NEGATIVE KEPT

[THIS PAGE] Batt and Richards (fl. 1867-1874). *Maori Fisherman*. Verso with inscribed title and photographers' imprint. Albumen print, actual size.
[ENDPAPERS] Thomas Price (fl. c. 1867-1920s). Collage of portraits, rephotographed in a carved wood frame, c. 1890. Gelatin silver print, 214 by 276 mm.
[COVER] Portrait, c. 1870. Albumen print, actual size.

Negative kept

Maori and the *carte de visite*

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in association with

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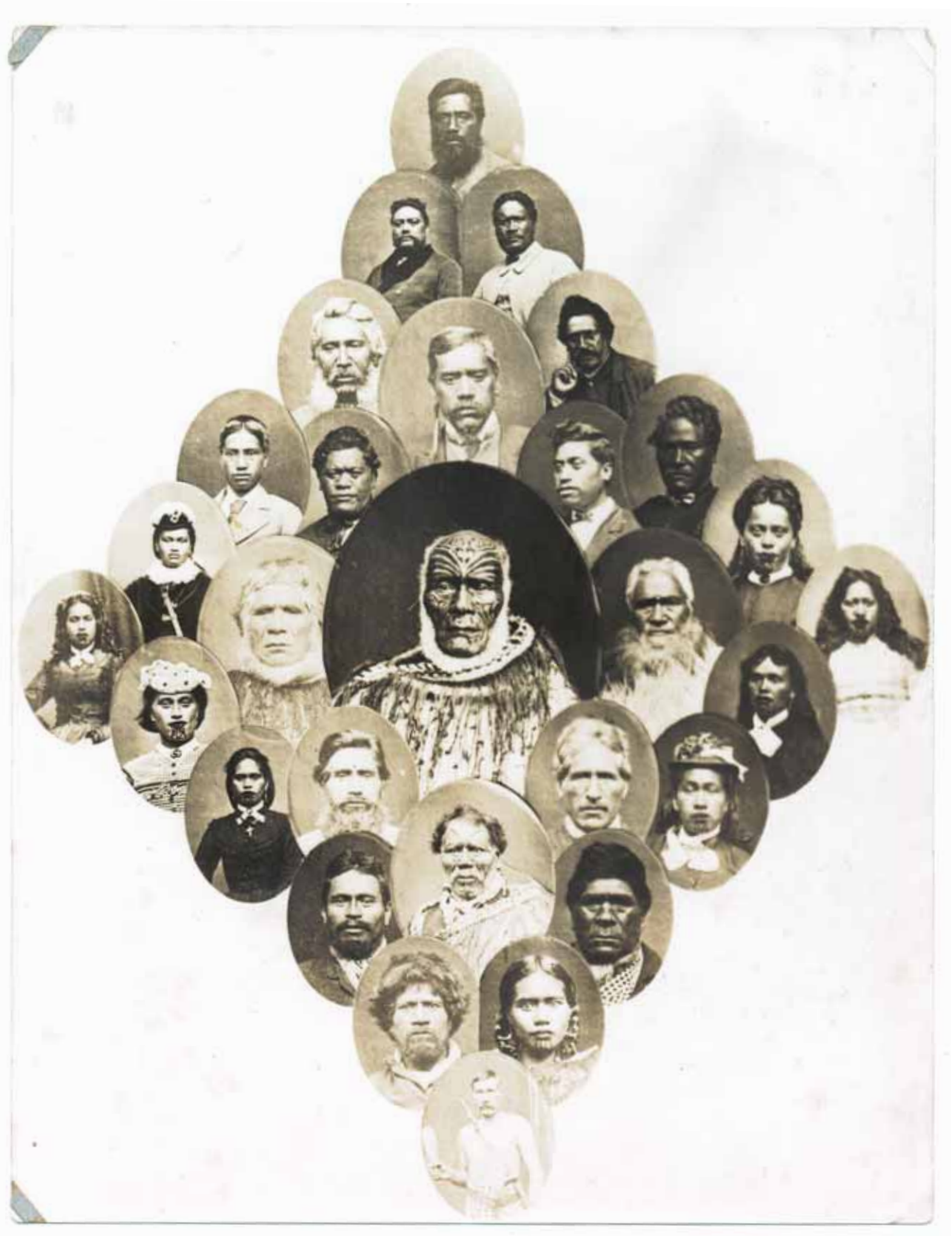
Introductory essay by Keith Giles

In memory of Roger Neich and Judith Binney

John Leech Gallery, Auckland, 2011

EST. 1855



Samuel Carnell (1832-1920). Collage of portraits, c. 1900. Gelatin silver print, actual size.

Preface

Photography was invented, or at least entered the public sphere, in France and England in 1839 with the near simultaneous announcements of the daguerreotype and photogenic drawing techniques. The new medium was to have as great an influence on humankind and the transmission of history as had the written and printed word. Visual, as well as verbal memory could now be fixed and controlled; our relationship with time forever altered. However, unlike text, photography experienced a rapid mutation through a series of formats in the 19th century culminating in film, a sequence of stopped motion images. But even as this latest incarnation spread, earlier forms persisted: stereographs, cabinet cards and what concerns us here, the carte de visite. Available from the late 1850s, this small and tactile format rapidly expanded the reach of photography away from just the wealthy. In the words of the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 5 May 1859: *Truly this is producing portraits for the million* (the entire population of white Australia). Seeing and handling a carte would have been most New Zealanders' first photographic experience. Cartes, collectable then as now, were perfectly suited for capturing individuals. Many of these portraits have a timeless, emotionally neutral quality. When unencumbered by 'artistic' layers and lit simply, they echo late 20th century photo-booth shots. Encountering this accumulation of faces enables an emotional connection to the past, giving an inkling of what it might have been like to be Maori in an increasingly Pakeha dominated world.

Negative kept, the title of this volume, is a variant of an imprint found on the reverse of some cartes, often with an inscribed number to facilitate re-ordering. Most photographers in the second half of the 19th century in New Zealand were entrepreneurs trading in a difficult commercial environment. Images of Maori people provided a welcome source of income. Isolating this body of work illuminates a shift in how Maori people were perceived, or rather consumed, over the period in which this format was produced. It would be an oversimplification to state that this evolves from the portrayal of individuals to showing a generic type, but the pictorial atmosphere is undeniably different towards the end of the century. We almost never know the circumstances of each sitting and thus whether we are seeing the subject as they wished to be seen or whether they are fulfilling others' expectations, if indeed these two scenarios do always result in a radically different pictorial outcome. We may need to be wary and decode historical images carefully but ultimately, unlike painting, *photography is* of *the world*.* Such considerations apart, we are fortunate that the popularity of cartes then has left us with a rich archive of personalities that we might otherwise be denied.

The sequence here does not follow any chronology. Identifying the sitters and dating these cartes and carte-sized (unmounted) prints is rarely straightforward. The period represented spans from the days of the Land Wars chiefs to the celebrity status tourist guides of the thermal districts. Only a generation, but one which saw seismic changes in Maori society. The cartes are reproduced to actual size in the main body of the book, and the verso is shown if there is any printed or manuscript information. It is tempting, for our lazy twenty-first century eyes, to be unfaithful to these artefacts and enlarge them all to reveal the detail and render those silent witnesses more accessible. The originals are all approximately the same size, around nine by six centimetres. Cartes are contact prints (e.g. the same size as that section of the negative) so the use of a magnifying glass can be rewarding.

Those wishing to know more of the dates and locations of the New Zealand studios should consult the Auckland City Libraries' online resource, the *Photographers' Database*. Inscriptions are not always to be relied on but we have presented the main body of this book without comment or qualification to replicate, in spirit at least, the kind of albums that these cartes would have been displayed in at the time.

**We might say: A painting is a world; a photograph is* of *the world*. Stanley Cavell, *The World Viewed: Reflections on the Ontology of Film*. Harvard University Press, 1979, p. 24.

Cartes-de-visite in New Zealand

Keith Giles

The phenomenon of the *carte-de-visite* began in Europe in the late 1850s. There is debate as to who exactly devised the format and when,[1] but it transformed photography.

Cartes-de-visite consisted of a stiff piece of card onto which small photographic portraits, typically about 55mm by 85mm, were pasted. In size they were similar to large business or visiting cards, hence the name, although it is unlikely that they were ever used as such.[2] But the success of the *carte-de-visite* lay essentially in the camera and its various refinements. Technical innovations meant that instead of one image exposed on one large collodion negative, up to ten or even twelve images might be exposed one by one on a single plate.[3] The number of exposures per plate standardised at eight, although a lesser number was not unusual.[4] The images were then contact printed, cut up and mounted.[5] Consequently photographs could be produced much more cheaply than before, much more quickly and, more importantly, in greater volume.[6] In theory the facility for multiple exposures should have encouraged a variety of poses. In practice customers were often mechanically photographed in standardised and predictable positions, surrounded by repetitive studio props; only occasionally did a photographer escape the prescribed conventions.[7] Nevertheless *cartes-de-visite* were a practical and affordable means of securing portraits of friends and family, even public figures. As a result they were instantly popular and unleashed a frenzy of collecting known as *cartemania*. The number of photographic studios boomed, and *cartes-de-visite* soon filled photographers' windows across Europe.[8]

The widespread availability of British and European journals, magazines and newspapers meant that the concept of the *carte-de-visite* was at least known in New Zealand by 1861,[9] and actual examples brought by settlers may well have been circulating before that. When George Henry Swan in Wellington and George Hoby in Nelson began marketing *cartes* in January 1862 neither needed to explain the format,[10] nor did the cities' newspapers feel it necessary to comment. But prices were not cheap. Hoby began by charging 5 shillings for a single portrait.[11] This had become one guinea (£1/1/-) for six by July 1862,[12] and by December 1862 Hoby and his Nelson rivals Alexander Fletcher and Thomas Oxley had each settled on a figure of £1 per half dozen.[13] Others were less specific in their pricing. In Auckland C H Robson somewhat disingenuously advertised that the price of his *cartes-de-visite* would reduce by one third as of 16 June 1862,[14] and the following month James Davis of the Union Photographic Gallery, also in Auckland, promised "the lowest remunerating price."[15] In Dunedin in October 1862 John M'Gregor was similarly vague, advertising "Cartes de Visite unsurpassed for beauty" at "extremely moderate" charges.[16]

Technical improvements, the steady proliferation of equipment, and increased competition all combined to gradually force down prices. Photographers and entrepreneurs imported the latest apparatus from London and Sydney,[17] and in November 1862 G H Swan boasted of his most recent acquisition – a new 4 lens *cartes-de-visite* camera invented and patented by his brother in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.[18] It was this type of camera that rapidly became standard equipment.[19] By November 1863 costs had reduced to the point where George Edward Hutchins could undercut his Auckland competitors with six *cartes-de-visite* for 12 shillings or, rather ingeniously, 5 shillings for the first and 1/6 for each subsequent print.[20] This compared extremely well with Price & Co in New Plymouth, who in 1866 considered their style of *carte-de-visite* warranted a charge of 8 shillings for three, 20 shillings for eight and 25 shillings for twelve.[21] In general, however, the drop in price was uninterrupted, as typified by the experience of Charles Henry Monkton. In Auckland in 1864 Monkton was selling

six *cartes-de-visite* for 15 shillings. By 1879, trading in Manners Street, Wellington, he charged 7/6 for the same number, or 12/6 per dozen. In the early 1880s, as a semi-itinerant photographer in the Waikato and Taranaki, this had fallen to 5 shillings and 7/6 respectively. In 1888, after a two-year spell in gaol, he re-appeared in Wellington charging one shilling for the first *carte*, and 6d thereafter.[22]

When it came to obtaining portraits, however, cost was not necessarily a consideration for New Zealanders. The Auckland bookbinder and stationer J F Leighton supplied a number of the city's photographers, and a surviving daybook gives an insight into the relentless popularity of the *carte-de-visite* between 1862 and 1864. According to Leighton's accounts, at the end of October 1862 Charles Henry Monkton purchased "2000 large White cards for Carde de Visite" at a cost of £1/10/-, and a further 1000 "Cards de Vissitts" in March 1864. Davis and Rayner ordered 500 large cards and 2500 "Cards de Visite" in May 1863. Hartley Webster bought 2500 cards on 28 October 1863, another 2500 "Large White Cards de visite" 8 days later, and 2000 "Carte de Visittes" on 9 April 1864.[23] For a settlement of just 10,000 people,[24] these are substantial figures. They become even more impressive when we consider that Leighton was not the only stationer in Auckland, and that the photographers known to have patronised him were just a proportion of the 10 or so operators active in the city.[25] If Auckland was representative of the other major centres, then the market for *cartes-de-visites* in New Zealand as a whole was huge.

The physical appearance of the *carte-de-visite* changed over the years. In the 1860s, as might be expected of a product more often than not locally produced, a *carte-de-visite* would be fairly plain, with square corners. The name of the photographer may have been handwritten on the reverse rather than printed on the card, and because the photograph was usually hand-cut with scissors, it was frequently badly trimmed and out of square. In the 1870s the cards became thicker, of better quality, perhaps with a coloured printed border, and more elaborate printing on the reverse. Often they were manufactured and printed abroad by the likes of French firm A Marion, Son & Co. By the 1880s they were invariably produced on round cornered card, and glazed in pastel colours, such as cream or pink, giving an altogether more sophisticated look.[26]

However the sheer volume of *cartes-de-visite* created its own problems. Whilst small numbers could be displayed in cases and frames in the manner of the daguerreotype and ambrotype,[27] the storage and display of larger collections very quickly became problematic. The solution was the photograph album. John Varty, a Queen Street bookseller, was probably one of the first importers of "Photographic Albums" into the Auckland region in March 1862.[28] In Nelson, George Hoby imported a case of albums in November 1862,[29] and Invercargill bookseller John Stewart was advertising an assortment of albums for sale in June 1863.[30] The concept was certainly well established by January 1863 when a plaintive advert in the *Daily Southern Cross* offered a reward for the return of a lost "carte de visite album containing a few family portraits".[31] Some of the earliest examples had plain pages intended for pen and ink decorations by the owner. Others had pre-printed leaves with blank spaces left for portraits.[32] In both cases, flouting the opinion of the *Wellington Independent* that mounting was an indispensable element of the *carte-de-visite*,[33] unmounted portraits were pasted straight onto the page. This contrasted with later albums where thick card pages with pre-cut slots allowed standard mounted *cartes-de-visite* to be added and removed as required.[34] The size of the *carte-de-visite* meant it was ideal for posting to friends and family overseas, and many photographers were able to capitalise on this. As early as January 1862 G H Swan at Clay Point in Wellington promoted his "carte-de-visite portraits for sending per post",[35] while in Nelson Thomas Oxley urged their purchase as Christmas presents,[36] and George Hoby offered to send portraits free to London.[37] Correspondents abroad were only too willing to reciprocate, which is one reason why so many photographs from foreign studios can be found in New Zealand albums.

One feature of photography which members of the public found dissatisfying was the absence of colour. Daguerreotypists overcame this by applying dry powder pigments to a gum arabic base, and ambrotypes could be coloured in the same way.[38] For *cartes-de-visite*, there were essentially two methods of colouring. The first was to paint over the photograph in oils, and then coat the surface with varnish to produce something akin to a conventional miniature. In April 1864, before he became a photographer, George Pulman advertised his services as an oil colourist,[39] and there are examples of *cartes-de-visite* by Robert Leaf treated in this way.[40] This was probably a function of the painter (and photographer) John Tensfeld during his collaboration with Robert Henry Bartlett in 1869-70.[41] As the procedure obscured many of the intricate details captured by the photographic process, the quality of the final image depended heavily on the skill of the artist. Unfortunately the result was not always of great merit: in 1872 the relationship between John McGarrigle and his colourist Edward Arnold ended in court when McGarrigle accused Arnold of being an incapable "duffer".[42] Water-based dyes were easier to apply and gave a more natural finish. Because of the sepia on cream of the albumen print, a very effective result could be produced by using the primary tints blue, red, and yellow. A very pleasing effect could even be achieved by leaving much of the portrait untinted and picking out just a few small details. Tints could be added very speedily, and to reduce time and keep down costs a production line basis was often adopted where large numbers of *cartes* were being coloured.[43] New Zealand photographers were quick to see the commercial possibilities, and as early as April 1862 George Hoby had engaged his former partner William Davis to offer a colouring service.[44]

The growing influx of settlers, fuelled by immigration schemes and by gold rushes in Otago and Thames, kept the demand for *cartes-de-visite* high and New Zealand photographers busy. But New Zealanders did not limit their taste in portraits to images of friends and family. Like their European relations, they discovered early an appetite for images of "illustrious and eminent persons". The growing obsession was encouraged by book dealers such as Edward Wayte of Auckland[45] and John Stewart of Invercargill,[46] who were swift to import *carte-de-visite* portraits of British and European royalty, aristocracy and politicians. The General Stationery Establishment in Auckland's Queen Street listed *cartes-de-visite* copies of old masters among its stock,[47] and Henry Woodward Reilly in Shortland Street advertised a variety of comic *cartes*.[48] Even the London incarnation of Paris-based Marion & Co promoted its *cartes-de-visites* of royalty, statesmen and literary giants ("catalogues sent on application") directly through the pages of the *Daily Southern Cross*.[49]

Unsurprisingly the New Zealand Wars added yet another facet to the appeal of the *carte-de-visite*. Troops and militia stationed in Auckland in readiness for the invasion of the Waikato queued up to have their likenesses taken;[50] but it was images associated with the fighting that initially proved popular. In early 1864 John Varty began selling photographs taken by Daniel Manders Beere of places "memorable as the scenes of the conflicts and struggles which have occurred during the present Maori rebellion";[51] and George Pulman, probably in his capacity as agent for Fairs & Steel, had photographs of the Galloway Redoubt available in "a convenient size for sending by the Home Mail".[52] Inevitably the growing obsession with military images meant that some sitters themselves became marketable commodities. In August 1865 John Nicol Crombie found a niche for *cartes-de-visite* of General Cameron,[53] and the following year Hartley Webster was offering portraits of officers of the 65th Regiment.[54] Neither was as quick off the mark as John James Goodchild, proprietor of the Auckland School of Photography, who within weeks of the death of Captain Richard Swift at Camerontown on 7 September 1863 was supplying *carte-de-visite* portraits of the deceased soldier at 2/6 per copy.[55] More popular still were *cartes* of Major Gustavus Ferdinand von Tempsky. After his demise at Te Ngutu-o-te-manu in 1868 it has been said that no New Zealand album was complete without his likeness.[56]

