HIDDEN LIGHT

EARLY CANTERBURY AND WEST COAST PHOTOGRAPHY

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Ken Hall
with Haruhiko Sameshima

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Cover image: James Ring, *Greymouth and Kumara Tramway, No.354* (detail), c.1881. Albumen print, 133 x 204mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (PA1-o-415-31)

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Benjamin W. Mountfort,
Wairewa, c.1869. Albumen
print, 251 x 206mm. Canterbury
Museum (1949.148.567)

E ōku poua, e ōku taua
Koutou te hunga kua whakaahuatia ki te mata o te karāhe, ki te mata o te pepa,
Nāia ō mātou manawa e hotu nei, e kaikinikini nei mō koutou te take
Nā koutou te ara i para mō mātou mō kā uri ā muri nei.
Ahakoa kua iria koutou ki te poho o Rangi hei whetū
Ka whītikina tonutia ō koutou mata e te ao marama
Mō ā koutou uri ā haere ake nei.
E au te moe
Hoki mai ki a tātou te aitanga a tiki,
Tātou ngā parapara e whai nei i o rātou tapuae,
Tēnā tātou katoa

Corban Te Aika

To my esteemed elders,
To those that have been captured on the face of glass and the face of paper,
Our hearts beat vigorously with grief for you all
It was you who paved the pathway for us and the generations to come.
Though you may be suspended on the chest of Rangi in the night sky as stars,
your faces are still exposed in the world of light,
For your descendants now and in the future.
May you rest in peace
Returning now to the world of the living
To the remnants pursuing and following their footsteps,
Greetings to you all

Henry T. Lock, *View from top of upper incline, looking down towards sea*, 1880.
Albumen print, 190 x 238mm.
Museum of New Zealand
Te Papa Tongarewa (O.002179)

James Ring, *Dillmans Town Shewing Flumings, No.222* (detail), c.1880.
Albumen print, 139 x 204mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Burton Brothers, *1285 – Maori Kaik – Akaroa*, c.1884.
Albumen print, 142 x 197mm.
Private collection, courtesy of Michael Graham-Stewart

Nineteenth-century photography as encountered by a late-twentieth-century photographer, reminiscing from the twenty-first-century

Haruhiko Sameshima

My first conscious encounter with a photographer was very much that of the nineteenth-century kind – a professional with a dark-cloth over his head, a wooden camera, glass-plate holder and magnesium powder flash, who was doing the rounds in my primary school class photos in 1960s Japan. The whole process was measured, special and bordering on magical, and I still have the sepia-toned printing-out-paper contact print in the album my father put together. It reminds me what I looked like entering into 'society' for the first time.

Fifteen years later, and one of the odd features of my photographic apprenticeship in Dunedin's commercial studios of the late 1970s – well before the advent of the digital process – was the strange anachronism of the process I was learning. Mechanical, optical, chemical and electronic apparatus in darkened studios and smelly darkrooms; it was all reminiscent of the Gothic, of mad scientists and Frankenstein obsessions in nineteenth-century laboratories.

Yet at the other end of the spectrum is the belief in photography as a medium of constant groundbreaking technology, especially when you are engaged in advertising or, more recently, in the fine arts. Faster, bigger, glossier and sharper – it's the drive to produce images that 'awe' more efficiently. The cutting-edge science and engineering was embodied by the latest equipment, which we were regularly offered by travelling salesmen from H.E. Perry in Christchurch and T.A. Macalister in Auckland, all keen to keep the studio up to date with the latest gadgets.

Then there was the vault full of negatives – this was an old Dunedin photographic studio that had been bought and sold by several generations of photographers, with their archives intact. On the off chance that an old client might need a photograph printed from the past,

the negatives formed part of the purchase value of the business; in the vault were caches of glass plates made almost a hundred years previously, waiting in anticipation of the day someone might discover their value and pay to have a print made.

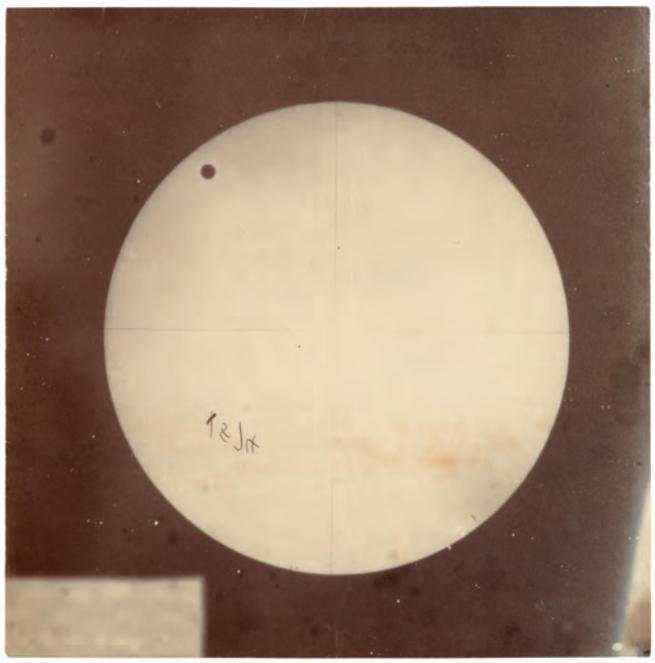
And there was Hardwicke Knight, who visited the studio in the alternate intervals to the salesmen from the north. He sat on the same waiting-room couch but stayed longer and talked passionately about photography from other perspectives; its past and processes, his work as a photographer and journalist in 1930s Russia, his time at the Otago Medical School, as well as his work as a photographic historian. For me, to learn such a role even existed was a novel idea. His book, the first comprehensive study of New Zealand photographers from the nineteenth-century to mid-twentieth-century, *Photography in New Zealand: A social and technical history* (1971) remains a vital reference for me. It is full of meticulous storytelling; with brief descriptions of pioneering technology starting with the daguerreotype, details of nineteenth-century photography business operations, and explorations of each notable photographer's practice and interest, forming a social history of the medium against the backdrop of colonial New Zealand.

Another practicing photographer-turned-historian/curator/writer, who encouraged me in connecting my contemporary practice with nineteenth-century photography, was John B. Turner, who was teaching at Elam School of Fine Arts when I enrolled as a student in the late 1980s. In an art school culture where the students were looking for that elusive 'originality', (the "eternal repetitions of the new"), his teaching was almost contrary in directing students' interest into the past. Having worked in Wellington's Dominion Museum before taking on the art school job at Elam in 1970, one of his influential curatorial projects was *Nineteenth Century New Zealand Photographs*, in which he boldly transposed the museum's collections of nineteenth-century photographs into the art gallery context. He proved the medium could be experienced as art, rather than simply a carrier of information to be archived in a library or museum. Many of the same photographers and images that featured in Knight's book were exhibited on the white walls, but to different effect and purpose – Turner's emphasis was on the high-modernist tradition of 'seeing'; the form and the mastery of medium itself as the main focus. The passion and vision of the nineteenth-century photographers' picture making were conveyed with the purpose of providing inspiration for the practicing twentieth-century art photographers he would end up teaching.

Turner's approach to photography was deeply medium focused, and internationally informed by his correspondence with, and passion for, mainly American photographers and historians, and a personal library of books imported from the US and Europe. These included books from the influential curators and photographic historians employed at the Museum of Modern Art, New York – Beaumont Newhall and John Szarkowski, who devoted their careers to asserting photography's place as a legitimate artistic medium. From *Photography 1839–1937*, Newhall's pivotal first photographic survey and catalogue in 1937, which secured photography's place within the art museum and shaped the modern fine-arts photography tradition in the US, to his *History of Photography* (1964) and Szarkowski's *The Photographer's Eye* (1966) and *Looking At Photographs* (1973), all sought significant works from photography's inception to the most recent in search of the particular qualities that united them as a 'new' language of art.

What was interesting about photography as Turner taught it was that it straddled so many diverse fields; it opened up questions about what constitutes art, rather

Alfred C. Barker, *Ch.ch N.Z. The Argument Dec.1.1869 [James Edward FitzGerald and William Rolleston]*. Albumen print, 145 x 190mm. Canterbury Museum (1949.148.972)



Edward P. Sealy, *Transit of Venus, 1874*. Albumen print, 138 x 138mm. Michael Graham-Stewart collection

than shutting them down. From nineteenth-century travel photographers' excursions into the exotic and majestic topographic large-format contact prints to absorbing details of daguerreotype portraits, the images Turner used as teaching aids were seductive visual 'hits' whether they were regarded, or made, as art or not. In fact, by the time I arrived at art school the argument as to whether photography was art turned out to be superfluous, at least according to the debates happening in the international cosmopolitan centres. These were lively discussions based on the social functions of photography; figuring on the nature of the photograph as an object, a sign, as communication, a social phenomenon, and how it changed the functions of art and society at large. Rather than seeking to define photography as a unified language with its own particular syntax, the plurality and discursive nature of photographic use and effects were expounded.

The plurality was inevitable, when you consider the vast scope of applications for photography from the time of its invention (that is, when methods of fixing the camera-obscura images on a variety of mediums were achieved in the 1820s to 1840s). The photographs were seamlessly incorporated into the already rampant demands and desires of visual culture, as art, science and popular-culture, through the industrialised pictorial dissemination of mass printing methods.[1]

The 'new' history of photography focused its interest on contemporaneous perceptions of the medium; as Alan Trachtenberg observed in the introduction to *Classic Essays on Photography* (1980), "A true history of photography would be identical with the social and cultural history: a history of practices and the ideas that inform them."[2] Two well-known essays from the nineteenth-century collected in Trachtenberg's volume vividly demonstrate photography's double-edged impact, on the Victorian-era Western thinkers.

Edgar Allan Poe in 'The Daguerreotype' (1840), written immediately after the announcement of the process, declares it "the most important, and perhaps the most extraordinary triumph of modern science."[3] Describing its process in detail, and his experience of the end product: "All language must fall short of conveying any just idea of the truth, and this will not appear so wonderful when we reflect that the source of vision itself has been, in this instance, the designer. Perhaps, if we imagine the distinctness with which an object is reflected in a positively perfect mirror, we come as near the reality as by any other means." While Poe sees the daguerreotype as a product of science, he concludes that its power lies not merely in its technological advance but, as in any truly innovative scientific innovation or discovery, its effect exceeds "the wildest expectations of the most imaginative", and enters the realm of the arts. The idea that in photography, nature itself acts as the creator of the image is echoed in the title of William Henry Fox Talbot's important publication *The Pencil of Nature* (1844–46); without the artificial divisions of science and art that plagued my late twentieth-century education, for the mid nineteenth-century writer such a marriage of science and art would have been welcomed as the arrival of a new tool for extending knowledge and understanding of the natural world.

A contrasting deliberation comes two decades later, after the photographic obsession has taken hold of the public for its ability to replicate the visible world (especially after the commercial success of the carte-de-visite). 'The Modern Public and Photography' (1862), is Charles Baudelaire's trenchant observation of the mania for photography upon the masses and, in the minds of some fashionable intellectual quarters, corrupting the essence of art: "In these deplorable times, a new industry has developed, which has helped in no small way to confirm fools in their faith."[4] He mockingly recites their logic:

"I believe in nature, and I believe only in nature … I believe that art is, and can only be, the exact reproduction of nature … since photography provides us with every desirable guarantee of exactitude" (they believe that, poor madmen!) "art is photography." From that moment onwards, our loathsome society rushed, like Narcissus, to contemplate its trivial image on the metallic plate.

For Baudelaire, art occupied the sphere of the "intangible and the imaginary, on anything that has value solely because man adds to it from his soul"; expressing the thoughts and feelings of the artist-poet not by his ability to imitate, but by his ability to express himself. He urges the use of photography be returned to its true nature, to what its good at, that is "being a very humble handmaiden" as a recordkeeping device in service of memory, fact keeping and cataloguing.

And catalogue it did. Fuelled by the nineteenth-century model of classification and collecting, photography was unleashed into recording and archiving every possible sphere of industrial and cultural expansion and progress – landmarks, architecture, explorations, scientific discoveries and artistic expressions; extended family members pasted into albums, and forensic and criminal investigations filed away in police vaults with mugshots. This dichotomy of 'expression' versus 'record' runs constant in discussions on the nature of photography. Victor Burgin summarises the shifts in perception succinctly: "When photography first emerged into the context of nineteenth-century aesthetics, it was initially taken to be an automatic record of a reality, then it was quickly contested that it was the expression of an individual, [then it was considered to be] a record of reality refracted through a sensibility."[5]

In this publication Ken Hall unpacks the archives and charts the sensibilities of the photographers who, for many different reasons, ended up in the Canterbury and

James Ring, *Dillmans Town Shewing Flumings, No.222*, c.1880.
Albumen print, 139 x 204mm.
Barry Hancox collection

West Coast regions of Te Waipounamu in the nineteenth-century. Images are chosen for their integrity to the process, formal magnificence and subject matter, very much in keeping with the benchmarks Beaumont Newhall established to assign American and European photography into the arena of the fine arts. Meticulous research reveals the lives and voices of the photographers through their records and letters. Gentlemen amateurs and government-employed professionals specialising in industrial imagery and portraitists – their photographs and their lives are placed in the context of New Zealand colonial life, serving as "a history of practices and the ideas that inform them."[6]

However we conceptualise photographs, there remains a niggling connection to the 'thing itself', the subject of the photograph. This indexical connection to what once existed, is what Knight called in 1971 the "persistence of photography", the ability of a nineteenth-century portrait photograph to connect us with the very gaze of the sitter peering into the lens over a hundred years ago, staring straight back at us today. He further speculates that, by learning the historical photographic processes, it is possible for us to "look at these photographs as if peering into the back of the camera that took them. The two views are identical. Time alone separates them."[7] In 1995, for my graduate research project with Turner, I visited the museums of Canterbury and the West Coast as part of a nationwide road trip made over the two-year period. I wanted to take Knight's observation a step further, to peer into that very nineteenth-century view, with a similar camera from the present day, to capture that 'time' by which they are separated. As it turned out, finding exact viewpoints was mostly very difficult as the ravages of time had transformed the surroundings in the most profound manner. Instead, the archives in the museums informed my understanding of the mores and desires of the past. The photographs, when collected and looked at en masse as an institutional archive, record not only the look of the past, they tell a bigger story of the mechanised dreams that shaped the look of the present.

Nineteenth-century photography in its multiple guises has informed and guided some of our best photographers working today, just as Turner envisaged in 1970: "It is our hope that these memorable images will in turn inspire today's photographers to be more critical of their own work. For how else can we evaluate our progress?"[8]

Looking at the examples of nineteenth-century photography from Te Waipounamu here in *Hidden Light* evokes for me a strong lineage to contemporary New Zealand photographers: Laurence Aberhart, Ben Cauchi, Darren Glass and Joyce Campbell take direct cues from nineteenth-century processes and aesthetics as part of their oeuvre, while Wayne Barrar, Tim J. Veling and Fiona Amundsen seem to make reference to the observational, topographic discipline developed in the period. With the intensity of their sitters and the very object-ness of their frames Fiona Pardington's early portraits make direct reference to the encased daguerreotype portraits. On the other hand, Mark Adams and Chris Corson-Scott seem to be casting their gaze over the local cultural landscape for effects and remnants of the nineteenth-century capitalist expansion that powered the development of photography. Hardwicke Knight's cautionary mission statement from 1971 applies to our wider social histories, of which the story of photography is part:

"The photographer who is without knowledge of the history of photography, who concentrates only on the present, will be carried along by the present, but will be unable to direct his course."[9]

NOTES

1 Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The conception of photography,* Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1999. See also Geoffrey Batchen (ed.), *Apparitions: The photograph and its image,* Adam Art Gallery, Wellington, 2017.
2 Alan Trachtenberg (ed.), *Classic Essays on Photography,* Leete's Island Books, Maine, 1980.
3 Ibid., p.37.
4 Ibid., p.86.
5 Victor Burgin, 'Something about Photography Theory', in A.L. Rees and Frances Borzello (eds.), *The New Art History,* Camden Press, London, 1986, p.46.
6 Trachtenberg, 1980, VIII.
7 Hardwicke Knight, *Photography in New Zealand: A social and technical history,* John McIndoe, Dunedin, 1971, p.10.
8 John B. Turner, *Nineteenth Century New Zealand Photographs,* Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, New Plymouth, 1970, p.2.
9 Hardwicke Knight, 1971, p.15.

