

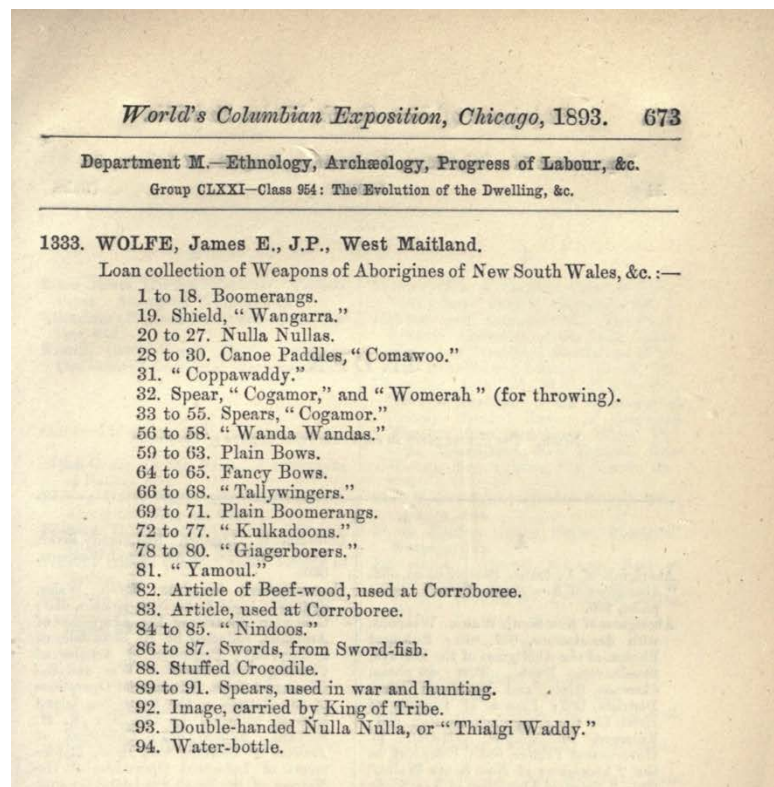
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HST 6990A – World’s Fair
Dr. Nicole Phelps
Fall 2024

Provenance of the Cappawaddy
and the 1893 collection of items held by the Fleming Museum

At the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago then professor of anthropology (and associated disciplines) at UVM, Dr. George Henry Perkins, purchased a lot of items that have been a part of the University Museum’s collection, and subsequently the Fleming Museums, ever since. This includes an item highlighted in the Spring 2025 Fleming Museum Exhibit [*Rooted in Nature*], the Cappawaddy (or “Coppawaddy” as it’s listed in the Fleming Museum catalogue).¹

Perkins brought back a diverse array of items from the 1893 World’s Fair: Javanese flutes and pan pipes, Totem Pole models from the Kwakwaka’wakw of the Pacific Northwest, and a Zulu war club to name a few.² What dominates the collection from 1893 however are objects of Australasian provenance: Fiji, New Guinea, and Australia. Perkins’ lot of Australasian items mainly includes weapons, many with notable, unique names such as “Coppawaddy”, “Wanda Wanda”, “Tallywinger”, “Giaserboer”, “Kulkadoon”, “Yamoul”, and “Nindoo”.³ These names conspicuously line up with one particular collector who contributed to the New South Wales exhibit at the Chicago fair: James E. Wolfe of West Maitland, New South Wales.⁴ Although there’s no official bill of sale or paper record to confirm that the bulk of Perkins’ haul from the Columbian Exposition came from James Wolfe’s collection, an 1896 article in *The Maitland Daily Mercury* confirms that, “Mr. Wolfe’s exhibit [of aboriginal weapons and implements] was so highly thought of that he was awarded a bronze medal and diploma, and the exhibits were claimed and purchased by one of the great universities in the States” – presumably the University of Vermont.⁵

This provenance document contains a biography of James Wolfe and a reconstruction of the New South Wales exhibit at the World’s Fair in Chicago. This document is authored by Miles McCallum and Madison Taylor and drawn from the combined research efforts of the Fall 2024 HST 6990A: “World’s Fair” graduate history class, Sunshine Alvarez De Silva, Jane Brinley, Parker Gill, Miles McCallum, Jacob Shore, Abigail Sterner, and Madison Taylor, under the tutelage and direction of Dr. Nicole Phelps. Daisy Benson and Prudence Doherty with UVM libraries were invaluable in researching this topic.