Of course it was not just portraits of monarchs and soldiers that persuaded New Zealanders to part with their money. Images of Maori were particularly in demand, as were *cartes-de-visite* of theatrical celebrities. In fact there was no limit as to what was considered collectable or of interest. One of the attractions at the St Andrew's Manse Fund Bazaar held at the Brunswick Hall in Auckland in April 1863 was a display of *cartes-de-visite* of Presbyterian ministers.[57] In November 1866 Hartley Webster had a clear-out from his studio of *cartes-de-visite* that had been ordered but not collected.[58] Photo-historian William Main wondered what Webster's customers would do with pictures of their fellow Aucklanders.[59] In reality it seems they were more than happy to acquire them just for their albums. By the mid 1870s it was possible to visit Perkins' Occidental Hotel in Vulcan Lane and view the

owner's collection of over 1000 portraits, an assemblage that included *cartes-de-visite* not only of "theatrical celebrities and men and women of mark", but also the comic and grotesque.[60]

The potential for celebrity sales was immense. The *Nelson Examiner* happily repeated claims that after the death of Prince Albert, one Parisian bookseller sold in one day over 30,000 of the dead prince's *carte-de-visite*,[61] whilst the *Hawke's Bay Herald* reported that 20,000 *cartes* of the Queen Maria Sofia of Naples and Sicily were snapped up after her heroic actions at Gaeta in 1860/1.[62] A rumour that the British Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, had died immediately led to the inundation of that country's various wholesale *cartes-de-visite* houses by orders for his portrait.[63] It was clear to photographers even in far off New Zealand that celebrities generated sales, and an appreciation of the possibilities was mutual.[64] The stage personalities Mr & Mrs Case ordered 1000 *cartes-de-visite* from John Nicol Crombie for their provincial tour in December 1865;[65] other entertainers followed suit, ensuring full houses by promising free *cartes* to those who attended their concerts.[66] R H Bartlett secured sittings by the blind violinist Joseph Heine in January 1866,[67] and by Chang the Chinese Giant in October 1870.[68] When Henry James O'Farrell shot and wounded Queen Victoria's second son, Prince Alfred, at Clontarf near Sydney, Australia in 1868, in less than a month Bartlett sold 1600 likenesses of the prince at one shilling each.[69]

But whilst there was an understanding of the commercial value of the human face, the concepts of ownership and copyright of an image were far from being established. In 1862 the *Hawke's Bay Herald* carried a report that the English bare-knuckle fighter Tom Sayers had refused demands from numerous photographers for a sitting, on the grounds that he had sold his "mug" to the sports publisher George Newbold.[70] Such arrangements, however, did not necessarily protect the future use of an image. In New Zealand, as elsewhere, it was not uncommon for portraits to pass through a number of hands, with a succession of studios acquiring negatives and affixing their own name.[71] Some of Elizabeth Pulman's Maori portraits may have been acquired by way of her operator, George Steel, who as Fairs & Steel had purchased Davis & Rayner's negatives in 1863.[72] Charles Clarke Armstrong reprinted many of Joseph Weaver Allen's negatives to which he added the legend "Protected C Armstrong";[73] John Robert Hanna secured the Clarke Brothers' negatives,[74] and Alfred Burton acquired the Maori portraits of the American Photographic Company, which he marketed as Burton Brothers photographs.[75] Bartlett sourced his portrait of Prince Alfred from an un-named Australian photographer in Sydney.[76] It is possible there may have been a financial arrangement permitting its use, but the *cartes-de-visite* were churned out under Bartlett's own name without reference to the portrait's origin.

The notion of intellectual ownership took some time to evolve. At first the photographer was seen as nothing more than a facilitator. If copyright were to be attributed to anyone at all then it to was either God or Nature, or just possibly to the commissioner of the picture.[77] Indeed the idea that there was any genius at work in the composition and creation of a photograph was laughable. Copying of photographs was not therefore seen as a problem, with many New Zealand photographers offering this as a service.[78] In March 1878 the *Wanganui Herald* openly applauded Sharp & Son's reproduction of photographs of the recently deceased Pope Pius IX, "copied from the latest *carte* in the possession of the Rev Father Kirk".[79] But because of the sales potential of certain types of image, copyright increasingly became an issue. Napier photographer Samuel Carnell scrawled his claim to copyright across the centre of his *carte-de-visite* portrait of Reverend Volkner's alleged murderer Kereopa Te Rau,[80*] but this did not prevent Benjamin Peyman in Wanganui blatantly reproducing the *carte*, complete with copyright warning, on his own pre-printed mounts.[81] Similarly portraits of the Maungatapu murderers taken by the Nelson assistant gaoler Henry Clouston and William Edmund Brown in 1866 reappeared as *cartes-de-visites* printed by Henry Albert Frith in Dunedin,[82] although it is impossible to say if this was done covertly or with permission.

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One of the most saleable commodities for New Zealand photographers were portraits of Maori. These are now often referred to as "Maori Heads", but for much of the 19th century the phrase indicated either a type of grass tussock[83] or, occasionally, preserved human heads.[84] In the mid-1860s Fairs & Steel used the term "Maori Chiefs" for their portraits,[85] as did Price & Co of New Plymouth.[86] In 1866 George Hoby, now also resident in Taranaki, offered "Maori pictures" at one shilling each "for sending home",[87] whereas in 1873 John McGarrigle of the American Photographic Company in Auckland adopted the designation "Maori Celebrities", of which he claimed the largest stock in New Zealand – around 30,000 at one point.[88] This was the phrase settled on by John Low in Hamilton in 1876.[89] In 1879 C H Monkton offered simply "Maori scenes and Maori portraits" ("mounted or unmounted, for transmission to Europe"),[90] but in 1883 he professed to have "The best and only good selection of living Maori celebrities".[91] Perhaps he was right. In 1865 he had shown remarkable initiative by seeking out and photographing Wiremu Tamihana at his base in the Waikato,[92] and he claimed to have personally photographed Tawhiao, his wife, son, and daughter, Wahanui Huatare, Rewi Maniapoto, "Horikeri, Witiora and all the principle [sic] chiefs in the King Country" at Whatwhatihoe in May 1882.[93] In contrast the Pulman Studio proclaimed merely "New Zealand Scenery and Natives" on its Shortland Street frontage, although the real estate agents dealing with the sale of the business in 1899 attributed the firm "a world-wide reputation for Maori Photographs".[94]

Maori were instantly recognisable and uniquely New Zealand. Their likenesses were collected by settlers for their own albums, and sent to family in Britain and Europe as examples of their tattooed and fearsome neighbours. They were exotic curiosities, and their *cartes-de-visite* had an enduring and international appeal.[95] As such, for many New Zealand photographers, it seems likely that the trade in Maori portraits was an important element of their business. Maori had an awareness of the commercial value of photography, charging artists and photographers a £5 fee for access to Rotomahana.[96] Josiah Martin even reported that Maori in Rotorua invariably asked tourists for half-a-crown (2/6) or five shillings to pose for a photograph.[97] Yet at the 1882 court case of *Blackman v. Monkton* it was claimed that "it has been the custom to get Maori celebrities without pecuniary consideration".[98] William Main has conjectured that in return for permitting a photographer to take portraits, some Maori would have been given a few *cartes-de-visite*.[99] This may have been true in certain cases: studio portraits had begun to replace wall carvings on marae as a way of showing respect for ancestors,[100] and payment in kind could have been one way in which portraits were acquired. But Maori had a track record of good business sense,[101] and it is probable that many sitters knew the value of their faces. Records show that Arthur Iles, active as a photographer in Rotorua from 1901, paid his Maori models a fee,[102] and the regularity with which some Maori countenances turn up in *cartes-de-visite* suggests they made a living out of posing for the camera.

How photographers obtained their sitters is not entirely clear. Auckland photographer Robert Leaf* never advertised, but produced a fine series of Maori *cartes-de-visite* portraits. The fact that his studio was prominently positioned in Waterloo Quadrant, opposite Government House, and not far from the Maori Hostel may have played a part in the number of sitters he was able to attract. The Foy Brothers* in Thames are said to have taken advantage of many of the old Maori in town for the Land Court sessions.[103] Other photographers may have been equally opportunistic. At the same time some Maori were prospering and would have actively sought to record the fact by having their portraits taken.[104] For others, like King Tawhiao who sat for both R H Bartlett and Elizabeth Pulman after his emergence from isolation in the King Country in 1881,[105] there may have been a political agenda at work.

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If photographers paid even a small number of their Maori subjects this would have provided added impetus to seek an effective means of protecting both their investment and their income. The ease with which photographs could be copied was a common complaint, and in June 1875 William Collie wrote to the Minister of Justice proposing a bill to protect photographers from plagiarism. His, and other deputations, resulted in the passing of the Fine Arts Copyright Act of 1877, which provided for the registration of photographs and artworks on payment of a fee to the Department of Justice.[106] The Act was tested in 1882 when Mrs Pulman (now Mrs Blackman) accused Charles Henry Monkton of copying a cabinet portrait of King Tawhiao without her authority.[107] After much deliberation, the magistrate ruled that although the registration of the photograph complied absolutely with the Act, the system of registration as set out by the Act was "informal and inoperative,

and therefore there was no copyright to infringe”.[108] The ruling meant that portraits would continue to turn up under other photographers’ names with or without the permission of the original artist. The most surprising outcome of the court case, however, was that even though the Law was shown to have no power to enforce copyright, photographs continued to be registered under the Act – about 280 between 1886 and 1944.[109]

The cabinet format, of which the disputed portrait of King Tawhiao was an example, had made its appearance more than 15 years before, and had immediately signalled the beginning of the end for the *carte-de-visite*. It had a similar appearance to its precursor, but it was about four times the size. The consequent increase in image area provided a much more flexible format than the *carte*. It permitted photographers to be more inventive, allowing greater use of props and more elaborate backdrops in the studio; and it could be more easily retouched. It was also better suited to photographing groups and landscapes.[110] As a result, the popularity of the *carte-de-visite* peaked in Britain and Europe in the 1860s,[111] but although John Nicol Crombie was advertising the advantages of the cabinet card in Auckland in January 1867,[112] it was slow to catch on in New Zealand. Despite the availability of albums with cabinet size slots, advertising of the cabinet format was patchy,[113] and the *carte-de-viste* remained the preferred style, and the main source of income for most New Zealand photographers.[114] Only in the 1880s did the cabinet card begin to gain ground, gradually superseding the smaller format card.[115] Even so, the *carte-de-visite* continued to be produced right up until the end of the 19th century, until it was finally killed off by the Kodak camera, and by the latest collecting craze, the postcard.

Tanner Brothers (publisher), Pulman studio (photographer). *A Maori Warrior, N.Z.*, c. 1933/1870. Imprinted with title. Gelatin silver print, postcard, actual size. See 036.

[1] John Plunkett, ‘Carte-de-Visite’ in John Hannavy (ed), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (New York, 2008; 2 vols), [E19CP] i.276.

[2] E19CP, i.276. Cf Graham Hudson, *The Riddle of the Carte-de-Visite* (http://www.ephemera-society.org.uk/articles/articles.html, accessed 24 February 2010) who points to an 1862 *Punch* cartoon as proof that *cartes-de-visites* were used as visiting cards. The evidence does not, however, seem conclusive.

[3] E19CP, i.276.

[4] E19CP, i.276; John Hannavy, *Victorian Photographers at Work* (Princes Risborough, 1997), p42.

[5] William Main, *Auckland Through A Victorian Lens* (Wellington, NZ, 1977), p46.

[6] E19CP, i.276.

[7] Michael Frizot (ed), *A New History of Photography* (Koeln, 1998), pp111-2; E19CP, i.277; David Eggleton, *Into the Light: a History of New Zealand Photography* (Nelson, 2006), p17; cf Main, p46.

[8] Eggleton, p17; E19CP, i.276.

[9] The first mention appears in an index to *Once a Week*, published by the *Hawkes Bay Herald* [HBH], 2 January 1862, p3.

[10] *Nelson Examiner & New Zealand Chronicle* [NE], 29 January 1862, p2; *Wellington Independent* [WI], 31 January 1862, p2. But see NE 8 March 1862, p2, where Hoby advertised “carte-de-visite (or small standing figure)”.

[11] NE 29 January 1862, p2.

[12] NE 16 July 1862, p2.

[13] NE 20 December 1862, p1.

[14] *Daily Southern Cross* [SC], 16 June 1862, p1.

[15] SC 23 July 1862, p2 which refers to “Mr Davis”. *The New Zealander* [NZer], 3 July 1863, p1 suggests his Christian name.

[16] *Otago Witness* [OW], 18 October 1862, p1.

[17] See, for example, SC 9 July 1863, p2, NE 31 December 1863, p2, and SC 1 June 1865, p3. J S Norrie of Sydney was advertising photographic equipment for sale in the *New Zealander*, 14 March 1860, p2.

[18] WI 13 November 1862, p2, 22 November 1862, p3. For G H Swan’s origins, see *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vi (1908), p303.

[19] See Michel Auer, *The Illustrated History of the Camera from 1839 to the present* (Kings Langley, 1975), pp51, 270, and Main, p46; but cf Brian Coe, *Cameras From Daguerreotypes to Instant Pictures* (Gothenburg, 1978), pp76-8.

[20] SC 13 November 1863, p5.

[21] *Taranaki Herald* [TH], 6 October 1866, p2.

[22] SC 4 June 1864, p1; *Evening Post* [EP], 17 April 1879, p4, 20 May 1879, p4; *Waikato Times* [WT], 15 November 1881, p3; TH 20 April 1883, p2; *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 16 June 1883, p3; EP 4 February 1888, p3. The 1888 advertisement is in the name of H F Airey, an identity Monkton assumed after his release from prison in 1886 – see Keith Giles ‘C H Monkton, victim or villain?’, *New Zealand Journal of Photography*, summer 2003/4 (no.53), p19.

[23] J F Leighton, *Daybook*, NZMS 1364, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries. Webster’s purchase on 5 November 1863 may have been a bookkeeping error – see the entry for 6 November 1863.

[24] This is the figure given by Crombie at an address in Glasgow in 1862 (Main, p9). For a report on Crombie’s paper to the Glasgow Photographic Institution, see the *British Journal of Photography* (1862), p393.

[25] *Mitchell & Seffern’s Directory of the City and Suburbs of Auckland for 1866-7* (Auckland, 1866), p51 lists 11 photographers, but a least one other, George Albert Steel, is known to have been working in Auckland at this time – see Keith Giles, ‘Fairs & Steel: their impact on Auckland photography’, *New Zealand Legacy*, vol.19/3, p9.

[26] Lenore Frost, *Dating Family Photos, 1850-1920* (Essendon, Victoria, 1991), p15; Hannavy, p55. [scissors]

[27] Hannavy, p97; Main, p10.

[28] SC 28 March 1862, p3.

[29] NE 29 November 1862, p2.

[30] *Southland Times* [ST], 9 June 1863, p3.

[31] SC 12 January 1863, p1.

[32] Hannavy, pp97-8.

[33] WI 22 November 1862, p3.

[34] Hannavy, pp97, 100; and see Main, p10.

[35] WI 31 January 1862, p2.

[36] NE 24 December 1862, p2, and see NE 29 November 1862, p2, “Portraits for the next English Mail.. Cartes de Visite (size for posting)…”

[37] NE 8 March 1862, p2.

[38] Hannavy, pp85-9.

[39] *New Zealand Herald* [NZH], 12 April 1864, p1.

[40] Flower family private collection.

[41] See SC 10 December 1869, p4, 4 March 1870, p3. T Price and Frank Varley also worked with Bartlett to provide photographs painted in oils, see SC 27 September 1866, p4, and 17 August 1870, p1 respectively.

[42] See SC 28 September 1872, pp 2, 4, 12 October 1872, p3. For more on this episode see Keith Giles, ‘John McGarrigle: International Man of Mystery’, NZ Legacy, vol. 22/2, pp15-21.

[43] Hannavy, pp86-7, 90-1.

[44] NE 26 April 1862, p2. It is likely most studios would have offered colouring (Hannavy, p90): Monkton sold framed and coloured cartes-de-visite (SC 4 June 1864, p1), whereas Crombie had coloured *cartes* for sale in cases (SC 27 April 1867, p3).

[45] SC 1 June 1863, p6.

[46] ST 9 June 1863, p3.

[47] NZer 20 May 1865, p4.

[48] SC 28 January 1865, p6.

[49] SC 6 October 1863, p6.

[50] Main, p35.

[51] SC 10 March 1864, p5.

[52] SC 26 October 1863, p1.

[53] NZer 24 August 1865, p4, and see note 54 below.

[54] SC 24 January 1866, p6. George Hoby in New Plymouth was selling copies of these, and of Webster's own portrait of General Cameron, later in the year, see TH 26 May 1866, p2.

[55] SC 27 October 1863, p2, and see *Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal* (September 1983), no.43, p40. The proprietor's name is given by NZH 1 January 1864, p1.

[56] Main, p54.

[57] SC 9 April 1863, p3.

[58] NZH 20 November 1866, pp1, 4.

[59] Main, p10.

[60] See Richmond Thatcher, *Cataloquial, coloquial and truthful description of Perkins' Hotel and Occidental Museum, Vulcan Lane, Queen Street, Auckland : together with a list of 1000 portraits of theatrical celebrities and men and women of mark* (Auckland, 1877).

[61] NE 29 March 1862, p2.

[62] HBH 13 May 1862, p3. See also the *Otago Daily Times*, 22 April 1862, p5, for the much fuller, original article culled from the short-lived English periodical *Once a Week*.

[63] HBH 13 May 1862, p3.

[64] Main, p55.

[65] NZH 20 December 1865, p4. Crombie had already printed at least 500 copies before this order was placed, see SC 9 November 1865, p1.

[66] See, for example, SC 2 April 1866, p1 (Miss Fanny Young and Miss Julia Corcoran, "photographed by Crombie"), SC 22 October 1867, p1 (Little Marion Nathan), and *West Coast Times*, 26 May 1868, p2 (the Misses Carandini).

[67] SC 13 January 1866, p5, 19 January 1866, p1.

[68] NZH 26 October 1870, p2.