Attributed to Charles Henry Monckton, *Foot Race, Half-Ounce, Totara Flat, West Coast*, c.1871.
Albumen print, 105.5 x 154mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Unknown maker, *Lelièvre family, Akaroa* (detail), 1862–63. Half-plate ambrotype. Akaroa Museum (2006.2.691)

Charles Meryon, *Tikao, or possibly Tamakeke*, 1846. Charcoal on paper, 470 x 350mm. National Library of Australia, Canberra, Rex Nan Kivell Collection (NK127)

Through a Glass, Slowly: 1840s to 1865

Ken Hall

In giving emphasis to little-seen images and untold stories from the photographic pasts of the Kā Pākihi whakatekateka a Waitaha Canterbury, Horomaka Banks Peninsula and Te Tai o Poutini West Coast regions, this book uncovers compelling treasures that have been largely overlooked. This is due in part to national histories of photography typically being told from Te Ika-a-Māui North Island collections and perspectives. Te Waipounamu the South Island, of course, has a rich photographic history of its own. Although this story is primarily visual – constructed from images found on websites, boxed in air-conditioned archive stores, and in private hands on both islands – the accounts of photographers at work are largely pieced together from nineteenth-century newspaper advertisements and reports. One obvious early line of enquiry was when the first photographs in Te Waipounamu had been made; it seemed as if the question had never been asked. From the start it was clear that there were discoveries to be made and artists to be made known.

This story might sensibly start with the unveiling of photography in the form of the daguerreotype to a packed assembly at the French Academy of Sciences in Paris on 19 August 1839. The painter Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre's groundbreaking invention resulted in a sharply-defined, reversed image on silver-plated copper, and was an immediate sensation.[1] Patented and packaged with instructions, daguerreotype photography swept through Europe and beyond; it was being used in Rio de Janeiro by January 1840, Sydney by May 1841 and in China and Singapore by 1844.

An entry in an artist's journal and a large charcoal portrait provide the earliest clues that photography's arrival here in Aotearoa New Zealand was not so very far behind.[2] In August 1846, 25-year-old French naval ensign Charles Meryon (1821–1868) had just returned to France

after over three years stationed at Akaroa on Horomaka Banks Peninsula. In his journal he described "copying a small-sized daguerreotype proof which I enlarge, a portrait, a stumped drawing, of Tikao, native of Akaroa, orator."[3] Meryon had reached Akaroa as a young crew member on the *Rhin* in February 1843, and certainly met and sketched Hone Tikao, the Ngāi Tahu chief whose portrait he later copied. The commanding portrait now in the collection of the National Library of Australia (p.24) appears to be the drawing he described.[4]

Tikao was one of two signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi, the agreement between representatives of the British Crown and the Māori chiefs of New Zealand, at Ōnuku near Akaroa on 30 May 1840.[5] He had worked internationally from the early 1830s as a whaler, sojourning in England and France, before returning on a French whaling ship near the end of 1839, which makes it unlikely the daguerreotype later drawn by Meryon was made in France.[6] Conceivably, the photograph was taken here by a naval officer aboard the *Rhin* or another visiting French warship. Another credible possibility is that it was made by Didier Joubert, a French businessman associated with the first daguerreotypes taken in Sydney in 1841, who spent a week in Akaroa from 25 January 1842.[7] What we *do* know is that on his return to France in 1846, Meryon had access to a daguerreotype portrait of Tikao. Less than two years later, the well-travelled chief would both vigorously oppose and sign the Canterbury Purchase, or Kemp's Deed – the flagrantly aggressive Crown purchase in June 1848 of nearly five and a half million hectares of land from Ngāi Tahu for two thousand pounds, with just over two and half thousand hectares left in reserve.[8]

From 1850, we find traces of the first professional photographer known to have reached Te Waipounamu. Isaac Polack (1829–1888) was a mettlesome 20-year-old Sydney-born Jewish Australian who two years previously had operated the first daguerreotype portrait studio in New Zealand. For three months in 1848, Polack had offered portraits from above his uncle Joel Polack's Queen Street, Auckland store, while also selling livestock raised in New South Wales.[9] When he travelled to Te Waipounamu in 1850 he was again bringing livestock, and spent several weeks in Ōtakou Otago from 9 October and a week in Ōhinehou Lyttelton from late November, before returning to Australia. Although still operating as a daguerreotypist in Sydney around this time, he left no evidence of photography from this visit.[10]

Polack's departure from Lyttelton was just ten days before the 16 December 1850 arrival of the *Charlotte Jane* – the Canterbury Association's first emigrant ship to reach from England. On board were the two men who would become Canterbury's first photographers: London-born ship's surgeon Dr Alfred Charles Barker (1819–1873; p.32), who had made daguerreotypes in England (p.36), and Benjamin Woolfield Mountfort (1825–1898; p.38), later to be appointed Provincial Architect.[11]

Several years passed, however, before photography took off in Canterbury. By 1856 Mountfort was struggling to establish his architectural practice (set back by the structural failure of his Holy Trinity Church in Lyttelton) and was operating as a stationer and bookseller.[12] According to Barker's daughter Lizzy, Mountfort taught her father the new wet-plate collodion process after opening a portrait studio in his Ōtautahi Christchurch stationery shop.[13] Barker's first dated photographs were a small group of ambrotypes (black-backed images on glass), elementary views taken near his home in Christchurch, one block from the city's swampy scrubland heart. The earliest of these is from February 1857, and is the view from Barker's dining room; it includes the Land Office by the Ōtākaro Avon River, from where the Canterbury Association pieced up and sold off hundreds of thousands of hectares of land (p.27).

Alfred C. Barker, *Land Office, Christchurch N.Z. View from A.C.B.'s Dining room, February 1857.* Quarter-plate ambrotype. Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C. Barker collection (1944.78.356)

Mountfort was also honing his craft. On 24 March 1857, surveyor Charles Torlesse recorded in his diary "Got my likeness taken at Mountfort's".[14] Three weeks later, Mountfort announced in the region's *Lyttelton Times* that he was "prepared to take portraits by the New Collodion Process" and had specimens on display.[15] Despite his status as Canterbury's first professional photographer, and advertising regularly for two years until March 1859, none of his early portraits are known.

Similar obscurity marks the Canterbury legacy of John Nicol Crombie (1827–1878), a gregarious, Glasgow-born daguerreotypist who reached Christchurch from the Nelson settlement just days after Mountfort's first advertisement.[16] Opening as "J.N. Crombie, Photographic Artist" in Cashel Street in early May 1857, his arrival signalled photography's arrival proper in the settlement – as the *Lyttelton Times* noted:

Photography has broken out like an epidemic among us. Quite unknown in the place a year ago, we have now a professional artist well known in the northern provinces, and another on the point of coming; two students practising the art, and we believe, one amateur. Canterbury will now be able to look itself straight in the face.[17]

The amateur was Barker and the "students" evidently Mountfort and Lyttelton bookseller and accountant James McCardell (1825–1916), who ran a portrait studio for six months from May. Unfortunately none of McCardell's portraits have been identified. Most of Canterbury's earliest portraits, in fact, are missing or unknown, due to being sent to loved ones back home or staying in family hands. With few labelled by their makers or owners, many objects' origins and identities are lost or unrecorded.

This is not only a Canterbury issue; Crombie (recently made "Photographer by appointment to his Excellency the

Governor") had recorded making 1,088 daguerreotype portraits in Auckland and the Bay of Islands, and 450 in Nelson, but just a handful of these are known.[18] Among his Te Ika-a-Māui North Island output were a dozen likenesses of leading chiefs: six were sent to the *Illustrated London News* and one appeared as a wood engraving, but none today are extant.[19] Crombie left Christchurch to open his Royal Photographic Gallery in Lyttelton on 18 August 1857. In the following month he advertised portraits at half-price and "Beautiful Photographic Views of Lyttelton, in a handsome enclosed case, ready for shipment."[20] He left in November and returned to Nelson; none of his Canterbury daguerreotypes are known.

Two months later London-born James Elsbee (c.1810–1885) appeared. Like Crombie, he was an enterprising itinerant who had worked in Australia for several years.[21] From his Portrait Rooms in London Street, Lyttelton, he offered "Likenesses in the first style of the Art, by the new Collodion process."[22] As Elsbee's opening advertisement reveals, photography was still a novelty:

It is a new and unequalled means of preserving the lineaments of those who are esteemed or loved; of retaining the perfect likeness of members of families, or friends who are separated, or about separating; of conveying a faithful impression of the living countenance to and from friends long parted and at great distances; these, and the gratification of the family and social circle in the beautiful miniature representation of its own members, the almost speaking portraits of friends, present or absent, with the melancholy satisfaction to relatives of retaining the perfect resemblance of the lost in death – these are some of the many objects of deep and touching interest to which the most surprising and delightful Art is applied.

A rare, safely attributed Elsbee ambrotype captured John Danns Brittin in a moment of success (p.29). Brittin, a runholder and gentleman jockey, had ridden two winners and three runners up in the 1858 Canterbury Anniversary races, just days after Elsbee's arrival.

Barker's earliest portraits were also ambrotypes, and proficient enough. His increasing enthusiasm for photography at this time is seen through letters to his younger brother in London, the Reverend Matthias Barker.[23] To "My dear Mat," he disclosed his photographic triumphs, failures and losses, as well as regular land acquisitions (a parallel fixation, he filled letters with details of his purchases, leases and rentals, loans, losses and interests). On 19 April 1858 he enclosed "a specimen of the fruits, I may say first fruits of my paper processes which I only succeeded in conquering last week".[24] In August, he wrote: "All my apparatus has for the present been homemade which must excuse my deficiencies… Photography is certainly a marvellous art & a most seductive one – to me especially who revel in the beauties of nature – I shall enclose you some of my paper photographs."[25]

A later account recalling Barker's earliest "very primitive appliances" told of his having "made a camera out of a candle box, robbed a telescope for a lens, and raiding his table silver treated the spoons to chemical process, and so obtained the ingredients necessary for his work".[26] Barker's wife Emma (p.31) referred to the limitations he faced in a letter to a cousin on 11 September 1858, enclosing "a few likenesses, not very good, but done by Alfred's own apparatus under great disadvantages for want of good chemicals etc."[27] Tragically Emma died just three weeks later, five weeks after the birth of William Edward, their eighth child. Shattered by this loss, Barker filled a distracted mind with his photography. Miss Ann Bowen (p.31), a family friend and fellow *Charlotte Jane* passenger, stepped in to assist with the children's care. In late December he wrote to his brother, "I have purchased a good photographic lens lately – for views – & am thinking of trying to make some photographs worth selling as I

James Elsbee, *Portrait of John Danns (Jack) Brittin*, 1858. Half-plate ambrotype. Canterbury Museum (2009.24.1)

think perhaps Canterbury friends might like to purchase them."[28]

Already attracting sales, James Elsbee – Barker's near-neighbour (on the corner of Oxford Terrace West and Hereford Street) from January 1859 – set up a temporary studio at George Day's hotel in Kaiapoi and advised "inhabitants of Kaiapoi, Rangiora, and the vicinity" to seize the opportunity.[29] He also offered lessons, and "apparatus of the finest and best manufacture supplied on liberal terms." One successful student was Irish-born Christopher Swinbourne (1834–1869), one of six sons of Lyttelton boot and shoemaker Richard Swinbourne; he opened a studio in High Street in February 1859 and operated in Lyttelton for six weeks from June.[30] Spending three weeks in Akaroa from mid-August, Swinbourne seems the likely maker of the ambrotype of James Garwood's new General Store (p.42); and possibly a cased portrait of a dark-haired man with open countenance and chinstrap beard, believed to be Richard Westenra (1832–1903; p.43) who in 1856 had married a daughter of Akaroa's first Anglican vicar. Elsbee put his business up for sale in June 1859, closed the following March after selling its contents, and left in July, temporarily returning to London.[31]

The next photographers to appear in Christchurch, in May 1860, were a Derby couple, Richard and Jane Smith.[32] Richard Smith (1828-1910) had been a plumber and glazier as well as an "artist and photographer" in England.[33] He was soon advertising his new Lichfield Street studio and the advantages of collodion photography over the reflective, difficult to read daguerreotype:

R. Smith respectfully informs the inhabitants of Christchurch and its vicinity, that he has erected his New American Portrait Gallery … where he intends taking Collodion Portraits in any Weather, by the American Fixing Process, which are rendered as durable as marble and void of all metallic reflection; also, remarkable for their beautiful depth of light and shade, and coloured so as to imitate all the natural hues of the complexion.[34]

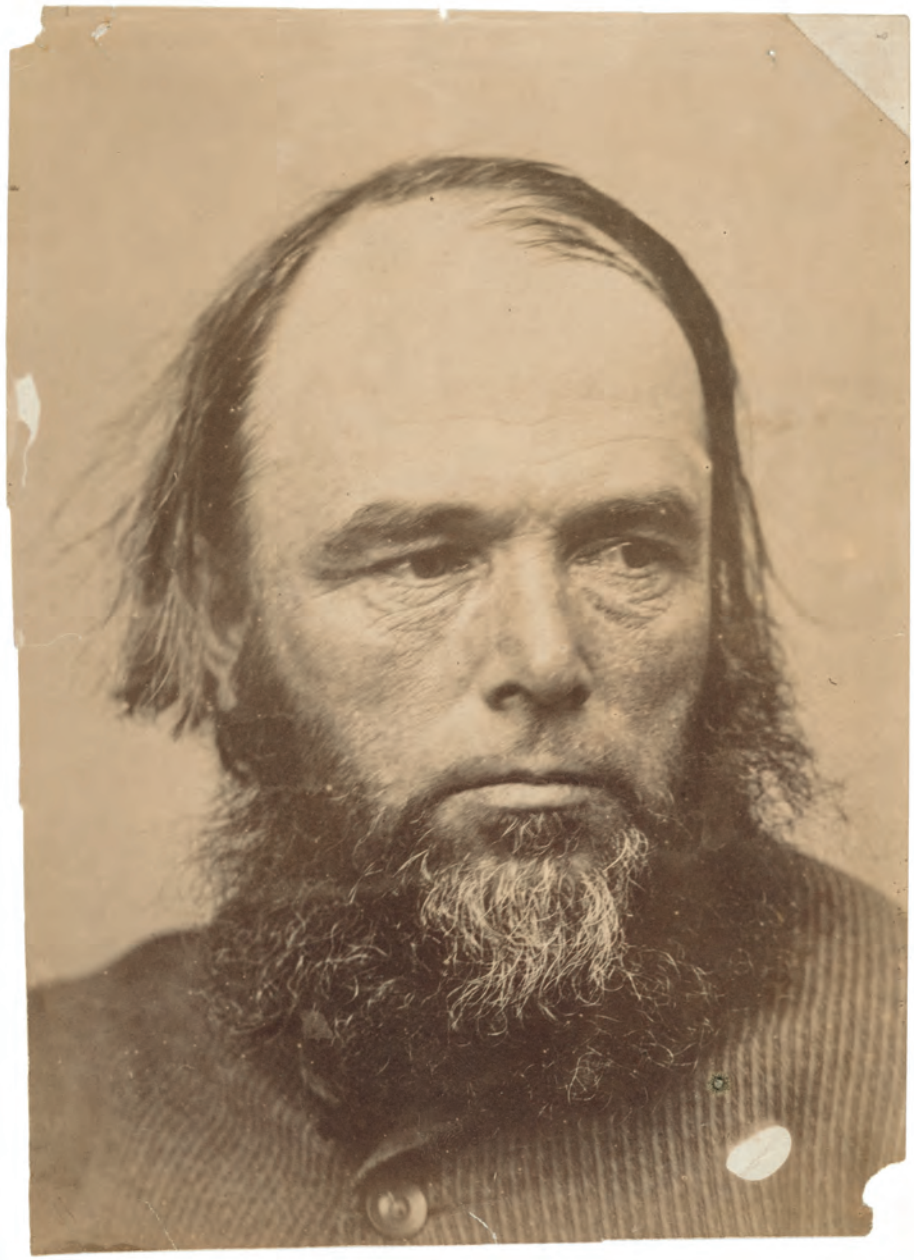
Jane Smith (c.1819-1890) likely assisted with the studio while Richard continued his main trade. Jane (Mrs Appleby, née Rogers, a widowed dressmaker when she married him in Derby in 1851) was nine years older than Richard, and by 1864 was running a High Street studio under her own name.[35] Although recorded as New Zealand's first female professional photographer, none of her work has yet been identified.