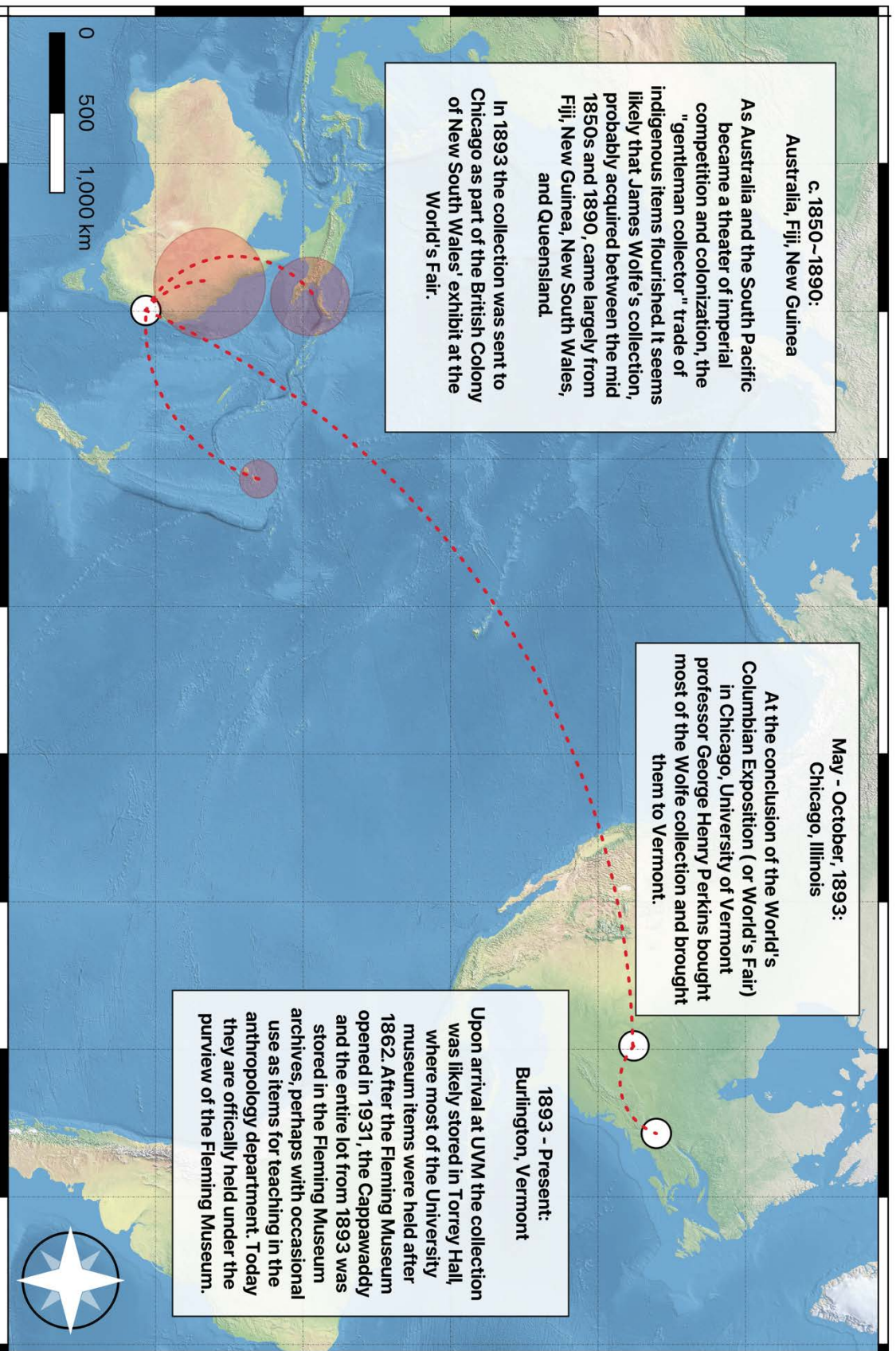


James E. Wolfe’s “Loan collection of Weapons of Aborigines of New South Wales” sent as part of New South Wales’ exhibit at the 1893 World’s Fair. See footnote 4.

In terms of definite record, the known provenance of the Cappawaddy begins with James E. Wolfe, an eminent resident of the city of West Maitland in New South Wales, Australia, from the mid 1850s to his death in 1893. It's unclear when and exactly by what means he procured his collection of indigenous objects, but it seems likely he bought them in the trade of "exotic" and "peculiar" goods common among wealthy men of the Victorian period. His collection, including the haul brought to UVM by Perkins, includes items that seem to be from a wider Australasian geography; particularly Papua New Guinea and Fiji, as well as Queensland and New South Wales in Australia. He sent this "Loan collection of Weapons of Aborigines of New South Wales"⁶ to Chicago as one of many exhibits comprising the New South Wales ethnographic display at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition (World's Fair) in Chicago. Here the objects would still have been "legally" owned ("legal" may be a nebulous term here given the uncertain circumstances of acquisition of these items and the many different national and local jurisdictions they passed through) by James Wolfe, though under the care of the New South Wales commission present at the fair. At the end of the fair University of Vermont professor George Henry Perkins purchased most of the collection and brought them to Vermont. Wolfe passed away the same year as the fair, on August 30, 1893, about two months before the fair officially ended in Chicago. Perhaps because of his passing the collection under his name was sold in Chicago rather than packaged and shipped back to Australia.

Since 1893 the items have been held by the University of Vermont. The 1893 lot, including the Cappawaddy, was first part of the University Museum's collections, likely held in Torrey Hall on UVM's campus. It's unknown whether Perkins' used any of the items in-class as teaching materials, or the exact conditions of storage and frequency of use. By 1931, when the Fleming Museum opened, the lot became part of the Fleming Museum's collection and has remained as such since.

Much of the provenance of the Cappawaddy and the 1893 lot remains unknown – most of all where it was made, by whom, and why. Our research suggests that the Cappawaddy specifically probably came from the Massim people of eastern New Guinea, perhaps from some exchange (whether as a mutual transaction or as some sort of plunder) in the tumult of Queensland annexing the southeastern corner of New Guinea as a protectorate of the British Empire in 1884. Our research identifies the Australian owner of the Cappawaddy before Perkins (and UVM) and reconstructs how the Cappawaddy would've been presented in the physical space of the World's Fair in 1893. Further research should be done on the trade of indigenous objects in Oceania and the Pacific world in the 19th century to determine some of the likely ways Wolfe probably came into ownership of his items.