[69] NZH 31 March 1868, p3, 27 April 1868, p5.

[70] HBH 28 June 1862, p4.

[71] Main, p15.

[72] SC 28 October 1863, p1; and see Giles, 'Fairs & Steel', pp9-11.

[73] Hardwicke Knight, *Joseph Weaver Allen, photographer* (Dunedin, c1997), p17.

[74] See Hanna's advert in *J Scott, Electric Calculator and Business Handbook* (1885). The collection probably also included plates produced by the brothers for James Cater and John Nicol Crombie between 1865 and 1873, see Main, p46.

[75] Main, pp14-5, and see W N Wilson, 'Photographic Cataloguing Case Studies', *Archifacts*, 23 (1982), pp644-51, and Athol McCredie, 'Collecting Photographs: The development of Te Papa's historical photography collection', Tuhinga, 20 (2009), pp50-1.

[76] NZH 31 March 1868, p3. See also his advertisement, SC 15 April 1868, p1.

[77] Steve Edwards, *Photography – a Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2006), p41; Hannavy, p85.

[78] See, for example, NE 8 March 1862, p2 (Hoby), NE 30 May 1863, p6 (Oxley). TH 6 October 1866, p2 (Price & Co), *Wanganui Chronicle*, 7 July 1876, p1 (Monkton), SC 24 January 1866, p6 (Webster), NZH 1 January 1864, p1 (Goodchild).

[79] *Wanganui Herald* [WH], 11 March 1878, p2.

[80] See John Sullivan, 'The Photographs of Samuel Carnell', *The Turnbull Library Record*, xxiii/1.pp69-76.

[81] B Peyman *carte-de-visite*, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries, ref.589-49.

[82] H A Frith *carte-de-visite*, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries, ref.661-12. The original photographers are named by the *Nelson Examiner*, 19 July 1866, p2.

[83] See OW 16 August 1867, p17, 18 May 1872, p8, 4 October 1884, p14.

[84] SC 17 May 1866, p3; *Grey River Argus*, 22 June 1883, p4; *New Zealand Observer and Freelance*, 15 March 1890, p3; *Marlborough Express*, 2 February 1891, p2.

[85] SC 13 January 1864, p2.

[86] TH 6 October 1866, p2.

[87] TH 21 July 1866, p2. At least some of these may have been taken by Hartley Webster, see TH 26 May 1866, p2.

[88] *Evening Star*, 25 April 1873, p2. The figure for McGarrigle's stock appears in a court report in the Evening Star 17 January 1877, p3, which interestingly also provides estimates (per thousand) for the production of cartes-de-visite - standard portraits £10, unmounted Maori portraits £10 10s, mounted Maori portraits £12 10s, glazing 30s extra.


(025)

[89] WT 28 September 1876, p3.

[90] EP 17 April 1879, p4.

[91] TH 24 April 1883, p3.

[92] SC 18 December 1865, p4.

[93] TH 24 April 1883, p3. It was a fairly common claim: in 1885 the Foy Brothers asserted the "best collection of Maori Photographs in New Zealand" could be seen at their premises in Pollen Street, Thames (*The Thames Directory* for 1885, p.xix).

[94] See the September 1900 Henry Winkelmann photograph of Shortland Street, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland City Libraries, ref. 1-W132, and EP 26 September 1899, p8. Interestingly the advertisement refers to the disposal of "Negatives of Maori Heads and Carvings".

[95] A Marion & Co, *A catalogue of photographs* (1867), accessed at the National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, lists 'New Zealand Chiefs (group)' at p41 and 'New Zealand Chiefs' – presumably individual portraits – at p43.

[96] Ken Hall, *George D Valentine: A 19th Century Photographer in New Zealand* (Nelson, 2004), p26.

[97] Josiah Martin, 'New Zealand for the Photographer', *Australian Photographic Journal & Yearbook of the Photographic Societies of Australasia* (1898), p178.

[98] TH 11 September 1882, p2.

[99] Main, p15.

[100] Eggleton, p28, and see Michael King, *Maori, A Photographic and Social History* (Auckland, 1996), p2.

[101] See Hazel Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry: Maori tribal enterprise in early colonial New Zealand* (Auckland, 2006).

[102] William Main, 'Fine Arts Copyright Act 1877 – A Register search of NZ's last cache of historic photographs?', *New Zealand Journal of Photography*, no.12 (August 1993), p14.

[103] "Mr Hammond reminiscing about Pollen Street, Thames in the early days", unpublished typescript supplied by Mrs Angela Morrison to Ken Hall, Christchurch Art Gallery.

[104] Eggleton, p28.

[105] *Observer*, 4 February 1882, p332, and see below.

[106] Main, 'Fine Arts Copyright Act', pp14-15, and see TH 1 November 1871, p2.

[107] NZH 11 September 1882, p5.

[108] *Auckland Weekly News*, 28 September 1882, p19.

[109] Main, 'Fine Arts Copyright Act', p15. Main gives the end date as 1946, but there was a change in copyright legislation in 1944 which should have effectively ended registrations.

[110] William R Becker, 'Cabinet Cards' E19CP, i.233-4; Main, p56.

[111] E19CP, i.277.

[112] SC 28 January 1867, p3.

[113] Walter J Burton advertised them in the *Bruce Herald*, 24 January 1867, p9, and (as Burton Brothers) in OW 13 December 1867, p17. Other advertisers included, for example, J F Meadows (EP 27 January 1872, p3), John McGregor (*New Zealand Tablet*, 20 March 1875, p13), C H Monkton (WT 17 January 1882, p3), and John Kirkwood (*Manawatu Herald*, 27 September 1889, p3).

[114] Eggleton, p18.

[115] Main, p10.

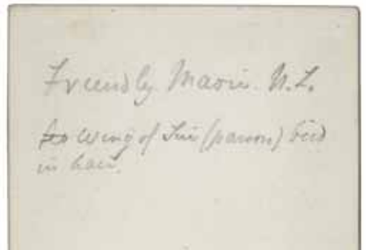
Daniel Mundy (1826-1881). Warriors, c. 1865. Albumen prints, stereocard, actual size.

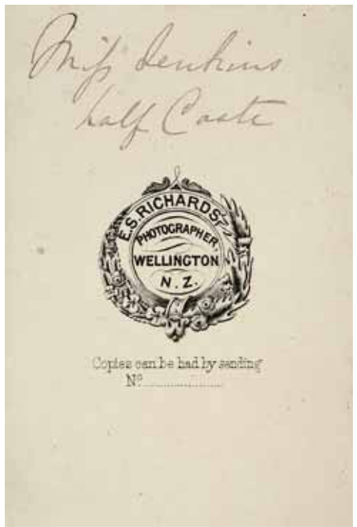
(139)

Maories. New Zealand

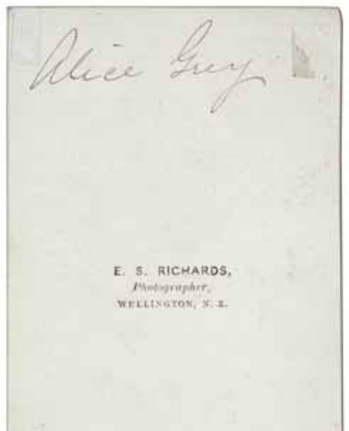
Maories. New Zealand


Te Rei Pukuhanake
Mihaka Tumuakarangi


Friendly Maori. N.Z.
Wing of Kiwi (parrot) bird in hair.


Miss Jenkins
half Caste
E.S. RICHARDS
PHOTOGRAPHER
WELLINGTON
N.Z.
Copies can be had by sending
No.

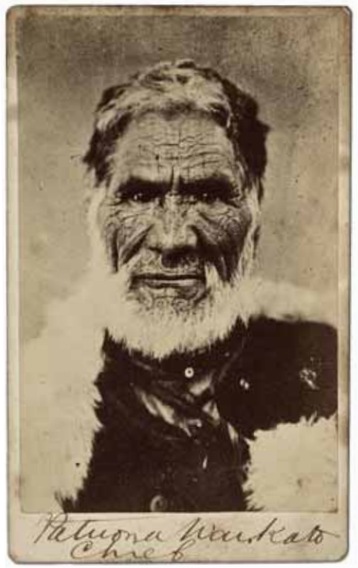

Alice Grey


Alice Grey
E. S. RICHARDS,
Photographer,
WELLINGTON, N. Z.

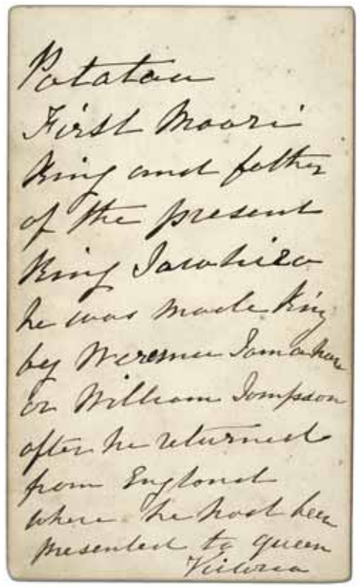

Group of Maoris at a
Pah. N.Z.
GATT & RICHARDS
PHOTOGRAPHERS
WELLINGTON
N°2


Maori Pah
Buller River
West Coast
New Zealand.

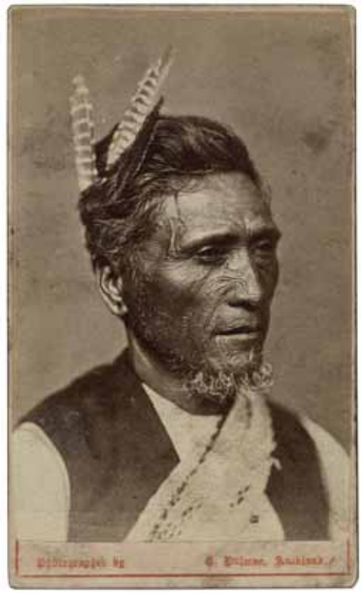
The Prisoners
taken at the
Wereroa Pah
or Stronghold
when Sir George Grey
& Queen Victoria
of Rakumaroa
took Possession
of Wereroa


Patuone Waikato
Chief


Awarded A First Class Certificate
THE LONDON PORTRAIT ROOMS
PRINCES STREET
DUNEDIN
New Zealand Exhibition 1865
Copies may be had on application
N. D. Kaeton

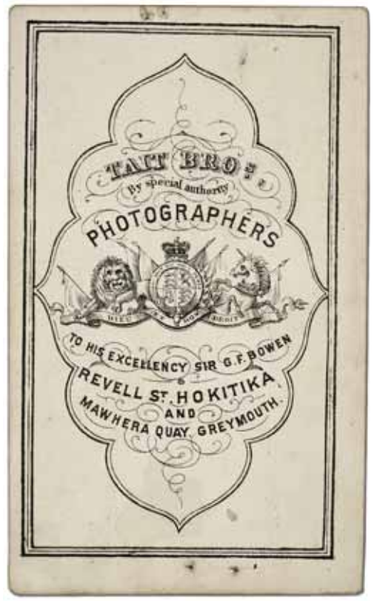

Potatau
First Maori
King and father
of the present
King Tawhiao
he was made King
by Messrs Somerset
& William Thompson
after he returned
from England
where he had been
presented to Queen
Victoria


Photographed by
E Pulman Auckland
Tawhiao
Maori King




Photographed by
E. Pulman, Auckland


Mina Mutaka
Wanganui
E.S. RICHARDS
PHOTOGRAPHER
WELLINGTON
N.Z.
Copies can be had by sending
No


TAIT BROS
By special authority
PHOTOGRAPHERS
TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR G.F.BOWEN
REVELL ST. HOKITIKA
AND
MAWHERA QUAY, GREYMOUTH.


HAURAKI
Maori Chief


POMARA


Photographed by O. Pulman, Auckland.


MARY AMMA
WAIKATO
Photographed by O. Pulman, Auckland.

The two Wahines or women who ate the heart swallowed the eyes & drank the blood of the Revd Volkner out of his sacrimental cup. formed in their possession by Colonel McDonnel commander of the N.Z. native contingent

KEREOPA

Propagator and Chief Priest of the Hau Hau religion at Opotiki;
Instigator of the murder of the Rev. Mr. Volkner in 1865, and three Arawas; and boasts of having eaten the eyes of all four.

Captured by Major ROPATA, November, 1871.

S. CARNELL,
Photo,
NAPIER.

[Copyright.]

Horomona or Solomon, the Prophet, who ordered all the native tribes to drive the White men into the Sea and murder the Missionaries The Revd Volkner was beheaded & disembowelled at his request he was roasted whilst


WELLINGTON N.Z.
J.D.WRIGGLESWORTH.


Louisa
1/2 Caste
E.S.RICHARDS
PHOTOGRAPHER
WELLINGTON
N.Z.
Copies can be had by sending
No.

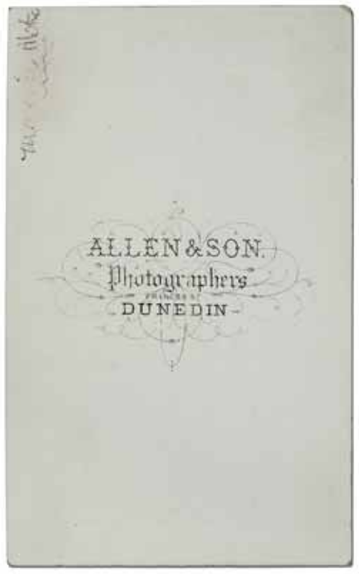
Victoria
Queen of Thai
-Tevi & Nukuma
-ra. She fought
under Generals
Comeron & Chute
in all their Engage
ments on the West
coast of this Ile
North Island
was the first with
Sir G Grey to Enter
the celebrated
Wereroa Pah

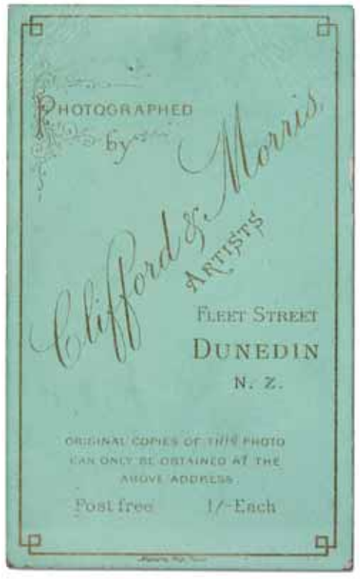
Harana or
Caroline Sister
to Victoria the
Queen of Nuku
mara, She fought
with her Sister
the Queen under
Generals Comeron
& Chute in all
their Engagements
on the West
coast of this
Island


Patronised by
Her Majesty the Queen
Their Royal Highnesses
The Prince & Princess of Wales
FROM THE FIRM OF
JOHN BURTON & SONS,
of England
ARTISTS & PHOTOGRAPHERS,
DUNEDIN
New Zealand
SOLE PHOTOGRAPHERS TO THE
Shakspere Tercentenary Festival
1864
AND BY APPOINTMENT
TO THE
ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS.

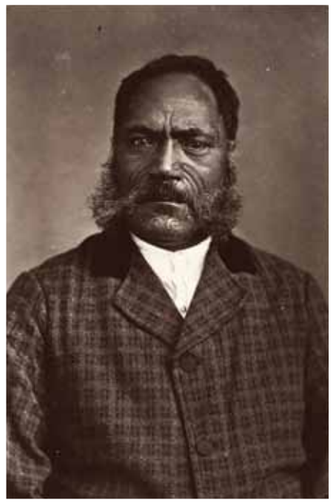

CLIFFORD & MORRIS, FLEET STREET, DUNEDIN


R. CLIFFORD & Co

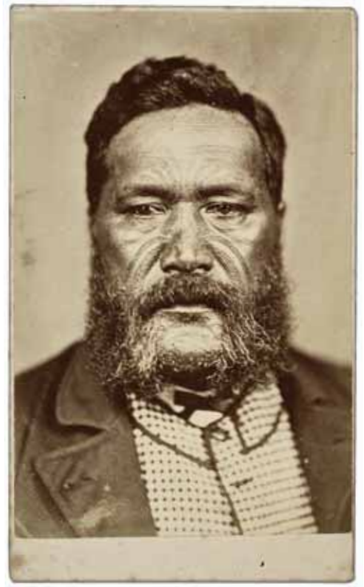

ALLEN & SON.
Photographers
DUNEDIN.


PHOTOGRAPHED
by
Clifford & Morris
ARTISTS
FLEET STREET
DUNEDIN
N. Z.
ORIGINAL COPIES OF THIS PHOTO
CAN ONLY BE OBTAINED AT THE
ABOVE ADDRESS.
Post free 1/- Each


R. Clifford & Co
Artists.
FLEET STREET.
DUNEDIN.
Copies may be had on application.

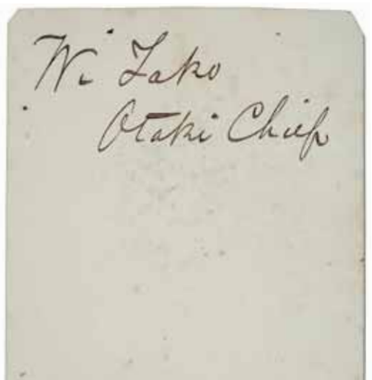



Photographed by
G. Palmer, Auckland.




Wi Kato.


J. WATKINS
Photographer
DUNEDIN


Wi Tako
Otaki Chief


Wairoa ariua Maori


W. HARDING


W. HARDING


Types de Maoris de la
Nouvelle-Zelande
x365
1465/10316


"Hone Peeti (Wanganui)
about half cwt
Mount by Curt Klaie
January
1905


Photographed by
E. Pulman Auckland


Photographed by
E. Pulman Auckland.


Photographed by
E. Pulman, Auckland.


70
Ruruhira
S. CARNELL
PHOTOGRAPHER
NAPIER, N.Z.
looking at Cabinet
Card
⇒ c. 1890?


Ngatai
Bay of Plenty
Waikato Chief
PHOTOGRAPHERS
FAIRS & STEEL
AUCKLAND.


