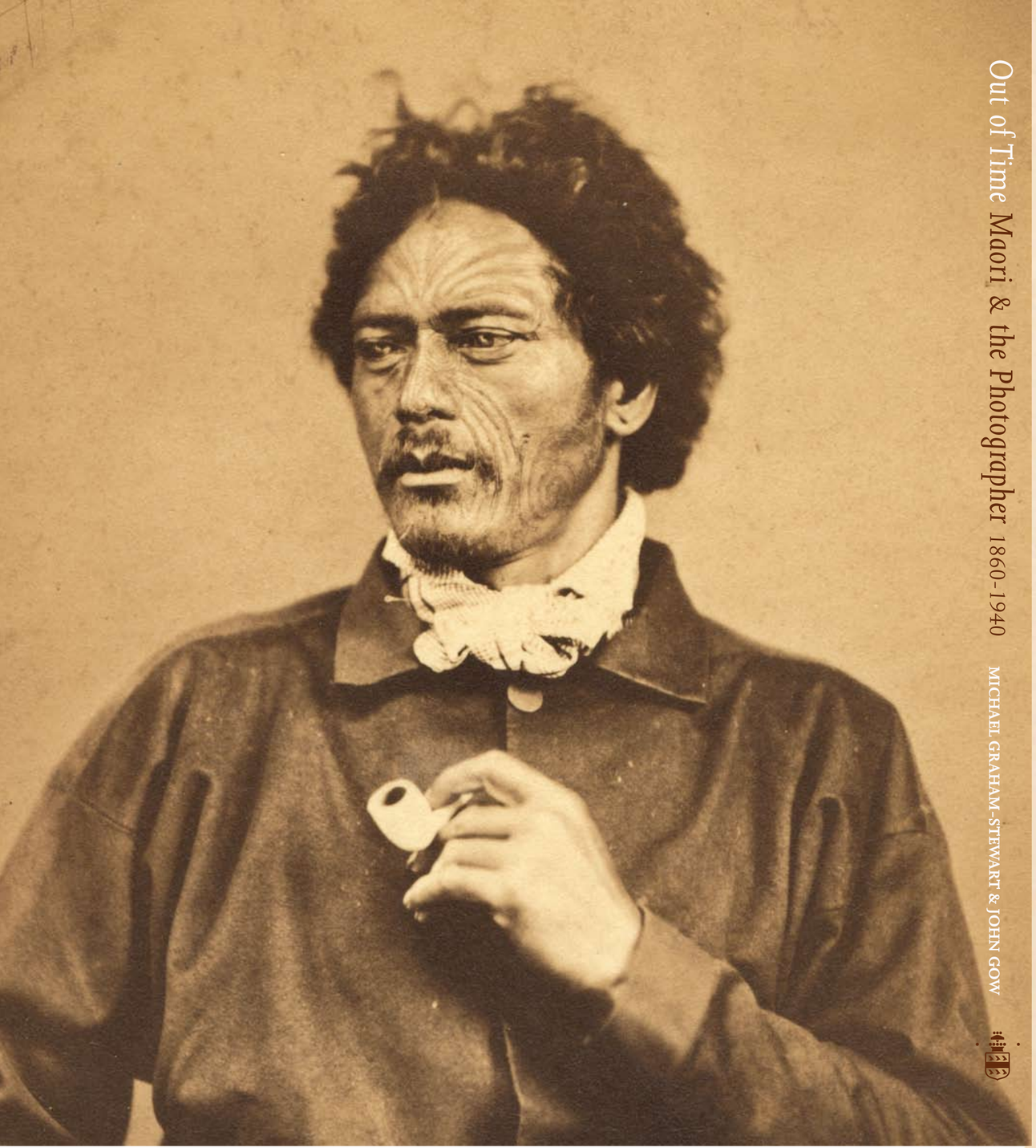

Out of Time Maori & the Photographer 1860-1940

MICHAEL GRAHAM-STEWART & JOHN GOW

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THE NGAWINI COOPER TRUST COLLECTION

Out of Time

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Maori & the Photographer 1860–1940

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Michael Graham-Stewart
John Gow

JOHN LEECH GALLERY

Dustjacket, front
Arthur Iles
portrait
(page 93)

Buckram image
From the title page of *Maoriland Booklet*, James Drummond, Whitcombe and Tombs, Wellington, 1907.

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Portrait
(page 23)

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Preface

Considering the volume of material written about New Zealand and Maori history and culture it is surprising how little there is published on photography for the period up to World War Two. In fact without the work of three individuals, Hardwicke Knight, William Main and John Turner, the corpus would indeed be insignificant. Perhaps photography has suffered from being the Cinderella of the arts even in a country so proud of its own artists. As elsewhere in the world, collectors and commercial galleries have focused on the more easily accessible contemporary works to the detriment of historic material. Small, apparently black and white, images are hard to present as major works of art. Also, the subject matter can overpower aesthetic considerations. In the words of Peter Turner (1999, p. 65) 'photography stands at an intersection between art, science and communications'. This is not the place to debate when a photograph becomes art rather than say documentary — the aim of this volume is to present a chronological sequence of photographs, shown unmanipulated and with enough information to illuminate the moment of exposure.

This collection is a not a survey (for this see William Main's seminal 1976 *Maori in Focus*) but a selection compiled from material that has resurfaced over the last fifteen years. Most of it has been acquired in Britain, that extraordinary repository of all things colonial, and is returning to New Zealand through the good offices of the Ngawini Cooper Trust.

Enlargement of photograph on page 85

Acknowledgements

Roger Blackley, John B.Turner and Roger Neich have been extraordinarily generous with their time and advice. Keith Giles at the Auckland City Library continues to add to his online Photographers Index — the single most useful non-visual tool for researching historic New Zealand photography. Perhaps one day this can be linked to the reservoirs of photographs that lie unscanned in museum and library storerooms.

Assistance with the captions has also been provided by Libby Sharpe, Lissa Mitchell, Shelley Jahnke-Bishop, Lyonel Grant, Ron Keam, Dave Simmons, Bob Maysmoor, Michael King, Keith Sorrenson, Don Stafford, John Perry, Gordon Maitland, Pat McGrath, Ken Hall, Ross Millar, Jonathan Dickson and Monty Soutar. Serge Kakou inadvertently suggested the title.

Good second-hand booksellers are crucial to a project of this nature. The advice of Maud (Jasons Books), Heather (Dominion Books) and Brian (Moa Hunter) has been invaluable. Parsons, with their remarkable inventory, has also been a wonderful resource.

The wise counsel of and input from Anna O'Loughlin has been vital to the compilation process. Thank you to Camilla Baskcomb for conservation, Sjoerd at Labtec for scanning, Doug at John Leech Framing and to Martin Schänzel for his attention to detail during the printing process.

In the UK, thank you to Deborah Greenhalgh, Pierre Spake, Hugh Bett, also to Jill Graham-Stewart and Claire Spake for proof-reading. The challenges of the design and vacillations of the writer have been ably managed by Anna Brown.

Detail of photograph
on page 49

Detail of photograph on page 89

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Introduction

‘…no image is born innocent.’

(Barry Barclay)[1]

Today we are saturated with sophisticated imagery, so much so that our attention span diminishes. We flick from page to page, channel to channel. Everywhere some unknown agency is vying for our attention. We have by necessity become glib, mentally and physically deleting the majority of visual stimuli that confronts us. It has been a gradual process to the digital age, preceded by television, illustrated magazines and the advent of technologies enabling multiple printed reproductions. It was not always thus — back in the 1860s, when the first of these photographs were taken there was still a magic in the medium, and the only other way to vicariously experience the rest of the world was from drawn or verbal accounts.

At this date photographs were produced in New Zealand for an audience who were predominantly British. Immigration on a large-scale began from the 1840s, so for the rest of the century most of the settlers were first or second generation. The photographs that have survived from this era give us an idea of the range of what was taken. It appears that the primary business was for portraiture, much of which was mailed to the extended families back in Britain. Landscape was a more demanding genre, taking a larger share of the overall output once dry-plate technology became available in about 1880. The other advance that had an important local bearing was the invention of the carte-de-visite format. These were small and inexpensive paper prints, produced in quantities that widened the consumer base. Collecting cards of royalty and of anyone else considered interesting became fashionable. The exotic inhabitants of Empire were inevitably in demand. Not that traffic was entirely one way,

Kamariera Te Hautakiri Wharepapa collected a carte-de-visite of Queen Victoria in Warwick, during his visit to England in 1863.

Photographers, as businesses, had to produce what their extended public wanted to buy. There would have been competition to find willing Maori with the most pronounced tattoos and dress them in apparel they may themselves had long since discarded. It is impossible from this distance to determine the size of the trade in nineteenth century images of Maori but from the volume that continues to surface on to the art and collectors markets abroad, one can assume it was significant. Firms like Pulman and Co and the American Photographic Company specialised in this material. Negatives originally exposed in the 1860s were still being printed from in the twentieth century. Cheap, lithographed postcards expanded the audience further from about 1900. The Government had by then got involved in the business, buying the plates from Pulman and Co and commissioning its own photographers to perpetuate a vision of Maori that had first been created half a century earlier. This stereotype became embedded in the way New Zealand was perceived, a static constant in a fast changing country.

The authorities realised the power of and need for the tourist dollar at an early stage, acquiring land, including the best hot springs, in Rotorua in the early 1880s. New Zealand was the first country to create a specific state organisation (the Department of Tourism and Health Resorts in 1901). Maori were an integral part of the image which was carefully fostered yet still appeared as an innocent celebration of New Zealand's peoples and landscape. The current *100% Pure NZ* campaign is the latest in a long series of officially sponsored strategies aimed at maintaining New Zealand's image as being an unspoilt and safe oasis on a troubled planet. Some of these photographs have played their part in this clever piece of marketing. What has been called 'a distant farm for Britain' or the 'Scotland of the South' was also promoted as having its own exotic population.

The reality is, of course, a little more complicated. The land itself is far from virgin. Almost every tree in the once majestic kauri forests has been felled. 'Production of indigenous timber peaked in 1953 at 1.7 million cubic metres'[2]. Ninety per cent of the original marshlands have been drained and sections of the flora and fauna decimated by the careful introduction of foreign species. The Acclimatisation Societies responsible intended to mould the environment to mirror that of the mother country.

One would have little idea of what Maori experienced in the period of intense European colonisation from looking at the photographic record. In the years from 1860 to 1901 Maori numbers halved and fell from fifty to less than ten per cent of the population. Many of the subjects of this book had been alive when the total of Pakeha residents was in the hundreds. However, the greatest change for Maori was brought about by the consequences of the loss of ancestral land.

'Land is a clan's inalienable resource, without it one dies spiritually'[3]. For disenfranchised people resentment lies just below the surface. The processes by which the land was lost to the new colonisers — confiscation, conquest and the more subtle quasi-legal tactics of individuating title and mortgaging — are exhaustively documented in the works of Professor Keith (M.P.K.) Sorrenson. Settlements addressing these past abuses are an ongoing process but the scars of what was effectively social disintegration will remain. The picture painted by the Tourist Department and disseminated in the mass of postcards and illustrations bore little similarity to the situation on the ground. Portrayed as a sideshow, Maori remained a predominantly rural population until about 1940, generally occupying marginal land. As Keith Sinclair observed in 1953: 'The two peoples have succeeded in finding a way of living in harmony. They live apart'[4].

To extrapolate a broad picture of Maori life from these photographs is a process that needs to be approached with caution. The moment of exposure is in itself an aberration from normal life not least as the photographer was invariably of European descent. We are not dealing with stolen snapshots but considered, posed situations that distract us from consciousness of what is not shown. Absences should be noted as much as what is visible. For technical reasons the only early interior views are in photographers studios with exposure times limiting the range of subjects covered outside. From the late nineteenth century equipment got lighter and faster but there were

Detail of photograph on page 109

Detail of photograph on page 127

few pioneering photographers willing to supply a non-existent demand for documentary-style photographs of remote areas and communities. It was in no-ones interests to show what living conditions were like in dispossessed Waikato settlements. No photographer would think of recording the devastating effects of recurring tuberculosis outbreaks or the wave of influenza epidemics that followed the end of the First World War.

A disproportionate number of photographs record the inhabitants and attractions of the Rotorua area which was the prime interface for encounters between Maori and visitors. The Arawa people aligned themselves in the new order by exploiting the demand for access to the wonders of the thermal area. They were labeled as 'penny divers' by the Waikato tribes for whom the land confiscations of the 1860s continued to cast a shadow over integration issues. For them the Kingitanga movement remained crucial to their struggles while the Young Maori Party, led by Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck and Maui Pomare, favoured working through the State system.

As Maori adapted they adopted photography, although interestingly we have not traced any professional photographers of Maori descent operating in this period. Documentary evidence is also lacking to verify that Maori commissioned portraits from the first photographers. The most likely scenario is that photographers encouraged sitters by giving them copies of the prints. Unrestricted use of the negative after this appears to have been standard behaviour which may have contributed to suspicion of the medium. Surreptitiously taken drawings of leaders, such as Te Whiti, circulated using photography as the reproductive mechanism, are now an integral part of Maori heritage[5]. There is evidence from about 1890 of the use of photographs of the deceased at funeral ceremonies. Coverage of the tangi for Dame Te Atairangikaahu, the Maori Queen, showed her lying in state with photographs of all the six Maori monarchs as well as Te Puea and Sir Hepi Te Heuheu: 'Throughout the afternoon, loud and proud male voices acknowledged their dead forefathers before the large, ever increasing crowd. The men often gestured toward the eight large photographs displayed on the wall behind Dame Te Ata's casket'[6].

The Maori way of dealing with death offers an insight into a subtly different view of photographs of people and highlights how the past is inextricably part of the present. It is not a different country. A tangi can last for three days or more during which time the open coffin is kept on the marae, constantly attended by the family, and subject to orations and visits. Memory of the deceased is cherished and added to the roll call of ancestors (whakapapa) that most Maori are able to recite. Intimate knowledge of the past and those who peopled it is an essential part of this culture. Photographs of ancestors become treasured taonga and are displayed in meeting houses. Taonga represents, in the words of Amiria Henare, the 'connective tissue between generations'[7].