The Journey of the Cappawaddy and the 1893 Fleming Collection

I. James Ephraim Wolfe (1830-1893): A brief biography

James E. Wolfe (1830-1893), born in Sydney, New South Wales, was an eminent resident of West Maitland, NSW, who served in a breadth of formal political positions, military roles, and private enterprises from the mid 1850s to his death in 1893.⁷

He was the model of the entrepreneurial white-settler; he served as a captain in the local militia, the West Maitland Volunteer Rifle company; he was a “director of the Hunter River New Steam Navigation Company and ... a long time chairman of the Board”; and co-patriarch of the firm Wolfe, Gorrick, & Company which he co-founded with his brother-in-law, that took on several names in their decades of business together in the “stock and agency business”.⁸ He also served as a “returning-officer” presiding over local Maitland parliamentary assemblies and is described as “among the oldest magistrates of Maitland” in a *Maitland Mercury* obituary, demonstrating his multi-decade involvement in local politics.⁹ James Wolfe epitomizes the nexus of private enterprise, formal politics, and military endeavor that drove the project of empire. It’s men like James E. Wolfe — that is the “respectable classes” of frontier towns, wearing many hats as both a private citizen and an agent of empire — that engaged in making the dreams of imperial power projection a reality on the periphery of, in this case, British claims in Australia.

Wolfe worked as a manager in the Maitland general store *Austen and Co.* until February 15, 1854, when he and his brother-in-law, Jacob Gorrick (son of prominent Newcastle resident Isaac Gorrick), purchased the business and formed *Messrs. Wolfe and Gorrick*, later referred to as *Wolfe, Gorrick & Company*. As Maitland matured from a sparse frontier town to a local hub of settler-colonial expansion over the nineteenth century, *Wolfe, Gorrick & Company* successfully rode the wave of economic expansion, first profiting off the wool business, and from there diversifying into middlemen in the trade of agricultural supplies. By the 1880s their storefront in Maitland operated as a general department store, but Wolfe and Gorrick expanded their individual business portfolios into rail, logistics, and agriculture. After James Wolfe’s death in 1893 and Jacob Gorrick’s retirement in 1895, Mrs. Wolfe



Illustrations of Wolfe, Prentice & Co.’s storefront and interior circa 1896 from *Beautiful Sydney*, a kind of promotional book of the Sydney area and its notable sights. See footnote 10.

and a partner of the company who had been with them for thirty-four years, James D. Prentice, reformed the business into *Wolfe, Prentice & Co.*¹⁰

Wolfe's enterprises were diverse, but his renown as a tobacco planter stamps his documentary record.¹¹ In addition to the collection of indigenous Australasian artifacts Wolfe sent, Wolfe and Gorrick are also recorded as winning an award for their tobacco leaf exhibit at the 1893 Worlds' Fair in Chicago.¹² At an uncertain date Wolfe and Gorrick bought their tobacco factory (pictured right) from an American company that constructed the original building in West Maitland in 1841. Through the 1880s, under the stewardship of Wolfe, the factory continued to primarily produce American strains of tobacco.¹³ In horticultural and agricultural fairs, from the local Hunter River region around Maitland all the way to exhibitions in Melbourne, Wolfe and Gorrick frequently submitted "Tobacco leaf" and "manufactured tobacco" as prime exhibits.¹⁴ According to one source their tobacco exhibits earned them a total of ninety-four awards at agricultural fairs across Australia over the course of their careers.¹⁵ The relationship and



Illustration of Wolfe's Tobacco factory, circa 1896. See footnote 10.



"Portrait of W. J. Sloan and A. Wilkinson", circa 1860. As two ensigns of the West Maitland Volunteer Rifle Corps, Sloan and Wilkinson wear the kind of uniform James Wolfe would have worn as a militia captain. See footnote 17.

legacy of American capital in opening a tobacco factory in Maitland during the 1840s is a reminder of the international context and interconnected expansion of commodity frontiers continents apart that, in part, made Wolfe's own entrepreneurial success possible.

One reminiscence, published in 1895 in the *Maitland Mercury* after James Wolfe's death, recounts his early years in Maitland and describes him as something of a political firebrand. In 1860, Wolfe, along with a man named W. H. Mullen and his business partner Isaac Gorrick, refused to be sworn in as "special constables" under the directive of the West Maitland police magistrate, as the magistrate refused to let those sworn in speak at meetings, an affront to Wolfe, Mullen, and Gorrick's sense of free speech.¹⁶ As Wolfe's business credentials and establishment in Maitland expanded however he became more a part of the political system than an outsider rebuking it. By the late 1870s and early 1880s Wolfe is regularly recorded as taking presiding roles in local political meetings and serving as a captain of the West Maitland Volunteer Rifle Corps, a group populated with the politically pre-eminent citizens of the Maitland area.