In May 1861, Swinbourne completed a composite portrait of the founders of the recently established Canterbury Vocal Union (p.41). An illuminated panel incorporating eleven ambrotypes awarded its largest to the quizzical conductor and erstwhile photographer James McCardell (p.40). Another rare identified local ambrotype from this time (by Elsbee, Swinbourne, or one of the Smiths) captured the penetrating gaze of Mary Vickery (1820–1906; p.46), who arrived with her agricultural labourer husband John and five young sons in 1851. Disembarking from the *Isabella Hercus* as steerage passengers, they rose to become landowners, farming 65 acres at Sockburn. Her engaging likeness is equivalent to portraiture happening elsewhere; its greatest strength is in belonging to this place.

Barker, meanwhile, was being sporadically supplied with photographic chemicals, articles and journals by his brother Matthias in England, and beginning to create images filled with a greater naturalness and clarity than seen in his commercial contemporaries. His processes, however, were still ingeniously rudimentary, as we see from an artistic loss he suffered while preparing photographs for charity – a fundraiser for settler refugees from the Taranaki settlement after the outbreak of the 1860s wars:

Alfred C. Barker, *Emma and Mary Emma Barker*, 1857–58. Half-plate ambrotype. Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C. Barker collection (1944.78.340)

Alfred C. Barker, *Miss Ann Bowen, 13 December 1858*. Glass plate collodion negative, 176 x 136mm. Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C. Barker collection (1944.78.305)



Unknown maker,
Alfred C. Barker, c.1865.
Albumen print, 228 x 164mm.
Private collection

I told you in my last that I was busy preparing Photos for the Taranaki Bazaar – well my photos alone fetched between £25 or 28!!... I should have had many more there only some rascal or other has managed to find out that I put them to wash in the river – & robbed my box night after night – to the tune of some 50 pictures.[36]

Among his most memorable images is a portrait from around 1861 of his daughter Lizzy (Sarah Elizabeth) Barker, the first European child born in the Canterbury settlement (p.50). In February 1861, he wrote of "photographing lately at a great rate – but almost exclusively on glass".[37] For the next six months Barker produced nothing, weighed down by financial worries, ill-health and disappointed romance.[38] Fresh impetus came around October through an invitation to contribute to the 1862 *Great Exhibition* in London; he made views "to illustrate the progress of Christchurch".[39]

In March 1862, James Elsbee returned from London having benefited from part-time studies at King's College under Thomas Sutton, inventor of the first true single-lens reflex camera and author of the 1858 *Dictionary of Photography*.[40] Reopening his Canterbury Photographic Rooms in April, Elsbee announced that during his absence from Canterbury, he had "availed himself of the instruction of the first master in the science of Photography, particularly in the negative process, by which numberless portraits can be produced from one copy."[41] Several prints survive of his portrait of William Sefton Moorhouse, second superintendent of the Canterbury Province, likely taken after his unopposed re-election in April 1862 (p.47). Canterbury at that time included Te Tai o Poutini the West Coast, encompassing vast lands wrested from Poutini Ngāi Tahu through the 1860 Arahura Deed, which saw customary title to nearly three million hectares on the West Coast surrendered to the Crown for three hundred pounds, and just 4,138 hectares left in reserve.[42] Elsbee's portrait of Moorhouse presented him as statesmanlike and resolute, confident in his responsibilities in leading a region spanning east and west coasts.[43] Seeking to attract other wealthy clients, Elsbee advertised his willingness to travel to the country seats of the newly landed gentry. He also introduced Christchurch to the carte-de-visite, a small portrait mounted on card, slightly larger than the traditional "visiting card".[44]

In search of similar clientele, Swinbourne spent two weeks in Timaru in January 1863, and from Christchurch in September made it clear that "Gentlemen wishing to have portraits of their family taken at their own houses, have now an opportunity of doing so."[45] He spent two weeks in Kaiapoi in late October and the remaining six years of his life working as a photographer in Christchurch, Temuka, Waimate and Timaru.[46]

The east Canterbury story for this period ends with mention of a memorable photograph and two letters, all connected to momentous national events. One can only imagine the thoughts that went through Barker's mind on 8 December 1864 as he photographed his fourteen year-old second son Samuel Delabere Barker decked in uniform for military training (p.51) at a time when the settler government campaign against Kīngitanga Māori in the North Island was in full swing.[47] Three months later a letter written to his brother in England enclosed "news of the West Coast Gold diggings which are driving folks mad here".[48] His next letter told of how his passion for buying land had almost delivered an outrageous windfall in the heart of gold rush Hokitika:

I had a narrow escape from being made the richest man in N.Z. – A few months ago I went to the Land office intending to make a purchase of land at the mouth of the Okatiki River – where the gold is – at £2. per acre – but found the Government had 2 hours previously reserved the land from sale – that very land has now a town 1½ mile long on it & land will fetch some £3 or 4 a foot!' Such are the ups & downs of Colonial life...[49]

NOTES

1 The plate was prepared with iodine vapour, exposed, developed by mercury vapour and fixed with saline or sodium hyposulphite before being washed in distilled water.

2 See Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf, 'Photography, materiality and history', *Early New Zealand Photography, Images and Essays*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2011, pp.10–11; and Roger Collins, *Charles Meryon, A Life*, Garton & Co, Devizes, 1999, pp.87–88.

3 Charles Meryon, from 'Notes particulières', in Collins, 1999, p.87.

4 This is unless he had access to more than one photograph. Gustave Geffroy, author of Meryon's 1926 biography, noted that he had drawn Tikao and others, but omitted mention of the daguerreotype and captioned the oval portrait 'Toma Kéké, Chef de Tribu de la Nouvelle-Zelande' (*Charles Meryon,* Floury, Paris, 1926, p.11; plate opp. p.14). A kinsman of Tikao's named Tamakeke was at nearby Wainui and Wairewa, and was also sketched by Meryon. A smaller version of the oval portrait, titled *Tikao, naturel d'Akaroa* is in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

5 Signing as "John Love", he was also known as Piuraki. The Treaty was first signed at Waitangi on 6 February 1840.

6 See James Cowan, 'A Memory of Old Canterbury. Tikao the Sailor', *Star*, 29 December 1917, p.5 and https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/7-8.

7 See Wanhalla and Wolf, 2011, pp.10–11; R. Derek Wood, 'The voyage of Captain Lucas and the daguerreotype to Sydney', *Journal de la Société des océanistes*, no.102, 1996–91, pp.113–18. With acknowledgements also to Peter Tremewan.

8 'Tikao the Sailor', *Star*, 1917, p.5; *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, 1 January 1918, p.2. See also https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our_stories/kemps-deed-1848/.

9 He ran this from 13 May 1848. Isaac Polack was born 27 September 1829, a son of emancipated convict Abraham Polack. He had already worked for three years with Australia's first professional photographer, his brother-in-law George Barron Goodman. In 1847, at seventeen, he bought out Goodman's interest in the studio, and ran it for ten months before the Auckland visit.

10 The first photographer working in Te Waipounamu was Lawson Insley, a daguerreotypist of unknown origins who spent two months in Nelson from August 1851. The next, in Dunedin, was Scottish-born artist and engraver George Baird Shaw (1812–1883), who ran a studio for "Daguerreotype Portraits & Miniatures on Ivory" for ten weeks from February 1855. Next again was Arthur William Scaife, who reached Nelson from London on 6 October 1856, offering "the new processes of Photography on paper".

11 See Ian Lochhead, *A Dream of Spires, Benjamin Mountfort and the Gothic Revival*, Canterbury University Press, 1999.

12 Ibid, pp.66–76.

13 Invented by Frederick Scott Archer, the wet-plate collodion process appeared in England in 1851, and involved coating a sheet of glass with light-sensitive emulsion, to be exposed and processed while still liquid. Taking about fifteen minutes to complete, the result was a glass-plate negative from which ambrotypes or (later) paper prints were made. Sarah Elizabeth Hawdon, 'Memorials of a Photographer in the Fifties', *Weekly Press*, 15 December 1900, p.50; see Lochhead, appendix one, 'The Architect as Photographer', 1999, pp.307–10.

14 Lochhead, p.307.

15 *Lyttelton Times*, 15 April 1857, p.9.

16 *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Saturday 27 September 1856, p.2; *Lyttelton Times*, 4 March 1857, p.8; *Lyttelton Times*, 22 April 1857, p.8. See William Main. 'Crombie, John Nicol', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 1990, vol.1, pp.95–96.

17 *Lyttelton Times*, 6 May 1857, p.8; 9 May 1857, p.8. The photographer "on the point of coming" was Wellington-based W.G. Hewlings, who advertised but apparently never appeared.

18 Crombie was in Auckland and the Bay of Islands from June 1855 to September 1856, and Nelson from October 1856 to April 1857.

19 The portrait was of Tamati Waka Nene. See *Daily Southern Cross*, 20 June 1856, p.3; 18 July 1856, p.2.

20 *Lyttelton Times*, 19 September 1857, p.5.

21 Elsbee was in Australia from as early as 1855, and had worked in Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland and New South Wales. Crombie spent four years in Melbourne before coming to New Zealand.

22 *Lyttelton Times*, 27 January 1858, p.5.

23 *Letters: Alfred Charles Barker to Matthias Barker*, Canterbury Museum.

24 *Letter: ACB to MB, 19 April 1858*, Canterbury Museum 1964.92.1.

25 *Letter: ACB to MB, 10 August 1858*, CM 1964.92.2.

26 *Ashburton Guardian*, 25 May 1894, p.2.

27 *Letter: Emma Barker to Cousin, 11 September 1858*, CM 1964.92.3.

28 *Letter: ACB to MB, 29 December 1858*, CM 1964.92.9.

29 *Lyttelton Times*, 1 December 1858, p.6 (to 5 January 1859, p.7).

30 The Swinbourne family arrived in Canterbury in 1852.

31 He sold to (a now obscure) Messrs Hughes and Bullock, who set up briefly in Lyttelton in June.

32 *Lyttelton Times*, 13 July 1859, p.4. "R. Smith, plumber, and wife" arrived 11 July 1859.

33 Richard Smith began advertising his portraiture services in Derby in 1855.
34 *Lyttelton Times*, 26 May 1860, p.5.
35 1851 UK Census gives Richard's age as 23 and Jane's as 32. Jane Smith was the daughter of Derbyshire chair-maker John Rogers. *The Southern Provinces Almanac 1865* (1864) included under Photographic Artists "Mrs R. Smith, High Street" and "R. Smith". Listed in the 1863 *Almanac* (1862) as "Smith, High Street", they were not in the 1864 *Almanac* (1863).
36 *Letter: ACB to MB, 31 October 1860*, CM 1964.92.17.
37 *Letter: ACB to MB, 27 February 1861*, CM 1964.92.21.
38 Rosa Harper was cryptically referred to as R.H. in several letters to Mat.
39 *Letters: ACB to MB, 6 October 1861*, CM 1964.92.29; *30 October 1861*, CM 1964.92.30.
40 Sutton's course ran on Friday mornings; Elsbee started on 9 March 1861. Thanks to Katrina DiMuro, archivist, King's College, London.
41 *Lyttelton Times*, 12 April 1862, p.5.
42 *Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement*, no.97, 1998, p.1171.
43 Moorhouse would unexpectedly resign from office ten months later. A memorial statue unveiled in 1885 was based on Elsbee's portrait.
44 *Lyttelton Times*, 12 April 1862, p.5.
45 *Lyttelton Times*, 20 December 1862, p.5; 23 September 1863, p.5.
46 Swinbourne died in Christchurch in 1869, aged 35, of consumption.
47 Samuel Delabere Barker also later became a photographer. See Joan Woodward, *A Canterbury Album*, Te Waihora Press, Wellington, 1987, pp.88–94.
48 *Letter: ACB to MB, 14 March 1865*, CM 1964.92.67.
49 *Letter: ACB to MB, 12 April 1865*, CM 1964.92.68.

Alfred C. Barker, *Emma Barker,*
1861 (after 1849 original).
Glass plate collodion negative
(after daguerreotype), 176 x 142mm.
Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C.
Barker collection (1944.78.120)

Alfred C. Barker, *Mary Emma Barker*, 1859. Glass plate collodion negative, 165 x 117mm. Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C. Barker collection (1944.78.31)

Alfred C. Barker, *Benjamin Woolfield Mountfort*, c.1860. Albumen print, 143 x 96mm. Canterbury Museum (5279)

Alfred C. Barker, *Christchurch Town Hall, High Street, 10 September 1857*. Sixth-plate ambrotype. Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C. Barker collection (1944.78.352)

Alfred C. Barker, *Government Buildings, Christchurch, N.Z., from N.E. Nov 29, 1861.* Glass plate collodion negative, 148 x 173mm. Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C. Barker collection (1944.78.121)

Christopher Swinbourne,
J.F. McCardell, Conductor
(detail from *The Founders Of The Canterbury Vocal Union)*, 1860.
Ambrotype photograph from illuminated montage, 140 x 92mm.
Canterbury Museum (19XX.2.5101)

Christopher Swinbourne,
The Founders Of The Canterbury Vocal Union, 1860. Illuminated montage of ambrotype photographs, 510 x 630mm. Canterbury Museum (19XX.2.5101)

Attributed to Christopher Swinbourne, *Garwood's General Store, Akaroa,* c.1859. Half-plate ambrotype. Akaroa Museum (photo: 984)

Attributed to Christopher Swinbourne, *Richard Westenra*, c.1859. Sixth-plate ambrotype. Akaroa Museum (1964.133.1)

Attributed to James Elsbee or Christopher Swinbourne, *Whakaraupo Lyttelton Harbour,* c.1859. Half-plate ambrotype. Canterbury Museum, Canterbury Pilgrims and Early Settlers Association collection (1949.148.206)

Unknown maker, *Lelièvre family, Akaroa*, 1862–63.
Half-plate ambrotype.
Akaroa Museum (2006.2.691)

Unknown maker, *Mrs Mary Vickery,*
c.1860. Sixth-plate ambrotype.
Canterbury Museum (1948.22.1)

James Elsbee, *William Sefton Moorhouse, 2nd Superintendent of Canterbury Province*, c.1862.
Albumen print, 177 x 146.5mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Unknown maker, *Lyttelton*, c.1860.
Albumen print, 178 x 210mm.
Te Uare Taoka o Hākena The Hocken Collections, University of Otago (1911-028-001)

Unknown maker, *Lyttelton,* c.1868.
Albumen prints, 92 x 287mm.
Te Uare Taoka o Hākena The
Hocken Collections, University
of Otago (P1911-028-003)

Alfred C. Barker, *Sarah Elizabeth (Lizzy) Barker,* c.1861. Glass plate collodion negative, 108 x 84mm. Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C. Barker collection (1944.78.255)

Alfred C. Barker, *Samuel Delabere Barker, 8 Dec 1864*. Glass plate collodion negative, 150 x 178mm. Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C. Barker collection (1944.78.203)

William T.L. Travers, *Travers's Station (1)* (detail), c.1865. Albumen print, 155 x 204mm. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 1988 (1988/17/50)

Daniel L. Mundy, *Gibson's Quay, Hokitika No.60*, 1868.
Albumen print, 190 x 245mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Chancing their Luck: 1865 to the late 1860s

Ken Hall

Photography reached Te Tai o Poutini the West Coast in the middle of 1865 alongside the multitudes chasing gold. The first three photographers there – a New Yorker, a Dane and a Mayfair gentleman – arrived in Hokitika within four months of each other. Only one stayed, but he would abandon image-making for gold. With perseverance, photography could be profitable enough, and represented a steadier kind of risk than prospecting; those who applied themselves to it gained a valued, portable service and commodity. But like prospecting, it also attracted a diverse parade of practitioners, some of them very poorly behaved indeed.

The first report of photographic activity on the West Coast was in the newly established *West Coast Times* on 26 July 1865, and introduced Hokitika's populace to New York-born John West Denslow (1828–1893), "late of the Royal Portrait Gallery, Dunedin" (and prior to this "10 years in leading Australian Galleries").[1] Advertising in August, he offered cartes-de-visite at 30 shillings per dozen, but just six weeks into the venture his Hokitika Stores and Photographic Rooms in Revell Street were up for sale.[2] Perhaps he struck gold; Denslow returned to America with his English-born wife and two New Zealand-born children, becoming first a farmer in Chicago and later a Kansas hotelier.