The camera is sometimes likened to the gun as an instrument of colonial repression. Certainly it can be used, often unwittingly, to establish and re-enforce a stereotypical view of a people. Not only do the visitors write the history but they also get to take the photographs. No doubt many of the photographers, like James McDonald, empathised with their subjects while some perhaps saw Maori as simply a saleable commodity. All were of course products of their time, reflecting contemporary attitudes about race. Thomas Donne, the first Superintendent of the Tourist Department, offers us a sense of prevailing sentiment with the title of his 1927 publication: *The Maori past and present: an account of a highly attractive people, their doubtful origin, their customs and ways of living, art, methods of warfare, hunting and other characteristics, mental and physical.*

Although what photographs show is real, or rather actual, they are the end product of a long series of choices, mostly taken by the photographer. As much is revealed about the photographers as their models. Photographs are surprisingly complex documents with more embedded within them than at first meets the eye. Their meaning changes as time passes and also depending on who is looking at them — they are after all a three way dialogue between the subject, the taker and the viewer.

Many of the conclusions we now make about these photographs rely on our assumptions about the circumstances in which they were taken, a process not aided by the lack of primary evidence needed to bring

the encounters to life. Account books and diaries have disappeared with only occasional memoirs, such as Alfred Burton's account of his King Country trip, surviving to help us. Most of these photographs exist because they were saleable, a commodity in a country not over endowed with natural resources. It was easy to refer to a timeless romantic past that never existed, adorning its people in the photographer's ubiquitous stock-in-trade of feather cloaks and 'ceremonial' weapons. The subjects were rarely in a position to exert control as to how they were portrayed and the result was a perception evolved and nurtured by the photographers. Nevertheless Maori confounded those who said the race was doomed and some of these images bear witness to how they manipulated their position to their advantage. Behind the façade of apparently passive Maori participation lie stories that reveal how much more there is to see. Reihana Te Taukawau in London in 1863 voiced his concerns about the British view that Maori would be 'exterminated' to Queen Victoria herself. At her Jubilee in London in 1897, Tunuiarangi, the commander of the Maori contingent, publicly took his appeal for compensation for lands expropriated to the very core of the colonial power while outside his men were being photographed in modern and 'traditional' uniform.

For Maori to retain their identity, dignity and culture in the face of such adversity is a tribute to the inherent strength of the family and tribal system. These photographs are a living memory of all the named and anonymous individuals within them — it is through their eyes that they should be experienced.

Detail of photograph on page 63

following spread: detail of photograph on page 51

1. Barclay, 2005, p.13.
2. Young, 2004, p.151.
3. Huffman, 2006.
4. Sinclair, 1953, p. 289.
5. Blackley, 2005, pp. 39–40.
6. O'Rourke, Simon, *New Zealand Herald*, 17 August 2006, p. 1.
7. Henare, 2005, p. 47

Attributed to
John Crombie
(1827–1878)

portrait
circa 1860

140 x 114 mm
albumen print

To the old folks at home, no present can be more acceptable than a Photography of those who, from a spirit of enterprise or a love of adventure have placed half the globe between them and their hearths.

Crombie's advertisement in the *Hawke's Bay Herald* in September 1858 is typical of his modus operandi. A tireless self-promoter, he can be credited with raising the status of photographer in the colony from artisan to artist. After two years of working in Canterbury, Nelson and Wellington he arrived in Napier on the *Wongawonga* on 16 August 1858. He stayed for just over a month before returning to Auckland where he remodelled his Shortland Street premises which he had named 'Crombie's Royal Photographic Gallery' after gaining endorsement from Governor Gore-Brown.

Trained as an engineer in Glasgow, he emigrated to Australia in 1852 where he worked for the Melbourne-based photographers, Meade Brothers. He opened his Auckland studio in 1855 and claimed to have taken over a thousand portraits in the fifteen months before his tour of the provinces. In 1856 he sent twelve daguerreotypes, with commentary by the Government Interpreter, Charles Davis, to the *Illustrated London News* for possible publication. Davis would have proved a useful middleman in negotiating access to important Maori as he enjoyed a close relationship with several Waikato chiefs, which later caused him to be charged with seditious libel by the colonial authorities. The *I.L.N.* published a portrait, based on a Crombie paper print, of the loyalist Chief Tamati Waka Nene (19 Jan. 1861, illustrated in Main, 1976, p. 10).

At this date photographic processes were rapidly evolving and Crombie left for Britain in 1862, announcing in the *Southern Cross* of 6 May:

I arrived among you very imperfect in my profession, and am conscious still of my many shortcomings, being, as far as photography is concerned entirely Colonial-bred. I am very anxious to acquire that knowledge which is to be had at the fountain head.

Crombie married in England and returned, with his wife, to New Zealand in 1864. Judging from the size of his investments in property and gold mining, he continued to enjoy commercial success. He exploited the growing fashion for collecting carte-de-visite images and also photographed important outdoor events. His departure for England in 1872 was marked with a final flamboyant gesture, a farewell ball at the City Hall. He died in Melbourne seven years later while en route to Auckland to supervise his investments.

Attributed to
John Crombie
(1827–1878)

King of Tairoa
circa 1860

title as inscribed on the original album page

192 x 153 mm
albumen print

Queen of Tairoa
circa 1860

title as inscribed on the original album page

150 x 98 mm
albumen print

These photographs were perhaps taken at the Kohimaramara conference of 1860, called by the government at the outset of the Taranaki war. Te Matenga Taiaroa (died 1863) undertook to negotiate between the two sides, a role far from the image he had of an aggressive warrior chief known for his antipathy to Europeans. Born in the central South Island, he had clashed with whalers on the *Sophia* apparently in retaliation for an earlier incident involving stolen preserved heads. He exploited the demand for dressed flax to trade for muskets and used his superior arms to dominate his neighbours. He was involved in several actions against Te Rauparaha in the 1830s and travelled to Sydney in 1838 where he sold more land, including the Banks Peninsula.

The inter-tribal fighting coupled with the spread of European diseases rapidly depopulated the eastern coastal regions of the South Island. Taiaroa sold the Otago block in 1848 and four years later all his land in Canterbury and Otago to the government for two thousand pounds. His name appears on the Treaty of Waitangi but not his signature. He was baptised on 3 April 1859 and married Kararaina on the same day, the last of his many wives.

Frederick Tuckett, Wakefield's surveyor, who had negotiated the Otago sale, described Taiaroa as tyrannous and avaricious. Stephen Oliver described him as follows: 'A strongly built man of middle height, he had an aggressive disposition; a weakness for alcohol gravely affected his health.' (Oliver, 2006). However, as Bernard Foster observes (McLintock, 1966, 1.342) the European view of Taiaroa was formed 'when his long association with the whalers at Otakou station was beginning to show its effects.'

John Beattie
(active Clifton
1860–1868)

New Zealand Chiefs come on a mission to England, and met at various houses by L.A. Pease
1. Raihana Tukarawa
2. Paratene te Manu
3. Wharepapa
4. Horomona Te Atua ("Solomon the God")
5. Takerei
6. Hapimana

titles as inscribed on the reverse, with printed photographer's particulars

each 97 x 60 mm
carte de visite
albumen prints

On 18 May 1863, a party of thirteen Maori accompanied by William Jenkins landed in London. Most were of high rank and they toured Britain for almost a year. Jenkins, a cabinet-maker, lay preacher and Government Interpreter, had put a thousand pounds of his own money into the project with a similar amount gathered from associates. The motives were muddled but mainly philanthropic and the whole venture was put together in New Zealand with the tacit approval of Governor George Grey. At a time of unrest (fighting resumed in Taranaki on 4 June 1863) the intention was to show important Maori chiefs Britain and for the British to meet Maori. To defray expenses, Jenkins was to give lectures which would be illustrated by the Maori.

There was concern from the government and organisations such as the Aborigines' Protection Society that the Maori were being exploited. Coincidentally, a troupe advertising themselves as the 'Maori Chiefs' was appearing in London theatres at the same time. However, it was clear that Jenkins's group was of an altogether more serious nature and a series of meetings was arranged with royalty, culminating in an audience with Queen Victoria at Osborne House, on the Isle of Wight. The Duke of Cambridge invited them to visit the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich. They met the Bishop of London at Fulham Palace and were taken around the House of Lords by the Earl of Shaftesbury.

A tour of the country followed, with a month spent in Bristol and Bath. Huge crowds attended their public appearances but the project was always on the point of financial ruin. Jenkins had agreed not to exhibit his charges but nevertheless some dances, rituals and even cooking methods were demonstrated in traditional dress. Reihana complained:

…In New Zealand I never liked the mat [cloak] - before I knew Jenkins I disliked any sort of mats for mostly they are many years old; being not much made now, the things are nasty, they are filled with vermin…(Mackrell, 1985, p. 53)

The *Bristol Mercury* of 3 October 1863 reported that three thousand persons attended their appearance at the Zoological Gardens, 'the carte de visite of the chiefs and also their autographs were in great demand amongst the ladies.' Kamariera Te Wharepapa wrote in a letter to Miss Selwyn, dated 29 January 1864 :

They [Jenkins and his backers] thought the money would flow like water when people saw the Maori. But it was far from correct. I am cautious… this our Englishman adopts two plans. He sells our photographs. We were tempted to have our portraits taken for this. It was done thus: 'The Prince [of Wales] wishes to have your photograph taken' this was done in all the towns to which we came. 'The chief man of this town wishes to have your photographs'. All the time he did it for sale. (ibid, p. 73)

Most of the party sailed for home on 4 April 1864. An impoverished William Jenkins, denied a government pension, died in 1867 in Wanganui, survived by his wife and eleven children. Paratene Te Manu died soon after his eviction from Little Barrier (the island was being turned into a bird reserve) in 1895. Kamariera Te Wharepapa married Elizabeth Reid before leaving England. They had their first child, Maria Good Hope, on the voyage home. After many years and four more daughters (one of whom, Mary Faith, married the painter Thomas Ryan) in Northland, they separated and Elizabeth moved to Parnell, Auckland. Kamariera was painted by Goldie and died in 1919.

For a full account of this episode refer to Mackrell, 1985, and Parker, 1987, pp. 43–101.

Fairs and Steel
(active 1863–1864)

portrait

'Fairs and Steel, Photographers, Auckland' printed on the reverse

92 x 61 mm
carte de visite
albumen print

The partnership comprised Thomas Armstrong Fairs and George Albert Steel. Advertisements for Fairs and Steel began to appear in the New Zealander in October 1863, in the Southern Cross in November 1863, and in the New Zealand Herald in December 1863 and January 1864. These informed the public that they had purchased 'the whole of the Negatives taken by Messrs. Davis and Rayner', and could provide reprints at the same prices as their predecessors. Orders and appointments were to be left at 'Mr. Pulman's, Draughtsman' in Shortland Street, whose office was more immediately accessible than the Grafton Road address. New, 'more commodious' premises were opened in Wellesley Street at the end of 1864, but the move coincided with Fairs's death on 29 December 1864. Steel appears to have continued the business for a short time as adverts appeared until at least April 1865, and the firm exhibited at the Dunedin New Zealand Exhibition in (January-May) 1865. (Giles, 2006)

Unidentified photographer

Mina Makata, Half Cast Maorie
circa 1865

title as inscribed on the reverse

90 x 62 mm
carte de visite
albumen print
watercolour

Based on the idea of a pictorial visiting card, the carte-de-visite format became popular from the early 1860s. They could be purchased loose or glued to thick and often imprinted card. Sometimes called album or visiting cards, they became the next collecting craze after the more expensive stereoscopic material, and provided photographers with a significant source of revenue. Their popularity continued until around 1900 with the larger cabinet cards never having the same mass appeal. Portraits of Queen Victoria and her family by John Mayall were especially popular in Britain and its colonies, both in original and pirated form, with prices dropping to a few shillings a dozen. Apart from images of royalty and celebrities, there was also a demand for the exotic inhabitants of the empire and it is easy to see how Maori exerted a particular fascination, with the tattoos and striking apparel suiting this type of photograph. The size of the carte was ideal for a single figure or head. Sullivan (1990, p. 74) records how the negatives of Samuel Carnell, the Napier photographer, show a steady deterioration from long term commercial usage. Sullivan also points out that Carnell was allowed to heighten the effect of the moko by careful application of greasepaint, noting that other photographers would achieve similar effects by manipulating the negative with the implication that not all had the same relationship with their subjects.

James Wrigglesworth
(1836–1906)

Epuni Hutt
circa 1865

title as inscribed on the mount. 'J.D. Wrigglesworth, Wellington, N.Z.' printed on the reverse

92 x 58 mm
carte de visite
albumen print

Eliza Porirua
circa 1865

92 x 58 mm
carte de visite
albumen print

Swan and Wrigglesworth
(active 1863–1866)

In Pawhakairo Pah, Hawkes Bay New Zealand
circa 1865

title as inscribed on the reverse. 'Swan and Wrigglesworth Photographers, Wellington and Napier, New Zealand' printed on the reverse

60 x 99 mm
carte de visite
albumen print

Honiana Te Puni-kokopu (died 1870), a Te Ati Awa chief, was originally from Taranaki but, due to fears of attack from the Waikato tribes, had migrated with his people in the early 1830s to the area that became Wellington. Earlier he and his cousin, Te Wharepouri, had secured the permanent services of two European sailors from the trading schooner Adventure, the first mate Richard Barrett and the Captain Jacky Love, by offering them Maori wives. Barrett in particular had a colourful and well-documented life as an entrepreneur between the two cultures before he drowned in a whaling accident in 1847. One of the few extant daguerreotypes of Maori, in the collection of the Taranaki Museum, shows his two daughters Sarah and Caroline (illustrated in King, 1983, p. 7 and Main, 1976, p. 7).

When William Wakefield arrived in Wellington on the Tory in 1839 with the first of his New Zealand Company emigrants he found Te Puni a willing seller of land, not all of which he had title to. Despite the inevitable problems engendered by what amounted to an invasion, Te Puni stayed loyal to Wakefield, even affording him military protection, and was a pallbearer at his funeral in 1848. He was a friend of Governor Grey and his own funeral was a state affair with full military honours. Grateful settlers named the suburb of Epuni in Lower Hutt after him.