Indeed, in the same year as the dispute with the West Maitland police magistrate, on October 24, 1860, the West Maitland Volunteer Rifle company formed, and Wolfe and Gorrick both appear on the muster roll.¹⁷ Most literature written on militia movements and rifle clubs in colonial Australian society of the nineteenth century describes them not so much as active military units but more civic groups or “gentlemen’s clubs.”¹⁸ Rifles and handguns were “part and parcel of colonial Australia,” and volunteer rifle companies began forming across the Australian colonies in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁹ Many formed in response to imperial sensibilities; the Crimean War from 1853-56, invasion scares of Napoleon III targeting Great Britain in 1859, and campaigns against the Māori in nearby New Zealand that intensified in the 1860s, all led to upsurges in rifle club membership in Australia.²⁰ As much as participation in rifle organizations was an expression of imperial connection and pride, it also took on fiercely regional contours as well, most notably in the colonial rivalry between New South Wales and Victoria. Countless shooting competitions took place between the colonies, and as scholar James Kilsby describes, “...the matches themselves seized the public imagination. They were keenly contested and remarkably popular. They were not just widely reported in the press but attended by the cream of society.”²¹ In fact, James Wolfe frequently appears as the West Maitland militia’s “champion shooter,” representing them in shooting competitions with nearby frontier towns, and his appointment as captain was likely an outcome of his renown as a marksman.