Photographic Saloon
FAIRS STEEL

Native New Zealanders
they have both straight & curly hair
& some are mighty proud of it

R. LEAF, PHOTOGRAPHER, AUCKLAND, N.Z.,
(Opposite Government House.)

R. LEAF, PHOTO., AUCKLAND, N. Z.,
Opposite Government House.

Good specimen Native
with the Corn Flax mat
or cape

R. LEAF, PHOTO., AUCKLAND, N.Z.,
Opposite Government House.

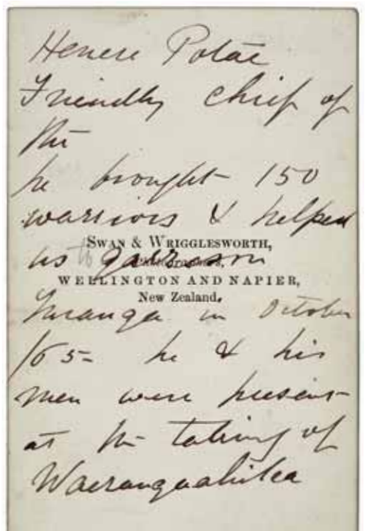
good features Native women
some tattoed on arm

R. LEAF, PHOTO., AUCKLAND, N.Z.,
Opposite Government House.

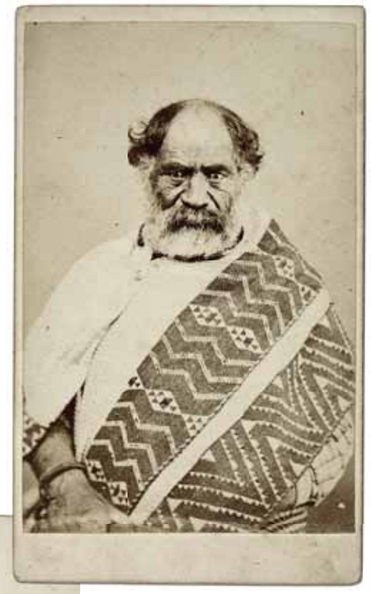
R. LEAF, PHOTO., AUCKLAND, N.Z.,
Opposite Government House.

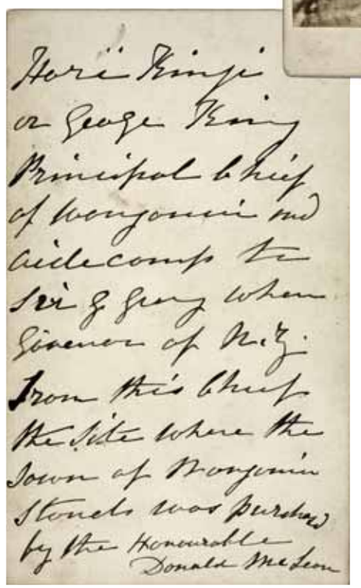
native youth, with
native wahine


Wiremu Pōtiki
WELLINGTON N.Z.
J.D.WRIGGLESWORTH.


Hēnere Potae
Friendly chief of
he brought 150
warriors & helped
us at Gate Pa
Tauranga in October
1864 he & his
men were present
at the taking of
Waerangaahika
SWAN & WRIGGLESWORTH,
WELLINGTON AND NAPIER,
New Zealand.

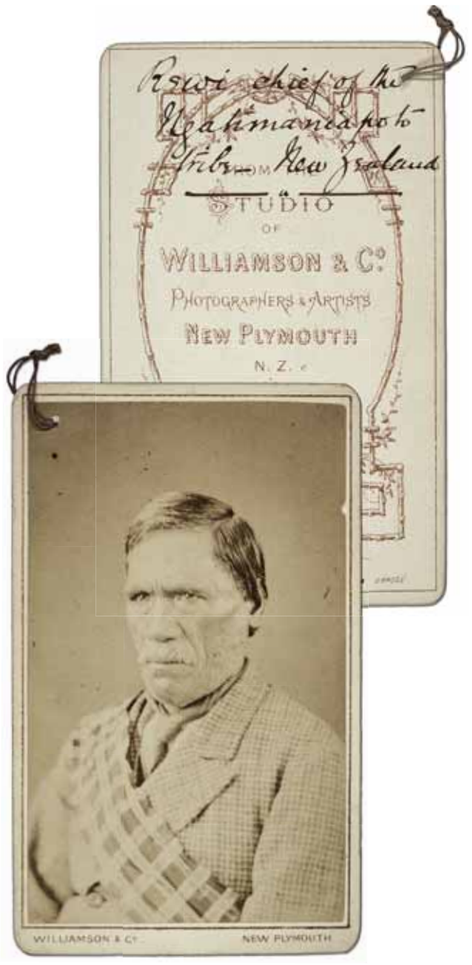

Swan & Wrigglesworth,
Photographers,
Wellington and Napier,
New Zealand.
Arepata (Potae)




Hori Kingi
or George King
Principal Chief
of Wanganui and
Aide comp to
Sir G. Grey when
Governor of N.Z.
From this Chief
the Site where the
Town of Wanganui
Stands was Purchased
by the Honorable
Donald McLean

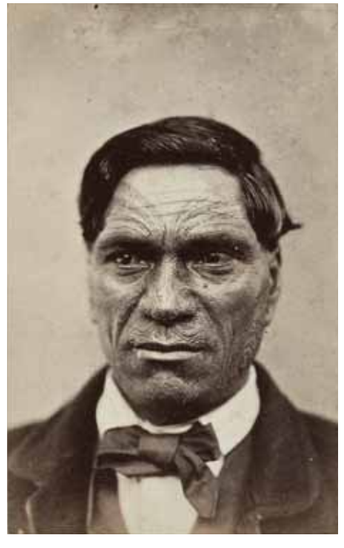
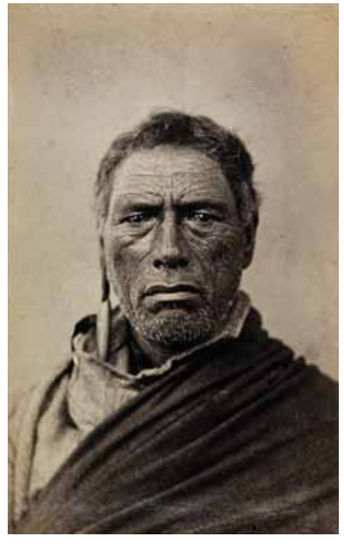

83


Tuhaka Wanga


Rewi chief of the
Ngatimaniapoto
Tribe New Zealand
STUDIO
OF
WILLIAMSON & Co.
PHOTOGRAPHERS & ARTISTS
NEW PLYMOUTH
N. Z.
WILLIAMSON & Co.
NEW PLYMOUTH


Photographed by
E. Pulman, Auckland.



New Zealand.
1865.

Rebel Maori. 1865.

John Rasperton — Maori Chief.
1865.

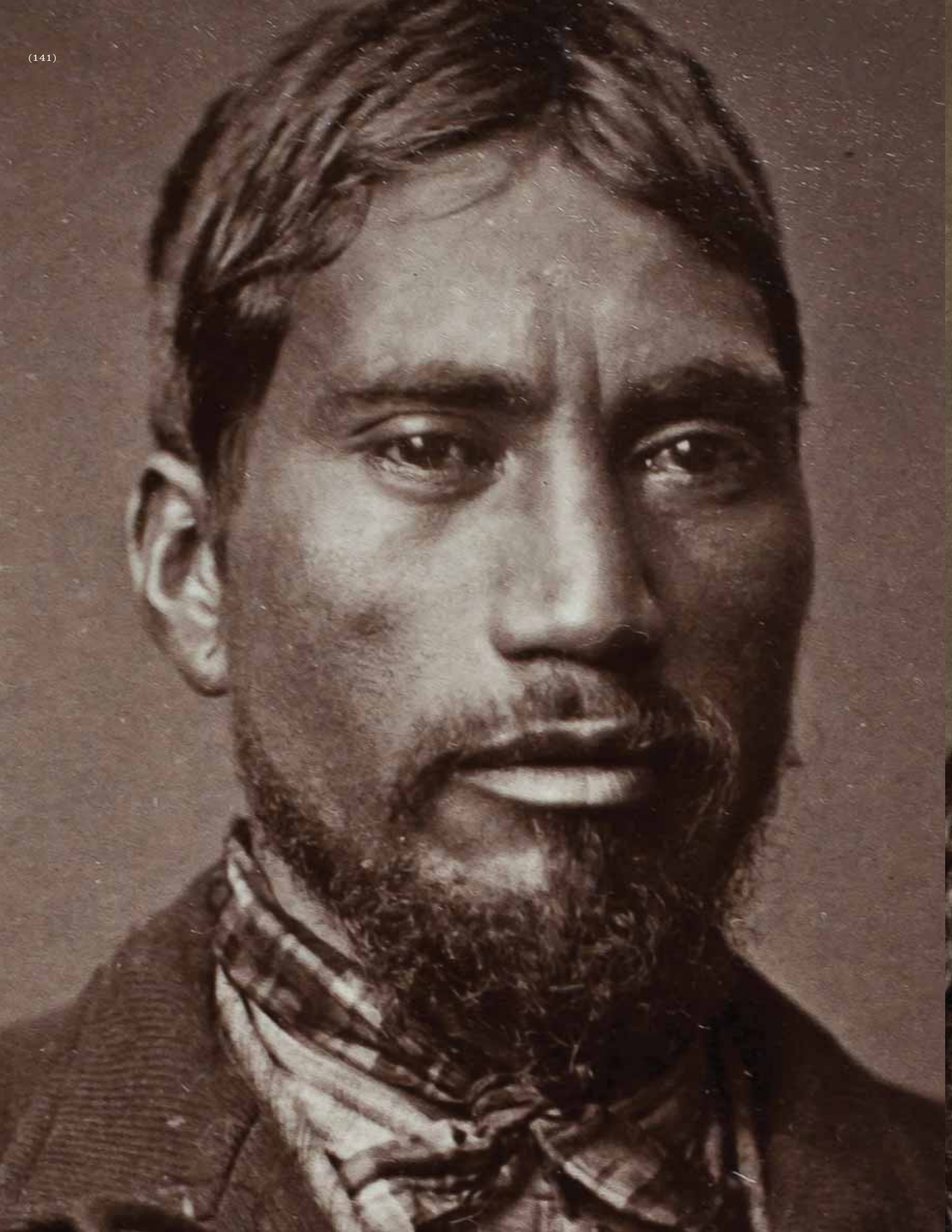
government building.

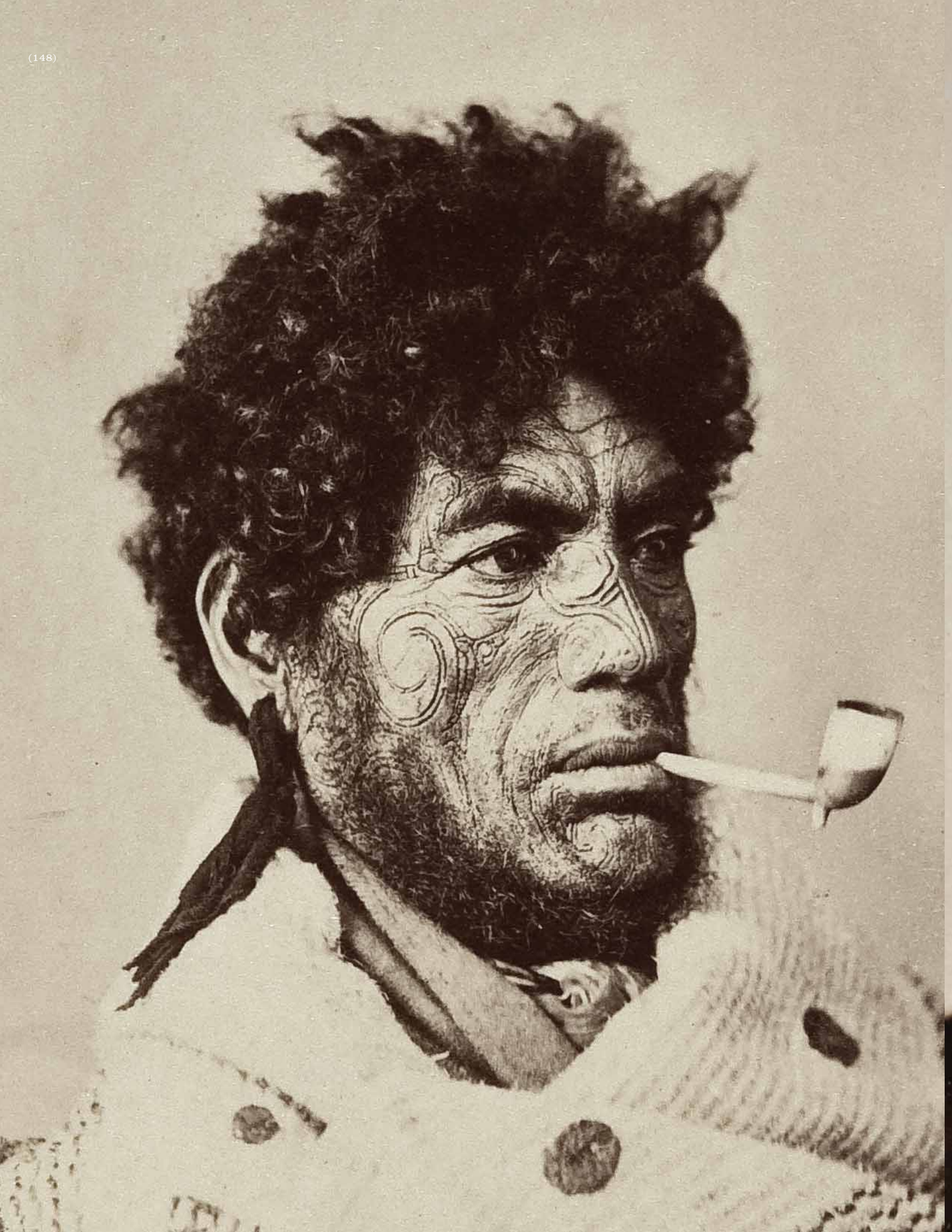
(145)

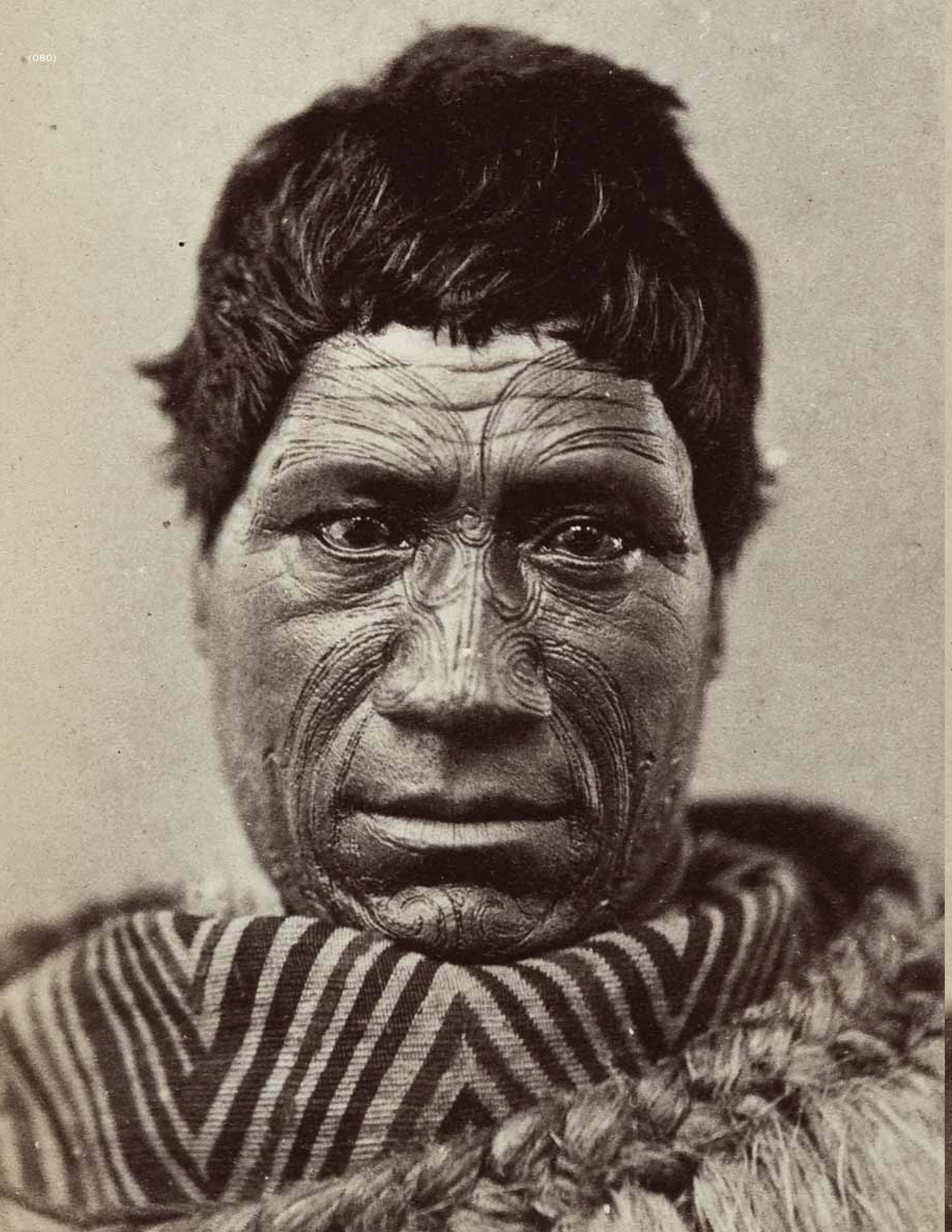
(182)

(138)

(037)