Wrigglesworth opened his own studio in Wellington in 1863. He then went into partnership with George Swan, an arrangement which terminated in 1866. His next business venture with Frederick Binns (Wrigglesworth and Binns) outlived both of the founders and continued trading, mainly in portraits, until 1937, with branches in Christchurch, Timaru and Dunedin.

The unusual painted structure on the right is probably a tomb, the whole of which is shown in a later photograph (Neich, 1993, p. 44).

George Henry Swan (1833–1913) was a trained chemist who came to NZ via Australia in 1857. After a brief partnership with William Davis in Wellington, he joined James Wrigglesworth in Swan and Wrigglesworth, running the Napier branch of the firm, before taking over in his own name when the partnership dissolved in 1866. He sold out to Samuel Carnell in 1870 after acquiring a controlling interest in the White Swan Brewery. He was Mayor of Napier from 1885 to 1901, and represented Napier in the House of Representatives 1880–1893. He resided in Wanganui 1904–1913. (Giles, 2006)

The Alexander Turnbull Library holds the negative for this image. It was amongst the two hundred and fifty glass plates donated by a descendant of Samuel Carnell in 1963 and therefore presumed to have been taken by him. However, it would have been part of the stock-in-trade sold by Swan in 1870.

Batt and Richards
(active 1872–1873)

Group of Maori girls outside Whare
circa 1865

title as inscribed on the reverse and printed with 'Batt and Richards, Photographers, Wellington, N.Z.'

56 x 91mm
carte de visite
albumen print

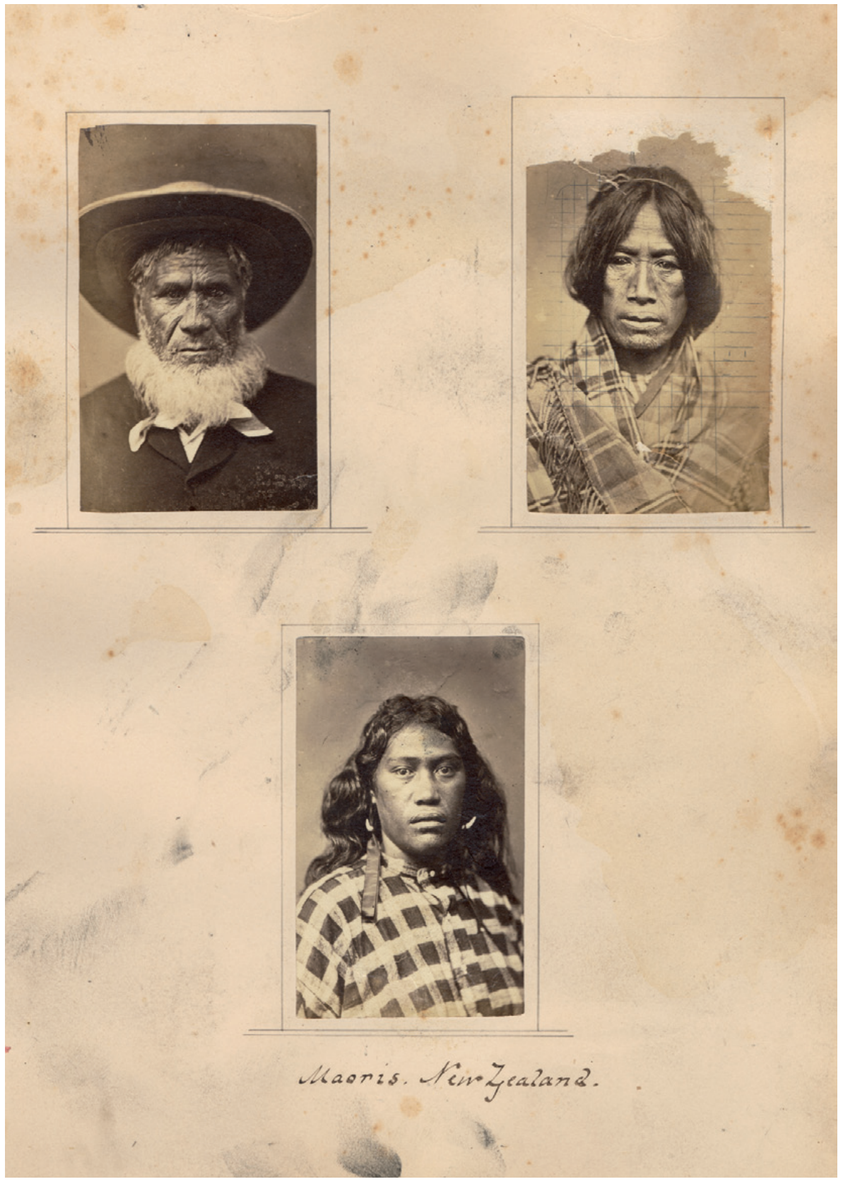
see Main (1976, p. 14) for a variant

Unidentified photographer(s)

Maoris. New Zealand
circa 1865

title as inscribed on the original album page

92 x 59, 90 x 60,
91 x 56 mm
carte de visite
albumen prints



Attributed to
Herbert Deveril
(1840–1911)

Maori study
circa 1870

'637' imprinted bottom right, '37' inscribed on the reverse

193 x 140mm
albumen print

See Turner (1970, cat. no. 84) for two related but larger images. One of these is illustrated by Main (1976, p. 41) who states it was taken for the New Zealand Government display at the 1876 Philadelphia Exhibition. It appears that thirty seven (16 by 12 inch) Deveril photographs were sent, four of which were of Maori. Nude or partially nude Maori imagery is rare compared to the incidence in photography of other indigenous peoples, even in this aestheticised form. Alfred Burton famously tried (without success) to coerce 'a buxom lass' called Matarene on his King Country trip to pose 'all same Samoan' by showing her photographs from his recent Pacific trip (Burton Brothers, 1885, p. 15). Josiah Martin later complained that in Fiji the 'natives' wanted to be taken 'all same as missionary' (Martin, Oct. 1909, p. 3). There was an obvious demand in Victorian Britain for photographs, tolerated as ethnographically authentic, that revealed more than would normally be permitted.

Deveril's advertisement in the *Guide to Wellington and District* of 1882 reads: 'Patronised by His Excellency the Marquis of Normanby, Deveril the Photographer, Cuba St. Cartes-de-Visite from 7/6 a dozen. Babies Instantanteously. Trams stop at the Door.' Later that year he filed for bankruptcy. From the sparse biographical detail it is possible to assume he was a photographer who never found fortune from his art. He arrived in Wellington from Australia in 1873, with his wife and five children, to take charge of the Photolithographic Department of the Colony. He took photographs for the Ministry of Works which, as mentioned above, were sent to the Philadelphia Exhibition. He opened his own studio in 1879 which apparently soon failed, as the stock-in-trade was sold to pay debts in May of the same year. He then worked briefly for James Bragge and eventually moved to Auckland.

Daniel Mundy
(circa 1829–1881)

Kowitis Rununga House, Waioneo, Bay of Islands.
[Kawiti, Runanga and Waiomio]
circa 1870

title as inscribed on the reverse. Also with '50. Group of Natives, N.Z.' and stamped 'D.L. Mundy New Zealand Copyright'

184 x 242 mm
albumen print

It is said that the house is an ancestral body, with the ridge-pole as its spine, the koruru *mask at the gable as its head, bargeboards as arms spread wide in welcome, rafters as ribs ending in carved ancestor posts, and the interior as the belly where hosts and visitors can sleep in warmth and safety. (Anne Salmond, in Edwards, 1992, p. 228)*

Mundy was born in Wiltshire, England. Exactly when he arrived in New Zealand is unknown but he was working as a bookseller in Christchurch in 1855. In 1864 he bought the photographic business of William Meluish in Dunedin, but was back in Christchurch a year or two later. Here he worked as a portraitist and for Julius von Haast at the museum. An engraving of this institution entitled *Musée Zoologique de la Nouvelle Zélande* after a photograph by Mundy appears in an 1868 edition of *L'Univers Illustré*. He began to concentrate on landscape photography and for four years made multiple expeditions the length and breadth of the country from his home in Port Chalmers. His experiences as an itinerant photographer are graphically described in a lecture he gave to the Photographic Society of London in 1874, published in the *Photographic News* of 18 December. This talk, a blend of anecdote and technical information, offers a rare insight into the harsh realities of the working life of an itinerant photographer:

I was ten days on the banks of the Otira River, during a heavy fall of snow, hail and sleet, before I dare attempt to cross; it was so flooded with ice-cold water coming down from the Alps. I frequently had to ford one river many times, on one occasion no less than twenty-three times; sometimes we had to drive the horses in to the rivers and swim them over, heading them to the most convenient landing, and then had to ride many miles wet to the skin before finding a convenient place for camping down for the night. (Mundy, 1874, p. 602)

Mundy also records how 'under favourable circumstances' the time needed to unload his two pack-horses, set up his tent darkroom, sensitise the plate and complete the exposure was forty five minutes. Additionally, the wet collodion system required pure water which in locations such as the Pink and White Terraces was problematic, the closest source being three kilometres away.

While in Europe, Mundy organised the 1875 publication of *Rotomahana*, or the *Boiling Springs of New Zealand*, illustrated with sixteen of his photographs, reproduced by the autotype method, and priced at two guineas (forty two shillings). He was made a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and in 1875 moved to Australia. Recorded as working in Sydney in 1880, he died in Victoria the following year.

Daniel Mundy
(circa 1827–1881)

Study of a Flax Bush with Native Boy on the Wairere River
1869

'Mundy NZ' imprinted bottom left. 'D.L Mundy New Zealau' blind stamped lower left and on the mount

240 x 194 mm
albumen print

The Auckland Museum copy is captioned 'Hokianga, Phormium Tenax, or Flax Bush, a study'

'Mundy made a number of photographs of this native flax mill on the Hokianga Harbour in 1869.' (Main, 1976, p.97). These are itemised in the list of photographs by Mundy in the Hancox Collection (*Déja View*, Nov. 2003 p.12). This image is among the autotype prints illustrating *Wonderland of the Antipodes* (Ernest Tinne, 1873) and bears Mundy's title as above.

Flax fibre was important in nineteenth century New Zealand as one of the few renewable export commodities. At the time of this photograph, around six thousand tons were being exported annually. By then machinery was available to replace the lengthy manual dressing process. Valuable primarily for rope manufacture, the potential had been noted by Captain Cook. Maori were familiar with over sixty varieties. It was a substitute for the tapa cloth sourced from paper mulberry plant that preferred Polynesian climes. Two Maori were taken to Norfolk Island in 1793 to teach Europeans how to dress the fibre and soon Sydney traders (and missionaries such as Marsden) were encouraging the industry and shipping the cargoes on to London. Trading dressed flax became the easiest way to obtain muskets:

One ton of phormium fibre was demanded by the European traders for one or two muskets. Inland tribes, unable to barter flax at the ports, would exchange slaves for muskets with tribes already in possession of firearms; three to five slaves for a musket, the slaves being of value as flax dressers. The need for huge quantities of fibre, together with the fact that hilltop pas were unsatisfactory fortifications against muskets, resulted in the Maoris going to live on low-lying swamps where flax grew. This change of residence and the neglect of food cultivation proved detrimental to their health. (J.H. Goulding in McLintock, 1966, 1.704)

James Bragge
(1833–1908)

Group of Maoris
1876

title as inscribed on the original album page

145 x 225 mm
albumen print

The subject of this photograph was unusual for Bragge (although he did carry a small range of Maori carte-de-visite). A variant is in Te Papa (illustrated in Main, 1976, p. 18). He may have exposed two plates in an attempt to achieve a technically better result. As John Turner noted (1975, p. 17) 'the degree of blur of some of the sitters indicates that the photographer had more difficulty than usual in controlling his subjects for the long, possibly 15 second, exposure.'

Copies of this print are variously titled but all agree that the house shown was at Mangaakuta, near Masterton. Ron Brownson, (2001, p. 54) identifies two of the sitters; Hamuera Pakaiahi (second from the left holding a tewhatewha) and Rewiria Ngatuere (in centre wearing a taniko-bordered cloak), and observes that 'pa life was under pressure as a coach service was bringing settlers into the area.' The wharepuni (small communal sleeping house) is sometimes referred to as the Maui house because the scene painted along the maihi boards depicts the legend of Maui fishing up the North Island.

Born in England, Bragge trained as a cabinet-maker before emigrating to South Africa in the early 1860s where he took up photography. He moved to Wellington at about the time it became the capital in 1865 and much of his best work documents the growing city. He made two important journeys with his horse-drawn mobile studio north into the Wairarapa in 1876 and 1878. He published the results of the first trip as an album of fifty (varying) views, few copies of which survive.

George Pulman
(1827–1871)

Maori, young lady
circa 1865

title as inscribed on the mount

95 x 61mm
carte de visite
albumen print

Born in Manchester, George Pulman arrived in Auckland in 1861 but exactly when he took up photography remains a matter of conjecture. He worked primarily as a draughtsman and lithographer, issuing *Pulman's Register Map of the City of Auckland* in 1863. He was, according to newspaper advertisements, also a colourist of carte-de-visite and agent for the photographers Fairs and Steel. It may have been George Steel who helped Pulman become a photographer sometime after the death of his partner, Thomas Fairs. Pulman opened his own studio around 1867, specialising in 'Maori Heads' many of which continued to be printed and sold by the various incarnations of the Pulman family business long after his death in 1871.

Pulman Studio
(active 1867–1900)

artefacts
circa 1885

'Pulman Photo' inscribed with '423'

136 x 200 mm
albumen print

The war canoe prow and tekoteko figure are now in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu. They were part of a large collection sold to them by the dealer Eric Craig who operated from Whakatane before moving to Auckland. The two pieces are illustrated in Simmons (1982, p. 82, plates 57a and 55c). A very similar tekoteko figure was photographed, apparently with the carvers, by Burton Brothers (BB 4153) in the late 1880s at Otaramarae, Lake Rotoiti (illustrated in Neich, 2002, p. 87 and Mead, 1986, p. 121).

