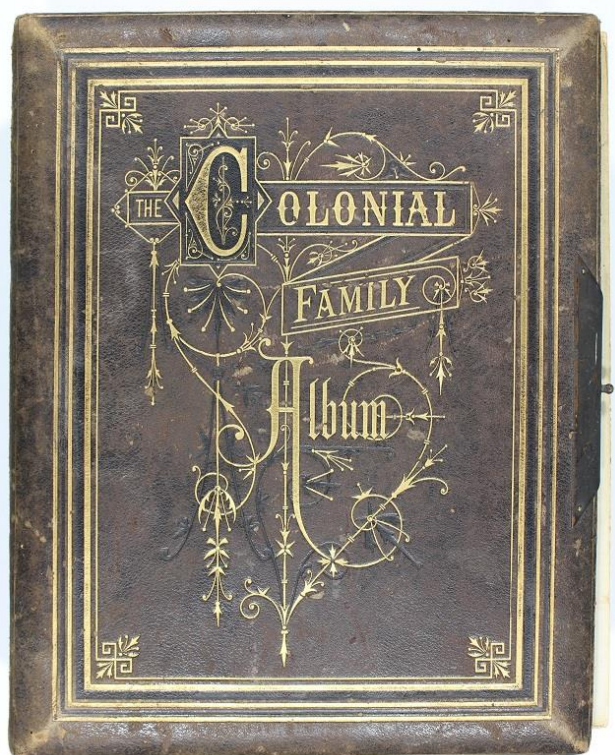


The Colonial Family Album:
Photography and Identity in Otago,
1848-1890
Volume 1



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Abstract

This thesis looks at photography and album culture in Otago, New Zealand, between 1848 when the first Otago settlement colonists arrived and 1890 when snapshot cameras became widely available. It builds on work by Elizabeth Siegel and Martha Langford on nineteenth-century photograph albums, looking at their use as oral devices for self-representation. Additionally, it investigates album culture in a colonial context and situates photography in Otago within broader discussions on nineteenth-century immigration, identity and modernity. A material culture approach, which uses objects as evidence for exploring human behaviour, has been applied to 89 carte de visite and cabinet card albums holding approximately 6,000 photographs in the collection of Toitū Otago Settlers Museum. These have been supplemented by albums and photographs from other collections. This thesis examines in-depth two albums from the 1880s; one compiled by an Otago-born woman of Scottish ancestry and the other owned by a Māori (Kāi Tahu) family. It argues that during the late nineteenth century immigrants to Otago, their Otago-born children, and local Kāi Tahu used photographs and albums to create and communicate their colonial identity and community.

The first photographer began working in the colony in 1855, and by the Otago gold rush of 1861, several professional photography studios had been established in Dunedin, the settlement's urban centre. Shortly after carte de visite albums were commercially available overseas, they were being sold in Dunedin. Much of Otago's photographic activity paralleled developments overseas. However, local practices emerged that were shaped by the colonial experience. Through their albums the residents of Otago portrayed themselves as members of a successful colonial society and part of a modern world that extended across and beyond the British Empire. By engaging in such activities as compiling albums and collecting photographs of celebrities, they positioned themselves as part of a global imagined community of photographic consumers. Through exchanging photographs and viewing albums, they built, maintained, consolidated, and demonstrated their local connections and membership in real communities. For colonial-era Kāi Tahu, albums illuminated their "middle ground" lives and identities that blended aspects of customary and colonial life. The title "The Colonial Family Album" summarises the argument that albums

were used to create a new form of colonial family of connected people in the local Otago context.

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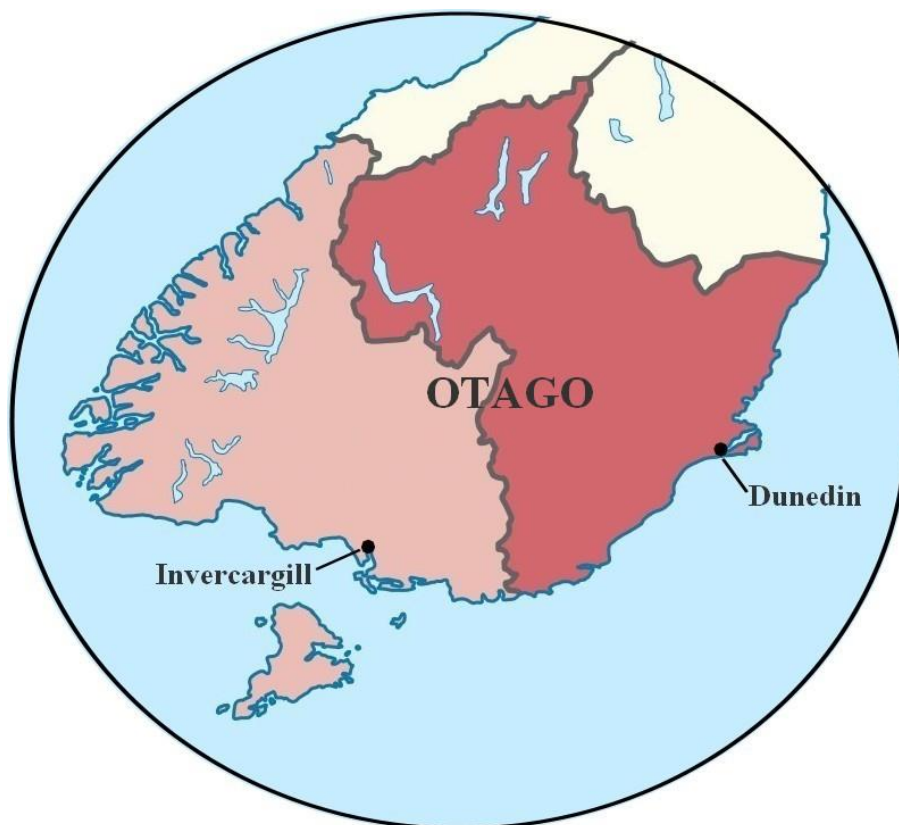
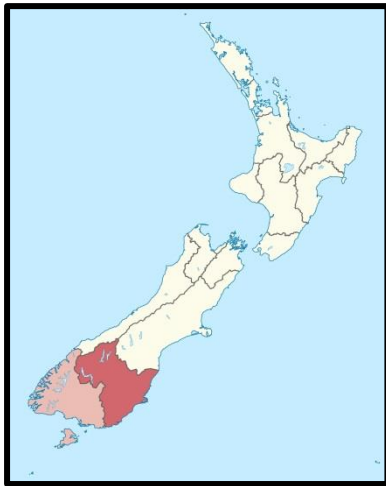
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Map of the Region of Otago

Comprising the Provinces of Southland and Otago



-  Province of Southland (split from Otago in 1861 and re-joined in 1870)
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INTRODUCTION

When the Otago Association's first two settlement ships *John Wickliffe* and *Philip Laing* arrived in the South Island of New Zealand from England and Scotland in 1848, they brought photography with them. Although there were no photographers or photographic equipment on board, the colonists brought their experience with the medium.¹ Photography had been established in Britain for nearly ten years and was rapidly taking hold as a component of everyday life. During the 1850s, as photographic technology advanced overseas and the Otago colony grew and developed, photography became a reality in the new settlement. Artist George Baird Shaw was the first to try his hand at photography in Dunedin, the settlement's urban centre, and began taking "Portraits in Daguerreotype" in 1855.² Two years later, in 1857, James Wilson took Dunedin's "portrait" from a vantage point on top of Bell Hill, and by 1860 a handful of commercial photographers had established studios along Princes Street.³ With the Otago gold rush of 1861, money, people, and goods flooded the settlement. Dunedin encountered rapid urbanisation, and it quickly went from a small colonial settlement to New Zealand's first city.⁴ The prosperous and transformed city was eager to embrace modernity, and photography was one of the hallmarks of modern urban living in the nineteenth century.

This thesis investigates photography and album culture in Otago during the nineteenth century. Otago here is defined as the area of New Zealand's South Island

¹ I deliberately use the term "colonist" instead of "settler." As Tony Ballantyne has pointed out, this was a highly mobile group of people. Tony Ballantyne, "On Place, Space and Mobility," in *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012), 279.

² *Otago Witness*, February 3, 1855. Shaw's advertisement is the earliest evidence of photographs being taken in Dunedin.

³ James Wilson is attributed with taking the oldest existing photograph of Dunedin. See Chapter 1 for further discussion.

⁴ For an overview of the history of nineteenth-century Otago, see Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1984).

located south of the Waitaki River and east of the Southern Alps and comprises the former provinces of Otago and Southland.⁵ I am looking at photography as the “globally disseminated and locally appropriated medium” as described by Christopher Pinney.⁶ Photograph and albums, I argue, connected the Otago settlement with the British Empire and beyond while also assisting in the development of a local consciousness. Album compiling, sharing, and viewing both communicated and consolidated that consciousness.

This thesis examines “card” albums, a specific type of photograph album that flourished in the nineteenth century. These were mass-produced with standard-sized openings for inserting card photographs such as cartes de visite and cabinet cards. Advertisements in Otago newspapers referred to them as “photographic albums” or simply “albums.” In studies about nineteenth-century photography, these albums have been described using various terms. Elizabeth Siegel calls them “portrait albums,” “card albums,” “carte” or “carte de visite albums,” and “photograph albums” interchangeably.⁷ “Family Album” is another term she uses, and it is commonly employed for these types of albums.⁸ However, as Siegel points out, photograph albums were not limited to displaying family members. They also contain photographic portraits of friends and non-related people such as celebrities and royalty as well as photographs of landscapes and artwork. On occasion, ephemera also appears in them.⁹ For these reasons, I avoid the term “family album,” referring to them instead as “card albums,” “photograph albums,” or simply “albums.”

⁵ New Zealand provinces were abolished in 1876.

⁶ Christopher Pinney, *Photography's Other Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 1.

⁷ Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 3 and 75.

⁸ Elizabeth Siegel, “‘Miss Domestic’ and ‘Miss Enterprise’: Or, How to Keep a Photograph Album,” in *The Scrapbook in American Life*, ed. Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 251-67, and Andrea Kunard, “Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album,” *Early Popular Visual Culture* 4, no. 3 (2006): 227-43.

⁹ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 3.

This thesis looks at the ways in which European colonists, their Otago-born children, and Kāi Tahu (the local Māori iwi) compiled their albums and analyses how “photographic self-fashioning” was used to construct identity.¹⁰ I argue that through their albums the people of Otago portrayed themselves as members of a successful colonial society and part of a modern world that extended across and beyond the British Empire. By engaging in such photographic activities as collecting images of celebrities, they positioned themselves as part of a global imagined community of photographic consumers. Through exchanging photographs with others in the settlement and displaying them in albums, they also used their albums to build, maintain, and demonstrate their local connections and membership in real communities. For colonial-era Kāi Tahu, albums illuminated their “middle ground” lives and identities that combined aspects of customary and colonial life.¹¹ My title “The Colonial Family Album” is taken from the cover of an album I investigate, and it encapsulates my argument that albums were used to create a new type of “colonial family” of connected people in the Otago context.

When I decided to research photography and album culture in nineteenth-century Otago, I brought my personal experience to the project. I was an immigrant to Otago, having arrived from the United States in 1998. Like the nineteenth-century immigrants, how much I was able to bring with me on my “ship” (Air Pacific) was severely restricted, but one of the things I made room for was a photograph album that I compiled before departing from home. Tucked inside were reminders of the life I was leaving behind—photographs of me with my parents at my university graduation, my recently-deceased cat, and views of the Utah desert where I spent my childhood summers. Whenever I felt homesick and my new Kiwi world felt unbearable, I turned to my little album and reminisced with my old life. Five years later I was the archivist at the Otago Settlers Museum (now Toitū Otago Settlers Museum). I managed a small but rich photographic collection that included many Victorian-era photograph albums. Leafing through them, I thought of them as the nineteenth-century equivalent of my own album. I envisaged the

¹⁰ Pinney, 2.

¹¹ For a discussion of the idea of the “middle ground,” see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

immigrants to Otago engaging with their photographs in the same way that I did with mine, an act that Charlotte Macdonald has described as “bridging the ache of distance” and “finding consolation and company in the presence of images.”¹² I expected to find evidence of albums as tools for coping with the feelings of disconnection brought about by immigration and thought they would be filled with photographs produced by overseas studios of the family, friends, and places that were left behind. I was wrong.

Martha Langford ponders, “What makes the album so special? Well, memories, of course. The photographic album symbolizes connections with the past.”¹³ This is true now, but when albums emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, the photographic past was only a few decades old, and albums were primarily receptacles for the new and expressions of the present. Otago albums hold an overwhelming number of photographs produced by Otago studios and an unexpectedly small number of overseas photographs. Instead of evidence of a backwards glance and longing for “Home,” Otago albums demonstrate proof of an interest in a New World life centered on building local connections and identities. I am not suggesting that memory played no role when photographs and albums were encountered and enacted. Martha Langford, Geoffrey Batchen, and Annette Kuhn have presented compelling examinations on the relationship between photography and remembrance.¹⁴ But not all photographs were about memorialization. Photographs have an infinite number of readings and their meanings can never be fixed. Langford describes them as “a stone dropped in a pond, with its ever-

¹² Charlotte Macdonald, “Beyond the Realm: The Loss of Culture as the Colonial Condition,” in “Communicating Culture in Colonial New Zealand,” ed. Tony Ballantyne, Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla, special issue, *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 12, (2011): 7.

¹³ Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 3.

¹⁴ Langford; Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography & Remembrance* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 2004); and Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination* (London and New York: Verso, 1995).

expanding inclusions, occlusions, and allusions.”¹⁵ I am offering another reading of photography and albums based on the empirical study of a particular set of albums.

Methodology and Argument

Elizabeth Siegel’s book *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* has provided the overall model for this thesis. Like Siegel, I am approaching photographs and albums in terms of social and cultural history and looking at their development, functions, and meanings.¹⁶ I have framed my investigation of Otago albums with Martha Langford’s model of the “orality” of the album. Borrowing from Walter Ong’s *Orality and Literacy*, she argues that albums are a form of oral culture with actors and spectators enacting performances that follow prescribed patterns. Albums were meant to be experienced through narration, and photographs served as mnemonic devices for storytelling. Stories and images were familiar to both the teller and listener and, through their relevance to both, helped to build connections and community. She describes the album as “a meeting place, not an encyclopedia.”¹⁷ Similarly, Andrea Kunard writes that albums were a “means by which people communicated an understanding of their personal circumstances within larger social constructs” and “operated as an imagined space in which the assembler negotiated their desired identity with the codes of behavior that defined larger social, professional and familial spheres.”¹⁸

Borrowing from Langford and Kunard, I investigate nineteenth-century albums from Otago as vehicles for building community and identity. Benedict Anderson’s 1982 work on real and imagined communities also contributes to this discussion. Anderson looks specifically at the formation of nationalism, describing it as a cultural artefact and

¹⁵ Langford, 4.

¹⁶ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 2.

¹⁷ Martha Langford, “Speaking the Album: An Application of the Oral-Photographic Framework,” in *Locating Memory: Photographic Acts*, ed. Annette Kuhn and Kirsten Emiko McAllister (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 226. See also Langford, *Suspended Conversations*.

¹⁸ Kunard, 240.

socio-cultural concept: “An imagined political community...imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”¹⁹ Although a foundational work, his ideas on nationalism have been widely critiqued. However, Anderson’s general argument of a community and identity based on perceived shared bonds among strangers can be applied to other self-aware groups.

Finally, my work is inspired by Martha A. Sandweiss’s *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West*.²⁰ Sandweiss describes her investigation as “a kind of social or cultural history of photography in a particular place, that explores how Americans came to understand this new medium and this new region together.” She posits that “A history of private photographs in the mid-nineteenth-century West would make for a fascinating, if speculative, study about the history of emotions and the shifting concept of self in the American Nation.”²¹ Taking my cue from Sandweiss, this thesis looks at the private photographs of the people of Otago and explores how they engaged with photography in the new settlement and built their identities and communities through their albums.

A growing body of work exists about photography in New Zealand during the nineteenth century. Hardwicke Knight’s pioneering survey *Photography in New Zealand: A Social and Technical History* (1971), is centred mostly on Dunedin.²² Knight also produced several monographs on the city’s leading studio photographers.²³ His work, as

¹⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

²⁰ Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

²¹ Sandweiss, 4.

²² Hardwicke Knight, *Photography in New Zealand: A Social and Technical History* (Dunedin: J. McIndoe, 1971).

²³ Hardwicke Knight, *Burton Brothers: Photographers* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1980); Hardwicke Knight, *The Photography of John Richard Morris: An Appreciation of his Contribution to New Zealand Portrait and View Photography in the Nineteenth Century* (Dunedin: H. Knight, 1995); and Hardwicke Knight, *Joseph Weaver Allen*,

well as that by William Main, John B. Turner, David Eggleton, Michael Graham-Stewart, and John Gow, provides a strong overview of New Zealand photographers.²⁴ Christine Whybrew's investigation of the Burton Brothers studio has helped push inquiry beyond individual photographers and placed photography within the larger context of nineteenth-century marketing and commercialisation.²⁵ The symposium "The Rise of Photography in New Zealand" (2007) produced a range of critical studies focused on specific images that were published in *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays*.²⁶ Despite the shift towards more analytical scrutiny of the country's photographic history, New Zealand's photograph albums have been neglected. Exceptions include Antje Lübcke, who has looked at snapshot albums compiled by New Zealand Presbyterian missionaries in the early twentieth century, and Sandy Callister, who explored Victorian women's use of albums and photography in New Zealand in *The Victorian Album and the Personal*, an exhibition held at the Victoria University of Wellington's Adam Art Gallery in 2011.²⁷

Photography in Otago has only been explored to a limited degree. Knight's and Whybrew's work offer important insights, but extensive primary source research was

Photographer: Eighth Series from the Hardwicke Knight Collection (Dunedin: H. Knight, 1997).

²⁴ William Main, and John B. Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present* (Auckland: PhotoForum Inc with the assistance of Agfa, 1993); David Eggleton, *Into the Light: A History of New Zealand Photography* (Nelson: Craig Potton, 2006); and Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow, *Crombie to Burton: Early New Zealand Photography* (Auckland: John Leech Gallery, 2006).

²⁵ Christine Whybrew, "The Burton Brothers Studio: Commerce in Photography and the Marketing of New Zealand, 1866-1898" (PhD diss., University of Otago, 2010) and Christine Whybrew, "'Readin' Photographs: Burton Brothers and the Photographic Narrative,'" in "Communicating Culture in Colonial New Zealand," ed. Tony Ballantyne, Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla, special issue *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 12 (2011): 77-89.

²⁶ Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf, eds., *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011).

²⁷ Antje Lübcke "From Glass Plate to Album: New Hebrides Mission Photographs in the Album of Reverend William Veitch Milne," in Wanhalla and Wolf, 128-38, and Antje Lübcke "Two New Hebrides Mission Photograph Albums: An Object-Story of Story-Objects," *The Journal of Pacific History* 47, no. 2 (2012): 187-209.

required to build a basis of knowledge about photography in the region. Much of what I write is newly discovered and therefore necessarily descriptive. Because these albums are filled primarily with locally-produced studio portraits, this research has included investigation of professional photography in Otago as well as the development of photographic portraiture globally. Photographers, however, are only one part of my investigation. Nothing has been written previously on nineteenth-century Otago carte de visite or cabinet card albums, and that aspect of this thesis is entirely my own original research. While this is a story about Otago as a whole, Dunedin—by far the largest settlement of the province—is an unavoidable focus. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Invercargill and Oamaru became significant settlements, each with a number of photography studios. In addition, many of the small towns dotted around Otago either had an established photography studio or were visited frequently by photographers passing through the area. Where sources have allowed, I have been inclusive of all areas of Otago.

I have employed a material culture approach that is object-centred and object-driven, looking at the materiality of photographs and albums and examining what they reveal about the culture and people of Otago during the nineteenth century.²⁸ My research began with the photographs and albums in the collection of Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (hereafter TOSM). My examination and “reading” of them generated questions that led me to other sources and larger historical questions and contexts, but photographs and albums remain the focus of this work.

Working as an archivist, I began my research with the photographic collection under my care at TOSM.²⁹ I knew the collection well and was confident it would provide a strong foundation to work from. Of the hundreds of albums in the collection, I narrowed my pool to 89 albums. A list of these is provided in Appendix 1. My selection criteria were simple; albums had to have been compiled primarily before 1890 (before

²⁸ For a discussion of object-centred versus object-driven approaches, see Bernard L. Herman, *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1992), 5.

²⁹ The museum’s archive holds an estimated 15,000 loose photographic prints, 1,500 glass plate negatives, 1,000 stereographs, 360 photograph albums, and several dozen cased photographs, most of which date from the nineteenth century.

snapshot cameras arrived in Dunedin) and originally purchased empty for the owner to fill.³⁰ Most of the albums that met these criteria were commercially-produced card albums, and these contained primarily studio portraits. Beyond these basic similarities, TOSM's card albums varied widely; some albums were completely filled with photographs, some were empty but had dedication inscriptions on the first page, some were elaborately decorated with dried ferns, and some contained name annotations written by later descendants. Each, however, offered useful information for my research. These albums are the core of my thesis, but they are supplemented by photographs and albums in other collections that add to my discussions of Otago albums in some way.

I approached these albums and their contents from two directions. The first was an objective analysis of what the albums contain. Albums, I found, hold more than photographs and include newspaper clippings, lithographs, memorial cards and other ephemera. I systematically counted and categorized these items in order to fully understand album composition and discover patterns. I did a similar exercise with the photographs I found in terms of subject matter and studio/place of production. This is the basis of my examination of Otago's albums in Chapter 3. In Chapters 4 and 5, I applied a second, more subjective approach to analyse two albums. Using semiotics theory, photographs were "read" for possible meaning. Semiotics recognizes that meaning is not fixed and instead is dependent on the viewer and their context. Images therefore become a form of text, and signs recognized within images are read to produce meaning. The writings of French critic and theorist Roland Barthes showed how semiotics theory could be used to explore aspects of popular culture, including photographs.³¹ In order to more fully understand my two case study albums, I combined semiotics with "close reading," a concept borrowed from literary criticism whereby portions of text are examined in detail in order to understand the whole. Similarly, I examined the individual photographs in each album in detail to understand the meaning of the album as a whole.

³⁰ This excluded nineteenth century view albums that were often assembled by photography studios and sold as finished volumes.

³¹ Richard Salkeld, *Reading Photographs: An Introduction to the Theory and Meaning of Images* (London: Fairchild Books, 2014).

Photograph albums such as these are plentiful in archives, and I could have easily expanded my pool several-fold by looking at similar albums in other New Zealand collections. However, I knew that most albums from TOSM would have a strong provenance. The museum's policy has always required that items accepted into the collection have a clear connection with Otago. Even if I could not recover the precise ownership history of a particular album, I could trust that it was in the collection because it was relevant to the region. Another reason I focused on TOSM's collection was because of the unrestricted access I had as the museum's archivist. With my institutional knowledge, I was able to track down the catalogue records, donation paperwork, and other information about the albums that the museum held. I was also able to handle, scrutinize, and digitise the albums to a degree that would have been almost impossible as a visitor to other collections. I knew that part of my research would require removing photographs from albums and looking at their backs for studio names, inscriptions, and other valuable information not evident when the photograph was inserted into the album page. As TOSM's archivist, I could do this, but as a visitor to another archive, this would have been extremely difficult to do.

Examining these albums was not a straightforward process. As Martha Langford has perceptively pointed out, there is no "generic compiler" and "patience is what the album teaches."³² I had to address a number of issues. The first was the passage of time. I had no guarantee that the albums under investigation were the same as when compiled and used during the nineteenth century. Because cartes de visite and cabinet cards are inserted into a frame rather than pasted onto a page, they can be easily removed. It is impossible to know the degree to which photographs have been taken out and replaced by others or whether the organisation of the album had changed. It seems likely that album owners took advantage of this flexibility to revise them, adding new photographs and discarding old ones. Torn areas indicate the insertion and removal of photographs, but whether this was to view a photograph more closely or replace it with another can only be speculated. Regardless, "originality" (if there is such a thing with albums) was not of concern, because I was not investigating albums as they were compiled in the first

³² Langford, *Suspended Conversations*, 18.

instance. Objects do not have fixed meanings in time and, as Elizabeth Edwards has noted, belong to “a continuing process of meaning, production, exchange, and usage.”³³ What was important was that they had been relatively untouched since 1890. Fortunately, card albums are a predominantly nineteenth-century form. The carte de visite format fell out of favour by the 1880s, when it was replaced by the cabinet card, which in turn began to decline in popularity in the 1890s. With these formats becoming obsolete, the nineteenth-century card album lost its appeal at the close of the century. Snapshots and new size formats for studio photographs in the early twentieth century were a poor fit with the standardised windows of earlier card albums. Although the occasional snapshot was inserted into a carte de visite frame and oversize prints were simply placed loose between pages, card albums were, for the most part, left with their nineteenth century contents intact.

Another complication is that some albums are missing photographs. Were the albums never completely filled? Were photographs removed? If so, by whom and when? Sometimes there are clues. An album with a ballpoint pen inscription and missing photograph indicates that it was removed sometime in the past 70 years (this type of pen did not come into widespread use until after the Second World War). In several instances TOSM staff have removed an image for display or storage. And no doubt the original compiler or subsequent owners have removed images for a myriad of personal reasons. In some cases, the donor has removed photographs before giving the album to the museum. One album in the collection contains the note “I have kept duplicate photos of John Sinclair, Al Sinclair, Jessie Sinclair, and the Sinclair children (May, Rob, Ada).”³⁴

A further issue was the range of content. Despite being produced as photograph albums, they hold more than just photographs. Most albums are, to varying degrees, a mixture of photographs and ephemera—professional studio photographs of people, landscapes, ships, and animals intermingled with memorial cards, newspaper clippings, lithographs, and the occasional piece of needlework. This required me to develop a

³³ Elizabeth Edwards, “Material Beings: Objecthood and Ethnographic Photographs,” *Visual Studies* 17, No. 1 (2002): 68.

³⁴ TOSM, Album 275.

systematic approach to locate points of comparison among albums that were eclectic and highly individualised. The first step was to survey the material within the albums and identify general categories. Two main categories emerged: photographs produced by professional studios during the nineteenth century (cartes de visite, cabinet cards, and tintypes) and everything else (mostly snapshots and ephemera). Studio portraits are by far the largest category, and my research has led me to focus on these types of photographs, although I did not ignore the other items.

The final issue is the most important: albums were oral devices meant to be narrated, and without a narrator, meaning is difficult to recover. Albums contain few inscriptions or labels, and when writing is present, it has usually been added by a later generation. None of the albums I have investigated have any supplementary written information, such as letters or diaries left by their compilers, that could offer clues. However, by clarifying the album's provenance (who owned it, when and where was it compiled), situating it within its socio-historical context, carefully considering the relationships of its contents, and looking closely at the objects themselves, meaning can be teased out. Some albums are easier to decipher than others and offer clear visual stories. With many other albums, however, there is no apparent "autobiographical formation" and meaning must be recovered through more oblique readings or statistical analysis of their content.³⁵

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 outlines the beginnings of photography, photographic portraiture, and photograph albums in England and France and weaves New Zealand and Otago into the discussion where relevant. I argue that the early immigrants to Otago were photographically literate; they brought their experience of photography with them and kept abreast of photographic developments overseas. However, their engagement with photography within the settlement was shaped by limited access to materials and expertise. When these restrictions were overcome by the late 1850s, photography studios began appearing in Dunedin. They became part of the city's urban landscape and symbolised the modernity that it was beginning to achieve. This chapter also traces the

³⁵ Quoted in Pinney, 2.

naissance of the slip-in card album in order to understand later use and meaning. By 1860, when mass-produced *carte de visite* albums appeared on the market, photographic consumers, both in Otago and overseas, had developed the need and desire for them.

Chapter 2 looks at the emergence of the *carte de visite* album, patented in Great Britain in 1860. Aspects of album compiling such as how to insert a photograph into a slot and what to put into an album had to be learned, and the means for doing so are explored. Other album formats persisted alongside these albums, and I examine two scrapbook-type albums created by Otago-born women to demonstrate that other album types were possible and the adoption of card albums was not inevitable. However, *carte de visite* albums did become the primary album format for displaying photographs in the nineteenth century. Shortly after they appeared overseas, photograph albums arrived in Otago. Drawing on a long history of other album traditions and aspects of oral culture, Victorians developed a culture whereby albums became semi-public spaces where contents were shared with invited viewers. Stories and narratives were enacted, and the orality and reciprocity of albums resulted in community building that was both imagined and real.

Chapter 3 investigates the content of Otago albums in depth. An examination of them reveals an overwhelming number of photographs of family and friends taken by Otago studios. Albums were used to build and strengthen real communities, and they show the importance placed on everyday lives and building local connections in the new settlement. Surprisingly, in a community filled with immigrants and thus strong personal connections outside of Otago, only a small percentage of photographs are from overseas studios. Photographs of celebrities and anthropological types were added in limited numbers, indicating a desire on the part of Otago album compilers to participate in a global, imagined community of photographic consumers.

Chapters 4 and 5 present case studies of two photograph albums compiled in Otago in the 1880s and explore how identity and community were constructed by them. Chapter 4 investigates Priscilla Smith's album and looks at how a first generation Otago-born woman used her album to build a colonial identity. Through the photographs she chose, she presented herself as a member of both the British Empire and a colonial

Pacific world filled with Hawai'ian royalty, Peruvian *tapadas*, and Māori. Like most Otago albums, hers is filled with photographs of Otago family and friends.

Chapter 5 investigates an album owned by the Parata family, an elite Kāi Tahu family based in Puketeraki north of Dunedin. I look at the ways that this family used their album to express a nineteenth-century identity that blended aspects of Māori and Pākehā (non-Māori) culture. Like other Otago albums, it is filled with studio portraits of family, friends, and associates, and these photographs of Kāi Tahu resemble those of European colonists, sharing the same poses, props, and studio settings. With the majority of photographs coming from Otago, and few of the sitters appearing to be Pākehā, the album demonstrates a close-knit community of Kāi Tahu. The photographs also demonstrate that Māori encounters with photography in the nineteenth century encompassed more than the ethnographic type images that have dominated research on New Zealand photography and reveal that Māori were active participants and consumers rather than passive ethnographic objects.

My thesis concludes with a consideration of why the card album had fallen out of favour by the turn of the century. What had once been the “latest thing” had become something old fashioned. With the passage of time its meaning had shifted; modernity, familiarity, and relevance were replaced with nostalgia, sentiment, and memory. The spontaneity of amateur photography and the snapshot album took its place.

Chapter 1

PHOTOGRAPHS, LIKENESSES, ALBUMS

Photography had been established in France and Great Britain for nearly ten years when the immigrant ships *John Wickliffe* and *Philip Laing* arrived in the Otago Harbour from England and Scotland in 1848 and inaugurated colonial settlement. Those first immigrants arrived thinking photography and possessing an aptitude to engage with photographs. Within a decade, photographers arrived in Dunedin, the Otago province's initial urban settlement, and by the time of the 1861 gold rush that dramatically altered the fledgling colony, photography was firmly established in the city. Although the Otago settlement was unable to keep pace with overseas developments in photography during its early years, it engaged with the technology during its formative period.

Photographic Beginnings

Before it was disclosed to the world in 1839, photography had existed as an idea in Europe from the late eighteenth century and was the subject of widespread experimentation.¹ In France, the process known as the daguerreotype, credited to Louis Jacques-Mandé Daguerre, was presented to the French Academy of Sciences on January 9, 1839. In England, a little over a fortnight later on January 25, William Henry Fox Talbot announced his own process to the Royal Institution of Great Britain in a paper titled, "Some account of the Art of Photogenic Drawing, or the process by which natural objects may be made to delineate themselves without the aid of the artist's pencil."² Although both men presented photographic processes that started with a sensitised surface that was exposed to light and chemically developed and fixed, their processes produced different results.

¹ For more on the "idea" of photography before 1839, see Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), especially Chapter 2 and Mary Warner Marien, *Photography and Its Critics: A Cultural History, 1839-1900* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

² Helmut Gernsheim, *A Concise History of Photography* (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 15.

Daguerreotypes utilised a metal plate with a sensitised silver surface that created a latent image when exposed to light. The plate was then subjected to mercury fumes to make the image visible. A solution was applied to stop further light sensitivity and fix it. This process resulted in a clear, sharp positive image, but with no negative it was also a unique image. In order to be reproduced, it needed to be photographed, resulting in another one-off daguerreotype. Daguerreotypes were also fragile. The silvered plate was easily damaged, and a protective sheet of glass was used to overlay and protect it. Specially-made cases, similar to those used for painted portrait miniatures, held these layers together, serving the dual roles of protection and display.

Talbot's invention, the photogenic drawing process, developed from his early experiments with a form of contact printing. Paper was soaked in a weak solution of sodium chloride (table salt) and water. Once dried, the paper was coated with a silver nitrate solution, which created a light-sensitive silver chloride. The object to be copied was placed directly onto the paper and exposed to sunlight for ten to thirty minutes, depending on the strength of the light. The areas of the paper exposed to sunlight darkened while the points that had been in contact with the object remained the colour of the paper, producing an image of the object. The image needed to be fixed in some way to prevent it from darkening due to light exposure, and Talbot experimented with potassium iodide and a strong salt solution. Further experiments led to a process whereby images could be captured on sensitised paper by a small camera rather than contact printing.³ Although this process produced a weaker image than the daguerreotype, further developments led to the ability to produce multiple positive copies and the calotype process in 1841. By the 1850s, further refinements of the calotype process produced reproducible images with the clarity of the daguerreotype.

The immigrants to Otago in 1848 would have been familiar with daguerreotypes and calotypes. Emigrants from England would have known about Talbot's work while those from Scotland, particularly Edinburgh, would have been familiar with David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson's pioneering photography partnership that produced

³ Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (London: Laurence King, 2006), 18.

thousands of calotypes between 1843 and 1847.⁴ One of their endeavours was a portrait project that served as the basis for Hill's painting *The First General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland; Signing the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission - 23rd May 1843*.⁵ This work depicts the 1843 assembly of ministers that resulted in the schism of the Free Church of Scotland from the established Church of Scotland and led to the settlement scheme in Otago. The event was attended by the Reverend Thomas Burns, the Otago settlement's chief Presbyterian minister and *Philip Laing* passenger (and nephew of the poet Robert Burns). For the painting, Hill followed the suggestion of scientist David Brewster, a major figure in early Scottish photography, to use photographic portraits (salt prints from calotype negatives) of the ministers rather than sketches as the basis for his painting, and in partnership with photographer Robert Adamson, the pair produced hundreds of photographs for the project. Burns has been identified as one of the men depicted in Hill's painting, and his portrait is located on the extreme right-hand side (fig. 1.1). A corresponding calotype of Burns has not been located in catalogues or in the collections of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. However, the fact that Hill's painting was not completed until 1866, eighteen years after Burns had immigrated to New Zealand, strongly suggests that a calotype of Burns would have been taken.⁶

Although older forms of portraiture such as painted miniatures and silhouettes persisted, daguerreotypes had immediate appeal with the public due to their sharpness and brilliance, and they won out as the most popular format for photographic portraiture

⁴ For more on Talbot, see Geoffrey Batchen, *William Henry Fox Talbot* (London: Phaidon, 2008). For more on Hill and Adamson, see Sara Stevenson, *David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson: Catalogue of their Calotypes Taken between 1843 and 1847 in the Collection of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1981); Sara Stevenson, *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); and Colin Ford and Roy Strong, eds., *An Early Victorian Album: The Hill/Adamson Collection* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1974).

⁵ The painting is owned by the Free Church of Scotland and is held in Edinburgh. For a history of the painting, see John Fowler, *Mr. Hill's Big Picture: The Day that Changed Scotland Forever* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 2006).

⁶ Hill's portrait of Burns in the painting resembles some engravings of Burns's uncle, the poet Robert Burns. A highly speculative suggestion is that in the absence of any existing image of the reverend, Hill instead based his portrait on the poet and a possible family resemblance.

in the 1840s and 1850s. A growing number of people could now afford portraits of friends, family, and themselves. Although not as cheap as later photographic processes would be, the cost of daguerreotypes compared with painted portraits made them accessible to a wider socioeconomic range of people.⁷ *La Daguerriotypomanie*, the craze to have one's daguerreotype portrait taken, swept through France and quickly made its way to the United States and Great Britain.⁸ A lithograph cartoon published in December 1839 depicts the madness that the artist foreshadowed would erupt in Paris and his vision of the spectacle that might surround it (fig. 1.2). Crowds line up, stretching into the distance, waiting for their chance to sit for the camera. Itinerant photographers wander through the scene, soliciting business. Cameras are ubiquitous; they adorn rooftops, provide cargo for ships and even replace train carriages. Despite its satire, the cartoon predicted the mass appeal of daguerreotypes and the extent to which they would be absorbed into everyday life.

The British also indulged in the mania for daguerreotypes, and immigrants to Otago brought them out on the voyage. Scotsman Adam Wright, a passenger on the ship *Strathmore* in 1856, brought two daguerreotypes: one of himself with his son John and the other of an unidentified man thought to be his father (figs. 1.3 and 1.4).⁹ If the unidentified man is Wright's father, it seems reasonable that he would have brought this memento with him to his new overseas home. That he brought a portrait of himself and his son, both of whom immigrated, begs other questions. Memory and loss were partly at work here. In an age of high child mortality, Wright would likely have seen the value of possessing an image of his son whom he might lose at any time. Given the expense of

⁷ PhotoTree.com has published the prices of various forms of nineteenth-century photography. In the United States in 1842, a daguerreotype cost between \$2.50 and \$6.00 (US), estimated at \$81.20 to \$195.00 in today's money. See http://www.phototree.com/article_worth.htm.

⁸ Patent restrictions limited the production of daguerreotypes in England and Wales but not Scotland. In 1841 Richard Beard purchased the right to the daguerreotype process in the British empire and sold licenses for studios there.

⁹ It is assumed that Adam Wright brought the daguerreotypes to New Zealand when he immigrated. They were donated to the Otago Early Settlers Association, now Toitū Otago Settlers Museum, by his grandson John Wright in 1954.

having it made, the daguerreotype had economic value in addition to its sentimental one. For these reasons it was likely treated as a family treasure. The daguerreotype would have also been a statement of Wright's refinement. He was moving from the "civilisation" of Scotland to the "frontier" of New Zealand, and this was a tangible, portable symbol of his known world that he could take with him into the new one.

The earliest evidence of daguerreotype photography in New Zealand dates to 1848. In Auckland, Isaac Polack and J. Newman advertised that they could take daguerreotype portraits and likenesses in their studios.¹⁰ In Wellington, Lieutenant Governor Edward John Eyre made a failed attempt to take the portrait of Eliza Grey, wife of Governor Sir George Grey.¹¹ The early 1850s saw the profession increase in New Zealand with Lawson Insley taking daguerreotypes in Auckland and New Plymouth and John Nicol Crombie setting up in Auckland, then moving on to Nelson.¹²

The first evidence that a photographer was at work in Dunedin appears seven years after the inauguration of the settlement. On February 3, 1855, George Baird Shaw placed an advertisement for portrait work in the *Otago Witness*, announcing that he was prepared to take sittings for "daguerreotype portraits & miniatures on ivory."¹³ He described his daguerreotypes as an "interesting art" and stated that they were "within the

¹⁰ *New Zealander*, May 13, 1848 and *Daily Southern Cross*, May 20, 1848. See also Keith Giles, "Is this a Polack Daguerreotype?," in *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays*, ed. Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011), 28-31.

¹¹ The story of Eyre's failed attempt is revealed in a letter written by Henry Chapman, dated September 17, 1848, in which he states, "On Wednesday Eyre who is an amateur Daguerreotypist took portraits of Mrs Grey black and unlike because they were taken under the veranda of Government house with insufficient light." The letter is held in the Chapman Family Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, MS-Papers-0053-11C. For an online digital copy of the letter, see <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/zoomify/43200/trying-to-make-a-daguerreotype-1848>.

¹² For additional information on photography in New Zealand in the 1850s, see William Main and John B. Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present* (Auckland: PhotoForum Inc. with the assistance of Agfa, 1993).

¹³ "Miniatures on ivory" were painted portraits.

reach of all classes” (fig. 1.5).¹⁴ However, it is unlikely that Shaw’s prices were actually within reach of all. He priced his least expensive daguerreotype portrait at £1 5s, the same price as 100 pounds of second-grade flour.¹⁵ According to photographic historians William Main and John B. Turner, daguerreotypes cost approximately 25-30% of an average weekly income in New Zealand at that time.¹⁶

Shaw was born in 1812 in Dumfries, Scotland, and was a professional artist and illustrator when he arrived in Dunedin in 1851 on the ship *Titan*. His father, James Shaw, worked for the Edinburgh publishers Cadell and Company. A trained lithographer and engraver, James possibly taught his sons George and James these trades.¹⁷ George was later sent to train at the Academy of Fine Arts in Trieste, Italy. He enjoyed a successful career in Scotland as an illustrator, producing engraved portraits for publications such as *Chambers Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* and the Abbotsford Edition of the *Waverley Novels*.¹⁸ He also possibly learned photography in Edinburgh.¹⁹ If he practiced it in his homeland, it is unknown whether he employed it as a commercial endeavour or another of his artistic pursuits. However, the growing use of photographs as the basis for engravings in the 1850s opens up the possibility that George had employed photography in his professional engraving work.

¹⁴ *Otago Witness*, February 3, 1855.

¹⁵ *Otago Witness*, June 30, 1855. In 1862, the earliest date available on the New Zealand Reserve Bank website inflation calculator, Shaw’s least expensive daguerreotype would have cost \$140 in September 2016. Reserve Bank of New Zealand Te Pūtea Matua, accessed September 8, 2016, <http://www.rbnz.govt.nz/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator>.

¹⁶ Main and Turner, 4.

¹⁷ Una Platts, *Nineteenth Century New Zealand Artists: A Guide and Handbook* (Christchurch: Avon Fine Prints, 1980), 216.

¹⁸ Joan Kerr, *The Dictionary of Australian Artists: Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993), 717-18 and Joan Kerr, “George Baird Shaw (1812-83),” Edinburgh University Library, last modified January 26, 2009, accessed February 20, 2015, <http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/portraits/engravers/shaw.html>.

¹⁹ “George Baird Shaw,” National Portrait Gallery, Australia, accessed May 26, 2016, <http://www.portrait.gov.au/people/george-baird-shaw-1812>.

When Shaw arrived in Dunedin in 1851, he continued his career as an artist. In November of that year, he executed a watercolour painting of Dunedin viewed from “Church Hill,” more commonly known as Bell Hill, and took up subscriptions for purchasing a lithograph copy of it.²⁰ If he had dabbled with photography in Scotland, there is no evidence he immediately took it up again in Dunedin. It is unlikely that he would have brought photographic equipment on the immigration voyage where each adult passenger was restricted to only ten cubic feet for luggage.²¹ It is also unlikely that he had access to the specialist equipment and supplies needed for photography in Dunedin, a struggling settlement less than three years old. He travelled to other parts of New Zealand and Australia between 1851 and 1854, so it is possible that he sourced photographic equipment on one of those journeys.²²

Although he called his business the Daguerrian Gallery, the fact that Shaw set up his portrait operation at Captain Broadfoot’s house in Caversham, located on the southern edge of Dunedin and several kilometres from the town centre, suggests that he was not established as a professional photographer with his own studio. He took portraits for only a couple of months and advertised that he would end his venture in mid-April.²³ None of his daguerreotypes, nor any daguerreotypes produced by other photographers in Dunedin, are known to survive. Shaw was primarily an artist who, like many early photographers, tried his hand at this new technology that was related to his professional trade. And like many other nineteenth-century photographers, he moved on to other business when opportunities arose. In 1856, he left Dunedin permanently, going first to Adelaide, and then on to Sydney, where he established himself as a painter and engraver.²⁴

²⁰ *Otago Witness*, November 22, 1851. There is no evidence that Shaw ever produced this lithograph. However, Shaw’s painting “View of Dunedin from Church Hill, Looking towards Ocean Beach, November 1851” is held in the Hocken Pictorial Collections, University of Otago (14,420a).

²¹ Passenger ticket for the ship *Strathmore*, 1856, TOSM, DC-0334.

²² *Otago Witness*, January 3 and November 4, 1852 and *Lyttelton Times*, October 14 and 21, 1854.

²³ *Otago Witness*, February 24 and March 24, 1855.

²⁴ Kerr, *The Dictionary of Australian Artists*, 718.

Despite the lack of evidence that photographs were produced in Dunedin before Shaw's advertisement in 1855, Dunedin's colonists kept abreast of photographic developments around the world. English and Scottish newspapers regularly arrived with the mail, providing immigrants with news about photography overseas and helping them to keep their photographic literacy current, while local newspapers republished stories from overseas papers. An article in the *Otago Witness* in 1853 described the archaeological discoveries by the French at Nineveh and the use of photography to document them, while another article later that year reported on advancements in photographic technology and the work of William Henry Fox Talbot.²⁵

The earliest known surviving photographic image produced in Otago is a view of Dunedin taken in about 1857 (fig. 1.6).²⁶ This date has been estimated from buildings I have identified as present in 1857 and the absence of buildings built in 1858. Its aspect is from Bell Hill, and it features Dunedin's early foreshore area nestled between the harbour and hills.²⁷ This view highlights the alterations the colonists had made to the landscape; a substantial jetty stretches out into the harbour while a developing city creeps up the hills. It shows a new settlement anchoring itself to its site while simultaneously looking out to the water and ultimately back into the world. This image communicates Dunedin's development on two levels by showing it as a growing settlement and capturing it with a new technology.

There is debate over the identity of the photographer of this image.²⁸ Hardwicke Knight maintains that it was John Tensfeld, and the Alexander Turnbull Library also

²⁵ *Otago Witness*, April 9 and September 24, 1853.

²⁶ There are a number of copies of this image dating from the nineteenth century in the collection of TOSM, but it is not known if any of these prints were actually produced in 1857. Most are likely later reprints.

²⁷ This early foreshore disappeared with the reclamation works of the nineteenth century that began with the flattening of Bell Hill and the infilling of the Dunedin Harbour.

²⁸ For more on the attribution debate, see Christine Whybrew, "The Burton Brothers Studio: Commerce in Photography and the Marketing of New Zealand, 1866-1898" (PhD diss., University of Otago, 2010), 32.

attributes it to Tensfeld.²⁹ However, the earliest evidence I have found of Tensfeld working as a photographer in New Zealand is an advertisement in Greymouth's *Grey River Argus* from 1866.³⁰ Before that, in 1864-65, he had a studio partnership with H. M. Freyberger in Melbourne.³¹ He was also likely to have been the German painter Tensfeld who worked in Ballarat in 1863.³² It is possible that he worked in New Zealand before Ballarat, but there is no evidence of this. A lithograph copy of the image in the collection of Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (TOSM) has a notation attributing it to Otago Provincial Government surveyor John Turnbull Thomson and the date 1854.³³ The photograph bears a remarkable similarity to Thomson's painting of Dunedin in 1856, also held in the museum's collection, so it is a reasonable assumption to make. A later inscription on the same copy states, "Photograph by A. S.? Wilson. J. T. Thomson did not arrive in Otago until 1856." A later edit crossed out "A. S.?" and replaced it with "J." In a short photographic history written for the *Otago Witness* in 1927, Dunedin historian Alfred Eccles attributes James Wilson with the image's authorship, writing with little hesitation that "Mr. Wilson took it in 1857."³⁴

Other evidence also points to James Wilson as the likely photographer. He is the only photographer known to have worked in Dunedin between Shaw's departure in 1856 and the arrival of photographers T. F. Moore and William Meluish in 1860.³⁵ Wilson was born in Banffshire, Scotland, in 1835 and immigrated to Dunedin on the ship *William and Jane*, arriving on February 3, 1857. Less than four weeks later, on February 27, James

²⁹ Hardwicke Knight, *Dunedin: Early Photographs* (Dunedin: Hardwicke Knight, 1985), 1 and Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, 1/2-091262-F.

³⁰ *Grey River Argus*, July 19, 1866.

³¹ *The Argus*, May 23, 1864 and January 19, 1865.

³² *The Star*, March 26, 1863.

³³ TOSM, Subject Photograph Collection, Box 68, No. 12.

³⁴ *Otago Witness*, July 26, 1927.

³⁵ It is possible that the photograph was taken by an itinerant photographer or one not known to have been working in Dunedin at that time.

placed his first advertisement in the *Otago Colonist*. He described himself as a “Photographic Artist” and announced that he would take portraits every day between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m.³⁶ The rapidity with which James established himself points to his having trained as a photographer in Scotland, and it is likely that he arrived with the necessary equipment. Further, he would have had access to the appropriate chemicals through his brother Andrew, an established Dunedin druggist with a business in the Medical Hall on Princes Street. In August of 1857 James advertised that he had completed his “Photographic Gallery,” which was located in Andrew’s premises.³⁷ This is the first mention of a purpose-built commercial photographic studio in Dunedin’s newspapers. In 1858 James advertised the sale of “Views of Dunedin, coloured and untouched; and Stereoscopic Views in and around Dunedin.”³⁸ This coincides with the approximate date of the earliest surviving image of Dunedin and shows that James was producing local views.

Portraits and Likenesses

As a new technological development, the values, meanings, and uses of photography were not fixed, and debate about these issues engaged photographers, artists, scientists, and critics throughout the nineteenth century. Portraiture represented just one of a number of applications that the camera could be put to, and photographers such as Talbot experimented with capturing subjects as diverse as foliage, landscapes, textiles, and people. However, it was photography of people that captured the public’s attention. Viewers familiar with the tradition of idealised painted portraiture initially found the detail and accuracy of photographic portraits jarring. Newspapers frequently ran articles exploring the expectations of the camera with regards to portraiture. A fictional story printed in the *Otago Daily Times* in 1857 humorously addressed the issue. It is about Mrs. McNab, a strong-willed Scottish woman determined to have her photograph taken despite the hard times her husband has fallen on. Unbeknownst to him, she puts on her

³⁶ *Otago Colonist*, February 27, 1857.

³⁷ *Otago Witness*, August 29, 1857.

³⁸ *Otago Witness*, July 10, 1858.

finest dress and sets off to get her daguerreotype taken. The photographer tells her to “throw a pleasant expression on her face; for, said he, the plate receives the exact impression.” She throws her head back and gives what she considers a “fascinatin’” smile. Much to her horror, the camera has captured her exact impression:

The result was, when she was presented wi’ her guinea’s worth, there she was, wi’ a comical girn on her face, an’ her mouth a’ thrawn to tae side. The flingin’ back o’ her head had gi’en her nose the appearance o’ a rale classical pug; an’ her bonnie yellow ringlets that she was so very conceity about were converted into raven tresses!

She takes the embarrassing portrait home and hides it behind a Bible in a chest of drawers. It is soon discovered by her husband, who slips it into his pocket. Over dinner that night, Mrs. McNab again raises the subject of having her portrait taken, assuring her husband that it would be quite an ornament in the room. Mr. McNab pulls out her daguerreotype and responds with amusement, “Do ye ca’ that an ornament?” She responds by throwing it into the fire.³⁹

Mrs. McNab was not alone in her shock of seeing her portrait. In fact, many people did not believe photographs resembled themselves accurately. Charles Darwin complained, “If I really have as bad an expression, as my photograph gives me, how I can have one single friend is surprising.”⁴⁰ This dissatisfaction with photographic portraiture stemmed from centuries of debate about good painted portraiture. Art was an interpreter of reality, not a slavish imitator, and portraits should not be literal representations of the face. A good artist had the ability to capture the inner person—the idea of the person—in some discernible way. Shawn Michelle Smith points out that this was the difference between a likeness, which recorded physical attributes, and a portrait, which captured the aura of the person.⁴¹ According to Jan von Brevern, the idea of what constituted

³⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, January 10, 1857.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Jan von Brevern, “Resemblance After Photography,” *Representations* 123, no. 1 (2013): 2.

⁴¹ Shawn Michelle Smith, *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 56. For a fuller discussion, see pages 55–61. The debate about photography’s ability to be good portraiture continued into the twentieth century.

resemblance needed to be re-examined and redefined in order to make photographic portraiture and its surface accuracy palatable.⁴² Ultimately, this became an issue of identity. As photographs came to be accepted as portraiture, reassurance was needed that they offered accurate representation.