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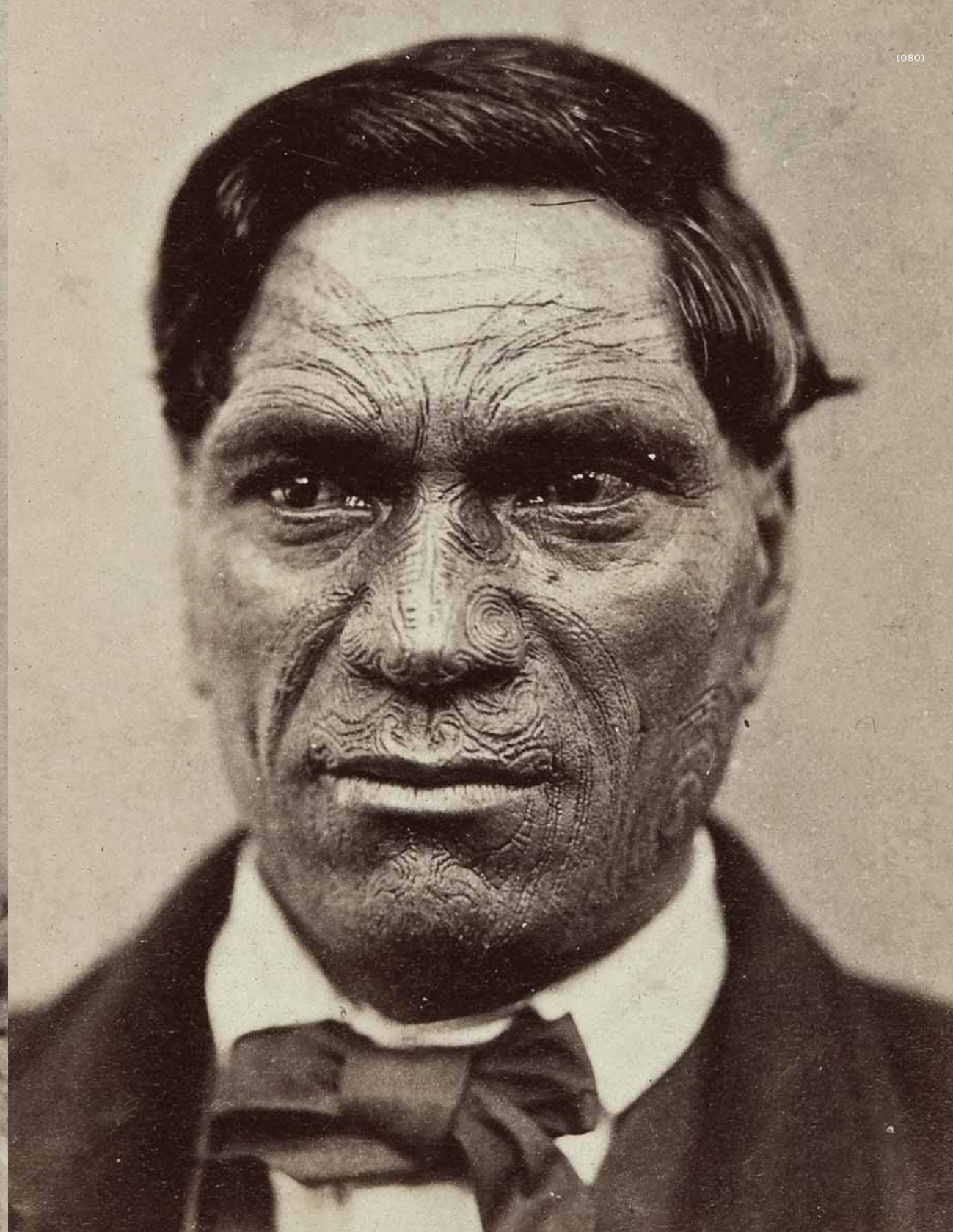
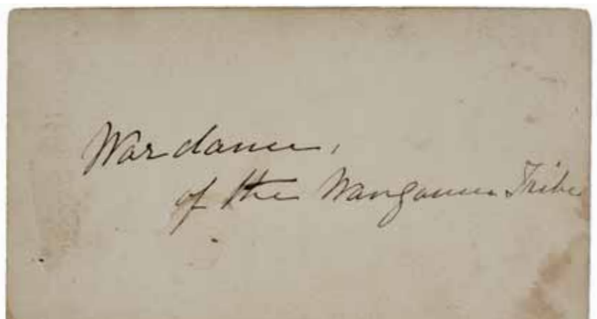
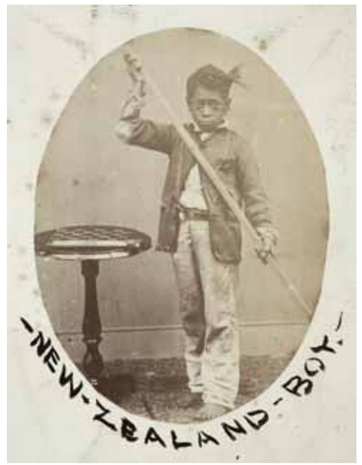


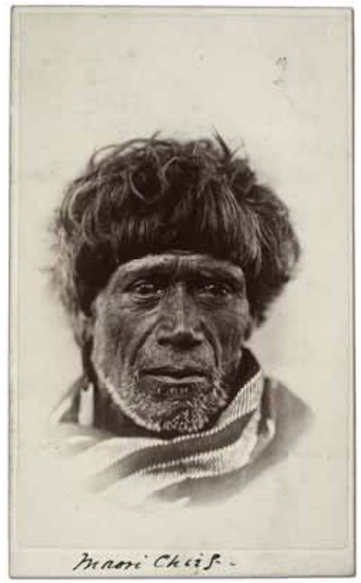
(181)

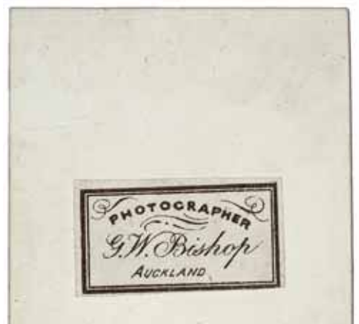
Maoris

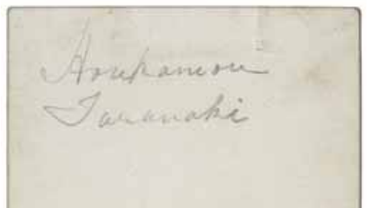

War dance,
of the Wanyamwezi Tribe


-MAORI-CHIEFS-WIFE-


-NEW-ZEALAND-BOY-


Maori Chief.


PHOTOGRAPHER
G.W. Bishop
AUCKLAND


Arukamou
Tarawaki


GRAND & DUNLOP, CRYSTAL PALACE BUILDGS, CH.CH


GRAND & DUNLOP, CRYSTAL PALACE BUILDGS, CH.CH

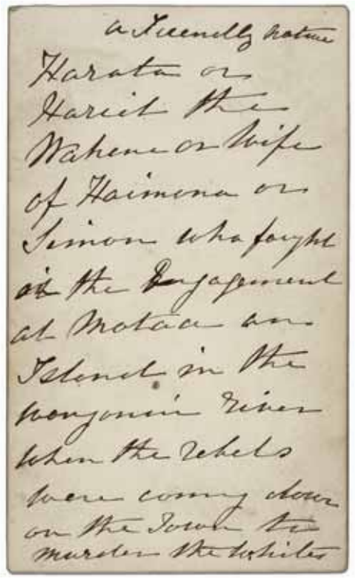

GRAND & DUNLOP, CRYSTAL PALACE BUILDGS, CH.CH


Kaupoke Girl


RAKAPUNA


J. W. ALLEN
Photographer
DUNEDIN


Renata
nr Hawkes Bay
BATT & RICHARDS
PHOTOGRAPHERS
WELLINGTON
N.Z.
Te Kooti's followers


a friendly native
Haratua or
Harriet the
Wahene or Wife
of Haimona or
Simon who fought
in the Engagement
at Motuoa an
Island in the
Wanganui River
when the rebels
were coming down
on the town to
murder the whites


WELLINGTON, N. Z.
PHOTOGRAPHER
WELLINGTON, N. Z
PORTRAIT AND
LANDSCAPE
PHOTOGRAPHER
James Bragge
WELLINGTON
NEW ZEALAND
COPIES AND ENLARGEMENTS TO
ANY SIZE MAY ALWAYS BE HAD

Young Maniera
A chiefs Son at
Waikarake.

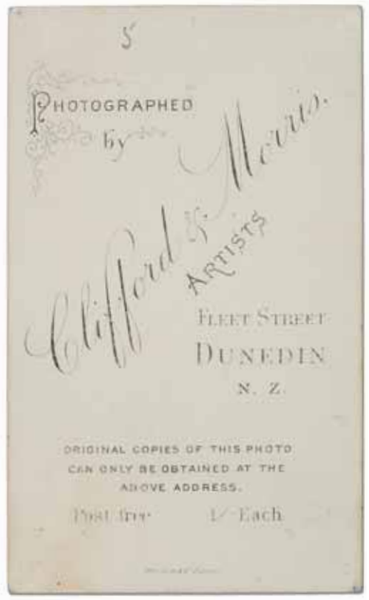
GORDON BAILLIE
PHOTOGRAPHER
FOREST LODGE
WAIRARAPA

SWAN & WRIGGLESWORTH,
Photographers,
WELLINGTON AND NAPIER,
New Zealand.

Saurora
the principal
Chief of the
Patetoa & San
Gitan Tribes
a country between
Wanganui and
Taranaki, he
was convicted for
rebellion sent to
Otago & his country
confiscated

SWAN & WRIGGLESWORTH,
Photographers
WELLINGTON AND NAPIER,
New Zealand.

Hopu
Friendly Fighting Chief
Wairoa
Hawkes Bay. New Zealand


5
PHOTOGRAPHED
by
Morris.
Clifford &
ARTISTS
FLEET STREET
DUNEDIN
N. Z.
ORIGINAL COPIES OF THIS PHOTO
CAN ONLY BE OBTAINED AT THE
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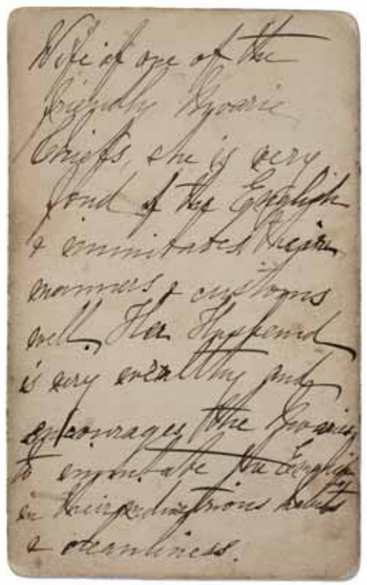
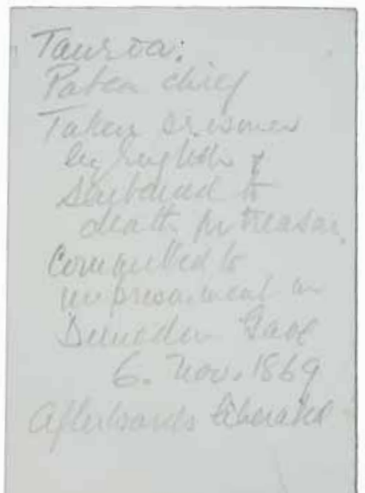
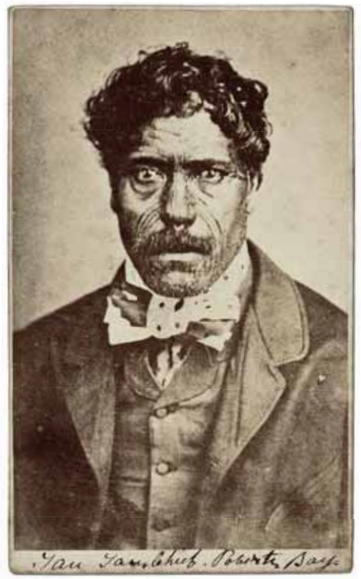
Post free 1/- Each


CLIFFORD & MORRIS. FLEET STREET, DUNEDIN


Wife of one of the
Friendly Islands
Chiefs, she is very
fond of the English
& emmitates their
manners & customs
well. Her Husband
is very wealthy and
encourages the Ladies
to imitate the English
in their fashions dress
& manners.


Taurua:
Paten chief
Taken prisoner
by Ngatiawa &
Ngatiraukawa &
death pretended.
Compelled to
accompany them
Wellington Harbour
6. Nov. 1869
Afterwards liberated

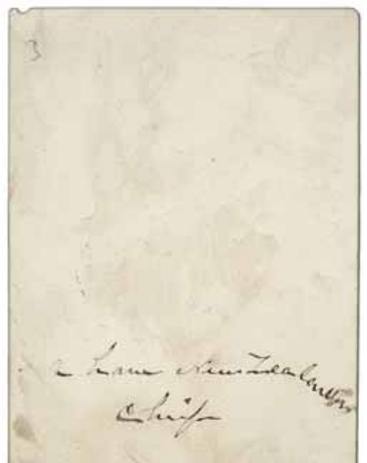

Tau Tau. Chief. Poverty Bay.

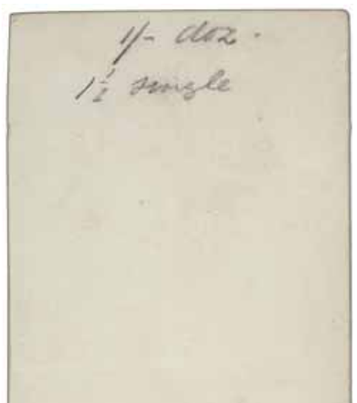

Tau Tau
Chief
Poverty Bay
J. W. ALLEN.
PHOTOGRAPHER
DUNEDIN
MORAY PLACE.


a Chief of New Zealand


Maori


Hone Waaka.


3
a Native New Zealander
Chief


1/- doz.
1/2 single


FIAT LUX
S. Beattie
ARTIST
NEXT THE
VICTORIA ROOMS
CLIFTON


FOY BROS.,
THAMES, N.Z.


FOY BROS.,
THAMES, N.Z.

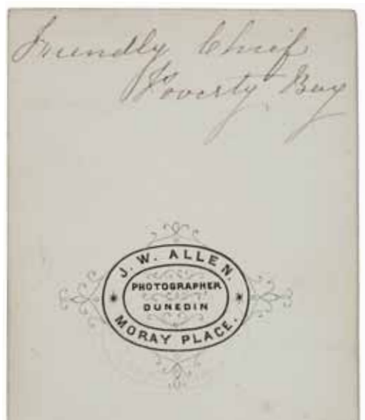

FOY BROS.,
THAMES, N.Z.


FOY BROS.,
THAMES, N.Z.


PHOTOS.
FOY BROS.,
THAMES, N.Z.

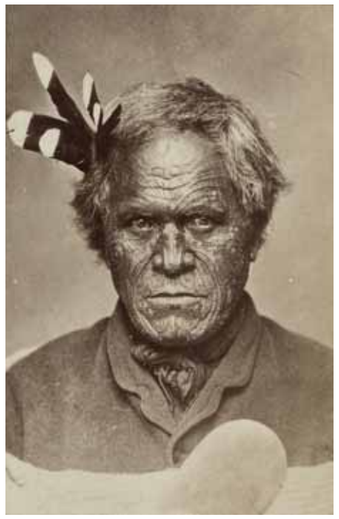

FOY BROS.,
PHOTOGRAPHERS,
THAMES, N.Z.
INSTANTANEOUS PORTRAITURE.
NEGATIVES KEPT.
COPIES CAN BE HAD ALSO ENLARGEMENTS

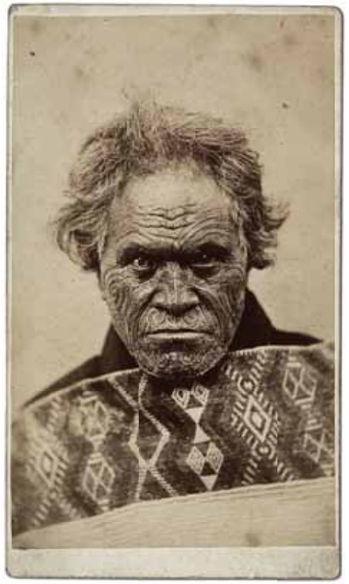

Hoani Wetere KOROKO
Otago Heads. Landed by
Dr Jack McLean in 1867
J. W. ALLEN
Photographer.
DUNEDIN
Friendly
Chief to the
Johnny Rauweka
EXCOMT

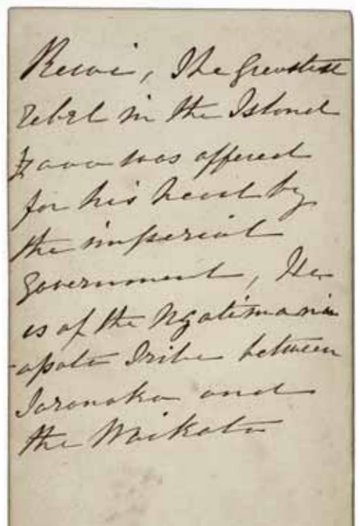

Friendly Chief
Poverty Bay
J. W. ALLEN
PHOTOGRAPHER
DUNEDIN
MORAY PLACE

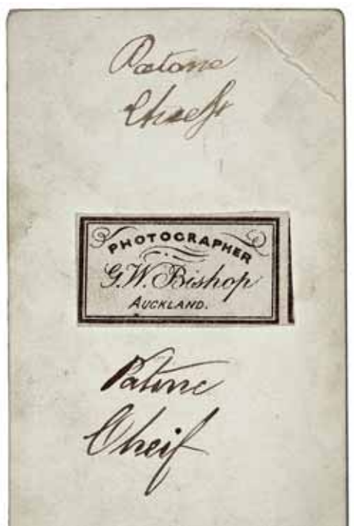
Tauwe Mahoro Tupe Ote

Ismate Tewaraa

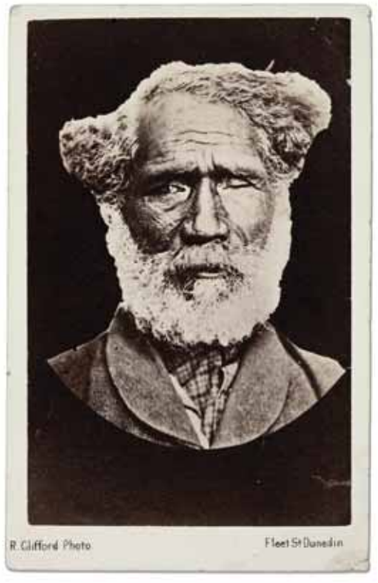





Rewi, the greatest
rebel in the Island
Fame has offered
for his head by
the Imperial
Government, He
is of the Ngatimania-
apaka Tribe between
Taranaki and
the Waikato


Patuone
Chief
PHOTOGRAPHER
G.W. Bishop
AUCKLAND.
Patuone
Chief

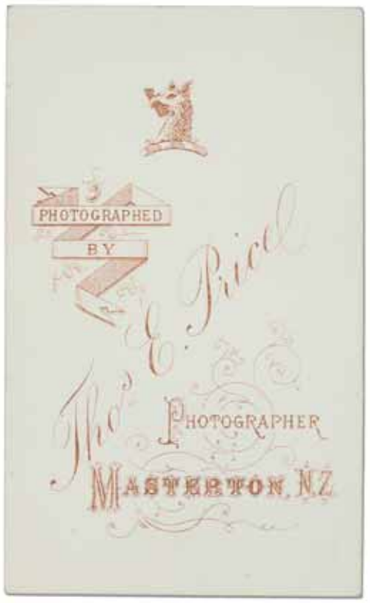

Photographed by
E. Pulman, Auckland.


