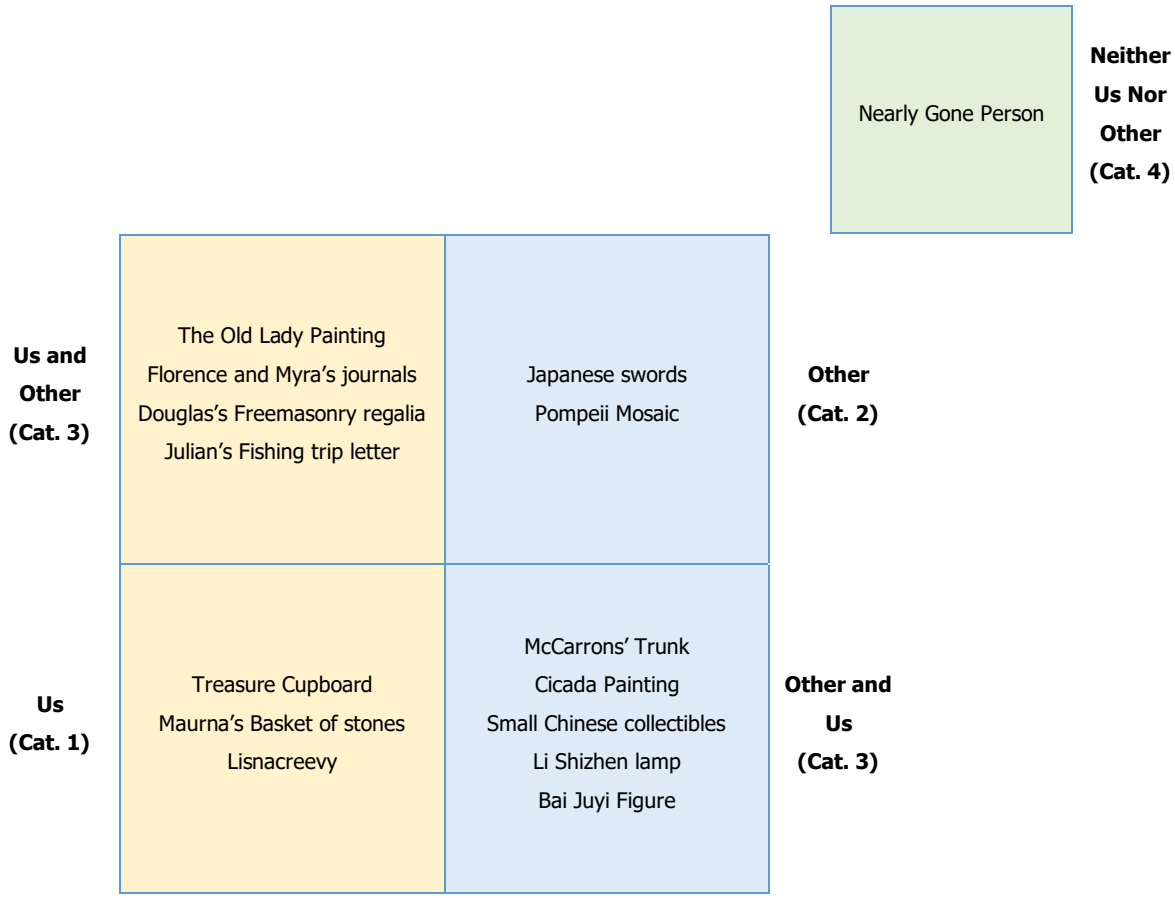

Fig. 50. The Us-ness / Otherness Quadrant showing Category 4 Objects in a 'floating' cell (example). © Briony Widdis.

To keep, or give away?

1) ***Us:*** As I have argued throughout Chapters Three to Eight, objects representing Us-ness tend to be kept and displayed, whereas
2) ***Other:*** Objects representing Otherness are more likely to be ignored, hidden, or given away.
3) ***Us-and-Other / Other-and-Us:*** Gradations in between Us-ness and Otherness produce uncertainty as to how best to handle an object; as follows:
    a. *Us-and-Other:* Objects representing Us-and-Other are more likely to be retained than given away due to the emotional connection the viewer feels with them. However, items that represent Us-and-Other *may* be given away. This can happen, for example when the person associated with them was close to us but we have no personal recall of, or no longer feel empathy for, the memories or the values that the objects represent. In these circumstances, the Museum becomes important, because it provides a sphere within which we can retain access to an object for future reference, whilst also rejecting its association with ourselves.
    b. *Other-and-Us:* Objects representing Other-and-Us are more likely to be given away than retained, because we have a weaker emotional connection with them. The museum in these cases serves the purpose of enabling us to acknowledge that there people in the world who have a prior claim to an object. At the same time, any residual attachment to the object that we may have can be satisfied by continuing to have access to it in the museum.

Othering the Object

The giving away of an object is a means through which we can re-assign it to Other. Thus, an object that was formerly in the Us-and-Other / Other-and-Us category (Category 3), moves within the quadrant to the Other cell. An example of this, shown in Fig. 51 below, is Douglas's Freemasonry regalia, which I gave to NMNI. This was in the Us-and-Other cell in Fig. 50 and re-assigned to Other by Fig. 51. This is the case too with the McCarrons' trunk which I gave to the Donegal County Museum. This was in the Other-and-Us cell in Fig. 50; and in the Other cell by Fig. 51. The Pompeii Mosaic remains in the Other category for reasons that are explained under ''Hot' Objects' below.

Us-ing the Object

In the same way that we can Other an object, we can also Us it. This is because when we begin to contemplate giving an object away, our emotional connections to it can strengthen. For example, the Cicada painting, small Chinese collectibles, Li Shizhen lamp and Bai Juyi figure are all objects with which I grew up or with which I have lived. As I explained in the earlier chapters, these are items with which I therefore have an emotional connection. Therefore, thinking about giving them away strengthens their Us-ness and they move from the Category 3 cell into the Category 1. Fig. 51 below is a graphic illustration of why and how we come to colonise the meanings of objects.