Photographers had to convince the public that their version of portraiture could capture the outer *and* inner person as paintings had. French photographer André Adolphe Eugène Disdéri described the photographer's task thus: "One must be able to deduce who the subject is, to deduce spontaneously his character, his intimate life, his habits; the photographer must do more than photograph, he must 'biographe'."⁴³

This was an ambitious expectation and difficult to do given the unmediated, indexical power of the camera to capture what its lens sees. It was a problem that photographers grappled with well into the 1860s. However, they had a number of strategies for achieving their goal. Many simply avoided their association with photography and styled themselves with the older, more recognisable term "artist." George Shaw advertised his business as the "Daguerrian Gallery," a reference to art galleries, while James Wilson referred to himself as a "Photographic Artist."⁴⁴ Many Dunedin photographers in the 1860s and 1870s followed suit. When John Denslow set up a photographic studio in Dunedin in 1863, he described himself in artistic terms. In an advertisement in Dunedin's *Daily Telegraph*, he called his studio the "Royal Portrait Gallery," referred to his ten years in the "leading galleries" of Melbourne and Sydney, and signed off as "Denslow, Artist" (fig. 1.7).⁴⁵ Nowhere does he mention photography. Similarly, Dunedin photographers Walton and Schott described themselves as "Artistes in Portraiture" on the backs of their photographs while David Alexander De Maus simply titled himself "Artist."

⁴² For more on the changing ideas of resemblance in the nineteenth century, see von Brevern, 1-22.

⁴³ Quoted in Geoffrey Batchen, "Dreams of Ordinary Life: Cartes-de-Visite and the Bourgeois Imagination," in *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*, ed. J. J. Long, Andrea Noble, and Edward Welch (New York: Routledge, 2009), 162.

⁴⁴ *Otago Witness*, February 24, 1855 and February 28, 1857.

⁴⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, May 15, 1863.

Like Denslow, several Dunedin photographers fashioned their studios as galleries. John and Alexander Tait had the Caledonian Portrait Gallery, Robert Clifford the Otago Portrait Gallery, and Frederick Smith the Edinburgh Portrait Gallery. Other photographers used the similar term “rooms” to denote a gallery-type space. Saul Solomon had the Victorian Portrait Rooms and Peyman and Irwin the London Portrait Rooms. But many photographers took advantage of the dual association of photography as both art and modern technology. Otago’s Carl Hagen used the term “Photographic Artist” while Henry Frith and Peter Power labelled themselves as “Artist and Photographer.” The Burton Brothers likewise referred to themselves as “Photographers and Artists,” and, consummate marketers that they were, drew further attention to the royal patronage that their photographer father John Burton had enjoyed in England by including the royal coat of arms in their mark.⁴⁶ Even though photographs quickly gained credibility as good portraiture, some Dunedin photographers in the 1880s, such as William Frost and Robert Rutherford, still retained their profession’s earlier associations and included the word “artist” in their marks.

Most photographers in Dunedin and overseas relied on a system of repetition and convention in props and poses modelled on elite painted portraits and fine art. Photography studios in different countries shared similar studio trappings with columns, drapery, fancy furniture, books, and other symbols of gentility. This homogeneity of setting, combined with stock poses, enabled people to approach photographic portraiture with a sense of familiarity that made the experience of viewing less jarring. Everyone, from royalty to the working class, could look the same. Geoffrey Batchen describes this as a look that can be “codified and imitated—it’s a mode of performance.” He observes: “These are portraits of people still learning how to look like themselves.”⁴⁷

⁴⁶ For more on the Burton Brothers Studio’s marketing strategies, see Whybrew, “The Burton Brothers Studio” and Christine Whybrew, “‘Readin’ Photographs: Burton Brothers and the Photographic Narrative,” in “Communicating Culture in Colonial New Zealand,” ed. Tony Ballantyne, Lachy Paterson, and Angela Wanhalla, special issue *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 12 (2011): 77-89.

⁴⁷ Batchen, “Dreams of Ordinary Life,” 171-72.

Such standardised presentation was global, and photographic portraits from New Zealand differ little from portraits produced by overseas studios. One of the earliest surviving New Zealand daguerreotypes is the portrait of sisters Caroline and Sarah Barrett, attributed to Lawson Insley and taken in New Plymouth in 1852 or 1853 (fig. 1.8). Their image resembles the thousands of daguerreotype portraits produced by British, European, and American studios.⁴⁸ The young women pose with their arms around one another and look away from the camera, a common gaze taken from painted portraiture. The only aspect of the Barrett daguerreotype that speaks immediately of its New Zealand origin is the ethnicity of the women who were of English and Māori (Te Āti Awa) ancestry.⁴⁹

Despite the initial criticism aimed at photographic portraiture, the mass appeal and subsequent profitability of photography ensured that it would follow a commercial trajectory. Portraits would become the mainstay for most photographers. Elizabeth Anne McCauley has shown the industrial nature of photography and how it was market demand, not artistic or scientific imperatives, that drove photography and guaranteed its success.⁵⁰ By 1868, there were approximately 365 commercial photographers in Paris, proving that money could be made in the profession. They supplied a wide range of images and encountered an almost insatiable demand for certain subjects. Celebrities accounted for much of the legitimate market; Disdéri in Paris established himself with images of the French court while John Jabez Mayall in London was the first to publish photographs of the British royal family. Photography's profitability was so great that many French studios broke the law by selling licentious images. When police raided Joseph Auguste Belloc's Paris studio in 1861, they found 1,200 pornographic prints as

⁴⁸ For examples of similar American daguerreotypes of women, see Joan Severa, *My Likeness Taken: Daguerrian Portraits in America* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2005), 133 and 136.

⁴⁹ For a fuller discussion of the Barrett daguerreotype, see Christine Whybrew, "Family Photo or National Treasure? Another Look at the Barrett Sisters' Daguerreotype," in *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays*, ed. Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011), 21-27.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

well as “obscene” stereographs, negatives, and albums.⁵¹ In 1893 David Alexander De Maus of Port Chalmers, near Dunedin, was prosecuted and fined for selling an image of a nude woman, possibly a reprint of a French *académie* or academic study for artists that was legal in France.⁵²

Compared with other enterprises, setting up a photographic studio was relatively easy. The profession did not require an apprenticeship system or a lengthy training period, and information about processes were widely available.⁵³ The outlay for basic materials compared with other trades was nominal, and men from a variety of backgrounds became photographers.⁵⁴ Studios could be set up anywhere there was a ready market, making it a largely urban profession.⁵⁵ Portrait studios opened in exponential numbers worldwide, which meant competition amongst studios and easy access for clients, driving prices down further. A British article reprinted in the *Otago Daily Times* in 1862 mused, “our great thoroughfares are filled with photographers...every suburban road swarms with them; can we doubt, therefore, that photographic portraits have been taken by the million?”⁵⁶ According to Dunedin city directories and newspapers, there were two photographers working in Dunedin in 1860,

⁵¹ McCauley, 160.

⁵² Port Chalmers Museum, *Capturing Port: D. A. De Maus—Photography, Music, and Community Spirit in Nineteenth-Century Port Chalmers* (Port Chalmers: Port Chalmers Museum, 2009), 20.

⁵³ Marien, *Photography and Its Critics*, 14.

⁵⁴ In the nineteenth century, photographers were predominantly male. However, there were a number of female photographers during this period. Geneviève Élisabeth Disdéri, wife of André Adolphe Eugène Disdéri, was a photographer in her own right. Many studios employed female workers, and women often assisted their photographer husbands. In Dunedin, there were no known female photographers during the nineteenth century, although Janet Clifford was in charge of the tinting and colouring operations in her husband’s studio Clifford, Morris & Co.

⁵⁵ McCauley, 2.

⁵⁶ *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862. Reprinted from *Once A Week*.

and by 1865 that number had increased to eight.⁵⁷ Although large urban studios in London, Paris, and New York were instrumental in the development of photography as a profession and industry, small studios with a photographer and handful of assistants were the norm in most places, including Dunedin.

All nineteenth century Otago photographers appear to have been proprietors of professional studios. I was not able to identify anyone like Dr. Alfred Charles Barker in Christchurch who was engaging with photography as a gentleman's hobby or scientific pursuit. There were certainly men in Otago who had the means to experiment with it such as Dr. Thomas Moreland Hocken, Barker's equivalent in Dunedin. Hocken had an interest in science, Pacific cultures, and New Zealand history, but there is no evidence that photography was a part of his pursuits, other than to collect photographs. Photography in Dunedin was entirely a commercial venture.

Cartes de Visite

The 1850s ushered in a period of broader professionalisation and greater technological advancements with photography, especially in Great Britain and France. Portrait photography had continued to gain popularity in the 1840s, leading to a demand for more affordable photographs. The first half of the 1850s witnessed three new developments that revolutionised photographic portraiture. The years 1850 and 1851 produced the first two advancements: the albumen print and the collodion wet plate process. French photographer Louis Désiré Blanquart-Evard is credited with the albumen print process whereby paper was coated with albumen (egg white) and salt, creating a surface onto which an image could be printed with remarkable clarity. A year later, British sculptor Frederick Scott Archer invented the collodion wet plate process. Like daguerreotypes and calotypes, this process involved exposing a sensitised surface to light and developing it. The collodion process differed in that it produced a negative image on a glass plate from which an unlimited number of positives could be printed onto paper. It also proved to be a much less expensive process than daguerreotypes, which required

⁵⁷ For a comprehensive list of Otago and Southland photographers, see Beth Bain, *Photographers in Business in Otago and Southland, 1863-1954: As Listed in Directories and Almanacs* (Dunedin: New Zealand Society of Genealogists, 1993).

costly materials. In 1853 an article in the *Otago Witness* titled “Things Talked of in London” mentioned collodion photography, but George Shaw, the first photographer to advertise in Dunedin, appears to have only taken daguerreotype portraits.⁵⁸ It was not until James Wilson set up his studio in 1857 and advertised that he took portraits “by the New Collodion Process” that this format was known to have been used for photography in Otago.⁵⁹

The year 1854 witnessed the third significant development in portrait photography that decade: the carte de visite format, patented in France by André Adolphe Eugène Disdéri. A carte de visite is a small, uniformly-size albumen print, mounted onto a card measuring approximately 2 ½ inches by 4 inches (6.5 centimetres by 10 centimetres). Disdéri patented a camera system for capturing several images on a single glass plate, usually six to eight. The time and effort previously required to photograph and print a single copy now produced several images and significantly reduced the price. Defects in such small photographs were unnoticeable, making retouching unnecessary and reducing the cost further. In the United States, a carte de visite cost 1/8 the price of a comparably-sized daguerreotype.⁶⁰

The French term *carte de visite* translates into English as “visiting card.” This term associated the new photographic format with the custom of presenting a calling card when visiting others in their homes. Calling cards were often gathered in baskets or trays, and waiting visitors could amuse themselves by looking through the collection of previous callers. Card photographs, it was initially thought, could be used instead. A French journal in 1854 suggested that portraits could replace the written details on calling cards, while an American journal in 1855 noted that the “Yankee man of fashion” had

⁵⁸ “Things Talked of in London,” *Otago Witness*, September 24, 1853.

⁵⁹ *Otago Witness*, July 24, 1858.

⁶⁰ Risto Sarvas and David M. Frohlich, *From Snapshot to Social Media: The Changing Picture of Domestic Photography* (London: Springer London, 2011), 36. PhotoTree.com states that in the United States in 1864, the purchase price of a single carte de visite was between 25 and 50 cents (US), estimated at \$3.82 to \$7.64 in today’s money. See http://www.phototree.com/article_worth.htm.

adopted this practice already and replaced engraved cards with photographs of himself in his card case.⁶¹

The quality of the albumen print, combined with the affordability of the collodion process and the carte de visite format, led to the demise of daguerreotype portraiture by the end of the 1850s and the emergence of a new fad, “cartomania.” With the carte de visite, photographic portraiture was now within economic reach of even more people. These “cartes” were often purchased by the dozen, and it became the fashion to exchange portraits with friends and family—or, it seems, any acquaintance. An English story reprinted in the *Otago Daily Times* commented somewhat sarcastically on this practice:

There is some sort of pleasure in giving them to very near relatives and very dear friends. We all like to fancy that there are a chosen few who really care to have a likeness of us, although it does represent us bareheaded, and surveying a new hat on the banks of an Italian lake. But the demand for photographs is not limited to relations or friends. It is scarcely limited to acquaintances. Any one who has ever seen you, or has seen any body that has seen you, or knows any one that has seen you, considers himself entitled to ask you for your photograph, and to make you pay eighteen-pence in order to comply with the demand.⁶²

Although a tongue-in-cheek exaggeration, this passage highlights the fervor for giving and receiving cartes. Quantity, not quality, became the objective.

Initially this new format was variably known as card portraits, card pictures, and card photographs, but by 1862 the term carte de visite had become widespread.⁶³ The term first appeared in Dunedin newspapers in April 1862, in a reprint of a lengthy article from England simply titled “Cartes de Visite.”⁶⁴ Later that year, in October, Dunedin photographer John McGregor advertised that he had just opened a studio in Upper Stuart

⁶¹ Robin and Carol Wichard, *Victorian Cartes-de-Visite* (Princes Risborough, UK: Shire, 1999), 13.

⁶² *Otago Daily Times*, June 26, 1862. Reprinted from *The Saturday Review*.

⁶³ Gary W. Clark, *19th Century Card Photos Kwik Guide: A Step-by-Step Guide to Identifying and Dating Cartes de Visite and Cabinet Cards* (Carlsbad, CA: PhotoTree, 2013), 11.

⁶⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862. Reprinted from *Once A Week*.

Street and was prepared to take “cartes de visite unsurpassed for beauty.”⁶⁵ A photograph produced by him of two boys is an example of early cartes de visite produced in Dunedin (fig. 1.9).

Although Dunedin had a handful of photographers before McGregor, it is not known to what extent, if any, they produced cartes de visite. In 1857 James Wilson had advertised “collodion portraits.” It seems likely that he was the photographer who produced the “likenesses” that Dunedin settler John Buchanan included in a letter to his brother David in Kirkintilloch in 1859.⁶⁶ When James’s brother Andrew took over the business in 1860, he simply described his work as “first-class” portraits with no mention of technique.⁶⁷ William Meluish, a London-trained photographer who arrived in Nelson in 1858 and moved to Dunedin in 1860, might have taken cartes de visite.⁶⁸ His advertising in 1859 claimed he took portraits “on paper by a new process, for easy transmission by letter,” and he added that “any number of copies can be produced, from one sitting.”⁶⁹ His advertisements describe the collodion process and suggest the carte de visite format.⁷⁰ By 1864 he was using the term in his advertisements.⁷¹

⁶⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, October 10, 1862.

⁶⁶ David Buchanan to John Buchanan, November 16, 1859. Private collection, transcript courtesy of Helen Edwards. No other photographers are known to have been working in Dunedin at this time.

⁶⁷ *Otago Witness*, July 24, 1858 and *Otago Colonist*, December 28, 1860. No portraits by the Wilson brothers are known to survive.

⁶⁸ William Meluish (also spelled Melhuish and Mellish) advertised that he was “late of Crystal Palace” and intimated that he had been a photographer in England, see *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, February 26, 1859. He is possibly related to London photographer Arthur James Meluish. For information on Arthur Meluish. See Roger Taylor and Larry J. Schaaf, *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 347-48.

⁶⁹ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, February 26 and July 23, 1859.

⁷⁰ An advertisement Meluish placed in the *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* on November 5, 1859, stated that he took “Collodiotype and Talbotype” portraits, indicating that he was working with collodion and calotype techniques.

⁷¹ *Dunedin Leader*, January 16, 1864 and *Otago Witness*, March 31, 1860.

In May 1861 gold was discovered by Gabriel Read near Lawrence, a settlement located sixty kilometres west of Dunedin.⁷² This discovery brought thousands of people to Otago, increasing the province's population from 13,000 in July of that year to over 30,000 by December.⁷³ It was, in the words of Otago historian Erik Olssen, an "invasion" that was "both noisy and spectacular."⁷⁴ In October 1861 the *Otago Witness* commented on the rapid changes, noting, "The present stirring times must be terribly trying to the staid inhabitants of old Otago." It continued, "It is no use fighting against fate; we cannot resume our Arcadian simplicity; greatness is forced upon us, and we must adapt ourselves to the times."⁷⁵ The discovery of gold resulted in a flood of wealth into the province. Banks, businesses, and infrastructure to support the diggings were established in Dunedin, and it became New Zealand's first city.

Portrait studios were among the many businesses established during this period of rapid growth. One of the new photographers was Saul Solomon, who arrived in January 1862 from Ballarat and opened the Victorian Photographic Portrait Rooms on Princes Street. He was not explicit about which format he used for his "correct likenesses," but his earlier carte de visite work in Australia suggests he probably continued this format in Dunedin.⁷⁶ For four years he concentrated on portrait work, producing numerous cartes before returning to Australia in about 1866 when the Otago gold rush slowed. Alexander Peyman and Frederick Irwin's London Portrait Rooms was another studio that opened at that time. One of the longest running and most prolific portrait studios in Dunedin, it was

⁷² Indian-born Edward Peters, also known as "Black Peter," found gold in the Lawrence area in 1858, and other miners found small quantities of gold in the ensuing years. It was not until Read's discovery that the extent of gold in the area was realised. A. H. McClintock, *The History of Otago: The Origins and Growth of a Wakefield Class Settlement* (Dunedin: Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949), 444-46.

⁷³ A. H. McClintock, "Otago Gold Rushes," *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* 1966, accessed May 26, 2016, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/gold-discoveries/page-2>.

⁷⁴ Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1984), 57.

⁷⁵ *Otago Witness*, October 26, 1861.

⁷⁶ *Otago Daily Times*, January 23, 1863. Examples of cartes de visite that Solomon produced in Australia, including two self-portraits, are held in the State Library Victoria, H6077 and H14045.

located on Princes Street from the 1860s through the 1880s and produced thousands of portraits.⁷⁷ Joseph Baume, Thomas Pringle, and Kasimir Pogonowski were other photographers who had set up studios in Dunedin by 1863, although nothing is known of their work.⁷⁸

Modernity

The concept of modernity is a complex one. C. A. Bayly has defined modernity as the rise of the “global *uniformities*” of “state, religion, political ideologies, and economic life” that developed in the nineteenth century that we associated with the modern world. This uniformity was evident not only in large institutions such as the church and government but also in what Bayly terms as “body practices,” that is, the ways in which people dressed, spoke, ate, and managed relations within families.⁷⁹ Working from Bayly, Dipesh Chakrabarty differentiates between “modernisation” and “modernity.” Modernisation, he argues, is the “global industrial order” while modernity is “the development of a degree of reflective, judgmental thinking about the processes” as determined by the historical actor rather than the historian.⁸⁰

New technologies such as photography were one of the “global *uniformities*” that Bayly describes. The years during which photography initially developed were marked by what Marshall Berman has described as a “maelstrom” of change marked by discoveries in the physical sciences, the industrialisation of production, urban growth with demographic upheavals, and new systems of mass-communication, all of which were driven by the capitalist world market.⁸¹ In 1861 Karl Marx listed the chief industries

⁷⁷ Nearly every photograph album examined for this thesis contained at least one London Portrait Studio portrait.

⁷⁸ This information is based on listings in street directories.

⁷⁹ C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 1.

⁸⁰ Dipesh Chakrabarty, “The Muddle of Modernity,” *American Historical Review* 116 (2011): 668-69, 674.

⁸¹ Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin, 1988), 16.

in England and Wales, including photography alongside other great technological advances of the period such as gasworks, telegraphs, steam navigation, and railways.⁸² An article from the *Otago Daily Times* in 1866 likewise claimed the place of photography “in this great age of invention” alongside gas, steam, electric telegraphs, and Lucifer matches.⁸³ In her study of the rise of photography in Paris, McCauley describes photography as “all that the industrial age admired: precision, objectivity, speed, reproducibility, convenience, and lowered cost.”⁸⁴ Alan Sekula has argued further that photography was more than a modern invention, it was “a technological outpacing of *already* expanding cultural institutions...photography is not the harbinger of modernity, for the world is already modernizing. Rather, photography is modernity run riot.”⁸⁵

Sekula based his observation on a London song from 1839, but nineteenth-century writers and observers shared his take on the power and popularity of photographs, offering self-reflexive opinions on its modernity. Charles Baudelaire criticised the mass appeal of photography, noting that with its emergence, “A madness, an extraordinary fanaticism took possession of all these new sun-worshippers.” He went on further to include photography as part of “the great industrial madness of our times.”⁸⁶ Dunedin newspapers repeatedly commented upon aspects of photography that we now associate with the beginning of the modern world. Dunedin’s *Daily Telegraph* newspaper wrote about the proliferation of studios on Princes Street, noting “The presence of so many photographers we rejoice at as a sign of progress.”⁸⁷

The industrial nature of photography is a particular aspect that associates it with the modern world. An article in the *Otago Daily Times* described the studio of successful

⁸² Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2006), 1.

⁸³ *Otago Daily Times*, January 3, 1866.

⁸⁴ McCauley, 1.

⁸⁵ Alan Sekula, “The Body and the Archive,” *October* 39 (Winter, 1986): 4.

⁸⁶ Charles Baudelaire, “The Salon of 1859,” quoted in McCauley, 1.

⁸⁷ *Daily Telegraph*, May 15, 1863. The comment and article are satirical, but the use of the expression demonstrates that it was the popular opinion of photography.

London photographer Camille Silvy in terms of industrialisation with its factory set-up and division of labour. There were different rooms for preparing plates, developing negatives and printing, an area for packing up photos, and an office for clerks. This was in addition to the actual photographic studio, dressing room, and waiting room that also served as a photograph gallery.⁸⁸ Other successful photographers, such as Disdéri in France and Mathew Brady in the United States, also grew their studios into small modern factories. Disdéri was reputed to have had sixty-two workers, and another Paris studio, Nadar, had twenty-six.⁸⁹ Some studios were so large and efficient that they could accommodate as many as 200 sittings a day.⁹⁰

The *Otago Daily Times* article also noted the democratising element of photography, another aspect of modernity. In the photographer's studio, it opined, "social equality is carried to its utmost limit."⁹¹ Cost-wise, painted portraiture was out of reach for most people, but through its affordability, photography made portraiture accessible to an unprecedented number of people at a time when social barriers were breaking down and traditional relationships were changing. The arrival of cheap cartes de visite in particular, produced in their millions, had a hand in shaping this change.⁹² Everyone, it seemed, was having their likeness taken, and everyone's likeness looked like everyone else's. Napoléon III and Queen Victoria, Geoffrey Batchen demonstrates, went to the extent of portraying themselves in ordinary terms; Napoléon posed as a middle-class citizen, while Victoria was depicted as a wife and mother.⁹³ The human face now had value, and everyone's image was available for exchange or purchase. The *Otago Daily*

⁸⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862.

⁸⁹ Batchen, "Dreams of Ordinary Life," 174-75. "Nadar" was the pseudonym of French photographer Gaspard-Félix Tournachon.

⁹⁰ Batchen, "Dreams of Ordinary Life," 161.

⁹¹ *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862. Reprinted from *Once a Week*.

⁹² William Darrah claims 105 million cartes de visite were sold in 1862 alone, but Steve Edwards questions this figure. See Steve Edwards, ed., *Art and Visual Culture 1850-2010: Modernity to Globalisation* (London: Tait Enterprises Ltd., 2013), 65.

⁹³ Batchen, "Dreams of Ordinary Life," 164.

Times observed that “The commercial value of the human face was never tested to such an extent as it is at the present moment in these handy photographs.”⁹⁴ Photographers took advantage of the exceptional profitability of celebrity portraits. In the week after Prince Albert’s death, 70,000 portraits of him were reported to have been ordered by photograph dealers from the London wholesaler Marion and Company.⁹⁵ This touches on another characteristic of modernity, the right to look. Images of royalty and other members of the elite were not only on show in studio windows but also became merchandise that could be bought or sold by anyone with the means to do so.⁹⁶

Although the factors of professionalisation and industrialisation were instrumental in enabling cheap and accessible portrait photography, it was public demand that drove the trade and facilitated its mass circulation.⁹⁷ Roberta McGrath succinctly sums up this human element, stating that inventions are “always social.”⁹⁸ Throughout the nineteenth century the press frequently commented on photography’s popularity. In 1862, *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine* commented optimistically that sitting for a portrait was a “fashion [that] will be permanent, and, on the whole, advantageous” while in that same year, the London magazine *Saturday Review* observed with scorn that photography was “a fashion that perhaps may last longer than all the nuisances it entails might lead one to expect.”⁹⁹ Whether their reactions were positive or negative, critics agreed on one thing: portrait photography was not a passing fad. The immense popularity of photographs—cartes de visite in particular—led to the need for a place to store and display them, and the photograph album emerged.

⁹⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862.

⁹⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862.

⁹⁶ Marien, *Photography and Its Critics*, 79 and Chapter 4.

⁹⁷ See McCauley and Edwards, *The Making of English Photography*.

⁹⁸ Roberta McGrath, *Seeing Her Sex: Medical Archives and the Female Body* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 24. McGrath is discussing the invention of lithography, but her assertion can be applied to photography.

⁹⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, June 26, 1862. Reprinted from *Saturday Review*.

Origins of the Photograph Album

Just as there is no single antecedent for photography, there is no single predecessor for the photograph album. However, there has been much speculation about its possible origins. In their introduction to *The Scrapbook in American Life*, Katherine Ott, Susan Tucker, and Patricia P. Buckler outline the genealogy of the scrapbook and pull the photograph album into that broad genre. Both, they argue, were material forms of memory keeping. They trace this memory function back to the Greek *koinoi topoi*, the places in the mind used as memory aids.¹⁰⁰ In her study of women's albums in Victorian England, Patrizia Di Bello traces the form back to the *albo* or blank tablet used in ancient Rome.¹⁰¹ As Europeans developed a writing and print culture, physical volumes known as albums were used to collect thoughts and images. Gradually, by the seventeenth century, these had become commonplace books that were bound blank leaves onto which learned things could be recorded and shared by the elite. Anna Dahlgren points to another type of album, the German *Stammbuch*, as a related predecessor to the photograph album. Similar to commonplace books, *Stammbuch* were purchased as empty volumes to be filled with collected items such as coats of arms, signatures, and, most noteworthy when linking them with the emergence of photograph albums, painted portraits of friends and family. These portraits were often placed hierarchically in the *Stammbuch* with the first page featuring a prominent person such as a member of the royal family or senior family member, followed by other people in descending order of importance. Initially an amusement of the educated German noble classes, it spread to students and tradesmen and eventually became a female pursuit in the eighteenth century.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Katherine Ott, Susan Tucker, and Patricia P. Buckler, "An Introduction to the History of Scrapbooks," in *The Scrapbook in American Life*, ed. Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 1-25.

¹⁰¹ Patrizia Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007), 30.

¹⁰² Anna Dahlgren, "Dated Photographs: The Personal Photo Album as Visual and Textual Medium," *Photography & Culture* 3, no. 2 (2010): 177-79.

The photograph album's antecedents can also be drawn from forms of print culture. In the eighteenth century, "extra-illustrated" books appeared on the market.¹⁰³ These were printed books that included the occasional blank page onto which illustrated prints or annotations could be added. James Granger's 1769 volume *Biographical History of England* is perhaps the most well-known, lending the term "Grangerized" to mean the inclusion of additional items to a book.¹⁰⁴ Bibles were another printed item linked to the development of photograph albums. Elizabeth Siegel points out the genealogical function that Bibles and photograph albums shared.¹⁰⁵ Bibles were often used to register family events, and nineteenth-century examples frequently included pre-printed pages between the Old and New Testaments for recording births, deaths, and marriages.¹⁰⁶ Publishers in the 1860s, capitalising on the popularity of cartes de visite, produced Bibles with spaces for photos to be inserted. A newspaper story that appeared in Dunedin in 1863 reported on the sale of these in Philadelphia, noting that the "Family bible will now become the family portrait-book."¹⁰⁷

By the early nineteenth century, a range of album types had emerged that contributed to the development of the photograph album. Commercially-produced scrapbooks also made their appearance at this time. They were a response to the inexpensive print culture of the early nineteenth century that enabled a wide spectrum of people to gather, arrange, and paste newspaper clippings, colourful chromolithographic "scraps," and photographs into volumes.¹⁰⁸ Like photographs, scrapbooks were readily taken up by a middle class that was eager to embrace the burgeoning consumer culture

¹⁰³ Ott, Tucker, and Buckler, 7.

¹⁰⁴ Di Bello, 37.

¹⁰⁵ Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 116-21.

¹⁰⁶ In a visual manner, photograph albums also served a genealogical function by "recording" family members through their images.

¹⁰⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, June 9, 1863.

¹⁰⁸ For more on scrapbooks, see Jessica Helfand, *Scrapbooks: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

and possess their own “caches for the booty of capitalism.”¹⁰⁹ Filling a scrapbook and participating in similar forms of consumption not only identified oneself as a member of the middle class, but it also helped to identify others as being middle class. The same desire to participate in commercial capitalism led to the photograph album.

Similar to the earlier commonplace book, the sentiment album was a book with blank leaves waiting to be filled. However, it was invited contributors, not the owner, who chose how to fill it. Friends and family were solicited for artwork and verse that were expected to be of a high calibre. New contributors could peruse what had come before them and judge the authors and album’s owner on the quality of the work. This caused a certain degree of dread to those asked to add to an album knowing that their offering would later be scrutinised. “Sight of sorrow!” is how one woman in 1830 described the sight of her sister’s approaching sentiment album.¹¹⁰ Another author, looking back at the practice from his 1862 vantage point, lamented:

People used to be decoyed or frightened into writing in them...they were too intellectual. People in an ordinary drawing-room think there is some sort of plot to find them out if any demand is made on their intellect; and to write verses or even to copy correctly a piece of poetry out of a standard author, is dangerous and embarrassing.¹¹¹

The public nature and potential negative criticism associated with these albums made them problematic; poorly written or inappropriate entries could cause embarrassment. Andrea Kunard contends that the rise of the photograph album was due in part to this difficulty as they offered an alternative type of album.¹¹²

Martha Langford has explored the origins of the photograph album from another perspective. She argues that the album’s roots are in oral tradition and go back much earlier than material examples such as sentiment albums, Bibles, and other volumes.

¹⁰⁹ Ott, Tucker, and Buckler, 10.

¹¹⁰ Quoted in Andrea Kunard, “Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album,” *Early Popular Visual Culture* 4, no. 3 (2006): 231.

¹¹¹ “Photography as an Art,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine* 65, no. 8 (1862): 97.

¹¹² Kunard, 228.

Borrowing from Walter Ong's *Orality and Literacy*, she argues that albums are a form of oral culture with narrators and spectators enacting performances that follow prescribed patterns. Within these performances, photographs act as mnemonic devices for reciting stories that revolve around memories that are relevant to the present and thus build community. The images are familiar to both teller and listener, enabling group participation. Repetition is a key element in that it allows stories to be revisited and told from different perspectives. Langford maintains, "What this means for the album is a shift from the absolute solidity of material culture to a state of in-between, fully realisable only in performance."¹¹³

Photograph Albums

The practice of displaying photographs in an enclosure of some form dates back to the beginning of photography. Daguerreotypes, the most popular form of photography in the 1840s, were housed in protective cases or frames and were too bulky to be displayed in an album. However, calotypes, which were printed on paper, could be pasted onto album pages. William Henry Fox Talbot attempted to capitalise on this difference in *The Pencil of Nature*, the earliest photographically-illustrated publication. Produced between 1844 and 1846, this six-installment series described Talbot's development of calotypes and was illustrated with twenty-four photographic prints.¹¹⁴ At the same time in Scotland, the Calotype Club of Edinburgh was compiling another type of photograph album. Between 1843 and 1856, the club assembled 300 calotypes made by its members into two albums.¹¹⁵ Unlike Talbot's volume that consisted primarily of images of buildings, textiles and still-lives, the Calotype Club's albums featured several portraits of people.

¹¹³ Martha Langford, "Speaking the Album: An Application of the Oral-Photographic Framework," in *Locating Memory: Photographic Acts*, ed. Annette Kuhn and Kirsten Emiko McAllister (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 226. See also, Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

¹¹⁴ Batchen, *William Henry Fox Talbot*, 11-12.

¹¹⁵ One album is held at the National Library of Scotland and the other at the Edinburgh Central Library.

In the United States, Mathew Brady likewise experimented with the display of photographic portraits in an album context. Like most American studios in the 1850s, Brady's produced daguerreotypes rather than paper-based photographs. Unable to mount daguerreotypes into albums, he found other ways of using the format to create portrait albums. In 1850 he produced a *Gallery of Illustrious Americans* that showcased portraits of the "Most Eminent Citizens of the American Republic."¹¹⁶ These were not photographic portraits but lithographs based on his studio's daguerreotypes. Although strictly speaking not a photograph album, it foreshadowed the practice of assembling photographic portraits into a volume for viewing.¹¹⁷ Brady's National Portrait Gallery studio, located on the corner of Tenth Street and Broadway in New York City, offered another option for looking at portraits. Large-scale daguerreotypes lined the walls, and the public were invited to view the works in the same manner as painted portraits in an art gallery. An illustration of Brady's studio in 1861 shows small groups of people clustered around portraits and discussing them (fig. 1.10).¹¹⁸ The photographic studio cum art gallery helped photographers with their ongoing difficulties associating photographic portraits with artistic ones. By viewing portraits in galleries, Victorians also became accustomed to looking at photographs in a social setting. This oral and communal activity became a fundamental aspect of album culture.

In France, the idea of assembling cartes de visite into an album was trialled soon after the format appeared in 1854. In *La Lumière*, editor and critic Ernest Lacan reported that the photographer Victor Plumier had gathered photographs into an album.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Quotation taken from the volume's title, *The Gallery of Illustrious Americans, Containing the Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Twenty-four of the Most Eminent Citizens of the American Republic*.

¹¹⁷ Prints were sold as monthly instalments with the expectation of binding into an album. For more on Mathew Brady, see Alan Trachtenberg, "Illustrious Americans," in *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989).

¹¹⁸ *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, January 5, 1861.

¹¹⁹ McCauley, A. A. E. *Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 46.

Cartes de visite were sold to the public on stiff cardboard mounts that made them too bulky to be successfully pasted into sentiment albums and scrapbooks, although occasionally such cartes are found in them. When first introduced and used as calling cards, cartes would have been deposited in card baskets in the entry hall, but few cartes were used in this way. Many were kept for personal use and incorporated into jewellery such as lockets and brooches.¹²⁰ Some were mounted in frames or cases in the same manner as daguerreotypes and painted miniatures were. In Dunedin, the Burton Brothers advertised the sale of carte de visite frames along with other fancy goods.¹²¹ The number of cartes that could be displayed in frames was limited, so no doubt excess photographs were stored away “to oblivion and a drawer,” as described in an article from 1862.¹²² As cartomania flourished in the late 1850s and personal collections of cartes de visite swelled, a more tailored storage solution was needed. There was a drive to collect, display, and share cartes, but no album formats in use before 1860 were adequately suited to the thick, card-mounted carte.¹²³

Conclusion

By 1860, a number of factors had converged that led to the emergence of the photograph album. The low price of photographic portraits brought about by

¹²⁰ For a fuller consideration of uses of photographs in non-traditional display, see Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Resemblance* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004).

¹²¹ *Otago Daily Times*, February 28, 1868. Carte de visite frames were advertised for sale in New Zealand newspapers as late as 1899. See *Ashburton Guardian*, May 30, 1899.

¹²² *The London Review and Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, Art, & Society*, vol. 5 (August 9, 1862): 118. See also Siegel, 77, and Sarah McNair Vosmeier, “Picturing Love and Friendship: Photograph Albums and Networks of Affection in the 1860s,” in *The Scrapbook in American Life*, ed. Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 208.

¹²³ Cartes de visite were sometimes pasted into scrapbooks while other albums were filled with unmounted albumen prints. For more on cartes de visite and other dimensional items used in scrapbooks, see Tucker, Ott, and Butler, *The Scrapbook in American Life*. For a discussion of unmounted photograph in albums, see Elizabeth Siegel, “Society Cutups,” in *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*, ed. Elizabeth Siegel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 22.

technological advancements and the industrialisation of the trade meant that many people could afford to have their photographic portrait taken. Centuries-old oral traditions, the more recent practice of album compiling, and the association of photographs with modern living cultivated a desire to own cartes de visite and manage them in a meaningful and systematic way. A suitable format was needed that could be mass produced and marketed to nineteenth-century consumers, and the carte de visite album emerged.

Chapter 2

EARLY PHOTOGRAPH ALBUMS

In 1860, technology and practice converged, and the first commercially-produced carte de visite albums entered the market. When these albums arrived, there was already a practice of album compiling and viewing through sentiment and scrap albums, and Victorians had developed expectations about photographs. The photograph album, however, was not a simple transference or amplification of these experiences and expectations. While this new album form grew out of the traditions of past albums, over time it also acquired its own unique culture built around exchange, shared viewing, inclusion and exclusion, storytelling, and expressions of identity.

The Emergence of the Carte de Visite Album

The commercially-produced carte de visite album debuted in the early 1860s. Albums had sometimes been used to house photographs in the mid-1850s, but these were volumes that shared physical similarities with sentiment albums and scrapbooks whereby items were pasted onto pages. They were not the distinctive slip-in window format used for card-mounted photographs. The consensus among historians for its arrival is the early 1860s. Elizabeth Siegel states that the history of the photograph album begins in 1861 when it was patented in the United States, but this overlooks its earlier presence in Britain.¹ Sarah McNair Vosmeier states that they were available in 1860 but does not offer a reference source for this information.² Martha Langford simply points to the emergence of the card album after Disdéri patented the carte de visite in 1854.³ My

¹ Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 3.

² Sarah McNair Vosmeier, "Picturing Love and Friendship: Photograph Albums and Networks of Affection in the 1860s," in *The Scrapbook in American Life*, ed. Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 207.

³ Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 23.

research pinpoints the emergence of the card album format to no later than August 1860, when Francoise Remy Grumel secured British patent petition No. 2022, recorded in the patent office on August 22, 1860, for “improvements in albums of collection [sic] of photographic and lithographic proofs, engravings, and other drawings.” He described his invention as an album where each leaf “is composed of three layers, by preference of thin cardboard; the outside ones have a portion of their central parts cut out in form a little less than the cards to be inserted, and the middle one has also a portion cut out in the centre, but larger than the other two, and in addition it has a portion cut away from the bottom.”⁴ The next year, in May 1861, Grumel was granted an American patent for an invention specifically termed a “Photographic Album” (fig. 2.1).⁵ As with his British patent, this was an album consisting of three-layered leaves with windows that enabled photographs to be inserted and displayed. These albums were not restricted to photographs; both patents described multi-purpose albums that could be used for lithographs, engravings, and drawings in addition to cartes de visite. The standardisation of these volumes was made possible by the industrialisation that was occurring with other mass-produced consumer goods during the period.

In addition to being the earliest known patent for a card photograph album, there are several other reasons why Grumel’s album is noteworthy. It was protected by a patent, not simply manufactured as a consumer good, and was therefore in the realm of an invention or innovation and a new solution to a specific technological problem. Other patents recorded in the same month were of a more overtly technological and scientific nature and included improvements on an apparatus for distilling sea water, a new mixture for fumigating plants, and an invention related to firearms.⁶ Being recognised as a new patentable technology associated Grumel’s album with modern innovation.

⁴ *Patents for Inventions, Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Photography, Part II—A. D. 1860-1866* (London: George Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1872), 14, accessed May 8, 2015, https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_nrUcAAAAMAAJ#page/n233/mode/2up/search/grumel.

⁵ United States Patent Office, Specification of Letters Patent No. 32,287, dated May 14, 1861, accessed April 27, 2015, <https://www.google.com.au/patents/US32287>.

⁶ *The London Gazette*, August 28, 1863.

Grumel's patents also had a commercial component. They protected his intellectual property and the right to manufacture and sell his albums. The patents could also be sold and those rights transferred to another owner. Whether he took advantage of this opportunity is not known, but later album patent holders did. For instance, Philadelphian William W. Harding purchased the 1865 patent for an improvement to an album binding that allowed it to lay flat when displayed open. He sold these albums as the "Harding Flexible Chain Back Album" and included a lengthy description of the patent in his advertisements.⁷

Notably, Grumel described an album that was not designed solely for photographs. Although he was predicting a market for its use for photographs based on the popularity of cartes de visite, there was no guarantee that it would sell as such. The inclusion of graphic material such as lithographs, engravings, and drawings promoted it as a multi-use item, suggesting that consumers could use it like a scrapbook or earlier type of album. By offering wider applications, Grumel was spreading his risk. But his album with its uniform-sized windows and a thick inner leaf was specifically designed to accommodate cartes de visite. While drawings and lithographs could be inserted, they needed to be a size that could fit or be trimmed to fit the window and were most likely to be on a thinner paper stock than mounted cartes. Despite its possible multiple uses, Grumel's album was clearly intended for card-mounted photographs.

Grumel's patents were for "improvements" in albums designed for photographs, lithographs, engravings, and drawings, indicating that there was an antecedent from which he was working. He might simply have been referring to the paper-leaf albums commonly used for sentiment albums or scrapbooks, or he could have been modifying an earlier card album whose patent has not been recovered. Only a fortnight after Grumel's American patent, on May 28, 1861, Henry T. Anthony and Frank Phoebus registered their own album patent for a "new and useful Improvement in Photographic Albums."⁸ In that short time span, it seems unlikely that they were improving upon Grumel's American

⁷ Betsy Palmer Eldridge, "A Photo Album Structure from Philadelphia, 1865," *The Book and Paper Group Annual* 21 (2002), 36.

⁸ United States Patent Office, Specification of Letters Patent No. 32,404, dated May 28, 1861, accessed April 12, 2015, <https://patents.google.com/patent/US32404A/en>.

patent. They might have been responding to sentiment albums or his British patent from 1860. However, once these early album patents were in place, a flood of others followed. Between 1861 and 1865, the United States Patent Office issued fifteen patents for albums or modifications.⁹

The album that emerged in 1860 was a hard-bound volume, usually covered in leather, with metal clasps and a decorative frontispiece that often read “Album” or “Photograph Album.” As already noted, its physical form was a response to the carte de visite format that required rigid pages and standard-sized slots that allowed photographs to be slipped into a frame on the page. Albums were sold empty for the purchaser to fill, with smaller albums holding between thirty and fifty photographs and larger, more elaborate albums holding up to 200.¹⁰ An album from TOSM’s collection with an inscription from 1865 gives an early example of the format (fig. 2.2).¹¹

The impetus to use these albums to collect, organise, and display photographs—what Shirley Wajda describes as cultural factors related to earlier album culture—was part of the genesis of the photograph album.¹² Initially, albums provided simple and immediate solutions to existing problems. Excess cartes de visite that could not be put in frames, jewellery, or other established forms of display (and presumably ended up in drawers and boxes) now had a purpose-made destination. Siegel and Vosmeier argue that the album was also a product of industrial capitalism and developed as a matter of course. They were a direct response to the demand for a suitable album type combined with the opportunity that publishers saw for selling empty albums.¹³ American album manufacturer William H. Harding’s 1865 preface in his “Flexible Chain-Back Album” expresses a similar argument for demand:

⁹ Jane Rutherford, “Victorian Album Structures,” *The Paper Conservator* 23, no. 1 (1999): 21, doi: 10.1080/03094227.1999.9638613.

¹⁰ These numbers are based on examples in the album collection of TOSM.

¹¹ TOSM, Album 107.

¹² Shirley Wajda, “‘Social Currency’: A Domestic History of Portrait Photography in the United States” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992), 23-24 and 532.

¹³ Siegel, 72 and Vosmeier, 208.

The discovery and many improvements in the art of Photography created a great demand for some convenient, ornamental, and durable contrivance for preserving its numerous productions. To supply demand, human ingenuity soon invented the Photograph Album, which was first introduced to public notice at a period the most momentous and eventful in the history of our country, and soon became a very desirable and almost indispensable book, furnishing a convenient method of registering and preserving the photograph portraits of relatives, friends, distinguished statesmen, military and naval heroes, &c., &c.¹⁴

Harding's comment came only five years after carte de visite albums were introduced, and he noted not only the demand for them but also the fact that they were desirable and had become "almost indispensable." The delight at the appearance of the photograph albums is evident in this comment from the French newspaper *L'Illustration* in 1861:

Photography is a marvelous thing;...it is very pleasing to have one's relatives and acquaintances reunited in an album. You open the book and flip through it: you see your brother who is in the army in Syria or China, your sister who is fifty leagues from Paris. You converse with them, it seems as if they were there beside you.¹⁵

Albums also offered a solution to the inadequacy of the calling card basket. The basket served a higher function than mere storage. Waiting visitors could browse its contents and note the household's associations. The weakness of this assemblage was its disorganisation, whereas the photograph album, an 1862 article from *All the Year Round* noted, enabled control:

¹⁴ Quoted in Siegel, 73.

¹⁵ Quoted in Elizabeth McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 48.

Those albums are fast taking the place of doing the work of the long-cherished card-basket. That institution has had a long swing of it. It was a good thing to leave on the table that your morning-caller while waiting in the drawing-room till you were presentable, might see what distinguished company you kept, and what very unexceptionable people were in the habit of coming to call on you. But the card-basket was not comparable to the album as an advertisement of your claims to gentility. The card of Mrs Brown of Peckham would well to the surface at times from the depth to which you had consigned it, and overlay that of your favourite countess or millionaire. Besides, you could not in so many words call attention to your card-basket as you can to your album.¹⁶

The author of this article describes key advantages of the photograph album. Unlike the card basket, the album allowed for the careful organisation and management of photographs. And unlike earlier albums that required items to be permanently pasted into them, photograph albums had the advantage of slots that allowed photographs to be easily inserted or removed. They permitted fluidity and the ability to continuously rework the album by including new favourites, exiling those who had fallen out of favour either by removing their photograph or covering it over with another, or simply changing the order.

Other Album Forms

From 1860 the commercially-manufactured card album became the most popular album type for collecting and displaying photographs. The older tradition of pasting photographs onto album pages persisted, but with a new execution. Elizabeth Siegel, Marta Weiss, and Patrizia Di Bello have examined the albums of aristocratic British women and their practice of cutting up unmounted albumen prints, recombining them with artwork, and pasting them into albums, thus creating a form of Victorian photocollage.¹⁷ These women created fantastical, almost surreal scenes whereby

¹⁶ “The Carte de Visite,” *All the Year Round* 26 (1862), quoted in Mark Haworth-Booth, *Photographer of Modern Life: Camille Silvy* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 8-9.

¹⁷ Elizabeth Siegel, “Society Cutups,” in *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*, ed. Elizabeth Siegel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 13-35; Marta Weiss, “The Page as Stage,” in *Playing with Pictures*, 37-47; and Patrizia Di Bello, “Photocollage, Fun and Flirtations,” in *Playing with Pictures*, 49-62. Historians using

photographs of friends and family became the faces on playing cards, balls juggled by jester monkeys, or even the eyes of turkey feathers. Although many women engaged in album compiling, class was the determining factor for this particular type of album activity. The paintings, drawings, and other artwork shown in these albums were testaments to the women's accomplishments and a refined education that included music, dancing, languages, and needlework.¹⁸

The collage approach enabled compilers a level of creativity that was impossible to replicate in carte de visite albums that limited the placement of a photograph to a fixed slot on a page. Unmounted photographs were far easier to cut and paste onto a page than card-mounted ones, but how unmounted photographs were acquired is not known. Siegel suggests that women might have devised ways for removing prints from their card backings.¹⁹ But albumen prints used for cartes de visite were fragile, so it is questionable as to whether this was possible to do without damaging them. Many British aristocrats, men and women alike, were amateur photographers and able to produce their own unmounted prints. However, most of these "society cutups" were professional studio photographs, not amateur ones. It is likely that unmounted photographs were secured directly from the photographer.

Two albums in the collection of TOSM feature unmounted and pasted photographs. Neither is as fanciful as the albums Siegel, Weiss, and Di Bello investigate, and while neither compiler was an aristocratic woman, both were from prominent settler families. The first was put together by Louisa Melville Will, the Otago-born daughter of Scottish immigrants Louisa Hope Will and Presbyterian minister Reverend William Will.²⁰ William and his wife arrived on the ship *Stately* in 1854. The Will family settled at East Taieri, fifteen kilometres west of Dunedin, where Louisa was born in 1855. She

"photocollage" in this respect understand that it is different from and not to be confused with modern art collage forms or photomontage that occurred in the twentieth century.

¹⁸ Siegel, "Society Cutups," 16.

¹⁹ Siegel, "Society Cutups," 22.

²⁰ TOSM, Album 293. Ownership has been attributed to Louisa Will by the donor.

was highly educated, graduating with a B.A. from Canterbury College in 1886, and she never married.

Bound in green leather with gold embossing, Louisa's album is comprised of forty-one leaves with ornate pre-printed frames into which she pasted unmounted photographic prints. According to information provided by the donor, Louisa's Scottish cousin Flora Ann Campbell designed the artwork. An inscription inside the front cover reads: "To Catherine Louisa Will, from Aunt Louie, Jan 1912." Although Louisa gifted the album to her niece in the twentieth century, the photographs date from the 1860s and early 1870s. The album includes three loose pages of information written by Louisa herself identifying the photographs, presumably for her niece's benefit.

The album contains photographs of family and friends, and several appear to be from a trip the Will family took back to Scotland in 1863 and 1864. While nowhere near as elaborate as the hand-painted embellishments created by British aristocratic women, Flora's decoration combined with Louisa's image choices exhibit some whimsy. A page printed with a lake, lily pads, reeds, and ducks features a photograph of the British royal family bobbing in the water (fig. 2.3). A page from the album of British woman Kate Edith Gough depicts a similar hand-painted scene of a lake with lily pads, reeds, and ducks, although in Gough's rendition the duck's heads have been replaced with photographs of women (fig. 2.4).²¹

Louisa's album suggests knowledge of an album type popular amongst aristocratic British women. Although not aristocratic herself, her family enjoyed some privilege. Her maternal grandfather, John Henry Wishart, was a doctor and Surgeon in Ordinary to the king when he was in Scotland.²² During her family's sojourn in Edinburgh in the mid-1860s, she might have seen elaborate albums and artwork through her family's aristocratic associates. It is also possible that she acquired the album while in Scotland, perhaps even from her cousin Flora.

²¹ Gough was not British royalty, but the financial success of her father meant that the family was among England's "Upper Ten Thousand." See Siegel, *Playing with Pictures*, 184-86.

²² Alan Bates, *The Anatomy of Robert Knox: Murder, Mad Science and Medical Regulation in the Nineteenth Century* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 56.

The manner in which Aemilia Susannah Turton assembled and pasted her photographs is different than Louisa's.²³ Aemilia was the New Zealand-born daughter of Wesleyan minister Henry Hanson Turton. He sailed for New Zealand with his first wife Susannah on the ship *Triton* in 1839. By the mid-1840s the Turtons were living in Taranaki in the North Island, where Henry replaced the Reverend Charles Creed. In 1851 Aemilia was born to Hanson and his second wife, Mary Emily. In 1883 she married Charles Robert Edmunds, and by 1900 she was living in Invercargill at the bottom of the South Island.²⁴

The Turton family is strongly associated with early New Zealand photography. Three of the oldest existing New Zealand daguerreotypes are of the family: two of Aemilia's father Hanson and one of her two half-brothers, Gibson Kirke and Hanson. It is also thought that the Turton family paid for the daguerreotype of Caroline and Sarah Barrett mentioned in the previous chapter.²⁵ The ability to afford at least three, possibly four daguerreotypes in a small, young colonial settlement indicates a degree of disposable wealth and a level of affluence on the part of the Turtons as well as an interest in the technology that photography embodied.

Aemilia Turton's album features a hard black cover with elaborate gold embossing and mother-of-pearl inlay. It holds over 170 pages, onto which she pasted thousands of unmounted albumen prints as well as scraps, newspaper clippings, artwork, and autographs in the tradition of scrapbooks. The album bears the inscription, "To Millie on her birthday—1875 from G. A. Arney, 15th March." This date would have been her twenty-fourth birthday. It was given to her in Auckland by Sir George Alfred Arney, then Chief Justice of New Zealand, shortly before he retired to England. The album is filled to overflowing with photographs ranging in date from the 1860s to the early twentieth century. Most pages contain numerous portraits pasted onto a single page, usually cut

²³ TOSM, Album 93.

²⁴ *Otago Witness*, November 14, 1900.