The first photographer on the West Coast to have his work reviewed – and perhaps also the first one there – was J.P. Christenson, a thirty-something Danish watchmaker and jeweller who claimed to have been "engaged for a considerable time in some of the principal Establishments in London, Paris, and Copenhagen".[3] It is known that from 1858 Christenson (either Jørgen Peter or Joachim Peter) was in Ballarat and Beechworth for the Victoria gold rushes. Reaching New Zealand and Ōtepoti Dunedin

in April 1862, he started business in June at Tokomairiro on the Otago goldfields, where he first advertised as "Watchmaker and Photographer".[4] His next move saw him running the Queenstown Photograph Gallery from May 1863 alongside his watchmaking and jewellery business, and he had reached Hokitika by May 1865 at the latest, two months after the Canterbury Provincial Government proclaimed the West Coast goldfield.

On 29 July, the *West Coast Times* appraised:

some excellent photographic views taken by Mr Christenson, of the various points of interest around Hokitika, among which may be noted the Lyttelton *steamer and* Lady Franklin *as they now lie on the south spit, and the visible remaining portion of the* Titania*. There are few here who would not like to preserve some souvenir of these events, and as the views are creditably taken, we trust Mr Christenson will receive the support he deserves.*[5]

Christenson's photographs were news: two ships were stuck on Hokitika's notorious bar and another had sunk in mid-channel, making it impassable. His photographic career then apparently ended and he became a prominent gold buyer and smelter, opening shops in Hokitika, Māwhera Greymouth, Ross and Charleston. Christenson survived a violent robbery attempt in 1866, but hurriedly left the district in 1867 after being acquitted of indecently assaulting a thirteen-year-old boy. Like his photography output, any trace of his life from this point is missing.

The third photographer on the West Coast was London-born Braham La Mert (1843–1904). The son of a Jewish Mayfair gentleman, he arrived in Hokitika in August 1865 to run the West Coast branch of his partnership with Daniel Mundy of Christchurch. His stay was brief – he operated in Hokitika for several weeks from early October before returning to Christchurch. Their partnership dissolved shortly afterwards and La Mert's effects and stock-in-trade in Hokitika were put up for sale "Under an Execution for Rent"; his name appears on a passenger list from Melbourne to London in 1866.[6]

The partnership had been more successful in Dunedin and Christchurch. Daniel Louis Mundy (1826–1881), a former confectioner in Bayswater, London, had reached New Zealand via Melbourne with his wife Louisa (p.70) in 1863. He and La Mert operated together in Dunedin for four months from January 1864, before relocating to Canterbury on 31 May. Opening a studio in High Street in August, they announced their "intention to have various views of Christchurch of a small size taken in a few days, ready for those who desire to give their friends in England some correct idea of the growth of Christchurch."[7] They also visited country stations, and by 13 April 1865 were creating "a series of likenesses of the leading personages – political and otherwise – of Canterbury … finished in oil".[8] At the same time they prepared sets of photographs of the Volunteer Encampment at Hillsborough, where young men took up military training, some heading north to fight Māori in the Waikato.

Tapping into the British fashion for cartes-de-visite, they also photographed local clergy, at the Church of England Synod in June 1865. Their results appeared soon afterwards at Christchurch's first significant public art exhibition, a Literary Society conversazione at the Town Hall, where, according to the *Lyttelton Times*:

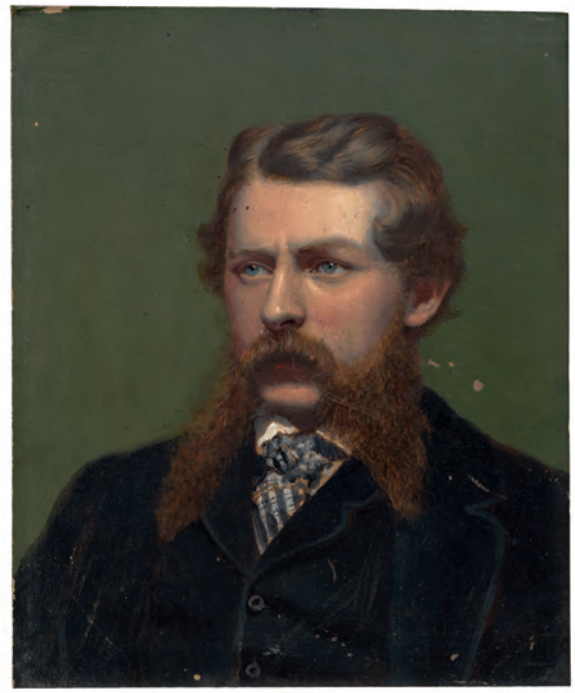
The most incongruous articles were grouped in a heterogeneous and almost endless profusion. The extremes of civilization, of refinement, and of barbarism were to be seen – here, works of art and copies of the most celebrated pictures; there, specimens of Maori and other savage arms, accoutrements, and wearing apparel. The walls were covered with pictures and photographs…[9]

Mundy and La Mert "had, perhaps, the greatest show of photographs, including … likenesses of the leading celebrities of the province".

About twenty more photographers set up east of the Main Divide in the 1860s, mainly in Christchurch but also in Lyttelton, Kaiapoi and Timaru. A sampling from this crowded field adds texture to the Christchurch story. William Grand (c.1836–1909) was a Norfolk tailor's son who first offered portraiture in Lichfield Street in 1863, and again while proprietor of the Christchurch Fancy Bazaar (p.79); he later acquired Elsbee's and Mundy's negatives.[10] In January 1864, recently-arrived 21-year-old Edmund Richard Wheeler (1842–1933) opened a portrait studio in Colombo Street, backed by his father Edmund Wheeler (c.1800–1877). The younger Wheeler had been a merchant's clerk in Birmingham, but took up photography before leaving. Wheeler and Son survived the major city fire that destroyed their premises in June, and eventually became one of the largest photographic businesses in New Zealand.

In July 1865, a Mr Walker (either Edward or Charles F.) contributed to an exhibition of projected "dissolving views" in the Town Hall in High Street. According to the *Press*, "The chief attraction [was] a number of views of Christchurch and Lyttelton, photographed by Mr. Walker, of Lichfield Street. These views are enlarged to a diameter of twelve feet, and at this large size show to the greatest perfection."[11] Charles Walker went into business with Welsh-born Thomas Price (1844–1928) towards the end of 1865 but the partnership ended immediately afterwards due to financial quarrels.

In 1864, James Elsbee gained a competitive edge by employing a young London-trained painter, Thomas Selby Cousins (1840–1897), to finish his photographic portraits in oils (p.57). Displaying fresh evidence of Canterbury's progress for a home audience, two of his Christchurch views



James Elsbee and Thomas Selby Cousins, *W.H. Wynn-Williams*, 1864. Oil on albumen print on board, 215 x 185mm. Collection of Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū, Gift of Robert Wynn-Williams, 2013 (2013/069)

Heslop Brothers, *Maori woman seated beside a table,* c.1870. Albumen carte-de-visite, 100 x 61mm. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, purchased 1999 with New Zealand Lottery Grants Board funds (O.021392)

were reproduced as engravings in the *Illustrated London News* in March and November. In 1865 Elsbee advertised views of "The Streets of Christchurch" at sixty shillings per dozen, and contributed twelve photographs to the 1865–66 *New Zealand Exhibition* in Dunedin, where he was the sole photographer from Canterbury to receive an award.

While photographic portraiture – in carte-de-visite and later, larger, "cabinet" formats – became affordable for many, few studios achieved a distinctive stamp of authorship, and standards varied according to technical and aesthetic ability. With a diverse range of practitioners ready to meet the region's photographic needs, Māori and Pākehā alike availed themselves of photography's benefits. One of the most beautiful Māori portraits, of a fashionably dressed but unidentified woman (p.58), presumably Ngāi Tahu, was taken by the Heslop Brothers of Lichfield Street, who set up in Christchurch in 1867.[12] The Taiaroa whānau of Ōtākou (and later Taumutu near Te Waihora Lake Ellesmere) were among leading Ngāi Tahu who treasured portraits of family and friends (p.136); a precious album owned by descendants is filled with cartes-de-visite taken in Dunedin and Christchurch.[13]

One of the most talented Christchurch photographers was a gentleman amateur, William Thomas Locke Travers (1819–1903), an Irish-born lawyer, magistrate, politician, explorer and naturalist.[14] Brought up mainly in France, the son of a retired British army captain, Travers trained in law in London after serving with the British Foreign Legion in Spain. Emigrating to the Nelson settlement with his family in 1849, he entered local politics, and moved to Christchurch in 1860. Although thwarted in political ambition, he otherwise thrived and became a skilled photographer, making fine views of the Ōtākaro Avon and Ōpāwaho Heathcote rivers, Ferrymead Wharf, Matuku Takotako Sumner, and Wakaroa Pigeon Bay.

His best-known photograph, *Travers's Station* (p.60), is from a series taken at his Lake Guyon run near the Waiau River. Travers captured carefully composed images of trees, rivers, valley landscapes and the isolated world of his employee William Newcombe, who arrived with his family from Christchurch in early 1865. The Devonshire-born Newcombe had served with the British army fighting Māori in Auckland in 1846. His wife Mary, a Cotswolds shoemaker's daughter, became stepmother to his two eldest children and the mother of ten more, the youngest two born at Lake Guyon. William is pictured in a rowboat while Mary and a small child sit at the lake edge. In centre foreground is a clever compositional device, an axe found in several of his images. Behind it is another camera and tripod, and to the left, behind an errant ladder, a portable darkroom resting on a barrel.

Like Travers, Barker enjoyed photography as a leisure pursuit, unaffected by commercial or public requirements. He loved his art and, aided by a degree of financial independence, exercised freedom in it. Having given up medicine following Emma's death, Barker drew some revenue from his role as registrar of births, deaths and marriages, and he appears also to have been well served by a combination of leases and rentals, farming income and inheritance. This privileged position granted Barker his leisure, and allowed him broader scope than his contemporaries. He gave his photography an authentic, expressive voice, and also exercised deep intelligence, experimenting with techniques, updating equipment, following the relevant journals and permitting himself to observe and create. His pleasure in wry commentary can be seen in the sardonic title – 'How the world wags in Christchurch' – he scratched onto a glass-plate negative of a lively fence hoarding pasted with entertainment and leisure posters in a corner of Cathedral Square (p.71).

William T.L. Travers, *Travers's Station (1)*, c.1865. Albumen print, 155 x 204mm. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 1988 (1988/17/50)

Barker also gained mobility through a photographic gig he constructed in 1862, and experimented with early dry-plate negative processes that made carrying his glass-plates easier. In December 1867 he took this portable darkroom to Tuahiwi, the Crown-allotted Ngāi Tahu reserve near Kaiapoi. A group portrait titled (on the original negative) *Maoris at Kaiapoi, Dec. 17/67* pictured a group of Ngāi Tūāhuriri and a woman identified as Mrs Eliza Stack outside the recently completed St Stephen's (p.63). Fifty years later, Reverend James West Stack (p.79), the church's vicar when the photograph was taken, wrote from England to a Christchurch friend who had sent him another picture taken that day:

You have given me something that I shall prize highly… The history of the original plate is this: Dr. Barker found in photography a pleasant source of recreation, and conceived the idea of forming a pictorial history of the changing period through which Canterbury was passing in the sixties when the old shanties, raupo huts and tents were being replaced by substantial buildings. So he procured a sort of Gipsy van and fitted it as a photographic studio, and then he made a tour of the province commencing with Christchurch, and its immediate neighbourhood. In the course of his tour he appeared one morning at St. Stephen's. I was away on one of my missionary visits to the Peninsula, but Mrs Stack induced a number of the Maoris to gather round the church door, and the school children, under Miss Taylor, the teacher, and our children and the nurse, Miss Comyns, formed part of the group — Mrs Stack is the lady with crinoline in the foreground. The Paddy O'Rafferty in a belltopper is Te Aika, the white beard is Albert Koti, Wi Naehira and C. Tehoika were in the crowd. On getting home I was not quite pleased to find that the natives presented a rather shabby group, for I would rather they had been in Maori mats, but Dr. Barker was in such a hurry he could not wait till more natives had assembled, and had dressed for the occasion.[15]

Through comparison with other photographs in the series, the letter makes it possible to identify the silver-bearded Arapata Koti (c.1785–1883), one of several chiefs who first welcomed a 24-year-old Stack to the region at Koukourārata Port Levy in 1859.[16] The koroua standing at far right appears to be Aperahama Te Aika (c.1809–1889), in the other photographs wearing a top hat. Separately identified, the man holding a finely-woven kete is Pita Te Hori (c.1810–1872), a Tuahiwi chief who contributed significantly to Stack's later published Ngāi Tahu histories. All three had lived through momentous events including the devastating 1831–32 southern raids of Ngāti Toa chief Te Rauparaha; Te Hori later joined the deputation who brokered terms of peace.[17]

Back on the West Coast, Scottish brothers John and Alexander Tait were establishing themselves on the gold fields. Born in Caithness in Scotland's far north, John (1836–1907) and Alexander (1839–1913) moved with their parents to Edinburgh then followed a by now familiar pattern and immigrated to Victoria in 1852. In Portland, John became a "Chemist and Druggist" and Alexander a photographer, but he advertised his intention to leave for New Zealand in January 1862.[18] Two years later they were in Dunedin as "Messrs Tait Brothers, photographers", where they ran their Caledonian Portrait Rooms until April 1866, when they (Alexander probably first) relocated to Hokitika.[19]

Mr Tait, of the well-known firm of Tait Bros., of Dunedin, has opened a photographic gallery in Revell street, opposite the Prince of Wales Opera House. The specimens he exhibits display the very perfection of photographic art… Mr Tait has already taken cartes of many of our residents and well known visitors, and the fidelity of the likeness will be at once recognised.[20]

Alfred C. Barker, *Kaiapoi N.Z. Dec.17.1867.* Albumen print, 150 x 200mm. National Library of Australia, Canberra (pic/18607/298)

Alfred C. Barker, *Maoris at Kaiapoi, Dec. 17/67,* 1867. Albumen print, 134 x 185mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (PA7-01-23)

A ready customer in late June was German-born civil engineer and surveyor Gerhard Mueller, who had been awaiting the opening of a portrait studio on the West Coast. He visited the Taits' studio after seven and a half months exploring the region, guided for most of that time by Kere Tutoko, one of fourteen signatories of the 1860 Arahura Deed. Mueller first described him in a letter as "the Chief of all the West Coast natives … a strapping fellow – of course what he says is law."[21] Mueller was beholden to Kere's spectacular canoeing skills and knowledge as they repeatedly crossed treacherous, swollen rivers by dugout canoe and dealt with hunger and relentless sandflies. Mueller's letters to his wife in Waihopai Invercargill, soon to join him in Okarito, included a repeated desire to obtain a photographic likeness with his intrepid companion and respected friend (p.78).

The Tait brothers had opened Greymouth's first Portrait Rooms on Mawhera Quay in early June, advertising "Portraits For The Million" and advising "an early call, as their stay at the Grey is limited".[22] This studio was sold to John Tensfeld in July, but they remained productive in Hokitika with both scenic views and portraiture (pp.80–81).[23]

Tensfeld (c.1831–1893) was a 30-year-old, German-born portrait painter and photographer fresh from the Victoria goldfields when he reached the West Coast from Melbourne on 4 July 1866; he purchased the Taits' Greymouth studio two weeks later.[24] Tensfeld's stay in Greymouth saw him performing in amateur concerts, attending levees, painting portraits and landscapes, and photographing the same. By August 1867 he had sold the Greymouth studio to 20-year-old Edinburgh-born John Low (1847–1895), newly arrived from Onehunga. However, he was still in Hokitika by February 1868, when he published perhaps the earliest album of West Coast landscapes:

Mr Tensfield, an artist of very deserved repute, in Hokitika, from the excellency of his productions, has just completed a very beautiful series of photographic views of Westland scenery. They compose three views of Hokitika — the entrance to the river, the block of churches, and Gibson's Quay … Greymouth, Blaketown, Ross, Westport, Charleston, Cobden, and Arthur's Pass, the mountain boundary between Canterbury and Westland. The whole series of views are in the finest style of photographic art…[25]

Tensfeld left the Coast for Dunedin and in August published his second album, *New Zealand Souvenir, Containing Twenty Interesting Views of the Most Important Places in New Zealand*. With images of Hokitika (p.65), Kaniere (p.77), Westport, Cobden, Greymouth, Nelson, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Port Chalmers and Waikouaiti, the album was seen to "so practically demonstrate the rapid advancement of the Colony that it is hardly possible to employ a more effective emigration agency than a wide diffusion of them would prove."[26]

Other photographic activity on the West Coast in this period included ex-Dunedin barber Abraham Levinski transforming his Haircutting Saloon on Boundary Street, Greymouth into the London Portrait Rooms in August 1867, offering well-groomed portraits "in any weather for Carte de Visite, Brooches, Lockets, Pins, Rings, Views, &c., on the shortest notice."[27] Levinski's new venture started at the same time that John Low purchased Tensfeld's studio; by December 1867 Low was selling images of "All the Greymouth Celebrities" and "A choice collection of Views".[28] Ex-Christchurch photographer Thomas Price also reappeared, opening another London Portrait Rooms in Camp Street, Charleston in January 1868 and a temporary London Portrait Rooms in Westport in September. (Working from between there and Charleston until 1870, he went into business in Timaru in 1871 with ex-Westport photographer Edward Hartman.)