Elizabeth Pulman
(1836–1900)

portrait
circa 1875

'HiraKa Tuina' (?) inscribed on the reverse. Imprinted with '210'. The mount printed with photographer's particulars

145 x 100 mm
cabinet card
albumen print

Keith Giles (2004, pp. 8-13) has suggested that Eliza Leaf could have been the colony's first professional female photographer but the evidence for this remains circumstantial. Elizabeth Pulman is generally credited with this title but sadly little more than a scattering of biographical facts and the photographs bearing her name have survived to illuminate her life and career. Born in Cheshire, England, she arrived in Auckland with her husband George in 1861. Elizabeth carried the business on after his death in 1871. She married a reporter from the *Auckland Star*, John Blackman, in 1875, who became involved in managing the family firm. One of her sons, Frederick (1864–1943), appears to have taken over when Blackman died in 1893. Frederick is listed as a photographer in the 1893 electoral roll. The firm's negatives were sold to the Government Tourist Bureau shortly before her own passing in February 1900. The *New Zealand Herald* of 5 February noted:

She arrived in the colony with her husband, in the ship Broadwater, *in 1861, and has been in business in Shortland-street, as a photographer, for 39 years. The deceased leaves eight of a family, all married, except a daughter and a son.*

The words 'Pulman's Photographic Studio' are clearly visible on the Shortland St premises in a September 1900 photograph by Henry Winkelmann (Auckland City Library, 1–W132). The verandah is sign written with 'New Zealand Scenery and Natives'.

The few surviving letters (Alexander Turnbull Library, Pulman family papers) are from relatives or friends in England and contain mainly family news. Comment is made about a serious fire the Pulmans survived in 1866, and a letter from her brother-in-law Fred (19 December 1871) records that 'the photos of the hot sprinks I have tried to sell or exchange for views of London but all in vain.' The New Zealand press recorded two incidents when the Pulmans were involved in copyright issues. The first, when there was no law, was an appeal from Elizabeth for other photographers to desist from copying her late husband George's map of the Thames goldfields, as she claimed the sale of this formed a substantial part of her income. The second was a court case in 1882 when Charles Monkton was put on trial (and eventually exonerated) for selling copies of a photograph of King Tawhiao that was registered (under the 1877 Act) as belonging to Pulman and Co. It is uncertain which of the many photographs of Tawhiao the case referred to, but it was claimed to have been taken by an employee, George Steel. The most famous, oval, photograph of Tawhiao was variously issued by or ascribed to Pulman, Martin and even the London photographer, Mayall.

The question of who actually exposed a negative in this period can be hard to establish. Firms bought other photographers' work or employed technicians. Other firms sold their negatives as part of the stock-in-trade, photographs were re-photographed and there was little protection under the law to stop plagiarism. However, there is no reason to suppose that Elizabeth was not closely involved with posing and shooting the array of important Maori who passed through the door of her Shortland Street studio.

Foy Brothers
(active 1872–1902)

portraits
circa 1880

photographer's particulars printed on the front and back of the mounts

each 90 x 56 mm
carte de visite
albumen prints

Ruto Rawira
circa 1880

title as inscribed on the mount and repeated on the reverse with '246'. Both sides printed with the photographer's particulars

147 x 104 mm
cabinet card
albumen print

Based in Pollen Street, Thames, Foy Brothers was established by James and Joseph Foy. When James died in 1890, the business was continued by his brother.

Burton Brothers
(active 1867–1898)

Maori Kaik — Akaroa
circa 1884

title as imprinted with '1285 Burton Bros. Dunedin'

142 x 197 mm
albumen print

Another copy of this print (private collection, Auckland) has a near contemporary inscription on the reverse:

...These people, from various causes (rum etc) are fast dying out. The temperance cause, I may say, is fast making great headway amongst them... You see they are in a state of semi-civilisation just now, which means that they have adopted a few good habits mingled with many bad ones. Many of them dress in the European style, and you may be quite sure they have donned their best attire for this occasion. There are about 42,000 Maories in the whole of N.Z. and that they prefer to live in the North Island, may be inferred from the fact, that 40,000 are settled in that island, whilst only 2,000 reside in this, the South Island...

Burton Brothers remain the most internationally exposed of all New Zealand photographers. The subject of two monographs, a feature film (*Pictures*, 1981) and numerous exhibitions, the most recent of which, *Innocents Abroad — Touring the Pacific through a Colonial Lens*, was held at the Museum of Wellington City and Sea in 2006. Their work has been included in many surveys of photography of indigenous peoples, such as *Portraits of Oceania* at the Art Gallery of New South Wales in 1997. Much of this fame is based on the body of work produced during Alfred Burton's month-long trip up the Whanganui River into the King Country in 1885, for which he was made a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in London.

Alfred (1834–1914) first came to Auckland in 1856, spending three years working as a printer before leaving for Sydney. He was back in England by 1862 managing the Nottingham branch of the family photographic firm, John Burton and Sons. He married in 1864 and three years later was invited by his brother Walter (1836–1880) to join his photographic business in the expanding town of Dunedin. The partnership continued for ten years with Walter concentrating on the portrait side and Alfred focusing on capturing the dramatic South Island landscape, much of it for the first time. He used a variety of formats (up to 14 by 18 inch), each requiring a different apparatus as, until the 1890s, virtually all prints were contact prints. That, coupled with the logistics of the wet collodion method (plates had to be prepared and developed on the spot), ensured that every trip was a major undertaking.

The brother's relationship soured and the partnership ended in 1877. Alfred continued to run the firm while Walter, after a trip to Britain, opened a new venture, 'The Royal Gallery of Photography'. However, he apparently suffered from a form of chronic depression and on 10 May 1880 'took the photographer's way out' (Knight, 1980, p. 22) by ingesting cyanide of potassium. At the inquest Alfred testified: 'I last saw him alive about two months. He was of a peculiar mental organisation — he was subject to fits of something akin to insanity — sometimes traceable to excess of drink and sometimes apparently not so.' (ibid, p. 23)

At this date the Burton Brothers catalogue comprised of a little over a thousand images which Alfred soon increased. Thomas Muir was taken on as partner in 1882 to manage the portrait side, while Alfred took advantage of the new dry-plate technology which facilitated travel photography. Ready-made plates that could be processed on return removed the need for mobile darkrooms, chemicals and pure water. He travelled to the Pacific (Fiji, Samoa and Tonga) in 1884, issuing the catalogue *The Camera in the Coral Islands* which mentions on the back cover that their inventory now extended to three thousand photographs. An agent (W.G. Innes) was taken on in London. One of the few areas in which the stock was weak was Maori portraiture, although by 1880 they had acquired the stock of over a hundred negatives by the photographer John McGarrigle. His Auckland studio, using the name 'The American Photographic Company', produced a memorable series of Maori studies between 1869 and 1876.

Alfred brought his son Harold into the business and engaged George Moodie to take landscapes. In 1898 he sold the firm which was renamed 'Muir and Moodie' and continued in business until 1916. The Dominion Museum (now Te Papa) bought the ten thousand surviving glass negatives for one hundred pounds in 1943.

Alfred appears to have given up photography rather than retired. He started an elocution school, carried on his involvement in amateur dramatics (he played the lead in King Lear in 1893), and in freemasonry rose to become the Grand Master of New Zealand in 1904 and 1905.

Alfred Burton
(1834–1914)

Village Scene — Koroniti (Corinth) Wanganui River
7 May 1885

title as imprinted with '3515, Burton Bros, Dunedin'

137 x 189 mm
albumen print

The King Country is a large area of the west central North Island, traditionally Ngati Maniapoto land, where many Waikato people had retreated after the confiscations that followed the wars of the 1860s. It was effectively closed to Pakeha until 1881 when Tawhiao (the second Maori King) declared the end of hostilities. Animosity remained however, and the surveyor John Rochfort, in charge of mapping out the best route for the north-south railway, was turned back at gunpoint on three occasions. Burton claimed to have accidentally met Rochfort in Wanganui, with the later agreeing to Burton's request to accompany him on another of his forays up river and beyond.

After a month of trekking through photographically unknown territory Alfred Burton telegraphed home saying he had found 'shotty gold' (Burton Brothers, 1885, p. 21). His friends in Dunedin would have understood the expression (nuggets shaped like shotgun pellets). Burton had stumbled across the photographic equivalent, a gathering of 'men who have made their mark on colonial history' (ibid, p. 21): eight Maori chiefs, many of whom were veterans of the land wars of the 1860s. This was precisely the sort of celebrity image that was lacking in the Burton Brothers' catalogue.

Prior to this fortunate encounter, Burton had endured a cramped and potentially dangerous trip up the Whanganui River photographing at every opportunity. It was early winter and wet. The weather, in Burton's words, was 'anti-photographic' (1884, p. 10) and the light 'non-actinic' (1885, p. 20). The end result was a total of one hundred and fifty seven whole-plate images listed in the *Maori at Home* brochure. These, especially when seen in sequence, offer a unique view of one the last concentrations of Maori people living away from Europeans, observed with a minimum of romanticisation or interference from the photographer. They are the antithesis of the manicured imagery of Maori propagated by the Tourism Department a generation later. Often there was little time available for Burton to manipulate his subjects, many of whom were suspicious and some actively aggressive when the apparatus was pointed in their direction. On two occasions attempts to photograph were met with 'the salutation de derriere' (ibid, 1885, p. 24), the second from the ladies at King Tawhiao's Court. Burton's companion, Edward Payton, tells how on 13 May at Utapu, the photographer asked:

…a native who was passing to condescend to make a foreground for the view. As soon as he comprehended that he was wanted to have his great person photographed, he turned on us and gave the most awful snort of disgust and rage I ever heard, even from a Maori. B_ [Burton] did not like the look of his eye, and did not ask any more old fellows to have their photos taken for a long time. (Payton, 1888, p. 259)

In Burton's account (1885, p. 11) the man's response 'made the camera tremble to the bottom of its tripod.'

There was heavy rain on the day this photograph was taken so the party decided to stay in Koroniti. By the afternoon the weather cleared enough for Burton to record their surroundings as described by Payton:

The youth and beauty of the place were bashful, and the old folks averse to making foregrounds for pictures, but by dint of much coaxing in our most mellifluous Maori accents (B_ [Burton] knew seven words, which he used with great effect), we got our own way. (Payton, 1888, p. 250)

Alfred Burton
(1834–1914)

The Fair 'Orini'
— At Ti Eke
— King Country

title as imprinted with '3549, Burton Bros, Dunedin'

203 x 141 mm
albumen print

This afternoon we pitched our tent in the village of Ti Eke. There was a girl here — her name 'Orini' — with an almost classical face, who, after some little coquetry, was induced to become a subject for the camera. Coy as she was at first, when she found that the taipo did her no harm she was ready to be 'posed' to any extent; till, in fact, the available stock of plates ran out. (Burton, 1885, p. 11).

According to Williams (1975, p. 364), 'taipo' translates as 'goblin'. Williams also notes; 'This word is used by Maori believing it English, and by English believing it Maori, it being apparently neither.'

Alfred Burton
(1834–1914)

Taumaranui — King Country [Taumarunui]
29 May 1885

title as imprinted with '3569'

140 x 196mm
albumen print

Burton Brothers
(active 1867–1898)

Lake Taupo — from Tapuaharuru
circa 1886

title as imprinted and with '3712, Burton Bros, Dunedin'

142 x 197 mm
albumen print

The party left the river at Taumarunui to wait for Rochfort, the government surveyor, with whom they had started the journey in Wanganui, before continuing on horseback. They were there for twelve days and in Burton's words (1885, p. 17) had 'photographed everything and everybody'. It was here that Burton photographed himself and Payton at the door of their small sleeping whare. A pheasant shot by Payton using a gun borrowed from 'one of the natives' (Payton, 1888, p. 275) hangs from the roof. It was not just pheasants and pigs that had established themselves in the wild. Young (2004, p. 58) recounts how just north of Taumarunui in 1843 one of Bishop Selwyn's and Reverend Taylor's guides shot a feral cat that had the intact bodies of thirty lizards in its stomach.

Te Ariki was the village on the shores of Lake Tarawera where visitors disembarked after the two hour boat trip from Te Wairoa. They would then walk up the Kaiwaka (canoe-eater) stream to Lake Rotomahana to view, and perhaps bathe in, the Pink and White Terraces (Otukapuarangi and Te Tarata). About thirty visitors daily took the excursion to what was often called the eighth wonder of the world. However it was the quiet winter season when Mount Tarawera erupted with such awesome violence (audible from Christchurch to the Bay of Islands) at about one thirty in the morning of 10 June 1886. It began with a dramatic pyrotechnic display but as the fissures spread across a seventeen kilometre range the volcanic debris became increasingly destructive. Two or three hours after the first tremors the Rotomahana crater exploded, the water disappeared and the lake bed propelled into the night sky at hurricane speeds. It was this 'Rotomahana mud' that covered Te Wairoa, the nearest sizeable settlement. Many survived there but those in the villages closer to the epicentres stood no chance. Te Ariki was submerged under perhaps fifteen metres of mud. About half of its twenty five inhabitants are thought to have been camping at Rotomahana. 'Caught in the very centre of what became the largest crater, they suffered a fate that defies the imagination.' (Keam, 1988, p. 243)

There were about one hundred and thirty fatalities, both of the Terraces were obliterated and land to the north and east rendered temporarily unusable from the ash and mud deposits. Whakatane, on the coast, had a three inch coating and the S.S.*Waimea*, nearly a thousand kilometres out of Auckland, reported being covered by showers of blinding dust. The local landscape was so transformed that some survivors lost their bearings as they tried to find their way out.

this page and following pages

Burton Brothers
(active 1867–1898)

Te Ariki — Lake Tarawera
circa 1885

title as imprinted and with '3867'

144 x 198 mm
albumen print

Frederick Muir for Burton Brothers

Mt Tarawera from Te Ariki. After eruption June 10.86
July 1886

title as imprinted with '4107, Burton Bros. Dunedin'

140 x 203 mm
albumen print


TE ARIKI, LAKE TARAWERA.


MT TARAWERA - FROM TE ARIKI
AFTER ERUPTION JUNE 10.86.
BURTON BROS. DUNEDIN

Frederick Muir for Burton Brothers (active 1867–1898)

Runanga house — Wairoa — after eruption June 10.86
July 1886

title as imprinted with '4095, Burton Bros. Dunedin'

146 x 202 mm
albumen print

The carved house, Hinemihi, was opened in March 1881. Commisioned by the Tuhourangi chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha, the project was funded by revenues from visitors to the Terraces. The senior carver, Wero Taroi, was assisted by Tene Waitere. Aporo is said to have demonstrated his wealth by ordering the substitution of some of the paua shell insets with gold sovereigns and silver coins. As well as serving a traditional community function the house was also a venue for performances, including the type 'gentlemen usually preferred' (Froude, quoted in Gallop, 1998, p. 44).