²⁵ The daguerreotypes are held by Puke Ariki in New Plymouth. For information about the connection of the Turtons with the Barretts see <https://www.flickr.com/photos/pukeariki/4345174296/>.

circularly. Like card albums, Aemilia's is filled with photographs of friends and family, mostly members of her generation and younger. Siblings, siblings-in-law and their children are particularly prominent, and she also included several photographs of British royalty and other celebrities. The album holds a number of photographs of Aemilia, including a page she devoted to herself (fig. 2.5). Her portraits display a confidence with the camera and savviness with posing. Similar to Louisa Will's album, many pages feature some form of artwork that acts as a framing device for photographs, and occasionally Aemilia indulged in the type of fantasy seen in British aristocratic albums. Her whimsical use of cut out photographs of people rearranged into groups is similar in treatment to many aristocratic albums (fig. 2.6). In an album attributed to Viscountess Jocelyn, photographs of men are positioned in several *tableaux* in a water-coloured room (fig. 2.7).

Aemilia, like Louisa, seemed to be familiar with the album trends of upper-class British women. Indeed, the Turton family enjoyed a level of economic and social prestige in New Zealand and had a minor royal connection. In 1898 Aemilia's brother Hanson married Marguerite Augustine de Salamos, the British daughter of Count Giovanni de Salamos of Greece.²⁶ However, Aemilia expressed her identity through some distinctly New Zealand touches. Scraps and artwork of New Zealand scenes and flora and fauna such as kowhai, kaka's beak, saddlebacks, and tui are peppered throughout her album (fig. 2.8).

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Aemilia's album is its level of inscription, which is rare in photograph albums of this era when annotations were discouraged in favour of oral narration. The information she included often consisted of a name and date. In some instances she added a later note with a death date or a change from a maiden to a married name. For herself she created a distinctive monogram with her initials "SAET" that features the A and E combined as one letter (fig. 2.5). Because Aemilia pasted her photographs directly into the album, they had no viewable backs where an inscription

²⁶ Genealogical information was found on loose pages included in Album 93. Marguerite was born in France but was a British citizen. She immigrated to New Zealand and was living in Dunedin by 1898 when she married Hanson. She might have been the Mlle de Salamos who was a private language teacher in Dunedin in the 1890s. See *Otago Daily Times*, February 5, 1894.

could be placed. This probably explains why she annotated her pages so heavily. Rather cryptically, she often used initials to identify photographs rather than full names, thus maintaining some ambiguity and preserving her role as narrator.

By using unmounted prints, Louisa Will and Aemilia Turton adapted the paste-in format of earlier albums such as sentiment albums and scrapbooks to their photographs. As such, they provide New Zealand examples of the direction that albums could have taken in the nineteenth century. With sentiment albums and scrapbooks already available and access to unmounted prints possible, it would have been an easy route to take. But it was not the preferred option. Once the *carte de visite* album reached the market in 1860, it became the most popular means to store and display photographs. There are a number of reasons for this. The culture of exchanging and collecting *cartes de visite* created a need to house them, and the card album was a logical solution. So logical, Vosmeier contends, that “it developed almost as a matter of course rather than through one inventor’s genius.”²⁷ Although it was possible to obtain photographs without their card mounts and paste them into sentiment albums, these type of albums had fallen out of fashion and were regarded negatively. And the craze was to exchange *cartes de visite*, not unmounted albumen prints. The card album proved to be a useful invention that complemented the development of photography and *carte de visite* culture.

The Availability of Photograph Albums

Commercially-produced *carte de visite* albums appeared in New Zealand not long after their introduction in the Northern Hemisphere, signalling the colony’s capacity to participate in album culture. In late 1861, Alexander Fletcher of Nelson advertised that he took “ALBUM PORTRAITS, Six for a Pound.”²⁸ These portraits would have been *cartes de visite*, and marketing his photographs with the word “album” suggests that by 1861 colonists were busy filling their albums like their British, European, and American counterparts. Photograph albums may have been sold in Otago as early as 1861. In February of that year, George Casper opened his stationery, tobacconist, and fancy

²⁷ Vosmeier, 208.

²⁸ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, November 20, 1861.

repository ‘Australian House’ on Princes Street in Dunedin and advertised that he sold “albums.”²⁹ However, it is unclear what type of albums these were. Scrap albums, autograph albums, stamp albums, fern albums, and music albums were all sold by Dunedin merchants in the nineteenth century. The earliest specific reference in Dunedin newspapers to the sale of photograph albums was in May 1863, when Stafford Street merchants Lambert and Company simply advertised they had “photographic albums.”³⁰

By the mid-1860s, during Dunedin’s rapid growth, photograph albums were widely available from several types of merchants. General importers and fancy goods dealers such as I. Herman and Company, S. Joseph and Company, and Leslie, Lane and Dobie sold a variety of goods in addition to albums, listing perfumery, toys, stationery, cutlery, tobacconist goods, musical instruments, brushware, jewellery, clocks, scales, cricket equipment, and dozens of other items in their advertisements.³¹ An advertisement for A. Moses from 1864 depicts a “Portrait Album” along with other merchandise the company offered for sale (fig. 2.9).³² That same year another fancy goods merchant, Hugh Kirkpatrick and Company, described the thriving market in albums and advertised that “The great competition in the Album TRADE Has produced prices that are SCARCELY CREDIBLE.”³³ This competition meant that they could sell portrait albums for as low as one shilling. Stationers and printers also sold photograph albums. An album held in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington has the label of Fergusson and Mitchell, a printing firm established in Dunedin in 1862, pasted inside the front cover (fig. 2.10).³⁴ An album from the Telford family in TOSM’s collection contains a less-

²⁹ *Otago Witness*, February 2, 1861.

³⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, May 15, 1863.

³¹ *Otago Daily Times*, June 27, 1863, November 10, 1866, and December 19, 1885.

³² *Dunedin Leader*, January 16, 1864.

³³ *Otago Daily Times*, December 21, 1864.

³⁴ Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, PA1-o-1713.

elaborate label from Fergusson and Mitchell.³⁵ Booksellers also sold photograph albums. An album in TOSM's collection bears the label of George Derbyshire who sold books, texts, cards, and Bibles in Dunedin's Royal Arcade during the 1890s.³⁶

Dunedin photographers do not appear to have been major purveyors of photograph albums, or if they were, they did not advertise this in newspapers. Yet many photographers, especially when the trade was young in the 1860s, did not limit themselves to photography and engaged in other trades, so it would be surprising if they had not sold albums. William Meluish, one of Dunedin's first commercial photographers, even sold children's perambulators at his Photographic Gallery on Princes Street, and Kasimir Pogonowski added perfumery and hair dressing to his studio's activities when he set up his business in Oamaru.³⁷ The Burton Brothers, a successful Dunedin studio, were one of the few who advertised the sale of albums. They branched out into fancy goods and, like other fancy good merchants, sold photograph albums alongside card baskets, music boxes, and dressing cases.³⁸ As a promotion, Frederick Smith, proprietor of the Edinburgh Portrait Gallery on Princes Street, gave away an album with every dozen cartes de visite ordered from his studio, and it is reasonable to conclude that he sold them as well.³⁹

The sale of photograph albums by fancy goods and general merchants is similar to the ways in which people in Great Britain and the United States obtained their albums. However, some modes of retail found overseas were not available in Otago. Many Americans, particularly those living in rural areas that did not have access to shops, sourced consumer goods through catalogues in the late nineteenth century. Daniell and Sons of New York City and N. C. Thayer and Company of Chicago were two companies

³⁵ TOSM, Album 286.

³⁶ TOSM, Album 153 and *Otago Daily Times*, February 16, 1894.

³⁷ *Otago Witness*, April 12, 1862; *North Otago Times*, February 8, 1866 and February 19, 1867.

³⁸ *Otago Witness*, March 21, 1868.

³⁹ *Evening Star*, December 17, 1870.

that sold albums through their catalogues.⁴⁰ Americans could also obtain albums through photographic journals and magazines, with some giving them away with their subscriptions.⁴¹

Another difference between the availability of albums in the United States and Otago is that no albums are known to have been produced in the colony. Lacking were the publishers and photographic suppliers like those in the U.S. that, Siegel notes, “churned out albums by the thousands.”⁴² These were large-scale manufacturers for their day, and in one American establishment an album passed through twenty-five workers before it was completed, while another album business employed over one hundred people. As a settlement less than twenty years old when photograph albums emerged, Otago did not have the industrial base, workforce, or market to go into album production, and as a result there was no opportunity for local production. Like many small colonial settlements, Otago relied heavily on finished consumer goods imported from overseas, and albums were among the items imported. Moses and Company imported albums directly from London and claimed they had buyers in “the largest European markets,” while L. Mendelsohn secured albums from England, Paris, and Germany.⁴³ Bookseller C. Bressey sold photograph albums that were “the best English makes.”⁴⁴ Albums were also imported to Otago from Australia. In 1863 Dunedin jewellers and importers I. Herman and Company advertised that they had received photographic albums, stereoscopes, and cartes de visite from ships that had recently arrived from Melbourne.⁴⁵ General merchant and importer Joseph Kohn and Company likewise advertised the availability of albums from Australia.⁴⁶ These albums might have been produced in Australia, or they could

⁴⁰ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 76-78.

⁴¹ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 89 and 96.

⁴² Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 80.

⁴³ *Otago Daily Times*, June 26, 1863, February 17, 1866, and September 14, 1866.

⁴⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, January 15, 1884.

⁴⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, June 27, 1863.

⁴⁶ *Otago Daily Times*, September 13, 1864.

have been imported from overseas and forwarded on to Dunedin by Melbourne importers and exporters. The fact that very few album manufacturers marked their products makes tracing their origins more difficult. Of nearly 100 albums examined in TOSM's collection, only two appear to have a manufacturer's mark, but no makers have been identified for these marks.⁴⁷ The collection holds another album that was likely produced in Australia.⁴⁸

The earliest known photograph album in TOSM's collection was owned by Agnes McEwan of South Otago and bears the dedication, "Presented to A. D. McEwan by her Aunt Jessie 1865" (fig. 2.11).⁴⁹ Like many early carte de visite albums, it is small, measuring only fifteen centimetres high by twelve centimetres wide by five centimetres deep. It features a dark green leather cover embellished with metal and ivory decoration and is secured along the right-hand edge by two brass clasps. It has twenty-five leaves (fifty pages) that hold a single carte de visite per page. Several pages are ripped, suggesting that cartes were removed for replacement or simply for viewing. Its materials, paper quality, and decoration are high quality and suggest that it was an expensive consumer good.

Agnes was born in about 1858, possibly in Nelson, New Zealand, to Scottish immigrants Daniel and Jane (née Gibson) McEwan.⁵⁰ In 1860 her father took up land at Hilly Park (Romahapa), South Otago, a small settlement located about 100 kilometres southwest of Dunedin.⁵¹ He was the second school teacher at the South Clutha Side School and was succeeded by his brother James.⁵² Agnes's father died before 1886, the

⁴⁷ TOSM, Albums 1 and 138.

⁴⁸ TOSM, Album 348. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the production of this album.

⁴⁹ TOSM, Album 107.

⁵⁰ According to member-submitted family trees on Ancestry.com, accessed June 10, 2016, <http://person.ancestry.com/tree/24818572/person/1768930654/facts>.

⁵¹ John Wilson, *Reminiscences of the Early Settlement of Dunedin and South Otago* (Dunedin: J. Wilkie and Co., Ltd., 1912), 140.

⁵² Wilson, 198-99.

year she married William Bannerman, the son of South Otago settlers Reverend William Bannerman and his wife Jane.⁵³ Agnes's mother remained in South Otago.

Agnes was only about seven years old in 1865 when she was given the album by Aunt Jessie. This raises several questions. Elizabeth Siegel and Martha Langford discuss albums as an adult activity, while Sarah McNair Vosmeier suggests they were part of the youth culture of Victorian adolescents and young adults.⁵⁴ An examination of album ownership by children would offer some interesting comparisons, but this topic is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, a related and relevant question is why Aunt Jessie gave young Agnes, who was living in a rural settlement in Otago, an album as a gift. The McEwan family tree has been difficult to reconstruct, and I have not been able to trace who Aunt Jessie was. There were a number of McEwan settlers in the area, including Agnes's uncle James, so it is possible that Aunt Jessie was a local relation, possibly James's wife. It is also possible that "Aunt" was being used as a polite term of address for an older woman, and she and Agnes were not actually related. However, a photograph in Agnes's album suggests another McEwan connection. An uninscribed photograph that I have identified as Agnes with her mother and two brothers was taken by the studio of John McEwan in Clutha Ferry (now Balclutha), a small but thriving town located about thirteen kilometres from Agnes's home at Romahapa (fig. 2.12).⁵⁵ I have uncovered very little information about John McEwan, and this is the only photograph by him that I encountered in the thousands of photographs I examined. This rarity lends further support to his being related to Agnes and her family. Although the evidence is highly speculative, it is possible that Aunt Jessie was the wife of John McEwan. She would have had access to photograph albums and, through her husband's trade, recognised their popularity. Her gift to her niece would have been a desire for her to have the latest thing.

⁵³ *Otago Witness*, April 30, 1886.

⁵⁴ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, Langford, and Vosmeier.

⁵⁵ *Bruce Herald*, May 23, 1873.

Learning the Album

When carte de visite albums arrived on the market, there had been nothing quite like them before. Content-wise, Grumel's patent for a multi-purpose book for displaying lithographs, artwork, and photographs suggested a link between the practice of compiling a sentiment album and his invention. But filling a sentiment album was very different from filling a card album, and the mechanics of how to do this were not intuitive. Although owners might have known what they wanted to put into their albums, they did not necessarily know how to do so. Early albums and patents recognised this and included instructions on how to physically fill them.⁵⁶

The earliest albums had no obvious places for inserting cartes de visite. Grumel's patent described a page with a front and back framing leaf attached to an inner card layer on three sides. The bottom of the inner layer was left open for the photograph or other item to be inserted, making the opening practically invisible and requiring a separate piece of card to be used to fill the gap. This filling piece needed to be glued into the album to prevent it and the photograph from slipping out. Other albums had a four-sided inner card layer with one edge of the outer framing leaf left unattached to enable photographs to be slipped in through the layers. The outer paper would also have to be glued to the inner core to prevent photographs from slipping out, although it was much harder for this to happen. Having to anchor photographs in this manner was a major drawback, as it meant that they were permanently encased in the page. Anthony and Phoebus highlighted the issue in their patent application, stating that "this necessarily prevents changing the pictures at will."⁵⁷ Their patent presented a more flexible solution whereby the inner edge of the page along the spine was left free for photographs to be inserted. The pressure of the spine would help keep the free edge closed, although pasting "in the old method" could still be done. Soon albums were constructed with slots cut in

⁵⁶ The Isenburg Collection at the Archive of Modern Conflict, Toronto, holds examples of template carte de visite paper inserts with instructions describing how photographs should be trimmed to the size of the insert before being added to the album. Luminous Lint, accessed August 29, 2014, http://www.luminous-lint.com/app/photo_outlet/_PRIVATECOLLECTION_MattIsenburg/.

⁵⁷ Specification forming part of Letters Patent No. 42,134, dated March 29, 1864, accessed April 20, 2015, <https://www.google.com/patents/US42134>.

the page directly above or below the window, providing an obvious place to slip in each photograph.⁵⁸ Like the photograph window itself, the slot was edged with a decorative gold band (fig. 2.13).

Slipping photographs in and out of album pages often tore the framing paper, and this fragility was recognised early on. In 1864 Charles Weil of New York patented an “Album Clip” for inserting photographs into albums (fig. 2.14).⁵⁹ The clip was about 6 inches long and only as thick as the photograph. Two blades at the end gripped the photograph, enabling it to be slipped in without causing undue stress or damage to the album frame. To remove cartes from an album, instructions contained in one American album suggested inserting a knife edge below the carte and easing it out.⁶⁰

In addition to learning how to insert photographs into an album, compilers also needed to learn how to fit their photographs. Most cartes de visite measured 2½ by 4 inches (approximately 6.5 centimetres by 10 centimetres) and could slip easily into albums, but not all album windows or cartes were of a standard size. In some instances, photographs needed to be trimmed to fit, and early albums sometimes came with an insert in one of the windows that acted as both instructions and template.⁶¹ An example of one of these from the Isenberg Collection at Toronto’s Archive of Modern Conflict instructs, “Be careful to cut the Photographs to the exact size and shape of **THIS CARD**, so as to correspond with the space cut out to receive them. Should they be too long, they will swell one end of the Album and prevent it from clasping.”⁶² There are examples

⁵⁸ I have not found the date for this development, but I suspect it would have been by the mid-1860s. The earliest album with this type of opening in TOSM’s collection is Album 117 and dates from 1874. However, there are undated albums that are possibly earlier.

⁵⁹ United States Patent Office, Specification of Letters Patent No. 32,404, dated May 28, 1861, accessed April 12, 2015, <https://patents.google.com/patent/US32404A/en>.

⁶⁰ Luminous Lint, accessed May 11, 2015, <http://www.luminous-lint.com/app/image/3114497988803175926/>.

⁶¹ Due to the ephemeral nature of these inserts, the extent to which they were sold in albums is not known. They were possibly discarded when the album was filled.

⁶² Template carte de visite, Luminous Lint, accessed May 11, 2015, <http://www.luminous-lint.com/app/image/3114497988803175926/>.

throughout TOSM's collection of cartes that have been trimmed. The photograph album of Mary Bone, given to her in 1879, holds nearly a dozen photographs that have been cut down. A carte de visite of two unidentified women from the 1870s shows rough trimming along the bottom edge that removed the decorative red border and part of the London Portrait Room's name (fig. 2.15). Given that the edges of a photograph would be hidden by the paper framing of the album page, precision and neatness were not required. Other album keepers did not bother with trimming and simply left the bottom edge of the photograph exposed. Photographers might have intentionally produced longer cartes de visite so that their studio's name would extend below the window and not be hidden (fig. 2.16).

Once owners knew how to physically fill their albums, they experimented with ways of compiling them. By 1860 the culture of exchanging and collecting cartes de visite known as "cartomania" had developed, and cartes were displayed in frames, accumulated in baskets, and relegated to drawers. When albums arrived they provided a place to assemble photographs and further facilitated collecting, but they also offered the opportunity for establishing a viewing practice. "Introductory cartes" that featured pithy poems and instructive verse appeared in many albums.⁶³ At first glance they appear to be ephemeral and decorative space fillers, but a close reading of their lines reveals their didactic value. A card bearing the poem "Yes, this is my album" is the introductory carte encountered most often in TOSM's collection (fig. 2.17).⁶⁴ It instructs:

⁶³ Robin and Carol Wichard use the term "introductory carte" although they do not necessarily appear at the beginning of an album. Robin and Carol Wichard, *Victorian Cartes-de Visite* (Princes Risborough U.K.: Shire, 1999), 76.

⁶⁴ Forty-two examples of introductory cartes containing fifteen different poems were found in TOSM and other collections. Of these, the "Yes, this is my album" poem is the most popular. TOSM, Albums 72, 120, 150, and 251.

Yes, this is my album;
 But learn ere you look,
 That all are expected
 To add to my book.

You are welcome to quiz it;
 The penalty is,
 You add your own portrait
 For others to quiz.

These short simple poems taught Victorians how to use their photograph albums. The educational nature of viewing an album is clear in this one, “learn ere you look,” and a great deal of knowledge was gained by seeing the albums of others. This poem also highlights two key elements of album culture, reciprocity and orality. Photographs were given with the expectation that they would be interrogated, and having had access to the photographs of others to look at and discuss, there was the expectation that the viewer would add their own.

A third element of album culture was the building of networks, and many introductory cartes featured poems that made direct references to friends and friendship. Another common verse is titled “My Album.”⁶⁵ It reads:

As you have looked my album through
 Say have I a carte of you
 If not contribute one I pray
 And send it me without delay
 Indeed I wish and do intend
 To ask of each and every friend
 To let me have their portrait here
 That all may look on friends so dear
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This poem asks for contributions from friends specifically, and of the fifteen different verses found on introductory cartes in TOSM’s collection, five mention friendship. None, however, mention family. Albums during the nineteenth century were not seen primarily as the visual family archive that they are today. Card albums certainly contained photographs of family in large numbers, and letters between family members show that photographs were freely exchanged. But photographs from family members did not need

⁶⁵ TOSM, Albums 72 and 251.

to be solicited in the ritualised way that cartes of unrelated acquaintances were. Photographic exchanges became a tool for establishing connections amongst non-related people, and by sharing the visual proof of those connections with others through an album, real communities could be established and strengthened.

Wichard and Wichard maintain that introductory cartes were often included in the first slot of an album when it was purchased.⁶⁶ Of the ten albums in TOSM's collection that contain them, only one features it on the first page. If they were bought with albums, their compilers chose to move them to another part of the album or remove them entirely. Irish immigrant Bridget Barrett began her small carte de visite album with an introductory carte produced by Dunedin photographer Robert Clifford.⁶⁷ This poem entreated:

I wish my Album to contain
The old familiar faces
Of all my dear and valued friends
For here their proper place is
And hope you'll not intrusive deem
The request that now I make
"A portrait true of every friend
I ask for friendship's sake."

The imperative to quiz and discuss photographs is missing from this poem, but the charismatic request for friendly exchange is clear. Bridget might have found this poem lacking, and she included a second introductory carte mid-way through.⁶⁸ In this one, the message to quiz is clear and the request to reciprocate with a contribution almost demanding:

⁶⁶ Wichard and Wichard, 76.

⁶⁷ TOSM, Album 287.

⁶⁸ TOSM, Albums 287 and 230.

Whoever opens this to see
 Another's face within
 Must not forget his own
 To place
 For having quizz'd
 At him.
 All that's ask'd
 Of those who look
 At the contents of this book
 By its right & lawful owner
 Is that each become a donor.

Three other albums from TOSM's collection contain more than one introductory carte, and like Bridget's, the cartes each express partial aspects of album culture. No single carte poem covered friendship, exchange, and quizzing, and for some album owners, it seems they needed all three objectives covered.

From its beginning, photography had been satirised, and card albums were also a target. In the early 1860s *Punch*, the popular nineteenth-century British magazine renowned for its humorous cartoons, produced an introductory carte parodying the emerging album culture and directly mocking the "Yes, this is my album" carte (fig. 2.18). In terms of design, the two cartes feature an oval frame around the poem and decorative elements surrounding the oval. But the "Punch and Judy Frontispiece" sent a different message:⁶⁹

Yes, here is my album
 And my Affidavit:
 If you beg for one picture,
 I'm blessed if you'll have it.
 And don't offer your own,
 But just take it for granted,
 That if not in the book,
 It's because you're not wanted.

The poem begins by comparing an album with an affidavit, suggesting that what is contained within is proof of the owner's identity. It goes on to ridicule the culture of photographic exchange where pictures are begged for and people flattered to be asked. It then takes a dark turn and emphasises the non-inclusive side of album culture. Entry into

⁶⁹ TOSM, Album 118.

an album is by invitation only; photographs cannot be offered, they must be requested. And the lack of an invitation, the last line declares boldly, is because the carte is not wanted. The *Punch* poem seems to have somewhat accurately articulated existing thoughts about photographic exchanges. In a letter to her friend Georgy in Scotland, Dunedin settler Tannie Fidler counselled her about accepting a photograph her sister Fannie was about to send her, “she is going to get her cartes taken and she says I’ve to tell you she’ll honour you with one, but I say I will ask you if you will condescend to take one.”⁷⁰

Introductory cartes were available loose from photographers and stationers. An album from the Evans family of Dunedin contains a carte with the “Yes, this is my album” poem framed by an advertisement for the Gift Depot, a Melbourne business selling toys, games, books, and stationery (fig. 2.19).⁷¹ Another carte in the album bears the mark of Clifford and Morris, Dunedin photographers who operated in partnership on Fleet Street during the mid-1870s. This studio supplied much of the Otago market with these cartes; of the fourteen examples found in TOSM’s collection, nine were produced by them or Richard Morris operating on his own.⁷² It seems unlikely that they designed them. One carte featuring a girl holding a scroll with a poem is the same as one produced as a stereograph and held now in an American collection, while a second Clifford and Morris carte is identical to one produced by fellow Dunedin photographer Joseph Weaver Allen.⁷³ The quality of these Dunedin cartes is poor with faded areas and blurred edges, suggesting that they were photographic copies of existing introductory cartes, probably of American or British origin.

⁷⁰ Tannie Fidler to Georgy, undated, probably March – July, 1877, TOSM, AG-305.

⁷¹ TOSM, Album 72. The donation records do not exist, but the museum has attributed this to the Clive Evans Collection. The album contains a photograph of a woman titled “Blanche,” which was Evans’s mother’s name, so the attribution seems reasonable.

⁷² The other five were produced by Joseph Weaver Allen (Dunedin), John Tensfeld (Dunedin), The Gift Depot (Melbourne), J. Dugdale (Bath), and Ashford, Brothers and Co. (London).

⁷³ TOSM, Album 230. The publisher of the stereocard is unknown. See Luminous Lint, accessed May 11, 2015, <http://www.luminous-lint.com/app/image/77152575291127789906/> and TOSM, Albums 120 and 251.

Viewing the Album

Photograph albums became part of Victorian parlour culture, supplying polite amusements and acting as conversation pieces. They were one of the essential accessories in that room, replacing the dreaded sentiment album and taking a place on the centre table alongside the family Bible.⁷⁴ The change was greeted favourably by an author in *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* in 1862:

Albums have once more claimed their place on “the Centre-Table”; not those of the persecuting order, that made the visitor tremble as he surveyed the touching tributes of affection therein recorded, lest he should, in turn, be bored for an “original” contribution which robbed Moore and Byron of much of their well earned fame; but the album photographic, which all delight to honor, inasmuch as few people are averse to seeing their faces or names in print!⁷⁵

Photographers often tried to recreate parlour settings in their studios with relevant props, and this repeatedly illustrated and reinforced the association between the album and the parlour. A photograph of Dunedin woman Bella Miller taken by the Burton Brothers studio shows her seated at a small parlour table in front of a backdrop that features a window, columns and arch, and another table with flowers. Her elbow rests on a bulging volume with thick leaves that appears to be a photograph album (fig. 2.20).

The act of viewing an album in the parlour became a socially-acceptable activity for men and women to engage in together. Enacted in the semi-public milieu of the parlour with others nearby, couples could enjoy close proximity and limited physical contact, and it became part of the ritual of late nineteenth-century courtship.⁷⁶ A humorous story from the *Southland Times*, printed in Invercargill, describes a scene set in a snowy country in the far north where a mother, trying to marry off her daughter, gives the young couple an album to view:

⁷⁴ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*, 119 and Langford, 24-25.

⁷⁵ Quoted in Andrea Kunard, “Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album,” *Early Popular Visual Culture* 4, no. 3 (2006): 237-38.

⁷⁶ Di Bello, 56.

They sit closer and closer as they begin to get more interested in the photographs. She snuggles up to him and points with her seal-skinned gloved finger to the portrait of her cross-eyed aunt, who was bitten by a Spitz dog the night before. He is deeply moved although he has seen the picture before, and, as he draws nigh to take a closer look, he presses his arm lightly around her waist.⁷⁷

For this young couple, the photograph album is a tool for their real objective—physical contact. The story demonstrates the erotic undertone of some album encounters. Joseph Solomon's painting *A Conversation Piece* (1884), held in the Leighton House Museum, illustrates how the line of decorum could be crossed (fig. 2.21). A man and a woman enjoy the intimacy of viewing an album in an upper middle-class English drawing room. The woman, possibly the album's owner and narrator, reclines informally with the album on her lap and regards her male companion who is examining a loose carte de visite. The act of viewing the photograph loose from its album and revealing any private inscriptions written on the back heightens their level of intimacy. However, the presence of others in the room does not guarantee that this closeness is respectable. Leighton House Museum's catalogue entry suggests that this might be a somewhat illicit encounter between a suitor and a friend of his fiancé, the woman sitting at the piano. The bearded man in the background might be her father, and he anxiously and knowingly watches the couple immersed in the album. The painting, the catalogue entry concludes, is "the representation of an uneasy psychological drama."⁷⁸

Looking at photograph albums provided general amusement for everyone in the parlour, not just flirting couples, and the gossip potential of albums was not overlooked by contemporary commentators. An article in *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* scathingly remarked that albums, "supply a fund of talk to people who have nothing to say." It continues:

Every one can find something to remark about a collection of photographs. Either they do not know the people represented in it, or

⁷⁷ *Southland Times*, February 28, 1887.

⁷⁸ The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, accessed September 8, 2016, <https://www.rbkc.gov.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=LH0105&pos=3>.

they do know them, or they wonder whether they know them. Then, if they know them, they can say they are like or unlike; or they can pay adroit compliments and make acceptable remarks on the photographs most cherished by the collector; or they can gratify a little quiet malice, and say that they never could have believed so very unfavorable a likeness a true one.⁷⁹

Albums generally did not have names written in them, further facilitating conversation.⁸⁰ Annotations were discouraged as an author writing in *Le Monde Illustré* in 1860 pointed out somewhat tongue-in-cheek:

In the evenings they amuse themselves by fitting the cards into their albums and discussing the great question of the moment: whether names should be written under the portraits or not. The partisans of anonymity argue as follows: if the name is there, the amateur has nothing to do but turn the pages, whereas the absence of a name gives rise to speculation, interrogation, discussion, contradiction, interpellation ...so that the two or so who can look at the album at any one time are joined by ten or twenty others as the names that are mentioned become topics of general conversation. This precious boon for the hostess disappears if the name is written under each portrait.⁸¹

The author emphasises that the inclusion of text was antithetical to the album, which was meant to be narrated, not read. Anna Dahlgren contends that the lack of written information in albums, dates in particular, was in keeping with the nineteenth-century approach to photographs. Like painted portraits, she maintains, they were meant to be timeless, accurate depictions of a person, not a record of them at a particular moment in time.⁸²

⁷⁹ "Photography as an Art," *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* 65, no. 8 (1862): 97.

⁸⁰ When names are found in albums, they have usually been added at a later date by descendants.

⁸¹ From *Le Monde Illustré*, 1860, quoted in Dahlgren, "Dated Photographs: The Personal Photo Album as Visual and Textual Medium," *Photography & Culture* 3, no. 2 (2010): 187-88.

⁸² Dahlgren, 182-83 and 186.

An 1862 article from *All the Year Round* illustrates the power of the album when shared with a viewer.⁸³ In the story, the owner places an album in her friend's hands, open to a photograph of Lady Puddicombe, commenting, "This only contains my special favourites." It is a "delicious moment" where she is able to identify her connection with the aristocracy. In fact, an owner could begin anywhere in the album, and, through the act of showing, could control the story depending on the audience. This storytelling function is what Langford terms the "orality" of the album.⁸⁴ Patrizia Di Bello argues that this social act of experiencing an album defines the photograph album as a "society" rather than family album, denoting its semi-public rather than private function.⁸⁵

Conclusion

By 1862 cartes de visite were being produced in Otago, and by no later than 1863 carte de visite albums were being sold by local merchants. Like their counterparts overseas, Otago's album compilers experimented with the possibilities and quickly adopted the slip-in format as their preferred option. Album keepers learned how to physically compile their albums by trimming oversize cartes and inserting them into sometimes invisible openings. However, the availability of cartes de visite and albums and the knowledge to fill an album were only a preliminary step in the development of nineteenth-century album culture. Once the material aspects were mastered, Victorians developed a culture and set of expectations around their albums. Borrowing from older album traditions, particularly aspects of oral culture, they made their photograph albums semi-public spaces that facilitated interaction with others. Instructive introductory cartes summarised, taught and reinforced those traditions and promoted an album culture that centred on orality, reciprocity, and community building, both real and imagined.

⁸³ "The Carte de Visite," quoted in Haworth-Booth, 8-9.

⁸⁴ Langford, 120-25.

⁸⁵ Patrizia Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007), 50. Dahlgren argues that the private, diary-like function of albums is a twentieth-century phenomenon, see Dahlgren, 180-81.

Chapter 3

OTAGO ALBUMS

The appearance of photograph albums in the 1860s coincided with a period of rapid immigration and social change in Otago. The gold rushes that began in 1861 brought thousands of people to the province, particularly from Australia's Victorian goldfields. During the 1870s and 1880s Julius Vogel's assisted immigration programme brought thousands more from Great Britain. An Otago-born population was also emerging. The earliest colonists, who were small in number and from limited areas of England and Scotland, were able to transfer and replicate some of the connections from home and centre them around the Presbyterian Kirk.¹ However, with the rising and diverse population, Old World connections faded, and new connections were forged between people. Albums played an active role in constructing these emerging communities.

Information about photography and album culture overseas was available through newspapers, photographers, and new immigrants, and Otago shared many aspects of album culture found overseas. But Otago was also a relatively isolated settlement. The oral nature of album culture meant that, on a day-to-day basis, Otago albums were locally shaped. What did the people of Otago put in their albums? In what ways did the contents of their albums mirror overseas trends? How were albums local? And how did album culture build and reflect communities in Otago, both real and imagined?

From the collection of TOSM, I surveyed the contents of fifty-six albums containing 4,804 photographs and a limited amount of non-photographic ephemera. These albums were selected because they had provenance such as inscriptions or donor information linking them to Otago families. Albums that had no provenance or were missing a significant number of photographs were excluded. I logged every image in each album on a spreadsheet and recorded details under several narrower categories. Photographs were split into human and non-human subjects and then further divided by

¹ Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1984), 39.

their principal subject matter—portraits of personal associates (family and friends), celebrities, anthropological “types,” animals, monuments (including statues and graves), views (landscapes, cityscapes, and buildings), ships, artwork, and introductory cartes. The breadth of these subjects is enumerated in Appendix 2. Admittedly, the same photograph can fit into several of these categories; a *carte de visite* of New Zealand parliamentarian Hori Kerei Taiaroa taken by the Dunedin studio of Harry Coxhead could be considered a portrait of a personal associate by a family member or friend, a celebrity photograph by someone interested in H. K. as a political figure, or an ethnographic specimen by someone who collected images of Māori. For the purposes of the data I sought to generate from the spreadsheet, I decided on a single category for each photograph. My guiding principle was how I thought the compiler of the album considered the image. In the case of Taiaroa, his photograph appears in an album compiled by a friend and relative through marriage, so I counted his image as a personal associate.

Overwhelmingly, the people of Otago filled their albums with portrait photographs of their personal associates that were taken in Otago studios. Portraits of family and friends from overseas studios are far fewer in number than I had expected. This demonstrates strong local connections between people and indicates that the photograph album functioned as a tool for building real communities. Photographs of family and friends are supplemented by those of celebrities and anthropological “types,” indicating that Otago’s participation in imagined communities extended beyond the boundaries of the colony and empire. A small number of photographs are of non-human subjects such as landscapes, monuments, and animals, and an even smaller number are snapshots added after 1890.

Albums were not devoted exclusively to photographs, and a small amount of ephemera such as lithographs, newspaper clippings, and memorial cards are present in many of them. Although not numerically significant and not part of my overall argument, I offer brief discussions of the non-human photographs, snapshots, and ephemera as they offered viewers brief visual interludes to the portrait-heavy content of the albums and were evidently of interest to album compilers. By discussing the non-portrait material, I offer a comprehensive overview of what was contained in Otago albums.

General Content of Albums

The albums I examined for this thesis were formatted for cartes de visite and cabinet cards, but they included items other than photographs. Early patents described albums as places to hold lithographs, engravings, and drawings in addition to photographs. To a limited extent, Otago albums contain these items. Of the albums examined for content, nineteen (34%) contain non-photographic ephemera such as newspaper clippings, embroidery, birthday and other holiday cards, and memorial cards. Often these items slotted in easily and added colour to the monotony of sepia photographs in an album. Annie McGlashan used lithographs of animals, greeting cards, and floral scraps to add interest to her album (fig. 3.1).² The compiler of the Adams family album decided to avoid the slots altogether and instead glued supplementary material over the openings and added fern embellishments to the pages (fig. 3.2).³ Newspaper clippings were rarely inserted into openings and were instead pasted inside the front or back covers or interleaved loose between pages.

Otago albums are filled primarily with photographs. Although this statement seems obvious, the inclusion of other items in some albums, as well as the flexibility of the slip-in format to accommodate almost anything two-dimensional, meant that compilers were not limited to photographs. However, all of the fifty-six albums I examined contain cartes de visite or cabinet cards, and these photographs outnumber non-photographic items in every album. Most albums have only one or two spaces filled with material other than photographs, and only three albums have significantly more than this. Annie McGlashan filled twenty-seven spaces with lithographs and eighty-one with portraits. The Adams family member devoted twenty-five spaces to greeting cards but filled the remaining sixty-five with photographs.

Photographs in these albums include a range of subject matter that can be divided into human and non-human subjects. Of the 4,804 photographs in the albums surveyed, only 192 (4%) are non-human subjects, but they appear in over half of the albums (52%). Landscape and cityscape views are the most numerous subjects, numbering 145

² TOSM, Album 7.

³ TOSM, Album 232.

photographs, although 70 of these appear in a single album. Of the remaining 75 photographs, most are of Otago views. However, the small size of card photographs, cartes de visite in particular, did not lend themselves to successful outdoor views, and this probably accounts for their small number in card albums. Professional photographers recognised the limitations of the carte de visite format, and studios such as the Burton Brothers and Herbert Deveril produced albums specifically for landscape images whereby larger-format prints capable of showing fine detail were pasted onto heavy paper pages.

The album with seventy landscape photographs is the only instance in which there are more photographs of non-human subjects than people.⁴ This is also the only album that seems to have been organised by a subject theme (gold mining) rather than compiled around individual families and their connections. Its significance is that it offers an example of the possibilities for album compiling. The owner of the album is unknown, and TOSM has no information on its background. Almost half of the photographs (51%) are carte de visite views of Melbourne, Dunedin, and Central Otago sites related to gold mining such as Naseby, Cromwell, and Queenstown (fig. 3.3). The remaining photographs are studio portraits. Many of these portraits have twentieth-century inscriptions beneath them, indicating that they were the residents of the Central and South Otago settlements of Kyeburn, Naseby, Hamiltons, and Milton, areas also associated with the Otago gold rushes.⁵ Photographs of banks and gold offices support the gold mining theme. The album's organisation shows planning rather than haphazard compiling with the first nineteen pages filled with landscape images, followed by nineteen pages of portraits (with the interruption of three landscape photographs), and ten unfilled pages as the end.⁶

⁴ TOSM, Album 77.

⁵ The handwriting is William Paterson's, Secretary of the Otago Early Settler Association.

⁶ Page 5 contains a portrait of an unidentified man. The caption in pencil beneath describes the scene of the laying of the foundation stone of the Masonic Hall in Dunedin, indicating that the original photograph was replaced by the current portrait.

People are by far the most popular subject for photographs in Otago albums. Of the 4,804 photographs surveyed, 4,612 (96%) are of people. Almost all of these are either cartes de visite or cabinet cards, but a handful of other studio formats appear. The ferrotype is one of these. Commonly known today as the tintype, they were an alternative to standard card photographs. Ferrotypes were unique images produced directly onto a thin sheet of iron and a popular form of photography in England and the United States. However, they were not common in Otago. Only sixteen (<1%) photographs in the albums surveyed are ferrotypes, and those were found in only six albums.⁷ Two of the ferrotypes have studio marks, one for James Lowrie, a photographer active in London during the late 1870s and early 1880s, and the other for Ries and Company, a Dunedin studio that operated during the 1870s (fig. 3.4).⁸ An advertisement for this establishment indicated that ferrotypes were not commonplace in Dunedin at that time, stating “Wanted Known, something New, Ferrotype Card Picture.”⁹ During the 1880s only two other Otago studios advertised that they produced ferrotypes: J. W. Rock in Oamaru and the Zealandia Ferrotype Gallery in Dunedin on Princes Street.¹⁰

Ferrotypes were a cheap and popular form of photography overseas, especially in the United States during the 1860s. In New Zealand they were also an inexpensive form of portraiture. In 1881, North Island photographer W. A. Collins advertised that he could produce “ferrotypes, mounted on cards and complete, ready for Album” at a cost of three shillings for a dozen small “gem” sized ferrotypes. In contrast, he offered six cartes de visite for six shillings and three cabinet cards for eight shillings. Mounted on card the same size as cartes de visite, ferrotypes could be easily slipped into an album. Despite their cheap price and compatibility with albums, they were not popular in Otago. The reasons for this can only be speculated. It is likely that availability was one factor. Ferrotypes required specialised cameras, and, like all photographic supplies and equipment in Otago, had to be imported from overseas. Technological knowledge would

⁷ TOSM, Albums 2, 79, 121, 144, 150, and 230.

⁸ TOSM, Albums 144 and 230.

⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, February 28, 1870.

¹⁰ *Oamaru Mail*, June 17, 1881 and *Otago Daily Times*, July 6, 1881.

also have been an issue. The method for producing ferrotypes was different from cartes de visite and cabinet cards, and most Otago photographers were probably not familiar with the process. It is possible that many ferrotypes deteriorated and rusted over time due to the damp conditions of Otago houses and were taken out of albums. Customer preference also cannot be ruled out. The residents of Otago might simply have favoured the more popular carte de visite and cabinet card formats despite their higher price.

Snapshots, which were produced in Otago from about 1890 onwards, were found in six of the albums under consideration.¹¹ Because they would have been added later than the time period I am examining, they are not discussed here. However, their presence highlights the caution required when examining photograph albums and the peril in assuming that all material found in them dates to the time they were first compiled. On the other hand, the low occurrence of snapshots also suggests that Otago albums were not altered significantly after 1890.

Studio portraits of people dominated Otago's photograph albums and can be divided into two main categories: personal associates (family and friends) and non-associates (celebrities and types). Photographs of family and friends far outnumber the other category. Of the 4,612 photographs of people in the albums I examined, 4,467 (97%) have been identified as family and friends. Only 119 photographs (2%) were identified as celebrities such as politicians, actresses, or anyone perceived as famous (or infamous) in some way. The remaining 26 (1%) are photographs of people that cannot be classified as personal associates or celebrities, and I have used the term "types" to define them. They are photographs of individuals meant to serve as representative specimens for a group. Often these were indigenous people.

Celebrity Photographs

Although nineteenth-century photograph albums came to be dominated by portraits of family and friends, they owed their naissance to another type of portrait, the celebrity image. The desire to see, own, and emulate these types of photographs unleashed the desire for cartes de visite, and Victorians found they could build their own personal portrait galleries in their albums. Understanding celebrity portraiture in the first

¹¹ TOSM, Albums 99, 101, 118, 230, 286, and 288.

instance offers important insight to understanding the popularity of photographs of family and friends.

Celebrity was a nineteenth-century invention. As print and visual media grew, access to information, gossip, and images of famous people increased, fueling a popular desire to see and know more about them. The realism of the camera, combined with the ubiquity of celebrity cartes, promoted feelings of familiarity. Such photographs enabled Victorians to engage with public figures with a degree of intimacy not possible through lithographs and engravings.¹² John Plunkett notes that looking at celebrity cartes provided “a strange and new experience of figures who were nevertheless wholly familiar.”¹³ Through their extensive circulation, celebrity cartes also generated a collective experience and sense of belonging to an imagined community. In some instances, they offered a degree of social equality. Anyone could have their photograph taken like a celebrity. Elizabeth McCauley further maintains that celebrity cartes were a reflection of participatory democracy. Modern citizens were expected to keep up with current events, which included the activities of celebrities.¹⁴ Viewing famous people encouraged emulation and elevated the observer.

Celebrity portraiture dates back to the early days of photography. Many photographers not only displayed images of famous identities in their studio galleries but also created albums of these images. During the 1840s John Plumbe, Jr., took daguerreotype photographs of American President James Polk, former presidents John Quincy Adams and Martin Van Buren, and other famous Americans including Dolley Madison, Daniel Webster, and John James Audubon. He assembled a collection of these famous portraits in his Daguerrian Gallery in Washington, D. C. In 1846-47 he

¹² Miles Orvell, *American Photography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 28-29. Celebrity here is defined as someone who is celebrated, famous, or well known. Nineteenth-century celebrities included, but were not limited to, royalty, statesmen, clergy, military leaders, theatrical figures, writers, physicians, and lawyers as well as infamous individuals such as criminals and victims of crime.

¹³ John Plunkett, “Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the Carte de Visite,” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 8 (2003), 57, doi: 10.3366/jvc.2003.8.1.55.

¹⁴ Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 56-57.

transferred the concept of a gallery of notable figures to print and published *The National Plumbeotype Gallery*, a volume of “Plumbeotypes” (lithographs based on his daguerreotypes) of noteworthy Americans.¹⁵ Likewise, in 1850 Matthew Brady published his *Gallery of Illustrious Americans*, a set of twelve lithographs based on daguerreotypes of famous people of the day. He also offered the opportunity to view the original daguerreotypes in his National Portrait Gallery in New York City, a veritable “who’s who” of American celebrities. A keen businessman, Brady enticed his famous patrons by offering them a free copy of their portrait in exchange for sitting for him and allowing him to keep a copy for display.¹⁶

English photographers were also exploring the marketability of celebrity photographs. In his London studio in 1852, John Jabez Edwin Mayall exhibited portraits of “Eminent Men” such as Charles Dickens and Lord Stanley. Several years later Maull and Polybank published *Photographic Portraits of Living Celebrities*, a monthly series issued between May 1856 and October 1859. Each instalment featured an albumen print with a biographical essay. Celebrities included Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay and actor Charles Kean.¹⁷

With the advent of paper prints and negatives, especially cartes de visite, the popularity of celebrity photographs accelerated from around 1860, and possessing these images became easier. Famous sitters were paid by photographers for the right to photograph them and distribute their images, and these true likenesses were available to purchase at affordable prices. According to the London weekly magazine *Saturday Review*, the small format of the carte de visite and its inability to capture fine detail resulted in flattering images that celebrities allowed into circulation, and these

¹⁵ Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, eds., *Pioneer Photographers of the Far West: A Biographical Dictionary, 1840-1865* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 493.

¹⁶ Carol Johnson, “Mathew B. Brady, American Photographer,” in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2008), 197.

¹⁷ John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 150 and John Plunkett, “Celebrity and Royalty,” in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, 280.

photographs flooded the market.¹⁸ A British article reprinted in the *Otago Daily Times* in 1862 observed, “The commercial value of the human face was never tested to such an extent as it is at the present moment in these handy photographs.”¹⁹

Disdéri of Paris and Mayall of London were key figures in popularising celebrity cartes, fuelling the craze for carte de visite portraits in general.²⁰ Both studios photographed and published images of the French and British royal families. In 1859 Disdéri photographed Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie and positioned himself to become the French court photographer. A full-length portrait of the Emperor appeared in Disdéri’s *Galerie des Contemporains*, a twice-weekly series of carte de visite portraits of living notables accompanied by a four-page biographical article.²¹ Napoleon III had used paintings for visual promotion of himself, and he employed photographs in the same way. Geoffrey Batchen describes the *Galerie* portrait as a “calculated piece of propaganda intended for large-scale public distribution in the interests of fostering celebrity and preserving political power.”²² Likewise, Elizabeth McCauley observes that even though he was the French head of state, by being depicted in a plain black frock coat, he “projected an image of a modest, democratic family man whose sympathies were congruent with those of the people.”²³

Mayall was busy with his own celebrity project across the Channel. In August of 1860 he issued the *Royal Album*, a volume of fourteen cartes de visite of Victoria and Albert and their children. The album contained four blank slots for the owner to add additional cartes, which could include more royal portraits or members of the owner’s

¹⁸ Plunkett, “Celebrity and Royalty,” 280.

¹⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862. Reprinted from *Once A Week*.

²⁰ Other notable celebrity photographers include the Nadar studio in France and Charles Deforest Fredericks and Napoleon Sarony in the United States.

²¹ McCauley, 54-55 and Plunkett, “Celebrity and Royalty,” 190 and 280.

²² Geoffrey Batchen, “Dreams of Ordinary Life: Cartes-de-Visite and the Bourgeois Imagination,” in *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*, ed. J. J. Long, Andrea Noble, and Edward Welch (New York: Routledge, 2009), 164.

²³ McCauley, 64 and 83.

own family, effectively including themselves as a part of an extended British royal family.²⁴ Mayall's venture proved to be enormously successful. According to an article published in *The Times* in London, wholesalers demanded 60,000 sets within a few days of their going on sale. The separate cartes from this series, however, were even more popular. Hundreds of thousands were sold.²⁵ The *London Art Journal* in 1861 immediately recognised the value and appeal of the royal images, observing that "These royal *cartes-de-visite* leave far behind all other agencies for enshrining our Sovereign's person and her family in the homes of her people."²⁶ Other royal photography projects followed on from the *Royal Album*, and it is estimated that between 1860 and 1862, between three and four million copies of Queen Victoria's cartes were sold.²⁷

Napoleon III and Queen Victoria turned themselves into models with which their subjects could identify. Through their photographs, they could be accessed in an intimate manner not possible with previous royals. The standard poses and reproducibility of the carte de visite made these modern royals visually equivalent with everyone else, and the commodification of their images made them even more revered.²⁸ However, anyone whose face would sell was photographed and their image printed, and other types of celebrity cartes joined those of royalty. In the tradition of earlier painted portraits and published lithographs of the great and the good, the earliest celebrity photographs were of

²⁴ Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 41. Langford identifies a copy of this album in the McCord Museum (MP 2162). It is interesting to note that the album with four empty slots appeared in the same month as Grumel's patent for an album, suggesting that the idea was already in existence.

²⁵ John Plunkett, "John Jabez Edwin Mayall," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, 908; Vicki Goldberg, *The Power of Photography: How Photographs Changed our Lives* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 104; and Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography, 1850-1880: The Age of Collodion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 193.

²⁶ Quoted in Plunkett, "Celebrity and Community," 61.

²⁷ Plunkett, "Celebrity and Royalty," 280.

²⁸ Batchen, 176-77.

men who could elevate viewers and encourage imitation. American photographer M. A. Root summed up the sentiment:

The heroes, saints, and sages of all lands and all eras are, by these life-like “presentments,” brought within the constant purview of the young, the middle-aged, and the old. The pure, the high, the noble traits beaming from these faces and forms, —who shall measure the greatness of their effect on the impressionable minds of those who catch sight of them at every turn?²⁹

In England in the 1860s and 1870s images of clergymen and politicians were available in addition to the royal family. Likewise, in the USA, political, military, clerical, and literary figures such as Abraham Lincoln and Civil War statesmen and generals were popular. By the 1880s and 1890s taste had shifted away from social leaders to a more a popular tone where actresses, singers, and sportsmen were in demand.³⁰ In France, however, portraits of actors, singers, dancers, and others “aimed at sensual appetites,” were popular from the beginning.³¹

Celebrity cartes de visite were profitable. In the trade at the time they were referred to as “sure cards” because of their high demand, which could often outstrip supply.³² In France in 1861 approximately 800 different celebrity cartes were offered by Paris photographers, and by February 1866 Disdéri advertised a stock of 65,000 portraits of celebrities, providing the mainstay of his studio and others.³³ In England Marion & Co. was the major wholesale supply point for celebrity cartes, and in 1862 they claimed that they dealt with 50,000 every month.³⁴ They sold Mayall’s portraits of Queen Victoria by the hundreds of thousands, and in the week after Prince Albert’s death, 70,000 of his

²⁹ Quoted in Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 66.

³⁰ Plunkett, *Media Monarch*, 157-61 and Siegel, 184.

³¹ *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862. Reprinted from *Once A Week*.

³² *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862. Reprinted from *Once A Week*.

³³ McCauley, 61 and 82 and Gernsheim, 192.

