Meshworks of meanings: photographs of Māori and their *taonga*

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Abstract

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This interdisciplinary thesis examines the meanings and uses of commercial colonial-era photographs (1860s-1914) of Māori, the indigenous people of *Aotearoa*/New Zealand, and their *taonga* or cultural treasures. It does so by exploring interpretative historical and contemporary questions within British museum and Māori contexts. To achieve this, it draws on British Museum, Pitt Rivers Museum and Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum collections; interviews with curators from these museums; participant observation and interviews with Ngāti Rānana, the London Māori cultural group; exhibitions; publications and manuscripts.

Central to the thesis is a dual theoretical framework. This novel approach combines *Mātauranga Māori* or Māori knowledge and worldview with Ingold's anthro-phenomenological concepts. Specifically this includes Ingold's "meshwork of relations" or the unbreakable interconnections between things (2011a: 86) and alternative approach to animism or the life force in everything. Accordingly, the thesis positions photographs as relationally enmeshed objects with material properties, and sensory and affective qualities.

The thesis contributes to scholarly research across museum studies, anthropology and photography in British and New Zealand contexts, including the burgeoning field of photographs in museums. It explores and analyses the photographs' creation and uses as souvenirs by museum collectors visiting New Zealand, and Māori involved in tourism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and historical and contemporary roles in British museum exhibitions. Moreover, it considers why and in what ways photographs became part of Māori remembrance practices, and how they are viewed contemporarily. It contends they are *taonga* with *mauri* or life force, ancestral presence and encoded knowledge of deep significance to descendant communities. This deepens understanding beyond visual content and has the potential to impact their management, display and interpretation in British museums.

Acknowledgements

He waka eke noa

A canoe, which we are all in with no exception.

Above is a *whakataukī* or Māori proverb, which contains a guiding principle and kernel of indigenous knowledge. It uses a canoe and the act of steering as a metaphor for a journey. It is often used in relation to the journey of learning and references those who provide vital assistance along the way. For this PhD journey of learning, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to both my supervisors, Dr Sandra Dudley at the University of Leicester and Prof Elizabeth Edwards ex. De Montfort University. I would also like to thank former colleagues, and staff in British and NZ museums (particularly the British Museum, Pitt Rivers Museum and Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum), libraries and archives, and Ngāti Rānana members who have kindly provided their time and expertise. Thank you also to Christine Cheesman in the School of Museum Studies for her administrative support.

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List of abbreviations

AOA – the BM's Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas

ANT – Actor Network Theory

AIM – Auckland Institute and Museum

AWNS – *Auckland Weekly News Supplement* newspaper

BM – British Museum

Burton Bros. – the PRM's *Burton Bros. of Dunedin: Photographs of New Zealand and Fiji by a Late Nineteenth-Century Commercial Studio* exhibition

Cartes – *carte de visite* (a photographic format)

LRM - The Living Races of Mankind by Johnston *et al* (1902)

MIB – Museum in a Box interpretative devices

NMM – National Maritime Museum

NZ – New Zealand

NZG – *The New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal* newspaper

PRM – Pitt Rivers Museum

RCAGM – Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum

SL – Sensory Labels interpretative devices

Sustaining – *Sustaining Each Other* display in the BM's *Living and Dying* exhibition

Ta Moko – *Ta Moko - Modern Maori Warriors* exhibition at The Cass Gallery

Te Papa – Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

Whakaahua – the PRM's *Whakaahua: Photographic images of Maori life* exhibition.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Preamble

Me mātau ki te whetū, i mua i te kōkiri o te haere

Before you set forth on a journey, be sure you know the stars.

The guiding principle of this *whakataukī* or Māori proverb relates to the importance of good planning and preparation before setting off on a journey. Carefully selected *whakataukī* appear in each chapter helping to introduce key messages. In this one, the *whakataukī* speaks not only of the PhD journey but also the reader's journey, which progressively unfolds through the thesis's pages. This chapter therefore equips the reader with an overview for this voyage. It first outlines the thesis by explaining the research aim and questions, literature gap and thesis structure. Then it introduces New Zealand history and photography, thereby providing the reader with key socio-cultural and historical contextual information.

Outlining the research

Research aim and questions

A large part of the allure and promise of photography during its development in the nineteenth-century was to make the invisible visible by capturing details the eye could not see, and to preserve a moment in time. It has in many respects exceeded these original expectations without perhaps ever being truly knowable. For these reasons, photography continues to beguile and seduce the viewer as much as it simultaneously provides what they desire (or appears to). It is the tantalising allure and possibilities photography affords, which has fuelled continued scholarly interest. It has also resulted in the multiplicity of ways photographs are used and interpreted, according to individual or cultural beliefs and practices around the world.

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the uses and meanings of commercial colonial-era photographs (1860s-1914) of Māori and their *taonga*/cultural treasures. Accordingly

this research endeavour investigates the interpretative significance and purposes or roles of photographs within divergent value systems, both inside and outside of museums. The focus is not on New Zealand (hereafter NZ) photographic history or to show photographs as history. The thesis also goes beyond the solely representational capacities of photographs. Rather it seeks to consider the entwinement between people and photographic objects, and position the plurality of temporal socio-cultural photographic uses and meanings, and associated narratives within non-Māori and Māori paradigms.

To this end, the thesis approaches photographs as three-dimensional objects and *taonga* with material properties, and sensorial and affective qualities. It explores historical and contemporary interpretative questions within British museum and Māori contexts, asking:

1. How were these photographs used by Māori and tourists, and more broadly within the NZ and British visual economies, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?
2. What does the historical adoption of these photographs by Māori represent?
3. How do Māori contemporarily view these photographs?
4. How have these photographs historically and contemporaneously been used in internally and externally facing capacities in British museums?
5. How and in what ways can Māori perspectives influence understanding and uses of these photographs in British museums?

The thesis addresses the aim and answers the research questions by using a qualitative ethnographic approach with mixed methods and a focused investigation of photographs. The photograph collections and institutions, which form the thesis's three museum examples, are the British Museum in London (hereafter the BM), Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (hereafter the PRM) and Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum in Bournemouth (hereafter the RCAGM). The theoretical framework combines *Mātauranga Māori* or Māori knowledge and worldview with Ingold's anthro-phenomenological concepts. Ingold's approach towards relational ontologies and sensory perception, or the body's physiological interpretative experience of

stimuli as senses, has been especially useful in this thesis for its alignment with indigenous perspectives and lived experiences. This includes his concept of the meshwork, the complex multidirectional enmeshed relations or unbreakable interconnections between things. Its use, including in the title, indicates the multiplicity of ways of understanding photographs and dual perspectives this thesis employs. Chapters 4-5 demonstrate a metaphorical use of the meshwork to convey polysemic ways of framing photographic meanings and uses; whilst Chapters 6-7 reflect an analytical usage, concerning the relationships between museums and descendant communities, and ethical issues of collection access and sensory interpretation.

This thesis investigates how photographs were, and are, part of complex meshworks of (re)production, (re)circulation and use. Central to this understanding is the concept of remediation developed by Bolter and Grusin (1999).[1] This comprises the reproduction and shift of images across existing and new media or modes of delivery and technologies. This process is transmedial in nature, meaning it occurs across varied communication platforms (e.g. photography and the press), media formats (e.g. photographic prints, newspaper illustrations and exhibition interpretation) and contexts, including the social, cultural, economic and technical (Bolter and Grusin, 1999: 18, 65). These movements create fluid webs of relationships between photographs and other media, including engravings and paintings. There has been a more recent focus on remediation using global photographic case studies, including from NZ (see Diamond, 2007; Quanchi and Shekleton, 2015; Tuato'o Ross, 2011), and this thesis adds to this.

Remediation is facilitated by technological innovations, and occurs within and across NZ's and Britain's cultural, social, economic and political systems. This constitutes what Poole describes as a country's "visual economy" in her Foucauldian influenced analysis of imagery in the Andean world (1730s-1940s) (1997: 8). The term visual

[1] Influenced by the philosopher McLuhan.

economies, which has been influential on photographic research (e.g. Edwards and Hart, 2004a: 5), has also been used in this thesis for its nuanced meaning. Poole uses visual economies in preference to visual culture due to the vernacular and anthropological connotations associated with culture. In contradistinction, the term economy evokes notions of the cultural, social, economic and political. This includes the inequalities of societal structures based on class and race during the colonial-era. The term also indicates markets, commodities and global connections, which Poole explores using a tiered framework. This includes production by people and technologies, circulation changes resulting from technological innovations, and the accrual of different meanings or values according to systems of context, including the cultural and institutional (Poole, 1997: 9-10). It is through this complex system that old and new photographs and discourses flow.

The thesis contextually explores photographic objects through and in relation to certain individuals, who resonate throughout the thesis. This includes those who have used and/or feature in photographs, such as museum co-founder and collector Annie Russell-Cotes, and notable Māori figures, including King Tāwhiao II (representing the 'old' Māori ways) and Makereti Papakura (representing the 'old and 'new' Māori ways). The intentional mix of gendered, and British and Māori narratives serves to balance binarisms (e.g. male/female, non-Māori/Māori, coloniser/colonised), counter the assumption of homogeneity, and complicate discourses, or the ways of looking at and presenting certain ideas. There is an intentional desire for depth rather than breadth, and the methodological approach accommodates this without excluding external factors. Thus whilst small-scale foci on specific photographs creates detailed micro-narratives, equally these are linked to larger narratives.

Literature gap

In the following, I locate and contextualise the research aim and questions within identifiable literature gaps, thereby justifying the need for research. The lacunae relate to two research areas, namely colonial-era photographs of Māori, and photographs in museums. Although research on photographs of indigenous peoples is developing (see Brown and Peers, 2006; Edwards, 2005; Geismar, 2009; Morton,

2015; Poole, 1997; Romanek, 2015), there is minimal inquiry into colonial-era photographs of Māori. This includes an absence of research on Māori photographic collections in British museums, excepting a small number of studies (e.g. Dudding, 2007).[2] Indeed, until around ten years ago, existing photographic research in this area was nearly entirely NZ based. Even within a NZ research context this topic has yet to be comprehensively addressed, suggesting these photographs constitute a little studied colonial legacy. As Quanchi (2011: 167) and Wanhalla (2011b: 9-10) observe, NZ has not adequately directed research efforts into researching its own photography heritage. Instead, extant research shows a primary focus on other types of *taonga* (e.g. Salmond [Henare], 2005b; Tapsell, 2006a), rather than photographic. Moreover, existing research also includes a mixed Pacific focus (e.g. Maxwell, 2001), a conflation that obscures the specificity of NZ collections. There is also a proclivity for NZ based research stemming from historiographies of art and photography, rather than museology or anthropology. Furthermore, it was not until the 2010s in NZ that object focused approaches from material culture studies started to be applied to photographs.

This thesis is also situated within broader recent debates concerning the insufficiently explored significance, positioning and use of photographs in museums (e.g. Edwards and Mead, 2013; Edwards and Lien, 2014b; Edwards and Morton, 2015a). This burgeoning research area addresses photographs from varied periods and a broad array of museums, including anthropological and world culture museums (like those in this thesis). Edwards specifically argues, that the absence of research on the colonial photographic archive's legacy and its contemporary museological uses does not negate its worthiness as a potentially rich research area (2016: 63). By addressing this, my research seeks to investigate how specific museums project photographic objects, including through exhibitions. It also responds to Edwards and Lien's (2014a:

[2] My thesis has some alignments with Dudding's on Māori photographs (1860s-1920s) from seven British museums. However, her approach is macro in scope with an art historical tone. She also uses dissimilar foci, methods (e.g. surveys) and analysis (quantitative and qualitative). Furthermore, although her participants included museum professionals, no Māori individuals or groups were engaged.

15) call for photographic museological research with an ethnographic approach that is “culturally specific” (e.g. Māori) and “cross-cultural” (e.g. NZ/British, Māori/non-Māori, and museological/non-museological), and addresses smaller museum practices (e.g. the RCAGM). This thesis is therefore an opening up and democratisation of the possible photographic meanings and narratives, including those whose traces are all but buried in the past but not completely obscured.

Thesis structure

This thesis comprises eight chapters and appendices. The literature review in Chapter 2 establishes the scholarly building blocks, which unfold across the four research chapters (4-7). Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approach, research sources, mixed methods, analysis and fieldwork reflections. It also provides an overview and contextualises the three museum examples and their NZ photograph collections.

Chapters 4-7 are grouped into two interconnected parts, and characterised by a development of themes. Chapters 4-5 concentrate on the different socio-cultural practices and meanings associated with photographic use by NZ tourists and Māori during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This includes narratives relating people to photographic objects and specific practices. Chapters 6 and 7 focus on museological uses of photographs from the mid 1940s to the present, and consider future methods of display and interpretation. People and photographs remain at the heart of these chapters, including exhibition consultation with and object handling by Māori. A number of themes also reoccur throughout the thesis, including meshworks, lines (including traces and threads), pauses and correspondence, which are drawn from Ingold, and presence and absence.

Historical and contemporary perspectives of curators at the three museum examples, and Māori academics, curators, and tribal and cultural groups inform Chapters 4-7. Mirroring the dual nature of the theoretical framework, these chapters are narratively constructed using a combination of *Mātauranga Māori* with either colonial or institutional interpretative perspectives, depending on the subject matter. Certain photographs and sitters also reappear, as indicated by the photographic

thumbnails at the start of Chapters 4-7. These provide quick visual reference for the reader, indicating whom and which photographs they will encounter.

Chapter 8 concludes the research and addresses the research outcomes, contribution and impact, limitations and future research ideas. Following this are the Appendices, which detail the main words in *Te Reo Māori*/the Māori language used in the thesis, and provide further information about the fieldwork.[3] The use of *Te Reo Māori* is important for several reasons. Foremost, it is not always easy to succinctly translate words and communicate concepts across languages without changing or simplifying meaning. It is also respectful of a bicultural approach. Māori have historically struggled, and continue to, from a position of the colonised, marginalised and repressed subaltern to a more equal societal status. Language and its use, forms an important aspect of this process. Bilingualism is also commonly used in NZ English, and featured in the participant observation and interviews conducted for this thesis.

Contextualising the thesis

New Zealand history

To contextualise the outline of the research and thesis as a whole, I will give a brief history of NZ or *Aotearoa*, the 'land of the long white cloud'. This introduces significant themes, including colonisation, the importance of the land, and key Māori and photographers. The historical legacy of British colonisation has distinctly shaped NZ, its people and national identity. It continues to impact the present, as reflected in the retention of strong connections between the two countries, despite NZ's full legal independence in 1986.[4] NZ's history has also been forged from interactions between Māori - the indigenous *tangata whenua*/people of the land, and settlers - the *tangata*

[3] In this context, fieldwork comprised intensive and repeated engagements with photographic objects in museum collections, archives and exhibitions, as well as in-depth interviews and participant observation at multiple museum workshops. See Chapter 3 and the Appendices for further details.

[4] The British monarch remains the head of state.

tiriti/people of the Treaty. These relationship are constantly developing and being renegotiated.

Located in the South Pacific, NZ is comprised of the North and South Islands (figure 1.1) with a landmass around 28% larger than Britain. According to Polynesian mythology, Kupe, an expert navigator from Hawaiki first discovered NZ around 1,000 years ago.[5] Subsequently, a wave of *waka*/canoes explored the coastline and settled the country. Passing this knowledge down orally, Māori and all *iwi*/tribes today (figure 1.2) still reference their direct *whakapapa*/genealogical descent to these canoes and pioneering ancestors. The first external contact with Māori was by Abel Tasman in 1642, and subsequently in 1769, when Captain James Cook explored NZ more extensively. Contact continued during the eighteenth-century, notably through early sealers and whalers, with missionary influence starting in the 1810s. During the 1830s, land expansion plans by the New Zealand Company (1838-1858), a commercial British enterprise, drove surveying and settlement. British sovereignty was established through a treaty signed in 1840 by British Crown representatives and over 500 North Island Māori chiefs. This officially made NZ a British colony and *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*/the Treaty of Waitangi became the nation's founding document. Despite the protection the treaty was intended to afford, many Māori became displaced and alienated from their land. This was in large part because precedence was given to the English treaty version, which gave the Crown complete sovereignty. This diverged from the *Te Reo Māori* version signed by Māori, which granted the Crown complete governorship. This act profoundly impacted NZ's development, and exploitation of the land and resources.

Only three years after the treaty, the New Zealand Wars began (1843-1872). Although born out of Māori outrage over loss of authority and land, many *iwi* chose to fight alongside the Crown. The *Kīngitanga*/King movement, established in 1858, was particularly active during this period. Originating in the Waikato (North Island), the movement acted to unite Māori against land seizure and the influence of non-

[5] An undefined place in the South Pacific, understood to be the ancestral Polynesian homeland.

Māori ways, including Christianity.[6] Tukaroto Matutaera Potatau Te Wherowhero Tāwhiao (?-1894) of the *iwi* Ngāti Mahuta succeeded his father in 1860, becoming the movement's second King and ruling until 1894. After seventeen years in the inaccessible King Country (North Island) and refusing to a peace agreement, King Tāwhiao II, as he was known, came out of exile in 1881 and was given a state pension. Photographs of Tāwhiao feature prominently in this thesis, including in Annie Russell-Cotes's album (Chapter 4) and exhibitions (Chapter 6), and at *tangi*/funerals (Chapter 5).

Figure 1.1. Map of the North and South Islands, NZ. Map data © 2018 Google (My Maps).

[6] The movement was originally a unified confederation of certain North Island *iwi*, collectively known as Tainui, rather than a sovereignty of all *iwi*. The current leader is Te Arikinui Tūheitia Paki.

Figure 1.2. Map of iwi/tribes in the North and South Islands, NZ. © and courtesy of the Te Ara team, 'Te Ara – a history - Māori content, biculturalism and translation', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. CC BY-NC 3.0. https://teara.govt.nz/en/map/45555/map-of-new-zealand-with-iwi

Following the wars, there was a period of increased land confiscation across most *iwi*, leading to further deprivation. The Royal Commission into land loss revealed that by 1891 Māori had minimal land remaining in the South Island and around 40% in the North Island, which was of poor quality (State Services Commission, 2004: 16). In the

twenty-first century, land remains an important part of Māori cultural identity. Land loss was a common theme during fieldwork with Ngāti Rānana, the London Māori cultural group, and *iwi* in NZ continue to seek redress against Crown treaty breaches.

Apart from developing the land, the colonial government also sought to transform and 'improve' Māori. As part of broader Darwinism debates, Māori were perceived to be capable of 'civilisation' due to their higher 'evolutionary positioning' comparative to other indigenous races. Accordingly, during the 1840s-1860s Governor (Sir) George Grey drove a governmental policy of racial assimilation, framed as amalgamation. By the 1880s though, the idea Māori were a 'dying race' due to the impact of colonisation was commonly believed, including being visually represented in photography (figure 1.3). Although population numbers declined drastically, Māori did not disappear as predicated, and as numbers increased by the close of the nineteenth-century, there was a reversion back to assimilation ideas.[7]

Figure 1.3. Woman with a moko kauae/chin and lip tattoo (Pringle, c.1907). © The Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,A39.3 in "Maori Studies" photogravure album Oc,A39.1-13]. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

[7] Bennett *et al* describe race relations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as binary positions between the settlers' perception of "assimilation" versus "integration" from a Māori perspective (2017: 179).

In line with governmental policy, Māori of mixed descent, such as Makereti (Maggie) Papakura (née Thom, 1873-1930) with her British ancestry and European education, were seen to epitomise successful assimilation. Makereti was of Tūhourangi descent, and a popular and successful geothermal tour guide in the Rotorua region (North Island). She famously guided the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in 1901, and toured the world in 1910-1911, performing and promoting Māori culture at international exhibitions. She moved to Britain in 1912 and studied anthropology at the University of Oxford, focusing on Māori culture and giving several well-received lectures. Photographs of her are conspicuous in this thesis, and Chapters 5-6 explore her involvement in their production and subsequent museological uses.

The early twentieth-century to the 1970s encompassed great change, including NZ's transformation into a dominion and development of nationhood separate from 'motherland' Britain. The resurgence of Māori activism in the form of *hīkoi*/land marches and demonstrations during the 1970s-1980s is attributable to the weight of cultural and land loss during colonisation. It is also connected with the pursuance of indigenous rights, equality and social justice following the impetus of the American civil rights movement (1950s-1960s). Progress in a NZ context, was marked by the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975. It was tasked with investigating Māori land claims, and awarding redress and compensation, including retrospective Crown breaches going back to 1840.

In a museum context, *Te Maori*, a highly lauded NZ touring exhibition (1984-1987), signalled the reclassification of Māori objects from 'curios' to art.[8] This resulted in a non-Māori appreciation of their significance as *taonga*. It was also part of biculturalism's early beginnings and museological change in NZ, culminating in the 1998 opening of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (hereafter Te Papa). Te Papa's bicultural museological approach is characterised by collaborative partnerships and co-governance. This respects the treaty, the "living relationships" between *iwi* and their *taonga*, and importance of tribal involvement in the joint care

[8] Objects, including those classified as ethnographic in nature, which are considered unusual or interesting due to their aesthetic form or function.

and management, display and interpretation of their *taonga* (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2014). This concept of joint *kaitiakitanga*/guardianship has become more evident with photographs since the 1990s-2000s. For example, the Partington Collection was bought by Whanganui Regional Museum after protest over its public auction in 2001 (see Carroll, 2008; Dudding, 2003). More broadly, the treaty's continued relevancy is evident in the application of contemporary postcolonial bicultural strategies across the public and commercial sectors, including museums. Therefore whilst Māori were severely affected by colonisation and continue to be in the postcolonial present, they have succeeded in reclaiming and adapting their core values to the extent that they are influential culturally, socially and environmentally.[9]

New Zealand photography

Moving from NZ history, I now provide an overview of the development of commercial NZ photography during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and notable photographers. According to conventional accounts, photography originated simultaneously in 1839 with discoveries by Frenchman Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (daguerreotypes) and Englishman William Henry Fox Talbot (calotypes).[10] The calotype method enabled the possibility of the production of multiple photographic prints from a single negative. This development particularly started to transform photography into a more mainstream mass medium of communication during the 1850s and its application to a range of tasks, including displays in international exhibitions and homes, and subsequently museums. The influence of photographic practice also spread globally, including to NZ, one of Britain's farthest flung colonies. The vast majority of early NZ photographs date from the mid-1860s with only a handful originating from 1848-1850s, when photographic practice was limited to wealthy amateurs with specialised knowledge. It is commonly believed that

[9] This is not to disregard the complex and varied effects of colonisation experienced by *iwi*.

[10] Daguerreotypes are created on a silver-plated copper surface. They are non-reproducible and reasonably rare even in NZ. Calotypes are paper-based negatives from which prints can be reproduced using silver chloride or 'salted' paper.

photographic practice in NZ was established later comparative to Britain, Europe and the USA. What is perhaps more accurate to state, is that it took longer for it to become widespread. This was partly due to NZ's relative geographic isolation and inaccessibility of many regions. Photographic growth in NZ during the mid-1860s also coincided with the development of the cheaper *carte de visite* format (hereafter *cartes*), making business more viable and profitable.[11] Reflecting these factors, the earliest NZ photographs in British collections also originate from this decade.

In British collections, the vast majority of NZ photographs from the 1860s-1910s were taken by professional commercial photographers. Although technological changes during the late 1880s-1890s had a democratising affect on amateur photography, this is not reflected in the collections researched or British collections more broadly.[12] These remain commercial in nature until the 1920s-1930s.[13] This is probably due to the complexity of early photographic processes; availability and promotion of commercial photographs; and the type of photographs museums were receptive to purchasing or accepting as donations.

Many of the formative NZ photographers emigrated from Britain during the 1860s. Not all were previously trained in the profession, instead turning to it once in NZ. Josiah Martin for example worked in insurance before establishing his own photography business in the 1880s. Early studios were clustered in towns located mainly in the North Island, including Auckland, the capital temporarily from 1841-1865 (e.g. Martin, active 1881-1912, Elizabeth Pulman/Pulman Studios, active 1867-1902, George Dobson Valentine, active 1884-1890); Wellington, the permanent capital from 1865 (e.g. Herbert Deveril, active 1879-1887, Thomas Pringle, active 1890s-1900s); towns with industry, land and mineral resources, such as Thames (e.g.

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[11] These are albumen prints mounted onto card measuring around 6.4 x 10 cm and usually bearing the photographer's details. *Cartes* persisted in NZ until the 1890s-1900s. Albumen prints used an emulsion made from eggs to bind the chemicals to the paper, and were the first commercially viable print format.

[12] E.g. the 1888 Kodak camera came with preloaded film, obviating the need for specialist knowledge.

[13] This includes an absence of photographs by NZers or tourists. Photographs by amateur enthusiasts, including Whanganui resident Charles Smith form an exception.

Foy Brothers, active 1872-1902) and Whanganui (e.g. Frank James Denton, active 1902-1932); and tourist locations including Rotorua (e.g. Arthur James Iles, active 1893-1939, C.P. Parkerson, active 1910-1912).[14] Studios were also established in South Island towns, including Dunedin (e.g. Burton Brothers, active 1868-1899, Clifford & Co., active 1883-1899) and Christchurch (e.g. Wrigglesworth and Binns, active 1879-1939). The work of the Burton Brothers, Martin, Pringle and Elizabeth Pulman is prominently represented in all three museum examples and in this thesis.

Not all photographers were successful. Deveril filed for bankruptcy several times, reopening studios at new addresses. Just as now, a thorough understanding of marketing, local and international trends, and sound business sense were as important as taking accomplished photographs. The Burton Brothers, Martin and Valentine were quick to publish 'pictorial supplements' and accounts in newspapers pertaining to current events, including the aftermath of the 1886 Tarawera volcanic eruption in the Rotorua region. The Burton Brothers also used prospective marketing approaches, seeking out and nurturing new markets and opportunities. This includes what the press described as an especially prominent display in London at the 1886 Colonial and Indian exhibition (Anonymous, 1886c). Other photographers diversified their businesses. Pringle, for example, owned a fancy goods store where he sold his photographs and NZ themed products. The Foy Brothers also sold Māori portraits to painters Gottfried Lindauer (1839-1926) and Charles Frederick Goldie (1870-1947), whom are known to have worked from photographs.

The development of NZ tourism in the 1860s provided a steady market for photographic souvenirs. Photographers explicitly promoted their photographs as keepsakes and souvenirs to tourists like Annie Russell-Cotes (see Chapters 4-5). Pringle scaled his prices using print types and packaging to cater to a wide audience base, including his budget "Maoriland Beauties" set and deluxe "Maori Studies"

[14] Elizabeth Pulman took photographs and ran the business after her husband George's death in 1871.

photogravure booklet (figures 1.4-1.5).[15] Many photographs were posted overseas to families or moved between the meshworks connecting NZ and British museum curators, collectors and scholars (including anthropologists). Presumably conscious of this, Martin marketed photographic souvenir cards specifically for the purpose of being sent to Britain. In this capacity, *cartes*, and subsequently photographic postcards became portable mementos of the colony.

Figure 1.4. Envelope for "Maoriland Beauties" set with a photograph of a wharenui/meeting house in Ohinemutu (Pringle, c.1905). Photograph by Natasha Barrett. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [PRM 1998.90.1.5 from 1998.90.1-12].

Studio portraits of Māori, landscapes and colonial scenes of development proved popular and lucrative (see Chapters 4-5). Land court hearings from 1865 and appointments with government officials brought Māori out of rural areas and into towns, providing photographic opportunities (Giles, 2013: 11; Main, 1976: 39). These portraits range from basic studio likenesses (e.g. Foy Brothers) to more exclusive and

[15] Created by transferring the negative to a metal plate, which is then used to print or engrave the image with ink. Often used for art books and photographers' portfolios, photogravures have a sumptuous quality and excellent tonal graduations.

sensitively rendered works (e.g. Pulman). Although Māori adopted Western clothing in around the 1860s, there was continued demand for portraits showing facial *moko*/tattoos and 'traditional dress'. Many studios had cloaks, jewellery and weapons for this latter purpose. As well as use in tourist albums (Chapter 4), photographs were recontextualised and used in popular anthropological publications, guidebooks and museum displays (see Chapters 4 and 6).

Figure 1.5. Wharenui in Ohinemutu (Pringle, c.1907). © The Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,A39.1 in "Maori Studies" photogravure album Oc,A39.1-13). CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Māori were not always without influence during the photographic process (e.g. Tāwhiao) and were in some cases (e.g. Makereti) explicitly involved in creating photographs (see Chapters 4-5). Furthermore, several scholars (see Giles, 2013: 11; Graham-Stewart and Gow, 2013: 186; Main, 1976: 68) have surmised it is likely that Māori sitters were given prints or paid a fee, although documentation recording these transactions has yet to be discovered. It is also unclear whether Māori were aware of the monetary gain, mass production, distribution and future uses obtained from their likeness. What is more apparent is that Māori actively started using (see Chapter 5) and commissioning photographs towards the end of the nineteenth-century. Given the capital and social positioning required to establish businesses, and the profession's frequently solitary and itinerant lifestyle, it was not until the early

twentieth-century (and outside the remit of this thesis) that Māori became commercial photographers.[16]

Conclusion

Stars feature in the chapter's opening *whakataukī*. They aid not only physical navigation but are perceived to represent past or present knowledge and thus provide future guidance. Equally, the temporal blend of past and present knowledge with future thinking within this thesis gives a holistic way of understanding the varied uses and meanings of photographs over time in Māori and non-Māori contexts, and how this might inform new museological practices. The *whakataukī* below indicates the value of this:

Ka titiro whakamuri, kia ahu whakamua, ka neke

By looking into the past our current practice can be informed to create a pathway forward.

The next chapter comprises the Literature Review and details the dual theoretical framework. It critically analyses scholarly output from the material and sensory analytical 'turns' that are central to object thinking in this thesis.

[16] Reverend Hakaraia Pahewa is the first known Māori photographer. His photographs documenting Māori life featured in the *Auckland Weekly News Supplement* from c.1909.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

Introduction

Whaowhia te kete mātauranga

Fill the basket of knowledge.

The importance of searching for and gathering knowledge is reflected by this well-known *whakataukī*. It references the god Tane's journey to the heavens to seek the *kete*/baskets of knowledge for mankind. It illustrates the processes involved in identifying key concepts, debates, seminal texts and research gaps, and critically analysing relevant literature, which this chapter addresses. Collectively these components establish the foundations for the theoretical framework and thesis, thereby providing further guidance for the reader's journey. As noted in Chapter 1, smaller literature reviews also appear in each research chapter, serving to extend and contextualise themes at a micro-level.

The research peer group is thoroughly interdisciplinary and located within museum studies, anthropology and photographic historiography. This is also reflected in scholars working across these disciplines, who employ blended disciplinary approaches (e.g. Edwards and Ingold). The work of certain visual and cultural theorists (e.g. Bal and Sekula) has also been useful for its focus on photographic analysis and theoretical concepts, and capacity to reveal the inner workings of institutional archives. Given the NZ photographic lacuna, literature on non-photographic *taonga* by NZ scholars (e.g. Tapsell) has also been important for its object conceptualisation according to *Mātauranga Māori* principles.

The literature review situates photographs within the material and sensory 'turns'. Analytical turns are intellectual movements, often across disciplines, which demarcate paradigm shifts. New turns usually emerge in critical or sympathetic response to prior theoretical modes and are characterised by intense periods of

scholarly output addressing particular concerns. The material and sensory turns serve to introduce key discourses at a broad object level and specifically in relation to photographs and NZ contexts. There are identifiable convergences of discourses and cross-fertilisation of ideas across these turns, which have increased their theoretical weight. As well as having a widespread impact on photography, museum studies and anthropology, specialised fields have also developed. Together the turns enable objects to be holistically analysed, reflecting how they are responded to.

Both turns are characterised by heterogeneous theoretical approaches that are sources of continued deliberation. Discussion of these helps explain why *Mātauranga Māori* and Ingoldian concepts were selected for the thesis's dual theoretical framework. I explore the material turn first, which is characterised by object materiality or material qualities, agency, biographies and the involvement of objects in social relations. Then I address the sensory turn, including the cultural and perception models, and vision. Following this, I turn to three themes, which span both turns and appear throughout the thesis. These include photographs in anthropology and museums; formats, and the affective and relational nature of photographic objects; and photographic trace and presence.

As with any project, other turns could have been mobilised (e.g. visual, linguistic). The material and sensory were chosen for their relevance and application to photographs as objects and *taonga* with material properties, and sensory and affective qualities; the disciplines central to this thesis; research approach and theoretical framework. For example, both turns have been influential across anthropology, museum studies and photography, and applied to various object types. Initially these paradigm shifts were observable outside of photography but have subsequently filtered down, leading to the development of alternative photographic thinking. The turns also have the capacity to enable exploration of photographs from both Māori and non-Māori perspectives. This includes useful intersections between aspects of material and sensorial theorising with understandings of and relationships with *taonga* in *Te Ao Māori*/the Māori world. Finally, the broad themes of both turns are central to Ingold's

work including his concentration on sensory perception of environments, lived experiences, and engagements with objects.

I am conscious that the thesis touches on other museological themes, including indigenous rights to access cultural objects, self-representation, legitimacy of museum ownership and intellectual property rights. These postcolonial political and ethical debates have been extensively addressed elsewhere over the last 30 years in a global context (see Bennett *et al.*, 2017; Colwell, 2014; Fforde *et al.*, 2002; Hakiwai, 2005; Hogsden and Poulter, 2012a; Kaplan, 1994; McCarthy, 2007; Simpson, 2001; Simpson, 1994; Tapsell, 1997). The dynamics of these discourses have resulted in legislative and museological change. This includes visual repatriations of analogue and digital photographs of indigenous peoples from former colonies including NZ, Australia, Vanuatu, which is increasingly being addressed by scholars (see Bell *et al.*, 2013; Binney and Chaplin, 2003; Brown and Peers, 2006; Dudding, 2005; Geismar and Herle, 2010; Hafner, 2013; Morton, 2015; Ngata *et al.*, 2012; Poignant and Poignant, 1996; Salmond [Henare], 2005a).[17] Therefore, this thesis does not attempt to cover these expansive debates due to the constraints of space and the thesis's research foci but is cognisant of their impact on British museums and curatorial staff.

Literature review

The material and sensory turns across the humanities and social sciences, including anthropology, photography and museum studies, commenced in the 1990s-2000s.

[17] This includes reciprocal research and knowledge exchange projects with indigenous groups, academics and artists. For example, the PRM worked with the Kainai Nation (Canada) to develop source community perspectives about photographs taken in 1925 by the museum's curator, Blackwood (Brown and Peers, 2006). Moreover, the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology is involved in Pacific Presences (2013-2018). This ethnographic object focused project includes an online research space that brings *taonga* together and is being undertaken with Te Aitanga a Hauiti *iwi* (Hogsden and Poulter, 2012b; Ngata *et al.*, 2012).

Notably since the mid 2000s, visual repatriation has become increasingly complex due to technological developments, signalling that specialised research is warranted. Emergent strands concern the veracity of digital versus 'physical' *taonga*, and provision of online access in NZ and British contexts (see Brown, 2008; Geismar, 2015; Hogsden and Poulter, 2012b; Ngata *et al.*, 2012; Woods, 2006).

Both were purposeful departures from a privileging of the visual image in the visual turn (1990s) and textual representations and semiotic analysis in the linguistic turn (1960-1970s).[18] With photographs, a widespread emphasis on image content resulted in a loss of material form in theoretical discourse. Many scholars have also recognised that semiotics, which decodes visual elements as signs and symbols within communication systems, is problematic when applied photographically.[19] This is because photography, unlike language, has no single code or system, evident or implicit, upon which semiotics can successfully rely (Barthes and Heath, 1977: 15-31, 44-45; Sekula, 1982: 86). This makes it limiting or restrictive in its sole application (see Poole, 1997: 18-20), especially when dealing with the complexity of colonial-era photographs.

The paradigmatic move from aesthetics and semiotics back to object-based enquiry, as a result of the two turns, addressed a significant gap in photographic literature. Significantly, this has contributed to increased awareness across disciplines, that photographs are more than the sum of their image content and should not be understood exclusively within aesthetic and representational frames (see Burgin, 1982: 11; Edwards, 2015: 235; Mitchell, 2005a: 260; O'Loughlin, 2006: 43; Porto, 2004: 113). This has theoretically transformed photographs from two-dimensional images into three-dimensional material objects with physical properties and image content. As well as (re)imbuing them with physical shape, dimensions and form, objecthood has also made explicit that people respond sensorially to photographs (e.g. touching). Work by Batchen (2002), Edwards and Hart (2004b), Edwards, Gosden and Philips (2006a) and Pinney (1997) have been especially formative in addressing photographs in this regard.

[18] Also known as the pictorial turn, this concerned images and visual culture. It developed in critical response to the linguistic turn, which focused on the philosophical nature and importance of language.

[19] Semiotics is traditionally represented by the philosopher Peirce but also includes semiology, which the structuralist and linguist Saussure introduced.

The material

The material turn can be defined as examining the influence of physical objects (including the everyday) on human action. It considers how this transforms objects and shapes experiences, including social relations. Literature reflects to varying degrees a concern with the physical properties of objects. These constitute object form, colour, texture, surface type and dimensions. With photographs this also includes presentation formats (e.g. albums) and any labels, writing or colouring, reflecting functions and uses. In NZ, the material turn did not gain momentum until the 2007 Matter in Place symposium (e.g. see Labrum and Laviolette, 2009), which marked a radical change for the study of all *taonga*. This is especially true for photographic research, which had been previously completely dominated by historical photography or art approaches (see Bell, 1992; Graham-Stewart and Gow, 2006; King, 2000).[20] These types of methods, as Whybrew observes, rely upon established research formulae that does not treat photographs as objects (2011: 77). Art history in particular, tends to be abstract with no real focus on production, consumption and (changing) uses, or the people who created and/or used photographs. Despite the influence of the material turn, a photographic material approach has yet to be fully realised in NZ. Notable early work in this area, which has been developing since the 2010s, includes edited publications by Cooper *et al* (2015) and Wanhalla and Wolf (2011a).

Since the turn's instigation and publication of texts such as *Materiality* (Miller, 2005), object-based anthropological and museological research has often been characterised as being material culture studies or materiality focused. However, this only represents one approach. Alternatives include a focus on material properties, and hybrid positions between this and materiality. Despite extensive literature, there also continues to be a lack of clarity and consensus over what materiality means and what constitutes a material/materialist focus. Arguing for object materiality, Geismar credits it with having moved debates away from representational meanings to

[20] This is not to negate earlier literature concerning non-photographic *taonga* by Māori scholars, which includes some discussion of material properties.

considering what objects "might do and embody" (2009: 49). According to this thinking, human interactions and relationships with objects are seen to subjectively mediate and materialise individual and group identities, and value systems at cultural and societal levels. Ingold who takes a stance against object materiality, is critical of the "slippage, from materials to materiality" (2011a: 23). He perceives materiality to be an abstract and undefined notion, and along with Dudley (2010b: 3, 7, 12), he critiques the common and ironic absence of materiality in material culture studies (Ingold, 2011a: 20-22). This happens, Ingold explains, because of an overemphasis on objects' cultural meanings and on their form, to the exclusion of their materials (2000: 340-341; 2012: 371). He interprets this as separating materials from form, and material from culture (Ingold, 2011a: 21-26; Ingold, 2012: 371). Ingold therefore posits a practical and functional consideration of object material properties as a strategy for rebalancing this (2011a: 26-32). In this thesis, I use a combined approach towards understanding photographic *taonga*. This pays attention to material properties and cultural meanings, as interconnected and equally important factors.