On the night of the eruption, the steeply pitched roof of this house and Guide Sophia's whare ensured the survival of many, including Waitere. The tourists' benches were used to prop up the roof after several of the rafters snapped. Although redundant, Hinemihi's life was far from over. It was sold to an agent acting for Lord Onslow (the retiring Governor) in 1892 by Mika Aporo, the son of the original owner. Although Aporo later said he understood the house and carvings were only going to Auckland, it was reconstructed in a modified form as a boathouse at Onslow's estate at Clandon Park in England. Visited by Maori members of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles attending Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1897, it was rebuilt as a summer house by Maori troops convalescing there in 1917. Hinemihi now belongs to the National Trust and is used by Britain's Maori community.

Unidentified photographer

refugees from Te Wairoa, and others
1886

136 x 200 mm
albumen print

The title is taken from a photograph of the same building illustrated by Keam (1988, p. 296) showing a similar group, also including Guide Sophia in the centre. Many of those shown had been involved in the aftermath of the eruption of Mt Tarawera. The precise location remains a mystery, despite the distinctive carved and painted frieze (including the words Te Witi), but it was presumably somewhere in the Rotorua area. Although they were offered land elsewhere most of the Tuhourangi people remained in the vicinity, with many settling in Whakawerawera.

George Valentine
(1852–1890)

Guide Kate, Te Wairoa
1885

'77. G.V. imprinted

204 x 129 mm
albumen print

George Valentine emigrated to New Zealand from Scotland in 1884 after being diagnosed with tuberculosis. In the six years until his death in February 1890, he produced around three hundred and twenty images which were marketed by G.T. Chapman in Auckland. Valentine's work has recently (2004–2006) been the subject of a touring exhibition originating at the Christchurch Art Gallery, accompanied by a monograph by Ken Hall. With his background in the family firm of photographers, James Valentine and Son, George's output, though small, was of a high aesthetic and technical quality. His studies of the Tarawera region are some of the most evocative images extant of the landscape, both before and after the cataclysmic eruption of 10 June 1886.

Valentine was to photograph both well-known guides to the Terraces: Sophia Hinerangi, described by a Herald reporter as 'a great favourite with the Europeans' for her 'pleasant chats and cheery ways', and Kate Middlemass, famous for having received a Royal Humane Society medal for rescuing a drowning tourist. Both had Scottish fathers, Sophia's parents an Alexander Gray from Aberdeen and Hinerangi Kotiro of Taranaki, and Kate's 'a Scotchman who was wrecked on the shore more than 70 years ago' by the name of Middlemass, and Rangitukia of Whakatane. Both also wore the traditional moko: Sophia with lightly tattooed lips, and Kate the more elaborate chin adornment. A young tourist guided by the latter recorded: 'Kate's real name is Maggie Middlemas [sic] and right proud she is to think herself Scotch. She only gets "Kate" after an aunt who died. She is a widow - very shrewd, intelligent, kind and obliging — very considerate of those she sees little able for the fatigues of climbing &c.' Wearing a highly treasured kahu huruhuru (feather cloak), Kate Middlemass became the subject of one of just four documented portraits made by Valentine in New Zealand. (Hall, 2004, p. 34)

George Valentine
(1852–1890)

Whakarewarewa
1889 or 1890

title as imprinted with
'320. G.V.'

150 x 209 mm
albumen print

Valentine's plate number 320 indicates this is one of the last photographs he took, as it is beyond the sequence listed by Hall (2004, pp. 125–7). The last photograph in this list is of a waterfall near Auckland, presumably taken after his final tour of the thermal lakes area from November 1889 to January 1890. However, it may be that Valentine's chronology is based on the date the image was printed rather than exposed and this (possibly unique) print of a rugby team was taken on this trip.

A 'Native New Zealand' Rugby team toured Britain in 1888 and 1889. 'There were 26 players, 6 full bloods, 16 half castes and 4 whites' (McCarthy and Howitt, 1983, p. 66). The five Warbrick brothers, including the captain Joe, were from Rotorua. Joe was killed in 1903, with three of the party he was guiding, when the Waimungu Geyser at Whakarewarewa exploded unexpectedly just three weeks after his brother Alf had famously rowed across it.

Josiah Martin
(1843–1916)

artefacts in the Auckland Museum
circa 1890

'JM 897' imprinted

153 x 205 mm
albumen print

Most of these carvings were acquired by the Museum from Gilbert Mair in 1890. According to Mair, the *Madonna and Child* group in the centre was carved by a convert for a Catholic church in the Bay of Plenty in about 1850.

Josiah Martin, like Alfred Burton, was a pivotal figure in early New Zealand photography, not just for his own output but for his long editorship of *Sharland's New Zealand Photographer* which appeared from 1892 to 1910. This was a monthly magazine, initially issued as part of Sharland's *New Zealand Journal*, aimed at keeping both the professional and growing number of camera-club members up to date with technical issues. The March 1896 issue quoted a correspondent as estimating that the proportion of professional photographers in New Zealand was about one in a thousand, compared to the USA where it was one per six or seven thousand. The journal's extreme rarity today could call into question 'the guaranteed circulation of 2600 copies', a claim perhaps aimed at attracting European advertisers. It includes interesting editorials on copyright, the effect of the entry into the photograph market by the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts in 1903, as well as spirit and colour photography. The English photographic journals and Salons were reviewed, with examples illustrated. Martin did not approve of all the new trends and was particularly critical of some of the soft-focus images from the Pictorialist movement which he labelled the 'Fuzzy school' (Martin, 7 November 1903). Of particular interest are Martin's accounts of his 'Island tours' to Fiji and Tonga (where he was the guest of the King), serialised over several issues from 1897 to 1899. An article titled *The Photographer in Polynesia — Native Portraiture* in the October 1909 issue gives Martin's advice as to how the subject should be dealt with in the field. Here he repeats an anecdote he first published in the September 1899 edition under the title *On the Wanganui — a reminiscence by the editor*:

A few years ago a travelling photographer was leisurely descending the Wanganui River in search of subjects for his camera, and being desirous of securing a few notable natives and groups, he camped for some days at Koroniti, one of the many picturesque towns on that very romantic and beautiful river.

It happened that most of the inhabitants were attending a Land Court at Wanganui, but among some of the old people left there were a few very good types of the ancient aboriginals, now almost extinct.

Our traveller, as soon as terms of intimacy had been established, succeeded in getting one old man to pose for his portrait, under a promise of sending him a finished picture later on, and some other ancients promised sittings for next day. But alas! The expectations of our Photographer were doomed to disappointment, for during the evening a party of villagers returned from town and began their series of questions as to what had happened in their absence. Now, as the natives occupied the next whare to the visitor, and as the walls were very thin, he was able to listen to every word, and having a good interpreter for a companion, he was soon acquainted with all that passed, and we give the substance of that conversation.

'Has anybody been here since we have been away?'
'Only a Pakeha.'
'What did he want; where did he come from; where is he going to?'
'Oh, we don't know! he came down river in a canoe, has been amusing himself; is here now.'
'Is he after the land; is he a Government man?'
'No, they do not think so. He seemed quite a harmless lunatic.'
'Why; what was he doing?'
'He was making pictures in a box with one eye.'
'What did he make here?'
'He made the old man sit in front of the whare, then he stuck his box in front of him, and put his head in it.'
'How much does he charge for his pictures?'
'He said he sold them for Aroha *(love).'*
'Did he give you one?'
'No; he promised to send one from Wanganui.'

'Then he is no good, *and you are a fool. You don't think a man would be such a fool as to come here for* Aroha*? I know what he wants. He wants your picture to put in his window in Wanganui, and he will* sell *you to the Pakeha. You will be sold for a* bob*! You will be sold for a bob! Where is he staying? Don't let him go without paying. You make him pay; make him pay.'*

And the subject was discussed again and again, always winding up with 'Make him pay'. 'Don't let him go away without paying,' 'He will sell you for a bob,' &c.

Needless to say, there were no more sitters forthcoming in that village, although nothing more was said about paying.

Born in England, Josiah Martin emigrated to Auckland with his family and set up a school at Grafton of which he was headmaster. Ill-health forced him to change careers and he is recorded as photographing in the Rotorua area in 1876. His comments on this tour were recorded in the *New Zealand Herald* of 15 May 1890:

…The first difficulty to overcome was the rooted objection of the Maori to the camera in any form. Then the almost insuperable difficulty in getting pure water needed for the wet plate process rendered the task of early photography painfully uncertain. (in Main, 1977, p. 17)

After a trip to England in 1879 where he mastered the dry-plate process, he opened a studio in partnership with William Partington, which claimed to be the first to use the new 'instantaneous' photography. From 1883 he operated from a succession of premises in central Auckland and around 1894 opened a branch studio in Rotorua. His negatives were donated to the Auckland Museum by his daughters in 1958.

following page

Josiah Martin
(1843–1916)

Rewi Maniapoto
circa 1890

title as imprinted with 'JM 644'

205 x 155 mm
albumen print

Hora Maniapoto
circa 1890

title as imprinted with '629'

206 x 154 mm
albumen print

The sitter is probably Rewi's daughter, Te Kore.

Manga, later called Rewi Maniapoto, was born in the Waikato in about 1810 and died in 1894. Missionary educated, he played a prominent role in the formation of the King Movement and, with Wiremu Tamihana, is credited with hoisting the flag at Potatau's installation in April 1858. He was involved in the fighting from the outset of the Taranaki Wars in 1860 and forcibly expelled Sir George Grey's magistrate John Gorst and his printing press in 1863. In the Waikato campaign Rewi commanded Ngati Maniapoto forces and conducted a successful campaign until the ill-judged decision to make a stand at the newly built pa at Orakau. It is here he reputedly responded to General Cameron's offer to surrender with: 'Ka whawhai tonu matou, ake, ake, ake' (We will fight on for ever and ever).

He retreated into the sanctuary of the King Country and by 1869 realised that the only way to ensure that Maori land stayed in Maori control was through negotiated settlements. In the early 1880s he distanced himself from aspects of the King Movement's ideology, permitting land sales and the building of the North Island Trunk Railway which reached Te Kuiti in 1887. He was photographed on 4 June 1885 at Haerehuka by Alfred Burton (BB 3611 and 3622), who was accompanying John Rochfort, the rail surveyor. Rewi was then living in a house provided by the government. Burton's companion, the artist and later photographer Edward Payton, noted that Rewi was:

…the greatest chief in rank in the colony, so also is he, I think, the best type of those grand old warrior chiefs which New Zealand will never see again. For a nation who have lost so much through their contact with Englishmen, it is wonderful to see so much loyalty among them; and from what I have seen I am sure some of the most loyal of Her Majesty's subjects are to be found among the native inhabitants of Aotearoa. (Payton, 1888, p. 338)

On the same day Burton also took a memorable photograph (BB 3611) of Te Rohu and Te Kore, Rewi's wife and daughter, the later as named by Payton (ibid, p. 286). Te Kore died at Kihikihi in 1890 or 1891. Martin's portrait was probably taken in 1890 when Rewi was in Auckland. He attended the provincial jubilee celebrations and was presented to the Governor, the Earl of Onslow.


REWI MANIAPOTO
JM 644


HORA MANIAPOTO.
629.

Josiah Martin
(1843–1916)

Susan and Ngapuia
circa 1900

title as imprinted with '174'

204 x 153 mm
albumen print

Susan is shown on the right. She is included in the April 1910 *Register of Native Guides in Government Reserves at Whakarewarewa, Rotorua:*

'Pakeha Name — Guide Susan
Full native Name — Tuihana Mrs Kimi'

Ngapuia may be a mis-spelling of Ngahuia (Hatu), who was listed in the 1912 Register as Guide Lizzie.

The tourist industry in 'Maoriland' became more developed and under government control from 1894.

…Guiding was an established vocation amongst the women of Tuhourangi/Ngati Wahiao, with the thermal reserve administered by the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts. It introduced a guide licensing system and tutoring was required. Particularly in the summer months, business was brisk indeed, and the work itself suited many women. (Ngahuia Te Awekotuku in Coney, 1993, p. 217)

Josiah Martin
(1843–1916)

Group of Maories, Mercer
circa 1895

title as imprinted with 'JM 556'

148 x 202 mm
albumen print

Mercer, on the east bank of the Waikato River, is named after Henry Mercer of the Royal Artillery who died at the battle of Rangiriri in 1863. It was a military settlement at the end of the Great South Road and a port from 1866. The railway afforded easy access from Auckland and an annual regatta was held on the river. A broadside promoting the 1898 event (private collection, Auckland) announces an 'Exhibition of Paddling in King Mahuta's Beautiful War Canoe Taheretikitiki, in her Full War Paint'. Also advertised are 'Wakatiwai Races for Maori Wahines', and others for Maori children, all in the presence of the Governor Lord Ranfurly. The Maori pa of Mangatawhiri (later known as Te Paina) bordered the town and was one of the places along the river where the Waikato peoples had moved to after the end of their confinement in the King Country in 1881 (in some cases buying back confiscated land). There were few Maori schools in the Waikato and Mercer offered the chance of a Pakeha education. Te Puea, perhaps the most influential Maori woman of the twentieth century, was enrolled in the primary school in May 1895.