³⁴ Plunkett, *Media Monarch*, 153.

cartes were ordered from them.³⁵ In the United States in 1863 Anthony and Company produced up to 3,600 celebrity cartes daily and had 4,000 subjects available.³⁶

In Otago, such cartes were available from photographers, stationers, and print shops. In 1874 Dunedin publishers Reith and Wilkie advertised that they had just received celebrity photographs and listed forty-two personages including Charles Darwin, Sir David Brewster, Abraham Lincoln, the Tsar of Russia, and the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh.³⁷ They could be purchased in bulk for 15 shillings per dozen.³⁸ Shops often displayed them in their windows as a marketing device. Andrew Wynter, in a British article reprinted in the *Otago Daily Times* in 1862, commented upon the success of the hundreds of street portrait galleries in London. He noted, “Wherever in our fashionable streets we see a crowd congregated before a shop window, there for certain a like number of notabilities are staring back at the crowd, in the shapes of *cartes de visite*.”³⁹ He also observed that this was a new type of portrait gallery, more inclusive and representative than the National Portrait Gallery, and an embodiment of Great Britain as an imagined community.⁴⁰ Another British correspondent reacted with bewilderment over the juxtaposition of images in a window:

It is rather confusing to see so many lifelike portraits of so many and such diverse people; and, after a long stare, you go away somewhat dazed, wondering why Louis Napoleon was a rope-dancer, what Blondin was doing with a crown and coronation robe, what President Lincoln meant by dancing the Redowa with the Empress Dowager of Russia...and what under [sic] earth Robson, the comedian, was doing in company with the Prince Consort, the Queen, Count Cavour, D’Israeili, the King of Prussia, Arabella Goddard, Spurgeon, Garibaldi, Prince Alfred, Franz Joseph II, Duchess of Sutherland, Earl

³⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862. Reprinted from *Once A Week*.

³⁶ Goldberg, 105 and Michael Pritchard, “Edward Anthony and Henry Tiebout,” in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, 50.

³⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, October 10, 1874.

³⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, November 30, 1874.

³⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862. Reprinted from *Once A Week*.

⁴⁰ Plunkett, “Celebrity and Community,” 69-70.

Russell, Count Persigny, Queen Isabella, Louisa Pyne, Sam Cowell, Jeff Davis, and the gorilla.⁴¹

The author's sarcasm is obvious, but the observation of the range of subjects is accurate.

Dunedin photographers also used their shop windows as street galleries. In effect, they became public photograph albums, and viewers became accustomed to seeing celebrities alongside non-celebrities. A photograph by Daniel Mundy of his studio in 1864 shows numerous portraits in the window, some presumably celebrity images (figs. 3.5 and 3.6). The window of the adjacent shop of Fergusson and Mitchell, stationers and printers, features an image of Thomas Burns, the Presbyterian leader of the settlement and a notable local (fig. 3.7). TOSM holds a copy of the photograph that has been painted, trimmed, and added to a coloured lithograph of a pulpit (fig. 3.8).⁴² Other Dunedin studios likewise used their premises as galleries for portraits. Tait Brother's Caledonian Photographic Rooms on Princes Street displayed copies of their work in the entranceway to their studio. Another photograph of Mundy's from 1864 shows numerous framed examples of portrait cartes around their doorway, and hung just inside is a large montage of photographs, most likely portraits of notable locals (fig. 3.9). Many local photographers produced similar montages such as the one of the members of the Caledonian Society of Otago (fig. 3.10).⁴³ An article in Dunedin's *Daily Telegraph* wryly commented that the curious could "make himself acquainted with the faces of the Dunedin 'big wigs,' looking, some stern, some simpering, out of innumerable *cartes de visite*." It went on to describe another studio across the street that offered the likenesses

⁴¹ "Photographic Albums," *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, 64, no. 7 (1862): 208. <https://archive.org/stream/godeysladysbook1862hale#page/208/mode/2up/search/photographic+albums>

⁴² TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, F38.

⁴³ The Tait Brothers photographed the Caledonian gathering in 1864, so it is possible that they produced this montage. Their compilation was not a one-off special order. There are two in the collection of TOSM. Similar composite photographs held in TOSM's collection include *Ministers and Elders of the First Presbyterian Conference Held in Dunedin, 1861*, Photo Portrait Collection, G743; *Dunedin Volunteer Fire Brigade, 1875*, Photo Portrait Collection, G715; and *Members of the House of Representatives, 1874*, Photo Portrait Collection, G665.

of Melbourne identities, including the “perpetual Governor of Victoria in his perpetual lieutenancy suit.”⁴⁴

Celebrity images offered additional layers of meaning to photograph albums. Through their shared popularity, they created an imagined community of other image collectors and enabled participation in the emerging cult of the celebrity. They also provided a common visual language shared by album viewers and needed far less explanation than photographs of family and friends. A photograph of Queen Victoria could express loyalty to the crown and empire without the need for interpretation. There was also a democratising element. Within an album notables and common people rubbed shoulders on the same page and interacted in a manner not possible in real life. A satirical story reprinted in the *Otago Daily Times* in 1862 about filling an album remarks, “You are invited to act as a padding to that volume, and to fill a vacant space between Prince Max of Hesse Darmstadt and the amiable owner’s third brother.”⁴⁵ An even more biting comment made in a London article in the same year complained, “Not less must mitre and crown in the album equal with Mrs. Spurgeon or a pet poodle.” It continued, “Here there is no barrier of rank, no chancel end; the poorest owns his three inches of cardboard, and the richest can claim no more.”⁴⁶

Royal cartes featured in Otago albums. Images of Queen Victoria appeared, but not with the frequency that might be expected from a British colony. Only seven of the albums examined in TOSM’s collection hold carte de visite portraits of the monarch.⁴⁷ Of these, three are portraits of her alone, one is of her and Albert together, and three include her with other members of the royal family. There is only one portrait of Albert alone, suggesting that the mania for collecting his likeness after his death did not grip Otago, or it was not expressed in albums. Images of Queen Victoria were readily

⁴⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, May 15, 1863.

⁴⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, June 26, 1862. Reprinted from *Saturday Review*.

⁴⁶ *The London Review and Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, Art, & Society* 5 (August 9, 1862): 118.

⁴⁷ TOSM, Albums 4, 8, 72, 143, 150, 253, and 293. Album 72 holds two of these photographs, one of Victoria and one of Albert.

available in Dunedin, however. The Burton Brothers advertised that they stocked “The newest portraits of the Queen” and one carte of her bears Robert Clifford’s Otago Portrait Gallery mark on the back.⁴⁸

Other members of the British royal household appeared in Otago albums. Cartes of Victoria’s son, the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII), and his wife Princess Alexandra of Denmark appeared more frequently than the Queen’s. Edward’s portrait was included seven times as was Alexandra’s. Three additional photographs feature the couple together.⁴⁹ The popularity of Edward and Alexandra in Otago parallels their popularity in Britain. Of the photographs registered for copyright in England between 1862 and 1869, 287 were of Alexandra, 197 were of Edward, and only 85 were of the Queen. By the time of the Queen’s death in 1901, there were nearly 450 total images registered of her while Alexandra and Edward had nearly 700 registered images each.⁵⁰ Locally, the Burton Brothers sold portraits of the Prince “in Scottish, Naval, and Private dress,” while the studios of Joseph Weaver Allen, James de Maus, Robert Clifford, and the London Portrait Rooms also produced copies of his portraits.⁵¹

Many of the photographs of royalty in TOSM’s collection carry the marks of European studios such as Elliot and Fry of London and Charlet and Jacotin of Paris, both of whom traded extensively in celebrity images. One album in TOSM’s collection holds a copy of Edward and Alexandra’s engagement photograph taken by the studio Ghémar Frères in Brussels in 1862 and printed by Marion and Co. in London (fig. 3.11).⁵² Ghémar Frères were the photographers to the Belgian court, and they secured the exclusive and enormously profitable rights to photograph the betrothed couple during their visit to the palace in Brussels. Demand for these photographs was so high that the

⁴⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, December 7, 1867 and TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, A13.

⁴⁹ TOSM, Albums 2, 4, 5, 8, 72, 93, 115, 120, 143, 150, 163, and 253.

⁵⁰ Plunket, *Media Monarch*, 157 and 160.

⁵¹ *Otago Daily Times*, December 7, 1867; TOSM, Albums 2 and 5; and TOSM Photo Portrait Collection A16 and A1284.

⁵² TOSM, Album 253.

negatives had to be reproduced several times for production to meet the market.⁵³ Some cartes of royalty in TOSM's collection carry no mark, suggesting that they were pirated, quasi-illegal copies, not surprising given the potential profits to be made from celebrity images and the ease in which they could be reproduced. An article in the *Otago Daily Times* in 1862 described the practice:

It is true that negatives can be taken from positives, or from *cartes de visite* already in existence; but the result is a deterioration of the portrait a plan never resorted to by first class photographers such as Silvi, or Lock, or Mayall, although dishonest persons are to be found who will commit piracy in this manner for money. The public are little aware of the enormous sale of the *cartes de visite* of celebrated persons.⁵⁴

A photograph of Albert originally taken by Mayall that appears in an Otago album has no identifying information, while a photograph of Queen Victoria in another album is an unmarked copy of a portrait taken by Disdéri in 1866.⁵⁵ Robert Clifford also published the image of her, but his carte appears to be a pirated copy.⁵⁶ A close examination reveals that the print has been pasted over another one in order to recycle a mount; the edges of the photograph underneath are visible along the top and left (fig. 3.12). Clifford did, however, sell legitimate celebrity cartes. In 1869 he advertised that he had just received direct from London "Copyright Portraits of celebrated theatricals."⁵⁷

The legal status of Clifford's carte of Queen Victoria and images copied by other Dunedin studios is not clear. A British copyright bill covering photographs came into effect on July 29, 1862, but in order to be protected, a photograph had to be registered at Stationers' Hall in London for a fee of 1 shilling.⁵⁸ In the 1860s the colonial government

⁵³ *The Photographic News*, July 16, 1875.

⁵⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, April 22, 1862.

⁵⁵ TOSM, Albums 72 and 4.

⁵⁶ TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, A13.

⁵⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, December 9, 1869.

⁵⁸ Plunkett, *Media Monarch*, 156.

in New Zealand began passing laws that protected intellectual property with the New Zealand Patents Act 1860 and the Trade Marks Act 1866.⁵⁹ Eventually, a New Zealand photograph registration system was introduced under the Fine Arts Copyright Act 1877. In 1883 a lawsuit was taken against Dunedin printers Jolly, Connor, and Co. and photographer Frank A. Coxhead over the sale of two photographs of Knox Church that bore the word “copyright” (fig. 3.13). The case tested the definition of copyright and whether the word could be printed on these photographs that, it was argued, had not been registered in Wellington.⁶⁰ At the conclusion of the hearing, the judge reserved his decision but indicated that he would probably give judgement for the defendants on account of insufficient proof.⁶¹

If British copyright law applied to British-registered photographs copied by New Zealand photographers, policing the matter was a different story in the newly-established, far-flung colony that was dealing with more important issues. When Mayall published his *Royal Album* in 1860, photography in Britain was not adequately covered by copyright. For the series of royal photographs that he took in February 1861, he included the inscription “Mayall. Fecit. March 1st 1861” on the image in an attempt to safeguard his rights. While the images weren’t protected by law, his trademark was, and copying it was illegal.⁶² This did not deter the unidentified photographer who copied Mayall’s most popular image from this sitting, a portrait of Victoria and Albert together, along with Mayall’s trademark inscription, which appears in the bottom right corner (fig. 3.14).⁶³ It is a cheap copy of Mayall’s photograph; the print edges have been roughly trimmed and sloppily glued to the backing. While it has been hand-coloured, something that would

⁵⁹ For a copy of the act, see:
http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/pa186024v1860n14229/.

⁶⁰ *Otago Daily Times*, February 28, March 1, and March 2, 1883. Much of the Court’s time on the case was spent addressing an accusation that Mr. Brandon, the copyright Registrar, had asked Coxhead and the other accused for £20 in return for the Government promising that it would “only press for a nominal penalty.”

⁶¹ *Otago Daily Times*, February 28, 1883 and *Evening Star*, March 1, 1883.

⁶² Plunkett, *Media Monarch*, 154-55.

⁶³ TOSM, Album 253.

have increased its price, the execution is poor; Albert's hand is red, while Victoria's are green.

This photograph of Victoria and Albert appears in an album owned by Dunedin teacher Mary Ada Sinclair that was given to her by the pupils of Kensington School, where she taught prior to her marriage to Alexander Stott in 1879.⁶⁴ Alongside portraits of her Sinclair and Stott relations, friends, former pupils, and herself, Mary added several images of royalty. Her album holds not only the pirated portrait of Victoria and Albert but also the Ghémer engagement carte of Edward and Alexandra, as well as a photograph by Ghémer of the German prince Friedrich Wilhelm (later Frederick III). By including these images in her album, Mary was expressing her membership in the community of British subjects.

Mary's celebrity selection was not limited to overseas royalty, and she included one notable local, the Reverend Dr. Donald McNaughton Stuart. He arrived in Dunedin from Scotland in 1860 and was inducted as minister for the newly-formed Knox Presbyterian Church congregation. He was a well-known and well-liked leader in the colony, due in part to his educational and charitable activities. A newspaper report after his death in 1894 expressed the public's affection for him, writing that he was the "most conspicuous figure in Otago" who was laid to rest "amid the lamentations of an entire community which loved him as he also loved it."⁶⁵ At Stuart's memorial service, the Reverend J. Chisholm remarked on his popularity, observing that "His name is a household word among us—it is linked by bridal or baptism to many a fireside."⁶⁶ Chisholm further reflected on Stuart's outreach to the wider Otago community, "He stood in every pulpit of our order from the Waitaki to the Bluff, and there are reminiscences of some hearty words spoken or some timely service ungrudgingly rendered in every congregation."⁶⁷ Dunedin mayor Henry Smith Fish ordered the afternoon of the funeral a

⁶⁴ TOSM, Album 253.

⁶⁵ *Otago Witness*, May 17, 1894.

⁶⁶ *Otago Daily Times*, May 21, 1894.

⁶⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, May 21, 1894.

“close holiday” in order for the citizens of Dunedin to attend.⁶⁸ The turnout was overwhelming. An estimated 6,000 to 7,000 people followed the mile-long cortège, and an additional 15,000 gathered along George and Princes streets to witness the procession.⁶⁹

Stuart’s image appears ten times in the albums surveyed, more often than any other individual.⁷⁰ This was not simply a reflection of his popularity; by displaying his photograph, album compilers demonstrated their membership in the real community of the Otago settlement. However, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether portraits of prominent Otago citizens such as Stuart appear in albums because they were respected local luminaries or because they were personal associates of album owners. The settlement’s small population meant that the degrees of separation between people were quite small, and real and imagined communities often coalesced in albums. Prominent early settler George Hepburn appears six times in albums. Was this because he was admired by the album owners, related to them, or both? Otago albums abound with photographs of local ministers, reflecting the religious sensibilities of the settlement. But it would be a mistake to interpret the carte of the Reverend William Bannerman in the album of Agnes McEwan as merely that of local celebrity clergy.⁷¹ She married Bannerman’s son William, so for her this was in fact a family photograph. Without knowing the provenance of the album, it would be easy to assume otherwise. Another album contains two photographs of a man in legal robes.⁷² Inscriptions on the back reveal that he was Sir John Robert Sinclair, a Dunedin lawyer and later a member of the New Zealand Legislative Council. The album’s compiler was clearly an admirer of his. It was his sister, Mary Ada Sinclair.

⁶⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, May 16, 1894.

⁶⁹ *Otago Witness*, May 17, 1894.

⁷⁰ TOSM, Albums 6, 8, 64, 101, 118, 136, 139, 142, 253, and 275.

⁷¹ TOSM, Album 107.

⁷² TOSM, Album 253.

The similarity with which all sitters were posed by photographers for portraits makes identifying celebrity images difficult in some instances. A carte de visite of British actress Alice Dunning Lingard and her husband William produced by the Burton Brothers studio of Dunedin resembles thousands of other photographs of couples (fig. 3.15).⁷³ Contemporary viewers might have recognised them, but only if they had seen their photograph before.⁷⁴ Ambiguous images such as this one required a narrator, and this photograph might have served as a prompt for the story of the Lingards' scandalous marriage. William was already married at the time he wed Alice, and his first wife sued him for divorce on 1877, accusing him of desertion, bigamy, and adultery.⁷⁵

There were some local identities added to Otago albums who clearly were not friends or family. Photographers found that photographs of infamous personalities were popular and therefore profitable. Images of criminals, their victims, and individuals associated with other sensational events translated well into the carte format and made for good storytelling in albums. Irish immigrant Bridget Barrett added the Taieri Fasting Girl to her carte de visite album (fig. 3.16).⁷⁶ In June 1870 the news broke that a young woman named Wilhelmina Ross of Maungatua near Dunedin had been bedridden for eighteen weeks and in a trance for three.⁷⁷ She had been eating little and not speaking. This report followed only four months after the death in London of Sarah Jacob, the "Welsh Fasting Girl," and comparisons were made.⁷⁸ For months Wilhelmina's unchanged condition was reported extensively in New Zealand newspapers. The following year, in September 1871, the Burton Brothers visited her parents' farm and photographed the girl in her bed. Newspapers described the image as a good likeness

⁷³ TOSM, Album 72.

⁷⁴ A later owner of the album recognised the ambiguity of this image and added the Lingards' names beneath the image.

⁷⁵ *Auckland Star*, January 22, 1878 and *Otago Witness*, January 26, 1878.

⁷⁶ TOSM, Album 287.

⁷⁷ *Timaru Herald*, June 25, 1870.

⁷⁸ *The Evening Star*, February 24, 1870.

despite the difficult conditions for photography in her small, poorly-lit room.⁷⁹ One article went into further detail, stating that “The face is that of a handsome girl resting on a pillow. There is no appearance of wasting, but, on the contrary, one might imagine she was very plump; and, from the quiet look of repose, content, cheerful, and happy.” The report went on to say that “we have no doubt these photographs will be added to every album.”⁸⁰ A man who visited Wilhelmina concurred, commenting that he saw exactly what he had expected because he had already seen the photograph displayed in the Burtons’ studio window.⁸¹

Another case of local notoriety captured in a carte de visite, “The Cumberland Street Tragedy,” occurred in Dunedin on March 14, 1880, when Robert Butler broke into the house of James Murray Dewar, murdering him and his wife Elizabeth while they slept. In an attempt to cover his tracks, Butler set fire to the house, killing their nine month-old daughter.⁸² Shortly thereafter, Port Chalmers photographer David de Maus published a carte de visite memorialising the event (fig. 3.17). The portraits he used were not from his studio, however, and in banners beneath them he has included the words, “Photographed by Clifford & Morris.” Sometime during the 1870s the couple had their photographs taken by that studio, possibly around the time of their marriage in 1878. De Maus might have obtained Clifford and Morris’s original glass plate negatives of the couple, or he might have simply copied their cartes de visite. Lissa Mitchell suggests that de Maus’s credit to Clifford and Morris might indicate a willingness on that studio’s part to assist with the project.⁸³ Clifford and Morris also took advantage of the tragedy and sold their own original images of the couple.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, September 29, 1871 and *Bruce Herald*, October 4, 1871.

⁸⁰ *North Otago Times*, October 6, 1871.

⁸¹ *Otago Daily Times*, September 25, 1871.

⁸² *Otago Daily Times*, March 15, 1880.

⁸³ Lissa Mitchell, “Murder Mystery: The Dewar Carte de Visite” (paper presented at the Colonial Objects Conference, University of Otago, Dunedin, February 11-13, 2013).

⁸⁴ *Otago Daily Times* March 19, 1880.

Anne Marie Willis, in her research on nineteenth-century Australian photography, found that images of home-grown identities “provided the means for constructing the reputations of famous and infamous Australians.”⁸⁵ The same can be said for Otago. Photographs of local identities, famous and infamous, built a sense of local identity and community. The settlement could claim its own fasting girl and tragic murder. Through displaying these images in an album, viewers could discuss local events, sharing both knowledge and gossip and further contributing to a sense of a shared community. These photographs retained their relevance over time and provided new stories for later retellings. The Taieri Fasting Girl remained in bed until 1886, and the murderer Robert Butler continued his crime spree in London, Rio, and Australia until meeting his death in Queensland in 1905.⁸⁶

Type Subjects

In addition to portraits of celebrities, photographs of people that can be described as “types” (typological or stereotypes) were included in Otago albums. These were images meant to classify and record people in the same way that Victorians were classifying the natural world around them. Unlike celebrity photographs that were of identifiable individuals, people photographed as types were recognised as generic representatives for a group. Of the 4,612 photographs of people surveyed in these albums, only twenty-six (1%) can be described as type images. Many of these images are of indigenous people, particularly Māori. These photographs, however, were not limited to ethnographic subjects, and other group types are also represented. James Ryan has suggested that for Victorians the category of ‘other’ encompassed a wide continuum of peoples, ranging from Zulu Kaffirs to the insane. Paraphrasing Sander Gilman, he writes, “In the fashioning of stereotypes, then, the ‘other’ assumes and often conflates the ‘deviant’

⁸⁵ Anne Marie Willis, *Picturing Australia: A History of Photography* (North Ryde, Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1988), 47.

⁸⁶ TOSM, DC-1252.

categories of sex, race, health, and illness.”⁸⁷ The ‘other,’ therefore, was what was not considered normal.

Photography provided a useful tool in the Victorian endeavour to classify the world. Writing in 1859, the French critic Ernest Lacan advised, “Portraits taken in India, Africa, America, or Russia,—indeed everywhere—would be adequate to compose an ample collection of all the types of races now extant.”⁸⁸ Borrowing from natural science methods of recording flora and fauna, many early photographers documented different human types. To do this, they utilised standardised poses that facilitated the viewing of humans as specimens. A common pose was to have individuals positioned face forward with their bodies held straight and neutral. They were then photographed from the front, side, and back. Often they were depicted naked or partly naked, a physiognomic approach that captured their shape and emphasised their physical characteristics. Cultural props such as weapons, jewellery, clothing, or physical marks like scarring or tattoos could feature prominently. These visual clues identified the individual as ‘the other’ to the Victorian viewer.

The American Louis Agassiz was one of several scientists who employed photography for research, and in 1850 he began compiling a visual archive of pure racial types.⁸⁹ His aim was to prove the theory of polygenesis, which maintained that the races were distinct species created separately. In 1850 he travelled to Columbia, South Carolina, and selected a range of slaves from African backgrounds to photograph. Local daguerreotypist Joseph T. Zealy made fifteen images of the slaves. They were photographed in front, profile, and rear views, and each image was carefully annotated with their names, African origins, and ownership.⁹⁰ Fifteen years later in 1865, Agassiz ventured to Brazil as part of the Thayer Expedition. In Rio de Janeiro he had Augusto

⁸⁷ James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 145.

⁸⁸ Quoted in Michael Frizot, *The New History of Photography* (Köln: Könemann, 1998), 267.

⁸⁹ Henry Fox Talbot and David Brewster were other scientists who used photography.

⁹⁰ Brian Wallis, “Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz’s Slave Daguerreotypes,” *American Art* 9 (1995): 38-61.

Stahl and other local photographers make images of Africans and Chinese with the same scientific approach as Zealy.⁹¹ By the late nineteenth century this method of photography was employed for a number of uses. Anthropologists used it to document races and cultures, the medical profession to record pathologies, and the police (with mug shots) to survey and monitor criminals.⁹²

Commercial photographers in the nineteenth century recognised the marketability of images of people who were, to Victorian eyes, curious in some way and produced their own type images for the market. Their motivation was to sell photographs, not to create a rigorous scientific record of human types, and their output can best be described as quasi-scientific. Photographers combined the scientific subject matter of ‘the other’ with the familiar studio setting. Writing about the type known as the “freak” in Victorian culture, Rachel Adams explains, “Adopting the conventions of expression, pose, and setting dictated by portrait photography, the carte de visite enhanced the freak’s wondrous features by situating her within a familiar context.”⁹³ The same could be applied to images of indigenous peoples. Although not as rigorously scientific as the images produced for Agassiz, these commercial photographs were collected by scientists such as Charles Wiener who purchased nearly one hundred cartes de visite while visiting South America and used them as the basis for the engravings that illustrated his travel accounts.⁹⁴ But many consumers of these photographs were not scientists and were drawn to these images for other reasons and defined them in their own ways.

Defining what constitutes a type image in Otago albums is complex, and rigid categorisation of them is problematic. Some photographs, such as four cartes de visite of

⁹¹ Maria Helena P. T. Machado, “Nineteenth-Century Scientific Travel and Racial Photography: The Formation of Louis Agassiz’s Brazilian Collection,” accessed August 8, 2015, <http://mirrorofrace.org/machado/>.

⁹² John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

⁹³ Rachel Adams, *Sideshow U.S.A.: Freaks and the American Cultural Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 115.

⁹⁴ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 123.

Māori from the Auckland studio of Elizabeth Pulman, fit the description of type photographs (fig. 3.18).⁹⁵ Pulman's emphasis on aspects of physical appearance define her subjects as indigenous types, and her use of props draws attention to the ethnicity of her sitters. The facial moko of the man in the upper left has been touched up to exaggerate this feature. The man in the upper right has been bedecked with a patu (club), kuru (ear pendant), and two types of cloaks—a pake (rain cape) worn over a kaitaka (flax cloak). He sits in front of a backdrop painted with trees that evokes a primitive lifestyle. Pulman's photographs and others like them were produced for both home and international markets that were fuelled by curiosity about these indigenous peoples, and Māori type photographs were especially popular during the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s.⁹⁶

Not all photographs of Māori found in Otago albums should be interpreted strictly as representative types. Images had multiple readings depending on the viewer and what they wanted to see. In her study of Eugène Appert's photographs of the French Communards of 1871, Jeannene M. Przyblyski points out the variety of interpretations possible from a single photograph of one of the men: a mother saw evidence of her son's survival, police saw a suspect, and Parisians saw an infamous celebrity.⁹⁷ The album compiled by Dunedin woman Priscilla Smith holds two photographs of Māori that suggest more complex readings than simply ethnographic images produced for a Western market.⁹⁸ The studio portraits of Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi and Kararaina Te Piki do not depict them as Māori types (figs. 3.19 and 3.20). While their Māori ethnicity is clearly evident, they are wearing European clothing and were photographed in conventional studio poses. Tamihana, a prominent leader in the Māori king movement of

⁹⁵ TOSM, Album 4.

⁹⁶ These wars were referred to as the Māori Wars in the nineteenth century, but today they are known as the New Zealand Wars.

⁹⁷ Jeannene M. Przyblyski, "Loss of Light: The Long Shadow of Photography in the Digital Age," in *The Oxford Handbook of Film and Media Studies*, ed. Robert Kolker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 166, doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195175967.013.0006.

⁹⁸ TOSM, Album 8.

the 1850s and 1860s and known as the “Kingmaker,” could be considered a nineteenth-century New Zealand celebrity. His portrait was one that he commissioned for himself, but the photographer probably saw the commercial opportunity to sell the image to anyone interested in purchasing it. Te Piki’s photograph is more cryptic. She was a wife of Otago Chief Te Matenga Taiaroa, father of the parliamentarian H. K. Taiaroa, but she was not well known, and it is doubtful that her image had commercial value. It is more likely that her portrait was also privately commissioned and included in Priscilla’s album because the two women, who both lived in the Dunedin area and were members of prominent local families, had some personal connection.

Type photographs, as Ryan points out, were not limited to indigenous peoples from non-European cultures. Priscilla Smith’s album includes several photographs of *tapadas Limeñas*, exotic veiled Peruvian women of pure Spanish ancestry whose character type dates back to sixteenth-century Spain (fig. 3.21). Another album, owned by Dunedin schoolteacher Mary Ada Sinclair, contains a photograph of a British fishwife (fish seller) dressed in a traditional striped skirt and white bonnet and holding a basket on her back.⁹⁹ Type images could also extend beyond cultural groups. An album compiled by A. S. Paterson, at one time the Vice President of the Dunedin Young Men’s Christian Association, includes a carte de visite-sized card produced by Miss Annie Macpherson’s “Home of Industry” in Spitalfields (fig. 3.22).¹⁰⁰ It features two small photographs of a boy along with a description of his circumstances. In the first photograph, taken at the time he was “rescued,” he is shown as a poor waif who was neglected by his widowed mother and left to wander the streets of London trying to earn money. In the second photograph, taken three years later and after he had been sent to a reform home in Canada, he is portrayed as a respectable Christian and baker’s apprentice. His photographs depict him as two types, the street urchin and the reformed boy. As the street urchin, he is seated on a stool, somewhat slumped, his left leg extended at an awkward angle. His hair is dishevelled and his clothing is wrinkled. As the reformed boy, he stands erect with one arm resting on the back of a chair. His hair and clothing are neat. Without

⁹⁹ TOSM, Album 253.

¹⁰⁰ TOSM, Album 141.

context, this portrait is indistinguishable from millions of other studio portraits. Juxtaposed against his portrait as a poor boy, however, this otherwise conventional portrait assumes type status.

Type images served a variety of roles for Otago album keepers. Some were collected for the same reasons as celebrity photographs. By collecting them, album compilers participated in an imagined community of other armchair scientists and observers curious about the world. Their albums also offered the opportunity to show off to their real community their familiarity with other cultures. It is possible that some of the photographs, such as the *tapadas* and fishwife, were acquired as souvenirs and included in the albums as reminders and proof of places visited. They would have then served as conversation pieces, providing an opportunity for knowledge-sharing and gossiping with viewers. In Otago, photographs of Māori had a deeper significance than simple cultural curiosities. Most of the photographs of indigenous people in albums are of Māori, indicating a specific interest in New Zealand. These images were displayed alongside photographs of family, further suggesting a degree of connection. Māori were part of everyday life in Otago and an aspect of the real community of the region. There might have been a sense that they were, to quote the title of Mary Ann Martin's 1884 book, "Our Maoris."¹⁰¹

Celebrities and types represent only a handful of the photographs in Otago albums. Although widely available through local photographers and stationers, they were not included in photograph albums in large numbers, and no albums dedicated to celebrity photographs or type images were found in TOSM's collection. Album compilers devoted most of their album space to their very real community of family and friends.

Family and Friends

Otago albums were, first and foremost, places to gather and display photographs of family and friends. In the albums surveyed, 4,467 (97%) of the portraits are of people

¹⁰¹ Mary Ann Martin, the wife of William Martin, New Zealand's first chief justice, had socially liberal views and was active in health care, education, and Christian work for Māori in the Auckland area during the 1840s and 1850s.

who appear to be the compiler's personal associates. All the albums surveyed contain these photographs, and 57% of the albums hold only these photographs and none of celebrities, types, or non-human subjects.¹⁰²

The albums in TOSM's collection display a high degree of interconnectedness amongst families. Eight albums in the collection from at least four different families have photographs of Hepburn family members.¹⁰³ Seven albums share photographs of members of the inter-related McGlashan, Turton, Sandes, Maitland, and Bathgate families.¹⁰⁴ Four albums hold portraits of the Smith and Proudfoot families.¹⁰⁵ Three more have Mollison and McEwan images, and an additional three have members of the Reid family.¹⁰⁶ Portraits of unrelated individuals also connected many of the albums. As mentioned above, portraits of Dunedin Presbyterian minister Reverend Dr. Donald McNaughton Stuart appear more frequently than any other person, including the royal family and other celebrities.

The album compiled by Jane Spratt is an example of the web of personal connections that could be spun within an album.¹⁰⁷ Jane was gifted the album by her Knox Church Sunday school class on August 18, 1885, as a token of their affection (fig. 3.23). The inscription, written on a loose piece of paper, was inserted in the first opening in the album and serves as the introduction to her album. On September 22, a month after receiving the album, she married John Ford, and the album was most likely a gift in anticipation of her upcoming marriage. Jane had probably given up her Sunday school teaching at that time, and the album served the additional role as a farewell present from her class. Inscriptions in several other albums indicate that they were popular farewell

¹⁰² It is possible that some of the photographs of family and friends are actually of minor celebrities.

¹⁰³ TOSM, Albums 24, 63, 65, 66, 67, 101, 141, and 142.

¹⁰⁴ TOSM, Albums 7, 93, 99, 118, 133, 144, and 153.

¹⁰⁵ TOSM, Albums 8, 77, 117, and 121.

¹⁰⁶ TOSM, Albums 4, 5, 67, 79, 107, and 139.

¹⁰⁷ TOSM, Album 2.

gifts in Otago. A. S. Paterson, the Vice President of the Dunedin Young Men's Christian Association, was given an album upon his leaving for England in 1876, and in 1881 Miss Dow, teacher at the Ngapara Public School in North Otago, was given an album by her students when she departed.¹⁰⁸

Many of the photographs in Jane's album have inscriptions beneath them, courtesy of her daughters who annotated the album before gifting it to TOSM in 1959. When the album was in Jane's possession, there would have been no information written on the pages, and viewers would have been reliant on her to provide a narrative to accompany the images. Her album contains a wide range of photographs and ephemera. Of the 129 spaces that are filled, 17 (13%) contain items such as greeting cards, photographs of the Napier actor Charles Monteith, and landscape views of Dunedin.

The remaining 112 spaces in Jane's album are filled with portraits. From her daughters' annotations, most of these can be identified as her family and friends. Forty-eight photographs (37%) are of family and include her parents, brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, cousins, in-laws, and of course her two daughters Margaret and Jane. It is likely that there are more photographs of her family that have not been identified.¹⁰⁹ Jane is in several of the photographs with other family members, but there are another seven portraits of Jane by herself. One page features only Jane. The first photograph in her album is of Mr. and Mrs. John Watson and family of Port Chalmers. Their connection to Jane has not been recovered, but a portrait of Mrs. Watson appears later in the album. The repetition of Mrs. Watson's image and the prominence given to the Watson family as the introductory image suggest that they had a special connection to Jane. Pages two through nine of the album are dominated by Spratt and Ford family photographs, and family members continue to reappear throughout the remaining pages. By placing her family at the beginning of the album, Jane expresses their importance to her.

¹⁰⁸ TOSM, Albums 141 and 102. Other albums that include farewell inscriptions are Albums 253 and 350.

¹⁰⁹ This would require extensive genealogical work.

Of the fifty-seven remaining photographs in Jane Spratt's album, eight have been identified as associates of Jane's through her time as a teacher. In 1883 she worked at George Street School, and her album contains photographs of the daughter of the school's headmaster David Alexander McNicoll and her fellow teachers Miss M. I. Fraser and Miss Thomson.¹¹⁰ Jane also included portraits of Dr. John Hislop, the secretary and inspector for the Otago Education Board and leading figure for education in the province, and two portraits of the "Hislop boys." Five portraits of the family of Alexander Stewart, headmaster of Union Street School, demonstrate further teaching associations. There are an additional twenty-one portraits of young women identified with the title "Miss," many of whom are likely to be teachers with whom she had worked.

Jane clearly considered friendship a component of her album and added an embroidered bookmark with a poem titled "To a Friend" (fig. 3.24). Other album keepers set aside spaces especially for friends. Margaret Buchanan of Kirkintilloch, Scotland, wrote to her Otago cousin Jean that her sister was planning her album and "leaving places in it for all our friends in New Zealand."¹¹¹ In her study of American nineteenth-century photograph albums, Sarah McNair Vosmeier explores their relationship to aspects of friendship and its association with youth culture. Of the albums she examined, half were compiled by people in their teens and twenties, and Jane was twenty-five years old when she received her album.¹¹² Vosmeier describes something akin to today's social media where, through albums, young people collected circles of friends and created peer networks, giving "tangible form to an intangible network of affection."¹¹³ She maintains that albums were a "concrete representations of networks of affection that were both

¹¹⁰ There is a photograph of the George Street School staff that includes Jane in another album she owned. TOSM, Album 8.

¹¹¹ Margaret Buchanan to Jean, September 16, 1865. Private collection, transcript courtesy of Helen Edwards.

¹¹² Sarah McNair Vosmeier, "Picturing Love and Friendship: Photograph Albums and Networks of Affection in the 1860s," in *The Scrapbook in American Life*, ed. Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 210.

¹¹³ Vosmeier, 210-11.

heterosocial and homosocial.”¹¹⁴ In addition to the many photographs of single women in her album, Jane also included portraits of young men. A photograph of Alexander Kyle was placed next to one of her brother, and the notation beneath reads, “Together at Drybread Diggings,” intimating that the two men were friends. Kyle was possibly Jane’s friend as well.

Jane’s album demonstrates that albums could build connections amongst family members and friends, but they could also be used for disrupting those connections. In 1879 Tannie Fidler, whose father was the licensee of the Auld Scotland Hotel in Dunedin, wrote to her friend Georgy in Scotland of her sister’s upsetting treatment of her album during a quarrel: “Another thing Fanny did was to take all her cartes out of my album and as we used to sleep together one night when I went to bed I found the door locked and my night dress out side—All those things are paltry but they hurt me very much coming from Fanny.”¹¹⁵

Studios

Without inscriptions or a narrator, there is a limited amount of information that an album can offer about its photographs. A page from the album of Dunedin-born Priscilla Smith gives the viewer only the images themselves (fig. 3.25).¹¹⁶ However, when the photographs are removed from the page, much more is revealed that was previously hidden (figs. 3.26 and 3.27). Inscriptions are found on the backs of three of the photographs. The carte de visite in the upper left reads, “Alice Mary Shand, 5 months old, Dec 1876” and the one of the girl opposite right reads, “Maggie Shand – 1874.” The centre photograph, a cabinet card, is labelled “Mrs. Shand, Nov 1883.” Further research reveals that the Shands were related to Priscilla. Her sister Isabella married James Shand, and Alice and Maggie were their daughters. Mrs. Shand was Isabella’s mother-in-law, Barbara Shand. Information such as this was sometimes written on the backs of photographs, but in most cases there are no additional notations. All of the photographs

¹¹⁴ Vosmeier, 207.

¹¹⁵ Tannie Fidler to Georgy, January, 1879, TOSM, AG-305.

¹¹⁶ TOSM, Album 8.

from this page, however, have studio branding that includes its name and location, giving otherwise mute photographs a context and allowing them to be understood in geographic terms. Three of these photographs are from Dunedin's London Portrait Rooms and the other two from Robert Clifford's Dunedin studio.

Of the pool of fifty-six albums that I had examined in TOSM's collection for content, I was able to remove the photographs from thirty-eight albums and examine the backs of 3,037 photographs that I had identified as friends and family in order to gain more information about them.¹¹⁷ This gave me studio information that was otherwise hidden by the framing of the album page and revealed the country of origin for most of the photographs. Only about 200 photographs (7%) contain no photographer information, and all but one album had at least one of these. Like the unmarked photograph of Mayall's image of Prince Albert, these were possibly pirated images, or, more likely, they might have come from studios that did not have card mounts printed with their name. I found several examples where a photographer had hand written the studio's name on the back of an otherwise blank card.

I divided the photographs with studio information into six geographic regions: Otago (including Southland), New Zealand outside of the Otago region, Ireland and Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales), Australia, North America (USA and Canada), and Germanic states (today's nations of Germany, Switzerland, and Austria). These categories were based on geographic proximity (e.g. England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland combined as one area) and finding a statistically significant number of photographs from that area (e.g. more than 1%). Locations whose numbers were low have been combined together into a seventh category of "other areas." Information about numbers of photographs and occurrence in albums is summarised in Tables 1 and 2 below. Appendix 3 shows the numerical breakdown of photographs by studio location in each of the thirty-eight albums surveyed.

¹¹⁷ Removing photographs has the potential to damage the album. Factors such as poor condition or the inability to get photographs out of albums easily has restricted the analysis to these thirty-eight albums.

Table 1 – Percentage of photographs of family and friends by studio location

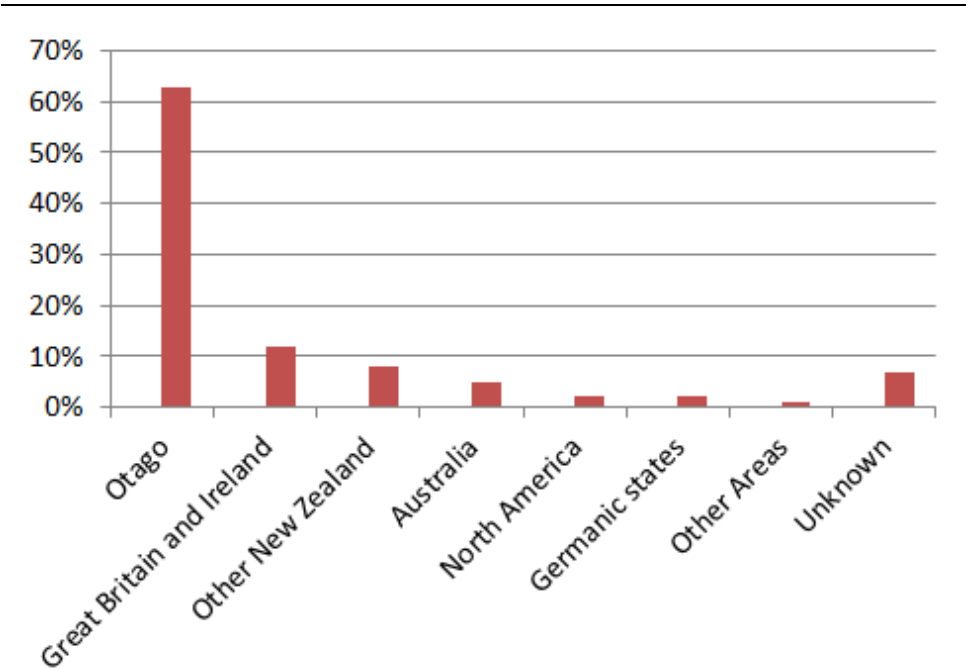
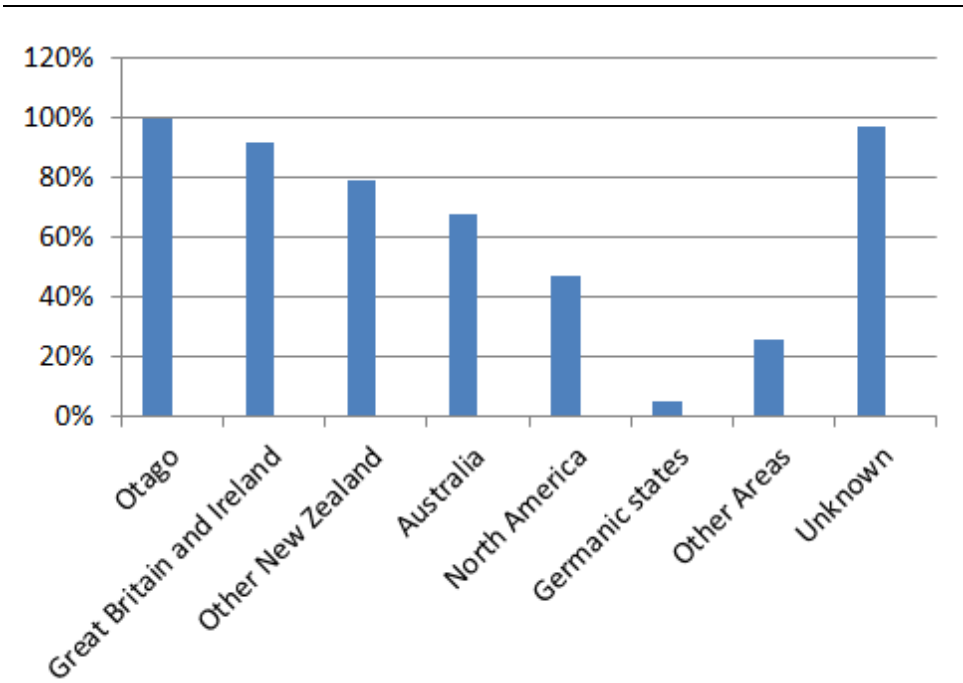


Table 2 – Percentage of albums containing photographs of family and friends by studio location



Otago's studios make up an overwhelming 63% of the total number of photographs of family and friends and are found in all thirty-eight of the albums surveyed. The actual numbers of portraits from studios outside of Otago is low, but they occur in a high percentage of albums, and all albums contain at least one overseas portrait.

Of the overseas studios, Great Britain and Ireland, the countries from which the majority of the colonists emigrated, are the most numerous, with 12% of photographs coming from these areas. In only three albums do photographs from Great Britain outnumber those from Otago, although they still contain significant numbers from Otago studios.¹¹⁸ However, 92%, of albums contain at least one photograph from Great Britain and Ireland. This high percentage illustrates the connections that almost all album keepers maintained with their family's countries of origin. Only 5% of portraits in Otago albums are from Australia, a place with close ties to New Zealand in terms of trade and immigration, especially during the gold rushes of the 1860s, but 68% of albums have photographs of Australian origin. Only 2% of photographs are from North American studios, but they are found in 47% of the albums. Studios from Germanic states are also represented in 2% of the photographs, but these are limited to two albums compiled by the Jewish family de Beer who had roots in Saxony.¹¹⁹ One of these albums contains a majority of overseas photographs from a number of countries, but the sixty-five photographs from Otago are the largest number from any single geographic area. The next most numerous group is from the Germanic states, but there are only thirty-three of these, which is half the number of the Otago photographs.

There are only thirty-four photographs (1%) from other areas, and these are found in ten albums (26%). They come from thirteen locations: Malta (x8 photographs), India (x4), France (x4), Switzerland (x3), Fiji (x3), Russia (x3), Italy (x2), Peru (x2), Netherlands (x1), Norway (x1), Jersey (x1), Hong Kong (x1), and South Africa (x1). Many of these photographs have been identified as overseas family. All of the

¹¹⁸ TOSM, Albums 65, 251, and 266.

¹¹⁹ TOSM, Albums 82 and 116.

photographs from Malta appear in a single album that was owned by the Sandes family. The photographs are of the family of Colonel Henry Thomas Thompson Sandes, brother of the album's owner, Thomas Goodman Sandes.¹²⁰ Between 1889 and 1895 the Colonel and his family lived in Malta, and portraits they had taken there were passed on to their Dunedin relations and placed in the album.¹²¹

Caution must be taken when making conclusions about photographs from overseas studios, and it cannot be assumed that the sitters were friends or family living overseas. Of the twelve portraits from Dunfermline in Scottish immigrant Agnes McEwan's album, two are of her parents with whom she immigrated to Otago in 1863, and one is of herself.¹²² Visits by Otago residents to overseas studios account for several more photographs. An album owned by Priscilla Smith holds twenty-three portraits from California and Oregon studios, most taken of her family while they lived there between 1874 and 1879.¹²³

In some respects, it is surprising that the percentage of overseas photographs is not higher. For family and friends separated by physical distance, photographs were an ideal way to keep in touch visually and maintain connections. The postal system overseas had undergone revolutionary changes in the nineteenth century, and a new culture of interconnectedness arose through the mail. Great Britain had reformed its postal service in the 1830s, and the United States followed suit in the 1840s. In America, daguerreotypes and cartes de visite could essentially be posted for free. David Henkin asserts that "mass participation in an interactive communication network" created new types of personal and impersonal contact and reinforced feelings of dislocation.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ TOSM, Album 118. An inscription inside the album identifies as having belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Sandes. It is not known if the album was owned by one or both of them.

¹²¹ "Sandes Ancestry: A History of the Sandes Family of Kerry," accessed May 17, 2016, <http://sandesancestry.net/reference/1197/chapter-1-annexure-part-3-pgs-1-3>.

¹²² TOSM, Album 107.

¹²³ TOSM, Album 8.

¹²⁴ David M. Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 11-12, 31, 59.

Because photographs could easily be sent through the mail, they served as surrogates for physical presence and helped ease that dislocation. Martha A. Sandweiss, writing about photography and westward expansion in nineteenth-century America, likewise posits that “photographs helped new westerners reconceive their relationships to the people and places from whom they were separated by great distances.”¹²⁵

Letters between immigrants to Otago to their overseas kin reveal the high value they placed on this type of connection. Writing from Kirkintilloch to her sister Mary in Dunedin in 1870, Elisabeth Buchanan notes how pleased the family was with the photographs that she had sent, “We send our thanks for the cartes for two or three days the Album was scarcely out of some ones hand after their arrival many a long look I take of you all.”¹²⁶ In a letter to his mother in 1882, Dunedin settler George Frederick Allan likewise expressed his pleasure at receiving photographs, “I am very glad you sent Father’s likeness to me as well as to Mrs. Wheeler, as it is the only one of our family I have still, it will be a while before I forget the dear faces at home, although, no doubt some will alter before I seem them again, as I hope and trust.”¹²⁷ Writing to her uncle from Dunedin in 1874, Mary Muir entreated him to “Be sure and write and send your portrait as you promised and I will get mine taken and send it,” and a few years later in 1880 her sister Agnes wrote a similar sentiment to him, “I have got my likeness taken now. I send you one of mine and one of my sweetheart’s. You must remember to send yours as you promised me you would.”¹²⁸

Given the power of photographs to stand in for those left behind, the ease with which they could be exchanged through the post, and the reports in letters of having sent and received them, it seems surprising that only 22% of the photographs in Otago albums were from overseas studios. And taking into consideration that many of those overseas

¹²⁵ Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 6.

¹²⁶ Elisabeth Buchanan to Mary, March 17, 1870. Private collection, transcript courtesy of Helen Edwards.

¹²⁷ George Frederick Allan letters, Hocken Collections, Misc-MS-1624 (ARC 0511).

¹²⁸ Mary Muir to her uncle, 1874, and Agnes Muir to her uncle, June 8, 1880. “The Mitchelson Story,” accessed May 23, 2016, <http://users.uniserve.ca/~imitchel/jmuir.htm>.

photographs were of Otago residents, that percentage is actually lower. However, albums were only one means available for displaying photographs, and it is possible that overseas photographs were stored in other ways. Frames were often chosen for particularly valuable portraits. Mr. Steel, the first officer on the ship *Santiago* that sailed between Melbourne and Dunedin, kept a portrait of his wife in a velvet case that pulled out every Saturday night so that she would be the first thing he saw on Sunday morning.¹²⁹ Dunedin woman Tannie Fidler kept the carte de visite of her close Scottish friend Georgy in “a pretty ivory oxford frame” on the mantelpiece.¹³⁰ She kept another photograph of Georgy in a silver locket that she often wore.¹³¹

Only 8% of photographs are from New Zealand studios outside of Otago, but they are found in 79% of the albums surveyed. Proximity to Otago does not appear to have been a factor; photographs came from studios in the urban centres of Christchurch, Wellington, and Auckland. The small percentage of photographs from areas of New Zealand outside of Otago but the high percentage of albums containing them is similar to the figures for overseas studios. This suggests that the extent of Otago’s connections with areas of New Zealand outside of the region was no different from their connections overseas. Tony Ballantyne points out that New Zealand was “an essentially littoral society in 1860” and maritime highways, overseas trade, and immigration networks connected Otago with Australia and Britain as much as other New Zealand ports.¹³² It was not until the development of road, bridge, and rail networks later in the century that Otago became more closely linked to other New Zealand regions.

The majority of portraits in Otago albums, 63%, were taken by Otago studios. This indicates a desire to build and maintain local connections rather than geographically distant ones through albums. Ballantyne, borrowing from Doreen Massey, argues that place is defined by “knot-like conjunctures” and is “constructed at a particular

¹²⁹ Tannie Fidler to Georgy, March 1877, TOSM, AG-305.

¹³⁰ Tannie Fidler to Georgy, June 22, 1877, TOSM, AG-305.

¹³¹ Tannie Fidler to Georgy, June 22, 1877 and January, 1879, TOSM, AG-305.

¹³² Tony Ballantyne, “On Place, Space and Mobility,” in *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand’s Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012), 272.

constellation of social relations meeting and veering together at a particular locus.”¹³³ Networks, movements, and exchanges are key to creating these relations, and photographs and albums offered one means to enact them.

Locally-produced photographs were favoured for a number of reasons. Nineteenth-century albums were semi-public spaces meant to be shared with and viewed by an audience, and album compilers would have had their viewers in mind. Photographs of overseas family and friends would have had limited interest to people in Otago who did not know them, and overseas photographs were therefore kept to a minimum. A serialised story printed in the *Otago Witness* titled “A Strange Story of a Dead Man’s Gold” illustrates the boredom many album viewers must have felt while looking at images they did not recognise. While staying at lodgings, the heroine Winny looks through a photograph album owned by her hostess, finding that “The portraits did not interest her in the least at first, they being of the most ordinary-looking people possible.”¹³⁴ Nod Patterson, author of an article in 1872 in the American publication *The Photographer’s Friend*, summed up this sentiment, writing that photographs are “anything but interesting to parties not interested.”¹³⁵ Instead, album compilers chose to devote space to images that their audience could relate to and found interesting and entertaining. This facilitated conversation, leading to the “speculation, interrogation, discussion, contradiction, interpellation” described by *Le Monde Illustré* in 1860 and helped build and strengthen personal connections.¹³⁶

Exchanging photographs was another way to build connections, and displaying those photographs in albums reinforced personal ties. The honour of this exchange was summed up in the “My Album” poem found on some introductory cartes: “Indeed I wish and do intend, to ask of each and every friend, to let me have their portrait here, that all

¹³³ Ballantyne, 275-77.

¹³⁴ *Otago Witness*, April 11, 1889.