Intertwined with materiality is the notion of object agency. Central to the development of this is Gell's anthropological publication *Art and Agency* (1998), which remains a source of scholarly inspiration and antagonism. A central tenet of Gell's theory is premised on the belief that people and objects can both be "social agents", able to exert a form of action (1998: ix, 18-21). Like discourses over materiality, scholars vary in their tolerance over ascribing agency to objects. The capacity for objects to have human like intentionality, and perhaps even sentience, is at the heart of these debates. Geismar, for example, perceives agency to be capable of facilitating discussion about "material efficacy without imputing life force to objects" (2011: 212-213); the very reason this approach is critiqued. This understanding of agency places an emphasis on the human intentionality invested in objects during social relations, through a process called "distributed personhood" (Gell, 1998: xiii, 18-20). Latour uses a similar concept in his work on Actor Network Theory (hereafter ANT). His work re-evaluates what constitutes the social and society, and focuses on the roles of human and non-human actors, including objects, within a complex "sociology of associations" or network (Latour, 2005: 8, 79). Latour theorises

that action of both an agentive and more passive nature does not originate from actors, leading him to describe it as “borrowed, distributed" (2005: 46).

Scholars have used varied interpretations of Gellian agency and Latourian ANT to understand what photographs do, including the social relations they create, and how their reuse creates complex networks of photographic forms across media (see Geismar, 2009; Herle, 2012; Hevia, 2009). Other scholars including Morphy (2009: 9, 21-22), see agency as a rarefied concept, and Gell’s approach to be reductive. Dudley, whose work has some alignment with Ingold’s, has also written in critical response to both Gell’s and Latour’s agentive approaches. She uses philosophy to shift attention to the active potentiality (what might happen) and actuality of object effects (what has happened) (Dudley, forthcoming in 2018: 12-16). For Ingold, agency is an almost nonsensical concept because he perceives all humans and non-humans (including objects) to already be composed of material properties, active forces and part of the living world. He does not therefore believe objects require “a sprinkling of agency” to bring them to life (Ingold, 2011a: 29).

Also important to the development of object agency and materiality are object social lives and biographies, which stem from *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (Appadurai, 1986b). This influential anthropological text offers a tool for thinking about the movement of commodities within socioeconomic and cultural spheres, encompassing production, consumption and reuse. Notably Kopytoff’s (1986) concept of object biographies continues to be a foundation from which research extends, including museological and photographic (e.g. Batchen, 2002; Dudley, 2010a; Edwards, 2001; Edwards and Hart, 2004b; Lydon, 2014; Morton, 2005; Schwartz, 2004). This includes examination of how objects accrue meaning inside and outside museums. Object biographies have also proved fruitful for colonial object analysis (see Edwards *et al.*, 2006a: 9, 14), exposing hidden knowledge and social, cultural and temporal entanglements between objects, institutions and people. Object biographies have also been used with *taonga*, including photographs to a lesser extent, in order to foreground the importance of narratives connecting them to ancestors (e.g. Cooper *et al.*, 2015; Ellis, 2016: 444-445; Wanhalla and Wolf, 2011a).

An object biographies approach is not however wholly accepted. For those who critique agency, such as Dudley (forthcoming in 2018: 11), it is another form of anthropomorphic projection of human tendencies onto objects. Ingold provides an alternative model to anthropological object biographies and social networks (including ANT) with his meshwork theory (2016: 82-85; 2011a: 63-88). This is the complex multidirectional and persistent enmeshed relations or unbreakable entanglements between humans, non-humans and their environment. This "texture of interwoven threads" comprising all life, growth and movement enables this "meshwork of relations" to be comprehended (Ingold, 2011a: xii, 86).

Intimately linked with the capacity of objects to have agency are animism ("spirit *in*") and fetishism ("spirit *of* matter") (Pels, 1998: 91, emphasis in original). These ontological relationships between nature and culture, and their material manifestation in objects were historically applied to 'primitive' cultures within anthropology (see Jones and Boivin, 2010: 343-344; Pels, 1998). Gell (1998: 121) for example, has critiqued Tylor's (1875) interpretation of animism (one of the first), as revelatory of nineteenth-century prejudices and scientific rhetoric. As well as negative historical and disciplinary connotations, animism and fetishism are seen as occupying extremities of the agency scale. For these reasons, their use has been critiqued and discredited. However, they have also been actively validated and pursued by some scholars (see Mitchell, 2005b; Pels, 1998; Spyer, 1998). This includes analysis of animistic and fetishistic interactions with albums and souvenirs by Di Bello (2007: 88, 136-137) and Stewart (1984: 135, 164-165).

Resulting from the material, sensory and ontological turns animism has been reinterpreted by some anthropologists as an alternative postcolonial theoretical and methodological mechanism.[21] Accordingly, it is being progressively used to conceptualise the ontologies and cosmologies of indigenous peoples, including Māori. This includes as a mode for discussing the complexities of indigenous relations to their environment. NZ scholar Salmond credits Ingold's integration of the cultural and

[21] The ontological turn across the social sciences began in the 2000s. Within anthropology, it was a reflexive move beyond a representational and language based framework, towards new ethnographic approaches.

biological as being influential on this new animism (2014: 164). Ingold's approach diverts radically from scholars such as Pels and Tylor. He sees animism's ontological potential as providing a way past agency and materiality, and as intimately bound up with his conceptualisation of the meshwork (2011a: 29). In this thesis I use Ingold's views on animism, the material properties of objects, and his meshwork model. I discuss this further in the theoretical framework section.

The sensory

The sensory turn can be defined as examining the dynamic experience of the range of senses felt and interpreted by the mind and body, and actively produced in response to engagement with the world, including objects. These senses are responsive to sensory stimuli (e.g. sound, light, smell, taste, temperature, pressure), resulting in tangible and perceptible sensations (aural, visual, olfactory, gustatory, haptic, tactile). Stemming from cultural and theological beliefs, Western science only recognises five senses (hearing, sight, smell, taste, touch). It is increasingly accepted though, that other senses exist.

Dudley's discussion of sensory reactions to objects is helpful for illustrating the breadth of factors impinging on sensory perception. She notes that constructivism argues "our interpretations of our sense perceptions are socially, culturally, personally and historically situated and contingent" (Dudley, 2012a: 7). Beyond this perspective, which excludes the mind and body, she asserts sensory responses are biologically, cognitively (including emotionally) and individually influenced, as well as being affected by an object's material qualities (Dudley, 2012a: 7). Therefore for Dudley (2012a: 19) and other scholars, the material and sensory are inexplicably bound together. Keane for example, holistically addresses the coexistent nature of object properties, including the sensory and material, through his concept of "bundling" (2005: 188). These scholarly examples suggest that a complex interaction of factors lead to sensory responses and in order to understand them the material world also needs to be considered.

Like the material, the sensory turn offers ways of conceptualising object qualities and interactions both inside and outside of the museum, and also occurred later in NZ. Publications since the 2010s, concerning mixed and solely photographic *taonga*, not only advanced material thinking but also developed sensory approaches (see Cooper *et al.*, 2015; Wanhalla and Wolf, 2011a). More broadly, the sensory turn's affect is evident in the development of a wide range of approaches, and interconnected sub-disciplines, including the anthropology of the senses, sensory anthropology and sensory museology. Characterising the development of anthropological literature are scholarly allegiances to either the cultural (e.g. Classen and Howes, 2006) or perception models (e.g. Ingold, 2000). Hybrid positions also exist, notably resulting from the more recent influence of the senses on museum studies (e.g. Levent and Pascual-Leone, 2014b). Key texts within sensory museology include edited publications by Dudley (2012b; 2010a) and Edwards *et al* (2006a). Literature in this area includes exploration of the sensory qualities and material properties of objects within exhibitions, such as how display and design actively mobilise the senses and affect object experiences (see Dudley, 2014; Kratz, 2011; Pattynama, 2014).

Literature across sub-disciplines and object types, including photographs, demonstrates a propensity for touch-based research, and sound to a lesser extent. There are also a number of emergent photographic trends. These include the intimate connection between touch and vision inherent to engaging with photographs (see Batchen, 2001; Olin, 2009); an alignment of certain senses with specific formats, such as sound with albums (see Langford, 2001) and virtual touch with stereographs (see Willumson, 2004); and the symbiotic nature of sensory and emotional responses (e.g. touching and singing) arising from photographic interactions, especially in relation to indigenous peoples (see Edwards, 2010: 26; Poignant and Poignant, 1996: 12-13).[22] Within a NZ context, sensory discussion of photographs remains part of other scholarly foci, including repatriation and the

[22] Stereographs comprise two near identical photographs mounted on card. When viewed through a device, they give the illusion of a three-dimensional view.

reclamation of past narratives (e.g. Binney and Chaplin, 2003: 100-102). Thus, it has only been minimally, rather than explicitly, explored.

During the 1990s, the focused study of the anthropology of the senses formed around the cultural model, which is comparative in nature. This is evident in the work of Howes (2003; 2005), a key scholar in this area. He promotes an ethnographic method inspired by revisiting classic anthropological texts, such as Lévi-Strauss (1966; 1969), and uses a sensory lens with the philosophical work of McLuhan (1962; 1964). Fundamental to this model is the understanding that the senses are characterised by a culturally contingent hierarchy. Accordingly, groups are understood to have developed certain sensorial emphasises, registers or regimes in response to specific cultural characteristics. These govern how a person senses, perceives, interprets and experiences the world. For example, Western culture is commonly understood to have a visual emphasis, whilst Māori culture is generally perceived to be oral with an emphasis on the spoken word, because no written texts existed prior to colonisation.

The perception model developed in response to the cultural. It focuses on human perception and is most evident in sensory anthropology. Scholars, such as Ingold who has been influential in this area, have critiqued the cultural model for various reasons. This includes promoting cultural difference by using an abstracted and decontextualised approach reliant on a Western 'cultural lens', and reinforcing the separation of the mind and body (Ingold, 2000: 250, 281; Ingold, 2011b: 315-316). Ingold's relational approach to perception is "based on the premise of our engagement with the world, rather than our detachment from it", including movement within and through environments (2000: 11).

The two models have been vigorously debated by Howes and Ingold, and although seemingly irreconcilable, commonalities do exist. For example, both Howes (2010: 340) and Ingold (2011b: 315) agree for the need to recognise and give space for indigenous perception. They also both position the senses as an array of learnt skills used to interpret, understand and function in the world, rather than being purely biological. Furthermore, Pink argues for a sensory ethnography approach combining elements from both models. She rejects a hierarchical framework in preference of

“culturally-specific knowledge about sensory categories and meanings” and promotes attentiveness to sensory perception that is cognisant of change (Pink, 2009: 15). Drawing on Ingold and Pink, this thesis utilises a blended sensory approach that is attentive to both models.

Literature stemming from both models demonstrates a widespread critique and rejection of ocularcentrism, or the Western elevation of vision. Ironically, this analysis has in some respects perpetuated this imbalance. In particular, scholars have sought to explain ocularcentrism’s historical development, including within a museum context (see Classen and Howes, 2006). This has been attributed to the influence of cultural, societal and technological changes on the senses, including attitudes governing how objects should be encountered and aesthetically appreciated (see Belova, 2006; Howes, 2005; Howes, 2014: 360-361; O'Loughlin, 2006). These factors are widely understood to have led to an alignment between vision and mental functioning, categorising sight as an ‘objective’ sense.[23] The other senses and body, were positioned as secondary and ‘subjective’, as well as being derogatorily associated with indigenous cultures. This also resulted, as Belova (2006: 95) and O’Loughlin (2006: 23-25) observe, in a subordination of the body and disassociation from the mind, and separation of humankind from nature.

Resulting from the rejection of ocularcentrism, research has sought to comprehend the multimodal or integrated nature of senses. This is particularly evident in literature aligned with the perception model. To this end phenomenology, a type of philosophical interpretivism, has been used by a range of scholars (e.g. Belova, 2006;

[23] This includes Cartesian perspectivalism, whereby the eye is considered equivalent to the mind and mental functionality, rationality and objectivity, and associated with disciplines such as science. Cartesian reasoning or doubt questions the validity of knowledge, including non-visual sensory experience. This effectively negates the other senses and body. This is clearly elucidated by Ingold in his analysis of Western ocularcentrism. He states the main issue with ocularcentrism was not the visual emphasis as such, but the segregation or prioritising of "cognition over sensation”(2000: 255). This created a misrepresentation of how sensory perception functions.

Dudley, 2010b: 19; O'Loughlin, 2006), including Ingold (2000).[24] Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of Perception* (1962) has been especially influential in helping reintegrate the visual within a holistic notion of sensory perception. His articulation of vision as a complex mélange of senses, offers a way of contemplating embodied experiences, which synthesise rather than separate. This approach is evident in Ingold's work on perception and the senses, upon which this thesis draws.

Photographs in anthropology and museums

I next introduce three connected themes that stem from the two turns analysed. Firstly, although photographs in museums was not a research concentration until the 2010s, it was preceded and influenced by earlier material and sensory object-based approaches and debates stemming from anthropology, museum studies and photography. These debates concern postcolonialism, power dynamics in museums (including cultural representation and access) and global political backdrops (specifically indigenous activism since the 1970s-1980s). During the 1980s, political analysis within photographic theory resulted in the application of Foucault's ideas to historically chart the socio-culturally contextualised origins and empirical uses of photography during colonisation. This established photography's utilisation as a tool within regimes of power (e.g. police and colonial), disciplines and institutions (e.g. anthropology, museums and archives), as seminally discussed by Sekula (1986) and Tagg (1988: 4, 63). For this reason, Sekula's work on the archives and body has been especially influential on anthropological and museological photographic writing since the late 1980s to early 1990s.[25] His influence is evident, for example, in Porter's notable and consistently referenced article (1989) concerning the problematic lack of clarity around photographic use in museums. She terms this phenomenon the

[24] Phenomenology seeks to explain, explore and analyse the lived human experience and intentionality through the mind and body (e.g. perception, memory and emotion), including active and passive consciousness of the world.

[25] Prior to this, photography in anthropology is understood to have either decreased in importance and credibility as a methodological tool, due to its negative historical association with evolutionism (Banks and Morphy, 1989: 9, 26) or simply become less overt (Edwards, 2015: 235-236, 239).

“economy of truth” and positions it as part of institutional constructions and presentations of history (Porter, 1989).

Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920 (Edwards, 1992) has been especially constructive in the anthropological re-evaluation and re-conceptualisation of the colonial photographic archive. This and other publications have critically addressed anthropology’s utilisation of photography. This centres on the use of photographs (both fieldwork and commercial) of indigenous peoples’ bodies as ethnographic data for classifying and analysing the ‘races’ of mankind during the colonial period, and their material accumulation in museums (see Edwards, 1990; Morton, 2012). An associated and developing thematic strand in photographs in museums literature, and one which I address in this thesis, pertains to the production, dissemination, exchange and fluid reuse of photographs (particularly commercial) across anthropology, museums and popular culture (see Edwards, 2001: 29-26; Poole, 1997).

An important concern of this developing research area is the problem of controlling photographic meaning in exhibitions, which also predates newer discourses. Many Western scholars from divergent perspectives view photographs as lacking any fixed meaning and characterised by their ability to have contextualised and subjective readings (e.g. Batchen, 2002: 75; Brown and Peers, 2006: 105-106; Mitchell, 2005b: 274; Morton, 2012; Pinney, 2005: 259; Sekula, 1982: 84-87; Tinkler, 2013: 40). This includes being temporally, culturally, disciplinarily and even individually contingent. It is also acknowledged that photographs may be subjectively constructed and produced, and obscure as much as they reveal. Anthropologists seeking to assess this instability of meaning have described photographs using a range of terms. Pinney states they have “too many” meanings (1992: 27), Poole terms it an “excess” (2005), whereas Edwards uses “abundance” (2015: 237) and Porter employs “plurality” (1989) for their less negative connotations. Accordingly, writing on photographs in museums is focusing on how photographic meanings and values are conferred and communicated in exhibitions (see Edwards, 2016; Nielssen, 2014; Whybrew, 2011). Kratz’s work on exhibitionary politics and poetics or aesthetics (e.g. design elements and rhetoric) has been important in this regard (2002; 2011).

Sekula's concern with photography as an information exchange within specific systems, allows him to draw attention to the contradictory dualisms characterising photographic meanings and roles. These include "theories of imagination … *vs* theories of empirical truth … affective value *vs* informative value … metaphoric signification *vs* metonymic signification" (Sekula, 1982: 108, emphasis in original). These have subsequently become themes in critical analysis of photographs in museums (including in this thesis), and more broadly in anthropology. Edwards for example, describes photographs as having always had a conflicting museological status, as forms of evidentiary knowledge and affect (2015: 236-237). Research by Crane (2013: 135) and Edwards (2015a), for example, also reveals a museological tendency to prioritise photographs' informative value. This stems from a common conceptualisation of photographs as having an objective weight of credibility or "evidential force" due to their capacity to show what has occurred or "that-has-been" (Barthes, 1981: 77, 89). This thesis addresses these issues from multiple perspectives.

Notable literature addressing photographs in museums also arose from the 2010-2012 ethnographic research project 'Photographs, Colonial Legacy and Museums in Contemporary European Culture'. This was an analytically comparative review of current and potential photographic roles in over 30 British and European museums. The resulting publication *Uncertain images: museums and the work of photographs* (Edwards and Lien, 2014b), and a subsequent one (Edwards and Morton, 2015a) also employing global case studies (including NZ), have been formative in establishing this research area. The research project raised several key issues that are becoming central discourses. Foremost this includes the "just thereness" or unacknowledged presence of photographs in museums (Edwards and Lien, 2014a: 4-5). This constitutes their pervasive use in nearly all aspects of museum business, including advertising, research, publications, and exhibitions. There has also been a focus on how photographs are variously positioned and classified, including as art or information, outside of object collections, and image content rather than objects (Edwards and Lien, 2014a: 3-17; Edwards and Morton, 2015a; McCredie, 2015a; Morton, 2014: 243-244). These issues are important because they inform the management and

exhibition uses of photographs. Many of these issues are addressed in this thesis through specific collection and exhibition examples.

Formats, and the relational and affective nature of photographic objects

Photographic formats, and the relational and affective nature of photographic objects, which I address next, have become interconnected scholarly foci across both turns and are central to this thesis. Formats include albums (Chapter 4), framed photographs, postcards and illustrated newspapers (Chapter 5), exhibition interpretation (Chapter 6), stereographs, lantern slides and photographic interpretative devices (Chapter 7).[26] Literature addressing different photographic formats reveals how their material forms and sensory qualities reflect functions, meanings, and social uses and relations between people, prompting Edwards and Hart (2004a: 2) to describe photographs as "socially salient object[s]". For example, mid to late nineteenth-century women's albums, which were previously dismissed as unworthy of study, are now understood as material expressions indicative of gender, class and status, and reflective of social connections (Di Bello, 2007; Langford, 2001; Micklewright, 2003; Siegel, 2009). The focus on Annie Russell-Cotes's album in this thesis fills a remaining literary absence concerning nineteenth-century female museum founders and collectors of commercial photographs acquired from overseas. Scholars have also cogently demonstrated that specific presentation formats, including albums and stereographs, have performative effects on viewers (e.g. Batchen, 2004: 48-49; Edwards and Hart, 2004b; Edwards, 2010: 23; Langford, 2001; Nead, 2008; Porto, 2004; Siegel, 2009: 17, 23; Willumson, 2004: 65). These influence how photographs are interacted with and consumed individually and communally, including specific sensory responses (e.g. touching, speaking). Formats also influence display and interpretation conventions used in exhibition contexts, as Willumson explores in relation to stereographs (2004: 79-74).

[26] Lantern slides, either photographic or illustrative, are mounted almost square glass slides of a standardised size (9.5 by 9. centimetres), which are projected using a device.

Stewart's publication *On longing: narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection* (1984) has been particularly influential on the analysis of different formats of photographic souvenirs. It has aided understanding of the motivations for desiring souvenirs and how they function domestically (e.g. Drazin and Frohlich, 2007; Haldrup, 2017; Langford, 2001). In a NZ context, the use of photographic souvenirs by Māori inside *whare*/houses during the early twentieth-century remains unaddressed, apart from brief references to photographs of *whare* interiors by Diamond (2007) and de la Rue (1996). Accordingly, this thesis considers the uses of photographic souvenirs for narrating self and/or mediating travel experiences (Chapter 4-5), and as relational objects of remembrance at *tangi* and inside *wharenui*/meeting houses (Chapter 5).

Responses to the material forms and sensory qualities of photographs by non-Māori and Māori are intimately correlated with photographs' affective roles, as well as their relational ones. Affect is often used interchangeably with emotion but their meanings are distinct. Feelings are intimate, personal and subjective sensations that are comprehended through previous experiences. Emotions are inherently social and project feelings. Stemming from psychology, affect is more abstract and harder to define but is often used to denote the experience of feelings or emotions. It is an unconscious experience of intensity in response to something of resonance. Affective and embodied sensorial responses to photographs inside and outside museums have been explored by museum studies, anthropology and photography scholars. For example, Morton (2015: 253-254) and Pattynama (2014: 139) have used Edwards' conceptualisation of photographs as affective, sensorially charged and relational objects (2005) within their exhibition analyses. Accordingly, affect has featured in literature on indigenous descendant communities' interactions with photographs of their ancestors (e.g. Brown and Peers, 2006: 104-105; Edwards, 2005; Edwards *et al.*, 2006b: 8; Edwards, 2010; Lydon, 2014; Morton, 2015: 253). This helps indicate the ways in which indigenous peoples may see, feel and hear their ancestors and respond. In a NZ context, affect has been more extensively analysed in relation to non-photographic *taonga*, and only minimally discussed with photographs (e.g. Binney

and Chaplin, 2003: 100-102, 110; Brown, 2008: 63; Dudding, 2007: i). This thesis addresses this research imbalance.

Since the mid 1990s, scholars such as Brown and Peers (2006), Morton (2015) and Poignant (1996), have been considering how photographs as affective objects constitute persistent dynamic relations between individuals, communities, institutions, and places across time. As "sensory and emotional enablers" (Edwards, 2010: 34), photographs are increasingly being recognised as important for indigenous processes of reclamation, self-representation and empowerment (e.g. alternative histories) and Chapter 7 considers some of these issues. More broadly this changing perception of photographs was preceded by indigenous calls for changes to museum practices, which gained momentum in the 1990s. Clifford for example, famously framed cross-cultural engagements between museums and descendant communities as the 'contact zone' (1997: 188-219). Literature since this time has also analysed the development of ethical curatorship that considers indigenous perspectives towards object care (e.g. Clavir, 2002; Herle, 2012; MacAulay, 1999; McMaster, 2007: 75-76; Peers, 2013: 137-138; Setlhabi, 2014). Since the mid 2000s, the bearing of these debates on photographs has also begun to be addressed. The thesis promotes ethical curatorship and cultural forms of object care, and thus is not only data driven but politically motivated to a certain extent. It deals with the politics of representation in museums, as sites of negotiation between the values of institutions and descendant communities. This includes ways of interpreting photographs and transmitting knowledge in exhibitions (including through consultation with Māori), and providing access to collections, which are culturally appropriate to *Mātauranga Māori* principles (Chapters 6-7).

Photographic trace and presence

Interrelated with the affective and relational nature of photographs, and ethical curatorship, are photographic trace and presence. Both are important themes for this thesis, including as traces of journeys (Chapter 4) and indicative of perceptions about photographs in *Te Ao Māori* (Chapters 4-7). Across the material and sensory turns, the trace is a persistent subject of analysis in photography, anthropology, semiotics

and visual arts. Its origins lie in photography's early development in the nineteenth-century. Conceptualisation of this new technology focused on the contact or touch of light reflecting onto the subject (e.g. a sitter or object) and negative during exposure, resulting in something being imprinted or fixed onto the photograph. It is this process, which makes photography unique comparative to other representational systems (e.g. paintings). It was not until relatively recently though, that the concept and term trace emerged as part of analytical photographic approaches.

In their analysis of the trace, Geimar and Gellen pose a question, which goes to the heart of preoccupation with this paradigm. They ask "[c]an we then say that the photographic trace *represents* an object? Or is the trace an extension of its *presence*?" (Geimar and Gellen, 2007: 17, emphasis in original). As this suggests, scholarly positions vary, including those who dismiss the trace entirely. Semiotician Peirce notes photographs can on certain levels be understood as analogous to their referents or what they resemble and depict (e.g. a person or object) due to their representative qualities (iconic) and the physical contact of light during exposure (indexical) (1985: 11). It is the indexical or permanent connection between a referent and photograph, which has had profound impact on photography.[27]

In his much cited publication *Camera Lucida*, philosopher and semiotician Barthes goes beyond Peirce's position, describing photographs as "literally an emanation of the referent" (1981: 80).[28] For Barthes, photographs are more than representations or images with resemblance, they are traces or material impressions formed directly from reality. He therefore describes photographs as self-referencing because they always carry their referent with them, even when the referent is absent or no longer exists outside of the photograph (e.g. it is destroyed or deceased) (Barthes, 1981: 5-6). For this reason, Barthes and other scholars (e.g. Batchen, 2004; Di Bello, 2007: 66;

[27] Indexicality is used in semiotics and language studies to refer to the phenomenon of a sign indicating an object within the context it occurs.

[28] This philosophical, emotional and personal publication is a departure from his earlier approaches (structural analysis and semiotics) and perspectives. Barthes is influenced by Sartre, an important twentieth-century phenomenologist.

Mitchell, 2005b: 66) perceive photographs to have a dichotomous ability to signal a number of enduring dualisms. These include life/death, presence/absence, remembrance and memory. Sontag, who draws on Peirce and Benjamin, shows alignment with Barthes. She uses trace in conjunction with other not necessarily directly comparable examples, including death masks (2005: 87, 120). Tagg uses the trace in a different way altogether, arguing that photographs are "material product[s]", which can only be understood through inflections of power relations evident in social practices and institutions (1988: 3-5).

As a medium commonly paired with captions or labels, photographs are also associated with traces of inscriptions (see Chapters 4-6). This includes text produced by hand (e.g. handwriting and drawings), nature and certain types of mechanical print technology, which Ingold details in his classification system of lines (2016: 2-4, 40-73). Benjamin has also written about the trace in relation to the qualities of artworks and mechanical reproductions (1968). The politicised Marxist rhetoric of his theory of art, written a few years before the outbreak of the Second World War, concerns the uniqueness and authenticity or aura of original artworks. He positions this as being depreciated by the presence of mechanical reproductions of artworks, including those mass-produced by photography and lithography.[29] Edwards and Hart argue, that the inference of Benjamin's explanation of these changes to art has had a negative and long lasting impact on photography (2004a: 9). Furthermore, concern over the tendency of more recent scholars to use Benjamin's work in reductionist ways has also influenced the reason not to use his work in this thesis.

Resulting from the influence of the politics of postcolonial literature and indigenous activism on anthropological writing, subtleties surrounding the photographic trace have developed. Agency of the indigenous sitter was the first step towards reducing interpretations of the power imbalance between coloniser and colonised. By considering the dynamics of exchanges between photographers and sitters, scholars argue reclamation of indigenous agency is possible (see Pinney and Peterson, 2003).

[29] Benjamin also credits mechanical reproduction with providing democratic access to artworks.

Over the last few years, a cross fertilisation of ideas from anthropology, philosophical history (Runia, 2006) and photography (Barthes, 1981) have led to the development of photographic presence.[30] This rather than agency, proposes a more nuanced approach for two interconnected reasons. Applied ethnographically it foregrounds the sitter's photographic presence, regardless of the circumstances of a photograph's creation. Using presence, as Edwards argues, allows revision of certain analytical concepts, including the gaze and other divisive dualisms (2015: 240-242). Presence also reveals how descendant communities comprehend photographs, as objects with ancestral presence in the present not the past. Runia's (2006) discussion of presence compares metonyms with metaphors and uses a series of dualisms (e.g. presence/absence, continuity/discontinuity and connection/reconnection) to convey how something absent can be called into presence through its very absence. As Barthes notes, photographs are a "certificate of presence" (1981: 87) giving the sitter "presence in absence" to use Runia's phrase (2006: 6).

Morton (2015: 253, 255) and Romanek (2015: 271, 273-274) both use presence to discuss indigenous photographic case studies (Australia and New Mexico respectively) from culturally specific and nuanced perspectives. Precursors to this can be found in Poignant's analysis of her return of photographs to the Aboriginal people of Arnhem Land, in which she states the reactions of descendants shows the "power of the photograph to convey presence" (1996: 5). In a NZ context, presence has been discussed in relation to non-photographic *taonga,* including *wharenui* (see Gell, 1998: 253; Salmond, 2012: 116; Tapsell, 2006c). It has not been explicitly or extensively addressed with regards to Māori photographs. This thesis addresses this gap and considers whether and in what ways traces of ancestral presence might be present in photographs.

[30] This includes papers resulting from the 2014 Royal Anthropological Institute conference (e.g. Edwards, 2015; Geismar, 2015; Morton, 2015; Romanek, 2015).

Theoretical framework

Building on analysis of the material and sensory turns, I will explain the reasoning behind using Ingoldian concepts and *Mātauranga Māori* in the theoretical framework and the benefits this approach affords. Integral to the thesis's ethos, research chapters and theoretical framework are a variety of perspectives or 'frames', which this thesis acknowledges and unpicks. Framing is thus used as a theoretical device and was embedded early on. Drawing from Bal (1991: 6, 16), I use the concept of framing to facilitate analysis of photographic objects, texts, disciplines and institutions, according to divergent societal and cultural structures, knowledge systems and worldviews. This enables comprehension of non-Māori (e.g. colonial, museological, anthropological) and Māori perspectives, as part of the postcolonial context within which this thesis is situated. By using a diversity of viewpoints, I seek to create a more balanced approach than the contested power relations evident in some historical research.

Mātauranga Māori/Māori knowledge and worldview

Using *Mātauranga Māori* in the theoretical framework is part of a decolonising and bicultural strategy and is appropriate because it recognises the "validity and legitimacy" of this knowledge and worldview (Smith, 2003: 172). Smith's (2003) foundational text *Decolonizing Methodologies* was amongst the first to make an academic case for using *Mātauranga Māori* when undertaking research with or about Māori. Many scholars deem this strategy necessary because solely Western approaches are considered unable to fully account for indigenous epistemologies and emergent counter-narratives (Bishop, 2010: 208; Chilisa, 2012: 47, 51; Smith, 2003: 187-188).

Mātauranga Māori was brought to NZ by explorers from Hawaiki, and developed locally. Despite being negatively affected and eroded by colonisation, it survived and remains contemporaneously vital to the physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing of Māori. It also informs NZ museological approaches towards the care, management, research and display of *taonga*, including at Te Papa. Photographs in this thesis are

conceptualised as *taonga* and sources of *Mātauranga Māori* knowledge with direct relevancy for descendant communities. This recognises that the occurrence of Māori in commercial photographs does not preclude instances of latent cross-cultural exchanges, non-ethnographic and counter interpretations, traces of ancestral presence, and contemporary purposes of reclamation that aid familial and spiritual reconnection.

Mātauranga Māori is a holistic system incorporating an experiential and scientific knowledge base concerning cultural and environmental practices (e.g. customary protocols, language, creativity, natural medicine). It also comprises a relational worldview or what might also be explained as a cosmology or epistemological approach towards this knowledge. This is informed by *whakapapa*, a framework of genealogical lineage or familial descent. *Whakapapa* literally means to 'place in layers' and this organisational structure helps explain the world and intimate relations between humans and non-humans (including objects), places and ecosystems. It is commonly used in NZ scholarly texts across the arts, humanities and sciences. This includes Māori academic Tapsell's early and persistently influential text on non-photographic *taonga*, which blends tribal and academic thinking (1997: 327).

The use of *whakapapa* stems from its ability to communicate the meshwork of unbounded interactions in *Te Ao Māori*. This includes descendants' deep connection to *taonga*, ancestors and the land and the complex dynamics and interconnections between them. *Whanaunga*, which translates as relative, (blood) relation and kin, is also used similarly within *Mātauranga Māori* to indicate the interconnectivity between all life forms (e.g. Te Hira Mika, 2015: 54). Thus as Salmond states, in "te ao māori … reality is generated as arrays of open-ended, continuously reproducing networks of relations" (2012: 124). *Whakapapa* is additionally used to cognitively or mentally classify and retain knowledge about the spiritual, spatial, temporal and biophysical, ensuring it can be orally relayed (see Roberts, 2012). In conjunction with other mnemonic forms (e.g. carvings), these systems were crucial to Māori society before the colonial introduction of writing, and remain relevant today. This thesis explores how photographs fit into these systems.

According to a *Mātauranga Māori* worldview, it is commonly acknowledged that *taonga* can be anything of significance or value to a tribe, a concept which is expanding alongside technological developments (e.g. Brown, 2008; Cooper *et al.*, 2015; Salmond [Henare], 2013; Tapsell, 1997: 326). *Taonga* are therefore not necessarily tied to any form. They include what might otherwise be described as the intangible/immaterial (e.g. *waiata*/songs, cultural practices such as *tā moko*/tattooing) and tangible/material (e.g. objects, land, clothing, *wharenui*). This is because in *Te Ao Māori* there is no distinction between what might in other contexts be understood as inanimate or lifeless (e.g. rocks, objects) and animated with life (e.g. humans, animals). Instead everything, including *taonga*, is perceived to have *mauri* or life force (e.g. Tapsell, 1997: 329; Salmond, 2012: 120). Accordingly, this thesis approaches photographs as *taonga* with *mauri*.

Ingoldian concepts

The reasoning for using Ingold's work, the other component of the theoretical framework, is also manifold. During initial research stages, I considered several theoretical approaches for their photographic application, including Kopytoff's object biographies, Latour's ANT and Ingold's meshwork. There is a prevalent use of Kopytoff's approach with photographic research. This includes the utilisation of object biographies with individual photographs and reproduction of a photograph's image content across different media and material forms. However, I discerned that the application of social biographies is neither seamless nor unproblematic, due to the distinct nature of photographs comparative to other objects.

To explicate, this results from photographs' inherent reproducibility. The term 'multiple originals' was coined during photography's development in the mid nineteenth-century to capture this unique technological capability (attributable to Oscar Gustav Rejlander). Contemporarily, multiple originals is also used to convey how photographic objects produced from the same negative may exist over time and globally across collections, and display a multiplicity of formats and other material variations. This (re)use, (re)production and (re)circulation therefore contrasts with non-photographic objects. Thus photographs do not readily fit into notions of the

unique, authentic, individual and original, making object biographies with its more linear characteristics impracticable. The rejection of object biographies is not to negate the unique authenticity of each photograph but highlight the inherent complications of using this approach photographically. This is evidenced by recent literature, which argues a solely biographical approach is unable to account for the peculiarities of photographs (Edwards and Morton, 2015b: 9). Although this approach is not used in the thesis' theoretical framework, Kopytoff's thinking remains important for helping identify and explain how photographs can be simultaneously commodities in non-Māori contexts and non-commodities in *Te Ao Māori*.

I assessed Latourian network and Ingoldian meshwork theories not only for their capacity to account for a photograph's multiple original status but its global cycles and trails of reuse over time and space, and the entangled visual economies of NZ and Britain. This includes the influence of old and new technologies at any given temporal period and remediation into other material forms (e.g. illustrations in guidebooks, postcards, banknotes and exhibition interpretation). Latour's approach stems from sociology with influences from science and technology, and Durkheim and Tarde. His work on ANT comprises linear nodal networks characterised by distinct encounters and defined endpoints.[31] These are only visible during interactions, leaving no lasting traces. Ingold's approach blends anthropology, phenomenology, ecology, biology, and psychology with influences from Merleau-Ponty, Gibson (eco-psychology) and the philosophical work of Lefebvre, Deleuze and Guattari, and Heidegger. Comparative to ANT, meshwork is defined by enduring and unbreakable intersections with no definable endpoints.[32] The theoretical interdisciplinary stances of Latour's ANT and Ingold's meshwork draw on the material and human/non-human interactions. This includes each scholar's response to object agency, with Latour's work having a more agentive stance, as outlined in the literature review. Both scholars also resist dichotomies, and draw attention to the artificiality of Western

[31] Strathern argues that networks by their very nature can be cut (1996).

[32] Ingold (2016: 83; 2011a: 84) explicitly states meshwork is derived from Lefebvre (1991: 117-118).

nature/sociocultural (Ingold, 2000: 40-43, 47; Ingold, 2012: 382) or nature/social divides (Latour, 2005: 109, 111).

It is, however, the sustained interactions between things, which make meshworks more suitable for photographic research, than the briefer contact epitomising ANT (and other network theory). Ingold states "every living being is a line or, better, a bundle of lines" and this constitutes the threads of the meshwork (2017: 10). These intersections of lines making up the meshwork leave discernible traces helping to explicate the relational entanglement of people, places and things and their interactions. Feeding into the meshwork is Ingold's classificatory system on lines, including "traces" (2016: 41-73; 2011a: 194), which I have applied to photographs, people, museums and the relationships between them in this thesis.

Ingold's work was also deemed germane for several other reasons. His approach to object properties and making things, including the correspondence or interaction between materials (2017), enables a focus on production and consumption, which are both important to this thesis's research aim and questions.[33] I also perceive Ingold's theoretical conceptualisation of materials, animism and sensory perception, which underpin his work, to be more capable of accounting for *Mātauranga Māori* principles, and sensory and affective uses and interactions with *taonga*, rather than object agency or materiality. By focusing on object materials and conceiving of them as neither inactive nor inert but already animated with life, Ingold obviates the need for agency (2011a: 16-17, 214). Fundamentally this breaks down the distinctions between humans and non-humans, enabling him to argue that all "things are in life rather than life in things" (Ingold, 2011a: 21, 29, 68).[34]

[33] Ingold highlights the tendency of material culturalists to emphasise consumption but omit production (2011a: 26).

[34] Anthropological interpretations of indigenous cultures in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries concentrate on the animation of objects and natural features by spirits. Older meanings of animism however deal with life, the breath and spirit.

Ingold's fluid conceptualisation of being in the world as "trail[s] *along* which life is lived" (2011a: 69-70, emphasis in original) also has specific resonance for understanding photographs within *Te Ao Māori*. This includes Ingold's dissolution of distinctions between an entity and its environment, in preference of a porous and unbounded understanding of life (2011a: 68-69, 86). This approach is aligned with how the environment, including the land, is conceived of according to the symbiotic nature of the relational intersections central to *Mātauranga Māori*. Ingold's relational approach and focus on temporality rather than history is also able to accommodate alternative perceptions towards time and the past, including indigenous perspectives (2000: 135, 143; 2016: 2-3).[35] It enables polyvocal histories, which remain individualised within webs of interactions. This is important because time is neither linear nor chronologically ordered in *Te Ao Māori*, and accordingly this affects how ancestral photographs are perceived. On a final note, it is observable that Ingold's work has been used less extensively by NZ scholars writing about *taonga,* than that of Kopytoff (e.g. Ellis, 2016) or Latour (e.g. Horwood, 2015; McCarthy, 2015), suggesting this thesis marks a new approach.