R. Clifford Photo
Fleet St Dunedin

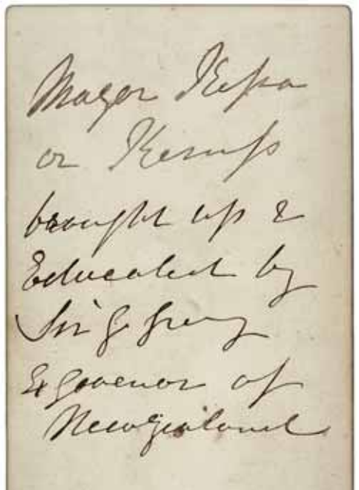

Photographed by
C. Pulman, Auckland

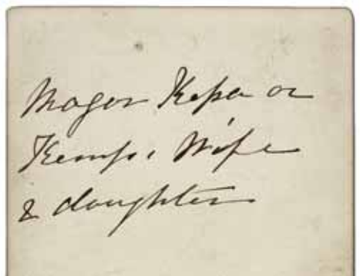

PATRONIZED BY
BURTON BROTHERS
PHOTOGRAPHERS
& ARTISTS
DUNEDIN
NEW ZEALAND
Enamel HINEPA in C.M. Coll
Maori portraits file D4 412 Pa


JOHN TENSFELD
GREYMOUTH.
N.Z.
PHOTOGRAPHIC ARTIST
No
COPIES MAY BE HAD BY FORWARDING
NAME AND NUMBER.


PHOTOGRAPHED
BY
Thos. E. Price
PHOTOGRAPHER
MASTERTON, N.Z.

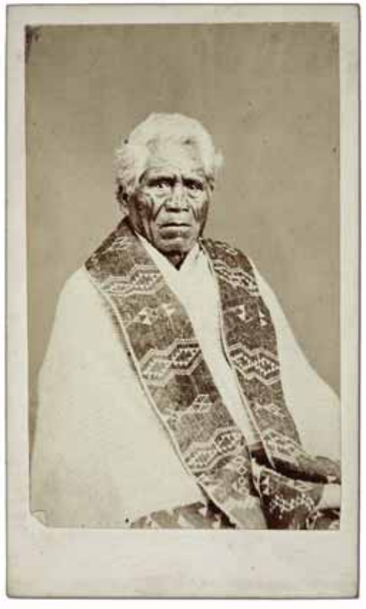

Major Hemp:

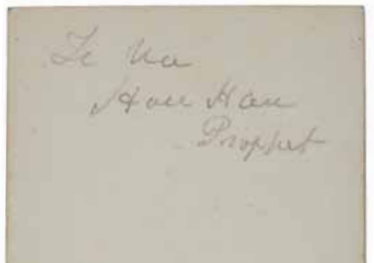

Major Kepa
or Kemps
brought up &
Educated by
Sir G Grey
& Governor of
Newzealand

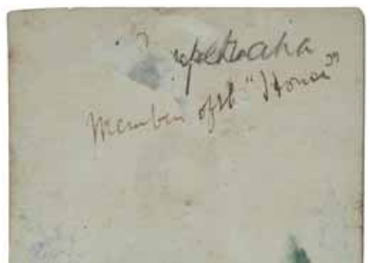

Major Kepa or
Kemps Wife
& daughter

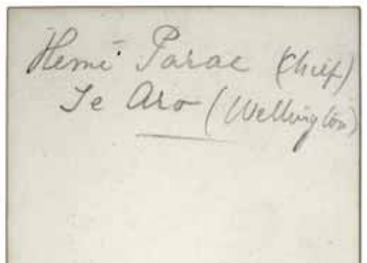
Taitahi
one of the most
Notorious rebel
Chiefs of Waitotara
of the Ngaraurau
Tribe /
He is now a friendly
Chief

a friendly Native
Tamahaua
a Chief of Kaiaki-
Ke on the Waganui
River who lost
his leg at Moturoa
on Island in
the river in
an engagement
with the rebels who
were coming down
on the town of
Wanganui to
Murder the Whites




Te Ua
Haw Haw
Prophet

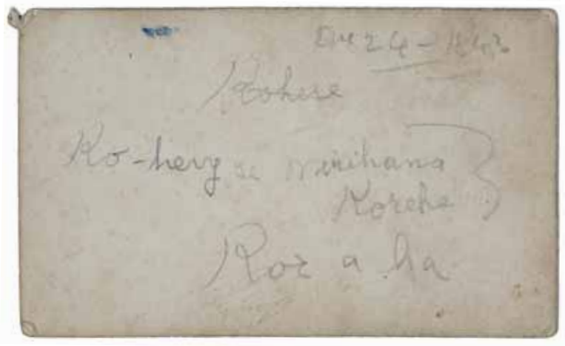

Member of the "House"

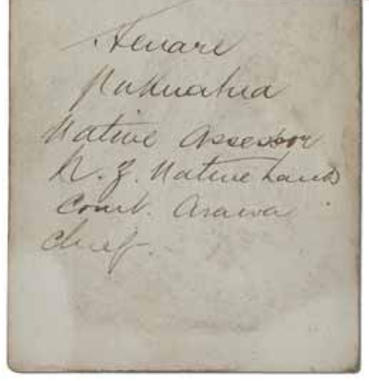

Hemi Parae (Chief)
Te Aro (Wellington)

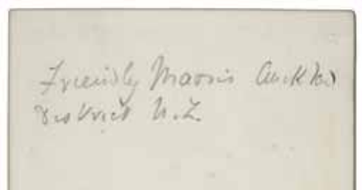
Wereroa Tamahana
or William Thompson
Principal Chief
of Waikato,
on his return from
England he set
up the King Movement
& made Potatau
King. Wereroa
died through grief
at the loss of his
country the Waikato
which has confiscated

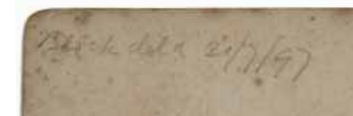

Maori Queen.

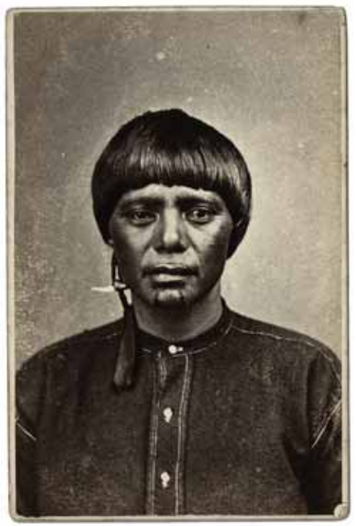

Moses Rutata
Kut
Patata
Pat-a-tai


Ko-heru
Roz a ha


Tuware
Native Assessor
N.Z. Native Lands
Court. Arawa
Chief.


Friendly Maoris Auckland
N.Z.






Sir Geo. Grey
Sth. New Zealand.
John Hobbs Stanley
a sea whaler living at
Akaroa a short time
ago. see sketch

Negative kept

he kiri kei waho, he puku hei roto
(the outside is skin but the inside is secret)
Potatau Te Wherowhero, (the first Maori King),
at Ngaruawahia, May 1860.[1]

Queen Victoria casts a long shadow over this story, not just as the figurehead of an imperial system but also as an individual. It was Prince Albert who was the first of the Royal Family to be photographed (in Brighton, 1842) and it was his enthusiasm for the new medium that initially guided the young Queen.[2] They bought their own apparatus, had darkrooms fitted and apparently took photographs although today none are definitively credited to them. They keenly acquired prints and daguerreotypes for the Royal Collection.[3] At the Great Exhibition of 1851 Victoria was enchanted by the stereoscope, and her purchase of a single stereo card did much to make this format fashionable. The couple became Patrons of the Photographic Society of London in 1853 with Albert modestly declaring it taught him how to better appreciate the work of others. He was by nature a collector and his photographic interests were wide ranging.[4] Purchases included an 1848 daguerreotype study by William Kilburn of the monarchy-threatening Chartist gathering on Clapham Common, and large compositions by Oscar Rejlander, one of which was constructed from 30 negatives. He initiated a photographic survey of all the paintings in the Queen's possession, and commissioned work from many of the leading practitioners of the day, including Roger Fenton, Francis Bedford and Antoine Claudet. Camera equipment was also included in gifts to other monarchs such as King Mongkut of Siam.[5]

For Victoria and Albert photography had been a private pursuit but the standardisation of the wet collodion method from the mid 1850s heralded a movement away from the medium itself to focusing on the purposes it could serve. The passionate amateur gave way to the professional studio. Disdéri's cartes of Napoleon III and the Empress Eugenie had proved immensely popular on both sides of the Channel. Photographers were clamouring for images of the British Royals and John Mayall was authorised to take a series of cartes. These were carefully styled to show the couple as essentially of the present rather than the past, posed without backdrops or the trappings of royalty.[6] Wholesalers ordered 60,000 sets of the resulting *Royal Album* within days of issue.[7]

When Albert died in 1861, Marion and Co sold their entire stock of 70,000 cartes of the Prince in a week. The Queen reverted to concentrating primarily on images of her extended family. In later life she owned 100 photograph albums (including 36 of cartes and nine of British military campaigns), which she often consulted. However, she never lost sight of how images could bind her to her people, nor of the need to retain control over their dissemination. She became the first media monarch, ensuring that, when she was thought of, it was likely to be in photographic terms.[8]

The Siamese Embassy to Britain of 1861 carried a letter from Mongkut to Victoria:
the photographic camera was to postphoned very long because Siamese have no facility to work. Afterward however we have met with a Swesdent photographer being visitor here, and the other English gentleman, who was a person of good understanding of photographic work introduced to us by your Majesty's consul Sir Robert Schomburgk, who have both given some instruction and assistance to our native worker who become now in some facility in the photographic work. Wherefore we on this occasion have liberty to let our native photographers take the likeness of ourselves, when we adorned with the watch decked with diamonds and the double edged sword, which were honorary royal gracious gift from your Majesty, received by us a few years ago, and seated ourselves containing the gift silver inkstand and desk together with the revolving pistol and rifle, wholly being gracious gift

Straits Settlements, one cent, 1875, actual size.

from your majesty, in framed piece of paper, have caused another photographic likeness of our royal affectionate Queen consort to be done in another framed paper, and let the painter paint both according to their ability … to be offered to your Majesty.[9]

There had been royal gifts to Maori but not at state-to-state level. The idea of creating a Maori monarch had been mooted from the mid-1850s after Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Kirikawau (interpreter to Governor Grey) returned from London impressed at how the British appeared to be unified under, and loyal to, Queen Victoria. The elderly Potatau Te Wherowhero,* already identified by Grey in a statement to Victoria as being the most powerful chief, was selected after long discussions between many of the tribes of the North Island, and installed in June 1858. The ceremony was conducted by Wiremu Tamihana and Iwikau Te Heuheu, with the latter declaring: *Potatau, this day I create you King of the Maori people. You and Queen Victoria shall be bound together to be one* [paiheretia kia kotahi]. *The religion of Christ shall be the mantle of your protection; the law shall be the* whariki *mat for your feet, for ever and ever onward*.[10] But there was to be no gift box with camera or civilised exchange of likenesses. Any brief chance of Maori controlling how they were to be photographically represented from the outset had passed. The Kingitanga movement was seen by the settler government as provocation and rendered impotent by the 1863 invasion of the Waikato. After emerging from internal exile, Potatau's successor, King Tawhiao,* attempted to petition Queen Victoria in London in 1884. Her Majesty claimed ill health and Lord Derby, the Colonial Secretary, informed Tawhiao that confiscations of Maori land were a domestic matter within the jurisdiction of the New Zealand Government. A similar fate befell the fourth Maori King, Te Rata, on his 1914 visit, although he was granted an audience with King George V.

The carte de visite irrevocably changed the way in which photography was used and consumed. For the first time the medium had an affordable universal standard. Like the daguerreotype and ambrotype, the carte was as much an artefact as an image. But unlike the daguerreotype method, wet collodion technology was free from patents, and prices fell as sales rose. A glass negative offered the possibility of an infinite number of sharp prints. The fad of carte collecting, in Britain at least, soon waned as other formats superseded it, but in New Zealand cartes enjoyed a surprising longevity. Perhaps it was the relative poverty of the colony that allowed the small images to remain popular, or the ease with which they could be slipped into the mail to nurture links with family and friends recently left behind in the motherlands. Certainly, from the evidence of what is in collections and what surfaces on the open market, portraits of settlers accounted for most of the cartes commissioned. As for cartes sold, proportions from this distance are impossible to gauge but perhaps the majority were of 'celebrities'. This category included world statesmen, visiting performers and especially Maori, the exotic element in this benign outpost of the Empire. Some were of named (often erroneously) individuals, with both 'friendly' and Kingite Land Wars chiefs much in demand, but photographers quickly learnt that anyone fitting the generic idea of 'Maori' was a marketable commodity. A simple portrait was often sufficient but the photographic studio was also a performance space, an environment that encouraged self-promotion, theatricality enhanced by the use of backdrops and a range of props. Sitters would be encouraged to adopt poses that appeared natural but guaranteed stillness for the required exposure time. There was also a range of clothing and wigs available, but the dressing-up trunks ironically appear to have been stocked only with Maori accessories. A studio can sometimes be identified from the cloaks worn or weapons carried.

We can piece together enough scraps of information about the photographers to comprehend the nature of the trade, but our understanding of the Maori/photographer or even the Maori/photograph relationship in the 1860s and 70s is limited. There are plausible scenarios aplenty – a Maori commissions his or her portrait but has no control over the endless prints that could emanate from that negative. He or she may have been persuaded to pose in return for a handful of the resulting prints or have been paid a sitter's fee in tobacco or cash. In Europe and America sales volumes were so high that royalties, up to £400 per 10,000 cartes, were paid to celebrities.[11] In New Zealand it is unlikely that there were formal contracts authorising likeness use, so we can only speculate as to how Maori felt when they saw their own faces staring back from shop windows, offered as souvenirs or as curios.

*030

*031
L/R

How indigenous, or 'first nation', peoples reacted to and interacted with photography varied widely around the globe.[12] Some, as the cliché has it, probably did believe that the camera was not just intrusive but also had the power to capture their soul. In 1860s China the camera was viewed as a barbarian instrument, but by the next decade they were building their own. Photographers' studios had become just another way of having your portrait taken. Portraits there were more than just a likeness, seen as having the ability to transmit spirit, retaining a symbolic power that placed the subject forever into an ancestral lineage. Such concepts were not entirely alien to Western photographers like Indian-born Julia Margaret Cameron (another who enjoyed Queen Victoria's patronage): *When I have had such men before my camera my whole soul has endeavoured to do its duty towards them, in recording faithfully the greatness of the inner as well as the features of the outer man. The photograph thus taken has been almost the embodiment of a prayer*.[13]

India and China both have a long pictorial tradition into which photography could easily be absorbed. In 1860 Australia had, by virtue initially of the number of gifted forgers who had been transported, a developed painting and printmaking scene. In contrast, New Zealand's image-makers had been mainly visitors, missionaries or surveyors, with most printed images produced abroad. Photographers were not competing with (or having to justify themselves to) a conservative art establishment. Cartes also functioned here as a way of reproducing paintings and prints.* In neither country was the indigenous population involved in the production process. Some people of Aboriginal descent would have been horrified to be shown images of the recently deceased (in the Northern Territory even their name was not uttered for the duration of mourning while the spirit was in transition). In New Zealand, Alfred Burton, ascending the Whanganui River in 1885, *was a good deal hindered by the timidity of the Natives at the sight of the camera, which they called "taipo" (devil)*.[14] This reaction was perhaps more from suspicion and hostility than superstition. Burton was accompanying a railway surveying expedition entering an isolated area, whose people had given refuge to those exiled by the wars in the Waikato. But most Maori in the 1860s, by now a minority in their own country, were far from naive when it came to the ways of capitalism. Their commercial networks had lost the dominance they had enjoyed in the early 1850s when their food surpluses nurtured immigrant communities and provided economic independence.[15] Indeed one visitor wrote that Auckland was *wholly dependent on the Maories for Vegetables and Maize, Potatoes, Pigs and Poultry*.[16] Their grain was processed in their own water-powered mills, supplied to Pakeha settlements and even traded to the Australian gold fields. Many Maori were literate, wealthy and comfortable within the new reality brought on by the flood of white immigration. This makes it especially curious that we have almost no Maori view on photography in this early period. It appears that many embraced the medium from the outset, and portraits also dovetailed into existing traditions of cultural memory relating to those who have passed. Framed photographs quickly became incorporated into *tangi* (funeral) ceremonies and are common in interior shots of meeting houses (once the camera penetrated these spaces from the late 1880s). Many male traders, settlers and even missionaries (Thomas Kendall, William Colenso) had native partners,[17] and one of the earliest known photographs of Maori is the famous daguerreotype of Caroline and Sarah,[18] the daughters of the English sailor and entrepreneur Dicky Barrett and his Te Ati Awa wife Wakaiwa Rawinia. The Governor, Sir George Grey,* was photographed with Maori and owned a daguerreotype of a Maori man.[19]

Maori had visited England from early in the 19th century and many were received at the highest level. The first was a Ngapuhi man, Moehanga, who met George III in 1806. He later regretted getting tools from the King instead of firearms. Hongi Hika was given one of King George IV's fouling guns when they met in 1820. Pirikawau came to London twice in the photographic era, and Tamihana Te Rauparaha was introduced to Queen Victoria in 1852. As already noted, such men returned with respect for the might of the colonial power and had no illusions as to the need for Maori society to adapt to the new reality. The New Zealand Government published Maori language newspapers from 1842, but the first Maori-owned and controlled paper, *Te Hokioi*, was printed on a press presented by Emperor Franz Josef of Austria to Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe and Te Hemara Rerehau Paraone. These two mission-educated Waikato chiefs arrived in Trieste on the Novara in August 1859.[20] Based in Vienna, they spent the next year in Europe and visited London where they were presented to

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Queen Victoria and formally photographed by Antoine Claudet.[21] Ferdinand von Hochstetter had been granted leave from the Novara's round-the-world scientific voyage to conduct the first professional geological survey of the North Island (and the area around Nelson). He documented this tour in his *New Zealand*, noting the hospitality given to him by Wiremu Toetoe's relatives on 18 May 1859: *I had to tell them of the Novara and her route to Europe; and was subsequently not only charged with letters and greetings but the affectionate Mrs Toetoe even sent a photograph by me to her distant husband*.[22]

There are few direct references in Maori *niupepa* to photography, but a letter to the *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi and Maori Intelligencer* in 1861 from Apera Kiwi (to *Friend Mr. Smith*) records the last words of the recently deceased Tainui chief, Warena Kiwi Te Huatahi.[23] The letter concludes: *Sir, you ask Mr. J. White for his (Kiwi's) likeness for me to cry over; send it to me by the Postman.* 'Likeness' may refer to a drawing or a photograph, but this and the Hochstetter reference illustrate the level of cross-cultural activity at around the date that Maori people were increasingly the subject of photographic scrutiny. It is quite likely that Warena Kiwi, well known for his kindness to Europeans, had been photographed. John Nicol Crombie sent daguerreotypes of named chiefs to the *Illustrated London News* in 1856 and took portraits of many of those attending the Kohimarama conference in 1860.