	Keep (in the home)	**Give away (museum / other individuals)**	
Us-and-Other (Cat. 3)	Florence and Myra's journals Treasure Cupboard	*Japanese swords? *Pompeii Mosaic? *McCarrons' trunk *Freemasonry regalia *Lisnacreevy	**Other (Cat. 2)**
Us (Cat. 1)	Small Chinese collectibles Cicada painting Small Chinese collectibles Li Shizhen lamp Bai Juyi Figure Lisnacreevy House Julian's Fishing Trip Letter Maurna's Basket of stones		**Other-and-Us (Cat. 3)**

Fig. 51. Using the Us-ness / Otherness Quadrant to investigate decisions about keeping and disposing of possessions (example). © Briony Widdis.

'Hot' Objects

On Fig. 51, there are asterisks (*) by Lisnacreevy, the McCarrons' trunk, the Japanese swords and the mosaic from Pompeii. These are the objects that, within the Crozier Collection, have been the 'hottest' (see Chapter Three). I used the word 'hot' to describe objects that might raise political issues; be subject to competing identities in the present; or evoke memories of trauma.

This is the case for example with Lisnacreevy, a place to which I still cannot go. Asterisks are also shown beside the Freemasonry regalia; the McCarron trunk; the Pompeii mosaic, and the Japanese swords. I realised early on that the McCarron trunk should not be retained, because it morally if not legally belonged to someone else. The mosaic was an example of an object that raised political issues. This was because it had been collected by Florence Hobbs who by today's standards should not have taken it from an archaeological site. Furthermore, the mosaic raises the issue of competing identities. Florence was to me a distant relative (a great-grandmother); and other members of the family, as her granddaughters, had a stronger moral claim. For this reason, I gave the mosaic to them.

The swords are 'hot' because they invoke a narrative, supported by Douglas's letters, about the trauma that he experienced as a Prisoner of War. A further reason why they are 'hot' is that they are souvenirs of war; and as such, symbolise trauma that may have been experienced by others in Hong Kong. As the bloodstains on them appear to show, they were used to harm to people who cannot be identified. Simultaneously, they are associated with the Japanese soldiers who must have held them, who experienced unknown trauma, and whose descendants are somewhere out there in the world and cannot be traced.

For all of these objects, the asterisk denotes a liminal position. They are all on an Us-ness-Otherness boundary where decisions must be made as to the right place for them to be.

Nearly Gone Objects

It will be noted from the above, that the Nearly Gone Person does not appear. This is because she is floating in indecision. She is some kind of grandmother and so quintessentially Us; there are unlikely to be others alive who will feel an emotional connection with her. If there are, I cannot find them without knowing who she is.

Until I do, she cannot safely be given away. Yet, given that the photograph is now approaching 175 years old, her identity is likely always to elude me. For this reason, a fugitive image, she will float around, unresolved, in my desk drawer.

To display or to store / hide?

1) ***Displaying and Hiding Us-ness:*** An important consideration that I have covered in several of the chapters is that, when an object represents an Us-ness that we accept, we are likely to display it. Where it represents an Us-ness that we reject, we are more likely to put it out of sight. Conversely,
2) ***Displaying and Hiding / Storing Otherness:*** When an object represents an Otherness that we accept, we are likely to keep it but to hide it. When however we wish to display an object representing Otherness, before we do so we are likely to subdue its Otherness in order to relate it more strongly to ourselves. When an object represents Otherness that cannot be reconciled with Us-ness, but that we wish to or are obliged to keep, we are likely to ignore the object or put it away. All of this will become clearer in the next chart.

Pertinent as the museum context is to the obligation or desire to keep objects, this is the point at which I can introduce World Cultures Collection objects from National Museums Northern Ireland discussed in Chapters Five and Six. As I argued there, ethnographic objects in general have been stored. As I also argued, this has historically been because their Otherness could not be reconciled with the Museum's self-interested and ethnocentric values, or Us-ness.

In Chapters Five and Six, I exemplified my arguments with specific items; the Solomon Islands canoe, and King Kamehameha's cloak. By integrating NMNI objects with items from the Crozier Collection on Fig. 52, I will illustrate how self-interest and ethnocentrism in public life both operate according to the Us-ness / Otherness binary.

Reconciling Otherness

It follows that where the Otherness of World Cultures objects has been sufficiently reconciled with Us-ness, they have been displayed. This historically applied, in the case of the Ulster Museum, to objects that were regarded as exemplifying the Museum's prestige; therefore, the Solomon Islands canoe and its biographical

connection were displayed until the Easter Rising. This situation has now changed, and therefore, the canoe is in the 'insurmountable' quadrant.

In relation to NMNI in the period from the 1970s onwards, we have seen how Us-ness has been gained in the form of local biography and history. For this reason, Winifred Glover interpreted Gordon Augustus Thomson's collection in relation to him. A more recent example is Douglas Crozier's Freemasonry regalia; NMNI reported that it intended to display it within the context of Northern Ireland in Empire. This is why the regalia is in the Display cell.

Otherness was also reconcilable for objects in the Crozier Collection. For example, the Otherness intrinsic to the Bai Juyi figure and the Li Shizhen lamp could be hidden through the separation from them of their documentation. In these examples, while the figures were displayed, the documentation, which was irreconcilable, was hidden Similarly, the Jingdezhen jar carrying the 'Hundred Boys' motif was presented as Us by being layered against photographs of Maurna on a mantelpiece, whilst simultaneously photographs of real Chinese children were hidden upstairs.

Irreconcilable Otherness

As indicated above, the Fig. 52 quadrant shows the Solomon Islands canoe and the Kamehameha III cloak in the Hide / Store cell. This is because their Otherness has been insurmountable and so incapable of being repackaged as Us-ness.

Irreconcilable Us-ness

Where a rejected Us-ness cannot be disguised – for example, the clear racism that is present in the Crozier's letters – the items are hidden. As Fig. 52 shows and I argued in Chapter Eight, the Crozier archive in general has been irreconcilable. This is why, in Fig. 52, I include archival documents and photographs that did not appear in the earlier quadrants.