Attributed to Thomas Muir
(circa 1852–1945)

Last of the race, Matene Korako Wera. Ote Hapu Ngatimamoe
circa 1895

title as imprinted with '413' and 'Died Sept 21. 1896 Aged 120'

136 x 198 mm
albumen print

Thomas Muir was Alfred Burton's partner for fifteen years before establishing his own studio in Invercargill in 1894. Burton sold Burton Brothers to Muir and George Moodie in 1898. The attribution to Muir is based on a passage in a compilation of writings by James Beattie:

The collector saw a couple of photographs of old Matene Korako Wera (who died at Henley twenty years ago at the reputed age of one hundred and twenty one years). These were taken by a photographer named Moore (?Muir) who went with McKegg, 'and an English lord', to the kaik for the purpose. The old man looks solemn and the collector was informed he was very averse to being taken but was finally persuaded into it. Pakeha settlers have told the collector Matene had a fine, aristocratic face, with a Roman nose. (Beattie, 1994, pp. 577–8)

According to Taylor (1954, p. 182), Wera lived in the pa at Taeri Ferry and passed away on 22 September at the age of one hundred and twenty nine. Ngati Mamoe were partially absorbed by Ngai Tahu but the idea that Wera was the 'last of the race' is dismissed by Beattie:

The alleged extinction of the Katimamoe is surely one of the falsest yarns ever foisted on the people of this country. If Shortland had been kept on as Protector of Aborigines the Katimamoe would have had more recognition, but the appointment of Mantell in 1848 as Commissioner for Extinguishment of Native Titles in the South Island put in a man who was a Kaitahu partisan, hence the fable that the Katimamoe were extinct flourished unchecked. (Beattie, 1954, p. 83)

Unidentified photographer

Morioris. C.I. [Chatham Islands]
circa 1900

title as imprinted

111 x 156 mm
silver gelatin print

For a variant, see King (1989, p. 14). King's caption states Temuera and Merepaha are crying out 'pra, pra' (flour, flour) to Carrie Foster (just visible in this image behind the horse) who found them starving:

The only Moriori who now survived from before the time of the Maori invasion were Rohana, Tapu's wife at Manukau; and Temuera and Merapaha at Whareama. Temuera and Merepaha were an odd couple, known to Pakeha on the island as 'Ming' and 'Moo'. He (Temuera) had been castrated as a child as an apparent measure of population control and this had affected his hormone balance. He had always spoken in a high voice, chosen to wear dresses, and was regarded (incorrectly) as a hermaphrodite. Merepaha was normal by comparison, but suffering terribly from the effects of old age. Both were arthritic and blind from cataracts in the 1890s, and had a wire running from their hut to a well to enable them to find water. Individuals such as Tamihana Heta stayed with them for short periods, but they had no one to take care of them constantly. At a time when most other Moriori were living sparsely but comfortably, Temuera and Merepaha were in extremis; *crippled with illness, close to starvation and trapped in squalor.*

Around 1900, Horomona Rehe and Heta Namu persuaded them to move to Manukau, where they were put into a clean ponga house close to the rest of the Moriori community. They were fed, washed and pampered, but seemed not to like their new lives. Both were dead within a year of their shift. They were followed closely by Rohana Tapu, who died in May 1902; and Ihimaera Rehe, Horomona's wife, who died in June 1903. By 1904, only six of the twelve Moriori counted in the census four years before remained. (ibid, p.149)

H.N.K.

New Zealand Mounted Rifles. Maoris Uniform and Native Costume
1897

title as inscribed on the mount, printed with photographer's monogram and details

78 x 158 mm
silver gelatin print

F.G.O. Stuart
(active 1860–1890s)

At Chelsea Barracks for the Queens Jubilee
1897

title as inscribed in pencil on the reverse. 'Maories, Stuart Copyright, 278, W Gregory & Co Strand London' imprinted

280 x 215 mm
silver gelatin print

The Prime Minister, Richard Seddon, represented New Zealand in London at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations in 1897. He was supported by a contingent of the Mounted Rifle Volunteers which included eighteen Maori led by Hoani Paraone Tunuiarangi (c.1843–1933). Born in the Wairarapa, he was literate and Anglican. During the course of his political career, he realised that cooperation with the government was inevitable and campaigned for proper compensation for land and lakes lost. Tunuiarangi was presented to Queen Victoria but:

…Was no government lackey and had his own political agenda during this voyage. He, Wi Pere and Mahupuku had earlier met James Carroll in Wellington in April, and had suggested that a Maori loyal address be prepared which should include a petition that the remaining estimated five million acres of Maori land be reserved in perpetuity. This document, signed by Tunuiarangi and seventeen others, was presented by British MP John M. Denny to Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Tunuiarangi was called to Parliament and invited to explain his concerns. Although he was informed that the British Government had no power to intervene, he explained that the New Zealand government would listen if Britain made representations on behalf of the Queen's Maori people.

The following day Tunuiarangi was advised, probably by a journalist, to publish his petition in the newspapers, and to take copies to distribute in New Zealand to increase the pressure on his government. Seddon, still in London, had a copy of the petition sent to him by Chamberlain, and felt constrained to reply to Chamberlain defending his native policy. The embarrassment Tunuiarangi caused the government had its effect; his petition contributed towards Seddon's 1898 Native Lands Settlement and Administration Bill, which eventually became the Maori Land Administration Act 1900. (Ballara, 2006)

John Hanna
(died 1915)

William Australia Graham, King Mahuta Tawhiao, Tahuna Heirangi
June 1898

title as inscribed on the reverse and with 'N.J. 1898'. Imprinted with 'Protected' and date. Blind stamped on lower right. Stamped with photographer's particulars

100 x 153 mm
silver gelatin print

The King Movement arose in response to escalating colonial expansion. A united front of previously separate tribes was seen as a way of arresting the loss of land. Potatau Te Wherowhero of Waikato was installed as King in June 1858. Tauke Te Hapimana crawled between Potatau's legs as a symbol of rebirth. At the confirmation ceremony the next year Wiremu Tamihana (known by Pakeha as Kingmaker) held a Bible over the head of Potatau symbolising the overall supremacy of the Christian God. Tamihana tirelessly tried to point out first to Governors Browne and then Grey that the aim was to control Maori and give them the support lacking from the colonial government, not to seek conflict. Sovereignty was held as being shared with Queen Victoria. However, the notion of a native Kingdom under a native King was not one that a land-hungry government could tolerate and it provided another excuse for the invasion of Waikato in July 1863.

Support for the Movement was strongest in the 1860s and by the 1880s the Kingdom was shrinking, weakened by the effect of the Waikato confiscations ordered by Grey in December 1864. Much of the best arable land had gone, the supply of kauri trees depleted, and the opportunities to trade limited, thus the ideals of a fully functioning separate state were unable to be realised. With the inability to raise taxes, often the only source of income was further land sales and many Maori were forced into a subsistence economy.

However, the Kingites still controlled over one million acres to which a rapidly increasing settler population was demanding access. Prime Minister Seddon (known as 'King Dick' for his autocratic style) was keen to negotiate with Mahuta Tawhiao (c. 1855–1912), the third Maori King. He was the eldest son of Tawhiao, the second incumbent, and grew up in the period of isolation following the wars and consequently had no missionary education and little command of the English language. Seddon arrived in style at Waahi Pa for the initial negotiation, being ferried across the Waikato in the war canoe Taheretikitiki. The occasion was photographed by William Beattie. Another of Beattie's images, entitled 'After the speeches' (AlexanderTurnbull Library, PA7–01–39), shows Mahuta, head bowed and holding his hat, surrounded by Seddon, the interpreter Gilbert Mair and other government officials. The two protagonists could not have been more different – Mahuta, by nature shy and a man of few words, and Seddon, the larger-than-life politician whose record term in office brought the vote to women, introduced the old-age pension and who, in a telegram home hours before he died, coined the phrase 'God's own country'.

Settlement was inevitable as isolation was no longer an option for Maori and by 1903 basic agreement was in place to open the lands for leasehold tenure. Mahuta was given a seat on the Executive Council, a position he used to lobby for equal treatment of Maori to enable them to develop their own lands. A different rating system and the inability of Maori to access the grants available to white settlers added to the old grievance of the 1860s confiscations. This would not be settled for another half-a-century.

William Australia Graham (1841–1916) was a surveyor, landowner, and Mayor of Hamilton from 1884 to 1887. He advocated that Maori should be granted identical rights to Pakeha, a view expressed in his 1911 booklet *The Land of the Moa*. He may be included in this photograph as adviser or interpreter for King Mahuta who gave him a patu paraoa (whalebone weapon) as a symbol of a peacemaker. Ironically, Graham's first estate at Tamahere was part of the land confiscated in 1864.

Te Tahuna Herangi (circa 1855–1944) is remembered today as the father of Te Puea. He was the third son of William Searancke, an English surveyor who worked for the New Zealand Company in the 1840s, and Hariata Rangitaupa. Searancke disowned his Maori family after taking an English wife and returning to the Waikato in 1866. Te Puea recalled a chance meeting while she was at school in Mercer, when Searancke refused to acknowledge his son or granddaughter (King, 1977, p.113, footnote). Te Puea's mother was Tiahuia, the eldest daughter of King Tawhiao's senior wife, Hera. Tiahuia's controversial union with the half-caste commoner Te Tahuna continued for many years before being blessed by the King. Tiahuia's brother, Mahuta, had always supported her and when he ascended the throne in 1894 took Te Tahuna as a councillor.

William Partington
(1855–1940)

pataka, Putiki
circa 1900

partially reversed number imprinted lower right

100 x 144 mm
silver gelatin print

This former store-house, named Te A Wanuiaru above the door, unusually has poupou panels embellishing the exterior side walls. In the great Whanganui River flood of 1891 many houses and pataka were swept away:

The loss elicited messages of sympathy from kindred Maori people in remote localities…..Among the presents received were a number of large poupou from Opotiki, probably uncarved. These were used to adorn the outside walls of the pataka, which is still standing at Putiki. (Phillipps, 1952, pp. 114–116)

However, the poupou are carved in Tuhoe style (see Mead, 1986, pp. 100-102), and there may be another explanation as to how they arrived at Putiki. A journal entry by Captain John Luce of HMS Esk notes:

Capt. Fairchild gave me four specimens of native carving, he has a large quantity on board which was taken at Opotiki. Some of the Wanganui natives are fighting on our side in the Bay of Plenty. These carvings are their loot and they are sending them to Wanganui to their tribe. (RAI MS280:5, quoted in Starzecka, 1996, p. 155)

Wiiliam Partington, photographer, became national news in September 2001 when an archive of his work (over five hundred prints and two hundred and thirty five glass negatives), split into about two hundred and ninety lots, was put up for auction at Webb's in Auckland. They were the property of Partington's great-granddaughter, Edith Bell. After four lots had been sold a dozen Maori activists led by Ken Mair disrupted proceedings, loudly denouncing the rights of the owners to sell and the buyers to purchase. Mair claimed the photographs were taonga and later added: 'These are photographs of our people, our ancestors. No doubt they paid for them to be taken. What we want now is for them to be returned.' (*New Zealand Herald*, 20 September 2001). The auction was abandoned and the stalemate was only resolved when Whanganui Regional Museum, with help from local trusts and the community, acquired the material by private treaty sale. A major exhibition and publication are planned once the process of identifying descendants has been completed.

Direct action resulted in the retention of most of the archive in the appropriate public collection, with the publicity ensuring that these images will now be widely exposed. Some of the legal issues that arose from this episode were never clarified with neither the owner nor auctioneer opting for confrontation. The protesters challenged rights which are clear under British-based law. However, from a Maori point of view the direct link between identified individuals in the images and their living descendants is deemed to confer some intellectual ownership over the photographs. These can be seen as an embodiment of the individual and may even be spoken to directly. Especially in the Whanganui River region there is a long history of unease with how images of Maori were used. Josiah Martin and Alfred Burton both recorded uncomfortable incidents with unwilling subjects.

It will be impossible from this distance to determine the arrangements behind the taking of individual photographs but certainly many appear to be aimed at an external tourist market for which the sitters were presumably paid a fee. King (1983, p. 2) claims that workbooks of the Wanganui photographers Alfred Martin and Frank Denton show that Maori were actively commissioning photographs for their own use. Although these workbooks are proving elusive, the claim is entirely plausible. What Maori objected to was the sale of further copies of these images.

Josiah Martin drew attention to a little-known variation between New Zealand and British law in Sharland's *New Zealand Photographer* in the October 1909 edition and again in February 1910 (in both, p. 6): 'Our New Zealand Acts confirm the ownership of copyright in portraiture to the original of the photograph, and makes it necessary to secure that individual's consent to any reproduction.' Arthur Iles, who registered many of his Maori photo images, was encouraged to persuade his sitters to sign a model release. He responded that 'very few of his subjects could read let alone understand a legal document.' (Main, 1993, p. 14)

William Partington
(1855–1940)

Kaiwhaiki pa, Upokongaro
circa 1895

imprinted with '21' lower centre

138 x 198 mm
silver gelatin print

Upokongaro is thirteen kilometres from Wanganui, and the figure second from the left has been identified as Tamati. Partington opened his Wanganui studio in 1891, after a fire had destroyed his Auckland premises, and worked there until 1908 (Dell, 2003, p. 9). Wanganui boasted at least fifteen professional photographers and Partington marketed himself as having introduced 'artistic photography into this district' (undated newspaper clipping in Webb's, 2001, p. 16). His fourteen year old son Victor was drowned in the Whanganui River in 1895.

William Partington
(1855–1940)

Whanganui River
circa 1905

150 x 207 m
silver gelatin print

Arthur Iles
(1870–1943)

portrait
circa 1905

photographer's details imprinted with 'No 199'

196 x 140 mm
silver gelatin print

The sitter erroneously identified as Maggie Papakura in King (1983, p. 19) and in Coney (1993, p. 217).

Arthur Iles was born in Oamaru, the son of a photographer. His first studio was in Otago but competition drove him to the North Island and by the age of twenty three he had opened a studio in Pollen Street, Thames, specialising in Maori portraits. Some of his most impressive sitters were brought in to him by Gilbert Mair. Unwise investments in Coromandel mining ventures forced him to move initially to his (half-Maori) wife's family in the north and then to Sydney to find work. Then, after a failed joint venture in Auckland, he relocated to Rotorua and capitalised on the booming tourist industry there. His primary business was photography, but he also sold fishing tackle and dealt in Maori artefacts. He had retained his Maori negatives from Thames and expanded this side of the business, being perfectly placed to exploit the postcard craze. A major client was the new Tourist and Health Resorts Department whose first Superintendent, Thomas Donne, was a regular visitor. The two eventually parted company when Iles asked Donne a large profit for two Maori paddles he had bought minutes before. Donne commented that it was a shame that good Maori artefacts could leave the country with Iles replying that he was only interested in making money. He acquired two sections of retail property near his own shop and from the 1920s is believed to have concentrated on the fishing tackle side of the business. His profession is given as land agent on his death certificate.

(Some of the above information has been sourced from an unpublished memoir by Iles's friend William Hammond, a typed copy of which is held in the Auckland Museum library.)