¹³⁵ Quoted in Siegel, 69.

¹³⁶ From *Le Monde Illustré*, 1860, quoted in Anna Dahlgren, “Dated Photographs: The Personal Photo Album as Visual and Textual Medium,” *Photography & Culture* 3, no. 2 (2010): 187-88.

may look on friends so dear.”¹³⁷ Not reciprocating could prove detrimental to relationships. Dunedin woman Tannie Fiddler found herself quarreling with a man she had met on board her voyage from Melbourne to Dunedin when she refused to give him her carte. However, she had “the best of it” and got his without an exchange.¹³⁸

Exchange and reciprocity between local families is evident in Otago albums. In 1876 Jessie Proudfoot, the daughter of surveyor Peter Proudfoot, married James Duncan, Priscilla Smith’s brother. Jessie’s album holds photographs of her Duncan brothers and sisters-in-law while Priscilla’s album holds a photograph of Jessie.¹³⁹ The Turton and Bathgate families were also related by marriage. Aemilia Turton’s brother Gibson married Annie Bathgate in 1866. Amelia’s album holds photographs of several Bathgate family members while the album of Annie’s sister Frances (Fanny) Bathgate holds photographs of Gibson and several other Turton family members.¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately, it is difficult to fully understand the specifics of photographic exchanges and the extent to which they were reciprocated. It is clear through letters back and forth overseas that reciprocity was expected. However, local photographic exchanges were most likely done in person, leaving no written record, and a single album reveals only half of an exchange.

In building and reflecting local connections, Otago’s compilers used their albums to construct personal narratives. This will be explored in the following chapters, which examine two albums and the ways their compilers expressed their identities.

Conclusion

An examination of Otago albums reveals that they were used primarily to house photographs, although a small amount of other material such as newspaper clippings, memorial cards, and other ephemera was included. Likewise, photographs of celebrities and anthropological types were added in limited numbers. These indicate a desire on the part of album compilers to participate in a global, imagined community of photographic

¹³⁷ TOSM, Album 72.

¹³⁸ Tannie Fidler to Georgy, March 1877, TOSM, AG-305.

¹³⁹ TOSM, Albums 117 and 8.

¹⁴⁰ TOSM, Albums 93 and 99.

consumers who collected images of famous and interesting people. Albums were also used to demonstrate real communities. Photographs of overseas family and friends were added, but again, only in limited numbers. Overwhelmingly, the photographs in Otago albums were portraits of local family and friends, showing the importance they placed on their everyday lives and building local communities in the new settlement.

Chapter 4

PRISCILLA SMITH'S ALBUM

By the 1870s, Otago had become album literate. Throughout the 1860s, Otago's album keepers explored the capabilities of albums and discovered their potential to build and strengthen local communities. They likewise discovered the narrative potential of albums to tell stories and used them to communicate their identity. The album compiled by Priscilla Smith, née Duncan, exemplifies the narrative potential that albums could realise.¹ An inscription inside the front cover identifies it as the album of John and Priscilla Smith, but it is unlikely that the album was created by both of them.² Nineteenth-century photograph albums were usually compiled by a single person. The arrangement of the photographs, the subject matter of the images and the particular people included—in short, the story that can be read from this album—all point to Priscilla.

Priscilla's album is a visual autobiography, and through the photographs she chose for her album, she communicates a carefully crafted identity of herself. The reasons Priscilla chose some of the images will have been highly personal and idiosyncratic and without her narration can never be recovered. Other photographs, however, have more obvious meanings, and by considering them together, an identity emerges. Through her album Priscilla tells the story of herself as a young, modern woman thinking about motherhood and her place in the Pacific world.

Priscilla was born in Dunedin in 1859 to Scottish immigrants George Duncan and Elspeth Wilson. George was a prosperous Dunedin entrepreneur and politician, and Priscilla enjoyed a comfortable, well-to-do childhood. In 1884 she married John Smith, and the couple settled at Greenfield Station, the 24,000 acre Smith family farm that John

¹ TOSM, Album 8.

² It is not known who made this inscription. The album came into TOSM's collection through the estate of Kathleen Smith, their unmarried daughter, and it is assumed to have been written by her.

helped his father to manage.³ The next year, in 1885, their son Frank was born, followed by daughter Kathleen in 1890.⁴ Priscilla's family had a strong association with photography in Dunedin. Her uncle was James Wilson, the early Dunedin druggist and photographer who has been attributed with the photograph of the city taken around 1857. Priscilla's father had professional ties with James and assisted him in his druggist business in the 1850s.⁵ In the 1860s, after giving up the photography business, James managed George's livery stables in Rattray Street. The two men later went into a trading partnership as Duncan and Wilson, and both were involved with the Well Park Brewery until George sold his interest to James in 1867.⁶ Priscilla was a young girl when her uncle was a professional photographer, and she would have been exposed to photography from an early age.

Born within ten years of the beginning of the Otago settlement, Priscilla was among the first generation of children born in Dunedin to the early colonists. Immigrants like her parents, who arrived after the Otago Settlement began in 1848 but before the Otago gold rush in 1861, have historically been referred to as the early settlers or the "Old Identities." In contrast, immigrants who arrived after the gold rush were known as the "New Iniquity."⁷ Priscilla's Otago-born generation knew much about the Old World "home" through their parents and the other immigrants who surrounded them, and they would have grown up with people who identified with their "Scottishness," Irishness," and "Englishness."⁸ But they were not from the old country. Their lives were shaped

³ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand, [Otago and Southland Districts]* (Christchurch: Cyclopedia Co. Ltd., 1905), 395.

⁴ Biographical information from the Otago and Southland Early Settlers database (OASES), Pastfinders Avitus, available at TOSM.

⁵ *Otago Witness*, December 23, 1854.

⁶ Kenneth G. Duncan, *George Duncan: Pioneer Dunedin Entrepreneur and Otago Politician and His Immediate Family* (Dunedin: Kenneth G. Duncan, 1990), 8-10.

⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, August 28, 1862.

⁸ Angela McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand Since 1840* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Tanja Bueltmann, *Scottish Ethnicity and the Making of New Zealand Society, 1850 to 1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011);

locally and were much different from those of the immigrants. In 1877 an Auckland-born son of Scottish immigrants confused about his identity wrote to the *Auckland Star*: “Now, am I Scotch or am I a young colonial? My parents say I am Scotch, but I repudiate this insinuation.” The paper responded:

[He] is fully entitled to call himself a young colonial, and that designation we consider preferable to the perpetuation of old-country distinctions, which are inapplicable here. The sinking of national identity in the first generation of native born population is followed in all colonies and is fully warranted by the fact that the colony has become the adopted country of the parents and the children know no other.⁹

A local identity was emerging amongst this generation.

In 1858, the year before Priscilla was born, over thirty percent of New Zealand’s population was native born, rising to half the population by the time of her marriage to John in 1884.¹⁰ As the Otago-born children of immigrants matured into adulthood in the late nineteenth century, they formed their identities out of their own unique New World experiences. Ron Palenski maintains that this sense of commonality evolved through various factors during the nineteenth century and was affirmed, not formed, at the end of the century by events including the Boer War.¹¹ During the initial decades of European settlement, local identity was tied to local place.

In *A History of New Zealand Life*, published in 1957, Morrell and Hall observed, “By the eighteen eighties there was growing up a new generation of men and women who had been born in New Zealand. Increasing knowledge of their country and its possibilities all contributed to kindle in New Zealanders a proper feeling of self-respect.”¹² By the

and Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy, eds., *Far From Home: The English in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2012).

⁹ *Auckland Star*, October 17, 1877.

¹⁰ Ron Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012), 55.

¹¹ Palenski, 4-5.

¹² Quoted in Palenski, 4-5.

early twentieth century, a New Zealand consciousness had emerged. As an adult in the 1920s, Lucy Smith, Priscilla's sister-in-law sister, expressed her connection with a New Zealand identity:

Somewhere among us I have heard the opinion expressed that the breaking-up of the comfortable family home of the Martins in Ireland, and their migration to the hardships and ill chances of a pioneer life in New Zealand, was a family misfortune ... For myself, I cannot think this. For one thing I am so loyal a child of New Zealand that I can count no move made there a calamity.¹³

Priscilla's album shows that she saw herself as a person who was Otago born. She expresses a form of local identity that was tied to the Pacific as home rather than the Old World.

In many respects Priscilla's album is a typical nineteenth-century album. Most of the photographs she added are studio portraits of people in standard poses similar to those found in thousands of other nineteenth-century albums. However, her album is of a higher-quality than most and reflects her family's prosperity. It is bound in thick brown leather, and the front cover features an elaborately-designed, brass-coloured metal plate inlaid with small blue stones (fig. 4.1). The pages are made from good-quality, heavy paper stock that show little of the discolouration and extensive tearing that lower-quality albums have suffered from aging. It has slots for 224 photographs—208 cartes de visite and 16 larger-format cabinet cards. Eight slots are empty, and evidence of tearing around them suggests that they were once filled, but the photographs have been removed at some point. The size of the album speaks to its significance. It measures nearly 14 inches (35.5 centimetres) wide by 11½ inches (29 centimetres) high by 3 inches (7.5 centimetres) deep, and when opened, it is almost 30 inches (76 centimetres) wide. Fully loaded with photographs, it weighs 6 kilograms. Engaging with this album was a physical experience.¹⁴

¹³ Lucy Evans Smith, *Pioneers* (Dunedin: Stanton Bros, 1938), 39. Although printed in 1938, Smith prefaces her family history with the comment that she had written it eleven years earlier.

¹⁴ For more on the physical experience of viewing photographs and the materiality of the photograph, see Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance*

That the album has spaces for both cartes de visite and cabinet cards suggests it was produced in the 1870s or 1880s when these two formats were equally popular. The cabinet card, a larger-format photograph mounted on card and measuring about 4¼ inches by 6½ inches (10.5 centimetres by 16.5 centimetres), was being produced in Otago by 1866. In that year, the Otago studio of Walter J. Burton and Co. advertised that they produced “photographic pictures” that included “cabinet pictures.”¹⁵ By the 1890s the smaller carte de visite had waned in popularity and the cabinet card had become the preferred format, and by the close of the nineteenth century, albums were being produced with spaces primarily for that larger size. Carte de visite albums were still available, but by the early 1880s, most Dunedin photographers had stopped advertising in the newspapers that they produced them. Recognising that there was an abundance of older carte de visite photographs that compilers wanted to include in newer albums that had larger windows, photographers made cabinet card-sized copies of cartes de visite for their customers. A carte in Priscilla’s album of Jessie Proudfoot, her sister-in-law and the daughter of Otago surveyor Peter Proudfoot, was enlarged into a cabinet card for another album. The inscription on the back reads, “Jessie, died 10 Dec 1876. For Patricia. Enlarged from ‘carte’ taken April 1876.”¹⁶ Although still constrained by the window format of card albums, the emergence of the cabinet card added visual variety where cartes de visite mingled with these larger photographs in the same album and sometimes on the same page. Through size, photographs could now be ranked, emphasised, and deemphasised, thus enabling more complex story telling.

An examination of the album suggests that Priscilla compiled it around the time she married in 1884. The latest date inscribed on a photograph in the album is 1883, and there are no photographs of her two children, who were born in 1885 and 1890. There is

(New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004) and Elizabeth Edwards, “Material Beings: Objecthood and Ethnographic Photographs,” *Visual Studies* 17 (2002): 67-75.

¹⁵ *Bruce Herald*, September 20, 1866.

¹⁶ TOSM, Albums 8 and 121.

one photograph that resembles John Martin Smith displayed prominently on the second page, in an appropriate position for a fiancé or new husband.¹⁷

Priscilla fits the profile of an average album compiler. Most albums were put together by women, and this aspect of album culture has been written about extensively. Deborah Chambers finds that albums were assembled by young adults, particularly young women, and they became a predominantly feminine cultural form and a “visual medium for family genealogy and storytelling.”¹⁸ Likewise, Claire Grey describes women’s album compiling as a reflection of their role as “keepers of the past.”¹⁹ Patrizia Di Bello and Lindsay Smith maintain that the association of albums with the female domestic sphere of the home during the nineteenth century marked them as a feminine fashion, especially amongst English aristocratic women.²⁰ Anne Higonnet and Elizabeth Siegel show how albums were a popular vehicle for women’s self-expression.²¹ For New Zealand women,

¹⁷ The identification of this photograph as John Martin Smith is based on a comparison with a photograph of him in 1898. See TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, E498.

¹⁸ Deborah Chambers, “Family as Place: Family Photograph Albums and the Domestication of Public and Private Space,” in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (London: I. B. Taurus, 2003), 97.

¹⁹ Claire Grey, “Theories of Relativity,” in *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*, ed. Jo Spence and Patricia Holland (London: Virago, 1991), 107.

²⁰ Patrizia Di Bello, “The ‘Eyes of Affection’ and Fashionable Femininity: Representations of Photography in Nineteenth-Century Magazines and Victorian ‘Society’ Albums,” in *Phototextualities: Intersections of Photography and Narrative*, ed. Alex Hughes and Andrea Noble (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 256-60 and Lindsay Smith, *The Politics of Focus: Women, Children and Nineteenth-Century Photography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 57-58 and 68-69. See also Patrizia Di Bello, *Women’s Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007).

²¹ Anne Higonnet, “Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe,” *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 171-85; Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 139-42; Elizabeth Siegel, “‘Miss Domestic’ and ‘Miss Enterprise’: Or, How to Keep a Photograph Album,” in *The Scrapbook in American Life*, ed. Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 251-67; and Elizabeth Siegel,

Sandy Callister has looked at their use of albums during the nineteenth century.²² Women's magazines of the period such as *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Peterson's Magazine* concurred that these were a female pursuit and published articles directed at women instructing them on how to compile their albums. And while photograph albums were a popular studio prop for both men's and women's portraits, an overwhelming number of photographs show women posing with them (fig. 4.2). A survey of the eighteen albums with inscriptions in TOSM's collection reveals that fifteen were owned by women as opposed to only three by men.²³ Siegel acknowledges that albums were not exclusively compiled by women and uses gender-neutral terms except when she is addressing gender-specific issues.²⁴ Sarah McNair Vosmeier tackles both female and male compilers, and she is rare in this approach.²⁵

Research also suggests that albums were usually put together by young people, and Priscilla would have been in her early- to mid-20s when she began compiling her album. In her study of nineteenth-century American photograph albums, Sarah McNair Vosmeier found that half were compiled by people in their teens and twenties and argues that they were part of nineteenth-century youth culture. Young people, she maintains, were among the first to buy albums when they appeared in the 1860s.²⁶ Owning an album was an expression of modern living, and, as today's explosion in digital technology and social media has shown, younger generations are early adoptees. Albums were also

"Society Cutups," in *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*, ed. Elizabeth Siegel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 13-35.

²² Sandy Callister, "The Victorian Album and the Personal," exhibition shown at the Adams Art Gallery, Victoria University of Wellington, 2011.

²³ TOSM, Albums 65, 141, and Empty Album 1. Comparing women's and men's albums would make an interesting study but is beyond the scope of my thesis.

²⁴ Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame*.

²⁵ Sarah McNair Vosmeier, "Picturing Love and Friendship: Photograph Albums and Networks of Affection in the 1860s," in *The Scrapbook in American Life*, ed. Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).

²⁶ Vosmeier, 207.

closely tied with Victorian courtship rituals, and exchanging photographs and viewing albums became an acceptable way for both young men and women to interact.²⁷

Albums were also compiled at times of transition in young people's lives. In her examination of sentiment and photograph albums, Higonnet finds that women compiled them "during phases in which they had to redefine themselves and their social role" such as getting married or having children. At times of change, albums were a way "to learn and to perform an identity."²⁸ Vosmeier similarly finds that activities such as going off to boarding school or getting married often triggered album compiling.²⁹ Priscilla's album appears to have been compiled at the time she married. Many of the photographs in the album are of her parents and siblings, and she might have been trying to reproduce the family she was leaving behind.

Priscilla fits the general profile of album compilers as female, young, and in a transitional phase of life. This helps explain why she compiled her album, but it does not address how she compiled or used it. As a form of autobiography, Priscilla's album, like all albums, was highly personal. And as with most nineteenth century albums, there are no inscriptions present, and only a handful of photographs have any information written on their backs. Album viewers would have been reliant on Priscilla's narration for its full meaning. Many of the photographs in her album speak for themselves, however, and it is possible to recover parts of her story through a close look at her choices.

Priscilla's Album

An examination of the 216 photographs in Priscilla's album shows that, like other Otago albums, most of the photographs are of family and friends. Although the majority, they make up a smaller percentage in Priscilla's album than in the average Otago album: 79% compared with 97%. Priscilla chose to devote a significant portion of her album to photographs of celebrities and types (13%) as well as non-human subjects such as artwork, landscapes, and ships (8%). Surprisingly, there are no ephemera in her album.

²⁷ Vosmeier, 210-12.

²⁸ Higonnet, 179.

²⁹ Vosmeier, 211-12.

Including such supplementary material could have added further dimensions to her storytelling. The fact that she restricted her photograph album only to photographs is perhaps a reflection of the value she placed on photography. Her decision to devote 21% of her album space to photographs that were not friends and family demonstrates her awareness of their narrative power. She offered her viewers images that moved her story beyond her personal acquaintances and included her life events, values, and interests. They include images that her audience could relate to and provided them with an easy way to engage with her album. This, I argue, indicates Priscilla's recognition and understanding of the storytelling potential of her album, and she used a wide range of images to realise her album's full autobiographical potential.

An investigation of Priscilla's album with regards to content and organisation reveals several themes which, when considered together, build Priscilla's identity. Some of these themes and their meanings are obvious. Motherhood is one of these, as is collecting celebrity and type images. Others themes are more opaque. Identity tied to place is an overarching theme that weaves itself throughout the album, evident in no single photograph but emerges when considering groups of images. Alternatively, some images have multiple readings and feed into several themes. For example, a portrait of Queen Emma of Hawai'i is simultaneously an image of a royal, a fashionable woman, a doting mother, and an indigenous type. The multi-layered nature of photographs and albums make straightforward and comprehensive analyses of them difficult. Martha Langford points out that "Albums show us the same things from many different angles; we also see the same angle on many different things."³⁰ Translating into text what would have been communicated orally and understood visually is challenging, and as a result the themes and analysis presented below are at times overlapping and disjointed.

Priscilla's album was carefully planned and organised. Every photograph she selected was a conscious choice, and there are over two hundred choices represented in it. In an album, images do not stand in isolation, and their juxtaposition with other images represents additional choices and creates further meaning. In her study of nineteenth-

³⁰ Martha Langford, "Speaking the Album: An Application of the Oral-Photographic Framework," in *Locating Memory: Photographic Acts*, ed. Annette Kuhn and Kirsten Emiko McAllister (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 225.

century mixed-media albums that contain drawings, paintings, and photographs compiled by women, Anne Higonnet asserts, “Album imagery is highly selective and coherent. Each individual picture works toward the meaning of the album as a whole.”³¹ The same principle applies to photograph albums. Priscilla did not randomly insert photographs; she chose and organised her images and used her album as a means of self-expression. Higonnet contends that women offered a “crafted image” of themselves, using albums as a performance to show their femininity and “cleave to values professed by the bourgeoisie.”³²

Priscilla structured her album following a personally-defined hierarchy of importance. Her first page features images of Queen Victoria and other members of the royal family as well as a local celebrity. This page is followed by nearly two hundred portraits of family and friends with further celebrities, landscapes, and artwork sprinkled throughout. She ends her album with cartes de visite of indigenous “types.” Alan Sekula describes a hierarchy of portraiture stating, “Every portrait implicitly took its place within a social and moral hierarchy.”³³ Portraits were regarded as either public or private; there is the “*private* moment of sentimental individuation” when looking at photographs of loved ones as opposed to “two other more *public* looks: a look up at one’s ‘betters,’ and a look down, at one’s ‘inferiors’.”³⁴ Employing the term “shadow archive,” he describes a terrain in which individuals are positioned. It contains the visual traces of “heroes, leaders, moral exemplars and celebrities” as well as “the insane, the criminal, the non-white, the female, and all other embodiments of the unworthy.”³⁵ Helmut Gernsheim describes a similar organisation for the typical photograph album in Europe that often began with the royal family, followed by admired public figures and finished with family

³¹ Higonnet, 177.

³² Higonnet, 177-78.

³³ Alan Sekula, “The Body and the Archive,” *October* 39 (1986), 10.

³⁴ Sekula, 10.

³⁵ Sekula, 10.

and friends.³⁶ Deborah Chambers attributes this organisation to the Victorian invention of the royal family that provided the “ideal and model image of a universal white family.”³⁷ Deborah Poole has found that upper-class Peruvians, Bolivians, and Ecuadorians also compiled their albums in a similarly hierarchical manner. She further suggests that this hierarchy reflects the nineteenth-century scientific impulse to classify the world by genus/species/subspecies or group.³⁸ Alternatively, Anna Dahlgren has traced the ranked organisation of albums to the German *Stammbuch* of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries where portraits were presented in descending order of importance.³⁹

The First Page

The first page of a photograph album serves as an introduction and provides the context within which the album’s owner would like the viewer to consider it. Albums often begin with an image the compiler considers important such as royalty, a notable person, a senior family member, or even themselves, and Priscilla’s album is no exception. A survey of seventy-three albums in TOSM’s collection reveals a variety of approaches to starting an album.⁴⁰ Bridget Barrett chose to begin her album with an introductory carte and was one of the few Otago album keepers to do so.⁴¹ Some albums begin with portraits of close family members. The first page of Jessie Proudfoot’s album from the 1870s begins with photographs of her husband, while Fanny Bathgate’s starts

³⁶ Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography, 1850-1880: The Age of Collodion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 200.

³⁷ Chambers, 98.

³⁸ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 123.

³⁹ Anna Dahlgren, “Dated Photographs: The Personal Photo Album as Visual and Textual Medium,” *Photography & Culture* 3 (2010): 178.

⁴⁰ Although I chose eighty-nine albums from TOSM’s collection to analyse, many of them appear to be missing the first page and have been discounted from this discussion. Because photographs can be easily changed by either the original compiler or others, some caution must be used when analysing first page images.

⁴¹ TOSM, Album 287.

with her step-mother and an aunt.⁴² Margaret Ferens started her album with a cabinet card of herself taken in her fifties.⁴³ Agnes McEwan started hers with a photograph of a young woman who again appears later in the album and might be Agnes herself.⁴⁴

Almost half of TOSM's albums begin with a studio portrait of an unidentified individual, making it impossible to know for certain how the introductory photograph relates to the compiler, but some general observations can be made. Half of these albums begin with a portrait of a man middle-aged or older, suggesting a patriarchal figure.⁴⁵ A quarter of the introductory photographs are of young women who are approximately in their twenties.⁴⁶ Some of these women might be the album's compiler, pointing to a sense of self as the starting point to the individual narrative that follows. Others could be a close friend of the compiler. A smaller number of albums feature a young man on the first page.⁴⁷ The albums that begin with young people suggest a rejection of the hierarchy-based organisation described by Gernsheim, Poole, and Dahlgren, thus supporting Vosmeier's idea that albums were part of a youth culture. Besides Margaret Ferens's album, only one other album has an older woman at the beginning, but that portrait is placed next to one of a young man, possibly her son.⁴⁸ The dearth of older women on the first page suggests a lack of matriarchy and status for women in Otago's albums. Several albums open with a strong family theme with portraits of couples, children or family groups, although this is less common than photographs of a single

⁴² TOSM, Albums 117 and 99.

⁴³ This is only known because her son William wrote her name on the page when he donated the album to the museum. TOSM, Album 120.

⁴⁴ TOSM, Albums 107, page 11.

⁴⁵ TOSM, Albums 1, 64, 66, 67, 79, 137, 140, 141, 143, 144, 160, 232, 250, 266, and 288.

⁴⁶ TOSM, Albums 65, 107, 119, 133, 149, 153, and 293.

⁴⁷ TOSM, Albums 4, 68, 142, and 348. Album 4 has a young man and older woman on the first page.

⁴⁸ TOSM, Album 4.

person.⁴⁹ Three albums open with studio portraits of brides.⁵⁰ Unlike most albums that have space for a single photograph on the first page, Annie McGlashan's has slots for a cabinet card and two cartes de visite (fig. 4.3). She has treated the page as a triptych, and it shows careful thought and an eye to the artful. In the centre she has placed a cabinet card of herself in her wedding dress. Smaller carte de visite portraits of herself and her husband flank it on either side. The cartes are in profile and faced so that they appear to be looking simultaneously across the page at each other and at Annie in the centre. Meanwhile, Annie the bride regards the portrait of her husband to her left. The shared gazes create a unity in the composition. There is little doubt whose album this is and whose story is about to be told. A quarter of the albums surveyed have empty slots on the first page, and tearing suggests that those photographs have been removed. Surprisingly, Priscilla's is the only album that begins with the British royal family.⁵¹ By and large, the people of Otago chose to start their albums with images of their local, immediate connections.

The first page of Priscilla's album served a number of functions. It demonstrated her knowledge of album culture by starting with royalty and following a hierarchical organisation. Hers is also one of the few Otago albums that features an introductory carte on the first page. However, she used her first page to communicate more than just her understanding of how to fashion an album. Her mastery of the formula for constructing her first page provided a strong introduction and framework for her album as a personal narrative. Through the five images she selected, she summarised a complex identity of herself as a Dunedin-born woman with Scottish Presbyterian roots living in a Pacific colony of the British Empire.

The page has inserts for five photographs: a cabinet card in the centre and four surrounding cartes de visite (fig. 4.4). The most prominent one is the Christmas and New Year cabinet card with images of Knox Church and the Reverend Donald McNaughton Stuart in the centre (fig. 4.5). This photograph is the one that landed the printers Jolly,

⁴⁹ TOSM, Albums 2, 118, 184, 199, 230, 231, and 253.

⁵⁰ TOSM, Albums 7, 82, and 243.

⁵¹ TOSM, Album 8.

Connor & Co. and photographer Frank Coxhead in court in 1883 for possible copyright violation. It is possible that Priscilla included it partly because of its scandalous history, but it was also a clear statement of her affiliation with Knox Church. Not only did it declare that she was a Presbyterian, but a particular type of Presbyterian. The Free Church as established at Dunedin's First Church by the Reverend Thomas Burns in 1848 followed Scottish cultural elements that included banning hymns and organs from church services and not observing Christmas as a religious holiday. By the 1870s sentiment had changed. Erik Olssen notes that "the Kirk was split" and "the wealthy lost their appetite for severe simplicity and found in religion a means of escaping from, rather than preparing for, the world's battles."⁵² Reverend Stuart, who had been a minister in England where these things were permitted, preached a more relaxed version of Presbyterianism to Dunedin at Knox Church. It was seen as a more modern, less conservative form of worship that Priscilla chose to support with a bold visual statement in her album. Another album in TOSM's collection from the Paterson family also begins with the Knox Church card. As noted in the previous chapter, Stuart was a local celebrity whose photograph appears with some frequency in Otago albums, suggesting strong support for this form of Presbyterianism.

The central cabinet card of Knox Church is surrounded by four cartes of British royalty. By including these, Priscilla demonstrates her knowledge of the fashion to start an album with royalty that was followed in many parts of the world. In the lower left corner of the page Priscilla inserted a carte de visite montage of the British royal family (fig. 4.6). Surrounded by images of her children and grandchildren, Queen Victoria appears in the centre of the image holding Princess Beatrice on her lap. This is the only photograph of the Queen in the album, and its placement on the first page acknowledges her importance as the monarch and Priscilla's identity as a British subject. It also establishes a hierarchy for the pages that follow. Victoria was the symbolic head of the extended family of the British Empire of which Priscilla and her family as well as other colonial people were members. Priscilla's album echoes the Victorian social structure that placed royalty at the top and indigenous peoples at the bottom. Her first page of

⁵² Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1984), 75.

royalty is followed by photographs of her immediate family and friends, while images of indigenous types are clustered at the end.

Although Victoria is on the first page, she is not the most prominent royal on it. In the upper right and left corners Priscilla has placed cartes de visite copies of engravings of Edward, the Prince of Wales (and future King Edward VII), and his beautiful young wife Princess Alexandra of Denmark (fig. 4.7). Of the British celebrities in Otago albums, their images were the most popular, with twenty of their photographs appearing in twelve albums in TOSM's collection.⁵³ This is commensurate with their popularity in England, where their registered studio images outnumbered those of Queen Victoria.⁵⁴ Edward and Alexandra were celebrities and symbols of a generation of new, modern young royals. They were reported on widely in the press, and their portraits were popular items collected and displayed by those wanting to associate themselves with this glamorous couple and their stylish lifestyle. In their photographs they are often shown holding hands or with their arms around one another, a reflection of new ideas of romantic marriage in the mid-nineteenth century. The couple's engagement photographs by the Ghémar Frères studio were widely described in the newspapers in romantic terms. The *Otago Daily Times* reported, "The stationers' shops in Edinburgh just now are crowded with *carte de visite* portraits of the Prince of Wales, and of his handsome *affiancée*. In one she leans, fond, proud, and smiling, on her roguish-eyed lover's arm."⁵⁵ An album owned by Ada Sinclair of Dunedin contains a copy of this photograph (fig. 4.8). The royal couple's wedding in March 1863 was well-photographed and reproduced as cartes de visite that were sold to local and international markets eager for images of them. In Dunedin, Maclaggan Street bookbinder T. Watters advertised in the *Otago Daily Times* that he had received by the last mail a shipment of carte de visite portraits of "our future King and Queen, in their bridal dress."⁵⁶

⁵³ TOSM, Albums 2, 4, 5, 8, 72, 93, 115, 120, 143, 150, 163, and 253.

⁵⁴ See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the popularity of their images.

⁵⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, January 9, 1863.

⁵⁶ *Otago Daily Times*, May 28, 1863.

Alexandra became a symbol of young, modern Victorian womanhood. She expressed her modernity, in part, through her enthusiasm for photography. She was born in 1844, several years after photography had made its appearance, and she grew up in front of the camera. She was not camera shy; there are over 400 known photographs of her, and she sought opportunities to have her portrait taken. On a visit to India in 1875 she visited a photography studio, a small act of independence for a woman in that country. The biographer of their trip wrote, “Her Highness, whose intellect is as sharp as that of any woman of her age in the East, broke through one of the absurd laws regulating the seclusion of her sex, and privately went to a photographer in Bombay and had her likeness taken.”⁵⁷ Alexandra knew how to position herself for flattering portraits. In many photographs her relaxed pose and body language demonstrated an ease with the camera that produced exceptionally pleasing images. She married into a family that was also interested in photography. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were patrons and collectors, and they encouraged their children to take up photography as a leisure activity. During the 1860s Alexandra compiled her own albums, which were elaborate collage-type ones with cut-out photographs embellished with artwork.⁵⁸ She later dabbled with the technology itself, and in 1885 an issue of *Amateur Photographer* reported that the Princess of Wales had joined their ranks.⁵⁹

Alexandra was well known for her beauty, which fuelled the desire to collect her image. British diplomat Augustus Paget thought of Alexandra as “the most charming, witty and delightful young Princess it was possible to imagine.”⁶⁰ Princess Royal Victoria referred to Alexandra as the “Danish beauty,” and in a letter to her mother, Queen Victoria, she described her in glowing terms:

⁵⁷ George Pearson Wheeler, *India in 1875-76: The Visit of the Prince of Wales* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1876), 120.

⁵⁸ This type of aristocratic album was discussed in Chapter 2.

⁵⁹ Frances Dimond, *Developing the Picture: Queen Alexandra and the Art of Photography* (London: Royal Collections Publications, 2004), 58.

⁶⁰ Hannah Pakula, *An Uncommon Woman, the Empress Frederick: Daughter of Queen Victoria, Wife of the Crown Prince of Prussia, Mother of Kaiser Wilhelm* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 144, and Dimond, 15.

I never set eyes on a sweeter creature...She is lovely!...a good deal taller than I am, has a lovely figure...a complexion as beautiful as possible, very fine white regular teeth and very fine large eyes...Her voice, her walk, carriage and manner are perfect, she is one of the most ladylike and aristocratic looking people I ever saw! She is as simple and natural and unaffected as possible.⁶¹

Through the publication and sale of her image, Alexandra became a modern fashion icon much like Princess Diana over a hundred years later. Alexandra's hairstyles and clothing were followed and copied by women.⁶² An article from Dunedin's *Evening Star* in 1897 reflected on her positive influence on fashion. When she arrived in London in the 1860s, the author mused, "taste in dress began to improve. To the Princess we owe many graceful fashions ... to her influence we owe the diplomatic way in which extravagant French fashions have been modified to suit English taste."⁶³ Alexandra presented a form of Victorian womanhood that was youthful but also respectable. Queen Victoria found that Alexandra had "plenty of sense and intelligence, and is, though very cheerful and merry, a serious solid character not at all despising enjoyments and amusements but loving her home and quiet – all much more."⁶⁴ Priscilla was four years old when Edward and Alexandra married, and she grew up during the years that Alexandra was at her most glamorous. By starting her album with images of these royals, particularly Alexandra, Priscilla was associating herself with this new generation of modern, stylish royalty.

The final photograph on the first page of Priscilla's album is an introductory carte with an image of Mary, Queen of Scots taken from an engraving (fig. 4.9). It served double duty as both an introduction to her album and an expression of her associations with Scotland, but in comparison with the cartes of the British royal family on the page, the carte of Mary is almost a footnote buried in the lower right corner. She holds a shield engraved with a poem that reads:

⁶¹ Quoted in Pakula, 145.

⁶² National Portrait Gallery, London, accessed July 8, 2014, <http://www.npg.org.uk/whatson/display/2007/alexandra-of-denmark.php>, and Dimond, 15.

⁶³ *Evening Star*, October 19, 1897.

⁶⁴ Dimond, 19.

Shall Scotland's Queen appeal in vain
 For Scots to do their duty?-
 Then by your presence in this Book
 Prove how you honour beauty.

Here let the SHADOWS of each clan
 Rob Roy's as well as mine.
 Shew "Peace, goodwill to all on earth"
 And love for "Auld Lang Syne."

Like other introductory cartes, it beseeches the viewer to add their portrait to the album, but here it is phrased as a duty that a good Scot should do. Although a Catholic martyr, which Priscilla probably did not identify with, Mary was nonetheless a symbol of Scotland and spoke to Priscilla's Scottish ancestry through her parents and Otago's Scottish foundations. The poem also plays on Scottish history and tradition with the reference to clans, the popular Highland outlaw Rob Roy, and Robert Burns's poetry.

According to Roddy Simpson in his study of photography in Victorian Scotland, copies of paintings and engravings of historic figures from the days before photography were popular cartes de visite in the home country. Sir Walter Scott, Mary Queen of Scots, and Robert Burns were all popular subjects.⁶⁵ Priscilla was not the only person in Otago with Scottish ancestry to include a Mary, Queen of Scots introductory carte in their album. An album owned by the Sinclair-Stott family contains a similarly-designed one with the same poem. Louisa Melville Will, daughter of the Scottish emigrant and Presbyterian minister William Will, also included an image of Mary in her album (fig. 4.10). She emphasised Mary's royalty and Scottishness by surrounding her with thistles and crowns.⁶⁶

Priscilla continued this Scottish theme later in her album. One page features four cartes de visite of Scottish views surrounding a cabinet card of Ann Duncan, Priscilla's aunt (fig. 4.11).⁶⁷ Three of the views are identified on the back: Huntly Castle in the

⁶⁵ Roddy Simpson, *The Photography of Victorian Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 83.

⁶⁶ TOSM, Album 293.

⁶⁷ Ann Duncan, nee Fortune, had no known association with Banff. Priscilla possibly placed her portrait there because of the limited number of spaces for cabinet cards in the

upper left, the town of Banff in the lower left, and the Bridge of Alvah, three miles from Banff, in the lower right. All three cartes were products of the A. Rae and Son studio of Banff. The view in the upper right of an unidentified bridge bears the studio mark of F. York of Bayswater, London. These images were mostly likely collected as travel souvenirs in the 1860s during the first of the two return visits to Scotland that her family made. Priscilla's mother was born in Aberchirder, located only ten miles from Banff, and adding these landscape images to her album was a visual expression of her familial connection to this part of Aberdeenshire.

It is far from surprising to find images expressing Scottishness in Otago's albums given the large number of Scots who immigrated to the region. What is surprising is that of the nearly ninety albums in TOSM's collection surveyed for this thesis, only three are known to have been owned by Scottish immigrants. These albums were compiled by women who emigrated from Scotland when they were children, but only one of these, assembled by Scottish emigrant Mary Bone, has any discernible Scottish content.⁶⁸ Mary came to Otago when she was about thirteen years old. The album she compiled when she was twenty-two holds two Scottish portraits, one of a boy wearing a simple kilt and rosettes and another of a man in full Scottish dress with kilt, sporran, sash and dagger.⁶⁹ These are studio photographs that express the Scottish identity of the sitters as opposed to the generic Scottishness communicated by images of Robert Burns and Mary, Queen of Scots. In Fanny Bathgate's album, only a handful of portraits taken by Scottish studios indicates any connection between her and her homeland, but these are standard studio portraits with nothing particularly Scottish about them.⁷⁰ Margaret Ferens, who left

album. This suggests that not all images on a page are related and points towards the need of the album's owner to narrate the images.

⁶⁸ TOSM, Albums 99, 120, and 138. Other albums in the collection might have been compiled by Scottish immigrants, but they are not known.

⁶⁹ TOSM, Album 138.

⁷⁰ TOSM, Album 99.

Scotland in 1847 when she was ten years old, did not include any Scottish photographs or references to Scotland in her album that she put together as an adult.⁷¹

Motherhood

If Priscilla compiled her album around the time she married in 1884, thoughts of impending motherhood would have been on her mind. It is a strong theme that she introduces on the first page of her album and weaves throughout it. The photographs of Queen Victoria and Princess Alexandra provide examples of ideal Victorian mothers, not only for their immediate families but also for the extended family of the empire. Victoria was its symbolic mother, and the carte with her image focuses on her motherhood rather than her as a queen or grieving widow. She is depicted as a doting mother holding her youngest daughter on her lap, and she is surrounded by portraits of her other children and grandchildren. Visually she is the centre, but she does not stand alone; she is caught and connected to the others in an intimate visual family web. Her identity here is as much matriarch as it is monarch.

Alexandra's portrait likewise communicates motherhood, but in a more subtle way than Victoria's. Priscilla placed Alexandra opposite Edward at the top of the page, suggesting they are the parents of the family that is to follow. During the nineteenth century Alexandra gained the reputation as a devoted mother, but it was a motherhood quite different from the earlier royal world where childcare was left to nurses and nannies. Alexandra's head nurse, Mrs Blackburn, described Alexandra's hands-on approach to caring for her children, "She was in her glory when she could run up to the nursery, put on a flannel apron, wash the children herself and see them asleep in their little beds."⁷²

The most popular photograph in England in the nineteenth century was one of Alexandra with her daughter Princess Louise taken by W. & D. Downey in 1868, which

⁷¹ TOSM, Album 120.

⁷² William Rutherford Hayes Trowbridge, *Queen Alexandra: A Study of Royalty* (London: Forgotten Books, 2013), 139.

sold 300,000 copies.⁷³ An Otago album in the Alexander Turnbull Library holds a copy of this image (fig. 4.12).⁷⁴ Here was the new mother of the empire choosing to show herself enjoying a warm and playful moment with her daughter. She could be any mother, and no doubt this accounted for its mass appeal. In addition to being a portrait of Alexandra and her daughter, the photograph served another purpose. Shortly before Louise was born in February 1867, Alexandra suffered an attack of rheumatic fever that left her lame and partially deaf. She spent a number of months convalescing. Downey's photograph of her and Louise in September 1868 was meant to show the excellent recovery Alexandra had made.⁷⁵ The pose was widely adopted by other photographers and sitters. Alexandra's sister Dagmar, who became Tsarina Maria Feodorovna of Russia, was similarly photographed in 1870 with her son Nicholas. The pose proved to be popular with non-royal women as well. In about 1885 Dunedin woman Ethel Turton piggybacked her daughter Beryl in a portrait.⁷⁶ The pose was not restricted to European women. Photographers adopted it for commercial images they produced of indigenous women around the world well into the twentieth century.

Priscilla did not include this carte of Alexandra in her album, possibly because it had been produced about ten years before she assembled her album and was not available. But she added one that evoked Alexandra's "baby on back" image. It is a photograph of an etching by an unidentified artist titled *Italian Mother* (fig. 4.13). This title appears on the back in French, German, and English along with the number 1613, which was the publisher's catalogue number for the image. This is the first of six photographs of artworks depicting women engaged in nurturing behaviour in Priscilla's album. None of these reproductions have studio or publisher's information. Instead, they are identified on the back with a catalogue number and multi-lingual title. One is titled *The Prayer* and depicts a scene of a child and a woman, presumably the child's mother, before a grave, possibly of the child's father (fig. 4.14). The child is praying and looking

⁷³ Gernsheim, 195.

⁷⁴ Alexander Turnbull Library, PA1-o-1713.

⁷⁵ Dimond, 33-35.

⁷⁶ TOSM, Album 93.

upward at the spiritual figure the woman points to, possibly the Virgin Mary. The woman's other hand rests on the child's shoulder in a comforting gesture. Another carte is titled *The Lesson* and illustrates a Dutch interior where a woman and girl study a book while a younger girl plays with a dog on a chair behind them (fig. 4.15).⁷⁷ Priscilla has included it on a page with five other images featuring motherhood and children that range from other artworks to portraits (fig. 4.16). One page of Priscilla's album features three motherhood cartes side-by-side (fig. 4.17). The carte on the left, titled *Maternal Grief*, is based on a painting by German artist Friedrich Eduard Meyerheim and shows a peasant mother worrying over a sick child. The image in the centre titled *The Torn Trousers* is by another German artist, Robert Kretschmer, and illustrates a scene of an older woman, possibly a grandmother, mending the pants of a small boy. The one on the right is a copy of Raphael's painting *Madonna of the Fish*.⁷⁸ The Madonna is a powerful symbol of motherhood in Western culture. As a mother, she represents the highest achievement for a woman, and her gentle and nurturing nature made her the ideal mother. And by giving her son to humankind, she made the greatest sacrifice a mother could make.

Other images in Priscilla's album indicate she was thinking about motherhood. Typical of most nineteenth-century albums, portraits of mothers with their children are spread throughout. Of particular note is a photograph of Priscilla's mother with her brother Frederick taken at the studio of G. W. Wilson during the family's trip to Aberdeen in 1865 (fig. 4.18). Although posing for the camera, Elspeth is not focused on it nor is she preoccupied with the act of having her photograph taken. Instead, her attention is on her young son. Her body language is relaxed and affectionate as she leans around him, holding his hand and gazing at his face. She shows an informality and intimacy with her child similar to that of Alexandra and Louise a few years later. Indeed, the photograph of Priscilla's mother with Frederick is similar in composition to many Renaissance paintings of the Madonna and Child.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ This artwork is based on the painting *La Maîtress d'école* by Dutch artist Caspar Netscher, held in the National Gallery, London.

⁷⁸ The back of the carte identifies the title as *The Virgin with the Fish*.

⁷⁹ Laura Wexler notes that the Madonna and child pose from paintings became a standard pose for photographs of women and their children. See Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence*:

Family and Friends

In Priscilla's album there are 170 studio portraits of people who appear to be family and friends, and these comprise 79% of the total photographs in her album. However, because few of the photographs have inscriptions and names, it is difficult to determine their identities and connections to Priscilla. About thirty can be identified, and most are her immediate family. There are five photographs of her father, four of her mother, and at least a dozen of her siblings. There is a carte de visite of Priscilla as a young girl from 1865, and one unlabelled cabinet card also appears to be of her.⁸⁰ An inscribed photograph from Aberdeen is of her Scottish maternal grandfather, Peter Wilson, and a photograph next to his of a woman his age might be his wife Isobel. A handful of photographs have names of people who are not immediate family but have connections to Priscilla. There is a carte de visite portrait of Captain LeFavor, an acquaintance of the Duncan family, taken at the studio of Courret Hermanos on June 3, 1864. The same date is inscribed on a portrait of Priscilla's father George, and evidently the two men visited the studio together during a visit to Lima, Peru. There are three portraits of the Shand family, who were related to Priscilla through her brother's wife. Unfortunately, the majority of the portraits in the album are not identified, and their associations with Priscilla have been lost.

Without identifying information for the other portraits, it is nearly impossible to determine their links to Priscilla. Although only a limited number of individuals can be identified, all but ten of the photographs have studio information, and this offers further insight into Priscilla's connections. Of the 160 portraits of family and friends with studio marks, 66% (105) are from Otago. American studios make up 14% (23). Priscilla's family lived in California and Oregon briefly during the 1870s, so this is not surprising. Another 14% (23) are from England and Scotland, and one is from Ireland. This also not surprising given the family's British origins and their two return trips to the region.

Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 61-65.

⁸⁰ This is based on a comparison of these photographs with snapshots of Priscilla in TOSM, Albums 25 and 37.

Australian studios are represented by 3% (5), and there are two portraits from Lima of Captain Lefavor and George Duncan. Only one photograph is from a New Zealand studio outside of Otago.

Given the frequent exchange of photographs in letters from overseas, it would be easy to conclude that the overseas portraits reflect overseas connections, but twelve of these photographs are actually of Dunedin people taken while abroad. The carte from the Irish studio is of Arthur Burns, a resident of Dunedin and son of the settlement's first Presbyterian minister, Thomas Burns. There is a photograph of Priscilla's grandfather Peter Wilson taken in Aberdeen, but by the time Priscilla had compiled her album, he had immigrated to New Zealand. And as pointed out earlier, one of the Peruvian studio portraits is of her father George. Half of the photographs taken in Scotland and one quarter of the portraits from the USA are of Priscilla's family taken during their time in these countries. When these photographs are taken in to consideration, over 70% of Priscilla's album is filled with people linked to Otago, indicating a strong local network. It is possible that there are still more Otago people amongst the unidentified portraits from foreign studios, making an even higher percentage of local connections likely. From her album it is clear that Priscilla felt an affinity with the people she knew locally rather than distant friends and relations.

Album compilers often carefully organised their photographs of family and friends. In a letter to her father in 1863, American woman Annie Collins explains how she was planning to arrange the photographs in her album, "I wanted yours and Mother's to be side by side. I have saved a place for yours by Mother's and a place for little Brothers by Brother's. Mine and Sister's are together, and Sue's and Val's. Collins gave me his. I put it opposite Lizzie Stroufe's. I should like to have Cousin La Collin's photograph to go opposite Cousin Alice's."⁸¹ Annie grouped her photographs by relationships—her mother with her father, herself with her sister and her two cousins together. No family connection is mentioned for Sue, Val, Collins and Lizzie Stroufe, so presumably they are friends and grouped together accordingly. Priscilla likewise grouped her family members together, mostly at the beginning of the album. Pages two to five are

⁸¹ Quoted in Vosmeier, 211.

filled with photographs of her grandfather, father, mother, siblings and herself as well as a handful of unidentified people. Page sixteen is exclusively of her family and shows a well-planned layout. Priscilla's large cabinet card is in the centre, flanked by her parents in the upper right and left corners. She appears to be gazing up to her mother. Two of her brothers are in the lower corners, below their parents (fig. 4.19).

The 'Others'

Of the 199 studio portraits in Priscilla's album, twenty-nine are of people who are clearly not her personal acquaintances. The sudden appearance of portraits of Abraham Lincoln and Hawai'ian royalty amongst the pantheon of family and friends is jarring to the present-day viewer. They seem out of place and disconnected from the Duncan family story being told through the other images. As such, they are easily dismissed as unrelated and unimportant in the larger family narrative, mere curiosities and space-fillers with little relevance to the rest of the album. However, it is through these apparent interlopers that other levels of meaning can be explored. Priscilla chose to devote thirteen percent of her album to people who were not her personal associates. Elizabeth Edwards point out the importance of choice when trying to understand photographs, "Choices are affective decisions which construct and respond to the significances and consequences of things and human relations with which they are associated."⁸² Priscilla's images represent her conscious choices and thus function as vehicles to communicate additional layers of information about herself. A close examination of these photographs reveals a narrative of Priscilla's identity as a member of a colonial Pacific world.

Of all the possible things to photograph, humans have proven to be the most popular subject. The commercial success of portrait photography and the millions of images created during the nineteenth century testify to this. Victorians collected not only photographs of family and friends but also of the famous, the infamous, and the 'other.' As mentioned above, Priscilla devoted the first page of her album to celebrities. The next group of celebrities appears on a page half way through the album and features a trio of statesmen (fig. 4.20). The first two photographs are of perhaps the most notable leaders

⁸² Edwards, 68.

of the English-speaking world in the early 1860s: Lord Palmerston (Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston), First Lord of the Treasury (commonly referred to as Prime Minister) of the United Kingdom from 1855 to 1858 and again from 1859 to 1865, and Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States from 1861 to 1865. Politically, these men were at odds. Palmerston's personal sympathies during the American Civil War extended towards the Confederacy with a belief that the South would be a valuable market for British goods. In terms of their cartes de visite, however, the two men had one thing in common; they both died while in office within six months of each other in 1865, providing the celebrity image market with two profitable images. The third photograph in this group is a composite of portraits of what appear to be British statesmen and military leaders, possibly members of the British parliament. Crowning the group at the centre top is Prince Albert, another notable person who died during the 1860s.

In the year that Lincoln and Palmerston died, the Duncan family was living in Bristol.⁸³ It is likely that these cartes were purchased during their sojourn there. The carte of Lord Palmerston was produced by the London Stereoscopic and Photographic Company of London during the 1860s. Set up in 1854, the company did a brisk trade in stereo views, and in 1859 they advertised that they carried upwards of 10,000 of them.⁸⁴ They seized upon the carte de visite craze in the 1860s and diversified their stock, selling celebrity images such as Lord Palmerston's. The cartes of Lincoln and composite of the British statesmen both have Bristol seller marks on the back. The photograph of British statesmen was purchased from a Bible and stationery warehouse on Park Street, Bristol. The seller's green label has been pasted over the photographer's mark, which appears to be of Bristol photographer William Callaway.⁸⁵ Lincoln's portrait is stamped on the back "Royal Clifton Spa and Baths, Jas Bolton Proprietor." James Bolton ran the spa from 1851 until it was demolished in 1867. He took advantage of the tourist aspect of spa

⁸³ Alice Duncan was born in Bristol in December 1865. Duncan, 19.

⁸⁴ National Portrait Gallery, London, accessed September 4, 2015, <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp16395/london-stereoscopic--photographic-company>.

⁸⁵ Part of the label for the seller is missing. The seller is "?arry's." The visible part of the photography studio is "Callaw."

culture and sold guidebooks and items such as fossils that were found along the adjacent River Avon.⁸⁶ No doubt he saw the marketability of Lincoln's image after his assassination in April 1865 and stocked this carte alongside the other curiosities in his shop.

Like many others, the Duncans would have acquired Lincoln's carte as a novelty and type of memento mori. But collecting it also demonstrated their knowledge of current events. Lord Palmerston died a few months after Lincoln, again offering an opportunity to possess a carte reflecting their knowledge of the latest news. However, the inclusion of these cartes in Priscilla's album, compiled many years later when these events were relegated to the past, suggests added meaning. These images were no longer evidence of knowing current events but instead souvenirs of those events. Priscilla would have been only six years old in 1865, but the public excitement at Lincoln's assassination and Lord Palmerston's unexpected death from illness might have left an impression on her. In her album these photographs served as her witness to these events, young as she was. Additionally, they were mementos of her time in Bristol. Perhaps the carte of Lincoln was picked up during an outing the family took to Bolton's Royal Clifton Spa and Baths. Like her cartes of the British royals, Palmerston's was a visual connection with the empire to which she belonged for most of her life. When the family moved to the United States in 1874, the meaning of Lincoln's image might have been redefined as a symbol of her new home.