This is also the reason why Fig. 52 incorporates further objects representing Neither Us-ness nor Otherness (Category 4 of the Framework). These are the objects or documents that are clearly Us, but that we have rejected and so hidden. In order to reinforce this as an argument, on Fig. 52 the Freemasonry regalia appears twice, once as part of the Crozier Collection when it was conceived of as shameful and so was hidden; and once as part of the NMNI collection where there are plans to display

it at some point in the future. As suggested by the asterisk by both occurrences though, and for reasons explained in Chapter Five and above in this chapter, the regalia is politically risky and so may be conceived of as 'hot'.

It will be notable that in the Hide / Store column in Fig. 52, under NMNI there is a question mark. This indicates that there is much in storage about which little is known. It suggests the need for research, an idea to which I will return later in this chapter.

	Display	Store / Hide	
Us (cat. 1)	Crozier Collection: Treasure Cupboard	Crozier Collection: *Japanese swords *Pompeii Mosaic	**Other (cat. 2)**
	NMNI: *Freemasonry regalia	NMNI: Kamehameha cloak Casement canoe	
Us and Other / Other and Us (cat. 3) *Otherness is resolved or is reconcilable*	Crozier Collection: Maurna's Basket of stones Old Lady Painting Chinese collectibles Cicada painting Jingdezhen jar Li Shizhen lamp Bai Juyi figure	Crozier Collection: Douglas's letters Corin Crozier photograph Florence and Myra's journals Bai Juyi / Li Shizhen documentation Julian's Fishing trip letter *Lisnacreevy	**Us and Other / Other and Us (cat. 3)** *Otherness is not resolved or is irreconcilable*
	NMNI: Scrimshaws Cameroonian stool	NMNI ?	
		*Freemasonry regalia Slide photographs of children 'Our First Staff' 'Ah On's Farewell Luncheon' Salesian School photo Ho Tung Technical School photo Nearly Gone Person Address books	**Neither Us nor Other (cat. 4)** *Us-ness associations of objects have been rejected but the objects cannot be connected to Other*

Fig. 52. Using the Us-ness / Otherness Quadrant to investigate decisions about displaying or storing / hiding objects (example). © Briony Widdis

Colonial Objects Framework Quadrant Summary

As will be clear from the above, different users of the Quadrant, and those who use it at different times, might differently allocate particular objects to each of the respective cells. This is because different people perceive the same objects differently; and because objects continually shift between positions on the Us-ness to Otherness spectrum. For example, if I were to discover that the Nearly Gone Person was my grandmother's grandmother (and were to find a way to display her that would not damage her image further), she might appear in the yellow cell above. Furthermore, as I have shown through several examples (for example, The Old Lady Painting), research on an object enables the researcher to come to regard it as more replete with their own identity, or Us-ness. Similarly, if a museum researches a different object and so discovers more about its meaning, the object which has never been perceived as relevant to the museum's display priorities may appear in the yellow or the blue cells.

From this explanation, we can see that the Us / Other Quadrant is intended to record a snapshot in time. Self-interest, and ethnocentrism, are malleable things. For this reason, what I put into each cell today, may have changed tomorrow. Those who inherit from me in due course might place them differently again. This snapshot ability is a reason why the Quadrant is useful. By being used repeatedly by the same person or group, it can help to record attitudinal change. From this, we can see how a museum can use it in a workshop setting. We can envisage how it can be used with collaborative groups, for example, at the beginning, middle and end of a project. Working together on explaining their respective investments of objects with Us-ness and Otherness, can lead people to learn more about one another's perspectives. In this way, the Quadrant can be used to help build a shared society.

Conclusion on The Colonial Objects Framework

In the above analysis I have demonstrated that the Colonial Objects Framework can be put to practical usage. As I have shown, its purpose is *not* to definitively identify objects. As I set out in Chapter Two, the purpose of the Us-ness / Otherness Binary is to elucidate how we subjectively relate to objects, both as individuals and within museums; it is intended, in this way, to help to build consensus.

I suggest also that the Framework can be used to break down disciplinary categories that divided up the material world according to the racial origins of those

who made and used objects. This is because, although it has been generated through a study that began with objects from a British Empire colony, the Colonial Objects Framework is capable of being applied to *any* object.

As explained at the end of the last section, because the Framework has subjectivity built-in, the model can be used across community divides. In Northern Ireland, for example, it can be used with both Catholic / Nationalist / Republican groups, and with groups who are Protestant / Unionist / Loyalist. It can also be used to work with minority ethnic groups, and with a combination of all of the above. Furthermore, it can be used within museums. It can, for example, be used as a way of focusing on how the representation of specific geographical areas and communities drive their research and exhibition priorities, whilst also being used to identify other museums locally, nationally and internationally who wish to interpret the objects from their own perspectives. It can be used by museums to consult with collaborators about the objects in which they are most interested, and to discuss how these objects connect with their own identities. When museums are acquiring objects, the model can be used as a tool to get conversations started that will lead to richer, more nuanced documentation.

By providing a basis on which to acknowledge and discuss all of these interests, the model can be used in Northern Ireland to address legacies of the British Empire. It can provide a fresh perspective on a subject – Colonialism – that has for so long lain under-researched in the region, that it has come to appear anachronistic. As a recent usage of the word 'colonial' in Northern Ireland demonstrated (Chapter Five), bringing the subject up incautiously has the potential to create political havoc. By contrast, presenting the theme as one in which everyone has a potential interest, is one way to begin to explore both the theme itself, and the material evidence of colonialism that is present in Northern Ireland. However, any move to interpret the theme in the form of exhibitions will require significant groundwork, most important of which would be community consultation and collaboration. The Colonial Objects Framework could be an aid to that process.

The Framework is also useful beyond the contemporary Northern Ireland context. I argue that it can enable us to learn more in general about objects both from non-Western and Western countries, and from both colonial and postcolonial eras. It can provide an almost inexhaustible foundation for object enquiry, being useful for the following reasons. Firstly, it identifies the boundaries of Us-ness and Otherness.