Unidentified photographer

Te Takinga pataka
circa 1895

111 x 155 mm
silver gelatin print

Originally called Te Marama-tae-ahoaho and standing by Lake Rotoiti, Te Takinga is now one of Te Papa's most celebrated exhibits. Part of it, the carved front, was donated by the family of Sir Walter Buller after his death in 1906. The present side, back and piles were made by Thomas Heberley in the 1930s. The original makers are unidentified but according to tradition it was constructed from canoes dragged overland by Hongi to Lake Rotorua in order to attack Mokoia Island.

It was quite in keeping with Te Arawa tradition and sentiment that carvings for a non-tapu building like a food store be taken from a Nga Puhi canoe, an act of derision or contempt for the invader. A war canoe is a tapu thing to its owner; but food would destroy that tapu for ever. (Phillips 1952, p. 167)

Changes in lifestyle were rendering these carved food stores redundant in the Rotorua area and in 1886 this example was purchased by Gilbert Mair, acting for Sir Walter Buller. Born in New Zealand, Buller was the second of ten children. His father James was a Wesleyan missionary and later minister. Walter first worked as a Native Interpreter in the Land Courts, rose to become a magistrate and was soon involved in land purchases for the government. Always a keen ornithologist, he published *The Native Birds of New Zealand* in London in 1873. On his return he acted as a barrister in Native Land Court affairs, a business which proved so lucrative that he was able to retire from it in 1886. He then travelled to London where he acted as a Commissioner in charge of New Zealand's contribution to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. One of the exhibits was Te Takinga, which was shown again at the International Exhibition in Melbourne in 1888.

Buller acquired a large property adjoining Lake Papaitonga, 'with a measure of subterfuge and misrepresentation' (Neich, 2003, p. 339), near present-day Levin, about ninety kilometres north of Wellington, which suited his aspirations to the status of an English-style country gentleman.

This photograph shows the pataka soon after its erection on the property and the figure may be Morehu (Neich, 1995) who supervised the installation and carved the piles.

Thomas Pringle
(1858–1931)

Whakaronu (Guard)
1905

title as imprinted lower left. Photographer's details, '841' and 'Protected, 1–10–05' imprinted lower right

203 x 156 mm
silver gelatin print

Born in England, Thomas Pringle settled in Wellington where he opened Pringles Ltd., a fancy goods store on Lambton Quay. He was a prominent member of the Wellington Camera Club from the mid 1890s, to which he gave several talks on the carbon process which he later used in his tastefully produced booklets *Maori Studies* and *Art Photos of New Zealand*. These resembled photograph albums with twelve and eighteen tipped in 'permanent carbonette photos'. According to McClure (2004, p. 57), he was employed by the Tourist Department 'to capture scenery, industries, and Maori life throughout the country.' Citing contemporary House of Representative records McClure notes that Pringle was also 'a cinematographer and captured Maori dance, geyser action and a Whanganui River journey on film.' (ibid, p. 58)

This photograph is one of a set with the same model holding a taiaha in various poses outside Tama-Te-Kapua house in Ohinemutu. Others are titled *Defiance* and *The Challenge*. These were widely disseminated in colour-lithographed postcard form. Pringle published at least four sets of these, each consisting of thirty six cards.

Unidentified photographer

Group Maori… Tolaga Bay
circa 1905

title as inscribed on reverse

146 x 211 mm
silver gelatin print

A tangi is taking place outside Ruapanga house on Hauiti marae.

Unidentified photographer

woman and child
circa 1905

133 x 90 mm
silver gelatin print

Robert Marsh
(active 1900–1929)

carved Maori whare
circa 1900

Title as imprinted with 'Marsh Photo' lower left

154 x 108 mm
silver gelatin print

Unidentified photographer

amo, Rauru
circa 1905

159 x 108 mm
silver gelatin print

Rauru House, Whakarewarewa, was commissioned by Charles Nelson, the manager and later owner of the Geyser Hotel. His interest in carving was 'a strange amalgam of romanticism, scientific curiosity and commercialism' (Neich, 2001, p. 198) and the house was constructed using both old and new carvings. Nelson employed Tene Waitere as senior carver (at a rate of ten shillings per square foot) and Augustus Hamilton as consultant. After a construction period plagued by inauspicious events, the house opened in March 1900 and is an early example of the development of a generic Maori carving style.

Rauru and the gate shown here are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg. Nelson sold them to the German dealer Umlauff in 1904. They must have been offered for sale soon after completion as the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* of August 1900 (p. 813) reported that Nelson had sold Rauru for sixteen hundred pounds, approximately the amount the project had cost him. He may have been concerned at the unease that surrounded the re-use of the old tapu carvings he had purchased from Te Waru.

In normal circumstances when a house was being constructed, casual visitors (particularly women), alcohol, tobacco or food would not be permitted on the site. Even though Rauru is unusual in that it was commissioned and supervised by Pakeha, the presence of the two women suggests that the photograph on the right was taken as the house was being dismantled.

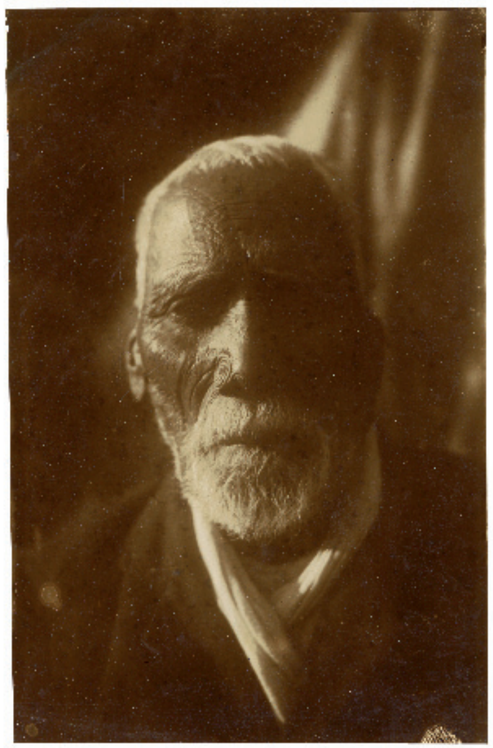
Charles Frederick Goldie
(1870–1947)

portrait
circa 1910

signature in ink pasted on the reverse

160 x 104 mm
silver gelatin print

Photographs were used by painters in the same way as sketches, and were particularly useful for artists like Lindauer and Goldie as many of their subjects, selected for their extensive facial moko, were already of great age when they first sat for their portraits. Goldie paid his subjects a daily fee and continued to paint variants of their likenesses long after their deaths. He exploited the vein of sympathy and romanticism that accompanied the then commonly-held notion that Maori were a race doomed to extinction. The last generation of tattooed elders was a subject with an obvious commercial appeal but precisely how photography fitted into his working methods may always remain a mystery. Roger Blackley (2006) suggests his widow Olive destroyed many of his photographs, perhaps in the belief they undermined the integrity of the paintings they so often and so closely resembled.



Unidentified photographer

Three Generations of a Maori family
circa 1908,
printed later

title as inscribed on the reverse with multiple agency stamps

241 x 193 mm
silver gelatin print

The stamps on the reverse refer to Charles Phelps Cushing and James Caleb Sawders, both American photojournalists working from the 1920s to the 1950s. A collection of nine hundred images by them and others from all over the world is in the UCSB Library in California. It is likely they ran a photographic library or agency, mixing their own and other negatives. The photographer of this image may have also taken the following one in this catalogue. Another view of Patara Te Tuhi and his daughter taken at the same session is one of a set of stereo cards of New Zealand subjects which includes the 'Girls of the old Maori race' image.

An undated contemporary newspaper clipping reads:

A NOTED MAORI CHIEF
Patara Te Tuhi

The subject of our illustration, who was present at the North Shore Native Regatta and Aquatic Carnival, was eagerly sought by the many visitors interested in the welfare of the Maori race. Patara Te Tuhi, who is now about 72 years of age, belongs to the famous Ngatimaniopoto tribe. He is a cousin to the late King Tawhiao, and was one of the council of the first King Potatau. Te Tuhi originally came from Whatiwhatihoe, Alexandra, in the King Country. He was not a fighting chief, but his advice was eagerly sought, and his pronouncements upon subjects of importance always carried considerable weight. Te Tuhi was editor of the Maori paper, Te Hokioi, *about the year 1860, and was looked upon as the literary exponent of the King movement. Old residents may remember the rivalry that existed between Te Tuhi's journal and Sir John Gorst's publication, as a result of which the old chief and his adherents raided the opposition newspaper, and 'pied', or disarranged, all the columns of type. He accompanied Tawhiao to England when the King proceeded Home to lay the grievances of the Maoris against the pakehas before Her Majesty the Queen and the Imperial Parliament. Patara Te Tuhi is still a resident of the Waikato district, but is failing fast.*

Wiremu Patara Te Tuhi is believed to have been about eighty five years of age when he died at Mangere, Auckland, on 2 July 1910.

Underwood and Underwood
(publishers)

Girls of the old Maori race as they are today under British training, Auckland
circa 1908

title as printed on the mount with publisher's details and numbers. Printed text on the reverse as below

82 x 154 mm
stereo card, silver gelatin print

…Here we see one of the schools that have been so instrumental in changing the Maoris from cannibals to citizens and members of Parliament. These young girls and women before us have changed from squaws to voters. There have never been any other aborigines with the strength, bravery and intelligence of the Maoris. They have won recognition such as no other aborigines have received. As citizens vested with every privilege, their rights are unquestioned.

…The Maoris are Polynesians and, in common with the majority of their kinsfolk throughout the Pacific, they have traditions which point to Savaii, the largest island of the Samoan group, as their cradle-land. These traditions are explicit as to the cause of the exodus from Samoa, giving the names of the canoes in which the journey was made and the time of year when the coast of New Zealand was sighted.

Any description of the Maoris, who in recent years have come more and more under the influence of white civilization, must necessarily refer rather to what they have been than to what they are. Physically, they are pure Polynesians — tall, well built, with straight or slightly curved noses, high foreheads and oval faces. They vary greatly in color. Their hair is black and straight or wavy, scarcely ever curly. They are industrious and knew how to build, weave and dye before the whites came. They are also good farmers and bold seamen…

Unidentified photographer

performers
circa 1905

150 x 200 mm
silver gelatin print

'From about this period [1903], Native Schools expected to follow the "direct method" for teaching English. Official attitudes to any use of Maori harden and its use discouraged.' (Simon, 1998, p. XVII). The institution pictured may be Queen Victoria Maori Girls School, Parnell, Auckland which opened in May 1903.

In its 1908 report the Queen Victoria Association, one of the school's support groups, addressed the perception of certain members of the public that the school ought to be a source of trained maidservants for Pakeha ladies. It was said that the Queen Victoria School was turning out fine ladies instead of girls who might be useful to the community. The report emphasised that the school was there to benefit the Maori race, not to benefit Europeans in need of servants. (Puna McConnell in Coney, 1993, p. 198).

James McDonald
(1865–1935)

Lake Waikaremoana
1908

title, photographer and date inscribed on mount

155 x 202 mm
silver gelatin print

McDonald has been credited (as has Pringle) with making the earliest surviving films of Maori life, beginning with the Hui Aroha held at Gisborne to welcome the Pioneer Battalion home in 1919. The following year he recorded the gathering of chiefs at Rotorua to greet the Prince of Wales and in 1921 he filmed extensively in the lower Whanganui River valley. These films, made with assistance from Apirana Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck), were restored in 1981 after years of neglect and are now regarded as taonga (Henare, 2005, pp. 227–228). Born in Otago, McDonald trained as a painter in Australia but gained employment in the newly-formed Department of Tourism and Health Resorts as a photographer. Working with the writer James Cowan, he was responsible for topographical and Maori views. He was closely involved with the construction and ornamentation of the Maori pa in 1906 at the Christchurch International Exhibition under the direction of Augustus Hamilton. From 1912 or 1913 he worked for the Dominion Museum alongside Elsdon Best.

In 1926 he left the Museum to help in the founding of a School of Maori Art and Craft with the Tuwharetoa people at Tokaanu near Taupo. His commitment and sacrifice earned him the respect of local Maori. His obituary in *Te Waka Karaitiana* noted:

The Maori people, their customs and equipment were the things of chief delight to this man. He was also an expert Maori carver, and no one could have detected that his carvings had not been done by a Maori. Although he was advanced in years when death overtook him, he was still learning the Maori language…He was there [in Tokaanu] painting his pictures, making his carvings, and gathering up the crumbs out of the baskets of the sacred house of Maori learning, when the call of the far distance came to him…(ibid, p. 236)

Unidentified photographers

Patara Te Ngungukai
circa 1900

74 x 98 mm
silver gelatin prin

A variant is published in Stafford (1982, opp. p. 369) who describes the subject as 'an early and prominent Arawa chief.'

Kiwi feather mat. Maori made given Mrs Buller about 1910–1911
circa 1910

title as inscribed on the reverse

98 x 71 mm
silver gelatin print

Unidentified photographers

children
circa 1910

102 x 146 mm
silver gelatin print

Ohinemutu
circa 1905

title as inscribed

83 x 109 mm
silver gelatin print

The standing figure on the left may be Thomas Donne, the first Superintendent of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts from 1901–1909.

Henry Gaze
(1874–1953)

Maori study
circa 1910

photographer's details printed on mount.
'24' imprinted

141 x 98 mm
cabinet card
silver gelatin print

Maori study
circa 1910

photographer's details printed on mount.
'34' imprinted

141 x 98 mm
cabinet card
silver gelatin print

In 1907 he began a photographic business in the Waikato that was to last 40 years. Travelling on horseback to outlying districts, he created a livelihood for his large family from servicing a predominantly rural community. By the end of the 1920s he was recognised as a dominant force in New Zealand Pictorialism. (Main, 1991, p.10)

Ralph Seldon
(active from
circa 1900)

An idyll of Maoriland
circa 1910

title as imprinted in a variant image (private collection, Auckland)

196 x 144 mm
silver gelatin print

Maori Boys, Whakarewarewa, NZ
circa 1910

titled as imprinted and with 'Seldon, RC 211, Rotorua, NZ'

146 x 196 mm
silver gelatin print

Edward Payton
(1859–1944)

waka, Lake Rotoiti
circa 1915

196 x 316 mm
silver gelatin print

Edward Payton studied art in Birmingham and Paris and came to New Zealand in 1883 after the death of his father. He returned to Britain and in 1888 published *Round about New Zealand, being notes from a journal of three years wanderings in the Antipodes*, illustrated with his drawings. Two of the chapters cover the expedition up the Whanganui River into the King Country that he undertook with Alfred Burton in May and June 1885. He records that Burton's apparatus and folio of photographs proved more popular with the locals than his own sketches. This was perhaps the beginning of his interest in photography. Twelve hundred of his photographs were donated to the Rotorua Art Gallery by his descendants. He was asked to become the first Principal of the Elam School of Arts and Design in Auckland, a post he held from 1890 until 1923. In 1903 he was made President of the Auckland Camera Club.