Conclusion

This chapter critically analysed the material and sensory turns, and convergences of object thinking across these two paradigmatic shifts. I also examined three themes resulting from these turns, including photographs in anthropology and museums, formats and the affective and relational nature of photographic objects, and trace and presence. This developed discussions at a more detailed level and I linked these themes to specific topics and thesis examples. This laid the groundwork for discussion of the dual theoretical framework and its combination of Ingoldian theories and *Mātauranga* Māori. This, I argue, offers a progressive way of understanding photographs within and outside of museums. To summarise, the thesis aims to build

[35] Postcolonial discourses have sought to interrupt the hegemonic authority of linear narratives to give space for marginalised and discreet histories. Various decolonising strategies have been employed to this end. This includes a widespread application of Foucault's (2002: 4, 154, 195) archaeological deconstruction of the widespread perception of history as stable, monolithic and progressively linear.

on the small body of research relating to NZ photographs, as well as broader photographic, anthropological and museological literature reactive to the material and sensory turns. This theoretical coalescence is infused with the methods, research sources and analytical approach, which the methodology explicates in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

He toi whakairo, he mana tangata

Where there is artistic excellence, there is human dignity.[36]

This contemporary *whakataukī* indicates the moral importance of doing the right thing, in the right way. As a researcher, I also endeavour to undertake research for the right reasons and in the right way. This stems from my deep respect for Māori people and culture, previous experience working in NZ, and cognisance of the historical legacy of colonial research and its use of photography. Accordingly, these factors informed the methodological approach, which this chapter explains. I also give introductions to the three museum examples and collections central to this thesis. This provides contextual descriptions of each museum's individual developmental history and institutional positioning of photographs. Following this, I detail the various research sources, culturally appropriate mixed methods and analysis used, and conclude with fieldwork reflections.

Methodological approach

Historically, quantitative empirical positivist research during the colonial-era was carried out on indigenous peoples. It was also frequently unidirectional and of little benefit to them. Colonial framing of Māori was not necessarily intentionally derogatory, however it frequently misinterpreted and misrepresented Māori culture. It did so because data collection and analysis generally remained based on Western knowledge systems, and sociocultural (e.g. male dominated), political (e.g. empire justification) and religious (e.g. Christian) discourses peculiar to this period (Smith, 2003: 169-170). Not only was this research privileged over Māori knowledge but it was positioned as scientifically objective. This framing extended to the use of

[36] Written by Piri Sciascia (Ngāti Kahungunu, Kāi Tahu) for the *Te Maori* exhibition.

photography, as a visual tool to document and categorise the human race into characteristic 'types' based on racial groups, which Chapter 4 explains.

More broadly, the legacy of colonial research continues to detrimentally impact indigenous peoples, including Māori, specifically through the persistence of negative perspectives and misconceptions. Therefore, NZ scholars Bishop (2010: 210, 215) and Smith (2003: 164, 169-170) stress that a quantitative empirical positivist approach is inappropriate for Māori research. They also comprehend objectivity as neither realistically achievable nor desirable. Accordingly, this thesis uses a flexible qualitative methodology, and an overall ethnographic or actively immersive approach. This responds to Quanchi *et al*'s (2006: 172) call for expanded methodological approaches towards Pacific photographic research, which draw on anthropology. The thesis also employs an interpretivist paradigm, and recognises the centrality of reflexivity. Although an autoethnographic approach was not used, my prior employment at bicultural institutions in NZ's heritage sector (2003-2014) has greatly influenced my philosophical stance and knowledge base.[37] Given these factors and the inherently subjective nature of any research, I view this positively. For example, my prior experience and knowledge significantly contributed to identifying the literature gap, and development of the research questions, dual theoretical framework and sensitive fieldwork approach.

Smith (2003: 175-177) and Wilson (2008: 20-21) argue Māori research undertaken by non-Māori researchers, like myself, is acceptable providing it is respectful, informed and consultative. Accordingly, I carried out research with people to create a form of "togethering", rather than "othering" (Ingold, 2011a: 226, 238). Returning to the opening *whakataukī*, this research was also undertaken for the right reasons because it is positioned as beneficial to Māori. It achieves this by deepening understanding of how photographs are understood in *Te Ao Māori*, and signalling the potential affect this has on photographic care, access, interpretation and display in British museums.

[37] I worked as Editorial Assistant to the Report Writers at the Waitangi Tribunal or indigenous land claims office (2003); Repatriation Researcher of ancestral Māori remains at Te Papa (2004-2007), and in the heritage departments at Auckland Regional Council (2007-2010) and Auckland Libraries (2010-2014).

As part of a respectful approach, elements of *Kaupapa Māori* were also used during fieldwork with Māori. Foremost, this is a philosophical ideology or system of teachings, incorporating the core knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of *Mātauranga Māori*. It is also a contemporary research approach and methodology. It draws on its own ideological roots but like other indigenous methodologies, it has been influenced and extended by Foucauldian, Marxist, feminist, and broader indigenous and postcolonial thought (Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 2003: 165-168). These factors influenced my choice of complementary research and analysis methods. Being observant of *Kaupapa Māori* also led to specific engagement methods during fieldwork. This included showing respect by observing *tikanga*/cultural protocol and customs, the use of English and *Te Re Māori* during conversations, and *Mātauranga Māori* to inform interviews questions and analysis.[38]

Museum examples and secondary institutions

The findings of this thesis are located within certain temporal and sociocultural contexts, including those relating to *Te Ao Māori*, specific collectors and museums. The research period of 1860 to 1914 was selected because it represents the production dates of the majority of the photograph collections researched. It also demarcates key events in NZ history, including the 1860s when photographic practice became more widespread in NZ, as noted in Chapter 1. Moreover, the time leading up to the 1914 First World War is generally considered to be the conclusion of the NZ colonial-era. The war also marked the establishment of NZ's individual nationhood, separate from Britain.[39]

The selection of the three museum examples, the BM, PRM and RCAGM, resulted from a process of scoping and alignment with the research aim and questions. These museums provide a range of NZ photograph collections, institutional types (e.g. art, ethnographic, world cultures) and organisational sizes (small to large) from around

[38] E.g. ways of behaving around *taonga*, and taking food *koha*/gifts to group meetings and interviews.

[39] NZ had already become an official Dominion in 1907.

Britain.[40] This responds to Edwards's (2014a: 15) call for further critical analysis of colonial-era photographs, including from the Pacific, which is focused on smaller museum collections. All three museums in this thesis were established during the broad definition of the colonial-era, spanning the mid-eighteenth to early twentieth centuries. Their collections were diversely amassed according to their institutional histories. Notably both the BM's and PRM's photograph collections derive from multiple sources, whilst those at the RCAGM come nearly entirely from the museum's founders. Both the BM and PRM also have important anthropology libraries associated with their collections, which aided research. Although none of the three museums are exclusively photographic, their Māori photograph collections are individually significant.

Collectively these institutional similarities and differences are intended to provide a diverse sample range, give veracity to the data collected, strengthen connections (e.g. reoccurring patterns of specific photographers, subjects and photographs) and the conclusions reached. Moreover, although these museums and their collections, exhibitions and internal systems have formed the basis of research, their use is illustrative. A case studies approach (see Yin, 2009: 18; Yin, 2012), a distinct qualitative technique, was deemed unsuitable given the nature of the methodological approach, research aim and questions.

Archival excavation and analysis of photographs and relevant documents was undertaken at the three museums, as well as other museums, libraries and archives with relevant collections. These secondary institutional sources include Bournemouth Library, the British Library, Hampshire Records Office, National Maritime Museum (hereafter NMM) and Victoria and Albert Museum. Records accessed at these institutions were vital for filling research gaps and consolidating contextual knowledge. For example, multiple originals of photographs with varied material formats were accessed at the British Library and NMM to aid understanding of how this influenced their reception and use. Records at the Victoria and Albert Museum

[40] Including specialisations and unique accumulations of photographs and archival material.

provided information about the 1886 Colonial and Indian exhibition, whilst those at Bournemouth Library and Hampshire Records Office supplied details about the RCAGM Māori collections and exhibitions. Finally, although Halsemere Educational Museum and Horniman Museum and Gardens do not feature in this thesis, they were part of the initial scoping process and have contributed to a general understanding of British holdings, including consistencies and divergences.

The following provides an overview and contextualises the three museum examples and their NZ photograph collections. I start with the BM, which opened in 1759. Located in London, it is a large museum and internationally recognised as one of the world's foremost encyclopaedic collections of global objects, spanning all world cultures and histories. The founding collection was formed around objects from Sir Hans Sloane, and the museum subsequently separated into the BM and Natural History Museum in the 1880s, and British Library in 1973. Since 2004, the museum's NZ collection, including photographs, has been located in the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas (hereafter AOA). The museum has a long complex history of departmental change. For example, prior to this current geographical classification, NZ photographs and other objects came under the Department of Ethnography (1946-2004). Collections have remained classified as ethnographic since this time despite departmental restructures. Between 1970-1994, the ethnographic department included the Museum of Mankind, which ran exhibitions and educational programmes. The Museum of Mankind was located separately from the main museum site and functioned almost as a separate unit, greatly affecting fieldwork, collecting and exhibition approaches.

The present day AOA department contains around 2,738 non-photographic and 2,364 photographic objects from NZ. Approximately 610 of the photographs are from the thesis's research period, and originate from varied sources, including fieldwork and donations. The latter includes donated staff collections, such as ex-curator Jonathan King's Māori postcards, obtained between 1985-2000.[41] Like the other two museums,

[41] Oc,B131.1-46.

the BM's NZ photograph collection is stored separately from non-photographic objects. This is due to environmental requirements but also results from the museum's conceptualisation of photographs, as distinct from other collections. Oceanic photographs, including those from NZ, are also divergently sub-classified under the Anthropology Pictorial Collection, which contains 19,000 Oceanic photographs, illustrations and paintings. The photographs are on one hand recognised as a valuable resource and were researched, digitised and documented as part of a 2006/2007 Getty Foundation grant. However on the other hand, they remain physically and philosophically outside of the rest of the collections. This dislocation extends to the internal database and publications. For example, Starzecka *et al*'s (2010) comprehensive landmark publication on the museum's *taonga* Māori collection excludes any reference to photographs.

The PRM and its founding collection were established in 1884, when General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers donated his collection to the University of Oxford. Located in Oxford, it is a medium sized anthropology and archaeology university museum and its collections remain actively used as teaching resources. It is also one of the best-preserved examples of nineteenth-century typological display. Adhering to the concept of progressive evolutionism, ethnographic and archaeological objects from global cultures are adjacently displayed in a comparative and didactic manner, according to function and type or form. Details outlined in the founder General Pitt-Rivers' (1863-1900) 1884 deed of gift specify the retention of this display mode (Morton, 2012: 375). Along with other circumstances, including insufficient funding, staff and space, this resulted in preservation of the museum's unique atmospheric character, including its density of display (O'Hanlon, 2014: 82-86). Since the 1990s, changing exhibitions and display upgrades have intentionally sought to preserve period arrangements (O'Hanlon, 2014: 85-86).

General Pitt-Rivers actively collected photographs and these were included in his original donation to the university. Henry Balfour (1863-1939), the first PRM curator (1890-1939), also took interest in photographs and was involved in amassing a substantial collection through his extensive overseas research trips and global

connections. Anthropology students and researchers also obtained photographs during fieldwork. Due to conservation and storage requirements, photographs are structurally distanced from other objects, and classified separately under the Photograph and Manuscript Collections department. However, unlike the BM, they are generally philosophically regarded as objects. This shift in perspective initiated during the 1980s when the department was established and has affected exhibitionary treatment. In the NZ collection, there are 1,518 non-photographic and 610 photographic objects, of which around 420 photographs are from the research period. Highlights include Makereti Papakura's photograph collection and *Old Time Maori* manuscript. These remain of high significance to the museum, her relatives and academic research.

Finally, the RCAGM is located in Bournemouth and opened in 1908. It is a small art gallery and world cultures museum focusing on the history of its collections and founders Lord Merton (1835-1921) and Lady Annie (1835-1920) Russell-Cotes. The core collections are seeded with objects collected by the Russell-Cotes during their expansive international travels in the 1880s-1890s, including to NZ in 1885. The Russell-Cotes collected for personal and commercial purposes, including to adorn their business, the Royal Bath Hotel. The collections along with East Cliff Hall, the Russell-Cotes's home, were bequeathed to the Bournemouth people in 1908. The house more formally became a museum in 1922 after Annie's and Merton's deaths and has since been run by the local council. Collections developed thereafter, including through donation. Unlike the other two museums, the collection's 96 photographs of Māori, which are all from the research period, are structurally classified with other NZ objects under World Cultures: Americas, Pacific and Australasia. Despite the abundance of amassed global objects and relatively small size of the NZ collection, which also includes around 172 non-photogaphic objects, the museum development policy stresses its importance, listing the photographs amongst its highlights (2015: 13).

Research sources and mixed methods

Photographs

Having provided contextual background to the museums and collections, I now expound the various resources accessed (photographs, texts, exhibitions and human participants) and mixed methods used (archival research, exhibition analysis, interviews and participant observation). This range creates rich breadth, and warrants research integrity through methodological triangulation (Chilisa, 2012: 167, 172; Rutterford, 2012: 119).

Addressing photographs first, all three collections researched include diverse photographic formats (e.g. *cartes*, loose prints, postcards, albums and lockets). Since they vary in size, format and date, it was necessary to work with selections. This is often achieved using random or common and unusual samples (see Rose, 2012: 89; Tinkler, 2013: 112-115). However, the quantitative nature of these approaches did not suit the methodological positioning of the thesis. Instead, using the RCAGM photograph collection as a foundation, thematic links to the BM and PRM collections drove the research direction. This data-driven, holistic and inductive approach can in a sense be described as a low-level type of grounded theory, and was influenced by Ingold's meshwork concept. The emergent patterns and relationships across collections include albums from similar periods (1880-1890s); examples of multiple originals and cycles of reuse; the reoccurrence of Māori sitters (e.g. Tāwhiao and Makereti) and certain photographs by prominent NZ photographers (e.g. Pulman and Martin); and similar material factors, including writing on photographs and presentation formats.

Text

Contextual research was conducted on primary and secondary textual sources via physical access and online resources.[42] Following Fairclough (2003: 3), I interpret text

[42] Online British and NZ databases (the 19th Century British Library Newspapers and National Library of New Zealand's Papers Past (newspapers and magazines)) and text platforms (New Zealand Electronic Text Collection).

as incorporating a broad range of manuscripts and publications. These include internal museum documentation (e.g. accession registers and exhibition files); diaries; newspaper articles and adverts; photographers' catalogues; autobiographies; guidebooks; and early books about Māori culture written by Māori and non-Māori (1880s-1940s). Regarding the latter, works by Elsdon Best (ethnographer), James Cowan (historian), Edward Tregear (linguist and Polynesian scholar) and Major-General Horatio Gordon Robley (soldier, artist and collector), for example, remain respected sources of knowledge despite colonial bias. They have been consistently referenced and reinterpreted from the nineteenth-century to the present day by Māori and non-Māori scholars and heritage practitioners, including Makereti Papakura, Te Rangi Hiroa/Sir Peter Buck, Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku, Amiria Henare [Salmond] and Paul Tapsell.

Collectively these sources used in the thesis, and the interconnective intertexuality and movement between them, informed the discourses surrounding photographs, thereby aiding their analysis. For example, they provided information about key historical moments and Māori figures, photographers' marketing of their work, the reception of photographs in the press, impact of photographic technological changes and photographic reuse in publications.

Exhibitions

During 2015-2016, exhibitions at the BM and PRM were analysed to assess current uses of Māori photographs. This was not possible at the RCAGM since the Māori photograph collection is not currently on display nor has it been for some time. Contemporary exhibitions featuring non-Māori photographs and other object types were additionally analysed at The Photographers' Gallery, Dennis Servers' House, Horniman Museum and Gardens, NMM, and Tate Britain in London and National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh. The purpose was to more broadly examine the ways photographs are being used and develop ideas about interpretative potentialities for display. For example, exhibition analysis at these museums confirmed burgeoning trends, which are indicative of shifts in the museological perception of and values invested in photographs. Most evident was an increase in

exhibitions emphasising the material properties of photographs as objects and opportunities for sensory interactions, as well as those highlighting historical alignments between photography, illustrations and paintings.

Archival excavation and research into former exhibitions featuring Māori photographs was undertaken at all three museums, including those prior to 2015, which I did not visit. This was accomplished using museum exhibition files, staff interviews and secondary literature (e.g. annual reports, bulletins, catalogues, adverts, exhibition reviews, past exhibition webpages and database records). Exceptions include NZ exhibitions *Te Awa Tupua: The Whanganui iwi* (2003-2006) at Te Papa and *Manatunga: ko ngā taonga waihohanga atu ki te arawhiti* (2013) at Auckland Libraries. I visited these exhibitions whilst working at both institutions during 2003-2007 and 2010-2014 respectively, allowing me to use my recollections. Additionally for the exhibition *He iti whetū: Ngāti Toa portraits* at Te Papa (2015-2016), I corresponded by email with the exhibition's curator.

Interviews and participant observation

A total of thirteen semi-structured interviews were undertaken in person and remotely by email (where participants were based overseas). These were conducted with past and present staff from photography, Oceanic/Pacific and general museum departments, and two organisations working on multisensory projects with BM collections (Museum in a Box and Sensory Objects), and members of Ngāti Rānana, the London Māori cultural group.[43] Additionally, a short semi-structured interview was also undertaken prior to the PhD's initiation. This was carried out with the Māori Librarian at Auckland Libraries, and concentrated on photographs and exhibition.[44] A

[43] All research with human participants was conducted in accordance with the university's Code of Research Ethics and disciplinary guidelines of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Association of Social Anthropologists (UK and NZ) and NZ Ministry of Social Development for Research and Evaluation with Māori, and with reference to the Museums Association's Code of Ethics.

[44] Undertaken with the interviewee's full permission for use in this thesis.

semi-structured interview format and template were used to guide and enable in-depth discussions but equally conversations were allowed to develop naturally.

A sensorial ethnographic approach was utilised during staff interviews. Noise levels permitting, parts of interviews were carried out in gallery spaces and within close proximity to exhibitions. Comparative to sedentary office based interviews, talking to staff whilst viewing exhibitions and walking around the spaces they are responsible for offers a less abstract, and more dynamically embodied approach. This process enriched my understanding of how staff perceive and construct meaning, by allowing the relationship between "visual and verbal knowledge" to be observed and symbiotic connections made (Pink, 2001: 74, 111). During all interviews and participant observation, sensory interactions (e.g. touching) and paralinguistic responses or non-verbal forms of communication that emphasise meaning (e.g. gestures) were also recorded. This was used to enhance my comprehension of participants' verbal responses.

Where noise precluded interviews being held in galleries, photo elicitation was employed instead. Preselected photographs of contemporary exhibitions featuring Māori photographs were used as visual aids to prompt conversations.[45] This approach was also used with Ngāti Rānana members to examine exhibition designs and photographic uses comparative to *Mātauranga Māori* principles. It complemented and naturally led on from the NMM workshops with the group. Colonial-era photographs relating to each person's *whakapapa* were additionally used with group members during interviews. This produced alternative forms of revelatory knowledge, which may not have been addressed solely through verbal questioning. In a reversal of interview roles, several interviewees also used photo elicitation with me. For example, one Ngāti Rānana member showed me his framed family photographs in order to emphasise his verbal responses. A museum staff member also used photographs on his computer to visually illustrate the evolution of photograph exhibitions.

[45] Taken by myself and from other sources, including institutional, and reproduced as photocopies for practical reasons.

Participant observation was conducted in several contexts, enabling detailed interpretative insights of an emic nature. This included during two public half-day photographic workshops at the PRM. My attendance and participation aided exploration of the material and sensory ways museums are engaging with photographs beyond exhibitions. I also carried out participant observation at four half-day NMM workshops with Ngāti Rānana.[46] These formed part of the museum's consultative process for a permanent Pacific Gallery opening in 2018, and I attended them as a Ngāti Rānana member. The workshops focused on exhibition themes and design, and included a store visit to view and handle non-photographic and photographic *taonga*.[47] In order to develop rapport with Ngāti Rānana, I also took part in club meetings held at NZ House in London during October 2015 to March 2016. All interviews and participant observation targeted specific knowledge. This included understanding how group members conceptualise colonial-era photographs and their perspectives on exhibitionary uses; as well as comprehending from staff how photographs are institutionally positioned and used.

Analysis

A derivative type of discourse analysis, rather than a strict adherence to its traditional form, was used to analyse all photographs and texts (e.g. publications, manuscripts, interview transcripts, and notes from exhibition analysis and participant observation). Although generally used with texts, it can be adapted to accommodate varied sources, including photographs. The suitability of discourse analysis lies in its capacity to be discursive, interpretive and to a lesser extent reflexive (Rose, 2012: 225, 259; Tonkiss, 2012: 418). As a form of microanalysis, it reveals reoccurring themes, patterns and absences, and the portrayal of actors (Tonkiss, 2012: 412-418). Discourse analysis is also commonly used within indigenous and postcolonial methodologies, which along

[46] These were held over two days but attendees varied at each of the workshops and included artists, academics and researchers.

[47] ABL029 (c.1864-1876) and ALB0373 (1878).

with biculturalism and multiculturalism, inform interpretation in this thesis from the perspective of an overarching metanarrative.

As an analytical method, discourse analysis is associated with Foucauldian thought. Accordingly, attention was given to the social construction and production of knowledge, and discourses of power across the varied cultural, social, historical and contemporary contexts of the thesis. For example, this includes the power dynamics involved in the production of photographs; constructed and cumulative nature of archives (e.g. catalogues); museological practices of object decontextualisation and recontextualisation (e.g. accessioning); and exhibitions, as spaces situated within institutional politics of representation (Edwards, 2001: 107; Macdonald, 2011: 82; Morton, 2012: 369-370; Sekula, 1986; Sekula, 2003: 446). Using discourse analysis enabled these complex contexts to be comprehended. It also gave space for divergent or resistant Māori and non-Māori narratives but without effacing the complexities of broader colonial beliefs and practices.[48]

As scholars such as Rose (2012: 77) have noted, the sole use of any analysis is insufficient for understanding the complexities of colonial-era photographs. Therefore discourse analysis was used in this thesis as part of a suite of interconnected methods, an approach, which has been adapted from the critical visual frameworks of Edwards (1990; 2001; 2009), Rose (2012) and Tinkler (2013). The first stage included microanalysis of the contents (e.g. people, places, activities, and anomalous or absent details), composition, genre (e.g. portraits and any historically associated meanings) and photographic type (e.g. souvenir).[49] A detailed analysis of material and sensory qualities was carried out in the second stage. This concentrated on elements influencing interpretation and use, including presentation

[48] This might be described as a holistic approach towards 'reading against' and 'along the archival grain', as per Stoler (2010). She states this offers a subtle and nuanced technique, which includes the 'bottoms up' and agentive approach of the former with an understanding of colonial systems.

[49] This is distinct from quantitative content analysis, which is usually carried out using specific sampling methods and coding large datasets.

formats and mounts (e.g. albums), material additions or markings (e.g. labels), and surface signs of production and handling.

The third stage was a type of visual discourse analysis, which relied upon contextual information drawn from newspaper advertisements, catalogues, diaries, publications and exhibition documentation. This enabled a consideration of photographers' 'intended readings', photographic reception and interpretation, and practices of remediation and circulation. These interconnected paths helped create a holistic understanding of personal (e.g. Annie Russell-Cotes and Makereti Papakura), public (e.g. publications) and institutional (museums) uses over time, including shifts in meaning and across media. Additionally, I created a relational and fully searchable database using Endnote bibliographic software. Always envisaged as a useful tool for text, it became increasingly essential for photographs as research progressed. It was used to catalogue, search for and cross-reference photographs across collections. Keywording helped reveal themes and relational interconnections, and the rediscovery of unidentified information about photographs (e.g. the names of sitters and photographers, and production dates).

Fieldwork reflections

In concluding this chapter, I actively reflect on fieldwork with human participants and archival sources. Starting with the former, several museum staff demonstrated initial apprehension about being interviewed. A few cited a lack of NZ or photographic knowledge and expertise as the reason but this may have been exacerbated by uneasiness with the potentially culturally sensitive nature of the photographs being researched. This did not end up being a limiting factor though and all those approached agreed to participate. Engagement with Ngāti Rānana was more complex for several reasons. Initially a lengthy ethics application unavoidably delayed and compressed the time available for building rapport with the group prior to fieldwork commencing. Engaging multiple participants was also complicated by this diasporic group's generally young demographic and knowledge level, which many felt precluded their involvement. Finally, the group's relationship with the BM had waned

since their involvement with the Māori display during 2007-2009. This was discovered subsequent to initiating contact and submitting a participation request to the group. Although the request was reframed, this was relatively ineffective because communication was formally controlled through a gatekeeper. Given these factors, alternative forms of engagement were sought. This was successfully facilitated through the author's attendance and participation in NMM consultative workshops alongside other Ngāti Rānana members. This was actively encouraged by the group and with their consent. The workshops were highly productive, including providing useful reflections on the BM's and PRM's consultative practices with Māori during exhibition development.

Creative methods were also sought to lessen the impact of minimal photographic provenance and documentation (e.g. acquisition information and basic details) at all three museums. For example, other types of text and photograph sources (e.g. albums from the same period and adverts) were used to provide additional or indicative information. This phenomenon of meagre photographic documentation, which is common across museum collections, was also treated as revelatory of the perception of photographs comparative to other objects.

Finally, after careful consideration and a review of relevant theses, it was deemed acceptable to visually reproduce in my thesis nearly all the photographs discussed. Comparative to Australia for example, photographs of Māori are not overtly demeaning and very few show nudity. Furthermore, nearly all the photographs in this thesis are available online through museum catalogues (or will be once digitised). In the spirit of this research, their inclusion was also considered important for the enduring value and meshwork of relations they embody between ancestors and descendants.

Collectively, the literature review in Chapter 2 and theoretical approach, fieldwork parameters and analysis explained in this chapter have established the research's foundations. This provides the basis for the thesis's four research chapters, the first of which concerns the NZ album created by museum founder and collector, Annie Russell-Cotes.

Chapter 4: Annie Russell-Cotes's NZ album of photographs and ferns

Introduction

E koekoe te tūī, e ketekete te kākā, e kūkū te kererū

The *tūī* sings, the *kākā* chatters, the *kererū* coos.

The importance of diversity is illustrated in this *whakataukī* through the invocation of three native birds and their calls. The validity and richness of multiple voices or views was an emergent theme during fieldwork with Ngāti Rānana, and presented by the group as a holistic way of comprehending reality. Diverse perspectives and ways of interpreting objects are also central to this chapter and thesis as a whole, including the dual theoretical framework and methodological approach. This chapter explores multiple perspectives through an intact, 62-page album of commercial photographs and ferns. Created by Annie Russell-Cotes, it resulted from a trip with her husband Merton to NZ in 1885.[50] Using colonial and *Mātauranga Māori* interpretative frames, and a focus on people and the land, this chapter develops two distinct ways of comprehending the album. This approach should not however, be taken as precluding other analytical perspectives within a meshwork of possible explications.

Arising from the album's type, provenance, and supporting sources, a colonial interpretative frame takes precedence over a *Mātauranga Māori* one. Aligned with Annie's status as a female British museum collector and tourist, the colonial frame

[50] RCAGM :T23.6.2006.5.

engages with the creation of touristic travel souvenirs using NZ photographs and botanical specimens. Photograph albums made by other travellers to NZ during the same period (1880s-1890s) help substantiate commonalities and disparities.[51] The use of certain photographs in Annie's album is contextualised by exploring their reoccurrence across different genres and publications, including popular anthropology (ethnography and ethnology), travel writing and the news. In the final section, the *Mātauranga Māori* frame is used to explore the album as a *taonga*. This pertains to the knowledge it holds about people, cultural and ecological practices, and the land.

Owing to this thesis's focus on the material and sensory, the Russell-Cotes's experiences of travelling around NZ, and engagements with the people and land are perceived to be central to the album's creative, physical and philosophical inception and production. This includes their travel routes, observations of and reactions to NZ landscapes, Māori people and culture, and collection of photographs and plants. Notably, these display a focus on the geothermal Rotorua region, which was popular with tourists. Finally, as well as giving a macro overview of the album's contents, this chapter includes detailed microanalysis of specific photographs, including those of King Tāwhiao II and tourist guide Keita/Kate Rangitūkia Middlemass (c.1839-1925).[52]

The Russell-Cotes and collecting the world

Merton and Annie Russell-Cotes played important political, commercial, social, civic and philanthropic roles in their local Bournemouth community, including Merton's role as mayor. The Russell-Cotes aspired above their upper middle class positioning and sought to be arbiters of taste in arts and culture. Travelling the world, they collected from aesthetic, cultural, historical and scientific interests, amassing art, ethnographic and natural history objects. As private collectors, they did not rigorously

[51] E.g. Dr James Edward Blomfield's diary and album c.1888 (PRM 1998.68 AL 41) and W.C. Mamby's album c.1889-1891 (BM Oc,A18.1-43).

[52] Also known as Kati/Maggie and Margaret Petterson.

adhere to formal collection development criteria. Instead they appear to have selected objects, which appealed to them and were instantly recognisable as being from a particular culture. This includes photographs of NZ landscapes and its indigenous people. Often aided by guides when overseas, a common practice at the time, the Russell-Cotes brought back largely touristic objects, including commercial photographs. As such, these objects are revelatory of the effects of consumer demand, colonisation and cross-cultural exchange between settlers and Māori. Since the Russell-Cotes collected for personal rather public museum reasons, RCAGM curator Duncan Walker describes object provenance as not being a primary concern (2016). This lack of reflexivity prior to the museum's 1907 establishment resulted in the retention of minimal documentation pertaining to all objects. After the suicide of Annie and Merton's son, Herbert, in 1932, the family is understood to have sold or disposed of parts of the founders' personal collections, including paperwork. This documentation absence may also result from the commonplace classification of photographs as documents, and/or self-evident illustrations, rather than objects. Cast in this role, documentation is often deemed unnecessary.

Pugh (1988: 71) and Hooper-Greenhill (2000: 100) describe Annie's role in the museum's history as obscured by Merton and difficult to ascertain. Although there is veracity in these statements, Merton's expansive two-volume autobiography clearly and repeatedly describes the museum and non-art collections as his wife's endeavour. Published by his son Herbert a few months after Merton's death, the autobiography chronicles Annie and Merton's global travels, including to NZ. It is revelatory of the period's colonial attitudes and mixed perspectives towards power relations, perceptions of race and the indigenous 'Other', including Māori. Containing few personal photographs of the Russell-Cotes overseas, it does include several commerical NZ photographs. These are used as illustrative context and also appear in Annie's album.[53] Photography does not seem to have been a main interest of the Russell-Cotes and the album is one of only two in the collections. Although Annie and Merton were both interested in 'curios', Merton's primary interest was art, whereas

[53] E.g. Tāwhiao (Mayall, c.1884) and Ngaikiha Te Raukura, Te Rangitahau's wife (Deveril, c.1875).

Annie focused on botany, geology and world cultures. Annie was also an accomplished writer, publishing several books on their overseas travels. She is believed to have written a NZ manuscript, based on observations from her pocket diary, but neither of these primary sources survives. Merton does, however, quote at length from Annie's diary in his autobiography and credits her with helping with memories of their travels (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: viii, 392). The autobiography's uneven style and tone suggests the clearly demarcated diary excerpts are faithful to Annie's notes.

The Russell-Cotes bought the Royal Bath Hotel in 1876, significantly renovating and reopening it in 1880. As remarked in the press, this luxurious and theatrical hotel was akin to a museum and art gallery with themed rooms and murals (Lancaster, 1893: 1). It had a pedagogic function to expose, educate and entertain guests using the displayed European art and curios. In this capacity, there was a conscious and commercially orientated "working of these collections" (Walker, 2016). This contrasts with the Russell-Cotes's personal collections, including those from NZ. These were displayed within the domestic space of their private hotel suite and subsequently in their home, East Cliff Hall. The latter was an unconventionally "odd home", more akin to living in an antique or 'curio' shop (Walker, 2016). According to their granddaughter Phyllis Lee Duncan "[t]here were no home comforts at all" (Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, c.1996: File 2). A photograph from c.1891-1901 (figure 4.1) shows Annie and Merton amongst the cluttered aesthetic of their hotel suite, where they also placed "no barriers" between their living spaces and collections (Walker, 2016). This reflects the daily cohabitation and sensory contact they had with their collections.

Contrary to what was originally believed, Annie and Merton's wealth, which facilitated their collecting and international travels, was not inherited from her family. Instead it is thought they accrued their fortune through their hotel business (Walker, 2016). The histories of the hotel, East Cliff Hall, and collections are inexplicably linked. Merton built East Cliff Hall adjacent to the hotel and it was completed in 1901, during the Victorian era's final years. As an architectural status symbol indicating social

positioning, it was explicitly designed as a home and space to showcase collections for the pleasure of the Russell-Cotes and their visitors. The Russell-Cotes' donation of the building and collections in 1908 formally transferred ownership by deed of gift to the Bournemouth people. East Cliff Hall was partially open to the public during Annie and Merton's lifetimes but it was not until 1922 after their deaths, that it became fully public. The rhetoric and narratives of their personal curation and display of objects in East Cliff Hall were also not transformed into institutional ones until this time. However, the album remained outside of these discourses until relatively recently.

Figure 4.1. Annie and Merton Russell-Cotes in a sitting room in their private Royal Bath Hotel suite (anonymous, 1891-1901). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.5.2006.15].

Considered to be "family material" and part of Annie's personal and domestic effects, the album was separated from the museum collections (Walker, 2016). As such it appears to have been categorised by the first curator Richard Quick (1921-1933) as an archival document rather than collection object. This is in accordance with current theoretical explanations of how photographs were/are commonly perceived in museums (see Edwards and Lien, 2014a: 3-17; Morton, 2014: 243-244). Quick for

example, did not list the album in the 1926 or 1928 volumes of *The Bulletin of the Russell-Cotes Art Gallery And Museum* (Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum and County Borough of Bournemouth, 1922-1956), which detail the museum's other Māori objects. The album was rediscovered by curator Shaun Garner (c.1981/1982-c.2012) in the museum store during the 1980s to mid 1990s (Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, c.1996: File 2) and its significance re-acknowledged. Either accessioned then or subsequently in 2006, it was classified as an object in the World Cultures Collections. Broader than ethnographic, these collections reflect the British Empire and global collection of indigenous cultural objects brought back to Britain (Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, 2015: 7).

Merton's autobiography reveals the complex and expansive national and international meshwork of social relations he and Annie cultivated through their hotelier and philanthropic endeavours. These comprised acquaintances and relationships with people involved in the arts, medicine, museums and international exhibitions. Prominent figures include museum collectors and founders Lord Thomas (politician) and Lady Annie Brassey (a keen amateur photographer). In NZ circles, the Russell-Cotes were in contact with Sir James Hector, a respected geologist, naturalist, surgeon and director of the Colonial Museum in Wellington (from 1865-1903). Other contacts are indicated by the album's printed ephemera, including the Christmas card of the NZ bush by well-known illustrator Hugh Boscawen (figure 4.2). The card is from the Post Master General's Department and was most likely sent by Keith Wilson who also gave two *cartes* by Pulman to the Russell-Cotes during their NZ trip (figure 4.3). Wilson was a Freemason and actor, and worked at the Telegraph Department in Christchurch, Auckland and Napier. In 1881, the merger of the Electric Telegraphs Department and Post Office Department created the NZ Post and Telegraph Department. The card's seasonal greetings, some six months after the Russell-Cotes's visit or later, and location inside the back cover, suggests it was added following the album's completion. Therefore it may indicate the longevity and maintenance of a global meshwork of relations through the postal system after 1885.

Figure 4.2. Christmas card (Boscawen, c.1880s), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

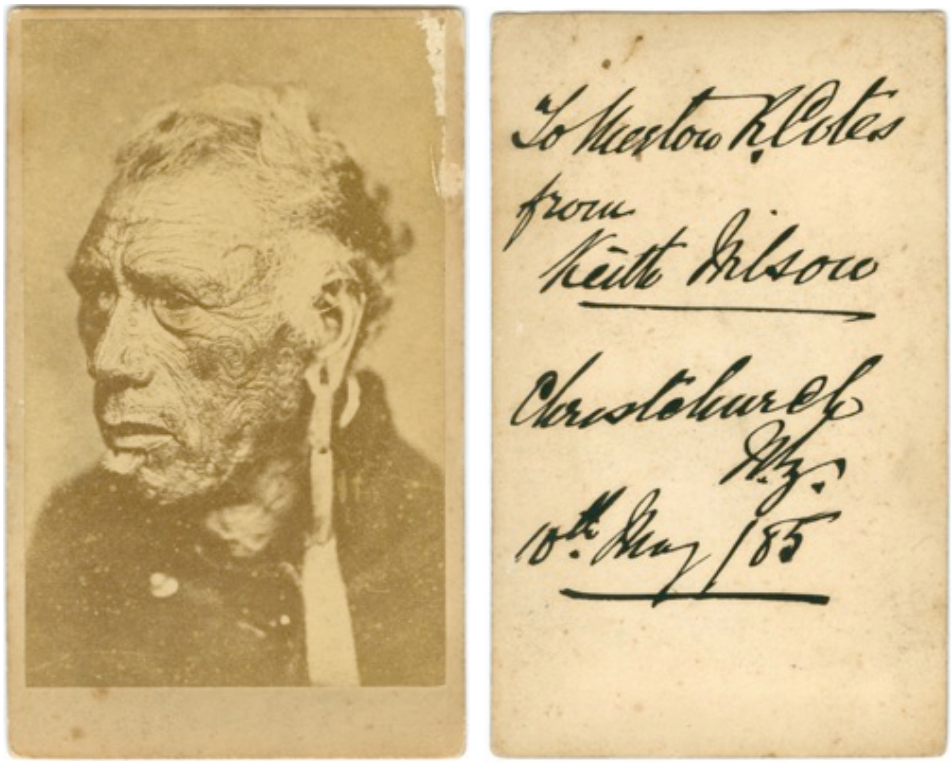

Figure 4.3. Recto (left) of carte showing Ratene Hihitaua, Ngāti Paoa (Elizabeth Pulman, c.1870-1881) and verso (right) showing Keith Wilson's message, Christchurch, 10 May 1885. © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T6.7.2006.5].

Following the Russell-Cotes around NZ

On 1 November 1884, the Russell-Cotes left Plymouth on board the *SS Torrens* and embarked on an extensive overseas voyage visiting Australia, Tasmania, NZ, Fiji, Samoa, Hawai'i and Japan on their return. Merton details their Australasian travels in an 1886 article for *The Tribune* (Russell-Cotes, 1880s-1900s: xvi-xvii) and a chapter in his autobiography (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 375-407). He and Annie collected avariciously during this trip, including amassing the album's photographic and botanical components. NZ tourism developed during the 1860s and was reasonably established by their visit.[54] The expansion of the road, railway and sea systems in the 1870-1880s greatly aided travel to previously inaccessible locations. Taking advantage of these transport options and meshwork of connective routes, Annie and Merton took a steamship, probably the *Clansman*, around the east coast from Auckland to Tauranga; and then a horse and carriage or coach across the land to Ohinemutu (figures 4.4-4.5).[55] Over a month and half (4 May-23 June 1885) they visited both islands and the main towns. This includes the Scottish settlement of Dunedin in the South Island, the capital Wellington and subtropical Auckland in the North Island. On the 23 June 1885, they departed from Auckland on board *SS Australia*, and after several other stops, arrived home on 5 May 1886.