John Tensfeld, *Hokitika, Westland (Gibson's Quay)*, 1868. Albumen print, 120 x 166mm. Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (1919/134/328)

A degree of rootlessness and instability was as much part of the story for the region's photographers as it was for those seeking gold. When Hokitika photographer William Perkins (1837–1929) filed for insolvency in 1868, his business was taken over by Norwegian "Photographer and Colorist" Rudolph Haigh (1821–1901). Haigh kept Perkins in partnership but this ended in 1869 after a major fire in Revell Street completely destroyed their premises.[29] Perkins's next studio was taken over in January 1870 by ex-Melbourne, Scottish-born John Gaul (1834–1876). In Greymouth, Abraham Levinski attempted to sell his business in 1870, until a fire destroyed his studio and saw him imprisoned for debt; his next move, in 1871, was to Fiji.

Undoubtedly the most diverting West Coast photographer of the period was Belgian-born hotelier and swordsman Peter De Loree (c.1822–1900), whose earliest known studio in 1868 was at Te Kara-o-Tamatea Addison's Flat, a largely Irish tent town eight miles from Westport. De Loree had reached Victoria twenty years before and ran a hotel in Ballarat; from 1861 he was a hotelier in Weatherstons, Otago. He did the same from 1865 at Kaniere near Hokitika, where he gave "Lessons in Swordsmanship" and declared himself "Open to play any one in the colony".[30] In Hokitika from 1866, he ran a fencing academy from his Blue Jacket Hotel in Revell Street until 1868, when he was drawn by the gold rush to Addison's Flat. Here his photography career commenced, as reported in July, "Mr De Loree has opened a photographic portrait room, and on Sundays especially, when the miners have some spare time, does a very good business, especially among the fair sex who as usual have no objection to admiration."[31]

By November, De Loree was giving "Lessons in Swordsmanship in the evening" from the Ballarat Portrait Rooms in Westport.[32] In July 1869 his studio was a rented, calico-covered hut at the Caledonian Terrace near Westport. Broadening his repertoire in October, he advertised "A Grand Miscellaneous Performance … Boxing, Fencing, Singing, Dancing, and Lessons on Swordsmanship with Illustrations. Mr. De Loree will give a variety of his Wonderful, Amusing, and Instructive Magical Performances."[33] By September 1870, he was performing in Hokitika as "Professor De Loree, Champion Swordsman and Modern Wizard", with his two daughters "in their great Character of The Nervous Girls".[34] But in June 1871 he was arrested for the theft of £300 of watches, chains and gold from a Ross storekeeper and jailed for three years. Unfortunately none of De Loree's West Coast photographs have been identified, but he is known to have later become a respectable studio photographer in Oxford, rural Canterbury.

His story, like many of our earliest photographers, is pieced together from fragments and traces left in contemporary reportage, advertisements and letters. The larger picture includes missing or as yet unrecognised photographs by noteworthy makers, talented practitioners who invite further investigation, and displays of varying degrees of commitment to the photographic art. From both sides of the island we also find makers from divergent backgrounds, from established colonists such as Barker and Travers to the many who followed the Victoria–Otago–Hokitika goldfields trail. For a good number the West Coast was a temporary stop, but some chose to stay and consolidate their luck.

NOTES

1 *West Coast Times*, 26 July 1865, p.4. *Otago Daily Times*, 9 May 1863, p.8. Denslow ran his own studio in Sydney from 1856.
2 *West Coast Times*, 22 August 1865, p.3; 3 October 1865, p.3.
3 *Lake Wakatip Mail*, 30 May 1863, p.6. His birth date (from shipping records) was either 1825 or 1831.
4 *Otago Daily Times*, 12 June 1862, p.3; 2 October 1862, p.3; *Otago Witness*, 28 June 1862, p.2.
5 *West Coast Times*, 29 July 1865, p.2.
6 *West Coast Times*, 16 December 1865, p.3; *The Age* (Melbourne), 27 July 1866, p.7.
7 *Press*, 15 August 1864, p.2.
8 *Lyttelton Times*, 13 April 1865, p.8.
9 *Lyttelton Times*, 1 July 1865, p.5.
10 In about 1875 Grand went into business as "Grand and Dunlop", with John Dunlop, who had worked for Elsbee and Mundy.
11 *Press*, 5 July 1865, p.2. Edward Walker appeared briefly in Lichfield Street in 1864, then after time in London returned to open a new studio in High Street in 1869.
12 Mowbray Kitchener Heslop (1838–1913) and James Heslop (1842–1932) were born in Sunderland, England. Mowbray Heslop left New Zealand by 1878; by 1879 he was in the United States. He died in Spokane, Washington.
13 Hori Kerei Taiaroa was a member of the House of Representatives for Southern Maori from 1871. See Harry C. Evison. 'Taiaroa, Hori Kerei', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.2, 1993, pp.493–5; and Jenny Lee, 'Tini Kerei Taiaroa', ibid., p.496. The album includes a Christchurch-made portrait of Hoani Te Waewae Tainui, son of a prominent Arahura, Westland chief (p.136; Canterbury Museum IL2014.15.754). With thanks to the Taiaroa whānau trustees, Dr Terry Ryan and Canterbury Museum.
14 See R. Winsome Shepherd. 'Travers, William Thomas Locke', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol.1, 1990, pp.547–8.
15 'A Photographic History', *Press*, 20 March 1918, p.9.
16 J.W. Stack, *More Maoriland Adventures of J.W. Stack*, 1936, p.233.
17 See *Press*, 13 August 1872, p.3.
18 *Portland Guardian and Normanby General Advertiser*, 8 September 1858, p.3; 23 October 1861, p.4.
19 *Otago Witness*, 9 January 1864, p.8; *Otago Daily Times*, 25 January 1864, p.4.
20 *West Coast Times*, 16 April 1866, p.2.
21 See Gerhard Mueller, *My Dear Bannie, Gerhard Mueller's Letters from the West Coast 1865–66*, Pegasus Press, Christchurch, 1958 and 2012, p.75. This includes many references to Kere Tutoko.
22 *Grey River Argus*, 5 June 1866, pp.2 and 3.
23 *Grey River Argus*, 17 July 1866, p.3. John Tait kept a house and shop in Revell Street, and later became Hokitika's mayor (1885–86); he stayed active in business until shortly before his death in 1907. Alexander Tait remained semi-itinerant, keeping a house on Mawhera Quay, Greymouth; working in Charleston and Hokitika from 1871–72; and in the North Island from 1876. He returned in 1880 to open temporary studios in Westport and Inangahua, and ran a permanent studio in Reefton from 1882 until at least 1884. He died in Rotorua in 1913.
24 Tensfeld studied painting in Germany. After success with mining in Victoria he returned to his art. In Ballarat from 1863, he exhibited paintings and was employed colouring "life-size portraits, in photography" for a local studio. In 1864 he exhibited at the *4th Annual Exhibition of Fine Arts* in Melbourne and (in partnership with Mouritz Freyberger) opened a photographic studio in Bourke Street East. He left the business in January 1865 to look after local mining interests.
25 *West Coast Times*, 15 February 1868, p.2.
26 *Otago Witness*, 22 August 1868, p.11. By late 1869 Tensfeld was in Auckland. He left for Honolulu in 1870 and settled in St. Louis, Missouri.
27 *Grey River Argus*, 27 August 1867, p.3; 3 September 1867, p.1.
28 *Grey River Argus*, 29 August 1867, p.3; 14 December 1867, p.1.
29 *West Coast Times*, 28 July 1868, p.2; 25 August 1868, p.3; 19 July 1869, pp.2–3; 22 July 1869, p.2. Haigh remained in Hokitika until 1878, then entered a partnership in Timaru with Thomas Price.
30 *West Coast Times*, 17 October 1865, p.1.
31 *Westport Times*, 4 July 1868, p.4.
32 *Westport Times*, 14 November 1868, p.8.
33 *Westport Times*, 2 October 1869, p.3.
34 *West Coast Times*, 2 September 1870, p.3.

Daniel L. Mundy, *Hakopa Te Ata O Tū*, c.1867. Albumen carte-de-visite, 103 x 64mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Frederick Thatcher collection (PA1-q-232-08-3)

Daniel L. Mundy, *The Governor, Sir George Grey*, 1867. Albumen carte-de-visite, 103 x 64mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (PA2-1182)

Daniel L. Mundy, *Mundy's Photographic Portrait Studio, corner of Hereford Street and Oxford Terrace, Christchurch, 22 April 1869.*
Albumen print, 189 x 241mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Alfred C. Barker, *How the world wags in Christchurch N.Z. Jan.10.1866.* Albumen print, 104 x 144mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Edmund R. Wheeler, *St Michael and All Angels, Christchurch*, c.1878.
Albumen print, 136.5 x 195mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Edward P. Sealy, *Birch Trees – Alford Forest*, 1869.
Albumen print, 198 x 154mm.
Barry Hancox collection

William T.L. Travers,
View in Waiau Valley, c.1865.
Albumen print, 180 x 234mm.
Alexander Turnbull Library,
Wellington (PAColl-1574-19)

William T.L. Travers, *Mr William Newcombe and family on the shores of Lake Guyon*, c.1865. Albumen print, 194 x 244mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (PA7-22-04)

Tait Brothers, *Temple Chambers, Hokitika*, 1867. Albumen carte-de-visite, 64 x 101mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (PA2-1755)

John Tensfeld, *Kaniere, Westland (Diggings on Hokitika River)*, 1868. Albumen print, 120 x 166mm. Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (1919/134/328)

Tait Brothers, *Kere Tutoko and Gerhard Mueller*, 1866. Albumen carte-de-visite, 104 x 64mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Isabel Forrest collection (PA2-1764)

John Dunlop, Christchurch
Fancy Bazaar, *Rev. James West Stack and Teoti Pita Mutu of Tuahiwi,* c.1872. Albumen carte-de-visite, 103 x 62mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Tait Brothers, *Photographers' promotional collage*, c.1865. Albumen "Imperial" cabinet card, 268 x 182mm. Anthony G. Rackstraw collection

Tait Brothers, *Young woman, Hokitika*, c.1867. Albumen carte-de-visite, 102 x 62mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Robbie Packer collection (PA1-q-1289-30-3)

Unknown maker, *Businesses on Gladstone Street, Westport, Buller, West Coast*, 1871–72. Gelatin silver print, 70 x 94mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (PAColl-0479-05)

John Low, *View of Greymouth taken during the great flood of 6th Nov 1867*. Albumen carte-de-visite, 63 x 105mm. Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (CS/11439)

Daniel L. Mundy, *Dinornis Giganteus, 25 October 1867.*
Albumen print, 269 x 199mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Daniel L. Mundy, *Dinornis Giganteus, 25 October 1867.*
Albumen print, 267 x 197mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Daniel L. Mundy, *Pine Forest, near the Crossing of the Waimakariri – at the Bealey, Canterbury* (detail), 1868. Albumen print, 196 x 247mm Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, D.L. Mundy collection (PA1-f-040-05)

Daniel L. Mundy, *Summit of Porter's Pass – looking East*, 1868 Albumen print, 187 x 244mm. Barry Hancox collection

Tracking Gains: 1868 to 1900

Ken Hall

Itinerancy, risk and failure often characterised the experience of colonial photographers, who in setting up studios in places where settlers and speculators gathered – whether long-term or temporarily – sought to earn a healthy living from their new profession. Those taking views highlighted progress with their townscapes, pictures of buildings, new roads or mining scenes, and indirectly encouraged emigration. Their photographs also helped a growing population better understand their new environment. Images of mountains, glaciers, forests, rivers and lakes could be appreciated simply for aesthetic reasons, but were also useful for what they embedded in the collective settler mind. A maker's response to landscape might be sincerely expressive or more scientific, linked to discovery and knowledge, but their viewpoint was also attached to larger facts, from ongoing colonisation to intended trade. Scenic photography was mainly the preserve of the privileged, to be viewed in albums; sometimes exhibitions and lantern slide shows. Photography also became increasingly connected to large-scale publishing and tourism. Its performative aspect, however, also occasionally saw the more extroverted take to the lecture podium to share their exploits.

Entrepreneurial photographer Daniel Mundy began a journey suitable for one such retelling just weeks after Canterbury was split in two – the gold rushes led to the founding of the County of Westland on 1 January 1868, leaving a sorely reduced Canterbury Province on the eastern side. Mundy took his cameras and travelling darkroom overland from Lyttelton to Hokitika, recording as much as he could en route. Speaking on his experiences at the Photographic Society of Great Britain in London nearly seven years later, the former Bayswater confectioner entertained with the challenges of crossing the Alps while

the road was still being completed – and left a treasure in the historical record. His journey included fording flooded, ice-cold rivers on horses that were sometimes required to swim, and riding "many miles wet to the skin before finding a convenient place for camping down for the night". He also gave a rare description of a nineteenth-century travelling photographer's working method:

My usual plan of proceeding was to erect an ordinary digger's tent, supported upon a couple of formed poles and well fastened down with guy-ropes; then from the ridge of the structure, suspending a square photographic tent made of mackintosh material, with black calico skirts resting on the ground and kept securely with stones. In fine weather this supplementary operating tent was erected outside the ordinary dwelling; but at other times better protection was afforded by suspending it within the larger tent. A square window of yellow oiled silk, measuring about 18 inches in both dimensions, admitted enough light to work by... A pack-horse carried a couple of strong leather trunks slung from the saddle, in one of which the chemicals were packed while the apparatus was placed in the other. The camera legs, folded tent, and stereo-camera were carried aloft on the back of the animal, between the panniers, and the second horse had enough to carry in the shape of the ordinary impedimenta of the traveller. When disposed for work the two boxes were placed within the tent unpacked, and the dipping bath filled with the contents of two or three Holland's bottles holding the silver solution, secured until now by corks protected with india-rubber finger stalls ... One of the empty trunks was used to support the dipping-bath and screen it from the light and dust whilst sensitizing ... With a ¼-inch stop eight seconds was the ordinary exposure, and I never, as a rule, exceeded twelve seconds ... Under favourable circumstances my kit was unpacked, mounted for use, and the 12 by 10 plates, besides the stereo-negatives, taken in the space of three-quarters of an hour. This was when not camping down to stay. I had simply to choose a sheltered place from the wind and sun, make my tent fast under the limb of a tree, and commence operations...[1]

As a result of his journey, by late March 1868 Mundy had over sixty pictures for sale, including three from Hokitika (p.54). Operating in Christchurch from Elsbee's former studio, he then promoted the series through an Art Union lottery for "100 Members at One Guinea Each" – the winner received thirty-six prints and each ticket holder one photograph.[2] In December he was appointed "Photographer to his Excellency the Governor", Sir George Ferguson Bowen, who visited Christchurch in January; within days Mundy had the new Governor's portrait available in "large size for framing, also stereoscopic and carte-de-visite sizes".[3] Bowen returned to the city in April, in attendance to Queen Victoria's second son, Prince Alfred. Mundy celebrated by photographing his premises decorated with welcome sign, flags, flax clumps and freshly painted signage (p.70). Barker's photographs from the same occasion included a welcome arch in High Street and a group of Ngāi Tūāhuriri from Kaiapoi gathered by his house (p.91).