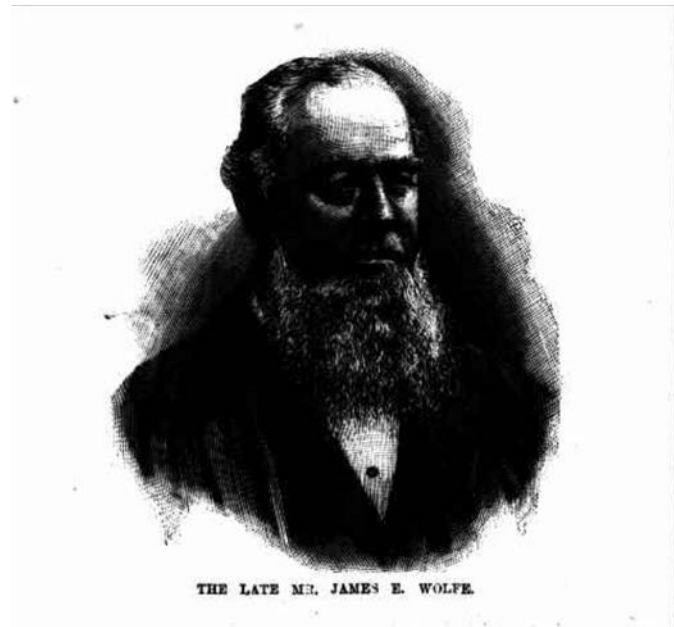


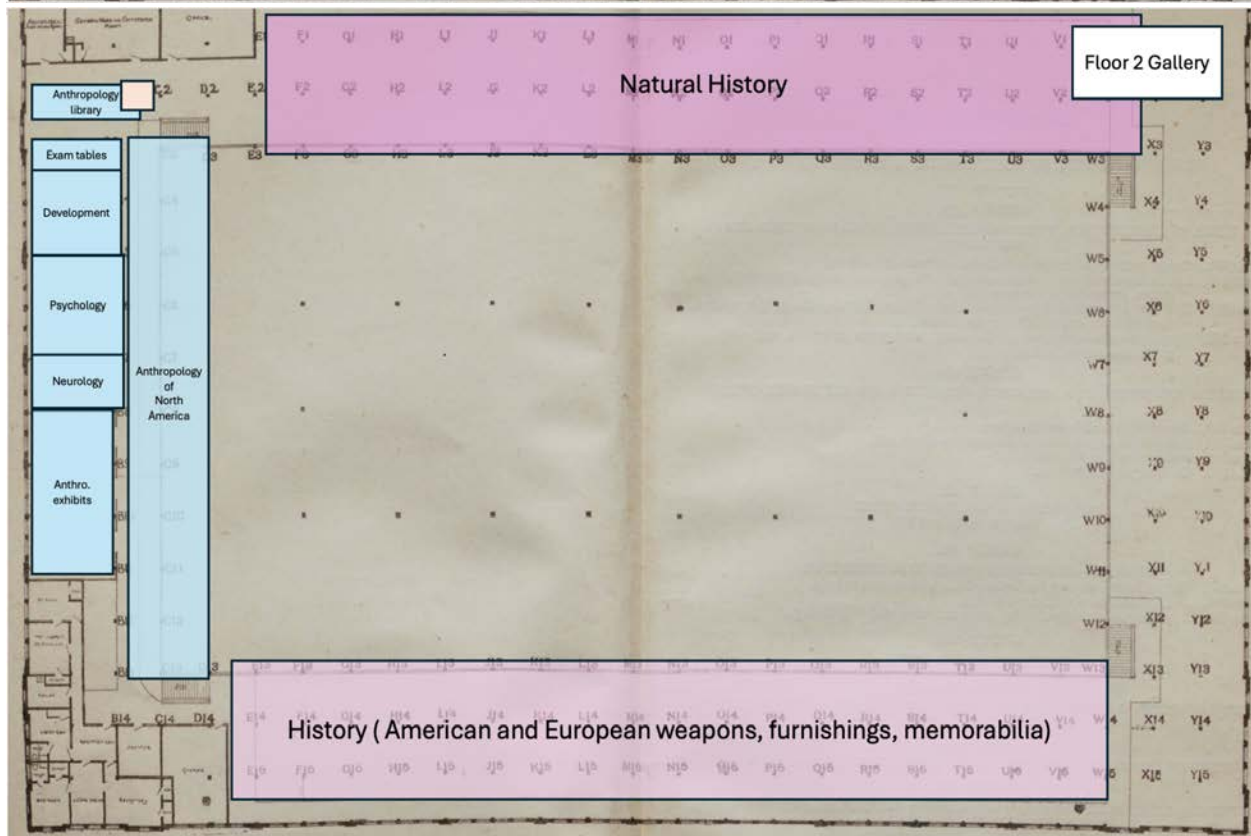
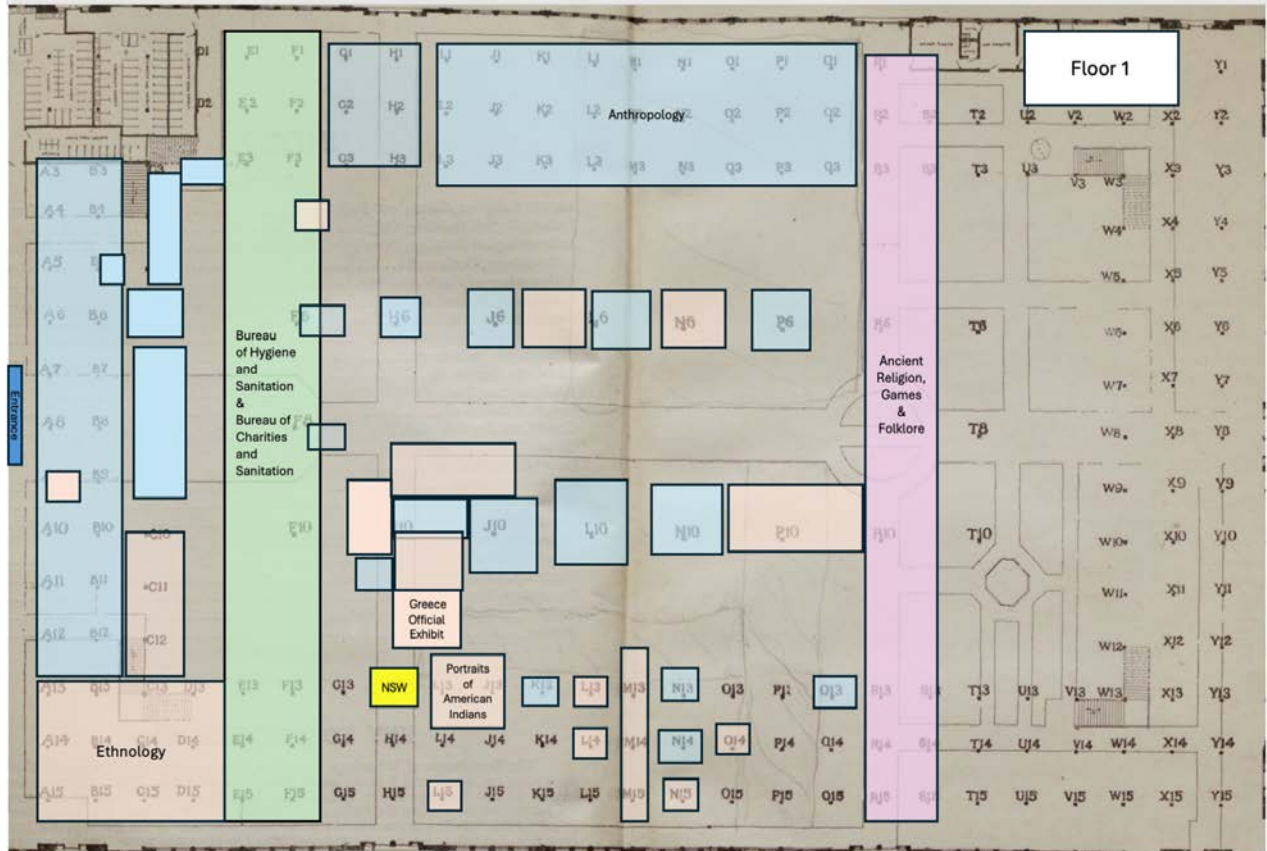
Illustration of James E. Wolfe from a *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser* obituary. See footnote 7.

So, how did James Wolfe wind up with the collection he sent to the Columbian Exposition at Chicago?

This is something we’ve been unable to discover, and an avenue for future research. Initially we considered, given James Wolfe’s militia experience, that some of the items may have been procured directly through violence and plunder – which isn’t necessarily off the table. But we’ve been unable to find any evidence of the West Maitland Volunteer Militia actually participating in campaigns or skirmishes against Aboriginal Australians, and the literature describing volunteer militia groups in nineteenth-century colonial Australia doesn’t illustrate them as militarily active – they’re more like social clubs that all civically active Australian colonials were expected to participate in – a sign of citizenship and of imperial pride.