Scottish firm Blacks were one of earliest to publish local tourist guidebooks during the 1830s. Around fifty years later, Thorpe Talbot, the pseudonym of British expatriate Frances Ellen Talbot, wrote the first NZ publication (1882). MM Taylor of Auckland gave a copy of this guidebook to the Russell-Cotes. Merton's distinctive marking up of the guidebook in blue pencil, also observable in his scrapbooks, suggests they used it during their trip. There are close similarities between the established tourist routes and sites featured in Talbot's, subsequent guidebooks (e.g. Froude, 1886; Waddell *et al.*, 1884) and newspaper articles (e.g. Anonymous, 1884c: 2) compared with those depicted photographically in Annie's album and described in Merton's autobiography.

[54] NZ did not experience large-scale tourism until sea connections increased in the 1890s.

[55] Built in Annie's hometown of Glasgow in 1884.

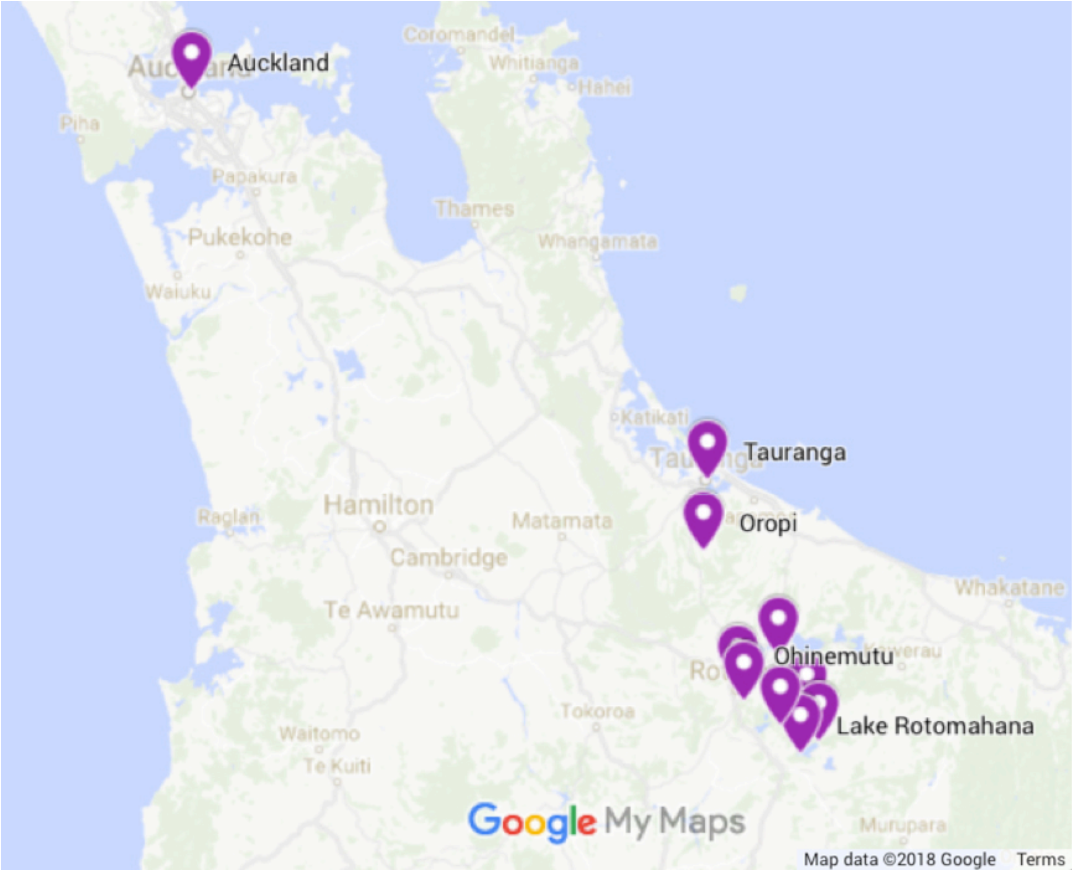

Figure 4.4. Places visited by the Russell-Cotes during their journey from Auckland to Tauranga, including the Oropi bush and Rotorua geothermal region. Map data © 2018 Google (My Maps).

They also all share a focus on geothermal destinations in the Rotorua region, thereby adding to the existing concentration on this area. The region's natural hot springs, geysers, boiling mud pools and spectacular geological formations made it a popular tourist destination (figure 4.6). Merton describes it as "the marvellous wonderland among the Maoris in the "King Country"" (Russell-Cotes, 1880s-1900s: 1).[56] Colloquially termed 'the Hot Lakes District', photographers, including Martin (c.1890: 7-12), used this phrase in their marketing. The Russell-Cotes experienced the boiling sulphur springs and village at Ohinemutu, mud springs at Tikitere, and hot baths and geysers at the settlement of Whakarewarewa.[57] They also visited the Pink (*Te*

[56] This historical term references the western part of the Waikato, where Tāwhiao spent his exile after the New Zealand Wars concluded in the early 1870s.

[57] Ohinemutu is on Lake Rotorua. Tikitere (Hell's Gate) is located, along with Whakarewarewa, on the outskirts of present day Rotorua town.

Otukapuarangi/The fountain of the clouded sky) and White Terraces (*Te Tarata*/The tattooed rock) on the shores of Lake Rotomahana. Considered to be the eighth wonder of the world, Merton effusively writes these "magnificent and unparalleled alabaster marble, pink and white terraces, no pen can describe, no picture can delineate" (Russell-Cotes, 1880s-1900s: 1).

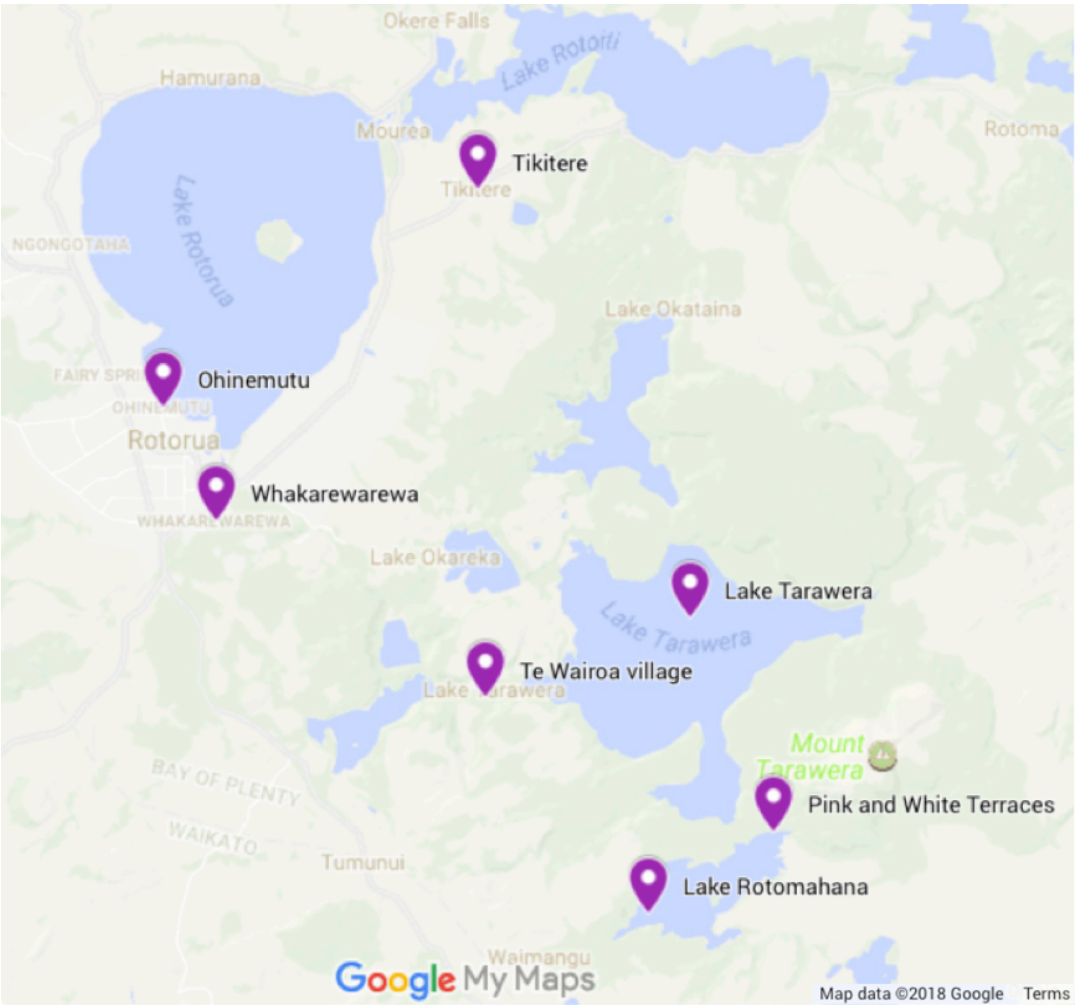

Figure 4.5. Detail of places in the Rotorua geothermal region visited by the Russell-Cotes. Map data © 2018 Google (My Maps).

Compared to everyday life, experiences are heightened when travelling, especially overseas. They are also pre-influenced by guidebook information. As Haldrup states, a person's preconceived mental state or "mindset" dramatically affects travel experiences and how "we encounter and deal with sights, objects, sensations and emotions" (2017: 54). Talbot's 1882 guidebook, along with Waddell *et al*'s and Froude's published shortly after, contain detailed descriptions and illustrations of

North Island destinations. This includes precise information about what to see (sights), do (entertainment), taste (local delicacies) and where to stay (hotels). Rotomahana Hotel for example, where the Russell-Cotes may have lodged, was a popular overnight stop. Located in the missionary settlement of Te Wairoa, it marked the portal to the terraces. For these reasons, the hotel also became a popular photographic subject and features in Annie's album (figure 4.6). The guidebooks also contain practical information, including travel itineraries and entrance fees. Merton repeats this type of information some thirty-five years later in his autobiography, reflecting the longevity and trusted nature of guidebooks. He notes "[f]rom Ohinemutu to the pink and white terraces of Rotomahana and back is a distance of about thirty miles, occupying two days, at a cost of £2 each person for the return ticket, including coach, boats, guides and feed" (Russell-Cotes, 1880s-1900s: 2).

As well as practical information, Talbot's and Waddell *et al*'s guidebooks include Māori oral histories and creation myths, anecdotes and descriptions of touristic events. The latter includes *haka*/posture dance performances in Hinemihi, the *wharenui* at Te Wairoa. Intended to be didactic and entertaining, the guidebooks employ emotive language, reflecting cultural understanding at that time. This is mirrored by Merton's lengthy passage in his autobiography about attending a *haka* inside Hinemihi (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 399-401). His description indicates he was equally fascinated and revolted by the performance and the "sometimes highly elaborated, sometimes rude" *wharenui* carvings (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 395). A photograph in Annie's album shows the *amo*/carved upright supports featuring ancestors on Hinemihi's exterior, which Merton describes as "[h]orrible goggle-eyed monsters—the ancestors of the tribes" (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 395) (figure 4.7).

Figure 4.6. Turikore/Spout Bath (left page, anonymous, c.1885) and Rotomahana Hotel (right page, Valentine[?], c.1885), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

Figure 4.7."Nga Wahine [the women] Kate [Keita], Sophia, Opeora [Johanna] Guides to The Terraces" outside Hinemihi, Te Wairoa (Elizabeth Pulman, c.1881), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5]. See figure 4.31 for double page.

An album of its time

Annie's NZ album is not a neutrally constructed object. Rather it reflects the political, economic and sociocultural attitudes and ideologies (e.g. about other cultures) and practices (e.g. creative endeavours and photography's development) contemporary to its era. The blossoming of intellectual thought during the nineteenth-century occurred across a flexible interface between the sciences, arts and humanities, with photography at their apex. There was prominent public engagement with, and democratic non-elitist access, to new ideas and scientific enquiry compared with previously. This includes Darwinism's evolutionary theories on natural selection; botanical discoveries; new technologies, and nascent disciplines, including anthropology. A backdrop to this was the biological, anthropological and botanical study of the British colonies' races of indigenous peoples, and native flora and fauna.

Popular middle class interest in British and NZ scientific, artistic and humanities output was reflected in attendance at public lectures, and international and local exhibitions, which utilised photography for performative and display purposes (see Chapter 7). The Russell-Cotes attended art and photographic exhibitions and probably visited the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (1886) and local Bournemouth Industrial Exhibition (1890). The former prominently featured photographs by the Burton Brothers and Martin amongst the NZ exhibits. The Russell-Cotes also extended their cultural standing by loaning paintings to international exhibitions, including the 1882 NZ International Exhibition (Christchurch) (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 983, 989). This suggests they developed certain NZ acquaintances prior to their 1885 visit. During the 1890s, they hosted the Royal Medical Association's annual banquets and garden parties at their hotel, followed by tours of their collections. Both Annie and Merton also had affiliations with scientific and cultural societies. Annie was a member of the Ethnological Society and in 1903 became a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature owing to her travel writing, whilst Merton was a Fellow of the Imperial Institute and Royal Geographic Society (Anonymous, 1908: 8-9; Pugh, 1988: 71).

As a new technology, photography was prominently displayed at the 1851 Great Exhibition (London) and subsequent ones. The 1851 international exhibition showed "commercial and portrait photography as Industry, and certain more artistic work as Fine Art" (McCredie, 2015b: 212). In a special 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition edition of *The Art Journal*, photography was equally dually referred to as "Art-science" (Anonymous, 1886a: 349). This ambiguous classification, which placed photography as a mechanical form of art and revolutionary scientific technology evocative of modernity, shows the differing perceptions held by critics, the public and photographers themselves.[58] The Burton Brothers, for example, advertised themselves as "Artists & Photographers" (Anonymous, 1868: 6).

At the 1886 exhibition, Māori cultural objects described as "savage art" were showcased alongside NZ photography (Anonymous, 1886a: 1). This includes

[58] In the twentieth-century photography was categorised as a 'low' rather than 'high' art.

photographers, whose work is well represented in Annie's photograph album, namely the Burton Brothers, Martin, Pulman and Valentine. After the exhibition's closure, objects were sold privately and auctioned. The Russell-Cotes procured Tāwhiao's wedding *kakahu huruhuru*/checker board pattern feather cloak with peacock feathers through Lord Brassey.[59] A 'prize' object, Merton mentions the cloak in his autobiography. He contextualises its provenance by including a portrait of Tāwhiao by Mayall (1884) wearing a kiwi feather cloak (figure 4.8). This photograph also appears in Annie's album, aligning it with the cloak and other Māori objects collected after the NZ trip. Also illustrating the Russell-Cotes's continued interest in Māori culture, are multiple originals of cabinet cards in Annie's album, which were framed for display in East Cliff Hall (figure 4.9-4.10).[60]

Despite the spread of amateur photographic practice during the 1880s, there is no evidence to suggest Annie or Merton took photographs whilst overseas. Given the identification of the album's contents as commercial, it can be surmised Annie purchased the majority from commonly available sources during the NZ trip, such as photographers' studios and stationery shops. Purchasing prints was common during the 1860-1880s, even by tourists who took their own photographs, such as Lady Brassey (see Micklewright, 2003). Dr Blomfield in his diary references obtaining photographs throughout his 1888 trip. In Auckland he states he "[g]ot … some photos from Martin of Auckland and Fiji" (Blomfield, 1888a: 2, 15 August). Annie may also have purchased the album's many photographs by Martin directly from his Queen Street shop, on Auckland's high street. The embossed stamp of Dunedin based Clifford & Co. on several of the *cartes* also links the Russell-Cotes's Dunedin visit with the company's studio shop in the town's Royal Arcade. Other photographs were gifted by acquaintances during the trip (figure 4.3) and additional ones may have been purchased at the 1886 international exhibition.

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[59] Peacocks were an introduced species. The cloak (RC306) was displayed by "Sullivan, Patrick, [from] Thames" (Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886: 44).

[60] Similar to but larger than *cartes,* cabinet cards comprise albumen prints mounted onto card measuring around 10.8 x 16.5cm. They gained some level of popularity in NZ during the 1880s.

Tawphio, the last King of the Maories

Whose marriage "mat" of peacock's feathers we have in the museum. This "mat" is unique, being the only one in existence. It was formerly the property of Lord and Lady Brassey, purchased by Lady Brassey from Tawphio. When Kalakaua, King of the Hawaiian Islands, was visiting Lord and Lady Brassey, at Battle Abbey, he urged Lady Brassey to let him have it, offering a dollar for every feather, but she declined parting with it. It was exhibited at the Colonial Exhibition, Earl's Court.

Figure 4.8. "Tawphio[sic], the last King of the Maories" (Mayall, 1884) in Russell-Cotes, Merton (c.1920). Home and Abroad: An Autobiography of An Octogenarian. Private Press: Richard Hill Printing Works, opposite p. 930. Courtesy of The Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, Bournemouth.

Figure 4.9. Cabinet card of Rana Rauangi, sister of Queen Hirinie (Pulman Studio, c.1885), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T6.7.2006.14].

Figure 4.10. Framed cabinet card of Rana Rauangi (left-hand side, Pulman Studio, c.1885). Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of the Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth. [:T6.7.2006.14].

Although photographs were associated with new technologies, their incorporation into albums was an extension of pre-existing older aesthetic and literary traditions, and creative forms of memory making, including scrapbooking, drawing and pressing flowers (Di Bello, 2007: 50, 155; Langford, 2001: 50, 123; Stewart, 1984: 138). Indeed, Bolter and Grusin argue that all media reference and reshape earlier forms (1999: 50, 273). Photographs therefore became another form of creative expression in albums, which were frequently already mixed media in nature. Annie's album reflects her existing preoccupation with botany, geology and world culture, and subsequent fascination in Māori culture after the NZ trip. Along with interests in, and knowledge of, botany and fine arts, making photograph albums and scrapbooks were traditionally considered appropriate gentile and creative pursuits for middle and upper class women (Di Bello, 2007: 40, 57, 117; Micklewright, 2003: 28; Siegel, 2009: 14).[61] Thus albums such as Annie's and its context of creation are evocative of wealth, class, gender and social status. Given the strong presence of formal family portraits in the RCAGM collections and photographs of Annie and Merton in the press (Russell-Cotes, 1880s-1900s: 40), it is likely the Russell-Cotes had a sophisticated understanding of how photographs could be used and re-contextualised. This might

[61] It was not exclusively women who created albums though (e.g. Mamby's and Blomfield's albums).

be understood as bounded by societal and cultural conventions of the time, including presentation formats like albums. More broadly, the Russell-Cotes appear to have comprehended photography's multifunctionality as a technology capable of conveying messages for commercial and marketing purposes. This is evident in the decorative use of photographs in their hotel.[62] The Russell-Cotes also had a series of photographs taken in c.1907-1908 documenting the interior and exterior of East Cliff Hall and their collections (figure 4.11). Made into postcards, these were sold to hotel guests with the intention of advertising the Russell-Cotes's donation of their house and collections, which had already been publicised. Presumably popular, the postcards were still being marketed in the museum's bulletins during the 1920s.

The album's subject matter and approach distinguishes it from upper class feminine albums of the 1860-1880s, which are largely concerned with identity, familial relations and societal connections (Di Bello, 2009: 52). Instead, the use of 113 commercial albumen photographs, botanical specimens, drawings, ephemera and handwritten cultural and scientific captions, create visual and tactile traces of the Russell-Cotes's travels and experiences. Since it is not a domestic album, personal photographs of the Russell-Cotes are not included. Rather it is analogous to illustrated and photographic visual travel publications of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Frith, 1864; Maxwell, 2011). Like these publications, Annie's album displays the phenomenon Bolter and Grusin describe as "hypermediacy" (1999: 272). To explicate, the medium (the album) remains explicit and part of the viewing experience. The illusionary nature of photography's assumed realism is also shattered by the album's blend of photographs with captions, plants, ephemera, and purposeful arrangement and design. Furthermore, the titles imprinted onto the original negatives, which self-referentially describe the scenes on several photographs, and Annie's handwritten annotations, reveal traces of the human operators involved in the photographs' and album's making.[63]

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[62] Albums :T25.4.2005.22.1-4.

[63] Imprinted text was achieved by writing back-to-front on a glass plate negative's reverse. All prints subsequently contain this text unless obscured.

Figure 4.11. One of eight photographs of East Cliff Hall and the collections that were made into postcards (anonymous, c.1907-1908). This photograph shows a NZ korowai/tasselled cloak on the banisters (centre of the image, right-hand side). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [BORGM:1979:40b].

Given the album's photographic and botanical contents, an alignment can also be made between the photographs and pressed plants as a way of remembering trips. Stewart (1984: 138) observes that in some respects photographic souvenirs were the natural successors of pressed flowers. Both are easily transportable and evocative of moments and memories but there is a distinct difference. Plants, like those used in Annie's album are "homomaterial replicas" or something made out of exactly the same material from which it previously formed a part (Stewart, 1984: 136).[64]

[64] Stewart draws on Eco's (1976: 217) typology of modes of production for this concept.

Although both are material traces of something, photographs compared to plants show the referent but are not made from identical materials. It is therefore inaccurate to describe photographs as "parallel indexical traces", as they have been by some scholars, such as Pinney (1997: 21).

Albums progressively unfold as the viewer moves through their pages, suggesting certain prescribed routes and experiences. As Batchen (2002: 66-69) and Langford (2001: 44) state, they also have a type of logic. This is evident in their inherent structures, narratives, and sequenced, curated layouts. The narratives in Annie's album do not appear to be chronologically linear, replicate the Russell-Cotes's exact routes or explicitly correlate the geographical locations of the plants and photographs. However, they do tell the story of Annie and Merton's trip by conveying "traces of authentic experience" (Stewart, 1984: 135). The album coincides with Merton's autobiography and newspaper clippings to visually and textually re-chronicle the trip. Photographs and text thus preserve partial traces, meditating the presentation of memories of the reconstructed past (Dijck, 2007). Albums provide the perfect material conduits and containers for preserving and commemorating personal memories and experiences, as well as satisfying the desire to collect, arrange and classify the world. The newly emerging economies of tourism and consumerism in the nineteenth-century supported this culture of commemorative practice and commercial NZ photographers were quick to capitalise on it. Photography also has an inherent suitability for souvenir creation due to its capacity to capture ephemeral moments.

The album's commercial photographs were individual tourist souvenirs prior to being placed in the album. Many of these photographs had previously circulated in the NZ and British visual economies, including those of Te Rangitahau, a Ngāti Hineuru and Ngāti Tuwharetoa leader, and his wife Ngaikiha Te Raukura in Taupo by Deveril (c.1875) (figure 4.12).[65] These two photographs were commissioned by the NZ government for the 1876 Philadelphia exhibition (Main, 1978: 358). Other

[65] Te Rangitahau was lieutenant for the Ringatū religion's leader and founder, Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki.

photographs were contemporary to the album, including those of Tāwhiao and Guide Keita. Annie's personal combination of commercial photographs, other media elements and the mass-produced album act like many souvenirs do, by transforming the impersonal or generic into something uniquely personal and meaningful. The attribution of personal narratives to souvenirs is therefore essential for the transformation process to function successfully (Haldrup, 2017; Stewart, 1984: 136). This is especially important for albums, like Annie's, Dr Blomfield's and Mamby's, where the creators do not personally feature in any of the photographs. Instead these albums rely on the commercial photographs personally selected, arranged and narrated through captions to materially and evidentially communicate their creators' overseas memories and proof of their "having-been-there" as Barthes (1977: 44) terms it.

Comparative to its earlier exclusion from the object collections, the album is now understood by the museum as a valuable personal object. It is seen to reflect its creator's personality, beliefs and "thoughts, her artistic id" (Walker, 2016) or individual creative expression. The album's approach and style is also clearly distinguishable from Merton's less methodical scrapbook arrangements of ephemera, newspaper and magazine clippings, which have an absence of photographs or annotations.[66] The album's visual and textual narratives are shaped by choices made during its creation and these are likely to have been informed by certain values and criteria. Batchen (2002: 68), Drazin and Frohlich (2007: 62) and Edwards and Hart (2004a: 6, 11) all draw attention to the careful and revealing decisions people make when choosing albums. Selection is influenced by suitability and the historical context within which an album is created and functioned (Edwards, 2014: 6). Rather than its distinctiveness, Annie's album is marked by its mundane characteristics (figure 4.13). This 'everyday' album was widely available from local newspaper offices and stationers, and was commonly used for photographs in NZ and Britain.[67]

[66] RGAGM 2009.149.1-4.

[67] E.g. Alexander Turnbull Library PA1-o-334 and Hampshire Records Office 75M91/D5.

Figure 4.12. Te Rangitahau (left) and Ngaikiha Te Raukura (right) outside a wharepuni/sleeping house, Taupo (Deveril, c.1875), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

The album's blank pages enabled the inclusion of diversely sized and mixed media elements, giving greater flexibility to its construction. This opened up a range of creative possibilities with less physical constraints than overtly structured album formats. Accordingly Annie's creativity was only limited by the album's book like format and dimensions, and her imagination. Skill, which develops through

experience, is also required when creating a cohesive new object (Ingold, 2012: 379). With Annie's album, this involved the conscious selection of relatively small-sized unmounted photographs and plants proportional to the album's dimensions.[68] As well as sound mental judgments, skill involves the coordination of body movements involved in aesthetically arranging and fixing the photographs and other elements into the album. The photocollage technique used in Annie's album is a less interventive technique than the composite approach of photomontage. However, both processes are actively conscious and creative acts, involving interplays between disparate material layers.[69]

Ingold's conceptualisation of correspondence or the interaction between materials when they are combined, and his subtle explanation of weaving as a process incorporating making, are productive for further understanding the album's creation and construction.[70] Highly structured albums, such as those made for mounted *cartes*, can be conceptualised as premade kits, which are assembled by a creator. This format reduces choices because the *cartes* are slipped into pre-formed slots. In Ingoldian terms, these material components are "joined *up*" (2017: 12, emphasis in original). Comparatively, the potential possibilities of Annie's less structured album enabled a deeper and skilled engagement with the materials. The album's format gave space for planned design ideas and an organic evolution through a "gradual unfolding" and synergy between the individual materials (Ingold, 2012: 373, 376, 382). This process of "joining [materials] with one another", retains their individuality and variations, rather than fully merging them together (Ingold, 2012: 372; Ingold, 2017: 9-12).

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[68] *Cartes* were sometimes demounted but usually unmounted 'album scraps' were purchased. Siegel notes there was a strong market for the latter by the 1870s (2009: 22).

[69] Photomontage combines cutting, gluing and overlapping disparate photographs to create a new image with a coherent narrative. It was often used in albums and illustrated newspapers.

[70] Ingold suggests making is an aspect of weaving, rather than *vice versa* (2012: 372). He applies correspondence to objects and human social relations, and uses the term in preference to assemblage or aggregation. Ingold (2017: 13, 17) also critiques the common use of assemblage and argues this meaning stems from the difficulty of translating the French term *agencement*/layout (e.g. Deleuze *et al.*, 2011).

Figure 4.13. Front cover, Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

As Micklewright highlights (2003: 141), albums can be understood as unfinished processes because their creator and/or other owners often subsequently edited them through additions or subtractions. In Annie's album this is evidenced by the later addition of Merton's *ex libris* bookplate and Wilson's aforementioned Christmas card.[71] The bookplate, which also appears in Merton's scrapbooks, depicts him during

[71] Meaning from the library or books of a named person.

his mayoral term of 1894-1895 and signifies the Russell-Cotes's rise in social status in the Bournemouth community (figure 4.14). When the bookplate was included, and the Christmas card before that, the album's finite number of pages were mostly likely already filled. This would explain their location in the remaining space inside the album's front and back covers. Archaeological layering and temporal additions of this kind result in physical changes and bear witness to the album as a type of palimpsest. This includes the album's loose strips of printed invoice ledger, which were perhaps used as *ad hoc* bookmarks by Annie or museum curators. Over the years, they have been recorded as part of the album.

The album's less structured nature also enabled the addition of handwritten captions. Principally, these help configure the album's narratives by re-contextualising the photographs, and generating and embedding meanings, including emphasising pre-existing ones (Armstrong, 1998: 125; Bolter and Grusin, 1999: 38-39; Edwards, 2014: 3-6). The aggregation of elements and layout also suggests thematic relationships, which the viewer intuitively reads (Batchen and University of New Mexico Art Museum, 1997: 7). Interactions between the materials create mini-narratives, which emerge across the discreet ecosystems of the album's double-page spreads. For example, Annie's captions and placement of Deveril's photographs of Te Rangitahau and his wife Ngaikiha Te Raukura (c.1875) on opposing pages emphasises their familial bonds (figure 4.12).[72]

[72] This experience is disrupted by the museum's production of single page digital scans, which separates photographs and obscures meaning. For this reason, I digitally joined the pages. Photographs were similarly individualised on the BM and PRM's online database records. Note this is distinct from the PRM's online publication of certain collections, which have been materially approached (see Morton, 2014).

Figure 4.14. Merton's bookplate (left page, anonymous, c.1895) and an illustration of the White Terrace (right page, Boscawen, c.1885), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

Figure 4.15. Cartes of Māori, including Sophia (centre of left page, Martin, c.1870s-1880s), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

There is also a self-referential and double textuality or mirroring of information in those photographs with imprinted titles, which are accompanied by Annie's captions.

This repetition suggests Annie's intention to re-author the photographs through her unique handwritten annotations. These "additive traces" to use Ingold's terminology (2016: 44), inscribed and affixed inked lines through the pressure of pen on paper. As an act, handwriting is individual, gestural and emotionally expressive. It involves sensory coordination of vision and touch and an awareness of the muscles moving the pen (Ingold, 2016: 26-27). Beyond writing place names in *Te Reo Māori* underneath the photographs, Annie also utilised the Māori language in other annotations. This perhaps reflects her interest in languages, Māori culture, NZ botany and geology, and desire to produce a more comprehensive and authentic account. For example, Annie captioned the *carte* of Guide Sophia Hinerangi, a geothermal guide, with the words "Tapea [sic]" and "Wairoa" (figure 4.15). Te Paea is the *Te Reo Māori* version of Sophia by which she was not commonly known, whilst "Wairoa" indicates Te Wairoa where Sophia lived and worked.

People and the land

Photography, even of a touristic nature, can be conceptualised as a positivist colonial tool. I address this next through an overview of the album's main themes and photography's role in recording, translating and portraying the development of the NZ colony, including its land, towns, industries and indigenous population. The motivations for this type of knowledge creation can be aligned with other mechanical acts of authorial colonisation, such as mapping and surveying the land using lines and coordinates and describing it (and Māori people) in publications, including guidebooks and popular anthropological texts. Intangible survey lines "transverse[d]" and bisected "*across*" the land (Ingold, 2016: 50, 85-88; Ingold, 2017: 18, emphasis in original), whilst cameras framed and defined views. These acts by settlers "*on* the land" created new inscriptions of place, replacing or reconfiguring existing Māori names, concepts and values (Ingold, 2000: 135, emphasis in original). This overwrote the more organic occupation of Māori, the *tangata whenua*/people of the land, which was in correspondence with the natural ecology and along the earth's surface (Ingold, 2000: 135; Ingold, 2016: 83; Ingold, 2017: 22).

Like the NZ exhibits at the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, the album's photographs of local industries and technologies are a "record of [the country's] material and industrial progress" (Anonymous, 1886a: 1). This includes the growth of rail and water connections between places to transport raw materials, goods and people, including tourists. These themes are illustrated by photographs of the *SS Australia* on board which the Russell-Cotes departed NZ, and the newly opened Cambridge train route through the Waikato (1884). Merton's autobiography places a similar emphasis on this 'progress' in NZ and the other countries he and Annie visited (e.g. Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 377, 390). The album's photographic subject matter also signals the development of settlements. As the photographs show these towns were not populated by Māori because they were still rurally located at this time. Their absence is highlighted by their separate presence in rural tourist locations, notably the Rotorua region.

The album evidences other forms of colonial infrastructure including churches, hospitals, museums (e.g. Canterbury Museum), post offices, courts, ports and shops. This includes photographs of Auckland's newly opened Baptist Tabernacle (1884) (figure 4.16). The Russell-Cotes had strong religious values and visited the tabernacle several times and met its founder Rev. Thomas Spurgeon. There are also photographs of Auckland Hospital in the Domain parkland, reflecting Merton's continued interest in medicine, which he had intended to pursue professionally before ill health prevented him (figure 4.16). Commended for its modern facilities, the stone built hospital opened in 1877 and featured on the tourist trail (Butler, 1886: 214). The album also has a focus on businesses like Auckland's cattle market (figure 4.17) and Chelsea Sugar Works. Tamed, cultivated and ordered landscapes also feature, including bridges and roads, and sites of leisure activities, such as Auckland's Albert Park (figure 4.16). The album also shows other North Island tourist destinations visited by the Russell-Cotes. These comprise geological sites, such as Mount Eden, an extinct volcanic crater in Auckland and the Rotorua region's geothermal phenomena of Ohinemutu, Whakarewarewa, Te Wairoa and Rotomahana.

Figure 4.16. Auckland Hospital (top of left page), Tabernacle (centre of right page) and parks (bottom of left and right pages, all anonymous, c.1885), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

As was typical of this period, Annie's album also includes museum objects, demonstrating the Russell-Cotes's interest in the colonies' museums and displays.[73] This includes a *wharenui* carving (figure 4.17) and a commonly occurring photograph of moa and Māori skeletons at Canterbury Museum, which Annie and Merton visited. The extinction of the enormous moa bird was and continues to be, a focus of scientific natural history research.[74] The bird and human skeletons also reflect a general preoccupation with discourses of disappearance relating to native fauna, flora and indigenous peoples as a result of colonisation. Interspersed through the album are also 28 studio and non-studio photographs of Māori. A large percentage of these are *cartes*, indicating the popular fashion for cartomania or collecting *cartes*, including those of 'natives' from the colonies. By the 1870s, *cartes* were generally in decline but remained popular in NZ until at least the mid 1880s. The album features *cartes* and larger prints of leaders who strongly opposed land settlement, including Tāwhiao; and those who consistently supported the Crown, such as Ihaka Whaanga of Ngāti Rakai Paaka *iwi* (figures 4.18-4.19). These portraits would have been of topical interest given that the Russell-Cotes's visit took place little more than a decade after the New Zealand Wars' conclusion. Their visit was also only a few years since widespread national meetings had been held concerning peace, land, boundaries, governmental control and the Crown's legitimate sovereignty.

The photographs in Annie's album show not only the Māori population but also their cultural practices. For instance, they depict facial *moko* and *tangi*; clothing (e.g. *kākahu*/cloaks) and weapons (e.g. *taiaha*/staffs); as well as rural living conditions and dwellings. The latter includes domestic *whare* and the more formal and communal *wharenui*. These are also topics Annie recorded in her diary using an ethnographic approach and in-depth level of observation, and were preserved as quotes in Merton's autobiography. For example, Annie witnessed the changes colonisation had made to living conditions at more affluent Māori villages, noting "[t]he Maoris are

[73] E.g. PRM 1998.89 (AL 54) and 1998.68 (AL 41).

[74] Roger Fenton started photographically documenting the British Museum's natural history collections in the mid 1850s, including a moa skeleton.

beginning to put glass in their windows at Ohinemutu" (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 398). The album is therefore a container of ethnographic, botanical and geological knowledge, and a 'snapshot' of 1885.

Figure 4.17. Wharenui carving, photocollage and Auckland cattle market (top, centre and bottom of right page, all anonymous, c.1885), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

Figure 4.18. Tāwhiao (Mayall, 1884), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

Figure 4.19. Ihaka Whaanga (top right of right page, Harding, c.1865-1875), Keita (centre of right page, Martin, c.1885) and a drawing of a moko kauae (bottom centre of right page), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

People, types, tropes and Maoriland

I now turn to a more in-depth analysis of the photographs of Māori individuals in Annie's album. This discussion is premised on the meshwork of cultural conventions and meanings manifest in commercial NZ photography, popular anthropological publications, tourist guidebooks and newspaper articles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Before doing so, I provide some context by explaining the use of photography in scientific anthropology, which affected these more popular forms. Scientific anthropology in the nineteenth-century coupled physical biological attributes, including physiognomy (the study of facial proportions and features), with cultural traits and practices, intellect and moral character. It sought to use these criteria to comparatively categorise and classify mankind into typical and characteristic examples of racial 'types', according to evolutionary theory and a linear progression from 'primitive' to 'savage' and 'civilised'.[75] To this end, photography was used as a visual tool for its informative value. Tucker (2005) argues, that the perception of photography's objectivity, evidential authority and credibility was predicated more broadly on its early intersection with and development alongside modern science in the nineteenth-century; as well as the disciplinary institutions (e.g. the police) Tagg (1988) discusses. This led to the use of photography as a method for observing and disseminating scientific knowledge and claims being made for its mechanically accurate representational capacities, which were expressed through specific stylistic conventions.

As Edwards (1990) explains, the visual photographic typology of racial 'types' that developed in scientific anthropology drew on concepts from biology. Categories were not always stable though and photographs moved between classifications depending on the contexts of their use and consumption. This situation was further complicated by the simultaneous use of commercial photographs in both scientific and more popular publications, including those of an anthropological, touristic and journalistic nature, thereby creating complex layers of meaning. Popular consumption of

[75] In this context, race is based on a persistent perspective of three primary 'types' or races of humankind, including white European Caucasian, black African Negro and yellow Asiatic Mongoloid.

evolutionist theory and, by implication, colonised peoples also influenced commercial photographers, resulting in the colloquial adaptation of scientific terminology relating to race. The terms 'type' and 'natives' were widely used by commercial NZ photographers to market their photographs of Māori. Martin for example, used the description "Characteristic types in Native Women" in his catalogue (c.1890: 16-17). As was conventional, the catalogue lists the photographs but does include any images and only occasionally includes descriptions. This made the titles not only important but also necessitated that the terms chosen were instantly understandable. References to 'types' also feature heavily in the text and photographic captions of scholarly and popular NZ (e.g. Cowan, 1921) and British publications well into the twentieth-century. Johnston *et al*'s *The Living Races of Mankind* (1902) (hereafter *LRM)* was a popular illustrated fortnightly anthropological serial published in Britain. This encyclopaedic serial strategically used photographs from a range of sources, including commercial photographs, to present anthropological ideas about the races of mankind to the general public.

By 1885, when the Russell-Cotes visited NZ, photography had already proven difficult to implement in science despite the formulation of methodological conventions in scientific anthropology.[76] This was because of how they were taken, which was largely outside of scientific control, resulting in meanings that were neither scientifically governed nor stable. Moreover, the information they provided did not necessarily meet the precision of changing scientific demands. Although some ideas from scientific anthropology persisted, particularly at a popular level, anthropological thinking by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries began to move beyond merely evolutionary and biological explanations.[77] Foremost this was a move from evolutionism towards a model of cultural relativism (e.g. Franz Boas). This marked a

[76] This includes the development of anthropometric systems by John Lamprey and Thomas Huxley in 1869, which featured gridded backgrounds to aid measurements (Edwards, 2001: 131-155). Instructions were also provided in publications, such as the British Association for the Advancement on Science's *Notes and queries on anthropology* (see Beddoe, 1874).

[77] This is not to disregard the specificity of anthropology around the world, which Bennett *et al*, for example, chart in a NZ context (2017).

move away from race and biology to a focus on culture through extended in-depth fieldwork. Cultural relativism argued development depended on a culture's historical circumstances and culturally contextualised framework, which formatively shaped individuals and groups.