The importance of photography locally was signalled at this time at the opening of the newly completed Canterbury Museum on 9 February 1870 in the *Canterbury Art Exhibition*, which along with photographs by Mundy and outstanding amateur Edward P. Sealy, included 1840s calotypes by Edinburgh pioneers David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson and numerous European, British and Himalayan views.[4] Mundy left Christchurch immediately after the exhibition opened, and (hiring his former assistant John Dunlop to maintain the studio) by March was in Auckland, starting an ambitious North Island photographic tour.[5]

Alfred C. Barker, *Arch in honour of Prince Alfred, High St., Ch.ch. N.Z. Ap. 22, 69*, 1869. Albumen print, 146 x 200mm. Barry Hancox collection

Alfred C. Barker, *Ap. 23, 1869. Kaiapoi Maoris*, 1869. Glass plate collodion negative, 157 x 210mm. Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C. Barker collection (1944.78.242)

Thomas Pringle, *View of the Franz Josef Glacier, and the Waiho River,* 1871. Albumen print, 138 x 197mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (PAColl-7075-06-04)

District surveyor Edward Percy Sealy (1839–1903) had arrived in Canterbury in 1863 and became a skilled explorer and alpine photographer. He purchased his photographic outfit in 1865 and took lessons, probably from Elsbee or Barker.[6] The first to photograph New Zealand's glaciers, he made his first major alpine expedition in April 1866 to the Ashburton Glaciers at the head of the Hakatere Ashburton River, and his second a month later to the Rangitata Glaciers. In 1867 he headed to the Aoraki Mount Cook region where he explored the Mueller and Hooker glaciers, and in March 1869 accompanied explorer, geologist and Canterbury Museum director Julius von Haast to investigate Aoraki and the Tasman Glacier (pp.109–10). He was commended by a *Star* reporter as "an amateur photographer of considerable eminence, who, under great difficulties and privations, obtained some magnificent views of the grand scenery of our Southern Alps" and by Barker shortly afterwards as "by far the best photographer out here".[7]

Barker would have also doubtless appreciated the glacial views taken in 1871 by Scottish-born Thomas Pringle (1827–1873), who had an exceptional eye for landscape, but is known by just a few images. Pringle had been a tailor in Edinburgh and lived in Dunedin from 1861 (where he briefly ran a portrait studio) until the 1863 Cardrona gold rush, which he followed and became a general storekeeper. By 1866 he was a "Wine, Spirit and Provision Merchant" in Revell Street, Hokitika, and in 1869 was at Donoghues near Ross. 1870 found him in Ross as a manager of the Westland Quartz Mining Company; his connections to the town make him the likely photographer of an 1870–71 view featuring the low-slung Dunedin Hotel (p.124). In March 1871, Pringle headed south and took the earliest photographs of Franz Josef Glacier, arresting in their dramatic frozen forms; one even included his darkroom tent (pp.92; 112–13). Pringle made a second trip in March 1872, accompanying Premier William Fox and Gerhard Mueller, now Westland chief surveyor. In December 1872 it was reported that "Mr Pringle has gone on another trip to the glacier, in search of further and still more interesting views"; it would be his last journey, as he died four months later at just 42.[8]

Pringle's photography, like Sealy's, was appreciated both for its aesthetic quality and for the addition it made to geographical and geological knowledge. Also serving science were a remarkable pair of small photographs taken by Barker in Christchurch in March 1871, twelve days after Pringle's first photographs at Franz Josef, of a tethered bird on a simple perch (p.94). Turning its head for the camera, the bird is the extinct *Sceloglaux albifacies,* the whekau or laughing owl. These may be the only nineteenth-century New Zealand photographs of a now-extinct bird whose image was captured while alive.

The photographic art had many masters, and in the context of early exhibitions typically promoted colonial priorities and interests. Photographs by Sealy and Mundy, as well as a smaller number by Travers and Barker, were displayed in Christchurch's *Inter-Provincial Colonial Exhibition* from December 1872, alongside items of industry including processed flax, kauri gum, pianos, tweed cloths, scented soaps, beer, wine and cordials. Geological specimen maps and photographic exhibits were supervised by Julius von Haast; as a reporter noted, "photographs in large numbers… are suspended all round the building".[9] The best photographs were selected for inclusion in New Zealand's fine arts section at the 1873 *Vienna International Exhibition*, opening in Austria in May.

Alfred Barker died in Christchurch at age 54 on 20 March 1873, and was given a huge public send-off. The *Star* noted the "considerable number of spectators, who appeared to have been attracted by something more than mere curiosity."[10] The *Lyttelton Times*, regretting the loss of

Alfred C. Barker, *Athene albifacies Ch.ch NZ Mar 28.71; Athene albifacies. Canty – NZ Mar 28.71 [extinct Laughing Owl/Sceloglaux albifacies/Whekau]*, 1871. Albumen prints, 93 x 70mm; 91 x 66mm. Canterbury Museum (1958.81.83; 1958.81.82)

"one of the Pilgrim Fathers of the province, and a gentleman who enjoyed the highest possible measure of esteem from all who knew him", recorded also Barker's involvement on the Provincial Council for a period, and his having been "the only medical man on the Plains for many years" as well as "an amateur photographer of considerable skill".[11]

Twelve days after Barker's passing, Hertford-born Herbert Deveril (1840–1911) arrived in Wellington from Melbourne with his wife and five young children. Deveril had been a photographer in Ballarat and Melbourne from the mid-1860s; survived insolvency in 1868; and been editor of the *Australian Photographic Journal* from 1867–69. Here, he was appointed government photographer, overseeing the new photolithographic branch of the Government Printing Office.[12] In early 1876 Deveril took his large wet-plate camera across the North Island, including to the Rotomahana Terraces. In the summer of 1876–77 he spent three months in the South Island, arriving in Lyttelton and heading circuitously to Dunedin, commissioned to document New Zealand's public works and civil engineering progress. An impressive group of photographs from Canterbury framed the recently-completed series of railway bridges across the Rakahuri Ashley and Waimakariri rivers (north of Christchurch) and, to the south, over the Rakaia, Hakatere Ashburton and Rangitata rivers (pp.120–21).

Over on the West Coast, James Barrowman (1843–1900), known for a few small photographs taken around Reefton and Inangahua in around 1877, was a mine operator who ran a portrait studio briefly in Reefton, one of six Glasgow-born brothers who reached the coast via Otago. Among his prints is an extraordinary elevated view of a giant waterwheel, a quartz crushing machine near Reefton (p.123).[13] In 1882–83 he lived at Devil's Creek, Inangahua, running the Golden Wedge and Mount Pleasant mining companies. From 1888 until his death in 1900 he was a blacksmith at Cape Foulwind near Westport, engaged in fulfilling Government contracts and active in upholding workers' rights.[14]

London-born Henry Thomas (Harry) Lock (1844–1932) was in Hokitika by about 1867, and a bootmaker there until at least 1875.[15] In January 1878, we find him recorded as a photographer in Reefton, working for former London and Melbourne photographer Herbert Henry Vorley (1839–1880). Vorley, resident on the West Coast since 1867, operated in Charleston, Hokitika, Buller and Reefton, but was based in Westport. In August 1878, "Mr Lock, of Vorley's photographic studio", took:

a very pretty picture representing the upper portion of Broadway under a foot of snow (p.96). *The picture faithfully depicts the scene, and though the light was not of the best, the faces and forms of several well known, but very naughty citizens are readily recognisable hotly engaged as they were at the time, in the healthful pursuit of snowballing. The view ought to command an extensive sale.*[16]

Four months later Vorley received news of a hefty inheritance. He sold his Westport studio to Harry Lock, and he left for London in May 1879, but died in the following year.

Lock went on to become one of the West Coast's most skilled photographers, and his coal mining photographs distinguish him among his peers. In April 1880 he advertised a variety of mountain, river and coastal scenery, and "a large selection of Mining Views" from the Westport and Wellington Coal Companies' works at Waimangaroa (pp.9; 126–27).[17] Producing carte-de-visite views and compiling albums, he also sent photographs to *The Australasian Sketcher*, where six Westport Colliery views appeared as engravings in 1881. He also gained a steady income through portraiture and from 1882 utilised the latest dry-plate technique, "a New Instantaneous Process" enabling him "to

Henry T. Lock, *Reefton, Winter*, c.1878.
Albumen carte-de-visite, 56 x 95mm.
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa,
Gift of Mrs E.W. Gibbs, 1933 (O.005357)

secure good pictures of children and groups that could not be taken before."[18] In January 1885 he informed "inhabitants of Charleston, Addison's Flat, Denniston, Waimangaroa, Mokihinui, Reefton, Boatman's, and Lyell, that he will shortly visit each place, when he will take Portraits for 6s. per half-dozen, 10s. per dozen."[19] Lock's mining views were exhibited at the 1889–90 *New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition* in Dunedin and brought a First Class award. "A Lady's Letter from Westport" in the *New Zealand Times* took an insider's pleasure in noting "The exhibits were not specially prepared, but merely selected from the stock of ordinary views on sale in the artist's Westport studio."[20]

Another photographer to lift from obscurity is Greymouth's Hanwell Williams (1835–1911), a Dorset-born pharmacist who had arrived in Otago via Ballarat in 1863. Williams left Dunedin for the West Coast in 1865; two years later he and his brother Joseph were running chemist shops in Greymouth, Hokitika, Charleston and Westport. Among his identified works are a series of small photographs with a distinctive, sparse aesthetic, taken between the West Coast and Porters Pass in about 1877 (pp.118–19). Some include his portable darkroom – seen by the edge of Te Hāpua Waikawa Lake Lyndon (p.97), and beneath spectacular rock formations at Kura Tāwhiti Castle Hill (p.118). Williams became occupied with photography from December 1870, when he hired ex-Melbourne photographer John Gaul to set up a studio next to his Medical Hall on Mawhera Quay. Gaul also became Williams's instructor, and when leaving for Christchurch six months later described him as "a thorough Photographic Chemist" who had "succeeded in producing First-Class Portraits".[21] Williams was elected to the Photographic Society of Great Britain in 1879,

Hanwell Williams, *Lake Lyndon*, c.1877.
Albumen print, 145 x 194mm.
Michael Graham-Stewart collection

James Ring, *Hohonu Peaks from Iveagh Bay, Lake Brunner, N.Z., No.101,* c.1880.
Albumen print, 138.5 x 205mm.
Barry Hancox collection

and would gain prizes for his landscapes at the 1880–81 *Melbourne International Exhibition*.

Williams intermittently employed other photographers including, from November 1879, London-born James Ring (1856–1939; p.98), who had just reached Greymouth.[22] Ring had trained in London studios and the United States, "in the famous studio of Messrs Allen and Rowell, Boston, and gained an extensive knowledge of photography in its varied branches".[23] He was employed as operator of Williams's Reefton studio from April 1880, but left the following January after buying William Perkins's Greymouth studio – he would soon become the leading photographic publisher on the West Coast. Ring received an award for his scenic views at the 1882 *New Zealand International Exhibition*, held from April to July in Christchurch's Hagley Park. The only gold medal for New Zealand landscape photography went to Burton Brothers of Dunedin, for views from Piopiotahi Milford Sound, Rotomahana, Dunedin, and "glacier scenes… splendid, especially one of Mount Cook".[24]

Through Burton Brothers, Dunedin photographer Alfred Henry Burton (1834–1914) was starting to build the largest and most comprehensive catalogue of views in nineteenth-century New Zealand.[25] The Leicester-born entrepreneur had sent 23-year-old Charles Spencer (1854–1933) to photograph between Canterbury and the West Coast, with Aoraki Mount Cook a specific target. Spencer was employed by Burton for nearly ten months from September 1877, and photographed at Oamaru, Christchurch, along the West Coast road and Hokitika before reaching the glaciers. Assisted by his brother George, he was based around Okarito and Franz Josef Glacier for four months from mid-February 1878; they were distracted briefly during an ill-prepared attempt at climbing Aoraki by the discovery of gold at Waihoa Flat, near the mountain's base.[26] Burton won his medal with work by Spencer, Burton himself and other employees, and would become the dominant force in commercial New Zealand landscape photography.

Working in direct competition to Burton was early Christchurch portrait photographer Edmund Wheeler, by now running a similarly scaled photographic publishing operation from his New Zealand Scenery Depot in Cathedral Square. In July 1885 he asserted that "Neither Trouble nor Money has been spared during the last twelve years in Securing the Negatives", now numbering between four and five thousand subjects and including "Every Part of the North and South Islands… the Most Interesting and Varied" selection in New Zealand. Wheeler's views were available "Mounted or Unmounted, and Albums… Kept in Stock, which can be Filled at an hour's notice…"[27]

Wheeler's themed albums included *Canterbury Pilgrim Album, Being a Few Reminiscences of the Early Days of the Settlement. From 1850*, published on Anniversary Day, 16 December 1885, and containing thirty photographs. Among the selection were views of early Ōtautahi Christchurch houses that were still standing, including the cottage where John Robert Godley and his wife Charlotte had stayed on the Deans Estate at Riccarton in 1852. Wheeler timed its publishing to coincide with the 22 December unveiling of the W.S. Moorhouse statue, based on the early Elsbee portrait (p.47). The unveiling was recorded by early Christchurch photographer Richard Smith, still operating as a plumber (p.133). Another distinctive Wheeler offering in May 1888 was *Some Representative Sheep Farms in Canterbury and Neighbourhood*; a gold-embossed, morocco leather covered album with "sixty large original photographs" at £3 10s.28 The selection included scenes of sheep yards and dipping, sheep shearing and wool sorting (pp.130–31), all from the farms of Canterbury's land-owning order. The production was recommended "as a very acceptable present to send to friends at a distance

to show up-country life in New Zealand, and at the same time act as an inducement to the better class of intending Colonists, namely, those with a little capital, to come and settle here."[29]

Photography gained increased accessibility and prominence in Christchurch through the 1880s and 1890s, due to both technical advances and a vigorous groundswell of support. From June to August 1880, prominent English portrait photographer Nelson King Cherrill (1845–1916) gave three lectures at the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury; his topic was the new, "instantaneous" dry-plate technique, which he had learned through reading and experimentation. In July 1880 at the *Christchurch Industrial Exhibition*, Cherrill further "displayed all the latest improvements in the art, including the new instantaneous emulsion process, by which a picture can be taken in one-twentieth of the time usually occupied".[30] Another local photographer who took up the process promptly was Danish-born Peter Schourup (1837–1887) who promoted the new technology as "particularly advantageous for your children and nervous sitters."[31]

One of very few full-time professional women photographers in New Zealand at this time was London-born Agnes Mercy Ashton (1852–1928), who moved to Ashburton in 1887 with her de-facto husband, former Melbourne, Otago and Christchurch hairdresser and photographer Alfred Thomas Robottom (1838–1893).[32] Ashton ran a portrait studio in Moore Street under Robottom's name in the years to follow as he declined in health; they were quietly married six days before his death in July 1893. Running the studio as Mrs Robottom for almost another decade, she was well regarded for her work.

The Philosophical Institute maintained a vital role in supporting photography in Christchurch. In 1890, local politician and Institute member Henry R. Webb became founding chair of the Amateur Photographic Association of Canterbury, which operated independently before being absorbed into the Philosophical Institute (as its Photographic Section) in 1892. In February 1893 Webb gave the prize-giving speech to students at the Canterbury College School of Art and urged them to join the Institute to "increase their knowledge of photography and other desirable and fine arts". The closing speech came from prominent studio photographer and city mayor Eden George (1863–1927), who touched upon art as applied to photography, and pronounced "that professional photography had gone back of late years, and amateur photography had taken its place."[33]

A likely factor behind this judgment was the arrival of the Kodak camera, whose earliest recorded use in New Zealand was in 1889, the year after Rochester, New York-based George Eastman had launched his invention. Operating with fixed focus and containing celluloid film on a spool, it took one hundred two-and-a-half inch circular exposures; for its discrete, boxlike appearance, the Kodak was sometimes described as a detective camera. When all the photographs were taken, the camera was sent back to the manufacturer or appointed agent, who made prints and returned it to the customer ready to use again. London-born Frank Berry Standish (1860–1944) had founded a photographic studio in Christchurch in about 1885 with Alfred Preece – as Standish & Preece – and on 1 November 1889 recorded the arrival of the Governor, Lord Onslow, with a Kodak. Two of his "snapshots" were admired:

One represents the Governor's carriage passing up High street, and the other the scene in Cathedral square while the addresses were being presented to his Excellency. This photograph gives a very good idea of the crowd round Godley statue. Both photographs were taken by the "Kodak" detective camera, and are interesting mementoes…[34]

Joseph James Kinsey, *May Kinsey climbing an ice face*, 1895. Gelatin silver print, 205 x 105mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (PA1-q-137-20-2)

Kodak cameras became commercially available in New Zealand from 1890 and in Christchurch by December 1893 at the latest, at Kempthorne, Prosser and Co.'s new premises on High Street, where "Cameras of all kinds, from the spying and secret Detective and Kodak to the large ones, which, in the photographer's studio are such instruments of torture, are to be seen in great profusion."[35] New and adventurous possibilities for photography were also opening up, as the *Press* account disclosed: "Some of the cameras, which are intended for mountaineering use, are mounted in aluminium and are wonders of lightness combined with strength."