Secondly, it treats the self-interest and ethnocentrism that are central to conceptualisations of Us-ness, as inevitable aspects of human-object relations. In so doing, it acknowledges the presence of these traits at individual, social group and museum levels. Thereby, it treats these not as negative factors that need to be overcome, ignored or pushed aside, but rather as possessing possibility for our understanding of how in human societies we relate to objects, and through them to one another.

The Framework can also enable us to deepen our enquiry. We can understand through it, for example, why it is that humans feel themselves to be inseparable from objects, and how the objects can become coercive (Chapter Three). We can understand, too, more about how by coming to possess objects, humans can colonise their meanings, and can use them to colonise spaces (Chapter Four). We can perceive, too, why it is that families and museums neglect certain objects, and why even the most significant of them remain under-researched. Furthermore, we can learn what the impacts of this neglect have been for historical discourse, and for museums' ability to build connections with contemporary populations. (Chapters Five and Six). We can investigate how objects have been entangled within human networks, perceiving through this how they have been used to communicate messages between groups both in the colonial and postcolonial past (Chapter Seven). Finally, we can clarify for ourselves why it is that certain objects, despite providing clear evidence of social relations in the past, have been rejected and remain hidden or in storage. As I have explained, these objects convey much about British Empire legacies in the present (Chapter Eight).

Finding Two: The Importance of Autoethnography in Museum Interpretation

As can be seen from the above suggestions, the Colonial Objects Quadrant specifically encourages autoethnographic work. As demonstrated by this thesis, autoethnographic examination of objects enables us to interpret human history collections in a holistic way. By working autoethnographically, we can clarify what motivates us to acquire and keep objects, and what underlies our decisions to display, store or give them away. This is an example of how working autoethnographically on the interpretation of objects can produce unique insights into their impacts on identity.

My usage in this thesis of autoethnography has led directly to the formulation of the Colonial Objects Framework that I devised in Chapters One and Two. This is true notwithstanding the fact that I initially resisted it. My concerns derived from exposing myself to vulnerabilities, of appearing to be critical of family members, and of implicating them in imperialistic practices now considered to be distasteful and wrong. As I showed through the example of my discussion of the Crozier Collection at the Irish Museums Association conference (Chapter Three), I also believed that subjective research was self-centred. By using autoethnography in relation to collections in Northern Ireland though, I have pushed against academic boundaries; no such work has been done before. Furthermore, by placing myself in an insider position, I have been able to discuss in greater depth what the implications of Colonial Objects are for identity. Autoethnography has enabled the thesis to interpret objects in the light of personal memory, and of family narrative.

The thesis therefore builds on Annette Kuhn's idea that objects found in the home can be considered as 'memory texts' that interact with collective belief.[1] 'Identity, belonging, memory and family are the comfortable words associated with the study of home', observes Rachel Hurdley, 'prejudice, absence, exclusion, displacement are their forgotten companions'.[2] Where Lisnacreevy was a place that included people of many nationalities in a family embrace, it was also a place in which we experienced bereavement. Through the loss of our parents, these networks too became broken up and dissipated. The house, an object that was profoundly Us, has become (or is in the process of becoming), Other. It was from this that the Us-ness / Otherness binary, upon which the Colonial Framework is built, derived.

Here though, is a reason why this autoethnographic examination of family objects is of broader interest. The loss of place through bereavement is a process that all families go through; and the resulting distribution of possessions is also an aspect of shared human experience. Furthermore, I have shown how the displacement of objects that follows bereavement is one that results in museum acquisitions. In turn, this enables the museum to include a greater range of representations within their walls – and so to work with and seek to represent a greater range of groups.

Operating between personal and private worlds has been a source of originality in this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, it has provided access to examples of objects that otherwise would not have been analysed. Secondly, it has enabled the thesis to become inter-disciplinary, operating across the practices of Museology,

Ethnography, Museum Practice, History, Public History and Life Writing, and in the interstices between all six. However, this type of dialectic poses professional risk to the researcher, a risk that is well-known in autoethnography. Although academic institutions are beginning to accept the use of self-knowledge as a source of scholarly data, discourses that 'systematically form the objects of which they speak',[3] can be open to the criticism of being cyclically self-referential, rather than scientifically linear in progression.

On the other hand, lack of reference to the researcher's identity and her relationship with her subjects can be problematic by ignoring phenomena, including private emotions, and relationships between researcher and researched, that might be salient.[4] If these go unacknowledged, they can create conflicts of interest. By contrast, declaring the personal relationship is to behave with integrity.[5] In such cases, as I believe has happened here, love can enable ethics. It motivates more compassionate treatment of research subjects, raising the likelihood that the researcher will avoid concealing the potential for private gain. It was from this perspective that I observed Colonial Objects not solely in political and geographical terms but also as part of a continuum of human action and interaction. In this way, Autoethnography has shown to be an effective way of addressing collections that are owned in private, and of bringing awareness of their relevance into public life.

As a result of this research project, I conclude that in Museology we need to be attentive to the inheritance of possessions, including of objects from former British Empire colonies, as an aspect of shared human experience. My work here has been based on the premise that museum staff, whilst adhering to professional ethical codes, should not strive to mentally separate their personal material worlds from those in which they spend their working lives. The sharing by museum professionals of their own experiences of connecting with objects enhances collaboration, and this is what I have attempted to do here.

Recommendations for Museums Arising from Autoethnographic Application of the Colonial Objects Framework

The autoethnographic application of the Colonial Objects Framework has produced a series of recommendations for Museums that are woven throughout the chapters. These are listed below under two headings. As indicated in the Introduction, the first, 'Decolonisation', is critically important to the future of museums. The second,

'Networks and Entanglements', is designed to reflect that interpreting Colonial Objects is complex and therefore requires a nuanced and fine-grained approach.