II. New South Wales and the Cappawaddy at the 1893 World’s Fair

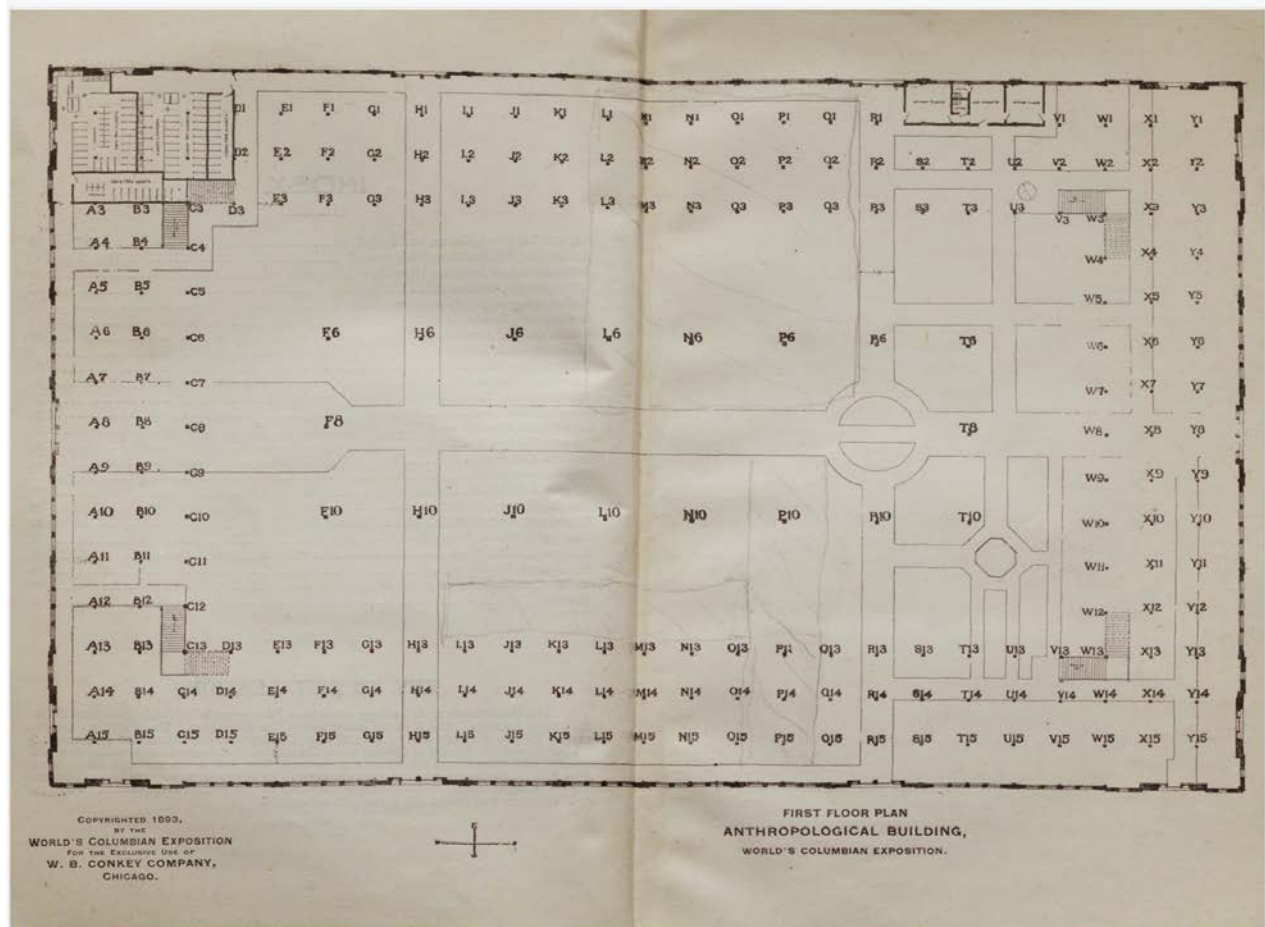
The Official Catalog of Exhibits — Department M provided the information for the detailed floor plans of the anthropology building.²² It was in the New South Wales exhibit in the anthropology building that the Cappawaddy was displayed.²³



The building is 415 feet long and 255 feet wide, with a gallery [second floor] 48 feet wide on all sides.²⁴ The entire anthropology building is organized in a grid system to help visitors and exhibitors better navigate the space:

- “The main floor and in the galleries are lettered from A to Y, north to south, and numbered from 1 to 15, east to west. The letter and number following an exhibit in the catalogue mark the column nearest to the exhibit. The sign “J-6” indicates that the exhibit is near the column J-6. How to find exhibitors and their exhibits outlines this again - the rule applies to every exhibit in the anthropological building, whatever its character may be.”²⁵

Knowing the dimensions of the building and the uniformity of the grid, we understand each exhibit square to be 17' x 16.5.' This is a rough approximation as we do not have any information to help us account for walkways through the exhibit.



Plotting Exhibit Locations on Detailed Floor Plan

The Official Catalog describes the location of exhibits within the Anthropology building using the grid system, because of the purpose of the detailed floor plan we made for the booklet it was not advantageous to plot each exhibit. The detailed floor plan is a depiction of general patterns found in the organization of exhibits. However, given the information in *The Official Catalogue* it would be possible to construct a more detailed floor plan of the location of exhibits.