Cartes of royalty and political leaders are only a part of the range of the portraits of 'others' in Priscilla's album. She also included photographs of Hawai'ians, South Americans, and Māori at the end. Although a seemingly disparate group, they shared several things in common. Like Priscilla, they all lived in places affected by European colonialism and the rapid changes that resulted from the introduction of new peoples, goods, governments, and ideas. By having their portraits taken, they shared the experience of photography, and by association, modernity. Although these photographs initially appear to be of people unrelated to the friends and family in the album, they were, in fact, part of an extended family of the colonial Pacific to which Priscilla

⁸⁶ Bruce Tyldsley, "The Clifton Spa Pump Room," accessed September 3, 2015, <http://www.thespasdirectory.com/profilego.asp?ref=28413941>.

belonged. Michel Frizot notes, “Devoted though people were to the representation of themselves as individuals, they found belonging to a hypothetical, larger family of humanity even more significant.”⁸⁷

In one respect, these photographs can be considered examples of “types.” Certainly there was a commercial element behind the creation of these photographs that fed into the desire to collect images of exotic people. They had an element of curiosity, but taken together as a group and placed within the context of Priscilla’s album, their meaning is more complex. Appearing at the end of her album, they were relegated the space after family and friends, thus reflecting an imperial order that placed them at the bottom of the album’s hierarchy. But they also bookend a continuum of family that began on the first page with the British royal family and held Priscilla’s own family in between. Though clearly ranked, these “others” represent one end of the spectrum of members of her world.

Hawai’ians

Priscilla’s album holds four cartes de visite of Hawai’ian royalty (fig. 4.21). They are clustered together on a page towards the end of the album, about three-fourths of the way through, and they share the page with Wiremu Tāmihana Tarapīpī, the ‘Kingmaker,’ and Scotsman Jock Graham, the Otago postman who was known as a colourful character.⁸⁸ The cartes are from the Honolulu studio of Menzies Dickson, who arrived in Honolulu by 1867 and operated there until 1882.⁸⁹ Three of the photographs are portraits of successive kings of the Kingdom of Hawai’i: Kamehameha V (1863-72), Lunalilo (1873-74), and Kalākaua (1874-91). The fourth royal is Emma Kalanikaumakaamano Kaleleonālani Na‘ea Rooke, Queen Consort of King Kamehameha

⁸⁷ Michel Frizot, *The New History of Photography* (Koln: Könemann, 1994), 259.

⁸⁸ For a description of Graham and his antics, see *Otago Witness*, March 18, 1908.

⁸⁹ National Portrait Gallery of Australia, “Menzies Dickson,” accessed August 12, 2015, <http://cs.nga.gov.au/Detail.cfm?IRN=214936>, and John Hannavy, ed., *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 640. It is not known when Menzies started his studio.

IV (1855-63) and herself a candidate in the 1874 royal election.⁹⁰ All four royals are wearing western-style clothing and assume standard studio portrait poses.

Photography arrived in Hawai'i by 1845. As in many other settlements across the globe, photography flourished in Honolulu; eighty-six studios are known to have been established there in the nineteenth century. The earliest known activity of a photographer was in 1845 when American engineer Theophilus Metcalf advertised in the *Honolulu Polynesian* that he was prepared to take "Likenesses by the Daguerreotype."⁹¹ The oldest surviving daguerreotypes were made in January 1847 by Fernando LeBleu, an itinerant photographer from Lima.⁹² LeBleu and other itinerants demonstrate the interconnectedness of the Pacific world during the 1840s and the ease with which photographic knowledge spread rapidly throughout it. Americans in particular were quick to set up their trade in Hawai'i in the 1850s as Honolulu became a stopping point for traffic between the California gold rushes of the late 1840s and the Australian strikes of the 1850s. Honolulu studios, like studios elsewhere, produced portraits, landscapes, and street scenes.⁹³

The Kamehameha kings and other nineteenth-century Hawai'ian royalty embraced photography. On a trip to Europe, princes Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kamehameha posed for a series of daguerreotypes in Paris in 1850, and before his death in 1854, their uncle, Kamehameha III, had his daguerreotype taken several times by the German photographer Hugo Stragewald in Honolulu.⁹⁴ His successor, Kamehameha IV, likewise frequented portrait studios, as did later royals.

⁹⁰ A carte de visite of Queen Emma is also in TOSM, Album 120.

⁹¹ Peter E. Palmquist and Thomas R. Kailbourn, eds., *Pioneer Photographers of the Far West: A Biographical Dictionary, 1840-1865* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 398.

⁹² Lynn Ann Davis, "Hawaii," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2008), 639 and Robert C. Schmitt, "Notes on Hawai'ian Photography before 1890," *Hawaii Historical Review* 2 (1967): 409-16.

⁹³ Davis, 640.

⁹⁴ Schmitt, 411.

Hawai'ian royalty in the nineteenth century adopted a nominally British-style monarchy as well as European fashions, artistic practices, and technologies like photography. In a speech he gave shortly after gaining the throne, Kamehameha IV praised the previous king for his western outlook and affirmed that "The age of Kamehameha III was that of progress and of liberty." He continued with his own vow to continue his predecessor's vision, "To-day we begin a new era. Let it be one of increased civilisation—one of decided progress and industry."⁹⁵ The adoption of many aspects of western culture by Hawai'ian royalty, Anne Maxwell maintains, was not a case of slavish imitation. Instead, it was a strategy for resisting colonialism.⁹⁶ By showing that they were westernised, Hawai'ian kings demonstrated that they did not need Europeans to 'civilise' them like other Pacific peoples. In order to remain independent and protect traditional Hawai'ian culture, they showed the world that they had adopted a western one. One way they did this, Maxwell suggests, was "through the release of imagery that proved that Hawai'i's traditional leaders had donned the mantle of modernity and could be trusted to set an example for their subjects."⁹⁷ Photography proved a powerful tool in this strategy, and nineteenth-century Hawai'ian sovereigns made their portraits widely available. Similar to Queen Victoria and other celebrities of the day, they used their images to promote themselves, and both Hawai'ians at home and in the international community regarded them favourably. By assuming poses and facial expressions that communicated both their rank and knowledge of portrait conventions, they were able to control their self-representation.⁹⁸ They were, Maxwell continues, "consummate professionals in public relations, who knew that any image they projected would exert a powerful influence over both the short-term and long-term fate of indigenous Hawai'ians."⁹⁹

⁹⁵ *Polynesian*, January 13, 1855.

⁹⁶ Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999).

⁹⁷ Maxwell, 196.

⁹⁸ Maxwell, 198.

⁹⁹ Maxwell, 198.

In her investigation of two albums with images of Hawai'ian royalty, Adrienne Kaeppler finds the compilers were motivated by a desire to record what she terms their "encounters with greatness."¹⁰⁰ Westerners had learned to 'visit' with monarchy and other celebrities through photographs, and because the market for collecting Hawai'ian likenesses was an international one, they could be similarly visited. Like Maxwell, she finds that these images were used by Hawai'ian sovereigns as visual proof that they were modern, western-style aristocrats. Indigenous Hawai'ians did not collect these images because they already had physical access to their royalty. For Europeans, however, these photographs could be proof of a meeting that resulted in an exchange of cartes, or they could be souvenirs and reminders of less formal encounters.

Scottish artist and aristocrat Constance Gordon Cummings collected portraits of Hawai'ian royals while visiting the kingdom in 1879 and pasted them into one of her sketchbooks. Her collecting was in response to her actual encounters with the local aristocrats. She was introduced to Queen Emma, the widow of King Kamehameha IV, and even exchanged photographs with her. In a letter to Consul Wodehouse, a mutual acquaintance of theirs, Queen Emma commented that she found Miss Gordon Cumming's portrait "a charming one of her" and would arrange to send a selection of her own for her to choose from. She added that "Should she not like them and does not mind waiting I could then send her on some new ones as I am shortly to give Montano the long talked of sittings."¹⁰¹ The photograph of Queen Emma that Gordon Cummings chose for her album was a studio portrait featuring her seated in a chair, wearing an elegant white off the shoulder dress with a full bustle. The Dowager Queen is as fashionably dressed as other contemporary young European royals such as Princess Alexandra. Kaeppler surmises that Gordon Cummings felt an affinity to these aristocrats with their western manners and clothing and did not see them as the 'other.'¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Adrienne L. Kaeppler, "Encounters with Greatness: Collecting Hawaiian Monarchs and Aristocrats," *History of Photography* 25 (2001): 259-68.

¹⁰¹ Kaeppler, 260. Montano was Andreas Avelino Montano, a Colombian-born photographer working in Honolulu. He photographed Queen Emma several times as well as other members of the Hawai'ian royal family.

¹⁰² Kaeppler, 262.

Miss Fanny Berry visited Hawai'i with her parents in 1865.¹⁰³ While there, she collected autographs of royalty rather than photographs, which Kaeppler maintains were easier to solicit.¹⁰⁴ In 1874 she sent her autograph album back to Hawai'i to her friend Elizabeth Kekaaniau Pratt, the great grandniece of Kamehameha I, to collect more signatures from royalty. It appears that Elizabeth also sent back photographs. Fanny dedicated three pages to Hawai'i in her album, combining cartes de visite and wood engravings clipped from a book with the autographs and memorabilia she had collected in 1865. According to Kaeppler, these pages were meaningfully laid out and intended to relate a narrative of her encounters with Hawai'ian greatness.¹⁰⁵ Berry's album includes images of the same four Hawai'ian royals that Priscilla included in hers. However, Berry's images are woodcuts based on studio photographic portraits and not cartes de visite.

Priscilla visited Honolulu in the late 1870s or early 1880s, possibly in 1880 when she and her mother and siblings returned to Dunedin from the USA after her father's death there. A Duncan family descendant recounts that on her trip, she met Adrian Dudoit, the son of the French consul to the Hawai'ian Islands. He saw a photograph she carried of her sister Emmaline and immediately fell in love with her.¹⁰⁶ In late 1882 Emmaline married Adrian.¹⁰⁷

The idea that someone could fall in love through a photograph was pervasive. Fearing her son the Prince of Wales would fall in love with Princess Alexandra of Denmark, Queen Victoria held back photographs of her until she had decided that the match was acceptable.¹⁰⁸ Much like today's singles columns and dating websites,

¹⁰³ Little is known of Fanny Berry. She arrived from and departed to San Francisco, but it is not known whether she was American.

¹⁰⁴ Kaeppler, 262. However, these photographs would have been commercially produced and available to purchase at photographer's studios.

¹⁰⁵ Kaeppler, 266-67.

¹⁰⁶ Duncan, 33.

¹⁰⁷ *Otago Witness*, January 6, 1883.

¹⁰⁸ Dimond, 19.

newspapers carried advertisements for potential mates, and an exchange of photographs was often solicited. In 1870 Dunedin's *Evening Star* reported about an advertisement placed in the Christchurch *Press* by a young man looking for a wife. Prospective brides were to reply in their own handwriting and enclose their carte de visite.¹⁰⁹ In 1871 the newspaper ran another story about a similar ad that was placed in the *Nelson Colonist* for thirty to forty unmarried women "with a view to matrimony" to send in their cartes.¹¹⁰ However, as a humorous story from the *Evening Star* in 1878 indicates, the practice met with some ridicule:

A man advertised for a wife, and requested each candidate to enclose her carte-de-visite. A spirited young lady wrote to the advertiser in the following terms:—"Sir, I do not enclose my carte, for though there is some authority in putting a carte before a horse, I know of none for putting one before an ass."¹¹¹

The fact that Priscilla met with the son of the French consul while in Honolulu suggests that she had connections with the upper levels of Hawai'ian society. It is possible that, like Gordon Cumming, she was introduced to Hawai'ian royals and collected these photographs to record her own encounters with greatness. The fact that they are all published by Menzies Dickson suggests that they were acquired at one time, possibly purchased from his studio or a stationer's shop rather than having been received as gifts from the royals themselves. Priscilla might not have had any encounters with Hawai'ian royalty, and these photographs were simply souvenirs she picked up to remind herself of the visit to Honolulu. They also could have been sent to her by her sister after she married Dudoit and settled in Hawai'i.¹¹² No matter how she acquired them, these photographs speak of her connections to this area of the Pacific, both through her sister's marriage and her own visit to the place.

¹⁰⁹ *Evening Star*, September 27, 1870.

¹¹⁰ *Evening Star*, December 1, 1871.

¹¹¹ *Evening Star*, June 14, 1878.

¹¹² Dudoit died six months after the marriage in 1882. By 1910 Emmaline was living in Dunedin again, but when she returned is not known. Duncan, 33.

Of the four royal cartes, Queen Emma's is the most intriguing and embodies a range of representations. In some respects she shares similarities with Princess Alexandra. They were near contemporaries, Emma being born in 1836 and Alexandra in 1844. Emma was considered a stylish and modern young woman and, like Alexandra, her portraits depict a woman confident with herself and the camera's gaze. She had an interest in photography, and in 1862 daguerreotype portraits of her and her husband King Kamehameha IV were displayed at the London Exhibition. Maxwell describes her portrait as that of a "refined and cultured young woman, whose sympathies and tastes, to judge by her glamorous appearance, were already quite British."¹¹³ Emma also gave daguerreotypes of herself and her family to other royals.¹¹⁴ She was known for her humanitarian efforts, and with her husband she helped establish a public hospital (Queens Hospital, now the Queens Medical Center) and schools for native Hawai'ians.¹¹⁵ And like Alexandra, she was a doting young mother and symbol of Victorian motherhood. However, as the Queen Consort of Hawai'i, her relationship with the British royal family was through Queen Victoria, not Alexandra. She formed a close relationship with Victoria, and they corresponded regularly with one another and exchanged photographs.¹¹⁶ She named her son and only child Albert, after the Prince Consort, and Victoria became his godmother by proxy. Upon the death of her son in 1862 and her husband in 1863, Emma's affinity with Victoria grew stronger as she, like her British counterpart, went into mourning. Emma visited Windsor Castle in 1865, and Victoria commented in her journal that she "dressed in the same widow's weeds as I wear."¹¹⁷ The Hawaiian State Archives holds a photograph of Emma in mourning, gazing at a framed

¹¹³ Maxwell, 194.

¹¹⁴ Maxwell, 196.

¹¹⁵ For more on Queen Emma see, George S. Kanahale, *Emma: Hawaii's Remarkable Queen* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).

¹¹⁶ The Esoteric Curiosa, "Hawai'i's 'Anglicized' Queen: Emma Kalanikaumakaamano Kaleleonālani Ne'ea Rooke," accessed August 12, 2015, <http://theesotericcuriosa.blogspot.co.nz/2010/11/hawaiiis-anglicized-queen-emma.html?view=mosaic&m=1>.

¹¹⁷ The Esoteric Curiosa.

photograph of her husband, very similar to the mourning photographs of Victoria contemplating Albert.¹¹⁸ By the 1870s Emma had abandoned her mourning attire, and photographs of her show a return to an elegantly dressed aristocrat. She also returned to public life. Following the death of King Lunalilo in 1874, she ran unsuccessfully in the election for royal successor against David Kalākaua.¹¹⁹ Emma represented a decidedly pro-British Hawai'i while Kalākaua saw the Kingdom's interests best served by an association with the USA.

The four cartes of Hawai'ian royalty in Priscilla's album depict sitters confident with themselves and the conventions of portrait photography. They assume what Suren Lalvani has described as "the cultivated asymmetries of aristocratic pose," a way of holding the body that is in contrast to the "head-on stare" used when depicting the 'other.'¹²⁰ It is unlikely that Priscilla saw these cartes exclusively as examples of indigenous Hawai'ian types as she did not place them at the end of the album with the South American and Māori photographs. But Priscilla did not place them at the beginning of her album alongside British royalty either. Their non-European race combined with their western style of royalty muddled their classification. Not completely royal but not necessarily the 'other,' they seem to occupy an ambiguous in-between space in Priscilla's album.

These photographs are in stark contrast to another carte at the end of the album that is labelled on the back "Sandwich Islander" (fig. 4.22). This photograph depicts a man in a loincloth secured at the waist with a belt. His bare chest is heavily tattooed or painted, and he holds a bow in one hand and arrows in the other. Fabric of unknown use is piled at his feet. He stares directly at the camera. This photograph was published by Courret Hermanos in Lima, and only the pencilled inscription on the back claims that this

¹¹⁸ Hawaii State Archives, PP-96-3-005.

¹¹⁹ The Hawai'ian Kingdom's 1864 constitution mandated that if the reigning monarch died without appointing a successor, the new monarch would be elected by the legislature from remaining royals. Emma believed that King Lunalilo had died before he could officially proclaim her his successor.

¹²⁰ Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision and the Production of Modern Bodies* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1996), 66.

man is Hawai'ian.¹²¹ An examination of the body art, weapons, and clothing, shows instead that he is a tribesman from the Amazon rainforest, or at least a model meant to represent one. There were few images of Hawai'ians in traditional clothing produced in the nineteenth century. The kingdom was known for its distinctive European-style royalty, and those were the photographs that studios produced and westerners bought. Some photographers produced images depicting indigenous Hawai'ians, such as hula dancers, but the kingdom's strict pornography laws limited the ways in which their traditional culture could be captured by the lens. Early nineteenth century missionaries denounced hula dancing as a pagan dance, and the newly Christianised royalty banned it. Unable to eliminate the practice, King Kamehameha III permitted it when performed in modest dress. However, images of Hula dancers in calf-length skirts and long-sleeved shirts with high collars could not compare with photographs of bare-breasted women produced in other Pacific locations. Joseph W. King disregarded the law and was "run out of town in 1870 for making obscene photographs of hula dancers."¹²² Photographers focused instead on depicting Hawai'i through landscapes, towns and, of course, Hawai'i's distinctive form of royalty. And given the restrictions on photographing bare flesh in Christianised Hawai'i, it is highly unlikely that a photograph of a man wearing only a loincloth like this so-called 'Sandwich Islander' would have been permitted.

Why this photograph was labelled as a Sandwich Islander invites speculation. It is possible that it was inscribed by Priscilla. However, she had visited the kingdom and seen Hawai'ians first-hand, and she would have been aware of the Christianised modesty of dress there. It is possible that she wrote the inscription later in life when her memories of the trip had faded. The photograph is from the Lima studio of Courret Hermanos, not a Honolulu studio, and it seems likely that Priscilla's father acquired it during his trip to Peru in 1864. The use of the description "Sandwich Islander" rather than "Hawai'ian" might hold some clues as to its misidentification. The name Sandwich Islands reflected colonial rather than indigenous origins, and it was used throughout the nineteenth century

¹²¹ The writing appears to be in the same hand as the other Peruvian cartes, but it is not known whose hand it is.

¹²² Kaeppler, 267.

despite the recognition of the name Hawai'i in the 1840 constitution. Russell Clement states, "Today that name is used infrequently to evoke a certain nostalgia and quaintness."¹²³ If Priscilla had been the author of the inscription, it is possible that she thought (or had been told) that this was how Hawai'ians traditionally looked and dressed. She labelled him with an antiquated name that distinguished him as a primitive, pre-colonial type different from the westernised Hawai'ians she had seen and who were embodied in her photographs of royalty. Priscilla placed him on the last page of the album, seven pages apart from the Hawai'ian royals, further distinguishing him as someone different from them. He is given a rather ambiguous place between a photograph of a Peruvian fruit seller and a group of Tahitian women.

Peruvians

There are seventeen cartes de visite from Peruvian studios in Priscilla's album, most likely collected by her father George during a trip he made in 1864. These photographs were produced by three Lima studios: eleven from the *Fotografia Central* of Courret Hermanos, three from Pedro Emilio Garreaud, and three from Eugenio Maunoury. Stylistically, they resemble studio portraits and souvenir cartes available throughout the world. Only the specific subject matter and studio names indicate their origins. Their subject matter varies widely, ranging from commissioned studio portraits to souvenir images of the people of Peru to photographs of artwork. Many represent Peruvian types, but in the context of Priscilla and her album, their meaning transcends this simple classification.

Photography reached Peru early, and news of it was announced by the Lima newspaper *El Comercio* in September 1839. Yolanda Retter maintains that the country became as engaged with it as other more affluent countries, possibly outpacing them in some aspects.¹²⁴ Peru enjoyed an economic boom from the 1850s to the 1880s due to the

¹²³ Russell Clement, "From Cook to the 1840 Constitution: The Name Change from the Sandwich to Hawaiian Islands," accessed August 14, 2015, <http://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10524/495/JL14054.pdf>, 50.

¹²⁴ Yolanda Retter, "Peru," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2008), 1063-64.

guano industry, and money brought modernisation such as the railway, which was first established in Lima in 1851. As early as 1842 daguerreotype studios opened, and albumen prints were introduced in 1853. Outside of Lima, studios sprang up in Arequipa, Cusco, Trujillo, and Tacna. The trade was initially driven by American and French photographers, but in 1856 Juan Fuentes, the first known Peruvian-born photographer, set up a studio in Lima.

Priscilla separated the Peruvian photographs into two sections, the first occurring about three-fourths of the way through her album and the second at the very end. The first Peruvian photographs appear together on a single page and represent her father's trip to Peru in 1864 (fig. 4.23). Two of the photographs are studio portraits of George Duncan and his friend Captain William LeFavor, both from the Courret Hermanos studio and inscribed on the back with the date June 3, 1864, presumably the day the men visited the studio (fig. 4.24). The portraits follow studio conventions similar to those found across the globe and demonstrate the studio's knowledge of international portrait photography. George Duncan stands in front of drapery with one hand holding a walking stick and the other placed on a broken classical column. He looks directly at the camera. Captain Lefavor is seated in a chair and gazes to the side. Another Hermanos studio carte on the page is the photograph in the upper left corner of an illustration and is inscribed on the back "Church of the Company burning." On December 8, 1863, the Church of the Company Jesus in Santiago, Chile, caught fire and between 2,000 and 3,000 people died. News of the catastrophe spread throughout the world and reached Dunedin by March 1864, shortly before George left for the Americas.¹²⁵ It seems likely that the carte was purchased as a souvenir when he arrived and, like the photographs of Lord Palmerston and Abraham Lincoln, demonstrated an interest in current events. The other Hermanos photograph on the page is located in the upper right corner and is a view of the shore at Papeete, Tahiti, a place George might have visited on his way to Peru. There were

¹²⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, March 28, 1864.

photography studios in Tahiti by the late 1860s, but this photograph was produced in Lima.¹²⁶

The other two photographs on the page are of ships and not from Peruvian studios, but they relate to George's trip. The one in the centre is of the ship *Chile*. Someone, possibly Priscilla, has noted on the back "Ship Chili [sic]. Father (George Duncan), Mother and part of family (Alfred being youngest) made two trips to and from New Zealand."¹²⁷ The photograph on the left of an unidentified ship is from the Devon studio of John E. Palmer. This might have been the ship the family embarked on when they left Bristol in 1865 and returned to New Zealand.

Priscilla placed the remaining cartes de visite from Peru in the final three pages of her album. One page features six of these (fig. 4.25). In the upper left corner is an uncaptioned studio portrait of a soldier, possibly a nod to the unstable republic and militarism that marked Peruvian history in the nineteenth century and the troubles the country had with Spain and Ecuador. The photograph in the upper right corner, another uninscribed photograph, is of a cleric, possibly a Roman Catholic, and reflects the religious nature of the country. For the Duncan family, who lived in a largely Protestant world, the Catholicism of South America must have added to its foreignness, and a carte de visite of Catholic clergy summarised that experience visually. Three of the photographs are of Amerindians or mixed-race Peruvians, and they follow the conventions of type photographs produced by commercial studios and collected by Europeans. The photograph in the bottom left of a couple in traditional clothing is inscribed on the back "Types of natives – (Cholo & Chola), Peru." The one next to them in the centre of a woman is labelled, "A native (Chola) Peru." These inscriptions show an understanding of them as types. The third, located in the upper centre, depicts a man seated on a burrow and appears to have been taken outside. It bears no notations. The

¹²⁶ Keith Giles, "Charles Burton Hoare (1833-c1879), a Mancunian in Paradise," accessed September 15, 2015, <http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd%5Cphotographers%5Cessays%5CHoare.pdf>.

¹²⁷ According to Elspeth Duncan's obituary, she and the children went to Scotland in 1864 and later in the year George went to the Americas. It seems likely that she and the children, not George, travelled on the *Chili*. *Evening Star*, April 4, 1910.

photograph in the lower right corner depicts a *tapada Limeña* and will be discussed below.

Images of Amerindians and other exotic, distinctive local peoples were a niche market that Peruvian photographers found. Models were often local people employed to sit for the camera. Brazilian photographer Christiano Júnior chose his subjects from people he found on the street outside his Rio de Janeiro studio.¹²⁸ Other models appear to have been repeat sitters for photographers with the same person being depicted in more than one image.¹²⁹ Deborah Poole contends that these were distrustful and somewhat unwilling models, probably paid in some small way for their participation and unlikely to have been given a copy of their image.¹³⁰ While there is little doubt about the asymmetrical power dynamics between photographer and subject, these Lima models were urban dwellers and thus probably familiar with photography. They were not completely ignorant of the process they were engaging in, unlike some indigenous peoples in remote parts of the world.

The remaining Peruvian photographs depict a range of other South American types, mostly of Spanish rather than Amerindian extraction. A studio portrait on another page is of a well-dressed woman, possibly upper class. Her loose, floor-length hair is her dominant feature, and its prominence moves her image from Victorian respectability to the realm of the oddity (fig. 4.26). Her photograph also bears no inscription, and her meaning in the album is not clear. Her appeal might simply be as a curiosity. Women with exceptionally long hair featured in Victorian circuses and sideshows. Performer Millie Owns, known as the “The Queen of the Long Haired Ladies,” had hair that was over eight feet long.¹³¹ She and other long-tressed women made profitable photographs.

¹²⁸ Robert M. Levine, “Faces of Brazilian Slavery: The *Cartes de Visite* of Christiano Júnior,” *The Americas* 7 (1990): 130 and 133.

¹²⁹ Poole, 128.

¹³⁰ Poole, 119.

¹³¹ Victoria Sherrow, *Encyclopedia of Hair: A Cultural History* (London: Greenwood Press, 2006), 95.

Four cartes in Priscilla's album are of a particular social type from Peru, veiled women known as *tapadas* (fig. 4.27). Spanish in origin and dating from as early as the sixteenth century, *tapadas* wore a distinctive costume that included a long skirt or *saya* pulled tightly around their hips and a mantle or shawl known as a *manto* drawn across their shoulders, over their head and across part of their face, revealing one eye. The style of these one-eyed women was known as *tapado de medio ojo*.¹³² Silk gloves and an expensive lace-edged handkerchief could accessorise the outfit, or the *tapada* could choose more modest fabrics. This dress had possible origins with *moriscas*, women of Moorish descent, and emerged as an attempt to sidestep Spanish restrictions on full facial veiling for Muslim women in the fifteenth century.¹³³ Over the years, the traditional *saya y manto* costume was updated; the tight-fitting *saya* was replaced by fuller volume skirts in keeping with current fashions, but the key element, the *manto*, remained. *Tapadas* were present in the Old World Spanish cities of Seville and Madrid, and Lima was the only Spanish outpost that adopted this custom in the New World. These *tapadas Limeñas* were usually women from Lima's *criollo* class that was comprised of Peruvian-born landholders and merchants of pure Spanish lineage.¹³⁴ This was a small and elite group. Of an estimated population of just over a million people in Peru in 1800, only 136,000 were *criollo*. The majority of Peruvians had Amerindian, African, or mixed ancestry.¹³⁵

In 1590 the Spanish crown enacted legislation that prohibited the use of the *tapadas* veil on the grounds that the practice caused "great offenses to God and notable harm to the republic."¹³⁶ A manner of dressing initially intended to ensure female

¹³² Laura R. Bass and Amanda Wunder, "The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid, and Lima," *Hispanic Review* 77 (2009): 108.

¹³³ Poole, 137; Bass and Wunder, 102-105; and Charles F. Walker, *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and its Long Aftermath* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 137.

¹³⁴ Poole, 87.

¹³⁵ Poole, 93.

¹³⁶ Quoted in Bass and Wunder, 98.

modesty had become a disguise that hid identity and allowed women anonymity and independence. In 1840 French writer Maximillian Radiquet observed:

The *saya y manto*, a costume which was originally designed to serve ideas of chastity and jealousy, has come through one of life's contradictions to act as a cover for diametrically opposite customs; its uniformity makes the city one vast salon of intrigues and ingenious manoeuvres that mock the vigilance of the fiercest Othellos. With such elements scandals, merry adventures and burlesque misunderstandings cannot fail to occur.¹³⁷

Tapadas were an urban phenomenon. Through their seductive, mysterious, and rebellious behaviour, Laura Bass and Amanda Wunder contend, they became a symbol of the “fantasies and fears of urban life.”¹³⁸ They moved freely and unescorted through city streets. With their identity concealed and anonymity ensured, they could engage in flirtatious conduct, initiate conversations with men, and, Poole points out, safely and subversively flaunt their conservative *criollo* culture.¹³⁹ Radiquet described them as “passionate, spiritual, playful, sensitive, with no more need than to charm.” He comments further that *tapadas* moved “without the least difficulty with an incredible elasticity of conscience, from the burdens of her illicit tendencies to the practices of her religion; you will see her by turns assume the ecstatic mask of the saint and the ardent expression of the courtesan, and pass from the holy sacraments to maddening sensualities.”¹⁴⁰ Indeed, European observers were fascinated by the fantasy of them, seeing them as both Catholic nuns and exotic Middle Eastern women.¹⁴¹ That these were European women, not indigenous ones, made them even more captivating.

As with the other Peruvian photographs in Priscilla's album, these cartes were likely collected by her father during his sojourn in Peru in 1864. Two of them are from the Courret Hermanos studio where George Duncan had his portrait taken on June 3, and

¹³⁷ James Higgins, *Lima: A Cultural and Literary History* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2005), 87.

¹³⁸ Bass and Wunder, 98.

¹³⁹ Poole, 87.

¹⁴⁰ Quoted in Poole, 92.

¹⁴¹ Poole, 90.

perhaps he picked them up during his visit along with the other photographs bearing that studio's mark. One carte is of the quintessential *tapada* with her lace-edged damask *manto* pulled seductively across her face, exposing a single eye. She wears a fashionable crinolined dress with elaborate white sleeves and holds a lacy handkerchief (fig. 4.27).¹⁴² The suggestion is that this is a young *criollo* woman. However, by the 1860s when this photograph was taken, the cult of the *tapadas* had gone out of fashion.¹⁴³ This woman is not an actual *tapada*, and it is doubtful that she is even *criollo*. As with studio photographs of other Peruvian types, she is most likely a model dressed to represent the idea of a *tapada*. In other photographs this same woman could just as easily have modelled as a fruit seller or *chola*.¹⁴⁴ For collectors of cartes, authenticity was not important. They were buying an image suggestive of a type of person, not a document of an actual individual. Poole describes these Peruvian photographs as “image-objects,” noting that their meanings were “derived not from their fidelity (as ‘realistic’ photographs) to an original but from the systems of accumulation, classification and exchange through which they circulate.”¹⁴⁵

The other Courret Hermanos photograph, shown on the page with the soldier and cleric, depicts a much different *tapada* (fig. 4.28). She is an elderly woman in simple clothing and well-worn shoes. Her *manto*, which she clutches awkwardly, is draped around her shoulders and over the top of her head, fully exposing her face. The inscription on the back reads, “The last saya y manto. 1840 Lima.” This suggests she is a genuine *tapada*, or at least the person who made the annotation thought she was. But given the degree to which photographers employed artifice to create saleable images, this too might just be a model peddling the idea of an authentic *tapada* to a willing market. The other two *tapadas* cartes in the album are from the studios of Eugenio Maunoury and Emilio Garreaud. Maunoury is credited with popularising the carte de visite in Lima and

¹⁴² These details are visible with high-resolution scans.

¹⁴³ Poole, 86.

¹⁴⁴ *Cholas* were women of Amerindian or mixed ancestry who adopted European clothing. Like *tapadas*, they were seen as sexual, independent women. See Poole, 125-28.

¹⁴⁵ Poole, 132.

was well-known for his images of *tapadas*.¹⁴⁶ He had an affiliation with the successful Paris studio Nadar and used that name in his mark. Garreaud specialised in portraiture, a genre that lent itself to producing images of *tapadas*. Like the Courret Hermanos images, these cartes portray women that are suggestive of the type. Each wears European clothing and hold a *manto* draped over their shoulders and head, but both eyes are revealed, rather than the distinctive single eye. They have been given enough of the trappings to make marketable *tapadas* images.

There are a number of reasons why these *tapadas* photographs might have been acquired. For Priscilla's father, they were souvenirs of his time in Peru as well as curiosities and specimens depicting a type of Peruvian. He might also have been attracted to the titillation they offered. Given the exchange culture of cartes de visite, it is also possible that they were gifts to him from South American acquaintances. When the album was compiled many years later, the images gained different meaning. Priscilla was only five years old when her father visited Peru, and she might have been shown the images of these exotic women when her father joined the family in Aberdeen. For her, they could have been reminders of that childhood experience.

Despite being women of European ancestry, Priscilla classified them as a form of 'other' and displayed them at the end of the album with the *cholas* and misidentified Sandwich Islander. When considered alongside some of the earlier photographs in the album, the *tapadas* cartes gain an identity outside of their simple classification as a South American type. Like Princess Alexandra and Queen Emma, they were modern, urban women and icons of female fashionability.¹⁴⁷ Although known for their seductiveness and independence, *tapadas* were also upper-class, white, and respectable. Priscilla could therefore include images of these exotic, rebellious women without any risk to her own respectability. And like Priscilla herself, they were New World women of European ancestry who enjoyed colonial success and affluence. Alexandra, Emma, and the *tapadas* made up a circle of women that Priscilla might have imagined extended to the female family and friends in her album.

¹⁴⁶ Retter, 1064.

¹⁴⁷ Bass and Wunder maintain that despite their origin in early Spain, *tapadas* were always associated with the modern urban landscape. Bass and Wunder, 101-102, 105.

Māori

Māori are the final group of ‘other’ that Priscilla included in her album. As with the Hawai’ians and South Americans, these were people who also lived in the Pacific, but they were more immediate and relevant for her. Māori were part of the diverse nineteenth-century community of Otago that included not only Scottish and English immigrants but also Irish, Americans, Chinese, and German Jews. Inter-marriage between Māori and Pākehā (non Māori) in Otago was not uncommon, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century. Angela Wanhalla has explored the extent of these relationships, finding them a significant aspect of colonialism in the region.¹⁴⁸ By the time Priscilla’s parents arrived in the late 1840s, there were already established mixed Māori and Pākehā communities in the area, and Māori were a familiar sight in Dunedin. Although Priscilla would have been influenced by European ideas of race, she also lived in a colony that arguably did not marginalise its native inhabitants to the extent of other British colonies. Marriage between Māori and Pākehā was never illegal, and Māori were afforded political representation in 1867 when four Māori seats were established in the New Zealand Parliament.

There are four cartes de visite of Māori displayed in two places in Priscilla’s album. Although three appear at the end of the album alongside the Peruvian images, they cannot strictly be described types, and a close look at them reveals a number of potential readings. Their inclusion on Priscilla’s part reflects complex decisions and some possibly contradictory ideas. However, considering these images within the context of her album and the other photographs she included offers clues to their meanings.

The first Māori carte appears about three-fourths of the way through the album and is included on the same page as the Hawai’ian royalty. It is inscribed on the front “Wiremu Tamihana, William Thompson” (fig. 4.29). His placement with the Hawai’ians indicates an association between them in Priscilla’s mind, and an examination of Wiremu Tāmihana’s life reveals many similarities. He was the son of Te Waharoa, leader of Ngāti

¹⁴⁸ Angela Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight: The Mixed-Descent Families of Southern New Zealand* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2009) and Angela Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013).

Hāua, and he succeeded his father as chief.¹⁴⁹ Like the Hawai’ian royalty, he was a Christian, converting to the faith in 1839. At that time he was given the name William Thompson. He also received an English education. Through the Christian Mission Society set up by the Reverend Alfred Nesbit Brown, he learned to read and write in English and te reo Māori. He combined his traditional beliefs with Christianity, providing Ngāti Hāua with a leadership that many Pākehā admired. He is best known for his involvement with Kīngitanga, the Māori King Movement of the 1850s, and Pākehā nicknamed him the “Kingmaker.” In many ways, Kīngitanga resembled the Hawai’ian royalty’s adoption of aspects of western culture to safeguard traditional life in the face of European colonialism. The aim was to create a Māori equivalent of the British Crown. Michael King writes, “If Māori could achieve a similar unity under their own monarch, it was argued, they would be able to match European confidence and cohesion, retain their lands and preserve customary law and traditional authority.”¹⁵⁰ Despite the fact that most European colonists reacted negatively to the King Movement, Tāmihana earned the respect of many due to his attempts to negotiate and maintain peace. John Gorst, the resident magistrate for Waikato, described him as “a pleasant man to argue with. He heard patiently all you had to say, took the greatest pains to find out exactly what you meant, and replied calmly and always to the point. I have met many statesmen in my long life but none more superior in intellect and character to this Māori chief whom many would call a savage.”¹⁵¹

Tāmihana’s photograph does not depict a “savage,” and Priscilla has not included him as a Māori type. He, like the Hawai’ians he shares the page with, is an example of a westernised native of the Pacific. Although it can be argued that this may be considered a type category, the inclusion of his name at the bottom removes this photograph from of

¹⁴⁹ He was not the oldest son and gained his leadership through inheriting his father’s mana (status).

¹⁵⁰ Michael King, *Maori: A Photographic and Social History* (Auckland: Raupo, 2008), 50.

¹⁵¹ King, 63.

the realm of generic representation.¹⁵² He wears European clothing and is seated in a chair, assuming a standard studio pose. Apart from the obvious difference of his race, it is similar to millions of other studio portraits taken during the nineteenth century. His head is turned towards the camera, and his posture suggests someone at ease in a studio. The carte is from the studio of James Dacie Wigglesworth in Wellington and was taken shortly before Tāmihana's death in 1866. He was in Wellington to give evidence to parliament about events that had transpired in the Waikato surrounding his attempts to negotiate peace.¹⁵³ Its conventionality and lack of the ethnographic trappings used by studios suggests that it was commissioned by Tāmihana and intended for his private use. Recognising the commercial value in this image of the "Kingmaker" as a celebrity, the studio might also have invited him to sit for them. The *Wellington Independent* reported on Wigglesworth's range of celebrity images, particularly "Māori nobility." It noted, "Foremost amongst the 'nobility' we notice William Thompson—the king maker—an excellent picture displaying physiologically the characteristics of this great chief."¹⁵⁴ TOSM's collection holds another copy of this photograph bearing the mark of Dunedin photographer James Weaver Allen, who almost certainly saw the value of Tāmihana's image and copied Wigglesworth's photograph as well as several others of Māori.¹⁵⁵

The last page of Priscilla's album contains three cartes de visite of Māori (fig. 4.30). The studio portrait of the woman on the right is similar to Tāmihana's. She is unidentified, but her likeness matches another reproduced in the book *Out of Time: Māori and the Photographer, 1860-1940* and identified as "Queen of Taiaroa."¹⁵⁶ If that attribution is correct, she is Kararaina Te Piki, daughter of Ngati Te Whiti chief Ngatata-

¹⁵² As discussed in Chapter 3, "type" is a difficult to define term and dependent on the viewer's perspective.

¹⁵³ For more on Tāmihana's visit to Wellington, see Evelyn Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana: Rangitira* (Wellington: Huia, 2002), Chapter 22.

¹⁵⁴ *Wellington Independent*, August 28, 1866.

¹⁵⁵ TOSM, Subject Photograph Collection, Box 26, Nos. 52, 55, 57, and 79.

¹⁵⁶ Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow, *Out of Time: Māori and the Photographer, 1860-1940* (Auckland: John Leech Gallery, 2006), 25.

i-te-rangi and a wife of Otago Ngāi Tahu chief Te Matenga Taiaroa, whom she married in 1859.¹⁵⁷ Although dressed in Western clothing, her cultural identity is evident through ta moko (tattoo) around her lips. She sits stiffly with her hands resting awkwardly in her lap. Unlike Tāmihana she shows no ease with the camera, although she had her photograph taken at least one other time by Auckland photographer John Crombie at the Kohimaramara conference of Māori chiefs in 1860.¹⁵⁸ This portrait was taken by the Victorian Portrait Rooms, a Dunedin studio owned by Jewish immigrant Saul Solomon that operated between 1862 and 1865.

There is little that is distinctively Māori about Kararaina's portrait compared with commercially-produced photographs of Māori wearing cloaks, holding traditional weapons and having ta moko. Kararaina's tattoo is barely visible, and she is dressed in western rather than customary Māori clothing. This suggests that her portrait was privately commissioned. As the wife of the prominent local Ngāi Tahu chief Taiaroa, it is possible that she was well known in Dunedin and a local celebrity, making her image marketable. Outside of the region, her portrait probably had little value, especially with its lack of traditional props. As the daughter of a successful Dunedin entrepreneur and local politician, Priscilla was probably acquainted with the Taiaroa family, and she possibly included Kararaina's portrait because of a personal association.

Of the three Māori photographs on the page, only the one on the left of three men contains any identifying information. It was also taken by the Wrigglesworth studio, and at first glance it appears to be a type image of Māori engaged in a fight. The man on the left holds a taiaha (staff-like weapon) and looks towards the man standing beside him who is aiming his rifle down at the man on the ground. The man on the ground is reaching up with his left hand to block the weapon while holding another taiaha in his right hand and gazing at the camera. The standing men appear to be wearing kerchiefs or scarves as improvised skirts, and one man has a makeshift bandolier. The struck man has a kaitaka (flax cloak with taniko border) around his waist. The background canvas is

¹⁵⁷ Te Ara, The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed October 10, 2015, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1n11/ngatata-i-te-rangi> and <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t2/taiaroa-te-matenga>.

¹⁵⁸ Stewart and Gow, 25.

painted with a scene of a lake and trees, but the men have been placed off-centre to it and its edges show on the top and left side. Neither the actors nor the photographer have attempted to hide the fact that this is a staged scene. During the 1860s re-enactments of battle scenes proved a popular subject for commercially-produced cartes de visite.¹⁵⁹ The Wigglesworth studio advertised that it sold “a large variety of Maori figures, Groups, &c., suitable for Postage and Album size.”¹⁶⁰

The background history to this photograph points to a more complex context than just a mock battle scene with Māori models produced for the commercial market. The notations on the photograph identify the men as Heta Tauranga, Hamiora Te Ahuroa, and Porokoru Ngawihi, who were part of Tāmihana’s retinue that visited Wellington in 1866.¹⁶¹ The group went along to the Wigglesworth studio with Tāmihana and had a number of photographs taken. Some were conventional portraits like Tāmihana’s, but others feature the men in traditional Māori dress enacting warrior scenes. These were men of status and willing participants in staging these photographs, not the poor unwilling models that Deborah Poole found in her research on Peru, and they demonstrate the collaboration between Māori and some studios for the production of these images. The photography session and this particular photograph were described in the *Wellington Independent* at great length. The men had “doffed the European costume, for the sake of effect, and show themselves in ‘fighting trim’ and ‘eager for the fray.’” The article continues, “The manner in which these characters are ‘posed’ is very artistic, while the picturesque back-ground lends additional attraction to the picture.”¹⁶² Priscilla likewise might have been drawn to the staged drama of the photograph that was not unlike other Victorian forms theatre.

The middle photograph appears to be a conventional Māori type image. The man’s age, elaborate kahu huruhuru (feather cloak), and extensive facial moko suggest that he is a chief. These types of portraits were abundant in the nineteenth century and

¹⁵⁹ King, 66.

¹⁶⁰ *Hawkes Bay Herald*, February 21, 1865.

¹⁶¹ Stokes, 478.

¹⁶² *Wellington Independent*, August 28, 1866.

produced by many North Island studios in addition to Wigglesworth's such as James Bragge in Wellington and John McGarrigle and Elisabeth Pulman in Auckland. A number of similar Māori type images bear the marks of the Dunedin studios of Joseph Weaver Allen and Clifford and Morris, but many of these photographs were the products of North Island studios. Allen reproduced Wigglesworth's photographs taken during the visit by Tāmihana and his group and put his own branding on the cartes. A photograph of a boy with the mark of Clifford and Morris is a copy of one taken by the American Photographic Company of Auckland.¹⁶³ Like the pirated copy of the photograph of Victoria and Albert discussed in Chapter 2, this print has been glued over another one in an attempt to recycle the carte mount. Several other Clifford and Morris cartes have been similarly recycled with prints of Māori.¹⁶⁴

This evidence suggests that few Māori type photographs were produced by Otago studios and were instead copied from images produced elsewhere. This might have been due to a lack of local demand for these images that is reflected in Otago's albums. Of the over 4,000 photographs in the fifty-six album I examined for content, there are only nine images of Māori that could be considered types (as opposed to commissioned portraits), and they are found in only five albums.¹⁶⁵ A letter in TOSM's collection from Tannie Fidler, whose father was the proprietor of the Auld Scotland Hotel in Dunedin, to her friend Georgy in Scotland mentions a carte featuring Māori women that she had acquired. Her letter describes the joke she was planning to make with it at her sister's expense, "There was a carte of four Maori ladies which I told Fanny I was going to send Robt as my young sister and three friends. She took it from me and crushed it all but I just put it in."¹⁶⁶ It is possible that, like with Tannie's photograph, these images of Māori were purchased and sent overseas. However, there are few advertisements in local papers for the sale of photographs of Māori. With little demand for these images, Otago

¹⁶³ TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, A1138.

¹⁶⁴ TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection A923, A967, and A1616.

¹⁶⁵ TOSM, Albums 4, 8, 150, and 251.

¹⁶⁶ Tannie Fidler to Georgy, 1877, TOSM, AG-305.

photographers probably found it cheaper and easier to simply copy existing images than to make the outlay to produce their own.

Conclusion

Priscilla's album was her personal story and reveals how she identified herself. Identity, however, is not singular. People see themselves as many things, and as Linda Colley points out, "It was quite possible for an individual to see himself as being, at one and the same time, a citizen of Edinburgh, a Lowlander, a Scot, and a Briton."¹⁶⁷ Priscilla likewise saw herself in many different ways. She began her album with a bold summary of herself—a follower of a new form of Presbyterianism, modern fashionable woman and member of the British Empire. Images of Scotland speak of her ancestry and the roots of her Dunedin home. The photographs of family and friends, most taken in Dunedin studios, demonstrate ties to her local world. Her album was most likely compiled around the time of her marriage in 1884, and in anticipation of having children, she included images of motherhood. She added in photographs of Hawai'ians and Peruvians who, like her, claimed a Pacific identity. She ended her album with three images of Māori, concluding her story with a strong connection to the place of her birth.

¹⁶⁷ Quoted in Palenski, 13.

Chapter 5

THE COLONIAL FAMILY ALBUM

In this chapter I investigate Māori and photography in the nineteenth century, focusing specifically on the ways that photographs intersected Māori life and investigating the meanings of those encounters. I look specifically at the photographs that Kāi Tahu, the iwi (tribe) of the Otago region, commissioned for themselves and the ways they used them. A photograph album associated with the family of Tame and Peti Parata, founding figures of a prominent Kāi Tahu family, frames this discussion (fig. 5.1).

The album was gifted to TOSM in 2007.¹ When it arrived, its Parata family connection was not known. It was donated by an elderly Kāi Tahu woman, not closely related to the family, who lived at Karitane, a small seaside settlement thirty-five kilometres north of Dunedin where the Parata family was based and several descendants still reside. The museum's donation record is brief, indicating only the donor's name and the description that it contained unidentified portraits, mainly of Māori. Little information was taken on its provenance, and staff, including myself, assumed it had belonged to the donor's family. The album was catalogued and placed in the archive collection. While museum staff understood the rarity of the album because of its Māori content (there were no other Māori albums in the collection), other priorities prevented closer examination of it until 2013. By this time the donor had died. Her daughter was contacted for additional information, and she revealed that the album was not from their family as museum staff had assumed. It was found in a holiday home at Karitane her brother had purchased about forty years earlier. Enquiries at her end revealed that the property had been owned by members of the Evans branch of the Parata family. In 1905 Ani Parata, a daughter of Peti and Tame, married Clive Evans, a member of a wealthy Dunedin Pākehā (non-Māori) family. The few photographs with name inscriptions on their backs point to the album having strong associations with the Parata family, who lived at nearby Puketeraki in the nineteenth century. Given that the album was found on a property owned by Parata

¹ TOSM, Album 348.

descendants and contains photographs related to members of that family, it is reasonable to conclude that a Parata family member, possibly Ani's mother Peti, compiled the album in the late nineteenth century. Although the identity of the compiler is not certain and most of the sitters are unidentified, the album nevertheless provides a means to explore Kāi Tahu engagement with photography.

My starting point for investigating the Parata album is the introduction to *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific* where Nicholas Thomas describes two "visions" in cross-cultural encounters, the European and the indigenous. While European colonial vision has dominated work on Pacific art, Thomas maintains that new research "attempts to empower indigenous cultures" by considering art from their perspective.² This idea of two visions, or perceptions, can also be applied to photography. In her investigation of the photographs of Aboriginal people taken at the Coranderk Station in Victoria, Jane Lydon looks at both the European and indigenous perspectives, arguing that although the colonial government had control of making photographs, the Kulin people who were photographed also controlled the images. She writes that residents "determined the broad parameters of their representation."³

I apply these two perspectives to my investigation of photographs in the Parata album, considering them from European and Māori viewpoints as well as another "merged" perspective. Interracial intimacy preceded formal colonisation in Otago by twenty to thirty years, meaning that many Kāi Tahu featured in photographs were themselves of European and Māori ancestry. Although they identified themselves as Kāi Tahu and operated in Māori settings, their lives combined elements of European and Māori culture into a new modern Māori identity in the nineteenth century.

Some analysis of the Parata album follows the approach applied to Otago's albums in previous chapters, and comparisons are made with overseas album culture. However, racial and cultural differences also require Māori values and viewpoints to be woven into its interpretation. Where aspects of the album and its photographs suggest a

² Nicholas Thomas, *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 5.

³ Jane Lydon, *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 31.

Māori response, this is explored. Close readings of several photographs from the album allow deeper meanings to be teased out.

Considerations When Researching Māori

When conducting research on Māori topics in New Zealand, there are recognised protocols to follow and, in some cases, mandated processes. These protocols and processes vary by region, but all are based on the notion of mana whenua (demonstrated authority over the land) and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The University of Otago has a memorandum of understanding with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, the mandated body of Kāi Tahu Whānui. The memorandum formally records the partnership relationship between Ngāi Tahu and gives “effect to Ngāi Tahu aspirations and enables the University of Otago to realise its Treaty obligations.”⁴ Out of this has developed the university’s “Policy for Research Consultation with Māori” framework that requires all university researchers to consult with Māori before engaging in research and encourages collaboration and cooperation. As part of this policy, I submitted a proposal describing my intended research on photography and Māori to Te Komiti Rakahau ki Kāi Tahu, the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee. It considered my research to be “of interest and importance” and made further recommendations of people and groups for me to consult.⁵

Consultation with Māori has also been a guiding principal for museums and archives over the last three to four decades. For some institutions, or for specific collections within them, access to Māori material is restricted. Sometimes a nominated family member or trustee must be consulted for permission, and responses can vary widely. At the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, I was required to apply for permission to see a nineteenth-century family photograph album. The process was straightforward and the curator immediately secured consent from the family’s representative. Other material is more tightly controlled. The trustees for the manuscripts

⁴ “Memorandum of Understanding,” accessed August 8, 2016, <http://www.otago.ac.nz/about/otago005277.html>.

⁵ Letter, Mark Brunton to Associate Professor Erika Wolf, August 19, 2014.

and photographs of a prominent Kāi Tahu family held in a South Island institution declined my request to view the collection.⁶ Those were the only two instances where I needed to secure permission to access material. For the most part, photographs of Māori are freely available to view. Indeed, many institutions have digitised these photographs and made them available online.

TOSM has no restrictions on any of its photographic material related to Māori, and access is available on-demand through visiting the archive. Although TOSM does not consult with Māori directly about individual requests to see these photographs, consultation is not overlooked. The museum is a department of the Dunedin City Council, whose decision-making must have regard for the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. It is bound by the Local Government Act 2002 to consult with Māori and “facilitate participation by Māori in local authority decision-making processes.”⁷ The relationship between the council and Kāi Tahu was strengthened in 2003 with the establishment of a Māori Participation Working Party and a 2006 memorandum of understanding with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.⁸ In addition, the museum has its own Ngāi Tahu advisory board, Te Pae o Mahutonga, which has an active role in advising the museum on Māori-related matters.

As a part my responsibility as a university researcher, I attempted to consult with the donor of the Parata album. She had died in the years since donating the album to TOSM, and I instead contacted her daughter, who has been helpful and encouraging with my project. I also contacted John Broughton, a descendant of Ani Parata and Clive Evans and a representative on Te Pae o Mahutonga. Since then, other family and community members have offered information on the family and their photographs.