1. Decolonisation

a. *'Ethnography' / 'World Cultures'*: Seek to break down disciplinary boundaries between Ethnography / World Cultures and other human history collections. As this thesis has exemplified, all objects are caught up in human relationships, and these relationships are fluid. Indigenous knowledge is a critical resource and must always be sought for museum interpretations.[6] Isolating categories of indigenous objects, however, will only serve to replicate imperialist epistemology.

b. *Autoethnography:* Consider developing Autoethnography as a basis of collaboration with individuals and communities, in which both the museum staff and co-workers reflect on what specific objects represent to them. The Colonial Objects Framework, developed above for practical usage as the Us-ness / Otherness Quadrant, is a toolkit for initiating discussions.

c. *Emotions:* Think about how objects might be emotionally 'hot' to collaborators; and how they may need time and space to reflect on their meanings. Develop strategies for identifying and allocating 'hot' objects to separate spaces in exhibitions and museum stores.

d. *Heritability of racism:* Understand that imperialism was not over when the British Empire came to an end. This is because colonial attitudes are heritable; I have shown here that their inheritance can be traced through objects in collections that at first seem disparate. Attitudes are perceptible in different degrees in different types of object, which subsequently need to be investigated in different way. The following example will show why Colonial Objects need to be interpreted carefully. *For example: Both Myra Henly and Florence Hobbs' journals demonstrated blatant racism and sexism. Douglas and Ann's letters also demonstrated subscription to these views. These could then be examined in greater depth through their photographic archive which carried visual signals of their racialised world. This world was then re-presented through Julian Crozier's narrative about Donegal during the 1950s. The legacy of this worldview*

was traceable when the Croziers collected the McCarron trunk in 1997. Through re-constructing this memory narrative, it was possible to see the presence of hegemony also in apparently 'innocent' Chinese decorative objects.

e. *Human Relationships:* The meanings of objects colonise people, so that they can become coercive and feel inalienable. Often, their coercive power stems from obligations that derive from the objects' past associations with human relationships. *For example: I kept the photograph of the Nearly Gone Person depicting a female ancestor, even though I know nothing about its subject, because I felt guilty about not having listened to my grandmother.*

f. *Subjectivity:* Accept that self-interest and ethnocentric bias are unavoidable whenever people, or institutions, are interpreting objects, irrespective of their professional experience. This is because all perspectives are subjective and are predicated on the political, social, economic and cultural context that surrounds the viewer. Given that its presence is inevitable, it is important to acknowledge that subjective bias exists and to identify its source. This will help the museum to consolidate its understanding about which geographical areas, and which populations, it intends to represent, and why. It will also enable the Museum to behave with greater integrity, by acknowledging that other populations, and other museums, have their own subjectivities and may as a result be better placed to interpret objects that the museum holds. *For example: the Ulster Museum ignored the Solomon Islands canoe and the cloak of Kamehameha III because it was primarily interested in Northern Ireland's history and in political and historical narratives that were locally prevalent at the time. However, this subjective position was never openly acknowledged, but instead, was experienced as curatorial frustration. Therefore, the Museum failed to collaborate fully with other institutions that could shed greater light on them. These collaborations could in turn have made the objects more accessible, so increasing the public value provided by the Museum in holding onto them.*

g. *We Colonise What We Keep:* This is especially the case when we keep it in storage. On the other hand, making objects accessible and reviving old

knowledge through object research, especially when it involves those who played a part in objects' biographies, is a means of decolonising the objects.

2. Networks and Entanglements

a. *Trauma and bereavement:* Enquire sensitively of collaborators about the emotions connected with trauma and bereavement. The significance of objects is closely linked to people and places that we cherish and have lost. This will enable the museum to respect the knowledge, experiences and feelings of collaborators, and will inform it about why the objects are valued, and the social networks with which they are and have been connected.

b. *Long-lasting relationships:* Maintain long-term contact with collaborators, providing time for them to consider the meanings of objects and communicate these meanings in dribs and drabs to the museum. This will help the museum to build meaningful relationships that will contribute more to human lives and therefore to society overall. It will also produce ever more insights over time, enhancing museum documentation by sourcing later understandings of object meanings that may not have been available to the donor at the point in time when they gave the object. *For example: Whilst it was immediately apparent upon Maurna Crozier's death that the Jingdezhen jar had aesthetic value, it was only much later that I realised the Hundred Boys motif could cast light on apparently unrelated photographic slides of Chinese refugees in the 1950s. The interpretative networking of the two together enabled the deeper interpretation of colonial British society and the differences in its attitudes to Chinese art history and real Chinese people. It was not until later still that I began to think about how the layering of it with photographs of Maurna had symbolically networked the jar with more recent family relationships.*

c. *Network Objects with Archives:* Consider collecting family archives, that may at first appear ephemeral or unrelated to the objects you are collecting. These can deepen interpretations of other objects. *For example: Douglas's Freemasonry regalia on its own appears generic. To*

a museum visitor looking at the costume on its own, it would not be immediately apparent that it signified a colonial world. When accompanied by his certificates, however, the regalia is situated in an individual biography, and therefore becomes more closely associated with the places and societies within which he lived and worked. When attached to the photograph given to Douglas by a 'brother', we can see the regalia as part of a gendered and racist world.

d. *Indigeneity:* People can be emotionally invested in objects when they are indigenous to the places from which the objects came, and when they are not. For this reason, an interpretation that tells only that part of the object's story that relates to its indigenous context, or that part that relates to a non-indigenous context, is an incomplete representation of the object's biography. *For example: the Bai Juyi figure is embedded in a long history of Chinese poetic narrative, and in the history of Hangzhou. However, it was exchanged between an Italian bishop and a British educator. To tell any of the parts of its story discretely – for example, Tang dynasty poetry, the history of Hangzhou, the motivations of the Italian bishop, or the meanings of the object to Douglas Crozier, would have de-networked the object and made its interpretation shallower. Both indigenous and non-indigenous contexts were important in revealing the symbolic value of an otherwise apparently rather mundane object.*

e. *Journalise:* Use chronological photographic journals, such as become automatically available on staff computers through downloads of images taken on phones using standard software, as a deliberate method to interpret objects over time. This will enable more richly layered analysis.