The Official Catalog written for audiences visiting the building describes the general organization of the building:

- “Entering the building through the main door on the northern end, there will be seen near the entrance several small collections illustrating certain points in archaeology and ancient art of Assyria, Egypt...following the side aisle northward is the large and interesting government exhibit from New South Wales, followed by an exhibit from the pacific island. Then come the collective exhibits of Dyer and Ayer, which lead to the special collections made by the department illustrating the ethnology of the northwestern coast of America, Queen Charlotte’s island, and Vancouver.”²⁶
- “Ascending to the gallery the visitor will find the offices of the department in the northwestern corner, and work-rooms and a committee room on the eastern side. Between these rooms and occupying the whole northern gallery are alcoves forming the anthropological laboratories... laboratories are divided into three sections — Physical anthropology, Neurology and psychology...Another alcove is devoted to the Anthropological Library formed by the department...In the western gallery are several historical collections.. Extending the whole length of the southern gallery is the exhibit of Ward’s natural Science establishment of Rochester, New York”²⁷

Further information used in detail floor plan:

- Section of Archaeology describes the 82 archaeology exhibits scattered through the main floor, each description includes the exhibitor, contents of exhibit, and location of exhibit.²⁸ For example: “Ayer, E.E. Chicago. Mexican idols, copper implements obsidian implements, ect. Stone pots, mortars, and implements from California and Colorado. A-9”²⁹
- Section of Ancient Religions, and Games, and Folklores describes its location in the gallery as “exhibits in this section are in Wall and table cases, midway from east to west across the floor of the southern portion of the building R-1, R-15, P-13.”³⁰
- Section of physical anthropology “the exhibits in this section are arranged in a series of laboratories along the northern end of the gallery. The anthropological laboratory begins at Column B-11; the Neurological laboratory, B-8; the psychological laboratory, B-7; the development room, B-5, and the library, B-3.”³¹
- Pages 25 - 34 explains exhibits the location of each national in the anthropology building.
 - The New South Wales exhibit is in H, 13
- More information on the specific items exhibited at the fair by New South Wales can be found in the *The New South Wales Courts*, alongside information on regulations and instructions for exhibitors. This document also confirms the Cappawaddy was in the anthropology building as part of James E. Wolfe’s collection.³²

The New South Wales Building

The New South Wales Courts confirm the Cappawaddy was displayed at the New South Wales exhibit in the anthropology building. However, the New South Wales building also housed exhibits. Although New South Wales was a British Colony and listed in the *Official Catalogue of the British Section* as a colony, organizers and exhibitors afforded British settler colonies like New South Wales and Canada similar treatment to nations.³³ There is little detail on New South Wales exhibits in *The Official Catalogue of the British Section*. Most information on New South Wales is in *The New South Wales Courts*.

Photos of New South Wales at the Fair

Campbell's Illustrated History of the World's Columbian Exposition offers images of the fair, including the New South Wales building and images related to the Anthropology building.³⁴ These images include:

- “Anthropological Building at the World’s Columbian Exposition” (page 430).
- “Interior View of the Anthropological Building, Showing Arrangement of Exhibits from Different Countries” (page 433).
- “New South Wales Building at The World’s Columbian Exposition” (574).

Endnotes

¹ Fleming Holdings from 1893: “Coppawaddy” (1893.1.39 LA)

² Fleming Holdings from 1893: Javanese flutes and pan piper (1893. 1.2 – 1.4 LA), Kwakwaka’wakw totem pole (1893 1.7 LA), Zulu war club (1893 1.95 LA)

³ Fleming Holdings from 1893: “Coppawaddy” (1893.1.39 LA), “Wanda Wanda” (1893.1.45 LA), “Tallywinger” (1893.1.61 LA), “Giaserboer” (1893.1.14 LA + 1893.1.15 LA), “Kulkadoon” (1893.1.65 LA), “Yamoul” (1893.1.37 LA), and “Nindoo” (1893.1.18 LA + 1893.1.19 LA)

⁴ New South Wales. Commissioners for the World's Columbian exposition (1893 : Chicago, I. (1893). *Catalogue of the exhibits in the New South Wales courts*. Sydney: C. Potter. Accessed at:

<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006098386/Home>. Pg. 673; also see George Henry Perkins’ catalogue book held by the Fleming Museum to see names corresponding to the lot of James E. Wolfe.

⁵ *The Maitland Daily Mercury* Saturday 24 October 1896, page 2, titled “**Chicago Exhibition Awards**”

⁶ New South Wales. Commissioners for the World's Columbian exposition (1893 : Chicago, I. (1893). *Catalogue of the exhibits in the New South Wales courts*. Sydney: C. Potter. Accessed at:

<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006098386/Home>. Pg. 673

⁷ All *Maitland Mercury* searches were conducted using the Australian National Library’s digitized collections, *Trove* (<https://trove.nla.gov.au/>); *The Maitland Mercury* Saturday 2 September 1893, page 4, titled “**The Late James Ephraim Wolfe**”. Illustration subtitled “The Late Mr. James E. Wolfe” from *The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser* Saturday 9 September 1893, page 544, titled “**The Late James Ephraim Wolfe**”

⁸ *Ibid*; *The Maitland Mercury* Thursday 29 October 1891, page 3, titled “**The Hunter River New Steam Navigation Company**”. The Hunter River New Steam Navigation Company, of which James E. Wolfe was a director, votes to merge with the Newcastle Steamship Company to form the Newcastle and Hunter River Steamship Company, Limited.. James E. Wolfe is also listed as a potential candidate for the six directors of the new amalgamated company. It should be noted that by 1891 he had already suffered his episode of paralysis and is described as in poor health.

⁹ *The Maitland Mercury* Saturday 2 September 1893, page 4, titled “**The Late James Ephraim Wolfe**”; *The Maitland Mercury* Saturday 2 September 1882, page 4, titled “**Local News**”. James E. Wolfe is listed as a magistrate, set to be in attendance at the West Maitland Police Court on Thursday, September 1882; *The Maitland Mercury* Tuesday 30 October 1877, page 4, titled “**Electorate of West Maitland**”. Notes James E. Wolfe as the “returning-Officer”.