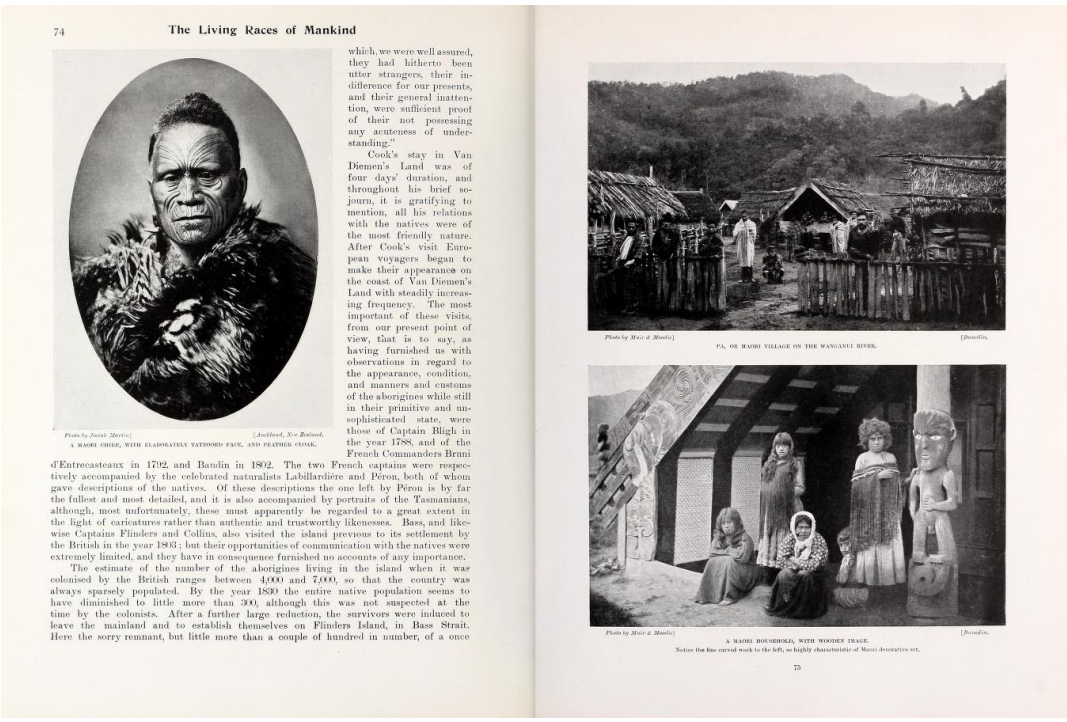
The photographs in Annie's album, which has touristic and ethnographic overtones, function on certain levels as characteristic '"typical natives" or Māori 'types' (Edwards, 1990: 241). This is most evident in the album's studio based *cartes* of men, women and children of various ages who are depicted with generic and reoccurring studio 'props' or clothing (e.g. cloaks), jewellery and weaponry (figure 4.15).[78] Along with a preference for male and female sitters with facial *moko*, 'props' were employed to emphasise 'Maoriness', exoticism and cultural difference.[79] In Annie's album, the majority of the well-known and lesser-known Māori shown in the *cartes* and other photographic formats, are however, prevented from being anonymised as 'typical Māori native types' because their names are provided in the captions. Underneath the portrait of Tāwhiao, for example, Annie has included his name and tribal affiliation, a "hapu of ngatiawa" or Ngāti Awa subtribe (figure 4.18). Contemporarily, this sort of information is highly valuable to descendant communities, aiding ancestral identification and reclamation.

The larger studio and exterior photographs in Annie's album can be described as "good type[s]" (Odo, 2014). Although these photographs were still intended to be indicative examples of the Māori race (rather than referring to specific individuals), they were valued for their more artistic rendering and presumed cultural validity. The album photographs show Māori wearing mixed Western and traditional dress, acknowledging the colonial present, rather than being fixed within an 'ethnographic present' or ahistorical timeframe. *Wharenui* such as the tourist venue Hinemihi in Te Wairoa, which the Russell-Cotes visited and features in Annie's album, were often

[78] 'Props' are conspicuous through their multiple uses by different sitters and can easily be identified, for instance, in Foy Brothers' photographs.

[79] Portraits of Māori in fully 'traditional' or mixed dress typify British collections, whilst NZ collections also include photographs showing fully Western clothing.

used as contextual backgrounds for exterior photographs of Māori (figure 4.7). ‘Good types’ were on the boundaries of being considered scientifically useful but were still recoded to fit the purposes of popular anthropological publications. This is evident in the recontextualisation of Tāwhiao’s portrait in *LRM*, where it is presented as showing an anonymous chief and indicative Māori ‘type’. The caption, which reads “Maori Chief, with Elaborately Tattooed Face, And Feather Cloak” (Johnston *et al.*, 1902: 74), emphasises Tāwhiao’s ‘Māoriness’ through reference to his tattoos and clothing or cultural indicators (figure 4.20).



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which, we were well assured, they had hitherto been utter strangers, their indifference for our presents, and their general inattention, were sufficient proof of their not possessing any acuteness of understanding."

Cook's stay in Van Diemen's Land was of four days' duration, and throughout his brief sojourn, it is gratifying to mention, all his relations with the natives were of the most friendly nature. After Cook's visit European voyagers began to make their appearance on the coast of Van Diemen's Land with steadily increasing frequency. The most important of these visits, from our present point of view, that is to say, as having furnished us with observations in regard to the appearance, condition, and manners and customs of the aborigines while still in their primitive and unsophisticated state, were those of Captain Bligh in the year 1788, and of the French Commanders Bruni d'Entrecasteaux in 1792, and Baudin in 1802. The two French captains were respectively accompanied by the celebrated naturalists Labillardière and Péron, both of whom gave descriptions of the natives. Of these descriptions the one left by Péron is by far the fullest and most detailed, and it is also accompanied by portraits of the Tasmanians, although, most unfortunately, these must apparently be regarded to a great extent in the light of caricatures rather than authentic and trustworthy likenesses. Bass, and likewise Captains Flinders and Collins, also visited the island previous to its settlement by the British in the year 1803; but their opportunities of communication with the natives were extremely limited, and they have in consequence furnished no accounts of any importance.

The estimate of the number of the aborigines living in the island when it was colonised by the British ranges between 4,000 and 7,000, so that the country was always sparsely populated. By the year 1830 the entire native population seems to have diminished to little more than 300, although this was not suspected at the time by the colonists. After a further large reduction, the survivors were induced to leave the mainland and to establish themselves on Flinders Island, in Bass Strait. Here the sorry remnant, but little more than a couple of hundred in number, of a once

Photo by Josiah Martin] [Auckland, New Zealand.

A MAORI CHIEF, WITH ELABORATELY TATTOOED FACE, AND FEATHER CLOAK.

Photo by Muir & Moodie] [Dunedin.

PA, OR MAORI VILLAGE ON THE WANGANUI RIVER.

Photo by Muir & Moodie] [Dunedin.

A MAORI HOUSEHOLD, WITH WOODEN IMAGE.

Notice the fine carved work to the left, so highly characteristic of Maori decorative art.

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Figure 4.20. “A Maori Chief [Tāwhiao, left page], With Elaborately Tattooed Face, And Feather Cloak” in Johnston et al. (1902). The Living Races of Mankind, p. 74. Supplied by Internet Archive (at archive.org) in association with Smithsonian Libraries.

The vast majority of the ‘good types’ in Annie’s album feature high-ranking individuals, including Tāwhiao, Rana Rauangi (Queen Hirinie’s sister) and other ‘Maori celebrities’, such as Keita Middlemass and Sophia Hinerangi (figures 4.7, 4.9-4.10, 4.15, 4.18).[80] Keita and Sophia achieved celebrity status through their roles as tourist guides at the Pink and White Terraces and subsequently in Whakarewarewa after the 1886 Tarawera eruption. As well as referencing the existing status of famous global

[80] ‘Maori celebrities’ was used by photographers in relation to well-known Māori (Giles, 2013: 11).

figures, the wide availability of *cartes* helped transform certain ordinary people into celebrities (Siegel, 2009: 19). McAllister and West argue this was in many instances a temporary status (2013: 25). However, the widely disseminated *cartes* of Keita and Sophia reinforced the guides' existing and enduring well-known status. Similarly the reoccurrence of photographs of Guides Keita and Sophia in Annie's album does not result in "loss of individuality" as Di Bello warns can be the case (2009: 54). Instead it further signifies their position as prominent Māori.

In *LRM*, Tāwhiao's name has been excluded from the caption because this information, although available, was unimportant to this publication's mandate.[81] Generally though, Tāwhiao and other individuals like Keita and Sophia were too visually recognisable to be reduced to unnamed 'native types'. Tāwhiao was a prominent spiritual leader, monarch and head of the *Kīngitanga* movement, which resisted the loss of Māori land and culture. Newspaper and guidebook descriptions of Tāwhiao's 1882 Auckland reception soon after his return from exile are akin to contemporary reactions to famous figures. Talbot notes "[f]rom the wharf King Tawhiao was taken in style and a carriage all over town; and was feted and followed and fussed over and photographed after the manner of celebrities everywhere" (1882: 4b).

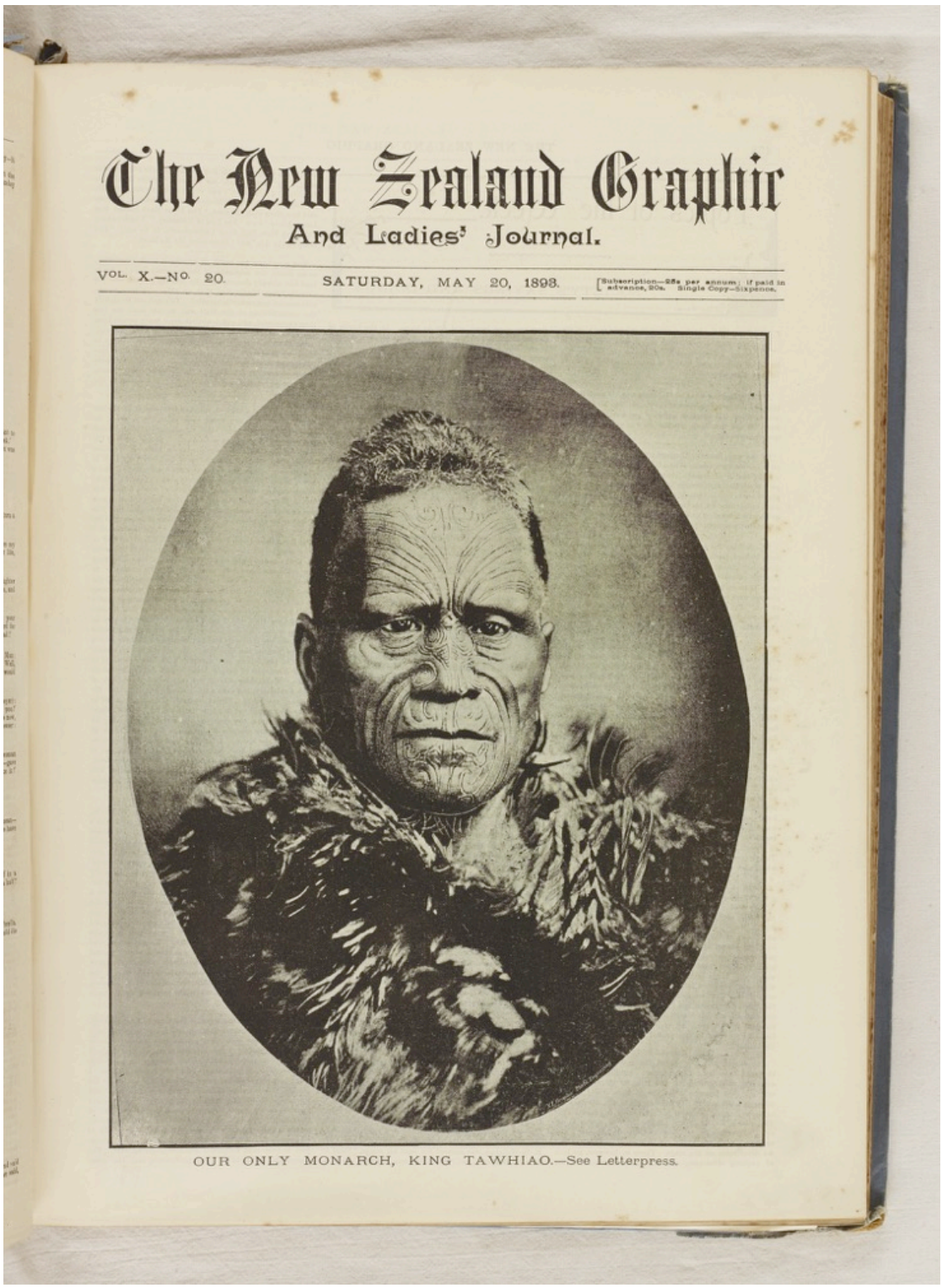
As well as being famous, the identities of Tāhiwao, Keita and Sophia were highly marketable. Shortly after Mayall took Tāwhiao's portrait, Martin labelled and reused it prominently in a photocollage to advertise his repertoire of Māori portraits (figure 4.21). Tāwhiao's portrait also featured in newspapers, presumably aiding sales. For example, it featured on the *New Zealand Graphic*'s front cover nearly ten years after it was taken (figure 4.23). This full page and high quality engraving was heavily advertised prior to publication as a "magnificent picture of the finest-looking Maori in New Zealand" (Anonymous, 1893b: 1). A year later in 1894, the portrait formed the basis of a newspaper illustration produced to commemorate Tāwhiao's elaborate and widely covered multi-day *tangi* (figure 4.24). The illustration includes caricatures and

[81] The imprint of the names of Māori individuals on prints and postcards is not unusual.

satirical vignettes of attendees. The drawing of Tāwhiao, however, shows minimal artistic license, his identification clearly remaining paramount. Even as late as the 1920s, recognisable engravings of Tāwhiao derived from his 1884 portrait were being used on NZ's first official legal tender issued during this decade (figure 4.22).

Figure 4.21. Photocollage featuring Tāwhiao's portrait (centre, Martin, c.1889). © The Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,A18.33]. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Figure 4.22. NZ one pound banknote featuring Tāwhiao's portrait (Bank of New Zealand, 1929). © The Trustees of the British Museum [1984,0605.849]. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.



The New Zealand Graphic
And Ladies' Journal.

VOL. X.—NO. 20. SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1893. [Subscription—25s per annum; if paid in advance, 20s. Single Copy—Sixpence.

OUR ONLY MONARCH, KING TAWHIAO.—See Letterpress.

Figure 4.23. "Our Only Monarch, King Tawhiao" (New Zealand Graphic, 20 May, 1893, p. 457). Courtesy of Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries [NZG-18930520-457-1].

Figure 4.24. "The Tawhiao Tangi", featuring an illustration (centre) derived from Mayall's photograph of Tāwhiao but attributed to Martin. Note the woman wearing a tangi wreath (bottom, second from left). The New Zealand Observer, XV(822), 29 September 1894, p. 13. Courtesy of the National Library of New Zealand (via Papers Past).

Shop displays featuring photographs of Keita and Sophia were also used to market the guides' services and the tourist locations in the Rotorua region. In Auckland, where Froude states photography was highly fashionable, he describes viewing portraits of Sophia and Keita in shop widows prior to arriving in Te Wairoa and physically meeting them (1886: 213, 248). These displays introduced visitors to the specific people and the geothermal sights they had yet to encounter. Similarly, guidebooks used by the Russell-Cotes and other tourists, achieved this illustratively by enclosing drawings of the two guides (Froude, 1886: opposite 285; Talbot, 1882: 44b-48b; Waddell *et al.*, 1884: 276-277). The halftone illustration of Keita in Waddell *et al*'s guidebook is based on a photograph, which appears in Annie's album (figures 4.25-4.26). Captioned "[f]rom a Photograph by J. Martin, Auckland", the illustration faithfully transforms, inscribes and reproduces the photographic details into engraved lines. Moreover, owing to the illustration's purpose in the guidebook and Keita's celebrity status, she remains unequivocally recognisable. No loss of

individuality into a 'native type' is evident, which Lydon warns can occur with remediation across media (2016: 49). The caption also provides veracity and credibility to the reproduction process by indicating the direct transformation from photographic source to engraving (Belknap, 2016: 10).

Figures 4.25-4.26. Illustration (left) of Keita "From a Photograph by J. Martin, Auckland" in Waddell, Rutherford, Wilson Alex and Whitson, T.W. (1884). Maoriland. Melbourne: George Roberston Company, p. 277. Photograph supplied by Internet Archive (at archive.org) in association with University of California Libraries. Detail (right) of a photograph of Keita (Martin, c.1885), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5]. See figure 4.19 for full page.

In discussing the photographs of Keita and Sophia in Auckland shops, Froude tells his reader that one of these guides will show them the terraces (1886: 279). In the case of the Russell-Cotes, it was Keita who guided them from Te Wairoa to Rotomahana to see the terraces. Annie and Merton may have even met Keita prior to the trip, since guidebooks indicate this was not uncommon (Talbot, 1882: 4a), thereby creating additional opportunities for social relations. Merton comments on the day excursion noting "[o]ur guide was named Kate, a thoroughly reliable and careful woman" (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 401). He details Keita's black silk clothing with "a jaunty little hat perched on her head" and a Humane Society medal for saving a person from

drowning (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 402). His words echo the description of Keita in Waddell *et al*'s guidebook (1884: 276) and both accounts match Valentine's 1885 photograph of Keita, which appears in Annie's album (figure 4.19). The journey to the terraces included an eight-mile boat trip. Direct contact during this time between Keita and the Russell-Cotes may have elevated Annie's perception of the meaning and positioning of these photographs of Keita. Acting as personal links to Keita and the multisensory experiences of travel, the album photographs perhaps subsequently evoked remembered moments of correspondence or accord during conversations between the two women. This might have included their shared heritage; Keita's father was Scottish, and Annie grew up and lived in Glasgow for a large part of her life.

As well the influence of photographic 'types' on the photographs in Annie's album, the impact of other paradigms and discourses from anthropology and NZ government policy, and their popular dissemination through photography are also important. Foremost, the conviction that Māori were a 'dying race' and the anthropological 'salvage paradigm' affected the work of photographers like Martin and the Burton Brothers.[82] The perception that Māori were in inevitable demise had widespread purchase by the 1880s. It was supported by prominent scholars (e.g. NZ ethnographer Elsdon Best) and promoted by scholarly journals (e.g. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*), photographers (e.g. Pringle, see figure 1.3) and popular culture publications (e.g. Grace, 1901). Naturalist and lawyer, Sir Walter Buller, famously stated "[t]he Maoris are dying out, and nothing can save them, Our plain duty, as good, compassionate colonists, is to smooth down their dying pillow"(1884: 55). This perspective was coupled with nostalgia for the loss of Māori cultural practices and way of life due to colonial impact. This is evident in the titles and conceptual arguments of anthropological and historical publications from the end of the nineteenth-century and into the twentieth (e.g. Best, 1924b; Cowan, 1930; Hamilton,

[82] Salvage anthropology developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and is commonly associated with Boas. It sought to record the culture of indigenous peoples or 'dying races', whose way of life had been severely impacted by colonisation.

1896). These sought to salvage and preserve Māori traditions, arts and culture in a timeless and fixed manner.

Photographers, like painters and writers, responded to the economic potential of these connected paradigms, applying them as thematic tropes or visual devices and creating a photographic 'salvage' style. These popular photographs show tattooed male 'native warriors' and 'Maori chiefs' holding weapons to visually represent their past roles in the New Zealand Wars and cultural loss. Nostalgic captions were used to frame them, such as the 'Maori as he was' or 'old-time Maori' (Burton Brothers, 1885: 3; Martin, c.1890: 16). These terms echo those in publications such as Best's *The Maori As He Was* (1924b) and Makereti Papakura's *Old Time Maori* (1938). Martin also used a salvage theme in a c.1885 photograph of a museum-style display titled 'The Old Order Changeth'. It features a framed and labelled version of Tāwhiao's portrait, Auckland Museum weapons, carvings, textiles, and two *Toi moko*/preserved tattooed ancestral heads. Collectively these objects are allegorically reframed as trophies and ethnographic 'curios' (Blackley, 2011: 80-81). Moreover, the photograph's title and construction suggests Māori culture and objects would, before long, only be only found in museums.[83]

The nostalgic and romantic photographic depictions of warriors and chiefs also derived potent affect from alignment with the anthropological 'noble savage' concept. This idealised stereotype is an uncivilised figure or child of nature uncorrupted by 'civilisation'. It was sometimes used interchangeably with 'primitive', despite their divergent meanings. The former inferred the potential capacity for indigenous adaptation to a Western lifestyle, whilst the latter did not. Although Māori was considered capable of being 'improved' as noted in Chapter 1, primitiveness was consistently associated with certain Māori cultural practices perceived to be

[83] Not shown out of respect for the ancestral remains depicted. As Blackley (2011: 80-81) argues, this photograph was probably a mock rather than actual museum display. It commonly occurs in collections, including Mamby's (BM Oc,A18.1-43) and Martin's albums (PRM 1998.89 (AL 54)). The term 'The Old Order Changeth' also appears in publications in reference to changing practices, including tattooing (e.g. Hiroa, 1950: 300-301).

transgressive, notably *tā moko*.[84] Several photographs in Annie's album feature men (e.g. Tāwhiao) and women (e.g. Keita) with facial *moko*. They were highly popular with consumers in NZ and Britain, particularly those featuring 'Maori celebrities', because they were instantly recognisable as distinctly Māori. *Moko* therefore became a visual marker of race and body modification.

Central to the effectiveness of many commercial photographs, including those in Annie's album, was the presence of Māori within landscapes. This successful combination referenced 'Maoriland', a persistent concept that centred on the indigenous Māori population and what was perceived to be the exotic NZ landscape. Originally a colonial literary construct during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it embodied the imaginary, romanticised and symbolic (Stafford and Williams, 2007). 'Maoriland's' complex colonial and nationalistic overtones also extended to its scholarly and more popular culture application by anthropologists, commercial photographers, guidebook writers and journalists (e.g. Best, 1924a: 278; Best, 1901: 122, 126; Butler, 1886; Kerry-Nicholls, 1884; Waddell *et al.*, 1884). In photographs 'Maoriland' was used as a visual concept, and featured in titles and descriptions, which pre-framed the contents and aided marketing.

'Maoriland' had specific resonance in rural areas where Māori almost exclusively lived at this time, including the touristic Rotorua region. This created visual narratives linking the people to the land and tourism. Talbot's guidebook, for example, contrasts the absence of Māori in Auckland town with the Māori village and tourist destination of Ohinemutu, both of which the Russell-Cotes visited. In Ohinemutu, Talbot states "[g]roups of dusky figures standing or squatting wherever we turned our eyes made us feel that we were verily in Maoriland at last" (1882: 10b). Tourists therefore came equally to see the geothermal sights of the Rotorua region and the Māori people. In Annie's album, the 'Maoriland' concept is evident in several distinct ways. Firstly, Māori occur framed within Rotorua landscapes carrying out tasks or activities,

[84] *Moko* was also associated with the practice of *kaitangata*/cannibalism and both were colonial fascinations. For example, Alfred Burton aligns these cultural practices in his derogatory description of a King Country chief, describing him as "his tattooship" with a "most deliciously cannibal-like face" (1885: 11, 12).

including cooking or bathing. Or they feature as points of interest or scale compared to the land and natural features, such as the group standing around the Pohutu Geyser in Whakarewarewa (figure 4.27). Secondly, Māori, specifically guides, appear in more formalised scenes with culturally contextual backdrops. For example, the *wharenui* Hinemihi features as a backdrop to Pulman's accomplished photograph of Guides Keita, Sophia and Johanna (figure 4.7). Additionally, a themed and miniaturised 'Maoriland' photograph combining people and the land through photocollage also appears in Annie's album (figure 4.17). Akin to a contact sheet, it features Martin's *cartes* of Sophia and Keita (figures 4.15, 4.26) and larger prints of Rotomahana geothermal sights, including the terraces by Valentine (c.1885). The full-sized photograph may have come from a display in a shop window like those Froude describes, or a museum or tourist attraction.

Local *iwi* Ngāti Tuhourangi in and around Te Wairoa were from the start in commercial and organisational control of tourism. There were charges for entrance, guides, transport, as well as drawing and photographing the terraces (Froude, 1886: 289). Annie negatively comments on the fees in nearby Ohinemutu, stating Māori "are avaricious, asking long prices for anything they sell you, always pretending 'No money,' at the same time making plenty of money by visitors" (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 398). The local *iwi* and other Māori working in the region also managed their presentation of self and the landscape, including their place within it. This was particularly mobilised by the geothermal guides and cultural performances, such as *haka*/posture dances. Guidebook descriptions of Guides Keita and Sophia focus on their capabilities as guides, distinctive personalities, and knowledge about their culture and land (Froude, 1886: 279-283; Talbot, 1882: 48-53; Waddell *et al.*, 1884: 276-277). Talbot states that Keita provides environmental and cultural information when guiding tourists around the terraces, including bilingual names for landscape features (1882: 6a, 49b). Such presentations appear to draw from both traditional knowledge, and many of the paradigms and discourses discussed, including 'noble savage, 'typical NZ natives' and the 'Maoriland' construct. This catered to romanticised notions about Māori, 'traditional' culture, heritage and NZ landscapes. Although these presentations were most likely part of the roles guides like Keita and

Sophia played for tourists, it does not negate the credibility and pride they took in presenting their culture and land, nor the traditional knowledge they also imparted.

Figure 4.27. Pohutu Geyser (left page, Valentine[?], c.1885) and Puarenga Stream, Whakarewarewa (right page, anonymous, c.1885), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

Land and natural resources: ferns and geology

Apart from portraits of people, photographs of the land, natural resources and botanical specimens also feature prominently in Annie's album. Manufactured and natural resources, including ferns, were prominently exhibited in the NZ section of the 1886 Colonial and Indian exhibition (figure 4.28). Exhibits included framed ferns and albums, a decorative table inlaid with native fern designs, live tree ferns and other NZ plants in the conservatory (Anonymous, 1886b: 365; Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886: 59, 107; Ide, 2000). This array of fern-related exhibits reflects the nineteenth-century fashion for pteridomania or fern-fever in Britain and the colonies. Representative of sincerity and fascination in floriography (the language of flowers), pteridomania was widespread in NZ by the 1860s, continuing into the 1900s. This trend's persistent legacy is demonstrated by the fern's conversion into one of NZ's national symbols.

Figure 4.28. "General View of The [NZ] Court, With The Timber And Gold Trophies, And Skeleton Of The Moa" and ferns (left foreground, anonymous, 1886). 'Colonial Indian Exhibition: New Zealand'. The Illustrated London News [London, England], 2 October, 0(2476), p. 361. © Illustrated London News Ltd/Mary Evans.

Ferns were both a focus of scientific enquiry (e.g. Colenso, 1880) and their collection was a fashionable pastime spanning societal divides. They were also used as motifs in popular culture consumerables with natural history and ethnographic 'curio' dealers, such as Eric Craig of Auckland, selling fern-themed objects. Moreover, ferns commonly featured in fictional publications, guidebooks and photographs. Both Dr Blomfield (1888a: 30 August) and Talbot (1882: 44b) observe that the Tarawera valley and mountains were covered with ferns, providing an abundance of plants for collectors. Martin dedicated a section of his c.1890 catalogue to "Fern and Forest Scenery … distinctly characteristic of New Zealand" (c.1890: 5-6). Commenting on their notable status, Froude states "New Zealand ferns are famous all over the world" (1886: 267).

Annie was a keen amateur naturalist, with a particular interest in botany. Reflecting this, her album features photographic landscapes of ferns and actual fern specimens. Contemporary botanical analysis of the album's 40-50 NZ plant specimens by NZ botanist Stanley reveals they are nearly all commonplace ferns from the *Hymenophyllum* species.[85] These filmy ferns or *mauku* have delicate translucent and diaphanous fronds. NZ has 25 species of this fern, whilst the UK has only two. It is perhaps this diversity that was especially fascinating for UK visitors, such as Annie, because they were simultaneously familiar and unfamiliar (Stanley, 2014). Despite the passage of over 130 years, the album's plants retain a greenish hue, and minute details including veins, hairs, spores and leaf textures have been preserved. Specimens include cut sections of fern fronds and whole plants ripped from the land with their roots and soil particles intact. These have been carefully dried and pressed. Articles in NZ and British newspapers and illustrated magazines provided advice to enthusiasts, like Annie, on how to properly prepare and mount ferns (e.g. Anonymous, 1880: 3; Field, 1901: 204).

The plants are aesthetically arranged around and overlapping the album's photographs. The neat placement of smaller plants around the page edges resembles

[85] Undertaken at my request in 2014 using digital scans by Rebecca Stanley, Botanic Curator at the Auckland Botanic Gardens (NZ).

medicinal plant illustrations (including ferns) surrounding text in medieval herbal manuscripts (e.g. de Senis *et al.*, c.1280-1310: f.9v). Larger plants reference later more detailed botanical illustrations (e.g. Moore *et al.*, 1857: plate 50), inviting comparative taxonomic analysis between specimens. The album also bears similarity with photographic fern publications by women of both a scientific (Glaisher, 1853-1856) and more amateur nature (Atkins, 1853). Both Atkins, and draftsman and amateur fern expert Herbert Dobbie, used the cyanotype or blueprint process. Dobbie (1880) employed this technique to create NZ's first fern identification book, which may have been familiar to Annie. The cyanotype process is a tyoe of photogram formed using direct sunlight and specially treated paper. It produces pale blue or white detailed silhouettes against cyan blue backgrounds and these were commonly paired with taxonomic descriptions. In Annie's album, where specimens have disintegrated, become detached from or seeped through pages, acidity from the plants has transferred and permanently stained the paper (figures 4.18, 4.29). These additive traces form duplicate impressions with a reverse tonal contrast compared with Dobbie's cyanotypes (figure 4.30).

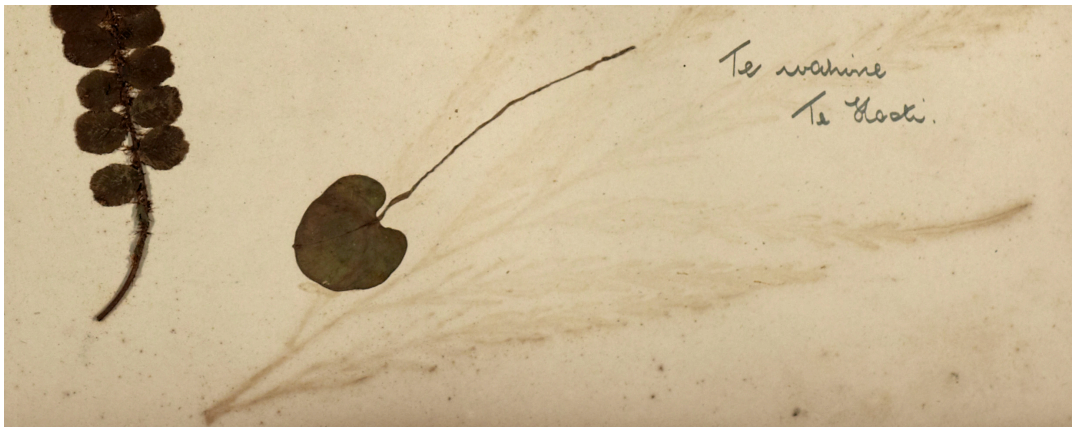


Figure 4.29. Detail of impression from Asplenium flaccidum, Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

The plants perform a number of functions in the album, some of which are akin to those accomplished by the photographs. Principally the additive plant traces demonstrate that the Russell-Cotes visited NZ. A comparison can be made between the photographic and botanical traces evident in the album and a trace of the Russell-Cotes's routes. Walking or travelling by horse and carriage leaves behind tracks on

the landscape. The residue of such movements creates temporary depressions formed by the removal of soil from the passage of feet, hooves and carriage wheels. These “reductive traces” or marks and lines on the land dissolve but are more permanently fixed by the addition of photographs and plants to Annie’s album, and narrative traces in Merton’s autobiography (Ingold, 2016: 44).

Figure 4.30. “Asplenium flaccidum var. B [and] var. A” Picton” in Dobbie, Herbert. (1880). New Zealand ferns … Part 2. Auckland: Private Press. Courtesy of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa [O.039639].

Pinney (1997: 132-134) and Siegel (2009: 32) observe that painted elements in photocollage albums and photomontages create cohesion, thereby aiding narratives. Similarly the plants draw together the photographic and other ephemeral elements in Annie's album. The plants have also been used to enhance and extend the viewer's experience of certain photographs, especially those of waterfalls. Photographing the raw power and elemental beauty of waterfalls was technically challenging but a favoured nineteenth-century subject. The use of ferns to frame and overlap photographs of the Hunua Falls creates a three-dimensional quality. This gives a spatial sensation of depth, width and height and thus a visceral sense of looking through the dense NZ bush at the popular South Auckland tourist attraction (figure 4.31). This is reminiscent of stereographs, a form of three-dimensional photographs popular during the nineteenth-century (see Chapter 7). In both techniques, it is the careful placement of objects in the fore and backgrounds, which ensures the efficacy of the illusionary three-dimensional effect. Additionally, when freshly pressed, the album may have also exuded the fresh scent of vegetation, thus olfactorily evoking the bush's fecundity.

In order to consider physical engagements with the land, as the Russell-Cotes travelled around NZ collecting plant specimens, a review of Ingold's concepts on "wayfaring" and "transport" is profitable (2016: 77-85; 2011a: 148-152). Ingold positions wayfaring as a perceptive and continuous way of moving, engaging with and experiencing the environment along a meshwork of interlinked trails. It incorporates the kinaesthetic feeling of body movement and has a natural alignment with pre-colonial indigenous methods of food collection. In comparison, Ingold suggests transport is a destination-orientated form of travel. It occurs along pre-plotted linear routes, which form nodal connections from one location to another. Tourist journeys, a specific type of travel, are more temporally bounded and undertaken for pleasure by tourists, like the Russell-Cotes. They are often governed by transport itineraries, and prescribed by guidebooks, such as Talbot's publication. Ingold describes these type of travellers as mere "passengers" who experience isolated modes of movement and transportation without any perceptive awareness (2016: 79-81). However, travel is not isolated from the experience of being a tourist and neither are experiences

solely concentrated at destination sites. Merton and Annie's NZ accounts contain several instances of "active engagement" during travel between destinations, more akin to Ingold's description of wayfaring (2016: 78). This includes observations about the natural environment from coach windows, and conversations with fellow coach travellers about the natural materials used by Māori to make buildings (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 392-393). A case could therefore be made for a nuanced and blended approach towards wayfaring and transport. This sees the act of tourist transport as not only the movement from one location to another but as an inherent part of the experience.

This approach allows for "moment[s]" or "pause[s]" where Annie and Merton may have slowed down and explored the land in more detail (Ingold, 2016: 79). Merton makes specific reference to the filmy ferns in the Oropi Bush, the dominant species in Annie's album. Their natural habitat is damp forests, where they grow on tree trunks and occasionally on rocks or earth banks, making the Oropi Bush an ideal collection location. Merton and Annie observed this forest on their way inland by coach from Tauranga to Ohinemutu:

> On reaching the Mangarewa Gorge we found all the conditions for seeing New Zealand forest at its best. Elsewhere in the Oropi Bush there is monotony … But the gorge is superb … As we descended to the bottom of the ravine … the rocky sides of the gorge closed in like a towered gateway. The creek loiters in dark pools, shaded by the thick leaves of the fingered aralia, and fringed with <u>filmy ferns</u> that love the darkness … whilst on our right rose the sheer wall of a cliff, giving foothold to shrubs and <u>ferns</u> and mosses innumerable (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 407, emphasis added).

Around Rotorua, there were other opportunities for momentary pauses and visual, tactile and scientific engagements with the geological formations formed by the region's volcanic activity. In addition to photographs and plants, Annie gathered mineral samples. Comprising silica, sulphur and obsidian from the Pink and White Terraces and Te Wairoa (BORGM: 2016.13-30), these samples complemented the

album's photographs of Whakarewarewa geothermal phenomena.[86] This includes photographs of the 100-foot graduated and layered White Terrace of concreted mineral deposits, the eruptive Pohutu Geyser in the Waikete Valley and Puarenga Stream (figures 4.27, 4.32). Merton describes the sight of the terraces, calling them "marvels of nature" (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 403, 405). He notes "the beauty of those buttresses! The silica hangs over the ledge like rich falls of lace" (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 404). Taking off their boots and putting on slippers, Annie and Merton walked around the terraces, placed their feet in the "deliciously soft" water and glided down the"[h]ot water stream from Pink and White Terraces to Lake Tarawera ... a veritable dream of delight" (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: opposite 400, 403).

Annie's annotations underneath the photograph of Turikore/Spout Bath (figure 4.6) and more detailed information on the geological labels, show a preoccupation with analysing the hot springs' chemical composition (e.g. temperature and pH value).[87] The album and diary of Dr Blomfield, a University of Oxford physician and demonstrator, who visited NZ with his medical ward after the Tarawera eruption, reflects a similar tendency. The mineralised waters of the hot springs were understood to have medically evidenced restorative and healing powers. Both Dr Blomfield (1888b: 3) and Merton (Russell-Cotes, 1880s-1900s: 1) reference Dr Ginder's Rotorua hot springs pamphlet. Dr Ginder was the government appointed Resident Medical Officer at the first Rotorua sanatorium, which opened the year the Russell-Cotes visited. Taking the waters was marketed to invalids or "seekers after health" and tourists or "seekers after pleasure" (Sala, 1885: 2; Talbot, 1882: 40a). The Russell-Cotes fitted into both descriptions, with impetus for their 1884-1885 world-tour coming from Merton's doctor, who recommended Merton went overseas to recover from a nervous breakdown.

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[86] The samples have not survived but seventeen specimen labels exist. They contain information about collection sites, the names of geological features in *Te Reo Māori* and scientific compounds. The samples and labels may have been displayed in Annie's geology cabinet, which remains in the museum's collections.

[87] One label reads "Diatomaceous Earth. Sodam and Gomorrah [a sulphur pool] Hot Lakes New Zealand. Original 3lbs. 6oz (wet) block 1" 2" (dry) Specific Gravity .666. Ferrous Terrain Tetracyclus Sacustris Tabellaria Cymbella [diatom algae]" (RGAM BORGM:2016.15).