f. *Migrations:* Understand that people use objects to colonise space, and that their choices about which objects they use may be based on those that most strongly reflect human bonds. For this reason, definitions of the 'Colonial Object' need to be kept broad. *For example: I used Zhao Shao-ang's painting of a cicada to 'colonise' Lisnisk even though I knew nothing about its original provenance. The reason for this was that it symbolised a family identity that I wanted to replicate within a place to which I was a stranger.*

g. *Place is important:* In interpretative research, consider networking

> objects with the biography of specific places as well as with human biography. The places in which they are situated are critically important to objects' symbolic value. *For example: Maurna Crozier collected her stones in Lisnacreevy; it was the importance of her relationship with the place that made the stones into a human artefact.*

Finding Three: The NMNI World Cultures Collection needs research

This thesis has identified that NMNI's World Cultures Collection requires significant research. The collection is important for four reasons, all of which are evidenced below. Firstly, the collection needs to be made more accessible within Northern Ireland itself as a means of examining its own role in British Empire history. Secondly, the Collection contains objects that are of considerable interest to the communities and places of the world from which the objects came. Thirdly, these objects have the power to reveal hidden narratives that first arose there. Finally, inactive curatorship of the collection could be perceived to be a legacy of imperialism. These four motivations for researching the collection are further rationalised below.

Collections as a Legacy of Empire

As the Introduction to this thesis made clear, there is now significant discourse both within and outside the museums sector about the interpretation of the colonial past. This discourse questions the epistemological basis of curatorial judgement,[7] and whether museums can justifiably claim narrative authority.[8] This is because the museum profession as a whole was founded by colonising cultures,[9] and contemporary interpretative regimes have been inherited from them.[10]

Museum Ethnography in general has been slow to recognise that its existence stemmed from colonial asymmetries of power. These affected not only the processes of object acquisition and curatorial selection, but also the entire social world of which the discipline was part.[11] Ethnographic collecting was in the past driven by the desire to understand cultural dynamics within, and so to find ways of successfully managing and controlling, physical territory.[12] Indigenous collaboration in colonial administration and practices was widespread,[13] and contributed to the collecting by museums from source communities of evidence of human cultures.[14] However, postcolonial discourse commonly adopts the position that such material

possessions would not have been given up by indigenous peoples, without this having been made necessary through the coercive pressure of the imperial context.[15]

It follows that white, European curators are often represented as ineluctably motivated by 'colonial knowledge'.[16] Indeed, increasingly the credibility of curatorial authority in general is being eroded. For example, Maura Reilly's recent book, *Curatorial Activism*, promotes examples of exhibitions that have promoted gender, sexual and race equality by democratising processes of collecting and display.[17] Active curatorship has been widely called for in relation to non-European collections; for example Bryony Onciul calls for the sector as a whole to be 'indigenised'.[18]

Even concentrating as it does on a tiny sample of the material evidence of colonialism, this PhD has proven that the interpretation of Colonial Objects is entirely subjective. It is because of their subjectivity that all interpreters of 'World Cultures' objects face a wide range of challenges. These include, firstly, that they have not the personal experience to justify their roles in vocalising the importance of objects to which they are non-natives[19]. Secondly, that by virtue of their own ethnicities and genealogies they themselves fall, wittingly or otherwise, on the same side of privilege as did the past beneficiaries of colonial domination[20] Thirdly, it has been argued that in any case, the forces of colonialism were so global and remain so pertinent to contemporary intercultural exchange[21] as to make it impossible to de-colonise the museum. This potent combination of challenges suggests that a curator who is not in and of the cultures that are represented within a museum's collection should pass on by.

However, as I have argued, by vocalising what it is that makes ethnographic objects important *to them*, non-indigenous staff can connect the colonial world of the past with a new kind of practice, and one that it is deeply embedded in the ethics of the present. In doing so, we can, in O'Hanlon and Harris's words, create 'places for discovery and dreaming, for memories and meetings: sites where the freedom to wonder at the variety and ingenuity of man-made things is not dead'.[22] This freedom, if developed, can create space for museums to re-engage with collections; and to build new collaborations. In order to do so, as I have also argued, the museums need first to acknowledge their own subjective relationships with objects. This is where the Colonial Objects Framework can become useful.

Activating the NMNI World Cultures Collection.

My research has demonstrated that the de-colonisation of the NMNI World Cultures Collection has been slow to start. Chapters Five and Six showed how, between 1967 and 2009 the interpretation of the Collection was left to the energies of one individual. There were two causes of this complacency. These were, firstly, a particular institutional interest in representing the history of Northern Ireland. Secondly, the institution was in a quandary about how best to represent the British Empire, when the history of Ireland itself is still contested.[23] This concern endures because the constitutional status of Northern Ireland is still a question with which museums are grappling, and, under the Belfast / Good Friday Agreement, will depend on the majority view of its people.[24]

Chapter Six demonstrated how as a result of these two factors, even highly significant objects in the NMNI World Cultures Collection have been neglected. These include the internationally important Kamehameha III cloak, and the Solomon Islands canoe – the largest item in the NMNI ethnographic collection – that was collected by Captain John Casement. While I acknowledged that in the sparsity of its interpretation of such collections NMNI is not alone (even Pacific items associated with Captain Cook have been subject to 'mood-swings' of curatorial interest), the forgetting of these items has been especially notable.

Political concerns surrounding its geographical and political location have dominated NMNI narrative construction in three key ways. Firstly, the narrative has focused on representing the history of the Northern Ireland above all else. This applied from 1929 when the Ulster Museum was built and was further reinforced through its handover to the Northern Ireland Government in 1972. Secondly, as I have shown through the example of the Hawai'ian cloak, the Museum has used objects' symbolic prestige value to elevate its own status, whilst ignoring the need to interpret the objects' indigenous histories. Thirdly, as exemplified by the canoe, the Museum has historically demonstrated a partiality for interpreting some biographies, whilst neglecting others.