⁶ It is my understanding that access is restricted to only a small number of family members and there has never been public access.

⁷ Part 1, Section 4, Local Government Act 2002, accessed August 8, 2016, http://legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2002/0084/latest/DLM170880.html?search=qs_act%40bill%40regulation%40deemedreg_local+government+act+2002_resel_25_h&p=1.

⁸ Dunedin City Council, “Development of Maori capacity to contribute to decision making,” accessed August 8, 2016, <http://www.dunedin.govt.nz/your-council/long-term-plan-2015-2016/section-1-major-issues-and-strategies/maori-capacity-to-contribute-to-decision-making>.

I published an article on the Parata album in *Te Pānui Rūnaka*, the monthly newsletter of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, which is sent to all 60,000 registered tribal members. I described my project and invited questions and information sharing from its readers.⁹ Although the number of people who responded was low (six), their feedback was positive, and one response resulted in the identification of unknown individuals in a photograph. For the people who contacted me, I made the album available online for them to view.

Review of Research on Photography and Māori

Little has been written about Māori uses of photography, and there is essentially no literature concerning Māori engagement with albums. What has been written tends to be photographer-centred, looking at the outputs of studios or the commercial nature of ethnographic photographs as specimens to be consumed by a European market. Hardwicke Knight's 1971 book *Photography in New Zealand* includes images of Māori that range from type photographs, to privately commissioned studio portraits, to survey images that Alfred Burton took in the Wanganui River area and King Country.¹⁰ Knight's interest was in photographers, not Māori, and his discussions are framed through their perspective. Over the next twenty-five years, Knight published a number of works on individual Dunedin photographers that include brief discussions of the photographs of Māori produced by their studios.¹¹

⁹ Jill Haley, "A Kai Tāhu Victorian Photograph Album," *Te Pānui Rūnaka* (April 2016): 41, accessed August 10, 2016, http://issuu.com/ngaitahu/docs/tpr_april_2016/1?e=1893499/35824400.

¹⁰ Hardwicke Knight, *Photography in New Zealand: A Social and Technical History* (Dunedin: John McIndoe Limited, 1971).

¹¹ Hardwicke Knight, *Burton Brothers: Photographers* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1980); Hardwicke Knight, *The Photography of Richard John Morris: An appreciation of His Contribution to New Zealand Portrait and View Photography in the Nineteenth Century: Sixth Series from the Hardwicke Knight Collection* (Dunedin: Hardwicke Knight, 1995); Hardwicke Knight, *Coxhead Brothers Photography: Seventh Series from the Hardwicke Knight Collection* (Dunedin: Hardwicke Knight, 1996); and Hardwicke Knight, *Joseph Weaver Allen Photographer, Eighth Series from the Hardwicke Knight Collection* (Dunedin: Hardwicke Knight, 1997).

In 1972, a year after Knight's New Zealand survey, William Main published *Wellington Through a Victorian Lens*, a volume that includes a handful of photographs of Māori.¹² In 1976 he published *Maori in Focus*, the first book that looked exclusively at the subject.¹³ Although his subject is photographs of Māori, Main's discussion, like Knight's, is largely framed in terms of photographers. Main analyses the individual photographs, offering some historical context when possible. Beginning with the daguerreotype of Caroline and Sarah Barrett, sisters of Te Āti Awa ancestry, he surveys the breadth of photographs of Māori produced by studios throughout the nineteenth century. The next general history of photography in New Zealand was William Main and John B. Turner's *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present*, published in 1993.¹⁴ This book also examines photographs through their makers, and Main and Turner offer brief discussions of the work of Lawson Insley, Daniel Manders Beere, George and Elizabeth Pulman, the Burton Brothers, Fred and William Tyree, and Arthur James Iles. It was thirteen years before another survey history was produced. Published in 2006, David Eggleton's *Into the Light: A History of New Zealand Photograph* is a survey organised chronologically with a focus on photographers, their styles, and their works. Photographs of Māori are, like the earlier New Zealand surveys by Knight and Main and Turner, discussed through their photographers.

The next serious consideration of photography of Māori after Main's 1976 book came in 1993 with Michael King's *Maori: A Photographic and Social History*.¹⁵ As an historian, King looks at images as documents containing information about the history of Māori. His book, he explains, is "a photographic record of years of upheaval and Maori cultural survival in spite of upheaval."¹⁶ It is not, he maintains, "a Maori photographic

¹² William Main, *Wellington Through a Victorian Lens* (Wellington: Millwood Press, 1972).

¹³ William Main, *Maori in Focus: A Selection of Photographs of the Maori from 1850-1914* (Wellington: Millwood Press, 1976).

¹⁴ William Main and John B. Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present* (Auckland: PhotoForum Inc with the assistance of Agfa, 1993).

¹⁵ Michael King, *Maori: A Photographic and Social History* (North Shore: Raupo, 2008).

¹⁶ King, 5.

history in the sense of revealing Maori views of themselves and of New Zealand,” nor is it an examination of Māori photographers (of which there were few) or a history of the photographers of Māori.¹⁷

Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow’s *Out of Time: Maori and the Photographer, 1860-1940*, published in 2006, resumed the art historical approach to photography of Māori that Main had used thirty years earlier.¹⁸ It is the first of three catalogues on New Zealand photography published by Graham-Stewart and Gow through the John Leech Gallery and offers a selection of photographs collected over the last fifteen years.¹⁹ The authors highlight the limits of using photographs as evidence for learning about Māori, particularly those produced by studios for commercial purposes, Studio photographs, they argue, are a product of the photographer’s choices and say as much about them as their models.²⁰ They write: “The subjects were rarely in a position to exert control as to how they were portrayed and the result was a perception evolved and nurtured by the photographers.”²¹ Their discussion of individual images thus continues the tradition of focusing on the photographer and the commercial value of their photographs of Māori.

Graham-Stewart and Gow’s *Negative Kept*, published in 2013, looks at the commercial aspect of photographs of Māori, but again they are reluctant to explore Māori perspectives. They warn about attempts at doing so: “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.”²² The suggestion seems to

¹⁷ King, 5.

¹⁸ Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow, *Out of Time: Maori and the Photographer, 1860-1940: The Ngawini Cooper Trust Collection* (Auckland: John Leech Gallery, 2006).

¹⁹ The other two catalogues are Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow, *Crombie to Burton: Early New Zealand Photography* (Auckland: John Leech Gallery, 2006) and Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow, *Negative Kept: Maori and the Carte de Visite* (Auckland: John Leech Gallery, 2013).

²⁰ Graham-Stewart and Gow, *Out of Time*, 17.

²¹ Graham-Stewart and Gow, *Out of Time*, 19.

²² Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow, *Negative Kept*, 5.

be that Māori portraits were not commissioned by sitters and they therefore had no agency in the making of their images. Graham-Stewart and Gow highlight some important issues about the difficulty of understanding Māori perspectives: “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/photography relationship in the 1860s and 1870s is limited.”²³ Although Māori were clearly engaging with photography, Graham-Stewart and Gow voice their confusion over the silence by Māori about their images. They note, “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.”²⁴ But by looking for written sources for this information, they overlook the actual photographs as evidence. The fact that this is a gallery catalogue written for an art market clientele might account for the cautious consideration of the material.

In contrast, the essays in the anthology *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays* (2011) begin with images as evidence.²⁵ A range of photographs of Māori are considered, looking beyond the commercial trade in ethnographic images or the photographer’s perspective. Christine Whybrew and Angela Wanhalla each explore portraits of Māori produced for personal use. Whybrew examines the daguerreotype of Caroline and Sarah Barrett, the daughters of a British father and Te Āti Awa mother.²⁶ Previous investigations had led Michael King and others to ethnographic readings of the image, but Whybrew shows that it communicated European aspects of the sisters’ lifestyle. She establishes that this was a private image, not a commercial one, and they had some agency in its production. Over time the daguerreotype was separated from its

²³ Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow, *Negative Kept*, 186.

²⁴ Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow, *Negative Kept*, 187.

²⁵ Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf, eds., *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011).

²⁶ Christine Whybrew, “Family Photo or National Treasure? Another Look at the Barrett Sisters’ Daguerreotype,” in *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays*, ed. Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011), 21-27.

role as family memento and came to be viewed as an ethnographic specimen. Despite her compelling evidence that indicates it was a family memento, Whybrew ends her essay with the acknowledgement that the intention of the daguerreotype may never be known. In her essay on the portrait of her tīpuna Robert Brown, a brother of Peti Parata, Angela Wanhalla also investigates the ability of Māori to control their images, finding that “the responses of indigenous people to photography, and their engagement in the process, demonstrate that they were not always being objectified.”²⁷

The Parata Family

Peti Parata, a possible compiler of the album, was born Irihapeti Hurene (Elizabeth Brown) on Whenua Hou (Codfish Island), located off the west coast of Rakiura (Stewart Island), in about 1836.²⁸ She was one of five children of sealer Robert Brown and Te Wharerimu, a woman of Kāi Tahu ancestry.²⁹ At the time of her death in 1907, the *Otago Witness* described her as a “chieftainess of noble lineage” and wrote that she was “said to rank higher than any other Maori in the South Island.”³⁰ According to Reverend Johannes Wohlers, who met Peti’s sister Caroline (Koronaki) in 1846, Robert

²⁷ Angela Wanhalla, “The Meaning of ‘Colour’: Photography and Portraiture, 1889-1904,” in *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays*, ed. Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011), 118. See also Angela Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight: The Mixed-Descent Families of Southern New Zealand* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2009), 149.

²⁸ Peti’s obituary in 1907 states that she was 71 years old. *Otago Witness*, September 11, 1907.

²⁹ There were a number of men named Robert Brown in southern New Zealand in the early nineteenth century. Peter Entwisle identifies four and investigates the likeliness of which man is the Codfish Island settler and husband of Wharerimu. Peter Entwisle, *Behold the Moon: The Early Occupation of the Dunedin District, 1770-1848* (Dunedin: Port Daniel’s Press, 1998), 232-39; Angela Middleton, “Two Hundred Years on Codfish Island (Whenuahou): From Cultural Encounter to Nature Conservation,” Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai (June 2007): 14-15; Helen Brown, “Homecoming,” *Te Karaka* 58 (Makariri/Winter 2013): 15; Bill Dacker, *Te Mamae Me Te Aroha: The Pain and the Love* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1994), 9; and *Otago Witness*, September 11, 1907.

³⁰ *Otago Witness*, September 11, 1907.

Brown died before 1844 while his children were young.³¹ According to him they grew up in their mother's community, "amongst the natives without any European education."³² By 1851 Peti's mother had moved the family to the Taieri area of Otago, where Peti's brother Robert and her sister Sarah married into the Palmer family at the Maitapapa settlement south of Dunedin.³³ In 1855, when she was about nineteen years old, Peti married Tame Parata (Thomas Pratt).

Many aspects of Tame's life parallel Peti's. He was born in the 1830s on Ruapuke, an island northeast of Rakiura and southeast of Awarua (Bluff) to a Māori mother and American father. His mother Koroteke was a high-born Kāi Tahu woman, and his father Henry Trapp, known by local Māori as Kapane Terapu, was a whaler from Massachusetts.³⁴ Like Peti, Tame lost his father when he was a child. He was whāngai'd (adopted and raised) by Haereroa, his mother's uncle, and at around the age of ten moved to the Karitane area, north of Dunedin.³⁵ Haereroa, a war-hardened veteran from wars with Ngāti Toa, was a Kāi Tahu leader who helped Reverend James Watkin, the Wesleyan minister at Waikouaiti, learn te reo Māori (the Māori language). According to Watkin in 1843, Haereroa "had become anxious for Christian knowledge."³⁶ Watkin commented that the leader was "well known to white men and talks better English than they can Maori."³⁷ Tame likewise accepted Christianity and was baptized by Bishop

³¹ Middleton, 16. Helen Brown suggests that he died in 1840 by drowning. Brown, 15.

³² Wohlers quoted in Angela Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight*, 52.

³³ Middleton, 16.

³⁴ John Broughton, "Parata Family," in *Southern People: A Dictionary of Otago Southland Biography*, ed. Jane Thomson (Dunedin: Longacre Press in association with Dunedin City Council, 1998), 376. Tame Parata changed his father's surname from Trapp to Pratt and gave it the Maori form of Parata. Throughout the nineteenth century, Tame was known by both his English and Maori names, Thomas Pratt and Tame Parata. See

³⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, October 23, 1878.

³⁶ Quoted in Thomas Arthur Pybus, *Maori and Missionary: Early Christian Missions in the South Island of New Zealand* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1954), 43.

³⁷ Pybus, 43.

Selwyn into the Church of England.³⁸ As an adult, Anglicanism shaped his worldview and politics.

Peti and Tame Parata were both born and raised in bicultural communities. Their Māori and European parentage was not unusual in southern New Zealand in the early nineteenth century. Angela Wanhalla, a Brown family descendant and distantly related to Peti, has investigated interracial intimacies between Māori women and European men who were engaged in sealing and shore-whaling in Southern New Zealand, finding these relationships a frequent occurrence between the 1820s and 1860s.³⁹ They were often affectionate as well as economic and could benefit both parties.

Children of these unions, such as Peti and Tame, were a generation of Māori who emerged in a period of transition and change. They faced increasing immigration from overseas, first with traders and British missionaries and then colonists from Britain and Europe. The new arrivals brought European goods, living habits, and knowledge that were incorporated into everyday Māori life. Literacy was one of the most significant changes introduced. Largely through the work of missionaries, many Māori learned to read and write in te reo Māori. But universal literacy was far from a reality during the first half of the nineteenth century. D. F. McKenzie argues that literacy was not extensive at the time the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. He maintains that claims by missionaries about reading and writing were exaggerated, asserting “the presumed widespread, high-level literacy of the Maori in the 1830s is a chimera, a fantasy creation of the European mind.”⁴⁰ By the late nineteenth century, however, greater numbers of Māori had achieved literacy and had access to affordable reading material in both te reo Māori and English language newspapers.

³⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, April 14, 1894.

³⁹ “European” here also covers men born in Australia and the United States. Angela Wanhalla, “Transgressing Boundaries: A History of the Mixed Descent Families of Maitapapa, Taieri, 1830-1940” (PhD Thesis, University of Otago, 2004); Angela Wanhalla, *In/visible Sight*; and Angela Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013).

⁴⁰ Donald Francis McKenzie, *Oral Culture, Literacy and Print in Early New Zealand: The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington: Victoria University and Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust, 1985), 35.

Māori engagement with reading and writing in the nineteenth century has been explored by a number of historians who show that literacy had a profound effect in shaping patterns of Māori thought, practice, and identity.⁴¹ Lachy Paterson argues that Māori literacy provided the colonial government with a means for encouraging them to “strive for modernity and to adopt Western cultural norms.”⁴² Additionally, he has found that print culture, particularly newspapers, shaped a new Māori collective consciousness and identity.⁴³ In 1843 the government-produced Māori-language newspaper *Ko te Karere* (*The Messenger*) proclaimed that “our newspaper is printed so that the Māori can advance, so that he understands our customs, and so that each tribe knows which tribes are progressing and the things through which they progress.”⁴⁴

Tame was literate and learned to read and write in both te reo Māori and English. Writing about the relationship between Tame and fellow Parliamentarian Hori Kerei (known as “H. K.”) Taiaroa, several of whose children and grandchildren married one another, Megan Pōtiki stresses the power the written word held for these men. She maintains that through their letters historians can “engage with and recover the world views of these influential leaders who navigated a world that was fast-changing, as the old Māori world order was reshaped by the surging tide of modernity.”⁴⁵ However, Tony Ballantyne points out that a pre-contact oral/aural tradition persisted, and Māori also

⁴¹ The *Journal of New Zealand Literature* produced a special issue titled “Cultures in Print” that contained a number of essays on Māori engagement with writing. See in particular Tony Ballantyne, Lachy Paterson, and Angella Wanhalla, “Cultures of Print,” *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 28 (2010): 5-9; Michael Stevens, “Kāi Tahu Writing and Cross-Cultural Communication,” 130-157; and Lachy Paterson, “Print Culture and Collective Māori Consciousness,” 105-29. See also Tony Ballantyne, “Paper, Pen and Print,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 53, no. 2 (2011): 251-52.

⁴² Ballantyne, Paterson, and Wanhalla, 110.

⁴³ Ballantyne, Paterson, and Wanhalla, 105.

⁴⁴ Ballantyne, Paterson, and Wanhalla, 111.

⁴⁵ Megan Pōtiki, “Me Tā Tāua Mokopuna: The Te Reo Māori Writings of H. K. Taiaroa and Tame Parata,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 49, no. 1 (2015): 33.

learned about their changing world through the everyday communicative practices of talking and listening.⁴⁶

Cultural changes for indigenous people have been explored in a number of ways. Mary Louise Pratt frames these changes with the idea of a “contact zone” which she defines as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like settler colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths.”⁴⁷ This describes the mechanisms for change as violent encounters. But not all cultural change for nineteenth-century Māori was a result of state aggression: this was particularly the case for many Kāi Tahu who were introduced to change through relatively positive personal relationships with sealers and whalers.⁴⁸ Fernando Ortiz’s “transculturation” offers a more symbiotic encounter where a new, synthesised culture is the outcome of contact.⁴⁹ Homi K. Bhabha’s theory of the “third space” similarly offers another way of seeing consenting cultural change.⁵⁰ Through contact, a hybrid identity that is in-between that of the coloniser and colonised emerges. In terms of Māori cultural change, Paul Meredith outlines hybridity and the third space as contributing to “an approach that avoids the perpetuation of antagonistic binarisms and develops inclusionary, not exclusionary, and multi-faceted, not dualistic, patterns of cultural exchange and maturation.”⁵¹

⁴⁶ Tony Ballantyne, “Talking, Listening, Writing, Reading: Communication and Colonisation,” (paper presented for The Allan Martin Lecture, History Program, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, May 19, 2009).

⁴⁷ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 4.

⁴⁸ Tony Ballantyne, “Sealers, Whalers and the Entanglements of Empire,” in *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand’s Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012), 124-25.

⁴⁹ Enrico Mario Santi, “Towards a Reading of Fernando Ortiz’s *Cuban Counterpoint*,” *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas* 37, no. 1 (2007): 17, 2016, doi: 10.1080/0890576042000239500.

⁵⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge: London and New York, 1994).

⁵¹ Paul Meredith, “Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bi-cultural Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand” (paper presented to Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and

Anne Salmond has described Māori and Pākehā as living “between worlds” in the early nineteenth century, maintaining that “cultural hybridity” occurs “because the members of different societies have fundamental qualities in common.”⁵² She argues that whole life worlds were intermingled and lists numerous ways in which European and Māori life combined in the early nineteenth century.⁵³ Judith Binney further explores the idea of Māori living between worlds, suggesting that their lives were ambiguous and they felt dual allegiances.⁵⁴ She identifies a sub-culture of mixed-ancestry families, contending that they were “caught between worlds.”⁵⁵ However, to describe them as living between worlds is insufficient and suggests that a strata of Māori society lived a liminal existence in neither world. In his study of the Great Lakes region of North America, Richard White offers a more satisfying argument for cultural change where a “middle ground” was enacted through accommodation and common meaning, allowing something new to appear.⁵⁶ In her investigation of British Columbia, Paige Raibmon similarly finds the Makah Indians incorporated modern technology and conveniences into everyday life and fashioned an identity on their own terms.⁵⁷ She argues against the idea of so-called

Development Conference, Massey University, July 7-9, 1998), 5, accessed January 19, 2016, <http://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/hybridity.pdf>.

⁵² Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans, 1773-1815* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 510.

⁵³ Salmond, 511.

⁵⁴ Judith Binney, “In-Between Lives: Studies from Within a Colonial Society,” in *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts*, ed. Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney (Dunedin: University of Otago, 2006), 93.

⁵⁵ Binney, 96. See also Judith Binney, “A Portrait of a Māori Woman, 1887,” in *Stories without End: Judith Binney, Essays 1975-2010* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2010), 314-21 and Binney, “Two Māori Portraits: Adoption of the Medium,” in *Stories without End*, 63-70.

⁵⁶ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁵⁷ Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 13.

“authentic Indians” or an “immutable Indianness.”⁵⁸ “No culture,” she points out, “conforms to an unchanging set of itemized traits.”⁵⁹ In the Australian context, Lydon describes this photographic activity as a “creative reworking by non-Western peoples, appropriating and shaping its form for their own purposes.”⁶⁰ She continues, “These varied local uses of photography demonstrate the creative and fluid uses made by the medium within different cultural traditions, combining the old and the new.”⁶¹ For Kāi Tahu, Pōtiki describes a new Māori identity in the nineteenth century founded on a middle ground. They were not straddling two worlds, she maintains, but were instead “born on the cusp of a merging European and Māori society.”⁶² Michael Stevens has argued against a timeless “fixed Māori mind,” seeing instead lifeways that have been defined by “change and continuities” in beliefs and practices.⁶³ I will show how photography and album culture were part of a new Māori identity in the nineteenth century that combined elements of European and Māori culture.

Tame and Peti Parata settled at Puketeraki, part of the Waikouaiti Native Reserve north of Dunedin. According to an article in the *Otago Daily Times* in 1878, there were seventeen couples living on the reserve, and the Parata family was one of three “half-caste” couples, the others being described as “pure Maoris.”⁶⁴ Tame acquired a land grant there in 1868, and his farm was the largest on the reserve, encompassing two hundred fenced acres.⁶⁵ This was a substantial holding compared with other farms on the reserve

⁵⁸ Raimbon, 7.

⁵⁹ Raimbon, 9.

⁶⁰ Lydon, 8.

⁶¹ Lydon, 9.

⁶² Pōtiki, 40.

⁶³ Michael Stevens, “A ‘Useful’ Approach to Māori History,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 49, no. 1 (2015): 57.

⁶⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, October 23, 1878.

⁶⁵ Broughton, 376 and *Otago Daily Times*, October 23, 1878.

that were only between twenty and thirty acres.⁶⁶ The Parata farm was also a substantial size compared with land owned by Māori outside of the reserve. In 1881 government official Alexander Mackay noted that of Māori in the South Island, 134 had over fifty acres of land, 631 less than fifty acres, and 638 had no land at all. Ten years later in 1891, 90% were considered landless.⁶⁷ With his two hundred acres, Tame could count himself among the top ten percent of South Island Māori in terms of land ownership.

In many respects, Tame was a model farmer who constantly sought to improve and modernise his property, and his success at farming enabled the family to prosper. He had adequate acreage to experiment with crop rotation and yields, letting parts of the land go to grass for five years. He also had enough land to diversify his farming and grew wheat, oats, potatoes, and turnips. Like many residents of the reserve, he raised cattle, and coincidentally he purchased a young shorthorn bull from John Duncan, Priscilla Smith's uncle, who lived in nearby Waikouaiti.⁶⁸ In the 1860s Tame successfully experimented with raising sheep, and following him, others made the transition from cattle to sheep. Tame continued to raise both, and in 1878 he had twenty head of horned cattle and seven hundred sheep. He also raised pigs and poultry. His desire for agricultural efficiency extended beyond his own farm, and he invested in equipment and expertise for other farmers on the reserve, engaging a European ploughman and purchasing two double-furrow ploughs, a reaper, and a steam threshing machine.⁶⁹

Tame's leadership in the community extended beyond agricultural support. He, along with four other men, managed the settlement's affairs and was involved with the setting up of the reserve's Anglican church, school, and co-operative store.⁷⁰ These activities led Alexander Mackay to attribute the settlement's overall relative prosperity to

⁶⁶ *Otago Daily Times*, October 23, 1878.

⁶⁷ Bill Dacker, "H. K. Taiaroa and *Te Kerema*," in *When the Waves Rolled in Upon Us: Essays in Nineteenth-Century Maori History*, ed. Michael Reilly and Jane Thomson (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 1999), 80.

⁶⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, October 23, 1878.

⁶⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, October 23, 1878.

⁷⁰ *Otago Daily Times*, October 23, 1878.

Tame.⁷¹ The leadership experience he gained on the reserve, as well as the mentoring he had received from his great-uncle Haereroa, set Tame on the road to the New Zealand capital in Wellington and a political career. In 1872 he was appointed Justice of the Peace, and in 1885 he was elected to the House of Representatives as the member for Southern Māori, replacing H. K. Taiaroa. Between 1912 and his death in 1917, he was a member of the Legislative Council. He spent extended periods away from home while serving in Parliament, living in the urban environment of Wellington and experiencing modern colonial living.

Tame and Peti were part of an educated, landholding Māori elite who had an understanding of and commitment to modern life, shaped largely by access to urban centres such as Dunedin and Wellington. Their property at Puketeraki was a material reflection of their relatively affluent lifestyle. In 1876 they built a five-roomed house that the *Otago Daily Times* described as “large, handsome and cosy.”⁷² Two acres around the house were set aside for a lawn, flower garden, kitchen garden, and an orchard. The newspaper commented that “very few of our European farmers have grounds which are kept in better order.”⁷³

Everyday life for the Parata family was a merging of Māori and European practices. This blending of cultures was particularly evident during rites of passage. The weddings of Peti and Tame’s daughters Pani (Fanny) and Ani as well as Peti’s tangihanga (funeral) offer examples of events where Māori and Pākehā customs were combined. In April 1894 Pani married Taiawhio Te Tau of Wairarapa. The ceremony was held at the Anglican church at Puketeraki and the reception at the rūnanga hall on adjacent Huirapa marae. The guests wore different attire depending on their generation. The older wahine (women) wore traditional clothing of woolen plaid blankets, silk handkerchiefs tied around their heads, and flax-woven shoes while the “younger and jauntier” Māori men were fashionably dressed with “spotless white shirt fronts and bright-coloured ties.”⁷⁴ At

⁷¹ Broughton, 377.

⁷² *Otago Daily Times*, October 23, 1878.

⁷³ *Otago Daily Times*, October 23, 1878.

⁷⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, April 14, 1894.

the wedding dinner, Tame's toast to the bride and guests was in te reo Māori while some of his advice to the couple was based on Christian teachings. Referencing Proverbs 15:1, he advised that when one is angry, the other should "use the soft word that turneth away wrath."⁷⁵ Later in his speech he revealed a Māori perspective, drawing upon his daughter's connection with her land, which she was leaving for her husband's North Island home. Pani wore a European-style gown of ivory satin, oriental lace, pearl passementerie trimmings, and a wreath of orange blossoms with a "beautifully-worked" tulle veil.⁷⁶ The service was conducted in te reo Māori and English by the Reverend Mr. Lucas, with Tame commenting that "The blending of the two languages in marriage rite is a happy evidence of the universal brotherhood of man."⁷⁷ Much of the wedding followed European customs. Pani was escorted to the church by her father, and her sisters were her bridesmaids. The reception featured dancing and a band that included a piano, violin, and mandolin. The wedding cake took four men to lift.⁷⁸ The event was significant enough for the "Ladies Gossip" column in the *Otago Witness* to report on the women's dresses made of cashmere, lace, ribbons, velvet, silk, satin, and fur trim.⁷⁹ Ani Parata's wedding to Clive Evans, the son of British immigrants, also had Māori and European elements. Like Pani's wedding, it was conducted in te reo Māori and English. Gifts of jewellery made of traditional pounamu (greenstone) were given to the bridal party. Bridesmaids received a bracelet, ring, and brooch made of the material and the groomsmen hei tiki (human-form pendants).⁸⁰ The menu was decidedly European with poultry and game, trifle, fruit salad, sweets, and bon-bons. Once again, Tame gave a

⁷⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, April 14, 1894.

⁷⁶ *Otago Daily Times*, April 14, 1894.

⁷⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, April 14, 1894.

⁷⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, April 14, 1894.

⁷⁹ *Otago Witness*, April 19, 1894.

⁸⁰ *Otago Witness*, June 14, 1905.

speech in te reo Māori that was translated into English for the Pākehā guests. The meal was followed by dancing.⁸¹

Peti's tangihanga (tangi) likewise merged Māori and European customs. She died on September 1, 1907, and her funeral was reported in newspapers throughout New Zealand in great detail.⁸² Her tangi, which began with a pōwhiri (welcoming ceremony) on September 3 on Huirapa marae at Puketeraki, was attended by over 300 Māori and Pākehā mourners.⁸³ Peti was laid out in a coffin with a glass top in the wharenuī (meeting house), surrounded in traditional custom by taonga (cultural treasures) and other items. The newspaper described the scene:

Near the far end was the coffin, raised and surrounded with splendid mats, wonderfully woven feathers, wreaths, and relics. Arranged on the coffin were the greenstone battleaxes used in countless wars by the deceased's ancestors, and captured and recaptured time after time.⁸⁴

At 2:00 on September 5, the transition to the funeral began, a ceremony that again mixed Māori and Christian elements. It was a High Church (Anglican) service, officiated by the Reverend Herbert Jones and conducted in te reo Māori. A choir was brought into the wharenuī, and hymns were sung in Māori. A newspaper correspondent commented on the mixture of cultures:

A number of visitors from Dunedin had come down on purpose, and seemed to be struck with the strangeness of the scene. The chiefs with their feathers, the cloaks, the coffin with the greenstone battle-axes, the bizarre-twisted colours on the rafters, the white stoles of the choir, the clergyman, the well-known hymn in a strange tongue, and an enormous

⁸¹ *Otago Witness*, June 14, 1905.

⁸² *Clutha Leader*, September 6, 1907; *Evening Post*, September 6, 1907; *Evening Star*, September 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, 1907; *Marlborough Express*, September 10, 1907; *Otago Daily Times*, September 4 and 6, 1907; *Otago Witness*, September 11, 1907; *Poverty Bay Herald*, September 5, 1907; *Press*, September 4 and 6, 1907; and *Star*, September 4 and 5, 1907.

⁸³ *Otago Witness*, September 11, 1907 and *Evening Star*, September 5, 1907.

⁸⁴ *Otago Witness*, September 11, 1907.

carving of the hideous Maori deity, Teko-Teko, glowering down upon it all.⁸⁵

After the service, Peti's coffin was passed out one of the windows of the wharehenui. Headed by the cross, the procession carried the coffin to the church and urupa (cemetery), accompanied by the wailing of mourners and the tolling of the church bell. Four rangatira (leaders) formed an escort, and twelve rangatira carried her coffin. The service within the church was again conducted in te reo Māori. Peti was buried in the church cemetery, accompanied by wailing, her coffin covered by wreaths. Pākehā mourners then departed and the Māori guests were invited to the hākari (feast) of bread and butter, pork, "butcher" meat, and tītī (muttonbirds) that had been brought by mourners as koha (gifts) as well as food supplied by the Parata family. After the hākari, they gathered in the wharehenui for the customary poroporoaki (farewell). Besides the Christian funeral practices, other European elements included flying the Union Jack at half-mast and wreaths and telegrams sent by the Prime Minister Sir Joseph Ward and Dr. Truby King, founder of the Plunket movement who had a home at nearby Karitane.⁸⁶

In contemporary tangi, photographs of ancestors are often displayed around the tupapaku (deceased). There is no mention of photographs in the newspaper description of Peti's tangi, suggesting that none were present. However, this practice of combining photographs with funeral practices can be traced back to as early as 1900. A photograph from the tangi of Kāi Tahu rangatira Teone Topi Patuki, held at his home on Ruapuke Island, shows his wife and granddaughter next to his coffin.⁸⁷ Displayed on the wall above him are four mere (broad-bladed weapon), a pocket watch, and several photographs of Patuki himself as well as members of his family. The photographs, all of them studio portraits of men and women, range from small cartes de visite that have been nailed to the wall to large photographs in gilt frames. An article from the *Otago Witness* identified some of the framed photographs as enlargements of images of his

⁸⁵ *Otago Witness*, September 11, 1907.

⁸⁶ *Evening Star*, September 5, 1907.

⁸⁷ TOSM, Subject Photograph Collection, Box 7, No. 42.

descendants.⁸⁸ There was no mention of any photographs of Patuki's ancestors, but it is unlikely that they lived into the age of photography. Tame and Peti's daughter Hana married Moriti Topi and settled on Ruapuke Island with her husband. It seems likely that she, and possibly her parents, attended the tangi and saw the display of photographs.

The Parata Album

Many Māori readily embraced photography in the nineteenth century and incorporated it into everyday life.⁸⁹ As soon as commercial photographic studios opened in Dunedin the mid-1860s, Māori went to have their likenesses taken. Prominent locals such as Kararaina Te Piki (a wife of Kāi Tahu leader Te Matenga Taiaroa), H. K. Taiaroa (son of Te Matenga Taiaroa), and Ami Raimapaha Hone Te Pae Tahuna (wife of Dunedin magistrate Isaac Newton Watt) visited the studios of Saul Solomon, Harry Coxhead, and Joseph Weaver Allen.⁹⁰ Māori in other parts of New Zealand also frequented photography studios. Museums and archives contain hundreds, probably thousands, of examples of nineteenth-century studio portraits that were not ethnographic type images, attesting to the widespread popularity of photography for Māori on a private and personal level.

Why was photography popular with some Māori? Photography was part of the “surging tide of modernity” that Pōtiki describes as reshaping Māori lives and creating a new identity during the nineteenth century. Modernity however should not be confused with modernisation. Dipesh Chakrabarty points out the difference between the two, describing modernisation as “the process of building new institutions” and modernity as “the development of a degree of reflective judgmental thinking about these processes.”⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Otago Witness*, October 17, 1900. Today the photographs displayed at tangi are ancestors of the deceased.

⁸⁹ Pōtiki, 33.

⁹⁰ TOSM, Albums 8 and 348.

⁹¹ Dipesh Chakrabarty, “The Muddle of Modernity,” *American Historical Review* 116, no. 3 (2011): 669.

Simply having a photograph taken or buying an album did not indicate modernity in and of itself. Instead, modernity was expressed by using photographs and albums as a means for articulating an understanding and commitment to new sets of values, ideas, and ways of doing things.

Close analysis of the Parata album reveals how it demonstrated its owner's modernity. Like the other Otago albums investigated, it shows a familiarity with album culture for creating community and expressing identity. Some of its photographs depict distinctively Māori elements, but the overwhelming majority resemble portraits found in albums compiled by Pākehā. The album shows that album culture complemented, reflected, and asserted a new identity that combined Māori and European influences.

Devoid of its photographs, the Parata album is a commercially-produced, leather-bound, nineteenth-century photograph album similar to hundreds of others in TOSM's collection and thousands produced worldwide during the nineteenth century. This particular album, with "The Colonial Family Album" stamped in gold on the front cover, was available in New Zealand and Australia around 1880. Besides this one in the TOSM collection, four other albums have been located. All are in antipodean collections, two in New Zealand and two in Australia. Judging by the studio portraits in them, all were owned by European immigrants or families with European ancestry. Only one album, now in a private New Zealand collection, has a known provenance.⁹² The inscription in the front indicates that it was given to George Tennant of Waimate, South Canterbury, by members of the Knox Church Choir. The album holds photographs of George's family as well as his wife's relatives. The other New Zealand album is in the collection of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. It was purchased in 2010 and was formerly in the collection of photographic historian Hardwicke Knight, but nothing more is known of its history. Another album, in the collection of the Warrnambool and District Historical Society in Australia, has no provenance but holds photographs from Warrnambool, Melbourne, Ballarat, and Perth studios.⁹³ The other Australian album was

⁹² Collection of Tony Rackstraw, Christchurch.

⁹³ Janet Macdonald, Warrnambool and District Historical Society, email to author, January 8, 2016.

sold at auction in Geelong in 2012, but the auction house knew nothing of its provenance and did not keep any description of its contents.⁹⁴ Two of the albums have inscriptions giving the year 1880, suggesting that the other albums date from around that time as well.⁹⁵

The albums are nearly identical and were almost certainly made by the same company. All are bound in brown leather and have covers decorated with the same impressed gold design, and each has a single brass closure. They hold 100 photographs in the format of twenty cabinet cards and eighty cartes de visite. The pages are identically designed and elaborately coloured in red, blue, green, pink, and gold (fig. 5.2). The only differences among the albums are slight colour variations on parts of the design; where one album might have a blue border another might have a green one. One of the albums has a significantly lighter-coloured leather cover than the others.

Unfortunately, none of the albums contain any manufacturer's information. The title "The Colonial Family Album" suggests that they were produced for a British colonial market rather than the "Home" British one. The design of the title page lends further support to this and indicates Australian production (fig. 5.3). The pre-federation "Advance Australia" coat of arms, often used in Australian trademarks, is printed at the top of the page. The words "The Colonial Family Album" are flanked by three vignettes of indigenous people. The top scene depicts a dark-skinned hunter descending upon a group of kangaroo and represents a distinctively Australian theme. The illustration on the left shows two figures at a river with pyramid-like structures behind them, possibly hinting at an African place. The third one in the bottom right is of a man fishing with a net. His features perhaps depict an Asian or American Indian. However, this illustration, like the other, is highly stylised. Native peoples and their activities are suggested rather than accurately represented, and they could be any number of indigenous groups. This ambiguity would have made the album marketable in a variety of British colonial settings, and it is not surprising to find examples in New Zealand. Its reference to

⁹⁴ How Bazaar Antiques, email to author, January 25, 2016.

⁹⁵ The album auctioned in Australia is dated January 1, 1880, and the one held in the Tony Rackstraw Collection is dated June 25, 1880.

colonial life might have had particular appeal for Kāi Tahu such as the Parata family who, as inheritors of European and Māori ancestry, were an embodiment of a new form of British colonial family.

The Parata album is filled with studio portraits, mostly of Māori sitters, that range in date from the 1860s to the 1890s (fig. 5.4). It holds a mixture of cartes de visite and cabinet cards, and there are 110 people represented in 96 photographs.⁹⁶ A little more than half of these are men, about a third are women, and the rest are children. Some sitters appear multiple times, and in two instances the same photograph appears twice. Similar to other Otago albums, the photographs were taken primarily by local studios. Of the albums investigated for this research, this one had the largest percentage of New Zealand photographs (98%). Most of these are from Dunedin studios (64%) with Invercargill (11%) and Wellington (10%) representing the next most numerous. Only two photographs are from overseas.⁹⁷

With the majority of photographs coming from Otago, and few of the sitters appearing to be Pākehā, the album demonstrates a close-knit community of Kāi Tahu. Given the Parata family's ancestry and multiple ties across the region, it is not surprising to find that most photographs are from Dunedin and Invercargill, the urban centres of the Otago region. Images from Wellington are also not unexpected given the family's connection to the place through Tame's parliamentary life. The dearth of overseas photographs surely reflects the Parata family's distance from their European ancestry, which dates to the early nineteenth century and before photography. It was unlikely that the family had any contact with their distant American and British relatives in the late nineteenth century.

Unfortunately, only twenty-two of the ninety-six photographs have been identified in some way, making it difficult to understand the full range of relationships represented in the album. Only eight photographs have inscriptions on the back, ranging

⁹⁶ Most of the photographs appear to be of Māori. Two portraits are known to be children of English immigrants and one is of a famous Scotsman. Although some sitters appear to be Pākehā, physical appearance is not an accurate indicator of ethnicity. Some people are represented more than once.

⁹⁷ Four photographs have no studio mark and were not counted in these statistics.

from a full dedication to only initials. Despite having information on the photograph, not all sitters could be identified. The name of a young man in a photograph given to Tame's daughter Hera (Sarah) bearing the inscription "From C. B., Sarah Pratt" remains a mystery.⁹⁸ The other seven inscribed photographs have been identified, some with more certainty than others. The sitters in a further fourteen photographs have been identified by comparing them with photographs found in other albums, books, on-line sources, and images supplied by descendants.⁹⁹ Since only a small number of photographs are fully identified (22%), conclusions about the album as a whole are necessarily speculative. However, some general observations can be made.

Like many nineteenth-century albums, there are no inscriptions on the pages, and it would have been experienced through narration. Martha Langford traces this aspect of album culture back to oral folklore traditions, finding that "the older mentality was still driving the new."¹⁰⁰ The Māori world before Europeans arrived was an oral/aural one, and speaking and listening were key ways to transmit knowledge and maintain collective memory.¹⁰¹ Objects such as carved genealogy rods called *rākau whakapapa* were used in reciting ancestry (fig. 5.5).¹⁰² A rod represented a family line, and each notch denoted a generation within that decent line. A knowledgeable narrator would know who these notches represented. Tony Ballantyne describes the role of these rods as "tangible physical guides" for recalling information.¹⁰³ This knowledge, he maintains, was not

⁹⁸ It is possible that C. B. is a member of the related Brown family.

⁹⁹ Family trees submitted by members of Ancestry.com have provided the best source for identifying these photographs.

¹⁰⁰ Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 125. See also Martha Langford, "Speaking the Album: An Application of the Oral-Photographic Framework," in *Locating Memory: Photographic Acts*, eds. Annette Kuhn and Kirsten Emiko McAllister (Oxford and New York: Bergman Books, 2006), 224.

¹⁰¹ Bradford Haami, *Pūtea Whakairo: Māori and the Written Word* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2004), 15.

¹⁰² The term *whakapapa* refers to genealogy.

¹⁰³ Tony Ballantyne, "Paper, Pen and Print," in *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012), 214.

static and depending on the audience could be recited in a number of ways for particular outcomes, such as establishing familial connections or claiming resources and rights. Like the notches on the rākau whakapapa, photographs within albums served as visual cues that prompted narratives and signified connections. They were dependent upon their narrators, and what they told was, in turn, shaped by their audience.

Ballantyne has shown that with the rise of literacy in the nineteenth century, the role of rākau whakapapa was partially transferred to another form of genealogy-keeping called whakapapa books, where lineage was recorded in writing.¹⁰⁴ Albums and whakapapa books shared much in common. For instance, they are thought to be predominantly female cultural forms. In his study of the Maaka Collection, Bradford Haami observes that whakapapa books “illustrate the role of women as the ‘natural’ custodians of family history.”¹⁰⁵ He further adds that “the flexible roles of women in traditional Māori society suited them to being the keepers of histories and whakapapa.”¹⁰⁶ Judith Binney likewise describes this role for women: “In Māori society, women are important purveyors of family history and its values.”¹⁰⁷ European women had equivalent roles, and as Patrizia di Bello, Elizabeth Siegel, and others have shown, they shaped album-keeping as a female activity.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Ballantyne, “Paper, Pen and Print,” 251-52. See also Haami, 45.

¹⁰⁵ Haami, 44.

¹⁰⁶ Haami, 44.

¹⁰⁷ Judith Binney, “Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts,” in *The Shaping of History: Essays from the New Zealand Journal of History*, ed. Judith Binney (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 12.

¹⁰⁸ Patrizia Di Bello, “The ‘Eyes of Affection’ and Fashionable Femininity: Representations of Photography in Nineteenth-Century Magazines and Victorian ‘Society’ Albums,” in *Phototextualities: Intersections of Photography and Narrative*, ed. Alex Hughes and Andrea Noble (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 256-60 and Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 139-42. See also Lindsay Smith, *The Politics of Focus: Women, Children and Nineteenth-Century Photography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 57-58 and 68-69; Patrizia Di Bello, *Women’s Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007); Elizabeth Siegel, “‘Miss Domestic’ and ‘Miss Enterprise’: Or, How to Keep a Photograph Album,” in *The*

As with the other albums compiled in Otago, most of the photographs in the Parata album are portraits taken by local studios. There are no photographs of non-human subjects such as landscapes, ships, and artwork, and there is only one celebrity image.¹⁰⁹ Parata family members and close relatives make up some of the known photographs, although it is reasonable to assume that there are many more in the album who remain unidentified. A photograph of two boys close in age with the inscription “Mrs Pratts” on the back probably depicts Teone (John) and Charles, two of Peti and Tame’s sons who were born in the 1860s (fig. 5.6). Joining the album is a photograph of their daughter Sarah (Hera), inscribed on the back, “To Martha Pratt with her Aunt Sarah’s love and kind wishes” (fig. 5.7).¹¹⁰ Martha was the daughter of Sarah’s brother Teone, and the inscription shows the deep affection that Sarah had for her niece, which she demonstrated by gifting her portrait. The last photograph in the album, dating from around 1890, is of another son, Henare (Henry), pictured with his wife Margaret and son Henare Pihi (fig. 5.8).¹¹¹ Other photographs in the album are of relatives by marriage through two of the Parata daughters. A cabinet card of a young man taken in the Wigglesworth and Binns studio in Wellington is Tame and Peti’s son-in-law Taiawhio Tikawenga Te Tau, who, as mentioned earlier, married their daughter Pani in 1894. H. K. Taiaroa, whose portrait appears twice in the album, was also related to the Parata family through marriage. His

Scrapbook in American Life, ed. Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 251-67; Elizabeth Siegel, “Society Cutups,” in *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*, ed. Elizabeth Siegel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 13-35; Deborah Chambers, “Family as Place: Family Photograph Albums and the Domestication of Public and Private Space,” in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (London: I. B. Taurus, 2003), 97; and Claire Grey, “Theories of Relativity,” in *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*, ed. Jo Spence and Patricia Holland (London: Virago, 1991).

¹⁰⁹ There is one portrait of a man with a dog but there are no photographs of animals alone.

¹¹⁰ Martha Pratt was the daughter of Teone (John) Parata, who was Sarah’s brother and son of Tame and Peti.

¹¹¹ Margaret Louisa née Moss sued Henare for divorce in 1891 on the grounds of desertion and adultery. For information about the divorce case, see *Otago Witness*, July 2, 1891.

son Teoti Kerei (George Grey) married Tame and Peti's daughter Makareti (Margaret). Another photograph in the album is of Teone Wiwi (Jack) and Riki Te Mairaki (Dick) Taiaroa, both also sons of H. K.

Peti's side of the family is represented by several photographs. In addition to a *carte de visite* of her sister Caroline Howell, there is a *carte* of Caroline's son Thomas with an inscription to Peti on the back that reads, "Thomas Howell, To Dear Aunty." Caroline's daughter (and Peti's niece) Sarah Ann married Hoani Te Whāiti of the Wairarapa, and there is one, possibly two, images of him in the album. A member of the Te Whāiti family also compiled a *carte de visite* album that is now held in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington.¹¹² It holds a very similar image of Hoani as well as one of his wife Sarah Ann Howell. Through their albums, the Parata and Te Whāiti families demonstrate a web of connectedness that overlaps and covers both North and South islands. None of the photographs have been identified as members of Tame's family, suggesting Peti's connection with the album. However, Tame had far fewer living relatives than Peti, which could account for this absence.¹¹³

Several of the identified photographs are of Kāi Tahu who are possibly related to the Parata family through distant connections. These photographs represent the complex and extensive connections amongst the Kāi Tahu families of the Otago region that stretched back several generations. One photograph is of Anderina Mouat, the granddaughter of British whaler Richard Driver and Irihapeti Motoitoi. Her parents, Maraia (Maria) Catherine Driver and Peter Mouat, were contemporaries of Peti and Tame, and both couples had their children during the 1860s and 1870s. The Mouat family lived at Purakaunui, twenty-five kilometers south of the Parata farm at Puketeraki. That the two families knew one another is not surprising. Through his whaling ventures and piloting activity at the Otago Heads, Tame would have been acquainted with Richard Driver, a fellow whaler and the Otago Harbour pilot. Another photograph is of Thomas Newton, and it simply has his name inscribed on the back. He is likely to have been a

¹¹² Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, PA1-o-1898.

¹¹³ I did not find any information that indicated Tame had siblings.

descendant of George Newton and Anne Wharetutu, residents of Whenua Hou (Codfish Island).¹¹⁴ Wharetutu and Peti's mother Wharerimu both lived on Whenua Hou with their families from the mid-1820s.¹¹⁵ A third photograph of a young man taken by the studio Hart, Campbell and Company in Invercargill is only inscribed "Wm Williams 1885." He has not been identified, but he might be connected with Hineawhitia and John Williams, a couple who lived on Rakiura (Stewart Island).¹¹⁶

Several other photographs in the album point towards Tame's political associations, but there are overlapping personal connections that tie those photographs to Peti as well. H. K. Taiaroa was a political associate of Tame's, serving in the House of Representatives as the member for Southern Maori before Tame and working with him to advance Te Kerēme, the Kāi Tahu land claim. But the Taiaroa family and the Parata family were also connected through their children's marriage, and the two photographs of H. K. might have been included because of this association. Another photograph in the album is of Te Āti Awa woman Ami Raimapaha Hone Te Pae Tahuna, wife of Isaac Newton Watt. Isaac had served as MP for the Town of New Plymouth electorate in 1862-63. He later went on to be Resident Magistrate in Bluff, a settlement with a large Kāi Tahu population due to its proximity to the southern islands of Ruapuke, Rakiura, and the titi islands. In 1867 he and Ami moved to Dunedin where he took up a post as Sheriff of the Supreme Court, and he later served as both Resident Magistrate and Coroner.¹¹⁷ It is interesting to note that there are no photographs of Isaac in the album.¹¹⁸ While Tame and Isaac would have known one another through political dealings, it is Ami's photograph

¹¹⁴ George and Anne Newton had seven children who survived to adulthood and numerous grandchildren. There were a number of men in the family named Thomas, and determining which, if any, is the one in the photograph has been difficult to establish. There was another Newton family on Whenua Hou at the same time.

¹¹⁵ Middleton, 12.

¹¹⁶ Middleton, 23.

¹¹⁷ *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Taranaki, Hawkes Bay and Wellington Provincial Districts]* (Christchurch: The Cyclopedia Co., Ltd., 1908), 46.

¹¹⁸ There is a carte de visite of Isaac Newton Watt in the Alexander Turnbull library, but this photograph could not be matched with any in the album.

that appears in the album and suggests a linkage between her and Peti, perhaps through their husbands. This lends further evidence that Peti was the likely compiler of the album.

Two other cartes in the album suggest personal over professional connections. They are the only two photographs from overseas studios, taken in the studio of Lock & Whitefield (London and Brighton) and are labelled on their backs “Arnold Izard, Aged 4 yrs” and “Lillian Izard, Aged 5 years.” Arnold and Lillian were the youngest children of Charles Beard Izard, a British-born solicitor who represented Kāi Tahu in a case against the Otago Provincial Government for compensation for the Princes Street Reserve during the late 1860s and 1870s, proceedings that were instituted by Teone Topi Patuki (whose son Maurice married Tame’s daughter Hana) and H. K. Taiaroa.¹¹⁹ Although possibly not directly involved in the case, Tame would no doubt have been associated with it and known Izard. However, no photographs of Charles Izard have been identified in the album. The presence of photographs of his children suggests another personal rather than professional relationship.

These images indicate that the Parata family exchanged photographs with family, friends, and other connections, thus engaging in a world-wide photographic practice. However, te takoha (gift giving) also complemented customary practice. Reciprocal gifting is a deeply-embedded aspect of Māori culture, and during the nineteenth century gifts of food, land, and other valuable items such as pounamu had economic benefits as well as strategic purposes.¹²⁰ Strict tikanga (protocols) guided these interactions, and reciprocity was expected.¹²¹ Above all, gift giving was a means for relationship building and maintenance. Although not governed by the same protocols as Māori, Europeans too had a complex gift-giving culture with rules about exchange, reciprocity, and relationship building. As discussed in Chapter 2, “cartomania” and the fashion of collecting cartes de visite flourished in the 1860s and 1870s. These inexpensive photographic portraits were

¹¹⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, “The Ngai Tahu Sea Fisheries Report, 1991,” WAI 27, Section 7, Princes Street Reserve.

¹²⁰ For more information on te takoha, see Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2003), 181-91.

¹²¹ Mead, 184.

exchanged amongst family and friends, and the act of giving and receiving built networks amongst people. Albums provided a place to display those relationships to others. Similar principles lay behind te takoha, and carte culture perhaps offered late nineteenth-century Māori another means of expressing it.

Representation

Most portraits of Māori in the Parata album resemble those of their Pākehā counterparts. Standard studio settings, props, poses, and clothing offered sitters little individuality, precisely the aim of the codified performance that nineteenth century portraits embodied.¹²² The standard, repetitive looks that sitters assumed, Geoffrey Batchen argues, was “a ritual of class declaration and belonging.”¹²³ When Māori were the customers, photographers posed them in the same manner as Pākehā, and Māori likewise chose to be portrayed this way. In most photographs race is usually only evident in physical attributes. By and large, neither photographers nor sitters chose to augment Māori ethnicity with props such as piu piu, korowai, tiki, mere, and other trappings that studios had on hand to make ethnographic type photographs. An examination of several of the photographs in the Parata album compared with Pākehā portraits illustrates their similarities.