Maori were in Britain in 1863, when the carte de visite was at its most popular. The tour by 14 Maori (including several distinguished chiefs), under the supervision of lay preacher and interpreter William Jenkins, is well documented. This curious episode was a speculative venture that went awry, but not without some notable successes. One of these was an audience with the Queen at Osborne House. The event was diarised by both Victoria and Jenkins with the latter recording an exchange of photographs: *The Princesses took the Ladies into their private apartments and presented them with their photographs, and the Queen sent, by a lady in waiting, several groups of the Royal Family to each of the three Ladies, and commanded me to forward to Her Majesty photographs of the entire party under my charge and further requested that each New Zealander would leave Her Majesty an autograph.*[24] *The Queen, in her journal, described how they all kissed my hand and behaved extremely well. After the formalities, which included expressions of regret by the party that they had not come sooner and met Albert, the Queen retired only to be asked back to listen to further orations. She noted that one chief spoke of their lands being taken away and hoped that I would promise that this should not be done, which I said I would … Afterwards, saw them walking about near the Terraces, having removed their finery, and they seemed much interested*.[25]

The Royal visit came at a price. There had been a succession of tribal peoples brought to London by entrepreneurs, from Saartjie Baartman (marketed as the Hottentot Venus) in 1810, Botocudo Indians in 1822, to 13 Zulu dancers in 1853. Britain was proud of its recent anti-slavery record and keen to occupy the moral high ground, at least at home. It was made clear to Jenkins, already under pressure from the various aboriginal rights protection groups, that the Queen could not be seen as promoting any entertainment venture involving her distant subjects. The tour had to finance itself without exploiting the commercial potential by giving 'performances' (as was the 'Maori Chiefs' troupe touring England at the same time). Limited support came in cash or hospitality from sympathisers. Money was also raised by ticket sales at, and collections after, their 'illustrated lectures', which included public discussions and the modelling of 'traditional' costume. The sale of cartes also contributed to defraying expenses. By the time they appeared in Bristol in September 1863 only six of the group were still actively touring. The *Bristol Mercury* reported their appearance at the Zoological Gardens, noting that *the cartes de visite of the chiefs and also their autographs were in great demand amongst the ladies*.[26] The *Western Daily Press* remarked on a similar phenomenon during their visit to a Bristol orphanage: *The chieftains proved great favourites with the ladies, who pressed so eagerly around them, and were so importunate in their entreaties, that the chiefs could not be ungallant enough to refuse them. Their cartes de visite were also eagerly bought up, the purchasers being principally young ladies*.[27]

Moneys gathered from these sales exacerbated tensions between the group and Jenkins. Kamariera Te Wharepapa,* one of many suspicious of Jenkins's motives, complained to Miss Selwyn in a letter of 29 January 1864: *Now, my friends, you must attend to this. What is the chief reason why these Englishmen brought us? Was it that we might gain knowledge? Or why was it? He ought to teach us in a school in New Zealand, if he were desirous to instruct us. But, as it is, he brought us to be played with for money. This is the real cause of these Englishmen wasting money. They thought that the money would flow to them like water when people saw the Maori. But, it was far from correct. I am cautious. They have large sums. 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 wishes to have your Photographs 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. He entirely conceals every trifle. We do not know what our leader is doing. We think there are faults in the advertisements that he issues about the meetings. How are they worded? Perhaps he is puffing us up & making us better than we are. I am very much afraid that the English think he speaks our words. I rise sorrowfully in the meeting rooms. Sometimes I am light and sometimes I am dark, on this account I am anxious to return home*.[28]

Wharepapa's annoyance at the perceived exploitation came to a head a month later. Along with Reihana Taukawau, Paratene Te Manu and five others he was released from the contract with Jenkins by the Birmingham Stipendiary magistrate. The three of them penned an open letter published in the *Nelson Examiner: A NOTICE TO THE MAORIS. We the undersigned beg to caution you against coming to England with, or under the care of any Europeans, unless specially advised thereto by the clergy, or the Governor; for we have much cause to lament this, our ill-considered visit to England*.[29] The group had been photographed in their normal clothes* but also, reluctantly, in an array of old cloaks that they brought with them. Reihana complained, *before I knew Jenkins I disliked any sort of mats [cloaks] for mostly they are many years old; not being much made now, the things are nasty, they are filled with vermin*.[30] It is clear from the set of images* issued by London photographer Vernon Heath of the group clad in this obsolete paraphernalia that they are decidedly uncomfortable.[31] It may be that the whole sorry sequence of photographs showing Maori as just some exotic, European-delineated type started with this set; a genre that came to be seen as uniquely New Zealand had originated back in England. Certainly, the elements of Heath's compositions, the backdrop, awkward posing, and props can be seen adopted by a succession of New Zealand-based photographers through to the 20th century. In the late 1860s both Daniel Mundy* and James Wrigglesworth produced versions of Heath's tableaux. It is unclear precisely how these images were marketed outside of New Zealand, but there is no doubt that the wealth and zeal of the collecting classes, in Britain especially, established a canon of taste that in turn dictated which images would be taken. Marion and Co.'s 1867 *Catalogue of Photographs* lists images for sale including four pages devoted to the British Royal Family. The remainder are mainly of celebrities, including sections for *Eminent Foreigners and Miscellaneous*. Amongst the 130 entries in the former are *New Zealand Chiefs (group)* and amongst the miscellaneous we find *New Zealand Chiefs* (presumably several examples of). These are the only 'native' or 'tribal' portraits included in the 45 pages of the booklet.

Mock fights, tattooed warriors and alluring maidens sold well, and therefore this is what was produced at source, with models acting out another, richer people's fantasies. It could be argued that this kind of presentation was a continuum of the way Maori had been depicted in engravings in the preceding era. However, when Maori lost their status as equal partners in their own land, they suffered a loss of respect. To be colonised is a degrading process. Photographers may not have stolen any souls but were certainly instrumental in shaping how Maori were subsequently perceived. The set-up shots, little short of pastiche, would have been consumed as authentic and even became real when Maori pandered to what tourists then expected to see. Selling your culture comes at a price. The sheer volume of romanticised imagery perpetuated a notion of a people frozen at some non-existent point in history, a denial of the dynamism of that culture. Even more insidiously, this construct may have contributed to how Maori visualised their heritage when they began to regain significant cultural and political autonomy, in the so-called 'renaissance' of the early 20th century. All this makes the examination of the photography of indigenous peoples a sensitive subject. Should books like this be Pakeha productions? Are we trespassing, guilty of cultural colonialism, compounding the stereotype by continuing to focus on these images? Or does a

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contextualised presentation reaffirm our common humanity? One popular approach has been to look at the subject in terms of agency, that is, the nature of native peoples' participation in the process. Were Maori, or whoever, influencing how they were portrayed? Were they perhaps exploiting the exploiters by marketing photographs of themselves or was the trade entirely under Pakeha control?[32] There is limited information available to fully answer these questions. Perhaps it is more helpful to note how indigenous people often accept the new, be it technology or the immigrants themselves, as well as the flora and fauna that accompanied them. After all there was no choice but to adapt, as was acknowledged in an article in an 1860 edition of the *Maori Messenger*, advising that military resistance was futile: *The Pakeha will soon recover his losses, for the country whence he comes is a never failing fountain … Not so with the Maori. His race, already fast declining, will surely, if exposed to the ravages of war, ere long cease to exist, and the land on which the warrior has spilt his blood will pass into the hands of strangers*.[33] The late 19th century in New Zealand saw Maori in decline, delanded and demoralised, unable to control the manner in which they were depicted. Their real state was not generally of concern to photographers interested primarily in surviving in a harsh economic climate, selling to a public who still accepted any photograph as authentic. The idea of photography as documentary, at least in terms of New Zealand's indigenous population, belonged to an age yet to come.

The issue of land ownership, so crucial to the rapidly changing relationship between Maori and Pakeha in this period, may seem of limited relevance to a book about portrait photography. However, it reaches to the core of how the two races saw each other and thus the nature of the photographs themselves. The carte-de-visite era was precisely the time when confiscations and land-sale controversies were at their most intense. Previously benign attitudes hardened and the ways in which elements of each race saw the other evolved. From being partners in a symbiotic relationship Maori became a hindrance to Pakeha ambition. Prejudice thrived once the new centres of population became self-sufficient and interaction with Maori declined. As the ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax wrote, in another land and century: *One of the sorrows of growing up was feeling the distance between us widen*.[34]

The idea of a common ancestry, and thus the potential for races to be equal, may have recently gained traction but even the most liberal Darwinian would not have considered Maori to be the equal of the European. A.S. Thomson, Surgeon to the 58th Regiment, examined and measured 147 Maori (who had presented themselves to the Military Hospital for vaccination) and 617 British soldiers in April 1849. His aim was to establish statistically the physical differences between the two races but his conclusions went further: *The New Zealanders, as all men in a savage state, are indolent and lazy, working only when there is an absolute necessity for so doing. A few days' labour will enable them to plant sufficient food to sustain them for a year, and a great portion of their time afterwards is often spent in a dreamy state of idleness: a life which tends to develop the accumulation of fat, and to increase the weight of the body*.[35] In 1860 there were still 3 million people of African descent held as slaves in the USA, and in Australia the draconian Act to Provide for the Protection and Management of the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria became law in 1869. Settler attitudes to race were based on a cocktail of such influences. The Church Missionary Society, led by Samuel Marsden from his estates at Parramatta near Sydney, purchased the first land sold by Maori.[36] For Marsden, farming was an essential facet of the application of Christianity into tribal communities. Paternalism (Lady Martin titled her 1884 memoir *Our Maoris*) and the Anglo-Saxon conviction of superiority and entitlement were also pervasive sentiments, with indigenous populations viewed as lower down an evolutionary scale, even as biologically inferior. Tasmanian Aborigines, Patagonians and Fuegians were considered particularly primitive. Others, who farmed, lived in houses, adopted Christianity and literacy rapidly after contact, were seen as comparatively civilised. This latter category included Maori, a fact reflected in the relatively empathetic nature of many of the photographs taken of them. This differed radically from the photographic treatment of peoples elsewhere, with exploitative nudity and sneering racist imagery far from uncommon. However, cultural insensitivity remained widespread. In 1900, *the Colonist*, under the headline *Maori Chief and his Dead Child*, reported proceedings from the New Plymouth Magistrates Court: *An interesting case was heard today. The plaintiff, Taihi Hoeroa, a Maori chief, claimed £5 damages for breach of contract, or alternative of a, similar claim for breach of confidence, from G. H. White, photographer, for publishing the photo of his dead child in the Christmas number of the Auckland "Weekly News". The evidence was to the effect that the native rules were stringent in connection with their dead, who are sacred, or tapu, and that the defendant was expressly instructed not to part with any copy of the photo. For the defence, Mr Wickham, of the Auckland "News" staff, was called and stated he was present when the photo was taken, and he paid half the cost of its production. The Magistrate gave judgment for the defendant, on the grounds that the plaintiff knew Mr Wickham would publish the photo and made no objection at the time*.[37]

Pakeha probably viewed this incident as clear opportunism rather than exploitation but there are parallel value systems at work. The activists who stopped the auction of William Partington's negatives and vintage prints in 2001 may, in Western terms, have been erroneous in believing that their ancestors commissioned the portraits, or that they could challenge the legal right of the owners to sell their property.[38] But who can argue with the sentiment expressed by co-curator Che Wilson when the collection was put on display at the Whanganui Regional Museum in 2007: *We saw our Tupuna [forebears] on sale. One person saw a photo of their nanny and said, 'Why are they selling her?' All the normal reasons our people would get upset*.[39]

Colonists also rarely understood the spiritual nature of the relationship between indigenous people and their land, intensified by centuries (or in the case of indigenous Australians, millennia) of continuous occupation. In the colonists' eyes, land was an asset to be owned by individuals and exploited for profit. Maori were seen to have a surplus of communally owned land that they apparently underused. The settlers saw it as a right to occupy that property and make it productive. Others, like Wiremu Tamihana (William Thompson*), sought to retain self-determination over their own property without conflict: *I do not desire to cast the Queen from this island, but from my piece (of land). I am to be the person to overlook my piece. Enough*.[40]

Te Whiti o Rongomai was another who expressed the Maori view. An 1879 article in the London Times newspaper offered a portrait of this leader whose eloquent stance unnerved the authorities and was seen as a threat to the welfare of the colony. Te Whiti's critique of the capitalist ethic laid bare the moral pretensions of the land-grabbers: *They are so intent in accumulating wealth that nothing appears to interest them except what is in some way connected with the acquisition of wealth*.[41] One point of contention was his refusal to hand over a man called Hiroki, wanted for the murder of a surveyor. Te Whiti's view was that Hiroki may have killed a man but Pakeha had killed the land.

Communities such as that based at Parihaka were oases of Maori identity, bucking the trend of terminal decline. Te Whiti, the inspirational leader there, had been educated by Johann Riemenschneider, a German Lutheran missionary, in the late 1840s and developed a personal philosophy that blended Christian and traditional elements. Like Wiremu Tamihana, Te Whiti's knowledge of the Bible was far superior to that of most settlers. An article in the *Daily Southern Cross* complained that *quotations from Sacred Writ are freely made use of, and rebellion is preached as a religious duty*.[42] Te Whiti had managed the flour mill at Warea, witnessed the early land confiscations at Taranaki and helped to save Europeans in 1862 from the wreck of the steamer *Lord Worsley*, even ensuring that the 1400 ounces of gold on board were handed to Robert Graham. According to the historian G.W. Rusden, Te Whiti moved inland to Parihaka after his coastal village was burnt by troops in 1865.[43] From the outset Te Whiti appears to have adopted a strict pacifist policy, employing force without violence, with resistance expressed through civil disobedience. Accounts of his practices may perhaps have reached and influenced Gandhi but he certainly enjoyed widespread support right across New Zealand.[44] The settlement and estates of Parihaka, north of the Waingongoro River, were tolerated from the late 1860s, but by 1880 pressure was building for these lands be opened up for Pakeha settlement. Maori refusal to sell or to allow surveyors to demarcate boundaries by continually ploughing up their markers and fences, led to the invasion of the township on 5 November 1881 and the exile of several hundred of the male protagonists. The Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, believed the action harsh and unwarranted but the Maori Prisoners Trial Act allowed them to be held without trial at

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Andersons Bay gaol in Dunedin. The leaders were sent home in 1883, only to be imprisoned again for two years from 1886. The last of the prisoners were returned in 1898.

Te Whiti, like Te Kooti,[45] is known to have resisted all attempts to photograph him with most extant likenesses originating from hastily made sketches.* The photograph on the current Parihaka website,[46] showing him wearing a bowler hat, may be the one taken by the jailer John Ward in 1882/3 and used as the basis for the engraving in his 1883 *Wanderings with the Maori prophets Te Whiti and Tohu*. In the preface Ward writes: *the two illustrations that probably form the chief attraction to this volume, are worthy of a word or two. TE WHITI and TOHU never sat for their photos, though often asked to do so, nor would they entertain the idea of a photographer or his appliances coming near them. I was determined to surmount this, and I did. The result is before you. But "my friends" now, as I write this, are as unconscious that the faithful camera has depicted their awe-stricken and phlegmatic countenances as I am of becoming "Emperor of the Flowery Land"*.[47] The Auckland Museum Library copy has a manuscript, in Johannes Andersen's hand, inserted between pages i and ii: *A Mr Donnell of Auckland was in the* [Turnbull] *library; he is almost a Pakeha-Maori having spent much time among them, and collected much printed matter which he was turning into cash. He said that he once visited Te Whiti, and on leaving asked for a photo to remember him by. Te Whiti however would never be photographed, and answered Mr Donnell to this effect; "You do not need a photograph of your friend to remember him by; you carry his picture in your mind. Besides, you never know how a photo may be treated; it may be reproduced on paper, and that paper may be put to most ignoble uses. I took down Mr Donnell's remarks, as per pencil note; Elsdon Best corrected the remarks as above; he assumed that Te Whiti was likely to use better Maori than Mr Donnell would be able to remember*.