Concentrating as it does on an autoethnographic examination of the Crozier Collection which in itself has provided sufficient material for an extensive research project, consultation with indigenous communities has not been within the scope of this thesis. However, the PhD has begun to reference the communities to whom the NMNI World Cultures Collection is likely to be of interest. The locations of some of

these are highlighted through the map that I created to identify where Gordon Augustus Thomson had acquired items within the collection that he gave to the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society (see Chapter Six, Fig. 33). This map indicates only some of the huge range of collaborations that merit development.

Revealing Hidden Narratives and Activating Curatorship

Although the names of the individuals upon whose lives collectors like Thomson impacted may never be known, I have here suggested identifying interest groups as a component of further research. In Chapter Six, I indicated subaltern stories connected with the World Cultures Collection that remain to be uncovered. These connect, for example, with the lives of indigenous Australians who lived at Port Phillip, of *kanakas* who exchanged goods with British sailors; and of people captured as slaves in Bioko with whom Thomson had contact.

Furthermore, the collection can be used to address contemporary issues, some of which are also referenced in Chapter Six. These include, for example, modern slavery, LGBTQ+ history and heteronormativity, restitution, the repatriation of cultural property, migration, demographic diversity, and the representation within museum institutions of minority groups. The risk in not using ethnographic holdings to engage with these debates is that museums in Northern Ireland will represent only parochial issues, and in the process, will be open to criticism as anachronistic. By contrast, addressing the legacies of colonialism to which ethnographic objects are connected, will enable NMNI to develop relationships internationally. This in turn will constitute a contribution to breaking down barriers between Us and Others in Northern Ireland society as a whole.

Final Conclusion: Colonial Objects and Forgiveness in Northern Ireland

In setting out a Colonial Objects Framework, this thesis has established a new model for acknowledging the subjective perspective of the interpreter of Colonial Objects. In doing so, it has also exemplified how we can use a range of objects to investigate the past in deeper ways. In Chapter One, I noted that Antoinette Burton had commented on the lack of academic writing on personal engagements with archives. I also said that my thesis would help to fill this gap. I hope, having discussed one such engagement in detail, that the reader will consider this commitment discharged. I also referred to the three types of pressure that, as Burton identified, impress

themselves upon those who investigate archives: structural, political and personal. For this study, the structural pressures have come from the need to contribute to Museum Practice; a pressure with which I have dealt above. The political pressures have derived from the social and cultural contexts that the study of Colonial Objects impact; and these have been addressed throughout. The personal pressures derived from my emotional connections with the Crozier Collection and my love for a special place and the family it represents. This, as the reader will have gathered, is a work in progress. Together, these three forces have interacted to create tensions in my work, in which I have continually veered between objective and subjective positions. As a result of their interaction however, I have produced original findings as described in this chapter.

Allowing these pressures to interact though has had its costs. By delving into subjectivities, I have touched many a raw nerve of my own. During the process, I have often wondered whether this work has truly been stimulated by a desire to come to terms with the motivations of colonists in general, to come to terms with the motivations of my grandparents and parents in particular, or to come to terms with my own. Given that I am viewing these three contexts through a subjective lens, I have been conscious throughout that in each, an element of forgiveness may be called for. Where an unrelated researcher might feel no obligation to forgive past colonists, for me forgiveness has been important because I have been deconstructing the lives of people whom I have loved. Because this study is autoethnographic, two particular acts of reckoning are required. Firstly, I must forgive Douglas and Ann Crozier, and my parents, for having contributed to societies and systems of government that were so unfair. Secondly, I must forgive myself, for having exposed them all to public scrutiny in the way that I have here. It is all down on paper now; and there is no going back.

An autoethnographer who writes on past experiences must inevitably reveal past relationships. In doing so I have begun to acknowledge the impacts of deeds done in colonial worlds by people beloved of me. This thought brings to mind Paul Ricoeur's remarks on the gift: a present, he argues, requires reciprocity.[25] I cannot reciprocate for the inheritance of objects I received from dead relatives; nor can I repay them by hearing what they might have to say about what I have written. By chronicling a little about their lives through their possessions, however, I have brought to mind again Douglas and Ann Crozier, and Julian and Maurna; perhaps, in

doing so, I have arranged that they will not be forgotten, if only for a time. In this, I can at least partially assuage my guilt.

Museums, too, must pay tribute to people of the past, and acknowledge those from whom their objects came. By working with people in the present in the ways that I have suggested, they can begin to make account for the colonial past of which they themselves are part. I have argued that a step in doing so is to acknowledge the roles of Colonial Objects in all of our lives. Gordon Augustus Thomson must have been pleased to have, at last, procured that cloak for Belfast. For the members of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, the cloak brought Hawai'ian kings to the city, promising to raise it up amongst the other metropoli that possessed such a thing. For Kamehameha III, the cloak represented his father, Kamehameha I, and sadness at the way in which Hawai'ian society had changed since his time. For Winifred Glover, the cloak was a wondrous thing that merited more care from the Museum. For all five actors, the cloak was a Colonial Object in every sense.

This research began at a time of sorrow at the loss of my parents and of a beloved home. Grief came to be embodied by the objects, both from Hong Kong and from other places, that I had salvaged. Since then the project of interpreting these objects has brought about new beginnings, new networks and broader canvasses on which to work. In undertaking this study, what has mattered to me most has been to present a private collection as part of once-common Empire experience. As I have also shown, in Northern Ireland, this experience was extensive but has not often been shared with others. The region's role in Empire is therefore a hidden history that needs to be uncovered. More work is needed to expose biographies that were entangled with colonialism. Research on Northern Ireland's ethnographic collections is required.

As I have shown, discovery of what World Cultures objects mean to Us and to Others has potential. Such work is critically important in Northern Ireland, as a means to address historical divisions. Colonial Objects are essential to the building of connections across divided societies. As this autoethnography has shown, sharing them will enable museums to cross from their public spaces and into private lives, and so to make an impact on future generations.