¹⁰ George Robertson & Company. (1896). *Beautiful Sydney (1895-96): including Newcastle, Coalopolis and fertile Maitland*. [Sydney.] Pgs. 224-229, Messrs. Wolfe, Prentice, & Co.’s Establishment: Maitland, New South Wales. (Contributed). Accessed on Haithi Trust: <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006105735/Home>

¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹² *The Maitland Daily Mercury* Monday 8 January 1894, page 2, titled “**The World’s Fair, Chicago**”; *Freeman’s Journal* Saturday 22 July 1893, page 22, titled “**Tobacco-Growing**”

¹³ *The Maitland Mercury* Thursday 1 September 1887, page 5, titled “**The Tobacco Industry at Maitland**”

¹⁴ Centennial International Exhibition (1888-1889 : Melbourne, V. (1888). *The official catalogue of the exhibits: with introductory notices of the countries exhibiting*. Melbourne: M. L. Hutchinson. Pg. 26. Accessed on Haithi Trust: <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100319585>. Lists Wolfe, Gorrick, & Co. as submitting tobacco to the exhibition.

¹⁵ George Robertson & Company. (1896). *Beautiful Sydney (1895-96): including Newcastle, Coalopolis and fertile Maitland*. [Sydney.] Pg. 228, Messrs. Wolfe, Prentice, & Co.'s Establishment: Maitland, New South Wales. (Contributed). Accessed on Haithi Trust: <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006105735/Home>; *The Maitland Daily Mercury* Thursday 29 August 1895, page 2, titled “**Northern Agricultural Association: Twenty-seventh Exhibition**”

¹⁶ *The Maitland Mercury* Saturday 10 August 1895, page 10, titled “**Reminiscences of Maitland and the District**”.

¹⁷ Fiona Starr for Maitland City Library, ‘Armed to Defend: Maitland’s Citizen Soldiers Sign Up’, story date: 21 April 2022, <https://storyplace.org.au/story/armed-to-defend/>, accessed on: 17 October 2024; *New South Wales Government Gazette* Thursday 29 November 1860, page 2331, titled “**Rules and Regulations of the West Maitland Volunteer Rifles**”; Portrait of W. J. Sloan and A. Wilkonson, circa 1860, accessed at

<https://collections.maitland.nsw.gov.au/objects/7815/portrait-of-w-j-sloan-and-a-wilkinson>

¹⁸ Kilsby, A. (2014). *The Rifle Club Movement and Australian Defence 1860-1941* (Doctoral dissertation, UNSW Sydney); Kilsby, A. J. *The Riflemen: A History of the National Rifle Association of Australia 1888-1988*. White paper accessed at <https://nraa.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/The-Riflemen-A-History-of-the-NRA-of-Australia-1888-1988.pdf>

¹⁹ Quote from Kilsby, A. (2014). *The Rifle Club Movement and Australian Defence 1860-1941* (Doctoral dissertation, UNSW Sydney), pg. 1.

²⁰ Ibid, pgs. 2-5

²¹ Ibid, pg. 11

Further sources on James E. Wolfe

- (1893). Letter: Inspector Metropolitan Sale Yards advising of breach of by-laws by Mr James Wolfe, salesman. City of Sydney Archives. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/245144071?keyword=james%20wolfe>
- (n.d.). Memorial plaque for James Ephraim Wolfe. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/236993143?keyword=james%20wolfe> and <https://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/people/industry/display/114831-james-ephraim-wolfe/>
- (1869). N.S.W: Robert Dines v. James E. Wolfe (54 pp), 1869, (File Vol. 92/4), (from Records of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (as filmed by the AJCP)). <https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/235454013?keyword=james%20wolfe>
- Gibbs, Shallard, and Co., Printers and Engravers, Sydney, *West Maitland, N.S.W., and its leading commercial buildings, 1878* (7th September 1878), [M6939]. Living Histories, accessed 08/10/2024, <https://livinghistories.newcastle.edu.au/nodes/view/89134>

²² *Official Catalogue of Exhibits and Descriptive Catalogue World’s Columbian Exposition Department M. Anthropological Building, Midway Plaisance and Isolated Exhibits*, Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893.

²³ *World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. Catalogue of the Exhibits in the New South Wales Courts*, Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, Phillip-Streety (673).

²⁴ *Official Catalogue of Exhibits...* (11).

²⁵ *Official Catalogue of Exhibits...* (3).

²⁶ *Official Catalogue of Exhibits...* (11-12).

²⁷ *Official Catalogue of Exhibits...* (12-13).

²⁸ *Official Catalogue of Exhibits...* (15-18).

²⁹ *Official Catalogue of Exhibits...* (15)

³⁰ *Official Catalogue of Exhibits...* (19)

³¹ *Official Catalogue of Exhibits...* (20).

³² *World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. Catalogue of the Exhibits in the New South Wales Courts*, Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, Phillip-Streety (673).

³³ *Royal Commission For The Chicago Exhibition 1893: Official Catalogue of the British Section*, London: William Clowes & Sons, 1893 (xxvii).

³⁴ *Campbell’s Illustrated History of the World’s Columbian Exposition, Volume I*. Chicago: J.B. Campbelle, 1994.