As the art flourished, the Philosophical Institute's Photographic Section held a large exhibition in September 1894 at the Canterbury Society of Arts' Gallery, Durham Street; an intended annual event.[36] As well as exhibits from local members, it attracted entries from Auckland Photographic Club, Wellington Camera Club, Dunedin Photographic Society and the Hokitika Society, and detailed reviews.[37] A *Lyttelton Times* reporter found "Deeply interesting… a collection of the first negatives made in Canterbury, taken by the late Dr Barker and lent by E.W. Seager."[38] An appreciation of local photographic history was emerging.

"Photography furnished a hobby into which people of both sexes could profitably throw their energy in leisure time", as the Anglican Bishop Julius had pronounced in his exhibition opening speech.[39] Among Canterbury exhibitors were two unconventional women, Kate Ivens (1869–1942), soon to become an Anglican deaconess and missionary teacher; and May Kinsey (1873–1954), who over the next two years became a pioneering mountaineer and alpine photographer (p.101).[40] Another notable talent in the 1894 exhibition was Henry Webb's thirteen-year-old son Steffano (1880–1967). Taken about three years later, his stereographic photograph of two boys at the Kumara Races

collecting money with their father, blinded and having lost an arm from a mining accident (p.140), is a surprising and affecting image. Steffano Webb later became a leading portrait photographer.

As photography became increasingly available to amateurs, it also entered the family sphere. Photograph albums created in the 1890s by the Stoddart sisters of Te Waipapa Diamond Harbour reflect its shifting role. The four sisters – Frances (1864–1941), Margaret (1865–1934), May (1868–1909) and Agnes (1869–1956) – all studied at the Canterbury College of Art from 1882, its opening year; all are said to have taken up photography in the mid-1890s, though Frances and May appear the most active.[41] One of May's albums, with photographs likely to be mainly hers, is varied, undated and largely uncaptioned. It includes family portraits and groupings, farm pets, coastal scenes, flower arrangements and artistic, Pictorialist-style photographs of wild roses and native clematis (p.139), reminiscent of paintings by Margaret, a well-known watercolourist.[42] Both of May's albums also include scenes from Nelson, taken probably by Frances, who left in 1897 to become headmistress at Toi Toi Valley School and joined the Nelson Camera Club.[43] Most photographs are from after that time, when the family had returned to Diamond Harbour from Christchurch. Working at their own pace and evidently with their own darkroom, they made photography a shared leisure pursuit in a rural setting that offered few other ready diversions.[44]

The Stoddart sisters' involvement with photography also links to their father's Scottish origins and broader photographic history. Mark Pringle Stoddart (1819–1885) was in his twenties in 1840s Edinburgh when his father, retired Rear Admiral Pringle Stoddart was photographed by Hill and Adamson.[45] Stoddart loaned his own Hill and Adamson calotypes to the Canterbury Art Exhibition in 1870; these later went into family albums. It is interesting to consider these as part of the sisters' artistic training. Closer to home, the Stoddart family had been photographed at Diamond Harbour in 1871 by Barker, whose work was being shown to the public at the time they were starting their own photography.[46]

To conclude with another notable amateur, recognition is given to Melbourne-born Helen Connon (1857–1903; p.103) as one of the earliest New Zealand women to use the Kodak. Raised in Otago, Hokitika and Christchurch, Connon gained distinction in 1880 as the second woman in the British Empire to attain a Bachelor of Arts, and in the following year as the first awarded a Master of Arts, which she achieved with honours. Connon became principal of Christchurch Girls' High School in 1882 and married her former Canterbury College lecturer, Professor John Macmillan Brown in 1886.[47] Her photography evidently started in about 1896 with a Kodak No.2 camera (producing 3½ inch diameter circular images) while visiting Britain and Europe with her husband and their daughter Millicent (later the mother of poet James K. Baxter). She took further rolls recording family life at their spacious property in Fendalton (p.141), and on another European visit in 1900–01, also now with their second daughter, Viola.

Connon's lens-like circular photographs provide an effective full-stop in this brief pictorial excursion; a path tracking diverse makers from regions largely overlooked in the broader histories. Revealing captivating art, the photographic legacies of these places are distinctive to them, and – like anywhere in this country – embedded with recurring traces of an often unsettling past. The extent to which this material remains unseen in archives and stores equates to a measure of cultural deficiency and loss. This is territory that asks for greater attention and offers a rich reserve of slow-burning rewards.

Peter Schourup, *Helen Connon*, 1880. Albumen carte-de-visite, 103 x 62.5mm. Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury (39E 1991/)

NOTES

1 *The Photographic News*, vol.18, no.849, 11 December 1874, pp.602–03.
2 *Star*, 18 May 1868, p.1.
3 *Star*, 4 December 1868, p.2; 18 January 1869, p.2.
4 *Catalogue, Art Exhibition, 1870. Canterbury, N.Z.*, Christchurch 1870, pp.11–12 and 18–19. Mundy, Sealy and Mountfort were all on the planning committee.
5 While in England from 1874 to 1876, Mundy evidently gave a Royal Command performance of "Beautiful Lime Light Illustrations of New Zealand" for the Queen and royal family, and appeared "for five consecutive months in the Royal Polytechnic, London", as well as "before the Emperor of Austria, who presented Mr. Mundy with the Imperial Gold Medal for Art and Science" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1879, p.2). Back in Christchurch by November 1876, he sold the lease of his shop, house and studio in April 1878; soon afterwards his wife Louisa was granted a protection order for her earnings and custody of their daughter. Mundy moved to Australia and from 1879 to 1880 toured his New Zealand-themed "Mundy's Diorama" through New South Wales and Victoria with Captain Ferris and the Royal Maori Haka Troupe, led by Pineamine Tuhaka of Ngāti Porou. He died in Melbourne in November 1881.
6 Sealy had his portrait taken by Elsbee, who offered training. Sealy also befriended Barker. Sealy, letter, 15 August 1865, quoted by Francis McWhannell in 'Sealy', *Surveyor/policeman: two amateur antipodean photographers*, Michael Graham-Stewart, 2014, p.5.
7 *Star*, 30 March 1869, p.2; *Letter: ACB to MB, 2 May 1869*, Canterbury Museum 1964.92.124.
8 *Grey River Argus*, 7 December 1872, p.2.
9 *Press*, 14 December 1872, p.2; *Star*, 17 December 1872, p.2.
10 *Star*, 25 March 1873, p.2.
11 *Lyttelton Times*, 21 March 1873, p.3.
12 Deveril, born Albert Edwin Ekins, had lived for about four years in Auckland from November 1858, and changed his name after that time. See Keith Giles, 'Obscuring the Shadow: the origins and later years of photographer Herbert Deveril, 1840–1911', *New Zealand Legacy*, vol.25, no.1, pp.12–17.
13 *Boatman's Crushing Machine near Reefton,* at 137 x 168mm, is his largest known print.
14 He was president of the Cape Foulwind Labour Union in 1888–89, upholding the eight-hour working day; in 1890 he was on the Executive of the Amalgamated Miners' and Labourers' Association of New Zealand.
15 Mark Mabin, 'West Coast Photographers 1865–1910', 2018 (unpublished manuscript), p.87. Lock's obituary in the *Press* (3 September 1932, p.5) says he arrived in New Zealand in 1873, but Mabin's research indicates an earlier arrival (see pp.86–87).
16 *Inangahua Times*, 12 August 1878, p.2.
17 *Westport Times*, 27 April 1880, p.3.
18 *Westport Times*, 18 February 1881, p.3; 26 December 1882, p.3.
19 *Westport Times*, 12 January 1885, p.3.
20 *New Zealand Times*, 6 May 1890, p.2.
21 *Grey River Argus*, 19 June 1871, p.3.
22 *Grey River Argus*, 29 November 1879, p.2.
23 *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol.5, Nelson, Marlborough and Westland*, 1906, p.568. These were Edward L. Allen and Frank Rowell.
24 *Otago Witness*, 3 June 1882, p.9; *Globe*, 29 April 1882, p.4.
25 See Christine Whybrew, 'The Burton Brothers Studio: Commerce in Photography and the Marketing of New Zealand, 1866-1898', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Otago, 2010, pp.20 and 51; Hardwick Knight, *Burton Brothers, Photographers*, Dunedin, 1980.
26 *West Coast Times*, 22 March 1878, p.2; *Evening Post*, 23 April 1878, p.2; 'Perilous Prospecting in Westland', *Otago Witness*, 8 June 1878, p.5.
27 *Star*, 31 July 1885, p.1.
28 *Star*, 7 May 1888, p.2; *Lyttelton Times*, 18 May 1888, p.1.
29 *Lyttelton Times*, 18 May 1888, p.1 (to 3 August 1888, p.1).
30 *Globe*, 16 July 1880, p.3. Cherrill ran a studio in Cashel Street from 1876, but left in August 1881 and returned to England.
31 *Press*, 8 February 1882, p.1. Schourup was a brother-in-law of the writer Hans Christian Anderson.
32 Robottom was a portrait and landscape photographer in Lyttelton in 1865; he advertised as 'Professor Robottom' while a hairdresser and photographer in High Street, Christchurch in 1869.
33 *Press*, 8 February 1893, p.5; *Star*, 8 February 1893, p.4.
34 *Press*, 4 November 1889, p.4.
35 *Press*, 28 December 1893, p.3. See also Jill Haley, 'The Colonial Family Album: Photography and Identity in Otago, 1848–1890', vol.1, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Otago, 2017, pp.217–18.
36 The Institute's second annual exhibition in 1895 was larger again, with an illustrated catalogue, and again attracted detailed reviews.
37 *Catalogue of First Annual Photographic Exhibition: 8th to 15th Sept., inclusive, 1895, at the Art Gallery, being the Combined Exhibition of the Christchurch, Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, Dunedin and Hokitika Societies*, 1894, Philosophical Institute of Canterbury, Photographic Section, 1894. *Press*, 10 September 1894, pp.3 and 5; 17 September 1894, p.6; *Lyttelton Times*, 11 September 1894, p.5; 12 September 1894, p.5; 13 September 1894, p.3; 17 September 1894, p.6.

38 *Lyttelton Times*, 10 September 1894, p.3. Edward William Seager had already presented lantern slide lectures with Barker's photographs, at first while fundraising following flooding in Queensland in 1893.

39 *Press*, 10 September 1894, p.5.

40 *Press*, 17 September 1894, p.6. Her father (later Sir) Joseph James Kinsey (1852–1936) was also an exhibitor. She and her father joined Edward Fitzgerald and Mattias Zurbriggen during their visit to New Zealand in 1895 on their successful expedition to become the first to climb Mount Sefton (*Press*, 21 May 1895, p.2). In 1896 "Mr Kinsey exhibited a magnificent set of slides of alpine scenery made by Miss Kinsey, which were without doubt the finest alpine views yet shown upon the screen in Christchurch" (*Star*, 10 June 1896, p.2). For Kate Ivens, see Victoria A. Hearnshaw, 'Women album makers from the Canterbury region of New Zealand, 1890–1910, and their photographic practices', MA dissertation, University of Wellington, 2017, pp.94–97.

41 See Hearnshaw, 2017, pp.17–18 and 76–78. An album compiled by Margaret Stoddart, started 1886, includes painted sketches framing photographs from several locations by commercial and amateur photographers (*M.O. Stoddart Album*, c.1893–97, album MOS 322, Canterbury Museum). Some were perhaps by May Stoddart on an 1896 plant-collecting journey between Arthur's Pass and the West Coast. See also Mary R.S. Creese and Thomas M. Creese, *Ladies in the Laboratory III: South African, Australian, New Zealand, and Canadian Women in Science: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Scarecrow Press, 2010, p.94.

42 *May Stoddart Album*, c.1898–1909, Diamond Harbour and Districts Historical Association.

43 It also includes newspaper cuttings on the death of their brother James in Bulawayo in 1901. He is believed to have introduced photography into the family circle.

44 May Stoddart was the only sister who married (she married Richard Farmer in 1908), but tragically died following childbirth in 1909.

45 National Galleries Scotland PGP HA 2163–2166, PGP HA 5193. There is also a calotype negative, PGP HA 5193, titled *Two unknown women (perhaps Misses Stoddart) and Mrs Stoddart*. Mark Pringle Stoddart arrived in Canterbury in 1851 and settled in Diamond Harbour in about 1853.

46 *M.P. Stoddart & Family, Diamond Harbour, Canterbury, N.Z. Mar 10 1871*, wet-plate collodion glass plate negative, M.P. Stoddart Collection, Canterbury Museum 1991.113.3.

47 Connon was the school's principal for twelve years. See Margaret Lovell-Smith, *Easily the Best, The Life of Helen Connon 1857–1903*, Canterbury University Press, 2004; and Victoria Hearnshaw, 'Helen Connon, An Early Photographer', *New Zealand Journal of Photography*, no.16, August 1994, pp.14–15.

Daniel L. Mundy, *Pine Forest, near the Crossing of the Waimakariri – at the Bealey, Canterbury,* 1868.
Albumen print, 196 x 247mm.
Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, D.L. Mundy collection (PA1-f-040-05)

Daniel L. Mundy, *Duvauchelle's Bay from Akaroa Road,* c.1868.
Albumen print, 191 x 243.5mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Edward P. Sealy, *Samuel Butler's hut, Mesopotamia Station, Rangitata River, May 1966*. Albumen print, 138 x 189mm. Private collection, image courtesy of Michael Graham-Stewart

Edward P. Sealy, *Hut, Stour Creek, Ashburton*, c.1866. Albumen print, 132.5 x 199mm. Private collection, image courtesy of Michael Graham-Stewart

Edward P. Sealy, *Aoraki Mount Cook*, 1869.
Albumen print, 207 x 187mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Edward P. Sealy, *Head of the great Tasman Glacier, with Hochstetter Dome and Mount Darwin, Mount Cook district, March 1869.*
Albumen print, 180 x 234mm.
Michael Graham-Stewart collection

Edward P. Sealy,
Waimakariri Gorge, 1869.
Albumen print, 211 x 234mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Thomas Pringle, *View of the Franz Josef Glacier, with the Waiho River in the foreground,* 1871. Albumen print, 135 x 205mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (PAColl-7075-06-05)

Thomas Pringle, *View of the Franz Josef Glacier,* 1871. Albumen print, 137 x 181mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (PAColl-7075-06-03)

Alfred C. Barker, *T. Powell, Grasmere Sep 24 72*, 1872. Glass plate collodion negative, 110 x 80mm. Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C. Barker collection (1944.78.145)

Alfred C. Barker, *Mr & Mrs Collie, Ohapi, Jany. 15th 72*, 1872. Glass plate collodion negative, 108 x 83mm. Canterbury Museum, Dr A.C. Barker collection (1944.78.276)

Alfred C. Barker, *F.E. FitzGerald, Chch, N.Z, Dec. 29, 1869.*
Albumen print, 193 x 141mm.
Canterbury Museum (1958.81.44)

Alfred C. Barker, *Ch.ch N.Z. Sep 17 1870 ['Mrs Martin, A. B. Cox, M. E. Cox, S. E. Barker, E. Cheine']*.
Albumen print, 109 x 123mm.
Canterbury Museum (1958.81.64)