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Appendix: Quantitative Outline of the Crozier Collection

Although my Methodology is qualitative, the Hong Kong element of the Crozier Collection required substantial and iterative quantitative analysis before I could select items on which to focus. I can therefore convey that the Hong Kong component comprises 1167 photographic slides; 879 photographic prints; 437 letters; 195 ceramic items; 113 books; 36 paintings; 20 medals; 13 albums and scrapbooks containing a further 1,636 photographs and 38 newspaper cuttings; 27 items of brass, bronze, copper and silver; 11 stone carvings; 10 items of cloisonné and 9 of costume; 6 address and visitor books; 4 cane chairs; 3 files of correspondence; 3 each of boxes and compasses; 2 each of trunks, Japanese swords, mahjong sets, silk banners and walking canes; 1 'envelope' card table; 1 Chinese desk with a stool; 1 cupboard, 1 set of shelves, and 1 mirror. I can also describe the Crozier Collection in terms of the volume of space it takes up, the materials I have used to store and display it, and how I have done so through processes of classification. These are as follows.

The paper archive, kept in a store in my study, occupies eleven plastic crates. Although brought by my parents from Douglas and Ann Crozier's house, I have not attempted to catalogue these separately as a component of this study. There are eight photographic and cuttings albums which together with the scrap book (Chapter Five) and correspondence files occupy a metre of shelf. The photo album that is also detailed in Chapter Five, contains family photographs taken in Ireland, Sydney and Hong Kong between 1935 and 1961. Others were compiled as gifts and record specific occasions. For example, one relates to Douglas Crozier's role in co-ordinating events for the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to Hong Kong in 1959. There is also an album recording the Ninth Congregation for Conferment of Honorary Degrees by the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Another photo album was presented as a gift to Ann Crozier (and may have been partially compiled by her), from Yip Butt Chau, the Principal of Kowloon Tong School, Hong Kong. This shows her role in school openings and prize-givings.

There are eight one-metre shelves of ceramics and stoneware. The ceramics are arranged according to the regions in China in which they were made including Jingdezhen (Jiangxi province) and Dehua (Fujian). In addition, there is one shelf of carved ivory items, including four model junks, two concentric balls with stands, 6 horses, one vase, and the 'Bai Juyi' figure (see Chapter Three). There is one shelf of

metal ware, including two handwarmers, a wine pourer, a silk iron and sweetmeat dishes. Cloisonné items include three salt and pepper sets, three ashtrays, and a vase. There is a shelf on which rest the two mah jong sets and sundry items such as compasses, soapstone carvings and seal stamps, a fan, and wooden ceramic mounts.

I have one metre of shelving holding thirteen watercolour paintings that are scrolled up. Five paintings and four embroideries are hanging on the walls of my home. In addition, there are eight paintings stacked against the wall of my study. Douglas Crozier's two Japanese swords are stored alongside the paintings. The costume items also hang in my store. These include three silk jackets, two doctoral robes from the University of Hong Kong and Chinese University of Hong Kong, one blue serge robe in the style of Chairman Mao, my grandmother's fur coat, my father's Cambridge rowing blazer and scarf, and my mother's fencing jacket. I have given all the freemasonry costume to National Museums Northern Ireland, including four sashes, three aprons, two cuffs, two belts, one medal holder, one hat, one robe, and one hood.

There are ten Lever Arch files containing black and white photographic prints dating to between 1949 and 1961. These show Douglas and Ann Crozier on official business in Hong Kong; and therefore, depict Chinese in educational settings (primary and middle schools, training colleges, and universities); and members of the Chinese and Eurasian élite with whom they engaged to support and develop Education. These prints are organised by year and are filed in archival acid-free photographic pockets in A4 sheets. The photographic prints could not within the scope of this thesis be fully catalogued, although I have where possible identified their date, location and human subjects; and recorded these on handwritten file notes. Stored in this way, the print files take up a metre of shelving.

The colour slides also take up one metre of shelf. They are stored in fifteen small files and two lever arch files. These are accompanied by three sets of typed slide notes that Douglas and Ann used for talks. The slides were taken, by members of the family, in Hong Kong, the New Territories and (in small number) Northern Ireland. These are vernacular slides, taken for family interest, but also used by Douglas and Ann when giving talks in England and Ireland in retirement. Subjects include street scenes of Hong Kong; social activities in Hong Kong including British groups and the Croziers at home; journeys 'home' from Hong Kong to Europe;

Maurna Crozier's graduation in Queen's University Belfast in 1965; and buildings and flora around Hong Kong. One of the Lever Arch files contains a large number of slides that appear to have been taken professionally in Adult Education and Training Centres established whilst Douglas Crozier was Director of Education.

I inherited the slides in projector carousels and labelled slide boxes. In these, they were out of the order in which they had been taken. I regained some of the lost knowledge about their sequencing and context by re-filing them in sets identifying the rolls of film on which they were taken. I did this through recourse to visual clues – the card frames of the slides, the branding of the companies that had made them and the font in which each is labelled with 'view from this side'. Each slide is imprinted with a sequence number in black or red ink; and, having sorted them into films, I used these indicators to re-order them. I have stored the re-grouped slides in archival acid free sleeves. Where hand-written slide notes existed on the inside of the lids of the boxes in which they had previously been stored, I transcribed these onto an Excel spreadsheet that attributed each note to the relevant slide in the order in which it was filed. I then printed each spreadsheet and filed it alongside the slides to which it related. I have digitised a small number of the slides (by taking photographs of them, lit by a light-box, using an app, OfficeLens).

There are three cine reels taken in Hong Kong, the New Territories and on the boat 'home' from Hong Kong to Genoa in Italy, via Aden, Egypt, and various sites of classical antiquity. There is one audio reel containing a Radio Hong Kong interview given by Douglas Crozier providing a retrospective view on the development of Education in Hong Kong whilst he was Director (between 1951 and 1961). This was probably made in 1969, when Crozier returned to receive an Honorary LLD from the Chinese University of Hong Kong. I have had the film and audio reels professionally digitised and have stored these digital copies on my computer. Although this study does not concern photographic technologies which were not relevant to the study, the means of taking and showing the photographs and films have survived. There are several cameras, a slide projector and a projector screen, and numerous slide storage boxes. These all appear to date to the late 1940s and 1950s.

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