Figure 4.31. "Nga Wahine [the women] Kate, Sophia, Opeora [probably Johanna] Guides to The Terraces" outside Hinemihi (left page, Elizabeth Pulman, c.1881) and the Hunua Falls, Auckland (right page, Valentine[?], c.1885), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

Figure 4.32. White Terrace (left page, anonymous, c.1885) and Keita outside a whare in Te Wairoa (right page, Valentine, 1885), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5]

Annie's collection of geothermal photographs and geological samples, and inclusion of scientific information in the album, demonstrates her knowledgeable comprehension of the region's geology. It also displays her curiosity with the geothermal sights of this other-worldly lunar-like landscape with its sounds of bubbling mud and erupting geysers, and sulphurous smells. On 10 June 1886, roughly a year after the Russell-Cotes's visit, Mount Tarawera erupted. It wreaked considerable damage, destroying the terraces and surrounding areas, and taking the lives of many people. Annie records the tragedy in her album underneath an illustration by Boscawen of the White Terrace (1882) (figure 4.14) and Merton also laments it in his autobiography (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 405).[88] The photographs, illustrations and captions (figure 4.13) in Annie's album and geological labels, therefore provide a way of experiencing the terraces post eruption. More generally, they are also sources of valuable geological and cultural information about the land and natural resources.[89]

Tangata/people and the *whenua*/land

Tangata/people: self-representation and facial *moko*/tattoos

Given the mutability or instability of photographic meaning (Batchen, 2002: 75; Morton, 2012; Sekula, 1982: 84-87) and changeable roles of souvenirs (Haldrup, 2017: 58-59), there are other ways of reading Annie's album, as indicated in the introduction. Moving from a colonial to a *Mātauranga Māori* frame I therefore consider the knowledge pertaining to Māori individuals and the land in Annie's album. Ontologically and epistemologically this frame foregrounds the relations to and

[88] Annie's caption underneath Boscawen's illustration reads "[t]he White Terrace just before it was destroyed. The Column of steam proceeding from it, if it had only been known at the time was an indication of increased thermal heat all over the district for preceding eruption of Tarawera". On a geological label Annie has also written "[s]pecimen taken from islands rising from interior of crater on the summit of the Pink Terrace Otakapuarangi [Cascade]. This specimen is unique. The island above mentioned detaches itself once every 50 years, when the Maoris assert some tragic occurrence takes place".

[89] Research in 2017 suggests the terraces have survived underneath the lake's shores.

between *tangata*/people, the *whenua*/land and natural resources within *Te Ao Māori*. Consequently, it changes the album's interpretation from a personal souvenir with colonial, ethnographic and touristic undertones to a *taonga.* As a cultural treasure it records and preserves valuable *Mātauranga Māori* knowledge for future generations.

The perspectives expressed during fieldwork with Ngāti Rānana reveal members see *taonga* in museums, such as Annie's album, as rich resources of ancestral knowledge, providing access to the lives of their ancestors, including their relationship to the land. Previously, colonial-era photographs of indigenous peoples were commonly understood by non-indigenous scholars as incapable of being "de-objectified" outside the colonial frame (Pinney, 1989: 60). As part of discourses on indigenous advocacy, the capacity of photographs to be used in empowering ways by descendants has dismantled the belief that they can only be understood within the original context of the photographic session. This "look[ing] past" constructed colonial frames, as Aird phrases it (2003: 24-25), is an important part of ancestral reclamation. It is overtly evident during descendant access to collections, repatriations and co-collaborative research projects (see Binney and Chaplin, 2003; Brown and Peers, 2006; Herle, 2012).

In order to discuss these issues with regard to Annie's album, I return to analysis of Tāwhiao's portrait. Although widely attributed to Martin, Blackley's (2012) research shows it was more likely taken in 1884 by John Edwin Mayall or his studio in Britain.[90] Tāwhiao travelled to Britain in 1884, a year before the Russell-Cotes's NZ trip, to petition Queen Victoria about land loss and the right to self govern, as guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi. The Queen declined to receive Tāwhiao and his group of chief advisors, and instead they met with the London Colonial Office. No resolution was reached though since land issues were deemed a local NZ government matter. The press expansively covered the group's stay, which included numerous functions and

[90] Blackley's evidence is partly based on a pamphlet by Martin (n.d.). This is available bound into an album of Martin's photographs at the PRM (1998.89 AL 54) and it discusses Martin's photocollage 'The Old Order Changeth' (c.1885), which I mentioned previously. It states: "The left centre of the group is an excellent portrait of TAWHAIO, the Maori King, wearing a royal robe of kiwi feathers. The original photograph was taken by Mayall, of London, when his Maori Majesty was on a visit to England" (Martin, n.d.: 1). Martin may have subsequently licensed usage from Mayall.

cultural events with dignitaries, including Lord and Lady Brassey. Newspaper articles also record that the group was photographed on the steps of the Houses of Parliament (Westminster) and Tāwhiao had his portrait taken by Mayall at his Bond Street studio (Anonymous, 1884b: 3; Brindishi, 1884: 3).

Mayall was Queen Victoria's photographer and through this association, Tāwhiao could be understood to have been strategically aligning himself with Queen Victoria, as part of colonial relations between NZ and Britain. Although the *Kīngitanga* movement, which Tāwhiao led, resisted the negative impacts settlement was having on Māori, the idea of kingship was originally inspired by the British population's collective unification under the Queen (Graham-Stewart and Gow, 2013: 186). It was therefore, seen by *Kīngitanga* supporters as an alignment and partnership with the Queen, as per the treaty, rather than a rebellion. Accordingly, the photograph could be read as asserting Tāwhiao's equally royal and elite status, and *mana* or identity and authority, including his high birth, monarchy and political power.[91] The portrait's location at the start of the album, after Merton's mayoral bookplate, may reflect an appreciation of this.

Emphasising Tāwhiao's status, he was photographed wearing a fine chiefly *kāhu kiwi*/kiwi feather cloak (figure 4.18). These are not practical cloaks but "prestige garment[s]" associated with societal positioning, especially chieftainship (Te Kanawa and Turi-Tiakitai, 2011: 26; Tregear, 1885: 48). It is therefore highly unlikely to be a studio 'prop', especially given the portrait was mostly taken outside of NZ. For many Māori, as attested by publications by Māori museum staff and artists (e.g. Tamarapa, 2011), photographs of heirloom *taonga*, such as this cloak, are considered to hold valuable knowledge. Birds, especially the nocturnal and rare kiwi, were associated with the gods and their feathers highly valued (Harwood, 2011: 442; Tregear, 1904: 182-183, 235).[92] Research by Te Papa suggests feather cloaks were introduced after

[91] Whilst in Britain Tāwhiao was also painted by H.C. Seppings Wright in an equally regal manner (Anonymous, 1884a: 2).

[92] *Manu*/birds are the children of Tāne, the god of forests and birds.

colonial contact and coincided with the development of photography (Te Arapo Wallace, 2011: 57; Te Kanawa and Turi-Tiakitai, 2011: 26). By the 1880s, the decade Tāwhiao's photograph was taken and Annie created the album, these garments had become highly popular. Feather cloaks were used strategically in photographs, at a time when many Māori leaders, including Tāwhiao, were asserting their right to self-govern. They were and are considered to be enduring collective and individual "physical manifestations of tribal pride and status" (Te Kanawa and Turi-Tiakitai, 2011: 20).

Mayall's proficient use of lighting accentuates Tāwhiao's facial *moko*, capturing the tattooed grooves, which are absent through their illegibility in most nineteenth-century photographs. Male facial tattooing is generally acknowledged as being obsolescent by the 1860s, however there was a brief resurgence during the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s-1870s. This was in part due to Tāwhiao, who requested his male followers to "have their faces tattooed and to revert to the customs of their ancestors" as a political statement against land and cultural loss (Cowan, 1921: 244). Photographs showing *moko* therefore provide valuable sources of knowledge about ancestors and tattooing practices. Full facial *moko* for example, were traditionally reserved for male leaders of high status, such as Tāwhiao. Completed over many years, this is a "complicated arrangement of spiral and curved lines and koru [spiral motif] elements, disposed over the face according to very strict rules", which organise the general design layout (Neich, 1996: 75). *Moko* extends beyond aesthetically complementing a man's facial composition. As described by Ngāti Rānana members during fieldwork, the tattooed lines are more than decorative. Instead they serve to visually, tactilely and spiritually communicate a man's character and identity, including *whakapapa*, rank, status, social standing, knowledge structure, and war prowess. Accordingly, one member described *moko* as a "passport to identity and beliefs" (Barrett, 2016b). Another explained it as the "external shine of the internal person" and "external symbol of the internal Maori life", indicating belief systems (Bergman, 2016). This latter explanation acknowledges the *koru* or curvilinear spiral patterns forming *moko*. This motif, which is commonly used in *tā moko* and carving, is

generally understood to signal the "inner [spiritual] and the outer [physical] worlds" and their interplay (Clément, 2016: 9).

In Annie's album, there is also a pencil and ink line drawing of a woman's facial tattoo design (figures 4.24, 4.33). *Moko kauae* or lip and chin tattoos on women were intended to beautify their appearance and mark their entrance into adulthood (Papakura, c.1930: N: Tattooing, 4, 15). Designs characteristically:

> … curl inward and upward on each side of the chin under the lower lip within three or four fine lines drawn vertically downwards from each corner of the mouth (Tregear, 1904: 264).

Figure 4.33. Detail of the moko kauae drawing "under lip of woman", Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5]. See figure 4.19 for full page.

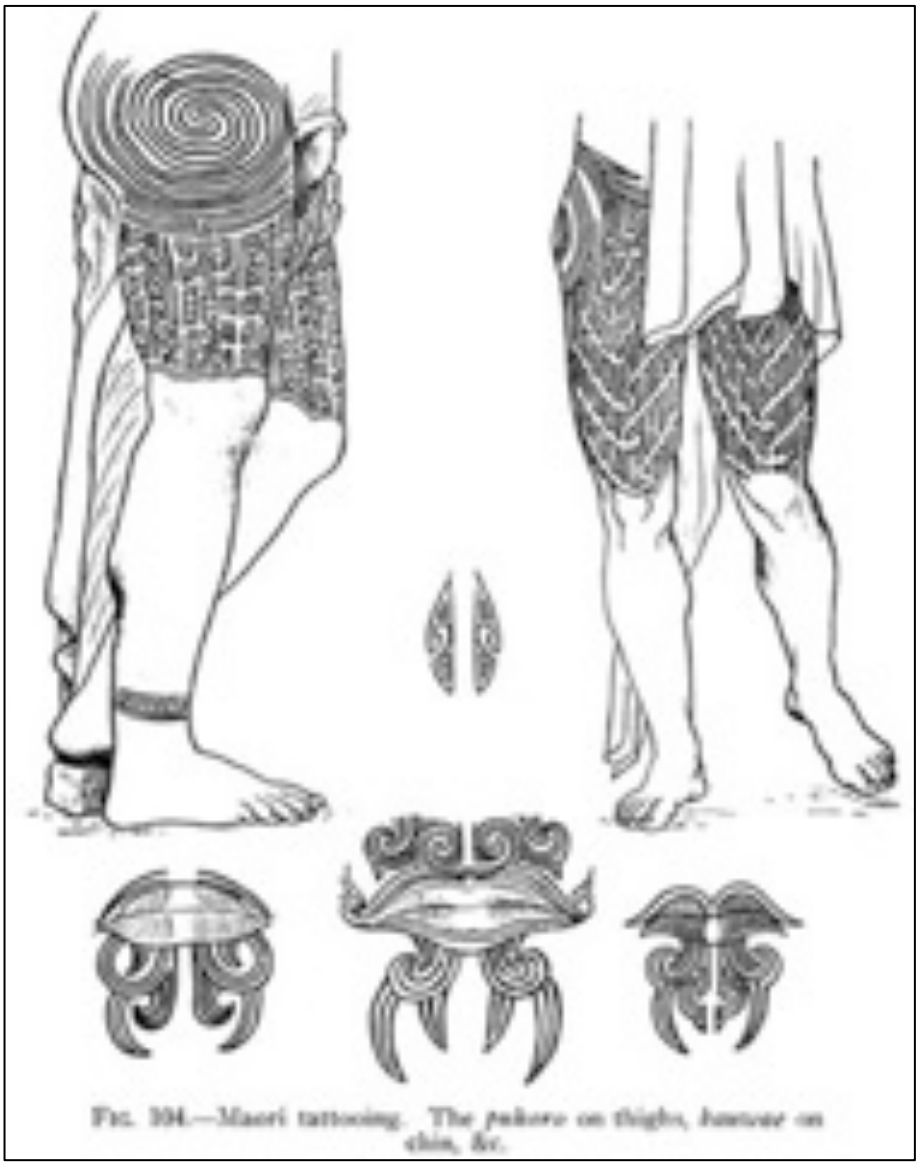

Figure 4.34. "Maori tattooing. The puhoro on thighs [men], kauwae [sic] on chin [women], &c." in Best, Elsdon. (1924). The Maori as He Was. Wellington: AR Shearer, Government Printers, p. 222. From the Published Works of Elsdon Best and supplied by The New Zealand Electronic Text Collection. CC BY-SA 3.0. http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/BesMaor-fig-BesMaor-f109.html

The practice of *moko kauae* continued until the 1920s, with the last tattooed women dying in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As part of an assertion of cultural identity, there has been a resurgence of women getting *moko kauae* since the 1990s. For example, Nanaia Mahuta, of Ngāti Maniapoto and member of the *Kīngitanga* royal family, was the first female NZ politician to get her *moko kauae* in 2016. The drawing in the album draws attention to the photographs of women with *moko kauae*, such as Keita and Rana. It also intersects with Merton's description of tattooed performers at Ohinemutu (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 400). During this performance, Annie may have

made first-hand observations and used gestural marks to pictorially draw and record the spiral motifs of a female performer's tattoo. Stylistically the drawing conforms to the visual conventions of ethnographic illustrations that may have been familiar to Annie. NZ publications concerning Māori 'personal adornment' practices feature similar renditions of tattoos alongside photographs (e.g. Best, 1924b: 222) (figure 4.34). The drawing in the album could therefore be considered along with her diary, to be part of Annie's ethnographic approach towards observing and recording impressions of Māori culture.

Knowledge of the *whenua*/land and *huruwhenua*/ferns

As well as photographs of people, the use of *huruwhenua*/ferns or literally living parts of the *whenua*/land and information in Annie's captions in the album have deep significance. It is a record of the natural environment and a source of *Mātauranga Māori* knowledge. Like the portraits, it can therefore also be considered a *taonga.* The essential role of knowledge was indicated by Ngāti Rānana during NMM workshops when they described it as a "living thing" that binds Māori together (Barrett, 2016b). Ecological knowledge is still retained by Māori communities and was documented in anthropological and botanical publications at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (e.g. the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*). Much however has been lost.

As I introduced in Chapter 2, *Mātauranga Māori* encompasses not only cultural but also environmental knowledge and practices, as well as a worldview. The latter is marked by the absence of any divide between humans and non-humans, including the land and natural ecosystems. This worldview also illustrates a topophilic relationship or deep emotional connection with place and the physical environment. At a general level, all Māori are *tangata whenua*/indigenous people of the land. At a local level, individuals come from different *iwi*, which are associated with defined tribal and geographic regions. These are visually symbolised by individual *marae*, a fenced complex of buildings and grounds comprising a village. Each *iwi* also aligns itself with a *maunga*/mountain or other prominent features of significance within their tribal birth areas, which are considered to be sacred *taonga* and ancestors. This

feeds into a person's individual and communal identity, bringing together all their *whakapapa*, including what might otherwise be described as human and non-human ancestors. People are therefore physically and spiritually considered part of the environment rather than separate from it. This symbiosis has historically influenced Māori societal and cultural development, and persists into the present.

As people of the land, Māori hold *mana whenua*/authority over it. They have ethical responsibility, as part of a holistic view of the universe, to act as *kaitiaki*/guardians for *Papatuanuku*/Mother Earth and sustainably manage her resources.[93] The Waitangi Tribunal describes this guardianship role over cultural and natural *taonga*, including the land, as integral to the integrity and continuation of Māori culture (2011: 491). As part of systems of relations between people and land, ecological care ensures the land can sustain the people mentally, physically and spiritually (Ingold, 2000: 149-150). These were reoccurring themes during fieldwork with Ngāti Rānana and also are referenced in many *whakataukī.*[94] The one below encapsulate these threads, which flow into the following chapter and through the thesis:

> *Hutia te rito o te harakeke kei hea te komako e kō?*
>
> If the centre of the flax is pulled out (and it dies) where would the bellbird sing?
>
> *Whakatairangitia rere ki uta, rere ki tai.*
>
> It will fly here and there but have nowhere to settle.
>
> *Kī mai ki ahau he aha te mea nui o te ao, māku e kī atu he tangata he tangata he tangata*

[93] This guardianship role is enshrined in the Treaty of Waitangi and recognised by environmental legislation (the 1991 Resource Management Act).

[94] E.g. *Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au/*I am the land and the land is me; *Toitū he whenua, whatungarongaro he tangata/*The land is permanent, man disappears; *Manaaki whenua, manaaki tangata, haere whakamua/*Care for the land, care for people, go forward.

> If you ask me what is the most important thing in the world it is people, it is people, it is people.[95]

The importance of relationships to the land and sustainable management of the environment is metaphorically indicated by the *whakataukī*'s description of the entwined and rooted nature of the *harakeke*/flax plant, and the warning to only remove the outer leaves to ensure the plant's survival.[96] It also symbolises the vital role of close family and broader community in the health and wellbeing of every person.

In the album, indications of the close relationship between people and the land are suggested by Annie's captions underneath a photograph of Keita (figure 4.32). One reads "Te Whakatupu", which translates as to grow or rear, and is used in relation to people and the land. It is suggestive of sustainability at a time when both people and the land had been severely impacted by colonisation. The other caption, "Te huruhuru kaka", most likely refers to the fine heirloom *kahu huruhuru*/feather cloaks carefully displayed on Keita's chair. Like the one collected by the Russell-Cotes and attributed to Tāwhiao these checkerboard patterned cloaks feature contrasting feathers. This sometimes includes the godly and "chiefly red" plumage from the underwing of the prized forest *kaka*/parrot (Hiroa, 1950: 170). *Kaka* can also refer to plant stalks or fibres. This may have been a reference to natural fibres, such as the silky *muka* fibres prepared from the commonly available *harakeke*/flax used to weave cloaks. *Muka* was used in weaving to represent life force and the spirit because it was understood to function as a "channel between the physical and spiritual realms" (Toi, 2011: 34). Finally, "Te Whakatupu" can also be translated as leaving something for the future, a future proofing or passing on of knowledge. Annie may have recorded these words in her pocket diary and transferred them to the album, resulting in their future preservation and transfer of knowledge.

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[95] Written by Meri Ngaroto, Te Aupōuri, c.1800s.

[96] A native plant with sword shaped leaves and an interlocking fan shape. It is used in traditional medicine and weaving.

Contemporarily, the breadth of fern related vocabulary in *Te Reo Māori* reflects both their ecological variety and continued importance. Ferns have many uses as food, shelter, *rongoā*/natural medicine and for cultural purposes. The *koru* motif or uncurling fern frond represents new life and is often used in *tā moko* designs, as mentioned in this chapter. *Mauku* or filmy ferns, like those in Annie's album, were used to treat eye complaints and in *waka*/canoe construction (Best, 1907: 249; Kerry-Nicholls, 1886: 207). Greenery was considered the traditional symbol of death, and *waewaekouko,* the running fern in Annie's album (*Lycopodium volubile*), was often used to make the mourning wreaths worn by women at *tangi* (figure 4.24). The album therefore literally and philosophically brings the people and land together, mirroring their close relationship. This is signalled from the album's start by Tāwhiao's portrait, which is framed by several large *waewaekouko*. Underneath this portrait is a phrase written by Annie, which alludes to the fern's climbing and rambling habit.[97] Over time, the gossamer like impressions of the fern have crawled across the photograph's collodion emulsion surface fusing man and plant together (figure 4.18).

The importance of ferns can be further illustrated through discussion of an 1888 collection of ferns and photographs associated with Tāwhiao and held by Te Papa.[98] It comprises 20 fern specimens, including filmy ferns (figure 4.35), as well as a handwritten dedication sheet outlining the collection's importance (figure 4.37). The latter also features two Pulman portraits. The first is of Tāwhiao (c.1882), which also appears as a framed diptych at the RCAGM (figure 4.36).[99] He is wearing a *kaitaka*/flax cloak with a coloured *tāniko* or diamond geometric border. These complex patterns are not simply decorative but individually meaningful, encoding knowledge handed down by the ancestors (Te Kanawa and Turi-Tiakitai, 2011: 24, 26;

[97] The caption reads: "Ngauirangaringarauakawhakapaukai", which can broken down into "Ngau i ranga ringa rau aka whaka paukai". This probably references rambling and climbing vines, such as *Lycopdium volubile*, a club moss with long roots and leaves, which lie in heaps.

[98] P020070.

[99] :T6.7.2006. 12.

Toi, 2011: 40). As Tapsell notes, the "zig-zag patterns of taniko represents the interconnectedness of the kin group with their lands, sea and sky" (1997: 364). The other portrait is of Te Atakohu (c.1888) of Ngāti Hikairo, one of Tāwhiao's advisors, who is wearing a *korowai* or fine tasselled cloak also woven from flax.

Figure 4.35. Hymenophyllum/drooping filmy fern, The King Tāwhiao collection of ferns (1888). © Museum on New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa [P020070/C]. Image removed due to copyright restrictions. It can be accessed at: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/623897

The collection was commissioned by Tāwhiao and created by the botanist Charles Jeffs. Tāwhiao's people, the Tainui, used these local ferns in *rongoā*/natural medicine for their healing properties. The dedication sheet details their specific uses and this

library of oral knowledge. The collection was presented in 1888 to J.T. Rennie, a Canadian doctor, to acknowledge his vital medical assistance to Tainui. The use of photographs also lends credence to the idea that Tāwhiao understood the power of photography, the press and marketing.[100] Compared to other spiritual leaders, he appears to have recognised the strategic and political impact of managing his own likeness to foreground his *mana* or power, identity and presence, and the plight of his people.[101] The University of Western Ontario (Canada) repatriated the collection to NZ in 1967 in recognition of its continuing significance and the medicinal *Mātauranga Māori* it contains. This return acknowledges the intimate, inalienable and spiritual relationships between the land and people of the past, present and future. It also highlights the importance of ferns not only in this collection but also in Annie's album.

Figure 4.36. Framed cabinet cards, including of Tāwhiao (left, Elizabeth Pulman, c.1882). Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of the Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T6.7.2006.12].

[100] Tāwhiao published his own newspaper *Te Hokioi e Rere Atu Na/The Soaring War Bird* (1862-1863). Produced by Māori and in *Te Reo Māori,* it was available across the Waikato (Cowan, 1922: 26). Despite its short print run, it was important in its promotion of the *Kīngitanga* movement before initiation of the New Zealand Wars in the Waikato.

[101] E.g. Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and Te Whiti o Rongomai resisted their photograph being taken for spiritual and political reasons, and to prevent any profit being made from their likeness (Binney, 1992; Graham-Stewart and Gow, 2013: 191-192; King, 2000: 170).

Figures 4.37. Charles Jeff's dedication sheet featuring photographs of Tāwhiao and Te Atakohu (Elizabeth Pulman, 1882 and c.1888 respectively), from The King Tāwhiao collection of ferns (1888). © Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa [P020070/U]. Image removed due to copyright restrictions. It can be accessed at: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/1231940

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the ways commercial photographs, ferns and ephemera were used by Annie Russell-Cotes in her album. I have argued that the album is a highly significant object because of the complex and varied meanings and values invested and contained in it. It is valuable to the RCAGM because of its association with Annie, as well as being important as an example of a late nineteenth-century mixed media album, and for the ancestral, cultural and ecological *Mātauranga Māori* it holds. Using two frames I have biculturally evaluated the album's historical creation and different ways it can be understood. The two frames reveal the photographs' past and present existence within various social and cultural systems, leading to their accrual of different forms of value (Poole, 1997: 10). The next chapter develops this thinking.

Using a colonial frame, I have interpreted the album as a personal travel souvenir that commemorates and preserves memories of Annie and Merton's NZ trip. This active inscription of meaning-making has colonial, touristic and ethnographic overtones, and reveals as much about Annie, the album's creator, as it does about NZ, a developing colony with an indigenous Māori population. I have demonstrated that the album's creation and photographs are linked to a number of discourses, including evolutionism, popular anthropology, album-making practices, and NZ tourism during the nineteenth-century. Using a *Mātauranga Māori*, I have also interpreted the album as a *taonga*. For descendants, this interwoven record of the people, land and natural resources can provide access to encoded knowledge about ancestors, and cultural and ecological practices. These two interpretative frames provide a diversity of knowledge and perspectives, something which is to be valued, as the opening *whakataukī* teaches. They also work "*alongside* one another", rather than in opposition or instead of one another (Ingold, 2017: 14, emphasis in original). This creates a correspondence between meanings, including instances where they converge. According to both frames, the album is a physical and metaphorical trace. The remaining vestiges or marks of the past in photographic, botanical, ephemeral,

drawn and written forms indicate the enduring presence of the people and land in the present.

The album is neither a bounded nor siloed object, rather it is itself part of a meshwork of relations and moments of varying intensities and durations. These join it with other instances of other photographic multiple originals, global institutions, people, uses and events, including exhibitions. Chapters 5-6 explore these concepts further, including through the continuously reproduced and reused portrait of Tāwhiao by Mayall. Like this chapter, the following one also has a focus on the Rotorua region, tourism and souvenirs, and it develops discourses relating to the dual roles and meanings of photographs as commodities and ancestral portraits.

Chapter 5: From *tangi*/funerals and *wharenui*/meeting houses to postcards

Introduction

Hoki whakamuri, kia anga whakamua

Look to the past (or past experiences) in order to forge the future.

The importance of the past, present and future is expressed by this *whakataukī*. Often used in relation to *Matariki*/Māori New Year and educational programmes, it communicates the value of building upon existing knowledge. In the context of this chapter, it reinforces the idea that to understand the impact of the new ways brought by colonisation, specifically the introduction of photographs, the old ways of *Te Ao Māori* also need to be understood.[102] Accordingly, this chapter considers chronologically the development of the roles and uses of commercial photographs within *Te Ao Māori* during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I argue these developments are processes of transculturation stemming from pre-existing practices and forms of ancestral commemoration, rather than adaptation or acculturation. To do so, the balance of the interpretative frames used in the previous chapter is reversed, and *Mātauranga Māori* is utilised to a greater extent rather than a colonial one. I also develop my discussion of photographic 'types', paradigms and tropes, tourist souvenirs and tattooing, which I introduced in the previous chapter. I use a range of sources in my analysis, including photographs from newspapers and Makereti Papakura's collection at the PRM, fieldwork with Ngāti Rānana, and

[102] This value was acknowledged by NMM in the workshop titled 'Walking into the Future with Our Eyes on the Past' attended by Ngāti Rānana.

published and unpublished works. The latter two include writing in Annie's album, Merton's autobiography, popular NZ anthropological and historical texts, and Makereti's draft manuscript of *Old Time Maori*.

In this chapter, I examine the affective and sensorial roles of photographs at *tangi* and inside communal *wharenui* from the late nineteenth-century. I argue these uses and roles reflect purposeful and site-specific engagements with photographic objects in order to represent, honour, remember and commune with the ancestors. I specifically connect this to the additive traces of *mauri* and ancestral presence perceived to be present in photographs. Developing from this, I focus on Makereti, an internationally famous Māori tourist guide in the Rotorua region during the mid 1890s and early 1900s. I use her active involvement in the production of commercial tourist photographs of herself to indicate the continued development of new forms of photographic use by Māori across both the Māori and non-Māori worlds. Tourism and technological developments at this time contextualise this examination.

Through these discussions, I also explore the concept of multiple registers or rhetoric of photographic values and tensions (including instances of photographic disallowance), resulting from different motivations for use. This centres on the dual status of photographs as non-commercial inalienable *taonga* and commercial alienable objects with monetary value (e.g. souvenirs). The focus on Makereti and her role in tourism, layered photographic self-presentation and domestic use of photographs in her *whare* complicates these registers of value and prevents purely binary interpretations.

Transculturation and succession of practices

During the 1860s, when photographic practice was becoming more widespread in NZ, it began operating across a range of contexts of the visual economy, including the economic, social and cultural. Photographs took on local specificity through the development of a succession of socio-cultural practices and uses. In doing so, they started accruing specific significances across the non-Māori and Māori worlds. To date, there is no current evidence of widespread Māori photographic commissioning

until the conclusion of the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries and Māori photographers are not evident until around the 1910s, as noted in Chapter 1. However, commercial photographs taken by non-Māori NZ photographers were widely integrated into *Te Ao Māori* by the 1880s-1890s.

Many of the scholars who have commented on the way Māori embraced commercial photographs for their own purposes, have not done so in any great depth, especially pertaining to memorial practices (e.g. Binney and Chaplin, 2003: 110; Brown, 2008: 59-62, 72; Graham-Stewart and Gow, 2013: 187; King, 2000: 2). This appears to stem from the predominantly (art) historical approaches still dominating NZ photographic research and/or a focus on photographic content rather than use. This chapter addresses this gap and argues that the utilisation of photographs does not reflect passive mimicry. Moreover, it cannot be reduced to reductive concepts of acculturation or assimilation, which Pratt states can minimise the innovation of colonised indigenous peoples (1991: 36). Rather it constitutes transculturation or the complex transformation of existing practices (Ortiz and Onìs (trans.), 1947). This cultural change developed from Māori exposure to, and interactions with, novel ideas and technologies (photography) and new forms of expression (photographs) during the colonial period. Māori use of photographs is therefore not about cultural loss. Rather it is an active and highly skilled form of cultural fluidity and integrity, which translated and expressed values central to *Mātauranga Māori*.

The quick utilisation of new ideas, technologies and tools by Māori in the colonial past and postcolonial present (e.g. digital) was a prevalent theme during workshops and interviews with Ngāti Rānana, and has also been demonstrated by scholars. Historically and contemporarily, these new ideas, technologies and tools were, and are, used to record and disseminate *Mātauranga* Māori. They include the use of metal carving chisels, and writing and drawing implements from the 1810s (Ellis, 2016: 448; Salmond [Henare], 2006: 49, 53); figurative European painted portraits and photographs of Māori during death practices and inside *wharenui* from c.1880s-1890s (Binney, 1992: 244; Cooper, 1988: 4; King, 2000: 33, 77; Main, 1976: 92-93; Neich, 1996: 105); and digital technologies from the 2000s (Brown, 2008).

Even prior to the introduction of writing through colonisation, knowledge was recorded using a diverse range of methods or practices that utilised the sensory spectrum. Thus an absence of written forms did mean that knowledge retention was solely oral, as is commonly presumed or might be interpreted using the cultural model from the anthropology of the senses outlined in Chapter 2.[103] As discussed during workshops with Ngāti Rānana, these continuing practices comprise carving, painting, weaving, tattooing and oral performances (e.g. *kōrero*/speeches, *waiata*/songs, *whakataukī* and *mōteatea*/poetic laments). Each of these visual, tactile and oral practices has its own intelligible language or form of expression. They are also part of an interlinked stable of practices and designs across mediums that include wood, threads, skin and air. During the late nineteenth-century, photographs joined these practices and coherently built upon, rather than superseding older memory and commemoration practices. Photographs were thus used to enable a continuity of ancestral presence and veneration, and retention of knowledge through their close affinity with the deceased, associated places and events. Since this time, ancestral photographs have become integral to *tangi*/funerals and *wharenui* interiors. So prevalent is the latter occurrence, that Te Papa's community outreach programme (National Services Te Paerangi) holds conservation workshops with *iwi* tailored to the preservation of photographs inside *wharenui*. As a new form of media, photographs therefore reinforced and extended existing practices within *Te Ao Māori*, and expressed core ideological values. This active use of photographs enabled intergenerational exchange and the retention of knowledge through the continuation of and changes to practice, without implying any loss of cultural integrity (Ingold, 2000: 138, 147).

In many cultures, photographs have been and are associated with both the living and the dead. During the nineteenth-century it was a common Western practice to use photographs, including those specifically taken of the deceased, as mementoes or keepsakes, serving as reminders of those who had passed (see Ruby, 1995). In a NZ

[103] The term literate and non-literate has been avoided as a Westernism, which denigrates other forms of storing or encoding knowledge (e.g. carvings).

context, scholars have referenced various lineages, comparing photographs of the deceased whilst alive with older Māori remembrance practices. Binney and Chaplin (2003: 110) and Te Awekōtuku (2007: 158) align photographs with ancestral carvings. A greater number of scholars though have connected photographs (e.g. Dudding, 2007: 58) or portraiture (a less specific conflation of photographs and paintings) (e.g. Cory-Pearce, 2005: 376-377) with ancestral remains. In particular, they point towards photographs replacing *Toi moko* in death practices. The reasons for this alignment has not received detailed analysis and warrants further explanation.

Prior to the changes brought by colonisation, including Christianity, Māori preserved the heads of tattooed males. Positioning it as evidence of a gruesome primitive practice, many European accounts focus on the preservation of the heads of warriors from opposing *iwi* and their derisive use during battles. 'Trophies' was, for example, the focus and title of a PRM mounted compilation of photographs, comprising a *Toi moko*, North American scalp and New Guinea skull.[104] Forming part of the comparative photographic series established by PRM curator Balfour during the 1930s, it demonstrated and promulgated the popular misconception that all *Toi moko* were war trophies.[105] However, Māori also preserved the heads of chiefs and other venerated males as mementoes of loved ones. Serving a practical purpose, this included those who died on distant battlefields and could not be brought home.

Early accounts record *Toi moko* being taken out of scented baskets from their keeping places and displayed on sticks and draped in cloaks as if still living. They were interacted with, mourned and cried over. This acted as a cathartic method for expressing grief subsequent to or in place of *tangi*. A variety of roles equivalent to those in Western cultures are attributed to *Toi moko* in colonial publications. Robley compares the memorial remembrance facilitated by *Toi moko* to those played by "statues and pictures and monumental records" (1896: 133), whilst Walsh ascribes *Toi moko* a status akin to religious relics due to the *tapu*/sacredness of chiefs during

[104] Not shown for reasons of cultural sensitivity (1998.174.32.1-4 or C1/17.32 .a-d).

[105] The creation of this comparative photographic series will be discussed in Chapter 6.

life and death (1894: 612). Both Robley (1896: 133-134) and Walsh (1894: 611) attribute *Toi moko* with preventing the deceased from being forgotten by ensuring their presence was preserved and remained in the present with their living relatives. This included the presence of *Toi moko* at specific events, including *tangi*. As will be explained further on in this chapter, these are all functions subsequently facilitated by photographs.

Māori were skilled traders, responding quickly to markets even prior to colonial settlement. Trade was stimulated by Māori appetite for Western objects, including guns, and European desire for Māori cultural objects, including *Toi moko*. The first *Toi moko* was collected by Joseph Banks in 1770 on Captain Cook's first voyage. Although only sold by certain Māori, the trade flourished with Europeans collectors and museums competing to obtain *Toi moko* as 'curios' of Māori preservation and tattooing practices. This led in a few instances to Māori slaves being 'transformed' into commodities by being tattooed and killed for sale. As Robley notes "what was once an honour reserved for chiefs [after death], became forced on slaves with a view to prompt sale of the head" (1896: 139). Resulting from missionary pressure, the trade was banned in 1831 and the preservation practice also terminated. Figurative European paintings of Māori initially filled this cultural void and were then (and continue to be) used alongside framed photographs. Initially, this comprised commercial and widely disseminated photographic portraits, such as those discussed in this thesis. Perhaps important in this transformative process of transculturation was the primacy of photography's "transparent immediacy" as a realistic representational technology (Bolter and Grusin, 1999: 272-273). Transparent immediacy, which is the opposite of hypermediacy, obscures the photographic medium, making it difficult to perceive because of the focus on the image content (Barthes, 1981: 5-6; Batchen, 2004: 73). In addition to photographic reproducibility and availability, this affect may in part account for the appeal of photographs, once the preservation practice of *Toi moko* concluded.

Additive and reductive traces

Moko/facial tattoos

A person's facial *moko* is both an enduring reductive and additive trace on the skin and was made permanent beyond death through preservation (*Toi moko*) and in photographs, drawings and paintings. *Tā moko*, the practice of permanently adorning the faces and bodies of men and women is associated with the gods and was reputedly brought back from the underworld. The reductive nature of Māori tattooing is evident in the term and Hiroa breaks it down into "ta being the act of striking [an *uhi*/chisel] with the mallet and moko, the resultant pattern" (1950: 296). Thus the skin's surface was incised rather than punctured, removing flesh and creating scarification. During tattooing, as Makereti notes, the practitioner tapping out the facial pattern continually checked the cuts were sufficiently deep (Papakura, c.1930: P: Mata-ora, 7). Black pigment was then added to the cut skin to emphasise the scrolled and spiralled lines. Accounts of early expeditions to NZ portray facial *moko* as "deep canals" (Robley, 1896: 50) and "chiselled engravings" (Cowan, 1921: 241) (figures 5.1-5.2). These descriptions and those in photographic captions emphasise *moko*'s reductive and carved nature. Moreover, the practices of tattooing and carving, which both adorn surfaces with patterns, are connected and some practitioners play dual roles. One Ngāti Rānana member, who is a practising *tā moko* artist, remarked that facial *moko* were sometimes restored over a person's lifetime. This was "to make the cutting even more pronounced like carvings", and as a way of "turning yourself into the absolute spirit form", akin to ancestral carvings in *wharenui* (Netana, 2016).

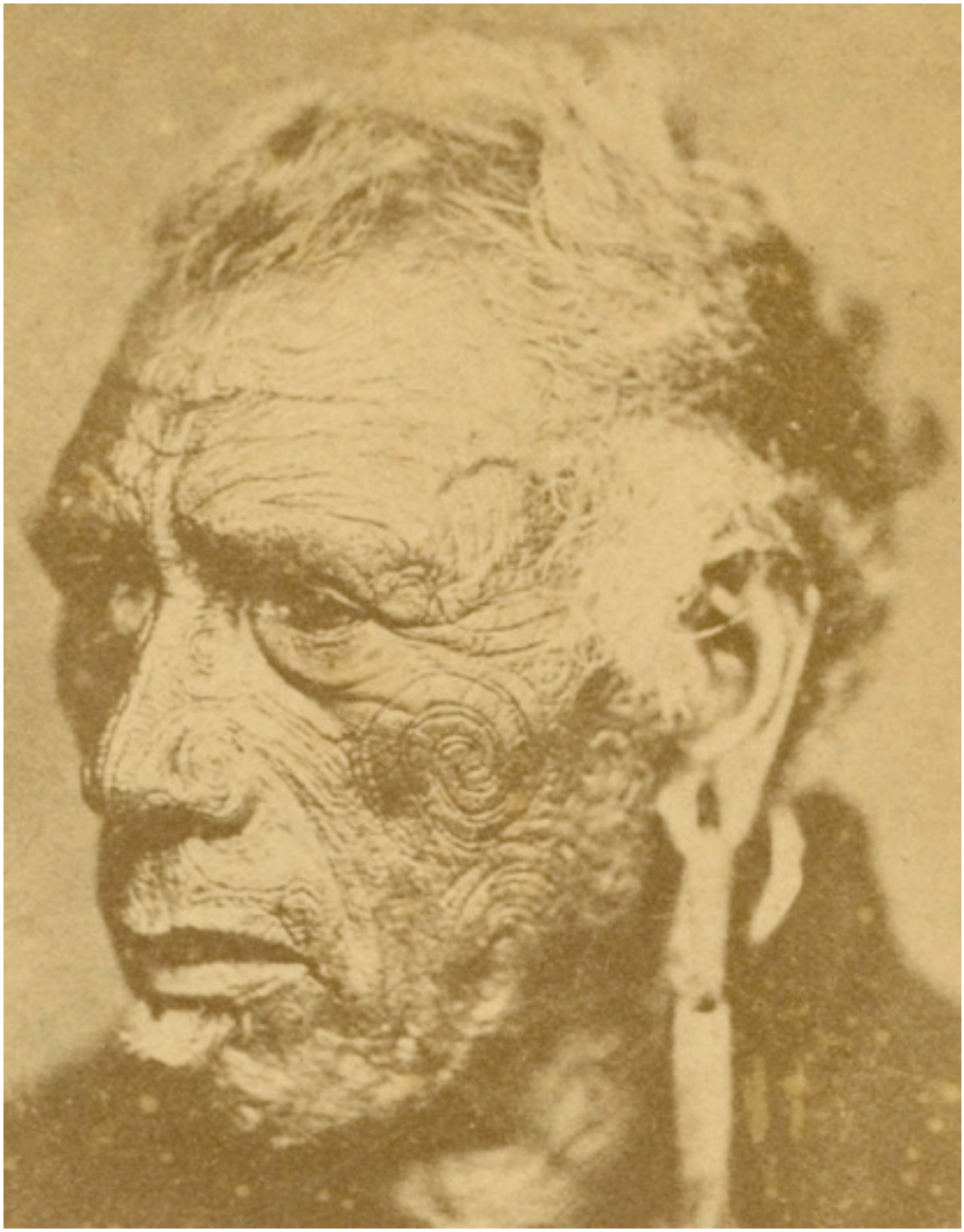


Figure 5.1. Detail of a carte of Ratene Hihitaua (Elizabeth Pulman, c.1870-1881). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T6.7.2006.5]. See figure 4.3 for full photograph.