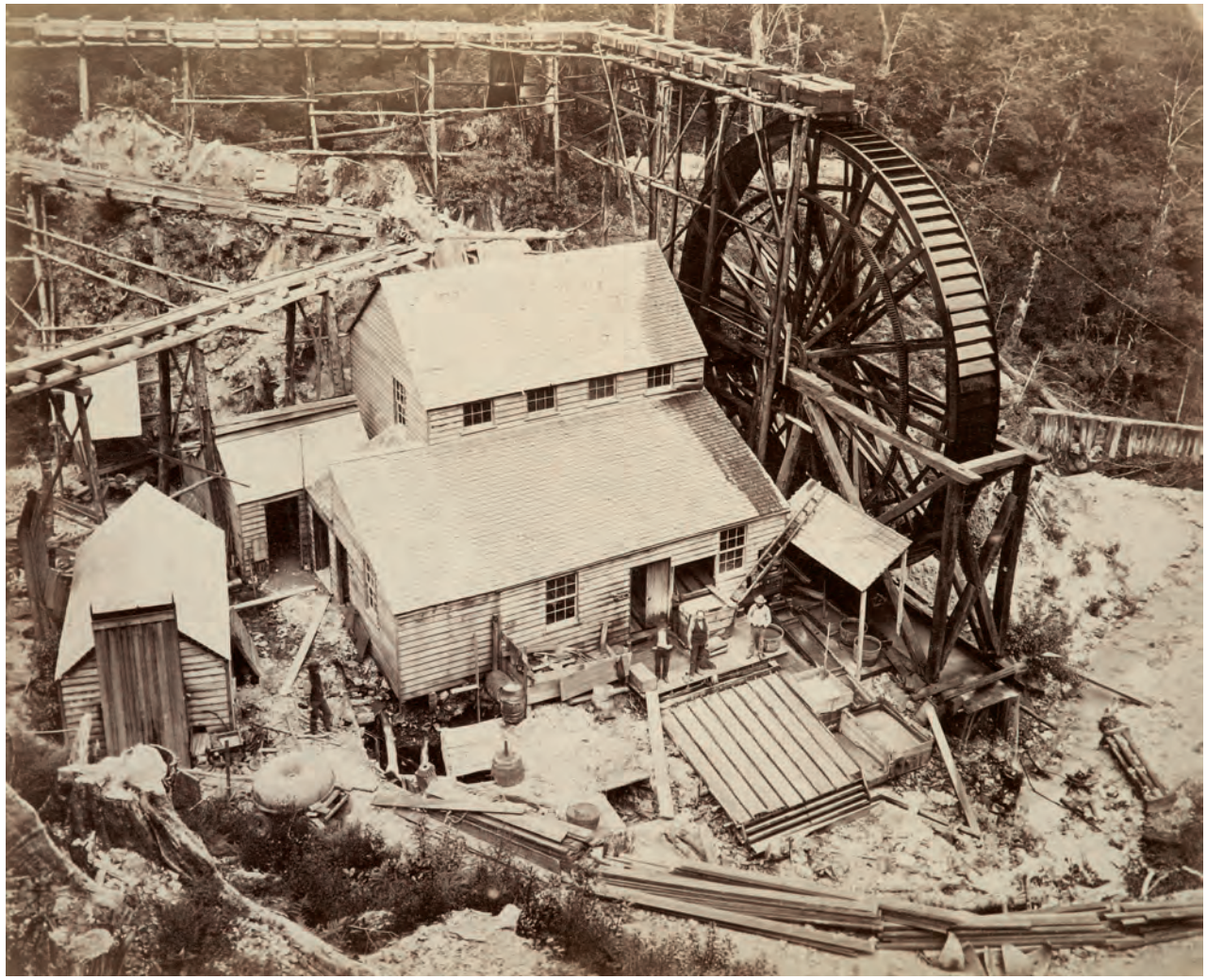
Hanwell Williams, *The Rocks, Castle Hill, No.2*, c.1877.
Albumen print, 143 x 196mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Hanwell Williams, Porters Pass; Lake Lyndon; Thomas River, Castle Hill; Parapet Rock, c.1877. Albumen prints, 146 x 203.5mm; 143 x 195mm; 145 x 203mm; 145 x 195mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Herbert Deveril, *Ashburton Bridge*, 1877. Albumen print, 262 x 345mm. Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (CS/11441)

Herbert Deveril, *Ashley Bridge*, 1877. Albumen print, 261 x 355mm. Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (CS/11441)

James Barrowman, *Reefton from the Coal Track*, 1874–77. Albumen print, 123 x 165mm. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, purchased 1998 (O.009815)



James Barrowman, *Boatman's Crushing Machine near Reefton,* c.1876. Albumen print, 137 x 168mm. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, purchased 1998 (O.009814)

Attributed to Thomas Pringle,
Dunedin Hotel, Ross, West Coast,
1870–71. Albumen print, 148 x 193.5mm.
Eymard Bradley collection

Unknown maker, *Kumara,* c.1880.
Albumen print, 180 x 201mm.
Te Uare Taoka o Hākena The
Hocken Collections, University of
Otago, (Album 035, P1955-004-029)

Henry T. Lock, *Face 35 Feet Seam Mokihinui Coal Company's Mine. 19,* c.1880. Albumen print, 183 x 238mm. Michael Graham-Stewart collection

Henry T. Lock, *Lower incline, W.C.C. works*, 1880.
Albumen print, 191 x 240mm.
Museum of New Zealand
Te Papa Tongarewa (O.042359)

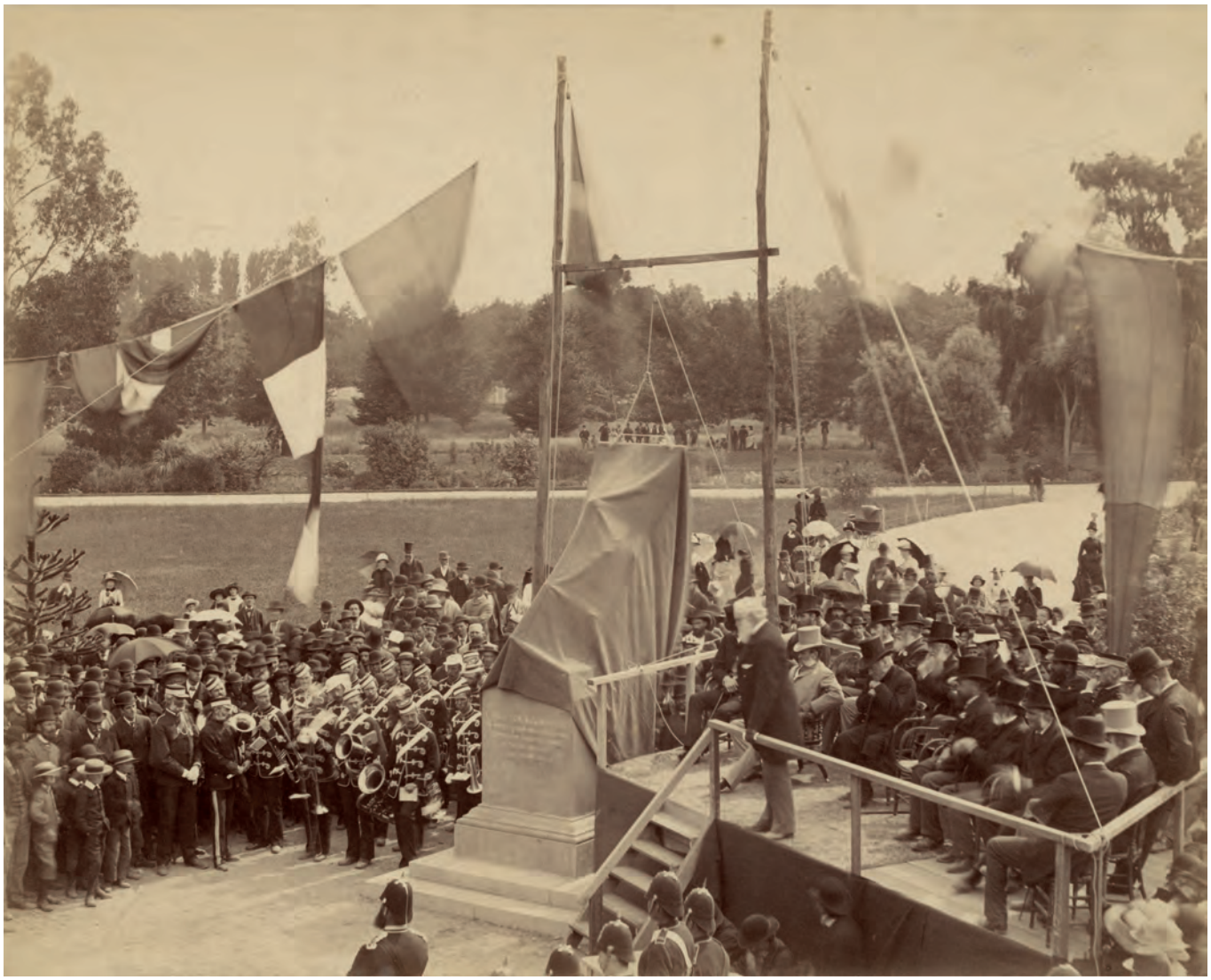
Frank A. Coxhead, *Greymouth – Kumara Tramway N.Z. 574*, 1880s.
Albumen print, 142 x 195mm.
Te Uare Taoka o Hākena The Hocken Collections, University of Otago (Box-115-019)

James Ring, *Greymouth and Kumara Tramway, No.354,* c.1881. Albumen print, 133 x 204mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (PA1-o-415-31)

Edmund R. Wheeler, *Wool Sorting, Horsley Down, Canterbury,* 1880s.
Albumen print, 159 x 198mm.
Private collection

Edmund R. Wheeler, *Wolseley's Sheep Shearing Machine*, c.1888.
Albumen print, 236 x 176mm.
Canterbury Museum (1987.152.3)

Edmund R. Wheeler, *Canterbury Agricultural and Pastoral Association's Show*, 1885.
Albumen print, 184 x 232mm.
Barry Hancox collection



Richard Smith, *Unveiling the William Sefton Moorhouse Statue*, 1885. Albumen print, 195 x 243mm. Canterbury Museum, Canterbury Pilgrims and Early Settlers Association collection (1949.148.558)

Grand & Dunlop, Christchurch,
Two boys, c.1882. Albumen
carte-de-visite, 105 x 65mm.
Anthony G. Rackstraw collection

Unknown maker, Messrs
F. Bradley & Co., *Christchurch [Hereford Street, looking east from Cambridge Terrace],* c.1884.
Albumen print, 146 x 204mm.
Barry Hancox collection

Charles Lawrence, *Hoani Tainui,* c.1882. Albumen carte-de-visite, 105 x 63mm. Canterbury Museum, Hori Kerei Taiaroa collection. Reproduced with permission of the Taiaroa whānau (IL2014.15.754)

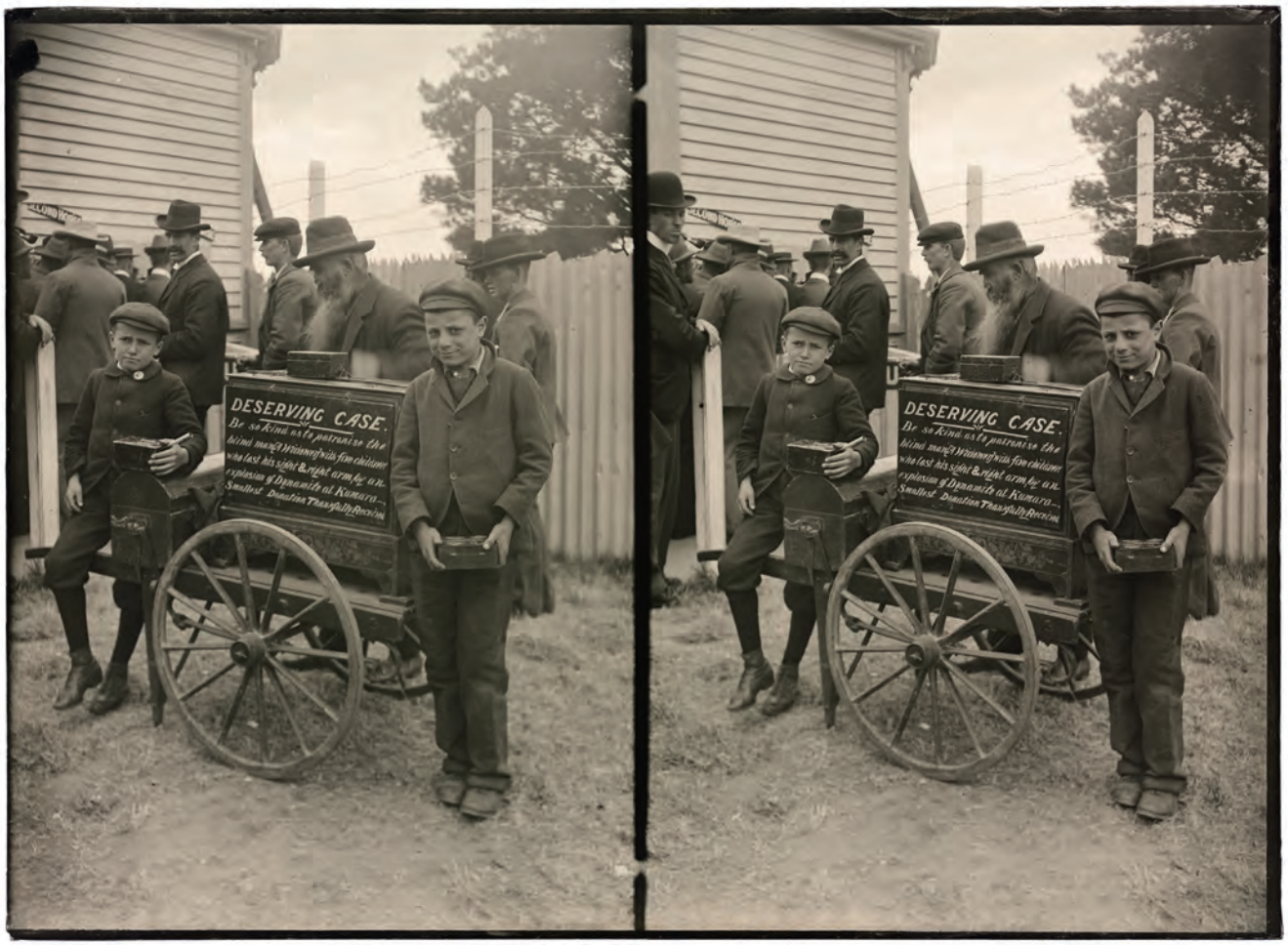
William Sherlock, *Teoti Pirimona Tamaiti,* c.1881. Albumen carte-de-visite, 103 x 63mm. Canterbury Museum, Hori Kerei Taiaroa collection. Reproduced with permission of the Taiaroa whānau (IL2014.15.669)

Unknown maker, *Marshall Hume Browne (1850–1921), co-proprietor of The Rangiora Standard,* c.1882. Tintype photograph, 130 x 90mm. Canterbury Museum, James Snyder Browne collection (1968.133.8)

Frances Stoddart or Margaret Stoddart, *Portrait Study [May Stoddart],* c.1897. Gelatin silver print, 139 x 107mm. Canterbury Museum, M.O. Stoddart collection (2015.114.156)

May Stoddart, Frances Stoddart or Margaret Stoddart, *Wild Clematis,* c.1897. Gelatin silver print, 155 x 113mm. Diamond Harbour and Districts Historical Association (May Stoddart album)

May Stoddart, Frances Stoddart or Margaret Stoddart, *Wild Clematis,* c.1897. Gelatin silver prints, 153 x 113mm. Diamond Harbour and Districts Historical Association (May Stoddart album)



Steffano F. Webb, *Jack and Rudolph Lousich collecting donations for their father Louis, in Kumara,* c.1897. Photograph from glass plate negative, 120 x 164mm. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (1/2-049635-G)

Helen Connon, *Millicent and Viola Macmillan Brown at Holmbank, Fendalton*, c.1900. Gelatin silver print, 86mm diameter. Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury (46J 1991/1)

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Notes

The Ngāi Tahu Mapping Project has brought about a more general awareness of Māori names for locations in Te Waipounamu. Ken Hall's essays use these Ngāi Tahu place names in the first instance where possible.

Alfred Barker's original glass plate negatives at Canterbury Museum have been reproduced as positive images which retain the colour of the glass and photographic emulsion, and the edges of Barker's glass plates. We believe this process is sympathetic to the image and to the negative as an object while conveying something useful about its history and making.