Malcolm Ross, not a Te Whiti sympathiser, recorded a meeting in 1906: *He is greatly averse to having his portrait taken, and photographers who have endeavoured to secure it have had their plates and their cameras smashed. Te Whiti was not photographed while he was in prison here, and, as far as I am aware, there is no photograph of him in existence*. Ross goes on to quote W.F. Gordon who had made a surreptitious shirt cuff sketch in 1880: *It would never have done to have shown a sketch book. Indeed, it would not have been safe….You will therefore see that a camera was out of the question. Te Whiti had also a great aversion to having 'his head taken off'. I did not let anyone know I had the sketch and when I got home to Wanganui I shut myself up in my room and finished the portrait from memory. The picture was afterwards photographed, and many copies were sold. It was the first picture of Te Whiti and showed to outsiders what he was like*.[48] This may be the photograph mentioned in the *Wanganui Herald* in 1881: *a capitally enlarged photograph of the Maori prophet, Te Whiti, has been executed by Mr. Harding, and an early copy is on view in Mr Drew's shop in the Avenue. Those who have seen the arch disturber of the peace say that the likeness is faithful and striking*.[49]
William Baucke's obituary of Te Whiti included: *He detested with horror photographs and prints in which the protruding tongue and inverted eyeball are depicted as symbolic of the Maori – especially those taken at Rotorua of women and children – and thought this not only degraded his race, but disgraced the proud, select pakeha in his isolate pretensions of superior morals and ethics. One day among his correspondence came a letter, impressed with a marginal picture of an otherwise handsome woman protruding her tongue, which, without reading, he spat upon and contemptuously cast into the fire*.[50]

However, once they were out in the world there was no way, even then, of reeling images in. They seeped into being part of the national identity when that was under construction. In 1901 the newly formed Tourist Department saw photographs as an economical way of promoting New Zealand internationally, and employed photographers as well as buying prints and negatives. This included stock from the Pulman firm, disposed of after Elizabeth's death in 1900. Negatives, originally exposed for the early carte-de-visite trade, were still being printed from up until the 1920s, often without reference to their antiquity, with the identity of the sitter lost.* As with the homogenisation of carving into a Rotorua-based style, the idea of an authentic singular 'tradition' was established by steady repetition. There was cross-fertilisation between media, with photography providing source material for painters,

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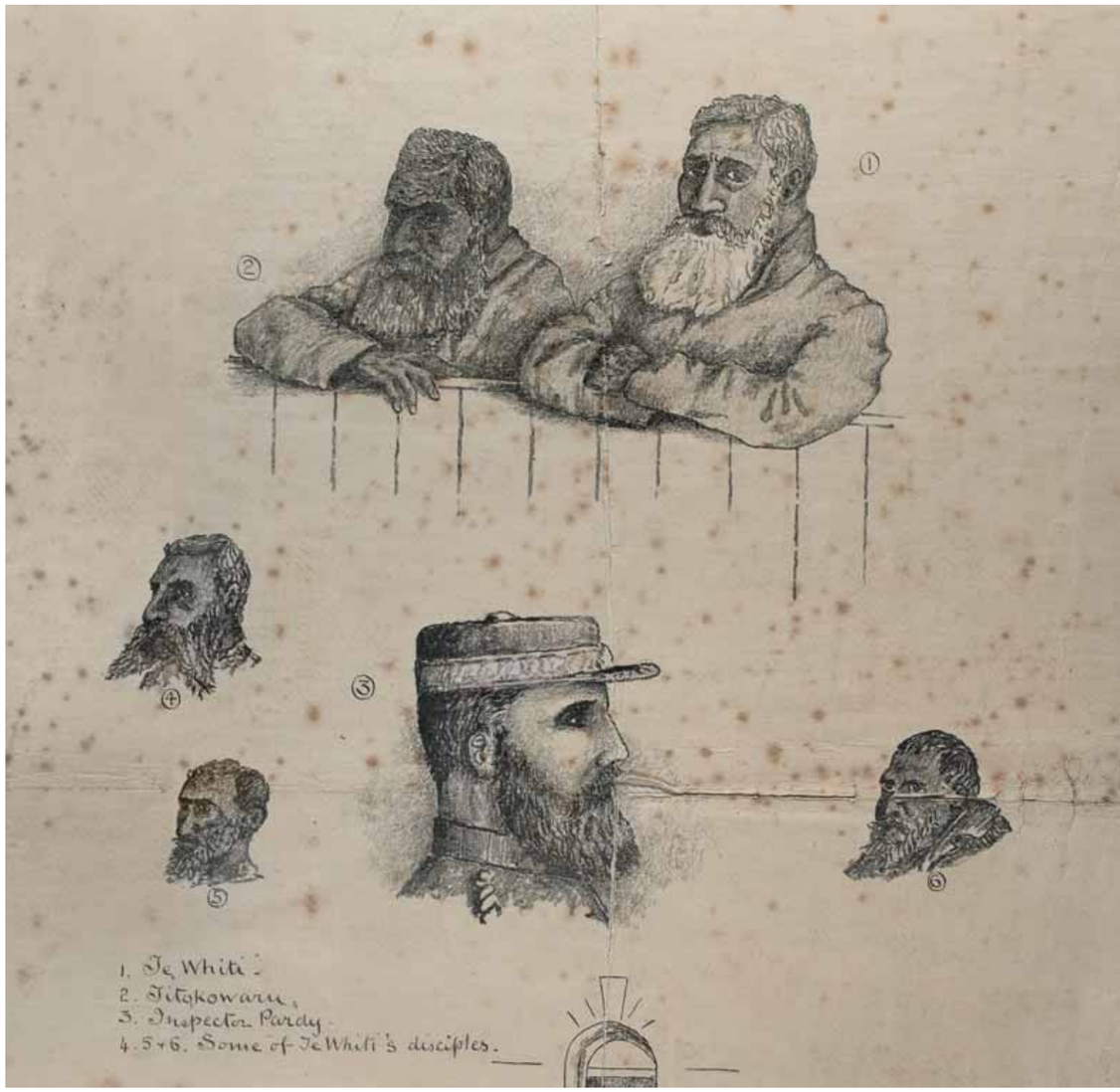
whose works were in turn disseminated photographically in newspaper supplements or as postcards. It was illustrated newspapers and the postcard craze that finally killed off the carte de visite and cemented the way in which Maori were represented. The volume of these photolithographic cards swamped any previous pictorial productions. The components of this constructed image genre were those created half a century before, when honest portraiture first mutated towards the realms of racist caricature. Those Maori in London, indirectly spared by Queen Victoria from giving 'cultural performances' but made to pose in rank costume from an earlier era, might have been surprised that their grandchildren were still trapped in the same time-warp. Two days after the loss of her beloved consort, Queen Victoria commissioned William Bambridge to photograph Albert on his deathbed.[51] Once prints had been made Victoria ordered the negatives to be destroyed, an option not often open to her subjects.[52]



Walter J. Leslie (fl. C. 1883-1912). Te Whiti and Titokowaru on trial. Detail from the *Supplement to the "Evening Press"*, 8 October 1886. Lithograph, 410 by 310 mm.,

[1] ‘Potatau’s Speech to his Council’, *Maori Messenger*, 30 November 1860, p. 7.

[2] William Constable (1783-1861) was born in Surrey. He worked as a civil engineer in America before purchasing (from Richard Beard for £1000) the exclusive license to take daguerreotypes in Brighton. His Marine Parade premises was the town’s first photographic studio and enjoyed a portrait monopoly there for ten years.

[3] Dr Thomas Ernst Becker (1826-1888) was a practising photographer and founder member of the Photographic Society of London. His role as the Prince’s librarian (until 1858) included advising on and organising acquisitions for the Royal Collection.

[4] As a child, Albert had started a museum in Coburg with his brother.

[5] Harry Parkes, charged in 1856 with delivering presents to King Mongkut of Siam, witnessed some of his precious cargo lost or waterlogged during his passage on *H.M.S Auckland*. However, the globes, watch, sword, silver-mounted revolver, *camera and complete photographic apparatus* survived, as acknowledged in Mongkut’s receipt to Parkes of 7 May. See Abbey Low Moffat, *Mongkut, the King of Siam*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1961, p. 194.

[6] John Jabez Edwin Mayall (1810-1901) learnt his trade as a daguerreotypist in Philadelphia. He had worked extensively for Victoria and Albert before the *Royal Album*. Visitors to his London studio were greeted with a sign: *Sitters are requested to place themselves in the hands of the artist as much as possible*. Mayall produced half a million cartes a year at the height of the craze. He, or his studio, photographed Tawhiao, the Maori King, during his 1884 visit to England. This portrait, bearing Josiah Martin’s blindstamp, was widely marketed in New Zealand.

[7] The *Album* was available at Charles Asprey’s Bond St shop priced at 4 guineas. The fourteen cartes were also available individually at 1/6 or 3 shillings coloured. *The Photographic News* (31 August, 1860, p. 215) listed the portraits, adding *each study reproducing, with a homely truth, far more precious to the historian than any effort of a flattering court artist, the lineaments of the royal race*. No doubt pirated versions appeared as production failed to keep pace with demand. Soon the market was awash with Royal images. Photographs registered at Stationers Hall in 1863 included 44 of Queen Victoria.

[8] John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003.

[9] Moffat, pp. 195-6.

[10] James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Volume 1: 1845-1864*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1955, p. 446.

[11] Robin and Carol Wichard, *Victorian Cartes-de-Visite*, Shire, Princes Risborough, 1999, p. 38.

[12] Many in the ‘old world’ harboured similar reservations. Nadar (in *My life as a photographer*, translated by Thomas Repensek, in *October*, vol. 5, *Photography*, 1978, p. 9) tells how many *trembled before the Daguerreotype. More than a few of our most brilliant intellects shrank back as if from a disease*. One such, Balzac, believed that our bodies were made up of layers of ghostlike images, an infinite number of leaflike skins laid on top of one another. *He concluded that every time someone had his photograph taken, one of the spectral layers was removed from the body and transferred to the photograph. Repeated exposures entailed the unavoidable loss of subsequent ghostly layers, that is, the very essence of life*. Nadar could not resist adding that Balzac’s *ample proportions meant he would only gain from his loss*.

[13] Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-1879), in *Annals of my glass house*, a never-completed autobiographical fragment written in 1874/5. Manuscript in Royal Photographic Society, Bath. Text published in: Liz Heron and Val Williams (eds) *Illuminations, Women Writing on Photography from the 1850s to the Present*, Tauris, London, 1996, pp. 8-13 (this excerpt p. 12). Cameron spent much of her life in India and Sri Lanka.

[14] Alfred Burton, *The Maori at Home, a Photographer’s Diary*, Burton Bros, Dunedin, 1885, p. 8.

[15] Wheat prices collapsed in 1856, from a high of 12 to as low as 3 shillings.

[16] P.D. Vigors, *Private journal of a four months cruise*, unpublished, (1850), p. 17, from typed copy in Auckland Museum library (MS 313). Vigors wanted to acquire a Maori cloak for his collection but found them to be in short supply. He noted that these could take between 3 and 6 months to make. *The native have now discovered that it pays them much better to wear an English blanket (which costs them 10 to 15 shillings) and employ themselves in tilling their ground to supply the white settlers*.

[17] For a Maori view on intermarriage see ‘The Maoris in England’, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* of 14 January 1864, p.2, quoting Horomona Te Atua, speaking in Bath: *Some of the New Zealand women had married English settlers, but the British ladies had not married any of the Maoris [laughter]. They were taught in the Word of God that they should do unto each other as they would be done by, and that they should love one another, and they could not do this in a better manner than by doing as he had recommended [laughter and cheers]. They must not blame him for what he had said, for he was sure that his countrywomen, had they been present that evening, would have approved of his observations. New Zealanders were anxious to give their females to Europeans, but their example had not been followed by the English [cheers and laughter]*. Another member of this touring group, Kameriara Te Wharepapa, did marry an Englishwoman (Elizabeth Reid). They had a daughter, Maria Good Hope, born on the voyage back to New Zealand on the *Flying Foam* in 1864.

[18] Puke Ariki collection, New Plymouth, A71.462.

[19] Subject as yet unidentified, Grey collection, South African National Library, Cape Town.

[20] See Helen H. Hogan, *Bravo, Neu Zeeland, two Maori in Vienna 1859-1860*, Clerestory Press, Christchurch, 2003.

[21] British Museum collection, Oc-B9.2. Antoine Claudet (1797-1867) was from a Lyons family of glassmakers. He was perhaps the first to sell Victoria and Albert daguerreotypes (in 1840) and to use a painted backdrop. He is also credited with inventing the idea of demonstrating motion by using a sequence of still photographs.

[22] Ferdinand von Hochstetter, *New Zealand: its physical geography, geology, and natural history: with special reference to the results of government expeditions in the provinces of Auckland and Nelson*, J.G. Cotta, Stuttgart, 1867, p. 453.

[23] ‘Maori Correspondence’, *Te Manuhiri Tuarangi and Maori Intelligencer*, 2 September 1861, p. 23.

[24] Quoted in Brian Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1985, p. 58.

[25] ‘Queen Victoria’s Journal, Osborne, 15 July 1863’, quoted in Thora Parker, *And not to yield*, David Bateman, Auckland, 1987, pp. 65-66.

[26] *Bristol Mercury*, 19 September 1863, quoted in Mackrell, 1985, p. 73.

[27] ‘Maori Chiefs in England’, *Daily Southern Cross*, 17 December 1863, p. 5.

[28] From a typescript copy of the letter, Auckland Museum Library, MS 60, p. 3.

[29] ‘London Gossip. The Maoris in England’, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 28 May 1864, p. 2.

[30] Quoted in Mackrell, 1985, p. 53.

[31] See Mackrell, 1985, pp. 22, 42, 43, 46, 47, 53 and 57.

[32] Certainly in Australia some Aboriginal people sold photographs of themselves (see M. Graham-Stewart and J. Dickson, *From our garden but wild*, forthcoming) and in the USA the African –American abolitionist Sojourner Truth marketed cartes of herself with the imprint *I sell the shadow to support the substance*.
The obvious way to benefit from the intrusion of photographers was to charge for the privilege. This would have been standard in any indigenous communities for whom income from tourists was welcome. Desire Charnay, visiting the Coranderrk Aboriginal reserve in Victoria in 1878 recorded that *In my second day of work, the natives announced to me that henceforth five shillings per person would be required for posing. As I had need of them, I accepted the conditions. Then the fee was raised to ten, and next twenty shillings, so that I soon sent them to the devil*. (quoted in Keith F. Davis, *Desire Charnay*, University of New Mexico Press, 1981, p. 149).

[33] *Maori Messenger*, 30 November 1860, p. 1.

[34] Quoted in John Szwed, *The man who recorded the world*, William Heinemann, London, 2010, p. 34. Raised in various towns in Texas, Lomax’s family often lived close to black communities. In 1926, Lomax, then 11, recalls his apparently liberal mother explaining: *We don’t eat at the table with Negroes. You cannot invite her today or tomorrow or any day, because even though she is a very sweet girl, she’s a Negro.* (ibid).

[35] A.S. Thomson, M.D., *Observations on the stature, bodily weight, magnitude of chest, and physical strength of the New Zealand race of men*. In Journal of the *Ethnological Society of London*, Vol. III, 1854, pp. 123-131. This quote p. 127.

[36] Marsden purchased 200 acres in February 1815 for the mission site at Waimate. A further 13,000 acres at Kerikeri were acquired (for 48 felling axes) from Hongi Hika in November 1819. Governor Grey disapproved of the large land purchases by missionaries in Northland, considering them a major contributor to the unrest that led to the war of 1845.

[37] *Colonist*, 11 December 1900, p. 4.

[38] W.H.T. Partington (1854-1940) based his studio in Whanganui from 1891-1902. He was well placed to exploit the commercial potential that arose from the promotion of the area as New Zealand’s Rhineland, using the large indigenous population as models to illustrate the then popular notion of Maoriland.
For the background and outcome of the attempted dispersal of the Partington Collection, see *I am the River*, a documentary film by Luigi Cutore and Mark McNeil, 2010.

[39] Yvonne Tahana, ‘Review: Te Pihi Mata at Whanganui Regional Museum’, *New Zealand Herald*, 8 December 2007.

[40] ‘Copy of a letter from Wm. Thompson to his Excellency the Governor’, *Taranaki Herald*, 29 June 1861, p. 4.

[41] ‘Te Whiti’, *The Times*, 11 September 1879, p. 8.

[42] *Daily Southern Cross*, quoted in *Taranaki Herald*, 29 June 1861, p. 3.

[43] Author of the 1883 three-volume *History of New Zealand*.

[44] A much repeated but vague in origin tale has Gandhi being told of Te Whiti by two Irish (?)priests who had visited Parihaka.
Te Whiti adherents in the Chatham Islands regularly shipped tons of dried eels (*tuna*) and preserved albatross (*toroa*) to support the community at Parihaka. One Chatham Islands chief, We Te Tahuhu, sent £120 in gold. See E.C. Richards, The Chatham Islands, Simpson and Williams, Christchurch, 1952, ps. 88, 95, 125 and 128.

[45] See Judith Binney, *Tom Ryan’s sketches of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*. In *Stories Without End* Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2010, pp. 216-223.

[46] A crudely manipulated (bowler hat and background removed) version is illustrated in Michael King, *Maori, A Photographic and Social History*, Reed, Auckland, 1984, p. 170.

[47] John P. Ward, *Wanderings with the Prophets, Te Whiti & Tohu, Being Reminiscences of a Twelve Months’ Companionship with Them, from Their Arrival in Christchurch in April 1882 Until Their Return to Parihaka in March 1883*. Bond, Finney and Co., Nelson, 1883, pp. i-ii.

[48] Malcolm Ross: ‘In Taranaki. Te Whiti and Tohu’, *Otago Witness*, 18 April 1906, p. 79.

[49] ‘Monetary Items’, *Wanganui Herald*, 30 September 1881, p. 2.

[50] William Baucke, ‘Where the white man treads’, *New Zealand Herald*, 30 November 1907, Supplement, p. 1.

[51] William Bambridge (1819-1879) worked as a schoolmaster at Bishop Selwyn’s mission in New Zealand, returning to the UK in 1848. From 1854 he was employed by the Royal family as their photographic factotum, for which he was granted a Royal pension on retirement.

[51] See Sophie Gordon, *Roger Fenton, Julia Margaret Cameron, early British Photographs from the Royal Collection*, Royal Collection Publications, London, 2010, pp. 11, 12.

Foy Brothers (fl. 1872-1901). *High class, low class*, c. 1885. Imprinted with title. Albumen print, 155 by 215 mm.

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[THIS PAGE] Enlarged detail of carte on 068.
[RIGHT] Burton Brothers (fl. 1867-1898), *Maori Land*, c. 1880. Imprinted with title. Albumen print, actual size.
[ENDPAPERS] Thomas Price (fl. c. 1867-1920s), Collage of portraits, rephotographed in a carved wood frame, c. 1890. Gelatin silver print, 214 by 276 mm.
[BACK COVER] Portrait, c. 1870. Albumen print, actual size (179).

Negative kept.