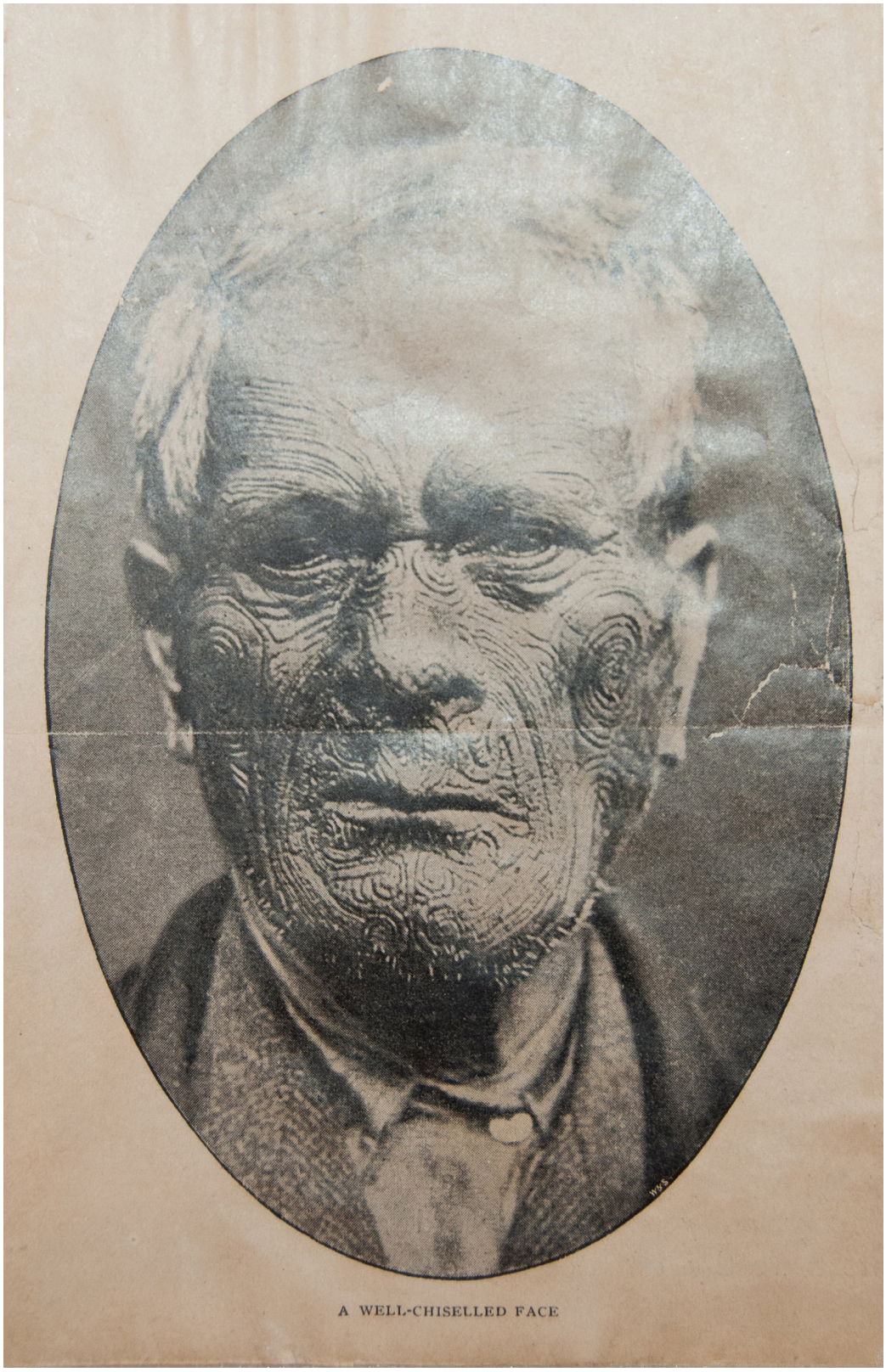


Figure 5.2. Unidentified man described in the caption as having a "A Well-Chiselled Face" (Swan & Wrigglesworth, c.1857-1866). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.260.22/B60].

Capturing the carved quality of facial *moko* photographically was, however, inherently problematic, producing less defined results than the well-established practice of drawing *moko* (figure 5.3).[106] For this reason, *moko* in photographs were altered at least as early as the 1870s. *Moko* was highly marketable, as evidenced by earlier trade in *Toi moko* and European interest in Māori tattooing practices. Subsequent photographic enhancements of tattoo lines exploited this and sales therefore developed in response to cultural practices, and local and global markets. This also relied upon the photographic 'types' and other paradigms and discourses (e.g. 'typical native' and 'primitive') discussed in the previous chapter. Specifically *moko* was perceived to be the "most characteristic race-emblem of old Maoridom", as Cowan (1921: 245) notes nostalgically in the 1920s. This comprehension also extended beyond NZ. Robley describes how the British public's fascination with Tāwhiao's *moko*, during his 1884 visit to Britain, resulted in the recreation of the tattoo lines on his face using fireworks; the "ghostly lines" leaving behind only momentary traces on the night's sky (Ingold, 2016: 50). He notes:

> At the Crystal Palace on the occasion of his visit, there was a special display of fireworks, which included a pyrotechnical representation of his face. Messrs. Brock and Co. used blue lights to represent the tattooing marks, and it was reserved for that celebrated firm of fireworkers to achieve the apotheosis of moko (Robley, 1896: 112-113).

Alterations to *moko* lines were achieved in two distinct ways.[107] Both responded to the nature of *moko* and combined drawing or painting with photography. Firstly, topical applications of substances, such as grease or dye, were applied to a sitter's

[106] E.g. Sydney Parkinson's 'Head of Otegoongoon, son of a New Zealand chief' (1773).

[107] In a South American context, Poole also describes the addition of substances directly onto the sitter's skin or photographic emulsion (1997: 207-208). In contradistinction to NZ, these methods were used to minimise racial difference.

skin (Main, 1976: 27).[108] This additive retracing of tattoo lines would have been experienced haptically, as tactile sensations following the inscribed patterns on the skin's surface. Cowan describes using this tactile technique to counteract the technological difficulties of photographically recording the grooved skin:

> With a kodak it is difficult to get satisfactory results in the photographing of tattoo; in fact for any camera it is desirable to black over the miniature trenches first with a fine brush or with crayon—provided, of course, the subject is willing (1921: 244).

There is a continuity of this haptic practice in the contemporary practice of inking *moko* designs onto people's faces. These lines are applied during *kapa haka*/cultural performance competitions, and in the recreation of colonial-era style portraits by the photographic duo Soldiers Road.

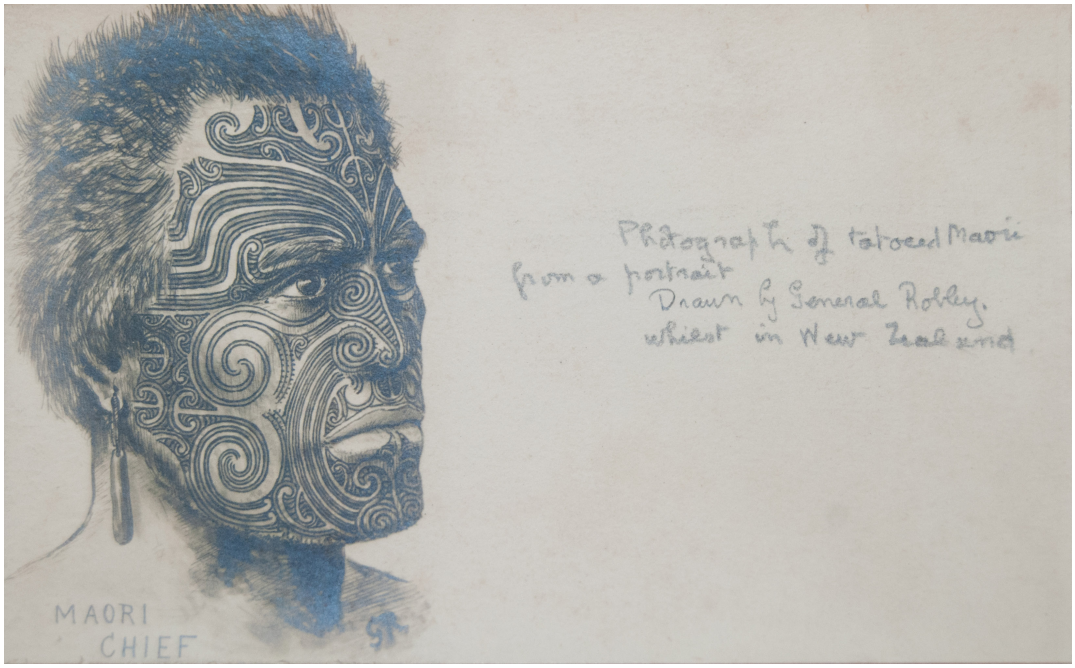


Figure 5.3. Postcard of Tomika Te Mutu, Ngāti Rangi (Robley, c.1890). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.260.17.1/B60.17a].

[108] William Hammond's diary (Auckland War Memorial Museum) mentions this practice being used by photographer Iles, whom he states, "took a couple of hours to touch-up the tattoo of a chief. The sitter was so pleased he wore it proudly for several days" (Main, 1976: 27).

Secondly, photographs were retouched by hand. In a practice most likely outside of the sitter's influence, ink or paint was directly and permanently added to exposed glass plates negatives. These additive lines, unlike the freehand drawing in Annie Russell-Cotes's album, followed prescribed routes dictated by a photograph. The material changes of this process turned photographs into complex hybrid objects (Batchen and University of New Mexico Art Museum, 1997: 5; Pinney, 1997). All subsequent prints from the glass plate negative featured these alterations, obscuring the photographic trace underneath. Pulman Studios's use of large 10 x 8 negatives enabled detailed additive traces and produced skilful results (figures 5.4-5.5).

Figure 5.4. Detail of Rana Rauangi (Pulman Studio, c.1885), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5]. See figure 4.9 for full page.

Figure 5.5. Cabinet card of Hati Wira Takahi, Ngāpuhi chief (Elizabeth Pulman, c.1873). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.260.25/B60].

This is comparative to the less accomplished work of other photographers. Carnell's retouching of Paora Torotoro's *moko* (Ngāti Hinepare), which appears in Annie Russell-Cotes's album, is conspicuous and the *moko* lines are indistinct (figure 5.6). Incorrectly retouching *moko* would have been akin to altering the written text because *moko* were considered to be a unique personal identification, like a signature or fingerprint, which could be 'read' and understood (Netana, 2016). *Moko* were used

as signatures on important documents, including the Treaty of Waitangi, for both practical (by those who could not write) and political reasons (Gallagher, 2003; Te Awekōtuku, 2006: 128).

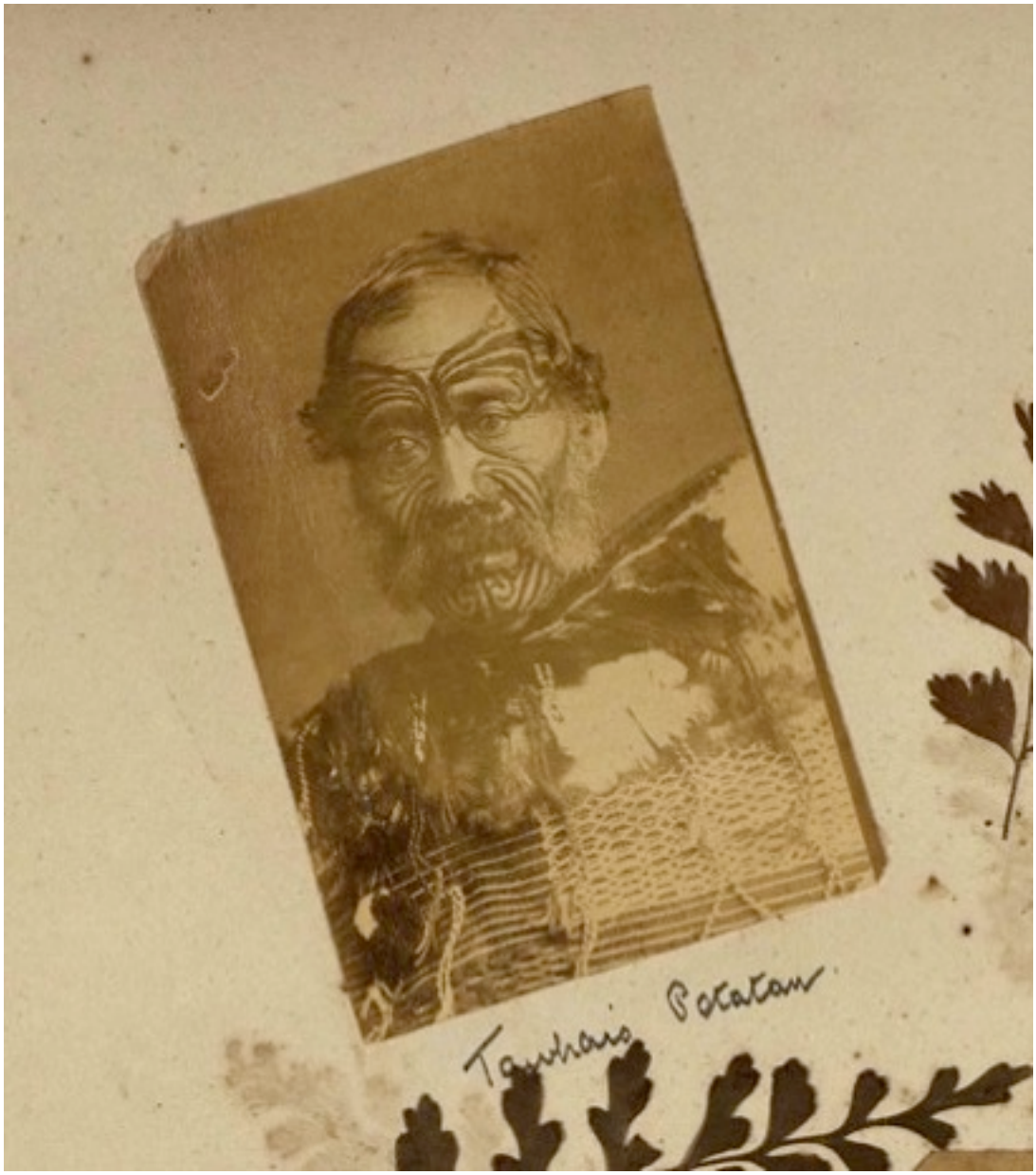


Figure 5.6. Detail of Paora Torotoro, Ngāti Hinepare (Carnell, c.1880s), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5]. See figure 4.15 for full page.

Retracing and emphasising *moko* lines by hand, which were originally 'drawn' or 'painted' with light and chemicals through mechanical and manual processes, further complicates the hybrid nature of photographic production. Indeed the term photography comes from the Greek terms phos (light) and graphy (to draw).

Retouching was also part of a more general nineteenth-century confluence between printmaking, painting and photography (Bann, 2001; Benjamin, 1968: 217-220). This included photography's use as a mechanical tool for reproducing artworks.[109] For example, Māori portrait specialist Lindauer's 1878 painting of Heeni Hirini (previously known as Ana Rupene) and child was based on a c.1872-1878 cabinet card by the Foy Brothers (Hall, 2011: 52); the painting was subsequently produced as a *carte*; and photographs of the painting were used in PRM curator Balfour's photographic comparative series.[110] Other confluences are also evident in publications about Māori, such as an interchangeable use of photographs alongside reproductions of drawings and paintings for their instructive content (see Best, 1924a; Donne, 1927; Robley, 1896). These publications make no reference to the retouched *moko* lines, although retouching as a technique to correct defects or implement aesthetic changes was instructively discussed in photographic manuals (e.g. Johnson, 1898). Instead, retouched photographs simply provide overt illustrative context to written descriptions about tattooing. For example, Donne captions a retouched photograph of Paora Tūhaere (Ngāti Whātua) by Pulman (c.1890) as showing "a very definitely tattooed face" (1927: opposite 144). Photographers also produced work that visually referenced specific paintings, such as Pringle's photographic studies of Māori with *moko*, which bear strong resemblance to Goldie's well-known paintings (figure 1.3). Pringle capitalised upon this alignment in his advertising strategy and in 1905-1907 the press noted it was advantageous for sales.

Both additive and reductive traces were also used to retouch or remove unwanted details, including evidence of Western clothing underneath 'traditional' cloaks. Close inspection of Mayall's 1884 portrait of Tāwhiao reveals additive traces were used to mimic the kiwi feather cloak (figure 5.7). This obscures the shirt collar underneath,

[109] The relationship between photography and painting was an exhibition focus at British art and photography galleries during 2016, including *Double Take: Drawing And Photography* at The Photographers' Gallery and *Painting with Light: Art and Photography From the Pre-Raphaelites to The Modern Age* at Tate Britain.

[110] PRM 1938.35.1881, BM Oc,B131.11 and PRM 1998.189.1.1 or C2/12.1.a-d.

which is visible in an alternative portrait version, probably taken during the same studio session (figure 5.8).

Figure 5.7. Detail showing additive traces obscuring the shirt collar (left-hand side) in a portrait of Tāwhiao (Mayall, c.1884), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5]. See figure 4.18 for full page.

Figure 5.8. Detail showing the shirt collar (left-hand side) in an alternative portrait of Tāwhiao (Mayall, c.1884). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.243.4.1-10 or B43/4.a-j from Balfour's comparative photographic series titled 'MAORIS New Zealand'].

Moreover, additive and reductive traces were applied to photographs being prepared for publication, including the plates in Makereti's book *Old Time Maori* (Papakura, 1938). This is evident in marking up instructions on the reverse of photographs in Makereti's collection. One instruction notes "[p]attern important. Tattoo does not

show clearly in this. The tattoo is the most important part of the photo", while another states "[b]lot out the electric light wire across the front".[111] These alterations were designed to highlight desirable details and remove undesirable ones. The latter includes removing a pipe being smoked by Guide Putiputi and the influences of modernisation in Māori villages, such an electrical lighting. A scalpel was also probably used to remove the presence of two men carrying out maintenance by Makereti's *whare* Tuhoromatakaka (figures 5.9-5.10).[112] These reductive lines were dually used to extend the wooden fence in the photograph's background and it was published with these alterations (Papakura, 1938: plate XX). Additively or reductively retouching *moko* and other features in photographs is therefore directly connected to market demand, their sale as commodities or use as instructive content in publications and particular presentations of Māori culture.

Figures 5.9. Tuhoromatakaka before editing (anonymous, c.1910). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.277.4 in B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection].

[111] PRM 1998.277.15 and 1998.277.46.

[112] PRM 1998.277.48.

Figure 5.10. Tuhoromatakaka after editing and showing the reductive removal of men working (left-hand side) in Papakura, Makereti. (1938). Old Time Maori. London: Victor Gollancz Limited, plate XX. From New Zealand Texts Collection and supplied by The New Zealand Electronic Text Collection. CC BY-SA 3.0. http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-MakOldT.html

Mauri/life force and presence

As well as the additive and reductive traces used in the production of photographic commodities (e.g. prints and publications), additive traces are also understood to form during photographic exposure, and these hold a different type of value. Although photographs are not "homomaterial replicas" (Stewart, 1984: 136), unlike *Toi moko,* which are made from exactly the same materials as the referent, there remains a common perception that something of the sitter is materially deposited onto or into the resulting photograph. This belief is a persistent concept with credence around the world but is uniquely manifested depending on cultural or individual belief systems, including *Mātauranga Māori*. At first Māori, like many indigenous peoples, feared cameras as potentially harmful. For this reason, Alfred Burton records in his diary during a photography trip through the isolated King Country, that cameras were initially referred to as *tāipo*/goblin (1885a: 7, 12). Scholars attribute this apprehension to anxiety that a person's *mauri* would be depleted through their image being developed onto a glass plate negative. Binney (1992: 244) uses the phrase "transference of the human image" to describe this fear,

however she does not explicitly relate it to the various meanings of *whakaahua*. As well as meaning a photograph (noun), there are other meanings of *whakaahua* as a verb. These include to photograph, portray, acquire form and transform. It is the latter meaning, which perhaps lay at the heart of this concern and resulted in the association between photographs and *mauri*.

The status of photographs having *mauri* is expressed in select literature (see Binney and Chaplin, 2003: 101; Carroll, 2008: 126; Dudding, 2007: 273; King, 2000: 2; McCredie, 2015a: 207) but is not discussed in any depth and is worth exploring further at a number of levels. During the process of photographic exposure and development, there is a correspondence of chemicals and light with the scene in front of the camera lens. When a photograph is taken, radiant light energy touches the sitter and sensitised glass plate negative creating contact between surfaces (Bolter and Grusin, 1999: 30). During development, this renders permanent a sitter's visible external characteristics at a precise moment. This process, however, goes beyond the chemical trace and literal representative recording of the sitter's physical appearance. It is also understood to result in a deposition or additive trace of a person's invisible and internal *mauri* onto the negative and subsequently to the photographic paper. This transformation of a small part of a person's *mauri* into photographic form creates an unbreakable bond between person and photograph.

It is worth noting that *mauri* also extends beyond this due to the status of photographs as *taonga*. As Ellis describes, *taonga* possess *mauri* from all the materials they are composed of (2016: 445). Photographic *taonga* can therefore be understood to comprise *mauri* not only from the sitter but all the materials present. This includes the wood pulp of the photographic paper. Makereti, for example, details the strict procedures necessary when chopping down trees to make *wharenui* because of their arboreal *mauri* (Papakura, 1938: 290). This is subsequently retained in the cut wood and any products made from it, such as photographic paper. Interactions between all the material properties of a photograph therefore contribute to its individual *mauri.*

The particular status of photographs as *taonga* helps further exploration of what photographic *mauri* means and might additionally indicate. In Tapsell's discussion of heirloom non-photographic *taonga*, he states they are "spiritual personifications of particular ancestors" (1997: 335). This does not arise from the visual characteristics of (non-photographic) *taonga*, as Brown (2010: 78-79) argues drawing on Tapsell. Instead, as expressed by Ngāti Rānana during fieldwork, it is because all *taonga* are perceived to be the "personification of a person" and thus "living things" with *mauri* (Barrett, 2016e; Barrett, 2016d; Netana, 2016). Māori librarian Robert Eruera also expresses this perspective, noting "[i]n our Maori way we still look at them as still being alive especially nga whakaahua, the photographs" (Ihaka, 2013). Photographs are therefore not objects animated with spirits (in the traditional sense of animism) or agency. Instead using Ingold, they can be understood as things already in life and with an intensity of life force (2011a: 29).

As *taonga* portraying the human form, including the head (the most sacred body part), photographs are also *tapu* or sacred and set apart, and this status increases once a person depicted dies. Another meaning of *tapu*, Tapsell explains, is an "indication of presence of ancestors" (1997: 328). As sacred personifications of ancestors and living objects with *mauri*, photographs can also be understood as intimately linked with ancestral presence. Literature by Brown and Peers (2006: 180), Edwards (2005) and Poignant (1996: 2, 5, 10) on indigenous peoples from Canada and Australia indicates similar alignments between photographs and ancestral presence. The photographic application of Runia's metonymical explanation of "presence in absence" (2006: 20) is helpful for considering this further within a Māori context. Applied to photographs, the deceased person from the past, whom is absent through their death, is called into the present through the presence of their *mauri* in a photograph. As per Runia, photographs are in this sense a "*literal*" and "real" presence (Sobchack, 2011: 323-325, emphasis in original). Contemporarily for some Māori, they "provide the closest presence to someone who is deceased" (Eruera, 2014). Therefore they "may be treated as though the person themselves has returned, and … cried over as the dead" (Binney, 1992: 246). These responses parallel those elicited by *Toi moko*, as discussed earlier in this chapter, thereby strengthening

photography's connection to this preservation practice. For these reasons, photographs might be described as a bipartite combination of the tangible (physical object) and spiritual (*mauri* and ancestral presence).[113]

Sacred or non-commercial uses

I now develop my thinking about ancestral presence and photography's affiliation with *Toi moko* through discussion of non-commercial and sacred uses of photographs at *tangi*/funerals and inside *wharenui*. I first address the cultural protocol and genealogical lineage that developed to account for photographs and photography in *Te Ao Māori*. During fieldwork with Ngāti Rānana, the initial fear of photographs was described as not only arising from incomprehension of the new photographic technology, but also its place within existing ones (Netana, 2016). Thus the purpose and function of photographs and photographic technology had to be ascertained and accounted for within a meshwork of interactive systems that were already established for other media and technologies. In *Te Ao Māori* "everything had a custom and a process to go through or ceremony" (Netana, 2016). The contemporary therefore needed to reference the past.

Customs and processes were established for photography and photographs by developing a *kawa* or cultural protocol. *Kawa* usually involves some form of ceremony and is used when making *taonga*, at exhibition openings and when descendants access *taonga* in museums. The *kawa* enacted by Ngāti Rānana during the group's 2016 visit to NMM store, included *karakia*/ritual prayer chants and *waiata*/songs. This ensured the *taonga* were safe for viewing by rendering them from a sacred *tapu* state into a *noa* or ordinary one. The *kawa* developed for photography and photographs was facilitated by the existing practice of *tangi*. This is the funerary rites and ceremonial process for the dead, and it was at these occasions that *Toi moko* had been previously brought to indicate ancestral presence. As well as

[113] It is worth stating, as per Dudley, that understandings of the tangible (material) and intangible (immaterial) vary according to several factors, including personal beliefs (2012a: 13, Fn10). Most scholarly texts dealing with Māori topics employ the terms tangible and spiritual, therefore these have been used in preference.

establishing a photographic custom and process, the cultural protocol of *tangi* serves to removes the *tapu* associated with death before photographs are placed inside *wharenui*.

Beyond cultural protocol, a *whakapapa* or genealogical lineage was also required for photography and photographs. *Whakapapa,* as outlined in Chapter 2, creates a classificatory taxonomy or "systematic framework" for humans and non-humans, including *taonga* (Roberts, 2012: 643, 742; Tapsell, 1997: 326). This framework was established for photographs through their display inside *wharenui*. Consequently, this connected photographs and the new photographic technology with creation myths, and the existing media (e.g. carvings) and technologies (e.g. carving) already used inside *wharenui*. *Kawa* and *whakapapa* remain important conventions and are being progressively created for digital technologies, including augmented and virtual realities (see Brown, 2008: 62-63; Brown, 2010: 79-80).

Appadurai (1986a: 13-24, 41-43) and Kopytoff (1986: 73-74) argue that all objects are capable of being alienable commodities or inalienable non-commodities depending on their status and context. The use of mass-produced commercial photographic souvenirs at *tangi* and inside *wharenui* therefore disregards their previous commodity status and recodes them as inalienable non-commodities or *taonga*. In a Tibetan context, a similar transformation of purpose and values has been illustrated by Harris (2004) with commercial photographs of religious leaders. The framing of photographs as *taonga* is intensified during their transitory use at *tangi* and subsequent permanent display inside the sacred and communal spaces of *wharenui*. It is through these transformative processes and contexts that photographs of the deceased during life were, and continue to be, communicated and experienced. Thus:

> [Photographic o]bjects become sensible … embedded in a discourse which links things available as discrete entities to the senses, to the physicality of concrete existence in the phenomenologically experienced world, and to ways of thinking about the world in which the senses constitute material objects as a series of fluid markers, designs, desires, and energies (Edwards *et al.*, 2006b: 8-9).

Using photographs at *tangi*/funerals

Tangi are collective and commemorative ceremonies for mourning, farewelling and honouring the deceased, and supporting the bereaved. Taking place over several days, they are revelatory of important values, including the prominent role of ancestors. During the ceremony, the deceased's body is placed on the *wharenui* porch in a coffin, which were open until the early twentieth-century. Close female family members surround the deceased and openly *tangi*/weep and wail to express and release grief. The deceased is addressed during oratory speeches as if still living. Their virtues and those of their ancestors are extolled, and honoured with "chanting laments often of singular beauty" (Papakura, c.1930: P: Tangi, 29). Photographs are placed near the coffin throughout, signalling the deceased's change in life state and progression through the life cycle.

In non-Western and Western cultures, photographs perform powerful roles by standing in for the person depicted who may be deceased or absent (Albano, 2007: 23, 25; Batchen, 2002: 72; Guimond, 1980: 756; Mitchell, 2005b: 66; Wright, 2004: 82). During a *tangi*, photographs were (and are) used to "recall the presence of the dead" (King, 2000: 77), like *Toi moko* were previously. Photographs also indicate that the deceased is present in the immediate vicinity. This extends beyond the representational or symbolic photographic uses described in other cultural death practices (e.g. Graham, 2016: 4). Since the early twentieth-century, photographs have also been used in place of the deceased's body in the *kawe mate*/mourning ceremony, which is held at other *marae* after the *tangi* and burial. Photographs additionally function in similar ways at other occasions. For example, at the 1931 memorial unveiling in Rotorua for Makereti (who was buried in Britain), her sister Bella was photographed evoking Makereti's presence by holding up her portrait (figure 5.11). As sacred objects, photographs thus provide foci for the deceased's corporeal body and spiritually communicate their ancestral presence, *mauri* and enduring *wairua*/soul.

Figure 5.11. "Tribute to a Well-Known and Highly-Esteemed Maori Guide: The Unveiling of the Memorial to Maggie Papakura at Rotorua" (J. F. Louden for AWNS, 12 August 1931, p. 38), including Bella holding her sister Makereti's c.1906 portrait (right). Courtesy of Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries [AWNS-19310812-38-5].

Although Christianity brought about changes to *Te Ao Māori*, Reverend Marsden states many earlier beliefs and traditions associated with *tangi* were retained (2003: 9-10). At *tangi*, the process of transculturation resulted in photographs replacing ancestral remains. This includes both *Toi moko* and ancestral bones, which had previously been brought to *tangi*, and other ceremonies commemorating the dead.[114] Like *Toi moko*, ancestral bones were retrieved from caves and laid near the deceased. Using photographs in a similar capacity therefore ensured a continuity of practice by enabling the custom of bringing together the recently and long since deceased to be maintained. In this way "photographs … started redeveloping traditions and customs" (Netana, 2016).

Observing changes to the *tangi* process, including commemorative forms and types of displays, Hiroa states "framed enlarged photographs of the deceased and some of the next of kin were displayed near the corpse" (1950: 417, 428). Framing (and enlarging where necessary) near-life size photographs ensured the deceased was easily visible from a distance, thereby emphasising their status and presence. Photographs were

[114] E.g. the *hahunga* or 'bone scraping' ceremony comprised the disinterment of bones usually a year after a *tangi*. The bones were cleaned and painted with ochre before being reinterred. Bones were also annually gathered together so ancestors could be re-mourned and celebrated.

used to not only evoke the recently deceased's presence but ancestors long since departed from the spirit's leaping-place at *Te Rerenga Wairua*/Cape Reinga (the North Island's northern most tip) and into another realm. Existing photographs and illustrations from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries bear witness to these ritualistic uses, which have continued into the twenty-first century. An 1894 newspaper illustration of Tāwhiao's elaborate *tangi* (figure 5.12) shows his 1884 portrait hanging above his coffin. In turn, Tāwhiao's portrait features in George Leslie Adkins's 1932 photograph of Hema Te Ao's *tangi* (figure 5.13). Hema, a Ngāti Raukawa chief, was related to Tāwhiao through his Tainui *whakapapa* (King, 2000: 140). Some 38 years after his death, Tāwhiao is remembered as a valued ancestor through his portrait. This alignment condenses time across generations and reaffirms *whakapapa* and *kōrero*/oral stories.

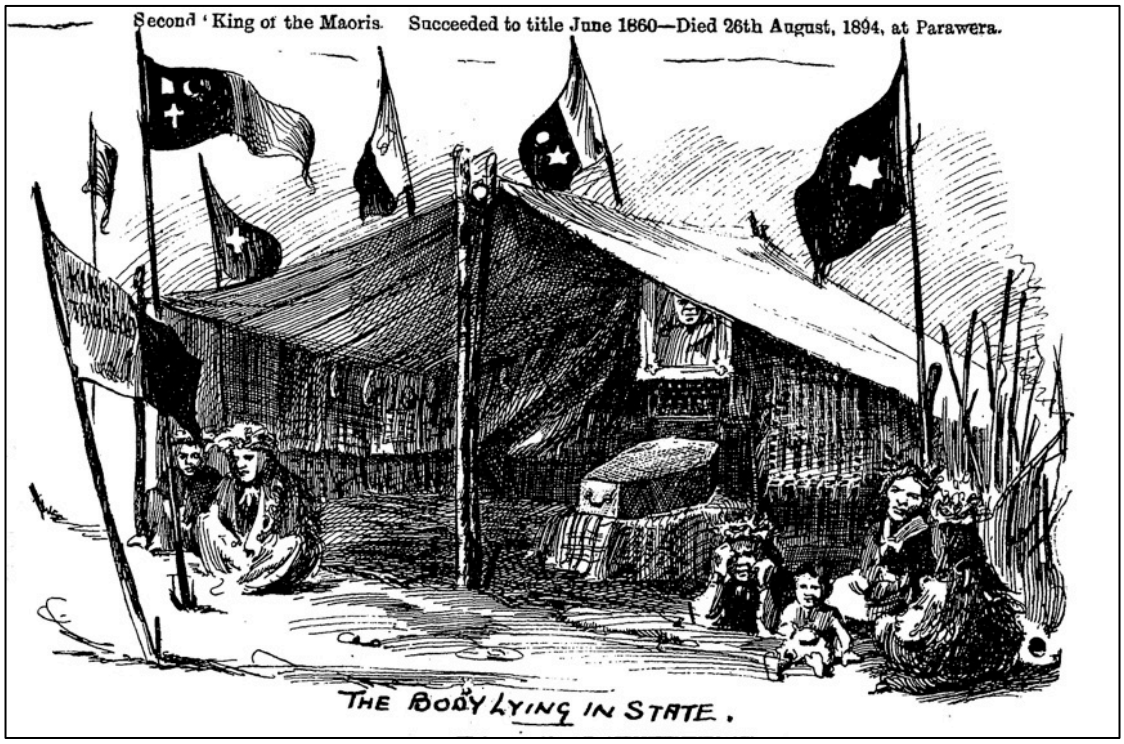


Figure 5.12. Detail of illustration of "The Body Lying In State" showing Tāwhiao's framed photograph above his coffin, (anonymous for The New Zealand Observer, XV(822), 29 September 1894, p. 13). Courtesy of the National Library of New Zealand (via Papers Past).

Figure 5.13. Tangi of Hema Te Ao at Raukawa wharenui, Otaki (George Leslie Adkins, 1932). Tāwhiao's framed portrait is visible in the background (second left). Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand for personal non-commercial use [PA1-f-009-34-241, Photographs of New Zealand geology, geography, and the Maori history of Horowhenua collection]. /records/22761736

Photographs were also incorporated alongside the existing *tangi* practice of placing heirloom *taonga* around the deceased, including hand clubs and cloaks, to indicate *whakapapa* and societal positioning. These *taonga* also evoke ancestral presence and assist the deceased's journey (Tapsell, 2006c: 19). A 1904 newspaper article details this mixed use of the old and new at chief's Hamuera Tamahau Mahupuku's (Ngāti Kahungunu) *tangi*:

> The beautiful mats [cloaks] which had draped the coffin were removed, and the casket was exposed to view ... At its head was Tamahau's tall silk hat, and on the wall of the house, among the pictures of ancient Maori chiefs, was a large photograph of the chief as a young man (Anonymous, 1904: 5).

Equally at Mrs Daniel Love's *tangi* in 1911, the reporter notes:

> All around the coffin … were piled mats of fine spun flax and cunningly fashioned feather cloaks. On the wall, above the dead chieftainess's head, were hung portraits of her people, all of whom had gone long since to the place where she had but lately entered. Some of the portraits were enlarged photographs, some were paintings in oil; all were pakeha [non-Māori] work. Greenstone meres and tikis [pendants], and other ornaments, heirlooms, were hung upon the walls. "They belonged to her. They are the family heirlooms," explained the young Maori [deceased's relative] (Anonymous, 1911: 3).

Non-photographic and photographic *taonga* are obtained not only from the deceased, but provided by relatives and other attendees. This honours the dead through their shared meshwork of relations. In this capacity, photographs provide ancestral presence, which strengthens familial and broader communal bonds between the past and present. This was commented on by a Ngāti Rānana member, who stated:

> My experience with photographs, I know whenever we have *tangi* … they always bring our *tīpuna* [ancestral photographs] that had passed to come and join the gathering of mourners. And they would always lay or sit behind the person in state and we are all reminded of all of them, that we have lost (Netana, 2016).

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was great non-Māori interest in *tangi* and the processes involved, as evidenced by newspapers, scholarly texts, guidebooks such as Talbot's (1882: 13-16b) and tourist accounts. Dr Blomfield attempted to observe a *tangi* during his 1888 NZ trip, noting in his diary "[w]ent to native village [in Te Aroha, Waikato] did not see much, no tangi" (1888a: 19 August). The textual focus on death practices includes sensory descriptions, such as the sound of women's wailing and weeping; sight of hundreds of attendees, and sight and taste

of the *hākari*/prodigious feast consumed after *tangi*. Annie Russell-Cotes made detailed observations about these practices from an informant, stating:

> When a chief dies, they hold a Tangi or Wake, much like the Irish Wake. They send for the neighbouring tribes, and the body is kept until these all gather ... In one case they spent 300 upon flour, sugar, etc., which they strewed on the fields … and all this they make a present to the tribes who come to the funeral … Then a grand procession goes out to meet the visiting tribes ... The howling and mourning go on for that day and then the dead is buried … keeping the body for so long a time taints the air. White men are found to make the coffin, but the Maoris themselves screw it down, as no other would be allowed to approach it (c.1920: 398-399).

There is also a photograph in Annie's album, which she has captioned "A Maori Tangi" (figure 5.14). The details of the scene and its similarity to other photographs, suggests it depicts a funerary event. Showing Māori and non-Māori in European dress lined up and a *haka*/posture dance being performed, these people are likely to be *tangi* guests waiting to be welcomed onto a *marae.* Adjacent to them are neat piles of food baskets and a pig, which may be for the post *tangi* feast held by the bereaved family. It functions to lift the *tapu* associated with death and honours the guests.