The carte de visite portrait of Ami Watt taken by Dunedin photographer Joseph Weaver Allen in the mid to late 1860s shows her with standard studio props and assuming a pose similar to other portraits he produced (fig. 5.9).¹²⁴ Ami sits in a balloon-back chair with her forearm resting on the covered table to her right. What appears to be a floral wreath sits on the table, and a glimpse of flowers indicates that a vase is also there,

¹²² Geoffrey Batchen, “Cartes-de-Visite and the Bourgeois Imagination,” in *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*, eds. J. J. Long, Andrea Noble, and Edward Welch (New York: Routledge, 2009), 171-72.

¹²³ Batchen, 172.

¹²⁴ TOSM, Album 348. The back of the photograph has Allen’s Moray Place mark, indicating that the photograph was taken between 1866 and 1871 when he moved his studio to Princes Street.

out of frame. Allen's portrait of Miss Alice Cornwall is very similar (fig. 5.10).¹²⁵ She sits in the same chair with her hand under her chin and elbow resting on the covered table positioned to her left. The floral wreath and vase of flowers are more clearly visible. Allen's studio used this pose and these props for several other female customers; three photographs of women seated in the balloon-backed chair at the covered table were found in TOSM's collection.¹²⁶ Ami had at least one other photograph taken during her sitting with Allen.¹²⁷ In this image, she stands in front of a backdrop painted with classical columns, her right elbow resting on a faux mantelpiece (fig. 5.11). The only other props are an urn with flowers that adorns the chimney piece and a patterned carpet. Her gaze is off to her left, and her body language shows an ease with the camera that suggests she was familiar with a studio setting. Batchen has analysed a portrait of an unidentified man from the studio of Bingham of Paris who is similarly posed. The portrait, he argues, depicts the man as an ideal citizen, "self-assured and prosperous" and "enjoying a suitably elevated social and financial status."¹²⁸ Ami's portrait depicts her in a similarly refined manner. Her dress is a well-made silk gown embellished with cord braid, and she is probably wearing a corset underneath.¹²⁹ Through her fashionable 1860s dress she performs her role as the wife of a respectable local magistrate, and Allen, recognizing her status within the Dunedin community, has posed her accordingly.

There are ten other photographs from Allen's studio in the album, all of men. Nine of these appear to be Māori, and like Ami's portrait, their physical characteristics

¹²⁵ TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, A596.

¹²⁶ TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, A705, A1287, and A1288. These photographs were found in the museum's photo portrait collection, which is partly organised by photographer and provided an easy means of searching for Allen studio photographs. A more comprehensive search that includes all of the portrait and album collections would most likely uncover more.

¹²⁷ This photograph is not in the album and was found in the photo portrait collection. TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, A546. There are also three more copies of Ami's portrait in the collection. TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, A544, A545, and A547.

¹²⁸ Batchen, 163.

¹²⁹ Dr. Jane Malthus, email to author, February 28, 2016.

are all that identifies their ethnicity. Several sitters, such as Hone Mira (John Miller), have been given poses similar to Ami's with them seated in a chair and an arm resting on the covered table with a vase of flowers (fig. 5.12).¹³⁰ This was a pose Allen used repeatedly for his male Pākehā sitters as well including notable locals such as architect Henry Frederick Hardy, hotel proprietor Julius Hyman, and Captain Ross who sailed the ships *Viola* and *City of Dunedin* (fig. 5.13).¹³¹

Allen also produced one of the photographs of H. K. Taiaroa previously mentioned (fig. 5.14). H. K. was elected to the House of Representatives in 1871 as member for the Southern Māori electorate, a position he held until 1879 when he was appointed to the Legislative Council. Forced to vacate his seat there, he was re-elected as MHR for Southern Māori in 1881 and served until 1885 when he was replaced by Tame Parata. This photograph was probably taken during the 1870s and the early years that he served in Parliament. As with photographs of local notables such as Reverend Donald McNaughton Stuart (discussed in Chapter 3), H. K.'s photograph occupies an ambiguous position whose reading is dependent upon the viewer. Being a Parliamentarian, some viewers would have considered his photograph a political celebrity image. Although he is wearing European clothing and strikes a conventional studio pose, the simple fact that he is Māori might have made his portrait an ethnographic curiosity to others. Overseas viewers in particular might have seen novelty in owning a photograph of an indigenous man serving in a state legislature. For the Parata family, as mentioned earlier, H. K.'s portrait was most likely included in the album because of a close personal relationship and shared family and tribal connections.

This portrait with H. K. seated in a chair against a plain background and devoid of any props is nearly identical to a photograph Allen took one of his Pākehā customers, Robert Manisty, mayor of East Invercargill in the early 1880s and the son of English

¹³⁰ This photograph has been identified as Hone Mira through a comparison with a photograph reproduced in Bill Dacker, *Te Mamae Me Te Aroha*, 70. I was unable to find Hone's connection to the Parata family, but Tame is also shown in the photograph, demonstrating that the two men were acquainted.

¹³¹ TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, A219, A231, and A492.

solicitor and barrister Sir Henry Manisty (fig. 5.15).¹³² The photograph of H. K. has no extraneous detail other than a glimpse of the back of his chair, making him the focus for the viewer. The absence of props, Elizabeth McCauley argues, meant it was difficult for the sitter to be categorised by occupation or class. Attention was instead drawn to the sitter's identity and appearance.¹³³ Similar to the portrait of Ami, H. K.'s body language suggests that he is at ease with the camera. His shoulders and hands are relaxed, and he gazes to the side. His portrait is very different from the stiff posture that the woman identified as Kararaina Te Piki, one of his father's wives, assumed in her portrait and discussed in the previous chapter (fig. 4.30).¹³⁴ H. K.'s pose also communicates a confident and serious man. In her examination of the *carte de visite* portrait of fugitive slave John Anderson, Emilie Boone finds that for non-European sitters, such standardised poses could powerfully communicate their "qualities of stability, class and respectability."¹³⁵ Likewise, H. K.'s pose demonstrates his respectability and provides visual proof of a man qualified to serve in Parliament.

H. K. had his photograph taken a number of times, and the Parata album contains a second photograph of him taken by Harry Coxhead, another Dunedin photographer (fig. 5.16). He appears to be about the same age in this photograph as the one by Allen, and they were probably taken at around the same time. Similar to Ami's portrait, Taiaroa sits in a chair with his forearm on the table. The props and pose are no different from the ones Coxhead used for his Pākehā sitters indicating that, as with Allen, ethnicity did not influence his work.

The photograph of Peti and Tame's son Henare taken by an unidentified studio around 1890 also depicts a confident sitter (fig. 5.8). Henare looks the part of a successful man and Victorian patriarch. He holds a book, suggesting learning, and stares confidently

¹³² *Southland Times*, November 18, 1882.

¹³³ Elizabeth McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 77.

¹³⁴ H. K. Taiaroa's mother was Mawera, one of Te Matenga Taiaroa's earlier wives.

¹³⁵ Emilie Boone, "The Likeness of Fugitivity: William Notman's *Carte-de-visite* Portrait of John Anderson," *History of Photography* 37, no. 2 (2013): 225, doi: 10.1080/03087298.2012.745710.

at the camera. Margaret leans towards him, her gaze focused on his face. One hand rests on his shoulder while the other is placed in the crook of his elbow. Their smartly-dressed son also leans in towards Henare and gives the camera a look as confident as his father's. The photograph embodies the economic, educational, and social success that the Parata family had achieved by the close of the century and is an appropriate final image for the album.

Of the ninety-six photographs in the Parata album, only two are of sitters posed with a small number of Māori objects and clothing. Unfortunately, their identity and connections to the Parata family are unknown. Both photographs are cartes de visite taken by the studio of George William Shailer in Palmerston North in the 1880s and are the only photographs from that place and studio in the album. They share the same backdrop and rustic piece of furniture and have been mounted on the same orange-coloured card. The similarities between the two cartes point toward the photographs having been taken close to the same time.¹³⁶ The first photograph appears to be of an adolescent boy with a mixture of European and Māori adornment and clothing (fig. 5.17).¹³⁷ He wears a ring on his right hand, holds a patu, probably of whalebone, in his left, and a single feather has been placed in his cropped hair. He wears a light-coloured shirt, but the details are not discernible. A cravat or kerchief is tied around his neck, and he wears a long thin pendant probably made of pounamu. Draped over his left shoulder is a loosely knitted or crocheted shawl. He sports knee-length socks and Chelsea boots. A kilt-length dark skirt with a fringed blanket wrapped over it and around his waist completes his dress. This skirt is a reworking of the *rāpāki* made from harakeke (flax) described by nineteenth-century observers as a “kilt” or “waist mat.”¹³⁸ At first glance, this hybrid costume appears to be an attempt by the photographer at an ethnographic type

¹³⁶ For examples of Shailer's photographs, see “Pātaka Ipurangi: Manawatu Memory Online,” <http://digitallibrary.palmerstonnorth.com>.

¹³⁷ This might be a photograph of a girl. The gender of this individual is ambiguous and the clothing androgynous.

¹³⁸ Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganui: Archibald Duddingston Willis, 1904), 233-34, accessed January 26, 2016, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-TreRace.html>.

Māori image.¹³⁹ However, the youth's clothing had an association with the dress adopted by the Forest Rangers during the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s. This combination of attire was more suitable for fighting in the New Zealand bush than British uniforms. A photograph of Major Frederick Swindley, who was present in several engagements on the East Coast of the North Island during the New Zealand Wars, is shown in this apparel (5.18).

Shailer's photograph of the young man is ambiguous in its intent. Photographs referencing the New Zealand Wars were immensely popular during the 1860s, and while this image references a style of clothing worn during that period, it would not have been produced as a souvenir of those events. Shailer set up studios in Palmerston North and Feilding in 1882, after the wars had ended and the demand for those photographs had waned.¹⁴⁰ The young man is also too young to have participated in the wars. Other aspects of the photograph also argue against it being a type image. While accessories such as the patu and feather are traditional, they are not as dramatic as other elements such as full facial moko or kahu kiwi (kiwi feather cloaks) that photographers featured in commercial photographs. Compared with those sensational images, there is little about it that would make it a profitable one for Shailer to produce and sell, although the possibility that he might have been experimenting with the genre cannot be dismissed. It seems more likely that this was a privately-commissioned portrait of a youth who chose to include certain elements of Māori ancestry in his representation as well as aspects of his modern identity in items such as the neck kerchief and Chelsea boots.

The other Shailer photograph in the album is a portrait of an unidentified Māori couple (fig. 5.19). The man sits in a rustic chair while the woman stands to his right, her hand resting on his shoulder, a conventional studio pose that Shailer used for several

¹³⁹ John McGarrigle was one photographer who used embellishment that bordered on the ridiculous such as his photographs of young Māori whose heads are adorned with feathers and a tiara. See Vaughan Yarwood, "Framed in Light: The Maori Portraits of John McGarrigle," in *New Zealand Geographic* 121 (2013): 88-101.

¹⁴⁰ *Feilding Star*, June 21, 1882.

portraits of Pākehā couples.¹⁴¹ The woman's dress combines traditional Māori textiles with European dress. It is impossible to know whether these were choices made by her or the photographer, making the meaning of the image also ambiguous. She wears a loose, smock-type shirt, kerchief, and patterned skirt, garments worn by many rural women. There are several Māori elements added to her outfit, the most visible being the *piu piu* draped across her chest, possibly made of *houhere* (lacebark) and *harakeke* (flax). Originally designed as a skirt, some photographs in the late nineteenth century show women wearing one across a single shoulder, possibly an inaccurate convention that photographers used to add Māori details to images. Her loose hair is another way that her Māori identity has been highlighted. Type photographs of Māori women almost invariably show them with long, loose hair, adding to their exotic, non-European appearance. In a photograph of a woman named Nuki by an unidentified photographer, her long hair adds to the props to highlight her Māori identity (fig. 5.20). Some rural Māori women in the nineteenth century certainly wore their hair loose. In a series of photographs from the King Country taken by the Burton Brothers studio, women are shown variously with their hair cropped short, pulled back and fastened, or flowing loosely.¹⁴² However, in the Shailer photograph, the woman's wide, uniform waves suggest that her hair had been plaited previously. Whether she came to the studio with her hair down or Shailer directed her to loosen it is unknown. Another Māori detail is her faintly visible *moko kauae* (chin tattoo). Many photographers retouched photographs to make these *moko* more distinct, but Shailer has not done so with hers.

While the woman's Māori identity has been emphasised with the *piu piu* and loose hair, the man conveys his in a subtle way with a single object. Attached at the end of his watch chain is a mounted stone pendant or fob in the shape of a *toki* (adze), probably made from *pounamu* (fig. 5.21). Similar fobs are shown in two other portraits of Māori men in the album, both taken by the studio of Clifford and Morris in Dunedin.

¹⁴¹ See the Palmerston North City Libraries on-line collection of Shailer images, <http://digitallibrary.palmerstonnorth.com>.

¹⁴² See Christine Whybrew, "The Burton Brothers Studio: Commerce in Photography and the Marketing of New Zealand, 1866-1898" (PhD diss., University of Otago, 2010), 210, 225 and 232.

Pākehā also wore them: a carte de visite of Julius Hyman, member of Dunedin's Jewish community, shows him with a fob that appears to be made of pounamu (fig. 5.22).¹⁴³

Pounamu holds great value to Māori. It was traded extensively, ritually exchanged, and played a role in peacemaking agreements.¹⁴⁴ Kāi Tahu have a particularly strong relationship with the material since it is only found in the South Island, which is known as Te Wai Pounamu. As well as being a strong stone for weapons such as mere and tools like toki, whao (chisels), and whakakōka (gouges), pounamu was also used for adornment. Earrings were carved into shapes such as kuru, kapeu, and koropepe, and pendants into hei matau and hei tiki.¹⁴⁵

In their study of archaeological deposits from nineteenth-century lapidary businesses along George Street in Dunedin, Justin Maxwell, Angela Middleton, and Philip Latham found that lapidaries recognised the profit potential for goods made of pounamu with both Pākehā and Māori markets. It was used for making European-style jewellery such as brooches, pendants, earrings, crucifixes, and watch fobs like the man in the Shailer photograph is wearing. Dunedin became a major greenstone manufacturing centre, and several lapidaries were working in the city as early as the 1860s.¹⁴⁶ Some of the work was also carried out by Māori political prisoners kept in the city between 1879 and 1881.¹⁴⁷ Dunedin lapidaries worked large amounts of “flower jade,” a type of greenstone not popular with Pākehā, suggesting that they also made reproductions of traditional forms for Māori customers.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, A231.

¹⁴⁴ Mead, 170 and 183.

¹⁴⁵ Basil Keane. “Pounamu – Jade or Greenstone – Pounamu – Several Names,” Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed January 5, 2016, last modified September 22, 2012, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/pounamu-jade-or-greenstone>.

¹⁴⁶ Justin J. Maxwell, Angela Middleton, and Philip Latham, “Victorian Era European Exploitation of Pounamu in Dunedin, New Zealand,” *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 6 (2015): 59. For further discussion of European lapidary, see Russell J. Beck and Maika Mason, *Mana Pounamu: New Zealand Jade* (Auckland: Reed Books, 2002), 121-33

¹⁴⁷ Maxwell, Middleton, and Latham, 59.

¹⁴⁸ Maxwell, Middleton, and Latham, 68.

For Māori, adopting western dress generally meant setting aside customary adornment, but modern jewellery forms made from pounamu enabled them to continue to use it for personal display. With their modern form and traditional material, watch fobs were one way that Māori expressed an identity that combined European and Māori elements.

A cabinet card from the 1880s of H. K. Taiaroa's sons Teone Wiwi (Jack) and Riki Te Mairaki (Dick) in their rugby uniforms also communicated the emerging Māori identity that combined European and Māori culture (fig. 5.23).¹⁴⁹ Jack wears the uniform of the Dunedin Football Club (DFC) while Dick wears one from an unidentified club whose initials are KRC, possibly the Kaikorai Rugby Club founded in Dunedin in 1883.¹⁵⁰ These uniforms were likely to have been personal items, not studio props, and wearing them was a choice that demonstrated pride in their rugby activity. That the two brothers wear uniforms from different teams indicates that this was a privately-commissioned photograph for distribution to family and friends, not an official club photograph. However, there is nothing else about the studio props that suggest sport. Jack sits on a sheepskin-covered chair while Dick stands next to him, his hand resting on a plinth with a potted fern. The backdrop is a classical arch with Corinthian column. These are common props that appear in other portraits produced by the studio.¹⁵¹

Rugby was relatively new to New Zealand in the 1880s when this photograph was taken. The game was introduced from England in 1870, the first recorded match was played in 1874, and provincial clubs were formed by 1880.¹⁵² By playing in the local teams in the early 1880s, the Taiaroa brothers were participating in an activity that was the latest thing, and their photograph thus shows proof of their modernity. Jack and Dick

¹⁴⁹ The photograph is unidentified in the Parata album. Ron Palenski has identified them as Jack and Dick Taiaroa. See Ron Palenski, *Rugby: A New Zealand History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015), 47.

¹⁵⁰ Dick attended Christchurch Boys' High School at this time, so this might have been the uniform for an unidentified Christchurch club.

¹⁵¹ TOSM, Photo portrait collection, A132, A1065, and B324.

¹⁵² Ron Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012), 274.

were among the best Māori rugby players during the period.¹⁵³ Jack was playing rugby for the Dunedin club by 1882, while he was still attending Otago Boys High School. The *Otago Witness* described his performance in glowing terms, writing that he “played excellently” and “fairly excelled himself.”¹⁵⁴ After the defeat of the New South Wales team in 1883, Jack’s exceptional ability was reported as far away as *London Sporting Life*: “The victory of the local team was mainly attributable to the fine game played at ‘half’ by a young Maori named Taiaroa. It is said that he is only 19 years of age. He is described as wonderfully quick on his feet, very difficult to tackle, and a first-rate drop and place kick.”¹⁵⁵ The photograph was taken around this time and captures a period in Jack’s life when he was excelling for Otago and a rising star in the rugby world. Jack’s ability was further recognised in 1884 when he was chosen to play on the recently-formed New Zealand team that toured New South Wales.¹⁵⁶ Dick likewise had a successful rugby career, playing for Christchurch Boys High School and the Wellington and Hawkes Bay provincial clubs before joining the New Zealand Native team.

Ron Palenski and Greg Ryan both argue that sport was a central part of New Zealand culture and an important factor in forming a national identity in the late nineteenth century.¹⁵⁷ Rugby engaged a cross-section of society, and members of the working and professional classes, urban and rural dwellers, and Māori and Pākehā all played and followed the game. Māori began playing the game soon after it arrived in

¹⁵³ Palenski, *Rugby*, 47.

¹⁵⁴ *Otago Witness*, August 26, 1882 and September 2, 1882.

¹⁵⁵ *Otago Witness*, May 12, 1883.

¹⁵⁶ Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, 208.

¹⁵⁷ Ron Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*; Greg Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks: The 1888-89 New Zealand New Zealand Native Football Team in Britain, Australia and New Zealand* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1993); and Greg Ryan, *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society, 1854-2004* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2005).

New Zealand.¹⁵⁸ Players such as the Taiaroa brothers took a leading role in developing the sport.¹⁵⁹ The photograph of Jack and Dick Taiaroa shows an emerging Māori identity that was to become closely tied to rugby in later years and offers another example of Māori engagement with the colonial modernity that unfolded in the late nineteenth century.

Celebrity – Donald Dinnie

The Parata album includes one celebrity photograph: a carte de visite of Scottish strongman Donald Dinnie who was considered the greatest athlete during the nineteenth century (fig. 5.24).¹⁶⁰ He toured the world, competing in Highland games and wrestling tournaments in Scotland, England, Canada, the United States, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. In September 1883 “the redoubtable Donald Dinnie” announced that he was coming to Otago and arrived in late December.¹⁶¹ His visit aroused excitement throughout the region with the newspapers reporting extensively on his numerous wrestling matches and athletic performances.

While in Dunedin, he had his photograph taken by the studio of John Richard Morris, and the *Evening Star* reported that Morris had sent them copies.¹⁶² At least two poses from the session were published by the studio in carte de visite and cabinet card formats. An album in the collection of TOSM that mainly features photographs of residents of Waikouaiti holds a Morris studio cabinet card of Dinnie in a pose slightly

¹⁵⁸ The first recorded Māori player was Wirihana who played for the Wanagui Country team. Malcolm Mulholland, *Beneath the Māori Moon: An Illustrated History of Māori Rugby* (Wellington: Hui, 2009), 4.

¹⁵⁹ Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, 286 and Greg Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, 126-27.

¹⁶⁰ Frank Zarnowski, “The Amazing Donald Dinnie: The Nineteenth Century’s Greatest Athlete” in *Iron Game History* 5 (May 1998): 3-11; David P. Webster, “Reconsidering Donald Dinnie,” *Iron Game History* 5 (October 1998): 18-21; and David P. Webster and Gordon Dinnie, “Donald Dinnie: The First Sporting Superstar,” *Iron Game History* 7 (July 2002): 31-32.

¹⁶¹ *Otago Daily Times*, November 17, 1883 and December 25, 1883.

¹⁶² *Evening Star*, December 27, 1883.

different from the one in the Parata album.¹⁶³ Like most of his studio portraits, Dinnie is dressed in Scottish attire (kilt, sporran and tam o'shanter) and displays his medals. He leans on a walking stick, possibly a Scottish cane known as a kebbie. In addition to being a celebrated athlete, Dinnie was also a symbol of Celtic identity and almost always photographed in his kilt.

The Parata family could not claim immediate Scottish ancestry, so the appeal of the photograph was likely Dinnie the celebrity athlete rather than Dinnie the Scot. His powerful stance and display of medals shows a successful, warrior-like figure with mana (prestige), attributes respected in Māori culture.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, his walking stick resembles a ceremonial walking stick or "orator's staff" called a tokotoko, which was a symbol of status. A member of the Parata family might have attended one of Dinnie's performances and bought the carte as a souvenir, or it might have been a memento of the excitement in the area brought about by his visit.

It is common to find at least one celebrity image in Otago's albums. Pākehā often chose type photographs of Māori leaders as celebrities for their albums, but given that these images were created for a Pākehā market, they likely had limited appeal to Māori. Photographs such as Dinnie's offered alternative celebrity photographs. Images of royalty seem to have had some appeal as well. During his visit to England in 1863 as part of a Māori touring party, Kamariera Te Hau Takiri Wharepapa collected a carte-de-visite of Queen Victoria.¹⁶⁵ As a Scot dressed in traditional clothing, Dinnie might have been considered an exotic figure and collected as a type image in a sort of reverse ethnography. However, the extent to which Māori collected celebrity or type images and which images they chose needs further research.

¹⁶³ TOSM, Album 137. The museum also holds another portrait of Dinnie from an unidentified studio. TOSM, Photo Portrait Collection, A143.

¹⁶⁴ Mana is a highly complex concept and does not have a direct translation into English. Other synonyms include authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, honour, and charisma. These words describe aspects of mana but do not capture the elements that frame the concept.

¹⁶⁵ Graham-Stewart and Gow, *Out of Time*, 14.

Conclusion

Māori encounters with photography in the nineteenth century encompassed more than the ethnographic type photographs that have dominated research on New Zealand photography. Although Māori did not leave written records about their engagement with photography, the photographs they left behind provide a crucial source for teasing out their engagement with the medium. Personal photographs reveal that Māori were active participants and consumers rather than passive ethnographic objects.

The Parata album offers the opportunity to examine this engagement. Like other Otago albums, it is filled with studio portraits. Photographs of Māori resemble those of European colonists, sharing the same poses, props, and studio settings. This suggests not only that photographers did not differentiate between Māori and Pākehā customers but also that Māori chose to have themselves represented in the same way. An analysis of the identified sitters shows that the Parata family chose to fill their album with portraits of family, friends, associates, and a celebrity. With the majority of photographs coming from Otago, and few of the sitters appearing to be Pākehā, the album demonstrates a close-knit community of Kāi Tahu. However, the similarities with other Otago albums is not proof of slavish imitation of European photographic practices nor does it suggest a seamless assimilation of Māori into British colonial culture. Aspects such as orality and exchange were part of nineteenth-century album culture that complemented a pre-contact Māori world. Instead, the album provides an example of the surging tide of modernity that reshaped Māori lives and created a new identity during the nineteenth century.

The format of nineteenth-century photograph albums endures today in a Māori context in some wharenui (meeting houses) such as the one at Arowhenua Marae in Temuka, South Canterbury. On a warm sunny day in December of 2014, I went to the marae to view photographic portraits in the wharenui Te Hapa o Niu Tirenī. I had mentioned to Bill Dacker, a colleague from TOSM, that I had heard about the wharenui and was interested in visiting it. By coincidence he was attending a family hui (gathering) there over the Christmas-New Year period and invited me along. A family member showed me around the meeting house and explained how the walls are organised. The photographs are arranged in a series of family groups in terms of whakapapa, and within those groups they are placed in chronological order with the more ancient ancestors at the

top and more recently-departed family placed in descending order below. One section of the wall is dedicated to First World War soldiers. Although the meeting house dates back to 1905, the practice of putting photographs on the walls is somewhat recent, perhaps starting only thirty years or so ago. In many ways, the room reminded me of a Victorian photograph album with its attention to organisation, family groupings, and story-telling potential. Some of the photographs have labels and inscriptions, but many are not identified. People who belong to the marae will be familiar with the faces they are seeing and they, like my host, will act as narrators to younger generations and outside visitors like me.

Conclusion

The Otago region in the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed profound changes due to the colonisation activities of the Otago Association in Scotland. Scots, English, and other European settlers left their homes and immigrated to the area seeking new opportunities, displacing existing Māori communities and altering their customary life in the process. However, everyone in the region—Māori and Pākehā—had to adjust to the changes in their lives brought about by colonisation. New communities needed to be forged and those networks maintained and strengthened. Likewise, new identities were necessarily shaped in this colonial landscape. Shared nineteenth-century cultural practices such as album compiling and viewing facilitated these changes.

This thesis has investigated the unexplored history of nineteenth-century photograph albums in Otago, and in doing so, contributes to a broader understanding of photograph and album culture in New Zealand and the wider Anglo-American world. It sought, in the first instance, to detail the emergence in the region of studio photography in the 1850s and album culture in the 1860s. As a British colony, developments in Otago were compared primarily with those of Great Britain, although the importance of photographic activity in France and the USA was not ignored. The question asked was to what extent Otago's photographic history resembled that of Europe and America. The answer is that it shared many similarities and responded to many of the overseas trends. The people of Otago flocked to portrait studios to have their likenesses taken, and they filled their albums with portraits of British royalty and other celebrities, ethnographic "types" (arguably another version of celebrity), and, above all else, their family and friends. However, close examination of the content of these albums revealed that the people of Otago used photography and albums to express their own unique colonial perspective. For example, the overseas fad for collecting celebrities and types translated into a preference for images of local notables such as Reverend Dr. Stuart and Māori.

This thesis then explored how photographs and albums were used to create and consolidate community and identity for Pākehā and Māori in Otago. Building on work by Elizabeth Siegel on American albums, borrowing from Martha Langford's theory on the orality of albums, and applying Benedict Anderson's ideas of real and imagined

communities, the ways in which albums were constructed, used, and shared in Otago have been explored.¹ Through a general analysis of a range of albums as well as close examinations of two albums as case studies, this thesis found that albums were used to build local connections through exchanging photographs within the community and shared viewing of those photographs. Albums were also used to construct and communicate an emerging Otago identity.

These findings were surprising for two reasons. The first was that, when research started, it had been assumed that photographs were used for enabling memory. This was based on works such as Geoffrey Batchen's *Forget Me Not, Photography and Remembrance* and Langford's *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, which look at photographs and albums as acts of memorialisation. This thesis does not reject this function (some photographs such as post-mortem images are certainly used for memory), but instead shows how photographs and albums were also used to help Otago's residents locate themselves in their colonial present. The second surprising finding and related to the first was that Otago albums expressed a new and complex colonial identity for both Pākehā and Māori that blended imported British culture with their own Otago experiences. The albums of Priscilla Smith and the Parata family provide examples of this new identity as expressed through albums.

A material culture approach was used whereby photographs and albums served as the main primary source. Material culture theory recognises that objects are a valuable form of evidence that can offer layers of meaning not found in text sources. Siegel uses photographs and albums for her research, but she also relies heavily on text sources. In contrast, Langford focuses on photographs and albums as sources but does not describe her work as material culture. Using such an approach allowed this research to take advantage of the wealth of locally-produced photographs and albums available for study. By systematically analysing the content of Otago albums, I discovered an album culture

¹ Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

that in many ways resembled the one practiced overseas, demonstrating that despite its physical distance from the centre of the British Empire, Otago was not culturally isolated. However, using objects as sources and making them “speak” in more detailed ways is a highly subjective exercise. Although historians concede that written sources contain bias and must be treated critically, they are much easier to evaluate and unpack than mute objects. My training in material culture theory as a master’s student equipped me with the tools to approach photographs and albums in a meaningful way. Regardless of this framework and the arguments presented, it must be conceded that some conclusions are speculative. Unfortunately, text sources for albums in Otago such as letters, diaries, and newspaper articles are almost non-existent and could not be used to support material culture-based findings. But it must be noted that this thesis could not have been written using traditional text sources, and therein lies the strength of a material culture approach.

Despite being primarily a visual source, almost all the photographs examined include text in the form of photography studio branding. This information is usually overlooked by photograph historians who focus instead on understanding meaning from the image depicted. This thesis demonstrated that the photographs of unidentified sitters that are often dismissed as carrying little useful information actually contain valuable details that situate these photographs in time and by location. A systematic analysis of the studio marks on photographs in Otago albums revealed the high percentage of locally-produced images and offered proof that albums reflected local connections and networks.

Another contribution this thesis makes is its investigation of Māori photographs and albums. While the previous research of William Main and Michael King has looked at photography of Māori, no previous research has looked at Māori as photographic consumers and album compilers.² This thesis has investigated Māori, specifically Kāi Tahu, as active participants in album culture instead of passive subjects relegated to the status of indigenous others. The album compiled by the Parata family of Puketeraki exhibits many parallels with albums compiled by Otago Pākehā. The album is filled with portraits of family, friends, and acquaintances, most of them taken in Otago studios.

² William Main, *Maori in Focus: A Selection of Photographs of the Maori from 1850-1914* (Wellington: Millwood Press, 1976) and Michael King, *Maori: A Photographic and Social History* (Auckland: Raupo, 2008).

Almost all of the sitters are dressed and posed the same way as their Pākehā counterparts, indicating that Māori were engaging with studios in a similar manner. An investigation of changes in Māori life in the mid-nineteenth century indicated how their culture was combining their customary life with modernity into a new identity. Māori were not assimilating, adding, or adapting—they were creating something new. Evidence of this new nineteenth-century identity, as well as aspects of pre-contact customary life, was found in their photographs.

There are a number of directions this research can be taken in the future. It was not within the scope of this thesis to examine albums outside of Otago in great detail, and similar studies of other provinces would reveal the extent to which there were regional variations. These variations might reflect provincial differences such as religion and immigration and support studies that argue for regional diversity. Further work could work towards understanding whether there was a unique New Zealand album culture and provide evidence for an early national identity or lack of one. Growing scholarship of regional histories of albums overseas in places such as Africa, the Middle East, and Asia will also provide new directions and points of comparison for future investigation of New Zealand albums.

The most compelling direction for possible future research that can build on this thesis is a deeper understanding of Māori and photography. There are thousands of nineteenth-century studio portraits of Māori spread throughout archives, libraries, and museums in New Zealand. Albums are harder to find, but in addition to the Parata album at TOSM, there is a Taiaroa family album at Canterbury Museum (on deposit from the family) and a Guard family album at Te Papa. Additional albums and photographs will no doubt be found in private collections. One of the earliest existing New Zealand daguerreotypes is of Te Āti Awa sisters Caroline and Sarah Barrett, demonstrating that Māori were a part of New Zealand photographic history from its beginnings. A new history of Māori and photography is long overdue.

By 1890, when this thesis finishes, photographic technology had begun to change dramatically. Snapshot photography and the Kodak camera altered the ways in which people encountered photography and compiled their albums. Research into this

transitional period of photography in New Zealand and the effects on album culture is still waiting to be done.

Epilogue

The Decline of the Victorian Photograph Album

How often is the family album held up as a subject for ridicule? How often are the faces and features therein depicted overlooked while attention is centred on its caricature of clothes? A look through its fast-yellowing pages provides considerable amusement; it may also, if you have known the pictured people, be fraught with a certain sadness.¹

These lines, written in the *Otago Daily Times* in 1930, capture the opinion held about the photograph album by the early twentieth century. The story, titled “In an Old Album,” was glued inside the front cover of an Otago album that had belonged to Margaret Ferens.² It recounts the amusement of the author looking through old albums: “So did I myself find the other day, when, as an old-fashioned form of entertainment, the long-neglected family albums were brought from the obscurity in which they had been hiding.” The viewers mocked the “tight waists and the glaringly patterned dresses” and “stupefying hair fashions” within the album. The studio sets were found comical and laughable. One of the more ridiculous photographs featured a “lady caught in a meandering progress through a forest clad in the most unsuitable garments, trailing, with many frills and flounces, around her feet.”

The tone of the story then turns sombre as the author reflects on the meaning of these albums for their 1930s viewers. While there was fun to be had in album-gazing, there was another side to it, “a side so apparent that to mention it is to state the obvious. It comes from the sense of loss.” The people have changed and the children in the photographs have grown up and moved away. But that is only part of it. It is the portraits of those who have died that are the most distressing. The album “shows us once again the

¹ *Otago Daily Times*, July 1, 1930.

² Margaret Ferens died in 1926, and her husband William, who was the a member of the Otago Early Settlers Association, donated the album to the museum in 1927. An Association member, probably Ferens himself, pasted the article inside the front cover. TOSM, Album 120.

faces of those who have taken the longer journey—‘who went and who return not.’” Through the photographs of those who have passed, the album reminds us of our own mortality. In *Camera Lucida*, French theorist Roland Barthes comments on his own feeling of loss when looking at photographs of his mother after her death. In those images he was searching for “the truth of the face I had loved” and found it in an image of her in the Winter Garden.³

German literary and cultural critic Walter Benjamin likewise expressed disdain for the nineteenth-century album in his essay “A Short History of Photography” (1931).⁴ “This,” he notes, “was the period of the thick photograph album. Its favoured location was the most chill part of the house, on pier or pedestal tables in the drawing-room.”⁵ He rails against the absurdity of the props and poses imposed by the new professional photographer cum businessman. But he also points to the Victorians’ complicity, writing “and finally, to crown the shame, ourselves: as drawing-room Tyroleans, yodelling and waving hats against a background of painted snow peaks or as spruce sailors, leaning one leg straight, the other bent, as is proper, against a polished door-jamb.”⁶

An earlier series of articles by A. D. B. in the *New Zealand Herald* from 1907 recounts a similar encounter with a nineteenth-century album. From a second-hand bookshop the author picks up “a worn old album” that was destined to be burned along with other rubbish in the shop.⁷ A. D. B. disparages it at first, complaining, “For surely precious time was seldom more wantonly wasted than in this turning over of portraits of people never before heard of.”⁸ The album’s inhabitants, the author notes, have “the

³ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 67.

⁴ Originally written in German, the title has also been translated as “A Small History of Photography” and “A Little History of Photography.”

⁵ Walter Benjamin, “A Short History of Photography,” *Screen* 13, no. 1 (1972): 18.

⁶ Benjamin, 18.

⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, February 9, 1907.

⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, February 9, 1907.

inanity of expression of a mangel-wurzel.”⁹ Amid the sea of carte de visites “singularly without individuality” is one with the inscription “Madame Arabella Goddard.”¹⁰ From that one small clue came a flood of memories of music, singers, and concert halls from the 1860s. The author muses, “It is odd how a word, a scent, a name will set old memories rotating as the particles in a beam of light. See one, see countless numbers all whirling and playing and dancing off to the dim shadows where they are lost. So this little dull old photograph brings memories of music.”¹¹ For A. D. B. the old photograph album was a purveyor of memories and held the power to evoke involuntary memory, not unlike the taste of a madeleine biscuit that reminded Marcel Proust of Sunday mornings at Combray with his aunt Léonie.¹²

As the authors of these newspaper articles observe, the photograph album had acquired new meaning. Albums that in the nineteenth century had been the latest modern thing were, by the early twentieth century, seen as old fashioned. The albums that these authors perused were between twenty and seventy years old, and the passage of time partly accounts for the change of opinion. The stories and people in them were about the past, not the present. With the narrators gone and the audience unfamiliar with what they were seeing, the albums had lost much of their relevance. For Māori, the loss of the narrator also meant the loss of the album’s *kōrero* (voice). Modernity, familiarity, and currency were replaced with nostalgia, sentiment, and memory.

The photograph album given to Aemilia Turton in 1875 illustrates this shift.¹³ In 1934 the *New Zealand Herald* issued a story about it titled “Told by an Album: Memories of Wellington.”¹⁴ Aemilia, by then Mrs. C. R. Edmunds, showed the album to

⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, April 27, 1907.

¹⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, April 27, 1907.

¹¹ *New Zealand Herald*, April 27, 1907.

¹² Marcel Proust, “The Cookie,” vol. 1 of *Remembrance of Things Past*, trans. C.K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin (New York: Vintage, 1982), 48-51. Accessed January 10, 2017, <http://ww3.haverford.edu/psychology/ddavis/p109g/proust.html>.

¹³ TOSM, Album 93, discussed in Chapter 2.

¹⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, January 9, 1934.

a government representative. She regaled him with memories of the social life and dancing in Wellington she had experienced as a young woman. Looking at it was “like reading an old book” and a veritable who’s-who of early New Zealand society. “She was a Bathgate of Dunedin,” she commented about one photograph. Because Aemilia was there to narrate, her album could still fulfil its old function as a prompt for her storytelling, but the shape of the stories and their meanings had changed from recent events to past memories.

It was not just the fact that albums had become old that accounts for this shifting view. Long before then, the card album had begun to fall out of favour. A story printed in the “Gossipy Paragraphs” column of the *Otago Witness* in 1886 humorously describes the activities of women when they retire to the drawing room after dinner. The middle-aged women gossip while the young ladies look at photograph albums and “yawn over the family portraits.”¹⁵ The novelty of albums began to wane, and with this, their role in facilitating social engagement. A fictional story from 1885, also printed in the *Otago Witness*, illustrates the declining usefulness of albums as a tool for interaction. The narrator of the story attempts unsuccessfully to make conversation with another man in the drawing room, “I had finally to fall back upon a photograph album, which I never do unless I am positively at my last gasp.”¹⁶

As well as simply becoming out-of-date, the shift in opinion about nineteenth-century albums was also due in part to the changing nature of photography and the increase in amateurs. Although amateur photography had existed alongside professional photography since its inception, commercial studio photography had dominated Otago in the nineteenth century. There were no gentlemen in the settlement who experimented with the technology like Dr. Alfred Charles Barker did in Christchurch in the 1860s and 1870s. It was not until the mid-1880s that the Otago newspapers indicate any amateur activity. An advertisement from the *Otago Witness* in 1885 describes the “Photographic and Printing Sets” that could be purchased for children, students, and engineers.¹⁷ These

¹⁵ *Otago Witness*, January 16, 1886.

¹⁶ *Otago Witness*, March 28, 1885.

¹⁷ *Otago Witness*, August 29, 1885.

sets were for taking dry plate photographs that required a dark room for developing. In 1890 the Exchange Court Studio in Dunedin met the demand and opened a “free dark room for amateurs.”¹⁸

The real turning point came in June 1888 when the Kodak camera was released in the United States, resulting in a new era of photography marked by the amateur snapshot. The Kodak camera was a box camera pre-loaded with film. When the roll of film was finished, it was posted off to a laboratory for processing, and the unmounted prints were returned. Kodak’s marketing tagline summed up its simplicity: “You press the button, we do the rest.” Anyone could be a photographer now. Spontaneity and ‘snap shooting’ replaced the formal photography studio, and the monopoly of the studio photographer was broken. From 1890 onwards photography changed profoundly. An article from Dunedin’s *Evening Star* in 1891 recognised the forthcoming change, “When the hand camera came the fate of photography was settled. It remained only a question of time when everybody would be an amateur photographer.”¹⁹

People were the preferred subject matter for the amateur photographer, but snapshot photography enabled these images to be candid and expressive. Spontaneous photographs that were more reflective of personalities were now possible. And with the rise of snapshot photography, the artifice of the studio set became unpalatable. “There is somebody’s Great-Aunt Jane,” our author from 1930 observed, “whose face proclaims her to be, beyond a doubt, a woman of action, to whom the kitchen provides the natural outlet for her activities, set in a dreamy attitude upon a couch with a sylvan scene outspread beside her.”²⁰ Amateur photographs also became more personal as people had the ability to photograph whatever they wanted—family get-togethers, houses, pets, and especially children.

The format of the snapshot photograph also contributed to the decline of the card-format photograph album. Snapshots had the potential to be added to albums, but they were not the standard size of cartes de visite or cabinet cards. If they were larger than the

¹⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, November 22, 1890.

¹⁹ *Evening Star*, February 27, 1891.

²⁰ *Otago Daily Times*, July 1, 1930.

openings, they could be trimmed to fit, but photographs smaller than the openings were more problematic. As unmounted prints, an additional disadvantage of snapshots was their lack of rigidity, making them difficult to insert into a card album slot. The new “paste in” albums specifically designed for snapshot photographs were preferred.

Kodak cameras reached New Zealand by 1890. E. A. Hagen of Woodville near Palmerston North advertised that he sold Eastman products that included Kodak cameras.²¹ The first mention of a Kodak-type camera in Otago was in 1890 when Cowan and Co. advertised for “Instantaneous Pocket Photography.” “Have you seen it?” the advertisement asks, “The Greatest Amusement of the Age. Anyone can use it with Astonishing results.”²² By 1892 Kodak brand cameras were being sold in limited numbers in Dunedin, and by 1896 most dealers of photographic supplies stocked them.²³

Priscilla Smith embraced the new snapshot technology when it arrived. TOSM holds two snapshot albums of hers.²⁴ One is inscribed in the front, “To Prissy from Eunice, May 2nd 1894.”²⁵ It is a purpose-made snapshot album (“Snap Shots” is written in gold lettering on the cover) and features photographs of her children and views of her home, Greenfield Estate, pasted onto the pages. Priscilla annotated most photographs in pencil on the page beneath them. Of particular interest is one of her holding what appears to be a camera on a tripod. The caption beneath it reads, “Kathleen’s first ‘Snap.’” Kathleen was Priscilla’s daughter, and what is remarkable about this photograph is that Kathleen was only four years old in 1894. The other photographs of her in the album show her as a very young girl, so it is reasonable to conclude that she was this age when she took the photograph. Indeed, as a Kodak advertisement showing children with a camera advised, “Let the Children Kodak.”²⁶

²¹ *Woodville Examiner*, April 2, 1890.

²² *Otago Daily Times*, January 1, 1890.

²³ *Evening Star*, December 9, 1892 and *Otago Witness*, May 7, 1896.

²⁴ TOSM, Album 25 and 37.

²⁵ TOSM, Album 25.

²⁶ Duke University Libraries Digital Collections, accessed June 5, 2016, http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/eea_K0079/.

The passage of time and the emergence of new technology brought the end of the card-format photograph album. By the turn of the century, their stories had been lost and new viewers found their photographs either fragments of memory or too irrelevant to contemplate. Without narrators and audiences, these albums fell mute. The era of the Victorian photograph album had drawn to a close, so, as A. D. B. advised in 1907 when he finished looking at his album, “Let us close the book.”²⁷

²⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, February 9, 1907.

Appendix 1

ALBUMS CONSULTED

TOSM Album Number	Accession Number	Album Type*	Family Associations	Album owner
1		Slip in (CDV)	Rees	
2	1959/106/1	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Spratt, Ford, Bowden	Jane Ford, née Spratt
3		Slip in (CC)	Unknown	
4		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Evans, Lovell	
5		Slip in (CDV)	Forsyth, Mollison, McAra, Keith, Shaw	
6	1959/106/2	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Spratt, Ford, Coombes	
7		Slip in (CDV and CC)	McGlashan, Sands	Annie McGlashan
8	1959/20/43	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Duncan, Smith	Priscilla Smith
9		Slip in (CDV)	Waitahuna Settlers	
10		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	
11		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	
12		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Matthews, Muir, McIndoe	
14		Slip in (CDV)	Unknown	
21		Paste in		London Portrait Rooms
64		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	
65		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Hepburn, Eunson, Dodgshun	D. R. Eunson
66		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Hepburn, Eunson	
67		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Forsyth	
68	1974/27/2	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	
72		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Evans	
77			Settlements and buildings	
79		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Reid, Allan	Mary Reid
82	1936/118/3	Slip in (CDV and CC)	De beer	
88		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Evans	
93	1966/28/4	Scrap	Turton	Susannah Amelia Turton
96		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	
99	1966/28/2	Slip in (CDV)	Maitland, Bathgate	Fanny Maitland
101		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Hepburn	
102		Slip in (CDV)		Miss Dow
107		Slip in (CDV)		Agnes McEwan
114	1981/136/3	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Bowie, Adams	
115	1981/136/2	Slip in (CDV)	Bowie, Adams	
116	1936/118/2	Slip in (CDV)	De Beer	
117	1939/102/25	Slip in (CDV)	Proudfoot	
118	1935/88/4	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Sandes (Sands), McGlashan	Trevor and Isabella Sandes (Sands)
119		Slip in (CDV and CC)		Mrs. A. Prain
120	1927/24/2	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Ferens, Headland, Suisted	Margaret Ferens
121		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Proudfoot	
133	1935/88/3	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Sandes (Sands), McGlashan	Trevor and Isabella Sandes (Sands)
134		Slip in (CDV)	Unknown	
136		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Paterson, Brown, McLeod, Marshall, Ritchie	John and Ann Paterson

*CDV = Carte de visite CC = Cabinet card

TOSM Album Number	Accession Number	Album Type*	Family Associations	Album owner
137	1971/83/1	Slip in (CDV and CC)	McGill, Gilmore, Diack	
138		Slip in (CDV)		Miss Mary Bone
139	1957/97/1?	Slip in (CDV)	Reid, Allan	William Reid
140		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Nicoll	
141		Slip in (CDV and CC)		Mr. A. S. Paterson
142		Slip in (CC)	Hepburn	
143	1971/10/1	Slip in (CDV and CC)		
144		Slip in (CDV and CC)		Mrs. Wagstaff
146		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	
147		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	
149		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	
150	1982/74/56	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Constantine	
152	1982/84/3	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	
153	1982/84/2	Slip in (CC)	Unknown	
154	1983/81/9	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	Alice Georgie Dunbar
155	1983/97/1	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	
160	1986/56/2	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Macandrew	
163	1986/56/1	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Macandrew	
166	1985/120/1	Slip in (CDV)		
184	1985/120/2	Slip in (CDV and CC)		
198	1985/120/3	Slip in (CDV and CC)		
199	1985/214/2	Slip in (CC)	Nimmo, Edgar, Farquharson	
230	1988/228/1	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Wilson	Mrs. E. Prescott
231	1988/204/1	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Mitchell, Hunter	Possibly Annie Mitchell, née Hunter
232	1988/228/2	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Adams	
235	1988/204/2	Slip in (CC)	Hunter, Telford, Mitchell	
237	1988/204/4	Slip in (CDV)	Hunter, Telford	
238	1988/204/5	Slip in (CDV)	Hunter, Perry, Telford	Annie Hunter
243	1984/164/2	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Unknown	
244		Slip in (CC)	Unknown	
246	1994/66/6	Slip in (CDV)	Unknown	
250	1996/68/4	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Freeman, Brown, Wilson, Harraway	
251	1996/68/5	Slip in (CDV and CC)	McNaughton, Harraway	
252	1992/147/1	Slip in (CC)	Unknown	
253	1993/245/2	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Sinclair, Stott	Mary Ada Sinclair
266	1994/102/9	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Cargill, Begg, Cutten, Hart	
275	1993/245/1	Slip in (CDV)	Sinclair, Stott	
276	1992/34/1	Slip in (CDV)	Kyle	
286	1988/204/3?	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Telford	
287	1989/175/2	Slip in (CDV)	Barrett, Goding	Bridget Barrett
288	1989/252/1	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Finch	
289	1987/59/2	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Lyndsay	
293	2000/132/1	Paste in	Will	Louisa Melville Will
300	2002/50/01	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Seaton	
348	2007/12/1	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Parata, Brown, Newton	
350	2007/107/1	Slip in (CDV and CC)	Bourke	Frances Bourke
Empty 1		Slip in (CDV and CC)	Menzies	James Kerr Menzies
Empty 10		Slip in (CDV and CC)		

*CDV = Carte de visite CC = Cabinet card

Appendix 2

SUBJECTS OF PHOTOGRAPHS IN ALBUMS

TOSM Album Number	Portraits - Family and Friends	Portraits - Celebrities	Portraits - Types	Non-Human - Animals	Non-Human - Monuments Statues Graves	Non-Human - Landscapes Cityscapes Buildings	Non-Human - Ships	Non Human - Artwork	Non-Human - Introductory Cartes
1	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	111	5	-	-	-	4	1	-	-
4	108	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	40	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
6	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	79	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
8	170	14	15	-	-	8	2	7	-
12	55	1	-	-	-	13	-	-	-
65	51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
66	59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
67	153	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
72	43	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
77	69	1	-	-	1	70	-	-	-
79	96	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
82	157	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
99	100	1	-	1	-	3	-	-	-
101	93	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
102	83	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
107	33	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
114	82	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
115	18	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
116	153	47	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
117	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
118	107	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
119	75	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
120	70	4	-	-	-	6	-	-	1
121	95	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
133	136	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
136	110	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
137	28	1	-	-	-	4	-	1	-
138	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
139	200	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
140	127	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
141	66	7	2	-	2	6	-	-	-
142	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
144	111	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
150	120	1	1	2	-	6	-	-	1
160	77	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
163	98	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
199	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
230	75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
232	62	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-
237	58	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
238	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
250	101	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
251	51	2	3	-	1	3	-	4	2
253	133	4	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
266	82	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
275	48	-	-	-	-	5	-	4	2
276	72	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-
286	48	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
287	25	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
288	78	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
300	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
348	95	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
350	71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	4467	119	26	5	7	145	3	20	12

Appendix 3

NUMBERS OF PHOTOGRAPHS BY STUDIO LOCATION

TOSM Album Number	Otago	Great Britain and Ireland	Other New Zealand	Australia	Germanic States	North America	Other Areas	Unknown
2	96	4	1	1	-	-	-	9
4	76	2	11	1	-	1	-	17
5	34	1	3	1	-	-	-	1
6	13	-	-	2	-	-	-	1
7	62	8	5	-	-	2	-	2
8	105	24	1	5	-	23	2	10
65	20	22	1	7	-	-	-	1
66	44	3	-	7	-	1	-	4
72	23	8	3	4	-	-	-	5
79	75	6	10	3	-	1	-	1
82	65	5	9	22	33	2	6	15
99	67	15	4	1	-	-	3	10
101	53	11	5	18	-	1	-	5
102	52	14	6	6	-	-	1	4
107	13	12	4	-	-	-	2	2
116	82	3	16	10	28	1	1	12
117	21	-	-	-	-	7	-	1
118	35	16	30	2	-	-	9	15
119	50	11	3	3	-	2	-	6
120	52	1	10	-	-	-	-	7
121	60	17	-	1	-	8	-	9
133	49	17	60	4	-	3	-	3
138	69	6	1	-	-	-	-	4
142	21	-	1	8	-	-	-	3
160	60	8	6	-	-	1	-	2
163	59	28	-	3	-	-	4	4
230	59	1	-	3	-	-	-	12
237	43	12	1	-	-	-	-	2
238	15	11	-	-	-	-	-	2
250	73	5	-	17	-	-	-	6
251	19	23	2	-	-	1	-	6
253	80	21	21	-	-	1	-	10
266	29	39	5	2	-	1	4	2
275	25	11	5	-	-	-	-	7
287	17	1	1	3	-	-	1	2
288	65	5	1	3	-	1	-	3
348	75	2	15	-	-	-	-	4
350	67	1	1	2	-	-	-	-
Total	1923	374	242	139	61	57	33	209

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Field Photograph Album 4. PA1-o-165.

Field Photograph Album 16. PA1-q-087.

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