Unidentified photographer

steam cooking, Whakarewarewa
circa 1920

200 x 153 mm
silver gelatin print

During my stay of eight days at Roto Mahana all our food (consisting of hams, fowls, eggs, potatoes, &c) was cooked either in the boiling holes or by making a hole in the ground in places, when steam would immediately rush forth; by placing our food in a Maori kit or basket over the hole and covering it with fern, it was very soon cooked; in fact, all through the country, up to the head of Lake Taupo, for over a hundred miles, the natives cook their food in this way. (Mundy, 1874, p. 603)

Unidentified photographers

Lizzie, Kate and Pipi
circa 1910

the reverse inscribed 'In remembrance of your three Maori friends at Whaka. From Lizzie, Kate and Pipi'

156 x 106 mm
silver gelatin print

Guides had to be over eighteen and pay ten shillings for their annual registration. They were expected to speak good English and have a wide knowledge of Maori culture.

Maori study
circa 1925

155 x 106 mm
silver gelatin print

Guy (firm)

Maori Reception at Arawa Park, Rotorua
April 1920

titled as inscribed on the reverse. Blind stamped 'Guy Photo Dunedin'

146 x 209 mm
silver gelatin print

Unidentified photographer

Maori study
circa 1920

163 x 120 mm
silver gelatin print

Two patu pounamu (greenstone weapons) were presented to Edward, Prince of Wales, at this reception given in his honour by the fourth Maori King, Te Rata, and other important tribal leaders.

One, from Tainui as a whole, was an ancient patu that had belonged to Potatau, first Maori King. This was passed to the Prince with the handle pointing towards the donor, an indication that, according to Maori protocol, the gift should eventually be returned to Tainui. The second, a ceremonial weapon of more recent vintage, was handed over on behalf of Ngati Haua with the handle pointing towards the Prince, an indication that it was to belong to him and his descendants. (King, 2003, pp. 108–9)

However, they failed to get the audience they expected to address their grievances about the Crown's confiscation of Waikato land in 1864. The patu appeared on the art market after the death of Edward, then Duke of Windsor, in Paris in 1972. He must have kept both of them as his personal property when he abdicated the throne in 1936, after reigning for less than a year. The patu returned to New Zealand when they were purchased by Te Papa in 2002. (illustrated in *Icons Nga Taonga*, 2004, p. 23)

Charles Lloyd
(died 1930)

wedding
circa 1920

mount inscribed with the names of the sitters and dedication from Mr and Mrs H. J. Hall. Reverse with photographer's stamp

105 x 148 mm
silver gelatin print

Mita Taupopoki (circa 1845–1935) was a distinguished Tuhourangi and Ngati Wahiao leader who fostered the introduction of rugby to the Rotorua region and championed the temperance cause. He toured with Maggie Papakura's cultural group, attended the Coronation of George V in London and in 1933 was painted by Goldie.

Unidentified photographer

wedding
circa 1925

148 x 205 mm
silver gelatin print

bride and groom
circa 1925

205 x 149 mm
silver gelatin print

Michael King (2003) tentatively identified the figure on the left as Te Rata, the fourth Maori King, the house as Hukanui, near Huntly, and suggested that the wedding may be that of one his (four) younger brothers. One of them, Tonga Mahuta (1897–1947), married Te Okeware sometime after the First World War during which he was arrested for refusing conscription. The Waikato tribes generally refused to enlist in protest at the continuing intransigence of the government in settling the outstanding dispute over the 1860s land confiscations. As Te Puea famously remarked in reference to the iconic recruiting poster: 'They tell us to fight for King and country, well, that's all right. We've got a King. But we haven't got a country.' (quoted in King, 2003, p. 78)

Unidentified photographers

family group
circa 1920

message and address inscribed on reverse

90 x 141 mm
postcard
silver gelatin print

A party of women who taught me Kono Weaving
circa 1930

title as inscribed on the reverse, with press agency stamps

163 x 214 mm
silver gelatin print

Una Garlick
(1883–1951)

Maori Character Study
circa 1927

signed on mount, titled on reverse in artist's hand

100 x 73 mm
silver gelatin print

portrait, Tauranga
circa 1930

signed on the mount, the reverse inscribed and with photographer's stamp

102 x 74 mm
silver gelatin print

Single and of independent means, Una (Eunice) Garlick lived in Auckland. Variously described as 'forthright, blunt, rude and critical' (Hunt, 1986, p .8) by those who knew her, she is remembered today for a series of portraits of Maori women taken on her tours of the North Island in her Austin Twelve.

'One of these studies, "Georgina", appeared in the *American Annual of Photography* in 1930' (Maitland, 2006). Her most productive decade was from 1921 when she became the first female member of the Auckland Camera Club. She allied herself to the Pictorialist movement and had prints accepted by International Salons in London, Paris, Boston and Vancouver.

Unidentified photographer

contingent of the Maori Battalion
1940, printed later

label in Spanish on reverse (translation right)

186 x 243 mm
silver gelatin print

A Battalion of Maori soldiers training in New Zealand before embarking for the Dutch East Indies. The Maori are natives of New Zealand and descend from the early settlers of the Islands, before the arrival of the British at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They are some of the finest troops in the British Empire.

Even before Britain had declared war on Germany, Sir Apirana Ngata called for the formation of an exclusively Maori military unit as part of any expeditionary force. The initial one hundred and forty six trainees of the 28th (Maori) Battalion reported to Trentham Army School in November 1939. There was to be a Headquarters Company and four others raised loosely on a tribal basis. The authorities insisted on the commander (Major Dittmer) and some of the key officers being Pakeha.

After a short training period the Battalion boarded the *Acquitania* on 18 May 1940 originally bound for Indonesia. When Italy entered the war the convoy changed course for Scotland.

The three thousand six hundred and eighty men, all volunteers, served with great distinction in Greece, Crete, across North Africa and through Italy. There were one hundred and twenty nine decorations awarded including a posthumous Victoria Cross to Moana-Nui-a-Kiwa Ngarimu. The cost was a casualty rate of nearly seventy per cent with six hundred and twenty eight men killed and eighteen hundred injured.

Monty Soutar (2006) suggests this photograph shows the main body of the Battalion taken around Waitangi Day on 6 February 1940, the centenary of the signing of the original Treaty. It was decided that the tribal representatives were to be drawn from the battalion and five hundred of them attended the celebrations. Few of this number disembarked unscathed at Aotea Quay, Wellington, on 23 January 1946.

Detail of photograph on page 37

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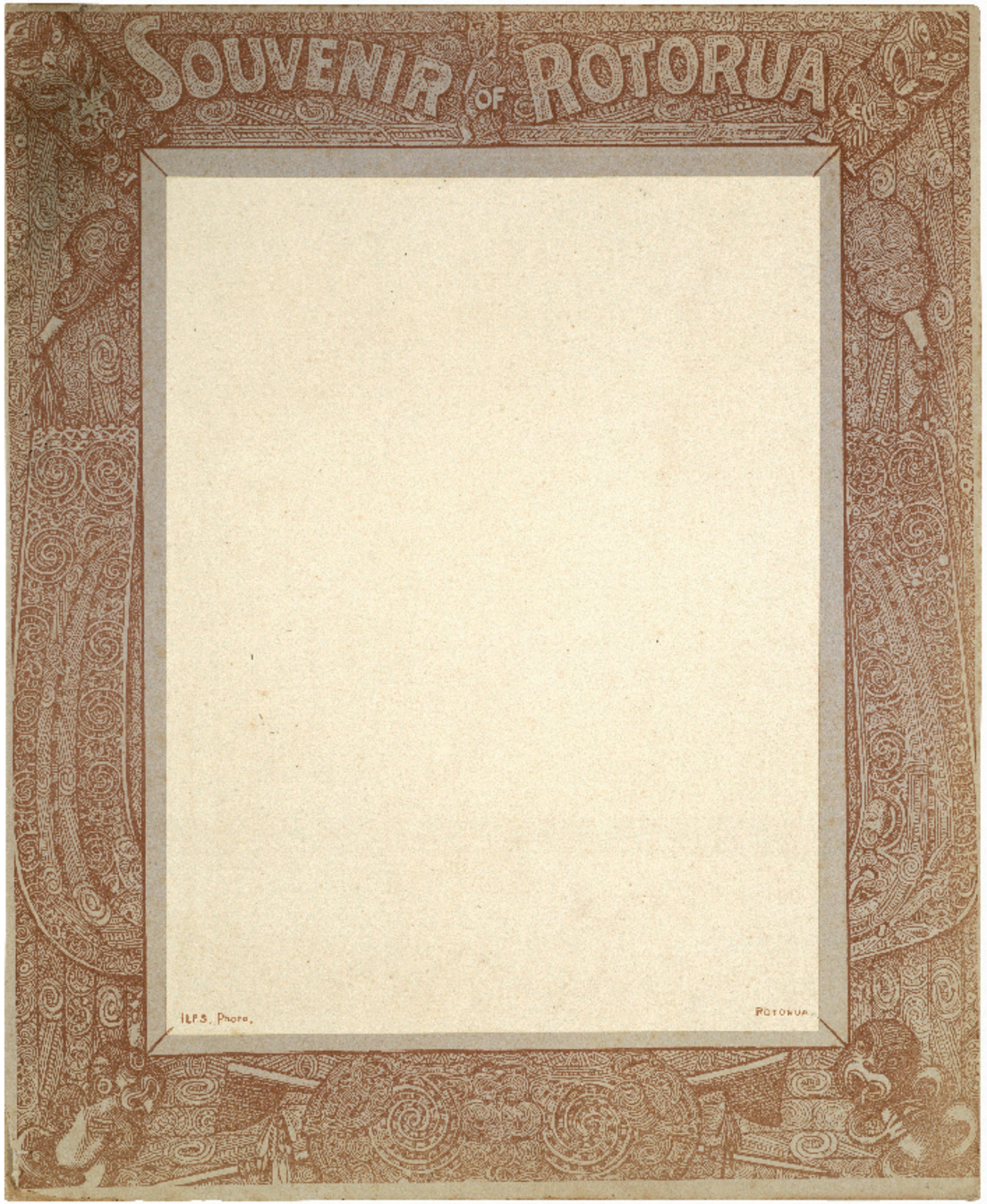

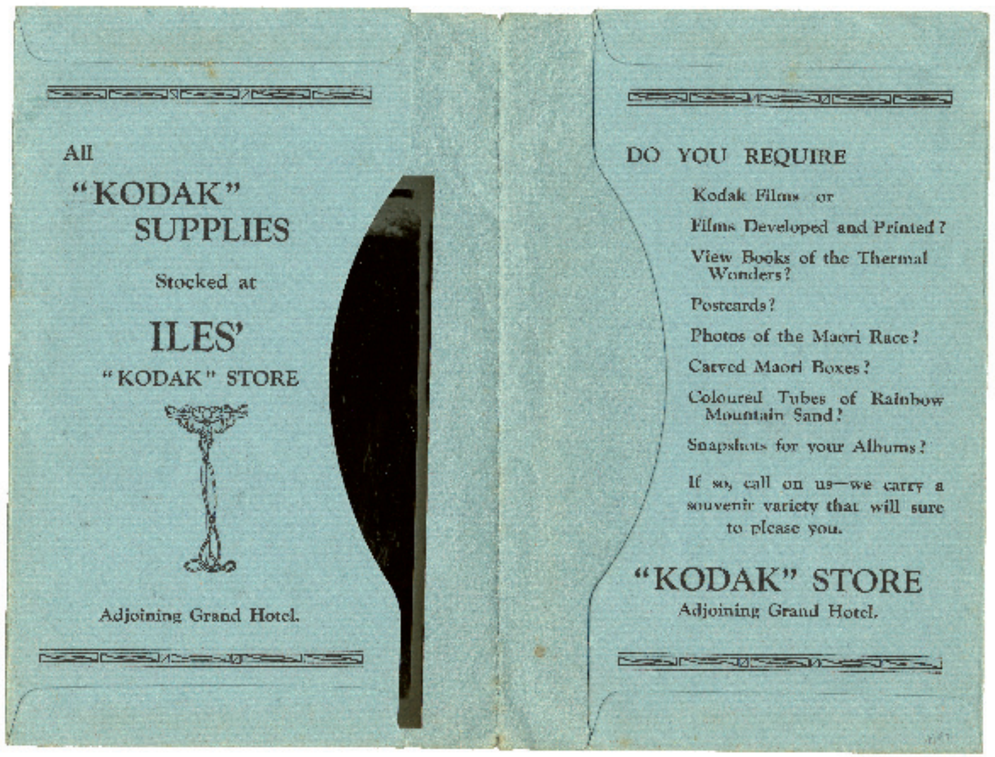

Glossary of Maori terms

amo	*upright supports on the sides of house front*
aroha	*love*
huia	*gathering of people*
kaik	*village (South Island)*
koruru	*carved head at front apex of house*
maihi	*facing boards on the gable of a house*
marae	*space in front of a meeting house*
moko	*facial or body tattoo*
pa	*village*
Pakeha	*person of predominantly European descent*
pataka	*elevated food storehouse*
patu	*weapon*
poupou	*side wall post of house*
taiaha	*fighting staff*
tangi	*funeral*
taniko	*woven textile border, geometric design*
taonga	*treasured possession*
tapu	*sacred, off limits*
tekoteko	*carved figure on the gable of a house*
wahine	*woman*
waka	*canoe*
whakapapa	*genealogy*
whare	*house, building*

Photographers index

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