Non-Māori attendance at *tangi* was often permitted. An 1882 newspaper article notes "[t]he proceedings … were witnessed by a curious but unobtrusive crowd of Europeans" (Anonymous: 2). Photography however, was generally seen as inappropriate and disrespectful. Accordingly it was disallowed and banned or restricted through photographic permits, which Main (1976: 92-93) notes were sometimes granted by chiefs. Photography was entirely prohibited at associated death ceremonies, such as *hahunga*/bone exhumations. In some instances though, photographs of *tangi* were surreptitiously obtained (Main, 1976: 92-93). Offenders were occasionally being taken to court (Graham-Stewart and Gow, 2013: 190-191), and enforcement of photography restrictions were reported in newspapers. At Tāwhiao's *tangi*, the reporter describes how the "photographic fiend" was rebuked:

The photographers had a bad time of it. Some of them repeatedly attempted to take a view of the interior of the tent containing the coffin of Tawhaio, but were defeated (Anonymous, 1894: 6).

Figure 5.14. "A Maori tangi" showing guests, a haka being performed (off centre) and piles of food (right) and guests (anonymous, c.1885), Annie Russell-Cotes' NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5].

Photographers tried to take photographs of not only the deceased but also *tangi* guests, particularly well-known chiefs. In 1883, Tāwhiao attended a *tangi* at Tauranga (North Island) and featured as the local newspaper's main focus:

> Tawhiao wept copious tears, accompanied with the usual wail and howl. The widow of the late Hori Tupaea and family were present, the relations of Te Kuku, Hamiora Tu, and several other widows and families wailing their dead. This part of the ceremony was very impressive. While all this was going on our townsman, Mr Charles Spencer was busy with his camera, and got a good photograph of Tawhiao and suite, and secured photographs of several other groups within the enclosure (Anonymous, 1883: 2).

For some commercial photographers therefore, the economic value in visually recording *tangi* and creating saleable commodities outweighed the risks in getting caught. These conflicting tensions can be characterised as the move of objects onto the market, which are simultaneously considered to be inalienable non-commodities by one group (Māori) and alienable commodities by another (non-Māori) (Appadurai, 1986a: 22-23). Kopytoff (1986: 81) attributes this "singularization" or special categorisation of certain objects by cultures or groups, as being due to their high level of cultural sacred significance. From a Māori perspective, taking photographs for commercial sale was an inappropriate monetisation of *tangi* and the deceased.

Resulting from photographic restrictions, there is a general absence in the photographic record of *tangi* photographs in British or public NZ collections. Those, which do exist, tend to show broader scenes, such as the attendees depicted in Annie Russell-Cotes's album. More unusual, especially in public collections, are those taken in close proximity to the deceased, such William Beattie & Co.'s photograph (1906).[115] This emotionally charged photograph shows the deceased in an open coffin surrounded by grieving relatives. Given the high level of technical accomplishment and skilled composition, photographs like this one, were most likely commissioned by relatives and were rarely available as commodities for sale. Presumably non-Māori demand for this type of subject matter, coupled with the availability of Beattie & Co.'s photograph, accounts for its wide dissemination across collections including the BM.[116] It also features in publications, including Merton's autobiography, where it illustrates Annie's *tangi* description (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: opposite 402). Moreover, during the 1930s this photograph was mounted on a board titled 'Funerary', as part of PRM curator Balfour's aforementioned comparative photographic series, for its visual didactic instruction in the customs of Māori obsequies.[117] Generally though, the

[115] Not shown for reasons of cultural sensitivity.

[116] Oc,B4.17.

[117] 1998.174.31.1 or C1/17.31.a.

inherently sacred nature of *tangi* repelled the photographic commoditisation of these events and any subsequent uses of such photographs in non-Māori contexts.

From liminality to inside *wharenui*/meeting houses

The use of framed photographs of the deceased at *tangi* culminates in their display inside *wharenui.* These communal spaces are associated with the dead rather than being distanced and separated from them. The semi-enclosed porch space of a *wharenui* holds the deceased and their photograph during the *tangi*, which may extend for several days (figure 5.15). During this incremental transitional process, the deceased's mortal body, soul and photograph are in liminal states. Turner terms such a condition as being "betwixt and between" the worlds of the living and dead (1995: 95). This is signalled by the photograph's position near the *wharenui* doorway or threshold. As Lefebvre argues, thresholds act as "[t]ransitional, symbolic and functional" objects (1991: 209-210). They demarcate the exterior boundary between the outer physical world of the living, and inner spiritual ancestral realm. After a *tangi*, the deceased's framed photograph passes through the threshold and is hung inside the *wharenui* with the other ancestral portraits. This final stage completes a person's progression from death to liminality and inclusion back into their *iwi*. The deceased person's transformation into an ancestor is thus also marked by their photograph's transition from the *wharenui*'s exterior to interior space. This moves their photograph from *Te Ao Mārama*, the physical world of light associated with the living, into *Te Pō*, the darkness or spiritual realm associated with the ancestors.

Before considering the uses, meanings and affects of hanging ancestral photographs inside *wharenui*, it is worthwhile considering the reasons these buildings were originally chosen as sites for display. Firstly, this can be explained by considering how *wharenui* illustrate communities' relationship to place, and secondly, their importance as communal social spaces. A sense of place has been described as universal to all cultures (Bachelard, 1994: vii). Beyond this universalism there are distinguishable characteristics. The topophilic relationship to place and land more generally in *Te Ao Māori* is described by Ngāti Rānana as a "spiritual connection" and intrinsic to "Māori identity" (Barrett, 2016e; Barrett, 2016b). Relationships and

identities are encapsulated through the concept of *tūrangawaewae* or place to stand. This invokes a sense of belonging and continuous ancestral relationship to the home base and tribal land. This "essence of locality" is bound up with identity, and implies an equitable closeness with the land as part of everyday living, rather than a hierarchical separation from it (Ingold, 2000: 139-141).[118] It is present from birth or long-term association with a place (Ingold, 2000: 141). *Tūrangawaewae* is evoked by the individual tribal *marae* complexes people belong to and are active within; and specifically manifest through an *iwi*'s carved *wharenui*.

Figure 5.15. Wharenui at Parikino, Whanganui River (Burton Brothers, 1885) showing the enclosed porch space and doorway behind the central ancestral post. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.164.1.3 or C1/7.1.a-c 'Dwellings &c. New Zealand', part of Balfour's comparative photographic series (1930s)].

Predating colonisation, *wharenui,* also referred to as *whare tupuna* or ancestral houses, have continually developed over time (Brown, 2012; Neich, 1996). However, they have remained important communal foci, including to Māori located overseas. This was evidenced during fieldwork through Ngāti Rānana's working *wharenui* space

[118] E.g. the Whanganui *iwi's whakataukī* expresses this relational ontology: "*Ko au te awa ko te awa ko au*/I am the river and the river is me". Moreover, landmark legal rulings in 2014 (Te Urewera) and 2016 (Whanganui River) bestowed legal personhood, rights and powers onto a national parkland and river.

in their base at NZ House. Located throughout NZ, *wharenui* are sites with political resonance, demarcating tribal boundaries and projecting tribal *mana*. As loci of relations, wooden carved *wharenui* are meaningfully spatially positioned or emplaced at micro-level within *marae*, and macro-level within the broader surrounding landscape and locally significant features. As vibrant, multisensory and polyvocal performative spaces of cosmological, socio-cultural and tribal knowledge, *wharenui* embody crucial aspects of ontology in *Te Ao Māori*. This includes the "three orders of reality" Reverend Marsden describes as existing within *Te Ao Māori*, which comprise "the physical or natural [sensory], the psychic [mental] and the spiritual" (Marsden, 2003: 178).[119]

The natural and spiritual are an integral part of the physical architectural structure and interiors of *wharenui.* These complex visual indexical mixes reference relationships to the natural world and ancestors, including the gods and early migratory *waka*/canoes. Gell for example, attributes the building's structure and visual iconography as creating a sense of ancestral presence (1998: 253). *Wharenui* are always named after a specific ancestor whom they embody, and indicate the lived existence and "development of that organism [tribe] in its [their] environment" (Ingold, 2000: 170). With the emergence of tourism in the late nineteenth-century, development in tribal environments included the building of *wharenui* as tourist attractions in locations such as Rotorua. This included Hinemihi in Te Wairoa (figure 4.7) and the elaborately carved Rāuru in Whakarewarewa (figure 5.16). Although used as venues for tourist performances and the subject of photographic souvenirs, these *wharenui* retain cultural importance as evidenced by the contemporary value these photographs hold for descendants.

[119] The definitions in square brackets indicate Marsden's interpretation of these terms.

Figure 5.16. Male group performing a haka/posture dance outside Rāuru wharenui, Whakarewarewa (Pringle or Denton, c.1900). © The Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,A38.3 from 'Maori Studies' album Oc,A38.1-19]. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

The psychic or mental order of reality indicated by Marsden is intimately connected with remembrance practices inside *wharenui*. As discussed, the use of photographs inside *wharenui* built upon and extended existing memory practices and physical forms. These comprise abstract unpainted wooden ancestral carvings, weavings, *kōwhaiwhai*/curvilinear patterns painted on ridgepole and rafters (figure 5.17), and figurative or representational European paintings of individualised and recognisable ancestors. Since *wharenui* are places where an *iwi*'s living relatives and ancestors can come together, they could be described as "ecosystems in which pictures [photographs] come alive" (Mitchell, 2005b: 198) and take on strong transparent immediacy, making the "viewer forget the presence of the medium … and believe that he [or she] is in the presence of the objects of representation" (Bolter and Grusin, 1999: 272-273). However, as I have argued, photographs are already considered to be in life with *mauri*. Hung inside *wharenui*, photographs and other forms correspond to form a meshwork of interconnected and reciprocally interacting parts. This layered system of ancestral presence and remembrance gives physical and spiritual form to

the ancestors. Collectively it inscribes, communicates and mnemonically maintains memories of them, and the broader relational span of ancestors present in an *iwi*'s *whakapapa*. Used in oral recitations, for example, photographs ensure the communal retention of this knowledge through the active practice of speaking (Ingold, 2000: 147).[120] As a Ngāti Rānana member notes, the system and practices inside *wharenui*:

> Show[s] a really strong tie to our ancestors that we loved them … never want to forget them ... and keep them with us ... photographs and the carvings … immortalise what they represented to us within a tribe, within a people (Netana, 2016).

Figure 5.17. Interior of Hinemihi, Te Wairoa, showing ancestral carvings, weavings and painted rafters (Burton Brothers, c.1886). © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.68.29.2 in Dr Blomfield's album 1998.68 (AL 41)].

The system of remembrance and ancestral presence inside *wharenui* confers fluidity to the sense of time evident in these spaces. This alternative conceptualisation of

[120] Participants were understandably reluctant during fieldwork to elaborate on these specific functions due to the secret knowledge they pertain to.

time, in conjunction with *mauri* and ancestral presence, affects how photographs are perceived. Since the late nineteenth-century, a wide disciplinary range of scholars have observed that time in *Te Ao Māori* differs from a linear chronological understanding (Best, 1922: 52-53; Binney, 2010; Mead, 1984: 64; Roberts, 2012: 749; Thornton, 1987: 70; Tregear, 1891: 10, 257). The ongoing and multidirectional interactions between the present, past and future, which are heightened inside *wharenui* and by photographs, are suggested by the occurrence in *Te Reo Māori* of temporal indicators or locational words. Principally, *mua* and *muri* reveal what de la Fuenta *et al* (2014), and Núñez and Sweetser (2006) describe as a reversed spatial positioning of self in relation to time. *Mua* means ahead and in front of, as well as the past; and *muri* translates as behind and the rear, as well as the future. The known and experienced past is therefore situated in front of a person offering guidance, whilst the unknown future and time yet to come is positioned behind. Thus within *Te Ao Māori*, ancestors are a constant active presence located in and inseparable from the present. Through this nearness of presence, including by way of their photographs, ancestors reoccur through the meshwork of time (Ingold, 2017: 21-22). They are neither absent nor exiled to an unattainable remote past but dynamically located in and inseparable from the present (Ingold, 2000: 140-151). They are, for example, always acknowledged during the *karanga/*woman's ceremonial call that invites visitors onto *marae*:

> *Mauria mai ō koutou tini mate*
>
> Bring with you the spirits of your dead
>
> *Kia mihia*
>
> That they may be greeted
>
> *Kia tanigihia*
>
> That they may be mourned (British Museum, 2009: Gathering together).

The poem written by eminent Māori author Witi Ihimaera for the opening of the BM's 1998 *Maori* exhibition (see Chapter 6) also reveals this interweaving of the fabric of time and interactions between ancestors from the past and their descendants in the present. He writes: "indeed we live with our past the ghosts among us, (How can I explain? We have always walked backwards into our future)" (Ihimaera, 2003: 82). Māori academic and artist, Bevan Ford, similarly conceptualised this during consultation and planning for this BM exhibition. He explains:

> For us it is through the ancestors that we feel and express our day to day identity and sense of well-being. The past is always present in Maori awareness (Bevan Ford, 1988: 2).

Photographs of ancestors therefore take on a heightened immediacy inside *wharenui* because ancestral presence, a fluidity of time and the physical, spiritual and mental realms are viscerally inscribed in these spaces. The protocol and conventions used to hang and order photographs inside these communal sacred spaces are also influenced by the presence of ancestors and the livings' relations to them across time. Therefore, as participants noted, protocol and conventions are primarily based around *whakapapa*, rather than chronological time (Bergman, 2016; Eruera, 2014). Under this overarching structure, relational photographic arrangements break down into *iwi* and *hapū*/sub-tribe, and family units at the lower levels, along with other criteria, such as marriage, gender and the significant natural features connecting people to the land and place (e.g. *maunga*/mountains).

As relational and affective objects, photographs, like other *taonga* (Harding, 1998; Salmond, 1975; Tapsell, 2006c: 17) act as mediators between realms, and this is heightened inside *wharenui*. Photographs facilitate this mediating role because they have the capacity to temporarily lift the 'veil of death' or *tua o te āra*i separating the worlds of the living and dead. As one Ngāti Rānana member remarked "[s]uddenly the veil is … a pulled up a little bit and you can see them [the ancestors]" (Netana, 2016). There are a few references to photographs in *wharenui* in contemporary Māori fiction (Ihimaera, 2012: 177-179) and more general references to ancestors and the 'veil of death' in Māori creation myths and laments in scholarly text (Marsden, 2003:

17, 32, 44; Tapsell, 2006b: 122), suggesting this reflects a little researched topic. As mediators, photographs enable embodied two-way exchanges between ancestors and their living descendants, similar to those previously facilitated by *Toi moko.* Ngāti Rānana members described how in the past it was common for people to talk to *taonga* and *vice versa*, and that contemporarily photographs are also spoken to (Barrett, 2016e; Netana, 2016). For example, for some tribes it is customary to say a prayer and greet the ancestors through their photographs in the *wharenui* before addressing the living (Netana, 2016). This is an intimate and spiritual form of communication rather than devotional ancestor worship, which enables the living to continue their correspondence with the deceased (Eruera, 2014; Netana, 2016).

Time is a form of continuous growth, where the past is persistent in the present as a person progresses into the future (Ingold, 2016: 117-119). According to this relational approach, people's daily lives are nurtured by active ancestral presence and guidance (Ingold, 2000: 141, 144). Non-photographic *taonga* have already been credited with acting as guides in the present (Tapsell, 2006c: 17); and Walsh (1894: 611) and Robley both describe the presence of *Toi moko* as facilitating generational guidance:

> In the case of a departed chief of a tribe it was a visible sign that in some mysterious way his presence still dwelt amongst his people, inciting them to emulate his virtues, and to follow in his steps (Robley, 1896: 133-134).

The capacity of photographic *taonga* to provide similar types of ancestral guidance and direction was evident during fieldwork and was presented as crucial for diasporic Māori communities living outside NZ. Hanging ancestral photographs in homes and viewing them on a daily basis was perceived to give people personal strength and reaffirm bonds back to NZ. Photographs were also attributed with helping a person deal with the unknown future by showing the past and retaining ancestral teachings (Netana, 2016). Moreover, they were described as playing specific instructive functions as part of certain social practices inside *wharenui* in NZ. For example, people spend time with ancestral photographs inside *wharenui* as part of their preparation for having facial *moko* (Bergman, 2016). Guidance, along with the other

roles of photographs (e.g. in memory practices and as mediators) and significance accorded to them inside *wharenui* (e.g. ancestral presence in the present), indicates the continued communal importance of ancestral presence for the living.

As with *tangi,* photography was prohibited inside *wharenui* owing to the interior's sacred nature and a desire to protect the *Māturanga Māori* they contain. As Professor MacMillan Brown noted during a 1905 trip to the Urewera (North Island):

> [T]he chief … conducted me round the carvings of his house, but refused to let my companion take a photograph of it, because it was tapu (Anonymous, 1905b: 8).

One Ngāti Rānana member observed there was concern that since *wharenui* are also considered "living things", taking photographs of the interior would affect the *wharenui*'s *mauri* and "capture the tīpuna's [ancestors'] photos" (Netana, 2016). Prohibition of photography inside *wharenui* may have also arisen from concern over the potential sale of such photographs, as was noted with photographs of the deceased at *tangi*. Resulting from the photography ban, there is a near complete absence in the photographic record in British and public NZ collections. Accordingly, the use of ancestral photographs inside these spaces remains undocumented photographically. Nor was it purposefully written about, perhaps being perceived by non-Māori as being of little importance. Historical exceptions include photographs of Hinemihi and Rāuru interiors (figure 5.17). Since these *wharenui* were specifically built and used for tourist performances (e.g. Rāuru was privately commissioned in the 1890s by non-Māori hotelier Charles Nelson), they were already commercial in nature and open to the general public, and could therefore be used as photographic backdrops.

Contemporarily, concern over the commoditisation and sale of colonial-era photographs of *wharenui* and ancestors is observable in responses to auctions. In 2001 there was public outcry and protest by Māori over the sale in NZ of a nineteenth-century collection of Whanganui River photographs by William Partington (see Carroll, 2008; Dudding, 2003). The auction was eventually blocked and the

Whanganui Regional Museum purchased the collection on behalf of local *iwi*. This is significant because it is an early instance of opposition to the sale of photographic, rather than non-photographic *taonga*. It resulted from the increased visibility of photographs in museums and archives, and growing interest by Māori in accessing these collections.

During fieldwork, anxiety over photographic sales was also observable in British and NZ news reports of a Trevanion & Dean auction on 20 February 2016. This concerned a British auction of 12 Māori photographs by Elizabeth Pulman (figure 5.18). In this instance (and the earlier NZ auction), multiple originals are held globally in NZ and British public collections. For example, the auction included the photograph of Guides Sophia and Keita outside Hinemihi, which also appears in Annie Russell-Cotes's album (figure 4.7). The availability of other prints does not, however, negate the perception that "every single one is important" in *Te Ao Māori* (Netana, 2016). Accordingly, Ngāti Rānana travelled to Shropshire to bless the photographs before the auction. The photograph of Hinemihi has particular significance for this diasporic group, since the *wharenui* still exists and is the only one in Britain. Brought over by William Hillier the Earl of Onslow in 1882, the *wharenui* is located on the family's estate Clandon Park. Hinemehi is an important focus for Ngāti Rānana with annual events being held at Clandon Park, helping to give a sense of place and strengthen links back to NZ.

Response to this and earlier auctions can be understood as a disavowal over what is seen as a culturally inappropriate monetisation of inalienable *taonga.* This is due to these photographs' categorisation as objects with high levels of cultural sacred significance in *Te Ao Māori*. Their sale is a breach of these beliefs and values and, therefore, literally represents the sale of the ancestors. As Ngāti Rānana chairman Lewis Whaitiri states "[t]o us they're just our whanau [family], so to see people put [on] money on your whanau is a big thing and it is quite devastating" (O'Brien, 2016). Collectively the photographs sold for £18,000 and four returned to NZ. However, Whaitiri stated he believed they all belonged home (O'Brien, 2016). This perhaps reflects the importance of photographs as inalienable *taonga* and their status as central to *tangi* processes, displays inside *wharenui* and ancestral presence.

Figure 5.18. Tweet by Trevanion and Dean about the Pulman photograph auction (22 February 2016). The photograph of the guides outside Hinemhi is visible in the bottom left. Screenshot by Natasha Barrett. https://twitter.com/trevanion_dean/status/701774423163015170

Blurring the commercial and non-commercial

Inside Makereti's *whare*/house

So far in this chapter, photographs have been positioned as alienable commercial commodities and sacred inalienable *taonga* with *mauri* and ancestral presence. In what follows the tension between these different states and values is complicated by considering Makereti's role in tourism and active presentation of self during the early twentieth-century. This includes her use of photographs inside her *whare* in the tourist location Whakarewarewa, and participation in the creation of tourist photographs of herself. Through these discussions, I suggest there are moments where the non-commercial and commercial may have existed simultaneously without being entirely incompatible. Continuing the focus on transculturation, I propose that three enmeshed changes led to further developments in the utilisation of commercial

photographs in *Te Ao Māori*. These relate to NZ tourism, Māori living conditions, and technological advancements.

During the mid 1890s, the government became involved in running, developing and globally promoting NZ's popular tourist locations, including the Rotorua region's geothermal attractions and health resorts. Changes were formally cemented in 1901 with the government's establishment of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts. After the 1886 Tarawera eruption and destruction of the Pink and White Terraces, Whakarewarewa became a particular tourist focus for its boiling mud features, curative hot springs like the Spout Bath (figure 4.6) and *haka*/posture dance performances. Many Māori, including Makereti, Keita and Sophia (from whom Makereti received her training), had moved there from Te Wairoa after being dispossessed of their livelihood and homes in 1886. Through involvement with tourism, certain Māori were therefore able to retain economic independence despite governmental agendas, which had removed the control of tourism in the Rotorua region from local *iwi*.

As a tourist guide and performer in Whakarewarewa, Makereti dwelled on site at the settlement. She describes it in her 1905 'Hot Lakes' guidebook as a tourist location worth visiting, noting "[th]e village is owned by Maoris and it is very interesting to visitors to see them at home" (Papakura: 18). Makereti lived in a single room wooden *whare* with an exterior porch. Named Tuhoromatakaka after an ancestor, its 1909 opening was attended by over 300 people and covered in the press (figure 5.19). The following year, a photomontage of Makereti inside Tuhoromatakaka appeared in the illustrated weekly periodical *The New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal* (hereafter *NZG*) (figure 5.20).[121] Along with additional photographs taken by Parkerson, they show an almost 360 degree view and provide an early and detailed record of *whare* interiors. Inside this space is an ancestral *pou*/carved post similar to those inside *wharenui, korowai*/tasselled cloaks, a wealth of carefully arranged framed photographs, books, a bed, desk and piano (figures 5.20-5.21). The display of

[121] This apolitical periodical (1890-1908) focusing on social events, was aimed at middle-class women.

photographs is significant because before the early twentieth-century, it appears photographs were only displayed inside communal *wharenui.* Also prior to this time, many Māori still slept in unadorned and communal *wharepuni*/sleeping houses rather than individual *whare* (figure 4.12). *Wharepuni* were basic and low structures that usually housed several families. Annie Russell-Cotes describes them in her diary stating, "they all sleep packed like herrings, head to feet" (Russell-Cotes, c.1920: 392-393). It was not until government schemes in the 1900s-1910s that significantly more Māori families moved into European-style houses. Initially this was only evident in the more affluent tourist areas like Whakarewarewa where Māori lived and worked. These housing changes and the broader effects of colonisation seem to have led to the development of domestic and personal forms of photographic display inside individual *whare*, such as Makereti's.

Figure 5.19. Opening of Tuhoromatakaka (Blencowe for the Auckland Weekly News Supplement, 14 October 1909, p. 13). Courtesy of Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries [AWNS-19091014-13-7].

Figure 5.20. Photomontage of Makereti inside Tuhoromatakaka (Parkerson for the New Zealand Graphic, 25 May 1910, p. 29). Courtesy of Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries [NZG-19100525-29-3].

Figure 5.21. Inside Tuhoromataka showing the sleeping area (Parkerson, c.1910). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.277.21.3/B43a.21 in B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection].

Like Makereti, Tuhoromatakaka was a mix of Māori and European elements. The interior and its contents were also positioned between both worlds through its correspondence of old and new materials. As the dominant object type on display in Tuhoromatakaka, the photographs disproportionately contributed towards the *whare*'s interior ecosystem, helping to create an intimate atmosphere and sense of home. Many of these photographs also appeared in Makereti's first *whare*

Tukiterangi, however their arrangement inside Tuhoromatakaka achieved a greater sense of order and balance.[122] Haldrup observes that souvenirs in the home, including photographs, work by "enacting … personal emotions and relationships and reinforcing bonds as well as boundaries between the home and the world outside" (2017: 53). This was complicated though by the regular intrusion of tourist 'outsiders' into the personal domestic space of Tuhoromatakaka. As a complicit part of tourist tours in 'Wonderland', the *whare* and its contents were overtly semi-public. After experiencing the geothermal sights and Rāuru *wharenui*, tourists visited Makereti's home in the village complex, signed the visitors' book, and marvelled at the photographs and other objects on display (Anonymous, 1909: 3). The *whare*'s photographs can therefore be described, as functioning in several distinct ways relating to the public and personal, which I will discuss.

Firstly, they publically presented Māori culture as part of a governmentally approved touristic experience and this relied upon an understanding of 'Maoriland'. Both Whakarewarewa and Makereti were successful photographic subjects, epitomising 'Maoriland' in the early twentieth-century. This construct had persisted into the new century, with currency inside and outside NZ (Stafford and Williams, 2007: 10). The literary meaning of 'Maoriland' was not static and had morphed over time. This included its use by European settlers to create their own sense of NZ identity, belonging, nationalism, home and nation state by calling upon aspects of Māori culture and history (Stafford and Williams, 2007: 10-16). However, with photography, certain publications (e.g. guidebooks) and the tourist department's promotion of NZ, the older meanings of 'Maoriland' were consistently used to define the indigenous Māori 'Other' and where they lived. This lucrative device therefore referenced prior expressions of settler relations with Māori. It also aligned with Thomas Donne's promotional vision for NZ tourism. Donne was the tourist department's first superintendent (1901-1909) and Makereti developed a close working relationship with him. He sought to present to tourists romanticised and nostalgic notions of the Māori people and the landscapes in which they dwelled.

[122] See Rotorua Museum OP-2240 for an interior photograph of Tukiterangi.

As a form of visual and textual shorthand, 'Maoriland' metaphorically and sometimes literally framed new photographic forms and their consumption. This includes the titles of and imprinted text on photographs, like Pringle's "Maoriland Beauties" series (c.1905). It was also emblazoned on souvenirs such as an early 1900s photograph album shaped locket containing miniaturised photographs in the RCAGM collections (figure 5.22).[123] This tin locket, which could have been sold in shops like Pringle's boutique store in Wellington, is a microcosm of 'Maoriland' in jewellery form. It encapsulates some of the paradigms and discourses evident in Annie Russell-Cotes's full sized album into a minuscule album worn on the body. The enclosed photographs show 'typical NZ natives' and famous guides (e.g. Makereti's half-sister Bella Papakura), Māori villages (e.g. Parihaka, North Island) and cultural practices (e.g. geothermal steam cooking in Rotorua).

Figures 5.22. Miniature Maoriland photograph album locket (anonymous, early 1900s), measuring 1.8cm x 1.5cm x 0.3cm. © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T6.12.2006.27].

As well as its persistence of meaning, new 'Maoriland' sub-categories for the geothermal tourist attractions also developed and appeared on souvenirs. These

[123] :T6.12.2006.27.

terms evolved during the early 1900s alongside the 'Hot Lakes District', that was already used to refer to the Rotorua region. Notably, Whakarewarewa village and surrounding features, often envisaged as the heart of 'Maoriland', became known as 'Wonderland'. It was mobilised by Martin, for example, on his cabinet card photocollage of Whakarewarewa scenes (figure 5.23). Makereti also used it in her guidebook (Papakura, 1905: 18) to describe the remarkable geothermal landscape where she lived in her *whare* and worked as a tourist guide, publicly presenting Māori culture as part of a governmentally approved touristic experience.

Figure 5.23. Cabinet card photocollage of "Whakarewarewa Wonderland" (Martin, c.1900). © The Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,B131.16]. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

The second way the photographs functioned in Makeret's *whare* was as private and personal mementoes (and *taonga*). Given that the majority were commercial photographs, they were recoded or recontextualised for this purpose by the domestic environment. The photographs can also be categorised as encompassing several social domains, comprising the individual (Makereti), collective (relatives) and public (e.g. British royalty). Starting with the individual, a commercial portrait of Makereti from c.1893 can be observed on display (figures 5.24-5.25). It shows Makereti with downcast eyes and wearing a chiefly *kāhu kiwi*/kiwi feather cloak and heirloom *hei tiki*/greenstone pendant called Te Uoro.[124] The pendant is described in her book, *Old Time Maori*, as being over 500 years old, buried with five ancestors and disinterred every thirty years (Papakura, 1938: 12).

By 1910 this photograph, one of several probably taken during the same studio session, had already been widely disseminated, including through shifts across media. This includes within Makereti's guidebook (Papakura, 1905: 3), and as the aesthetic inspiration for a painting (figure 5.26). The portrait was also sold as a souvenir at overseas international exhibitions, which Makereti attended with the performance group she led (figure 5.27). Along with a similar portrait, it also frequently appears in global collections and publications, such as Makereti's posthumous publication (Papakura, 1938: opposite 144) and those by PRM curators (de la Rue, 1996: 31; O'Hanlon, 2014: 123) and Māori academics (Diamond, 2007: 35).[125] Taken during her early guiding career, the portrait's use inside the *whare* forms part of Makereti's individual portrayal of self or performance of identity, and the stories she is relaying in her domestic sphere.

[124] *Tiki* have a human form and are made from *pounamu*/greenstone, a type of jade.

[125] E.g. RCAGM :T18.5.2006.5, :T1.6.2006.55, :T19.9.2006.3, and PRM 1998.277.97.1, 1998.277.98.

Figure 5.24. Portrait of Makereti (anonymous, c.1893) in: Papakura, Maggie [Makereti]. (1905). Guide to the Hot Lakes District and some Maori Legends. Auckland: Brett Printing & Publishing Company, p. 3. Inscribed with: "Aroha Na tino hoa Maggie Papakura 1906"/Love from your good friend Maggie Papakura 1906". Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2017.

Figure 5.25. Detail of Makereti's portrait on the sideboard inside Tuhoromatakaka (Parkerson, c.1910). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.277.21.3/B43a.21 in B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection].

Figure 5.26. Newspaper article (c.1901-1910) showing a painting derived from Makereti's c.1893 portrait. Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection: Box IX/9 Cuttings and ephemera (1901-1910), Blue album p. 68].

Figure 5.27. Detail of "Hera with curios" for sale, including Makereti's portrait (top left), at an Australian international exhibition, probably in Melbourne (anonymous, 1910). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection, Box VIII/8 Cuttings and ephemera (1901-1908), Green album, 13.4].

Commercial photographs of Makereti's close *whānau*/family also featured inside Tuhoromatakaka. These comprise several of her half-sister Bella, one of which appears in the aforementioned 'Maoriland' locket (figures 5.28-5.29). Photographs of other relatives from Makereti's *iwi* Tūhourangi and Te Arawa, as well as significant *wharenui* also feature on the walls. Many of the women appear in the distinctive headscarves, which Makereti introduced and became emblematic of guides' uniforms. These photographs form a visual and oral meshwork of collective narratives woven around family, articulating and reaffirming identity through shared relations. Accordingly, they are located closest to the more private bed space, along with portraits of Makereti. This includes their arrangement around a *poupou/*ancestral carving behind the bed, in a manner suggestive of photographic displays in *wharenui*.

Finally, near the *whare*'s doorway, are photographs of Queen Victoria and her grandson, and Makereti guiding the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (subsequently the Prince and Princess of Wales) around Whakarewarewa during their

1901 visit (figure 5.30). The inclusion of public photographs of British royalty could be interpreted as an acknowledgement of Makereti's British ancestry on her father's side. It may also signal her guiding achievements, since Makereti's role as guide to the royal couple boosted her career. The tribal confederation of Te Arawa, including those located in Rotorua, had persistently supported the British Crown and this photographic presentation of royalty could also be interpreted as indicating their acceptance of British sovereignty, as formalised by the Treaty of Waitangi (1840). Collectively Makereti's private/public domestic uses of commercial photographs in her *whare*, and portrayal of Māori culture, self, family and royalty signal the development of a new tansculturated mode of photographic utilisation. Significantly this includes articulations of family relations or *whakapapa* outside of communal *wharenui* contexts.

Figure 5.28. Locket pages featuring an unidentified tattooed "[A] Maori Chief" (left page, anonymous, c.1880s) and Guide Bella Papakura (right page, J.R. Blencowe for AWNS[?], c.1904). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T6.12.2006.27].

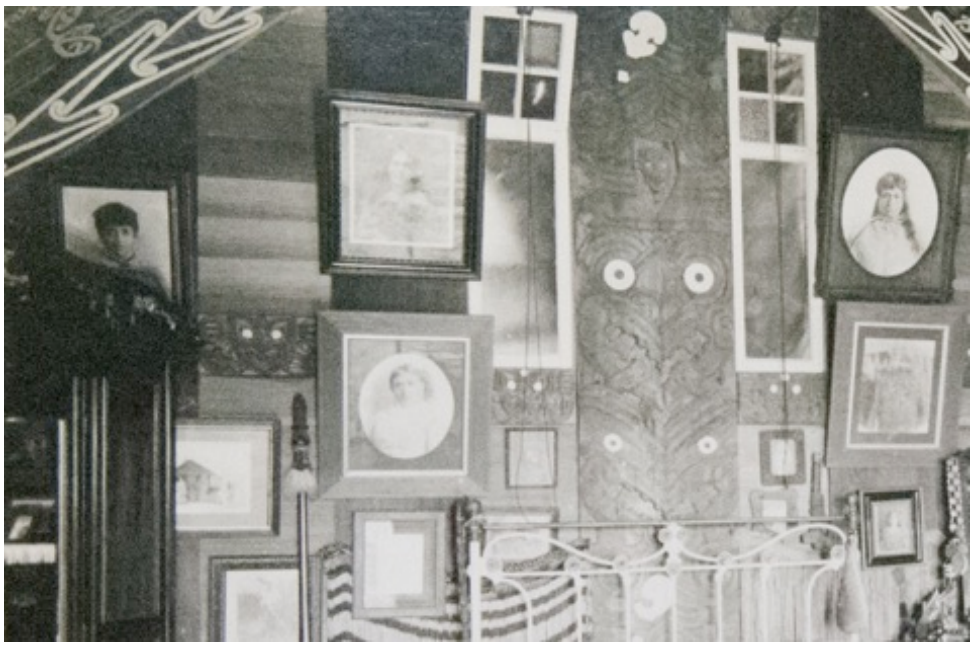


Figure 5.29. Detail of family photographs, including Bella's portrait (Blencowe for AWNS[?], c.1904) around the central poupou/ancestral carving inside Tuhoromatakaka (Parkerson, c.1910). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.277.21.3/B43a.21 in B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection].

Figure 5.30. Photographs of Queen Victoria with her grandchild (top far left, anonymous, 1896) and Makereti with the Duke of Cornwall and York (below Queen Victoria portrait, anonymous, 1901) near the front door of Tuhoromatakaka (Parkerson, c.1910). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.277.22/B43a.22 in in B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection].

New photographic forms and Makereti's self-presentation

Continuing the theme on governmental influences on NZ tourism, I develop this in conjunction with technological advancements and the persistence of existing and development of new photographic 'types', paradigms and tropes in order to analyse Makereti's influence on her photographic self-presentation. The government's Department of Tourist and Health Resorts specifically utilised photography as part of its marketing strategy (Centennial Branch and Department of Internal Affairs, 1940: 70), commissioning commercial photographers, including Pringle, from the early 1900s.[126] The land and people of the Rotorua region were inevitably popular subjects. Iles, for example, established a photography business in Rotorua specifically for the region's opportunities. Governmental focus therefore increased the already sizeable body of photographs from the Rotorua region, further emphasising its photographic significance. Collectively these photographs of and about place and Māori, translated the Rotorua landscape and people, including Whakarewarewa and Makereti, in particular ways. However, Māori involvement was not necessarily passive as will be explained.

Governmental control of tourism and mobilisation of photography coincided with increasingly sophisticated commercial reproduction. Technological advancements of modern media during the 1890s and early twentieth-century enabled for the first time photographic shifts across media without loss of detail, increasing their sense of veracity. Rather than indirect reproduction from illustrated engravings and lithography (figure 4.25), images were created on a mass scale directly from photographs using the halftone process, a type of photoengraving.[127] This technique was first adopted by pioneering newspapers like the *Auckland Weekly News*

[126] The government did not officially employ photographers until later in the twentieth-century nor establish the National Publicity Studios until 1945.

[127] This technique divides a photograph into a series of black dots of varying sizes using a screen. The screen's mesh of lines or woven threads, to use Ingold's classification (2016: 42-44), is placed between the photograph and plate being exposed. From a distance, the dots create a continuous tone from black to light grey, which recreates the photograph.

Supplement (hereafter *AWNS*) in 1898.[128] Although the halftone process was new, technological changes as Bolter and Grusin (1999: 18) argue, built upon existing normative systems, including circulation. The proliferation of large-scale mass photographic production in NZ was, therefore, expedited by printing innovations and adaptation of established newspaper and postal modes of circulation on regional, national and international scales (e.g. Britain and Germany). The wide dissemination of halftone photographs of Makereti, using an already popular and trusted news medium, also enabled new audiences to be reached. This exposure and Makereti's level of fame is evident in the photographic captions of illustrated newspapers, which frequently read "Maggie Papakura, the well-known guide" (figure 5.31).

Technological changes also increased the range and type of photographs available. In addition to newspapers, photographs of Makereti by Iles, Martin, Pringle and Parkerson were reproduced in magazines, including the *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, *NZG* and *The World Magazine* (USA). Other photographic products included travel books (partially replacing custom made albums like Annie Russell-Cotes's) and guidebooks. Makereti's publication (Papakura, 1905) was intended as both a practical guide and souvenir, and those bearing her handwritten gestural and additive traces accentuate this latter function (figure 5.24). It was heavily illustrated with photographs of her, other guides and the Rotorua region. These photographs had already or would subsequently appear in newspapers owned by newspaper proprietor Henry Brett, whose publishing company printed the guidebook and *NZG*. Other new forms included photographic lithographed postcards, which were a global enterprise.[129] Many high quality NZ postcards were produced in Germany, a country renowned for its printing expertise, because European manufacture was more economical (Quanchi and Shekleton, 2015: 38; Main, 1976: ii). Therefore, even before

[128] Covering commerce, agriculture, politics, literature and art (1863 to 1971). An illustrated supplement was added in 1898.

[129] Compared to 'real photo postcards' (RPPCs), which are made by adhering photographs to card, lithographed postcards are printed. Impressions are produced on a flat greased surface, which creates ink receptive and repellent areas.

postcards were sold in NZ and posted overseas, their global migratory patterns had commenced. Postcards and photographic sets rivalled the popularity of *cartes* in the nineteenth-century. Commonly marketed through newspapers, these earlier and later photographic forms were equally affordable and highly collectible as drawing room mementoes or lightweight postable souvenirs from the NZ colony.

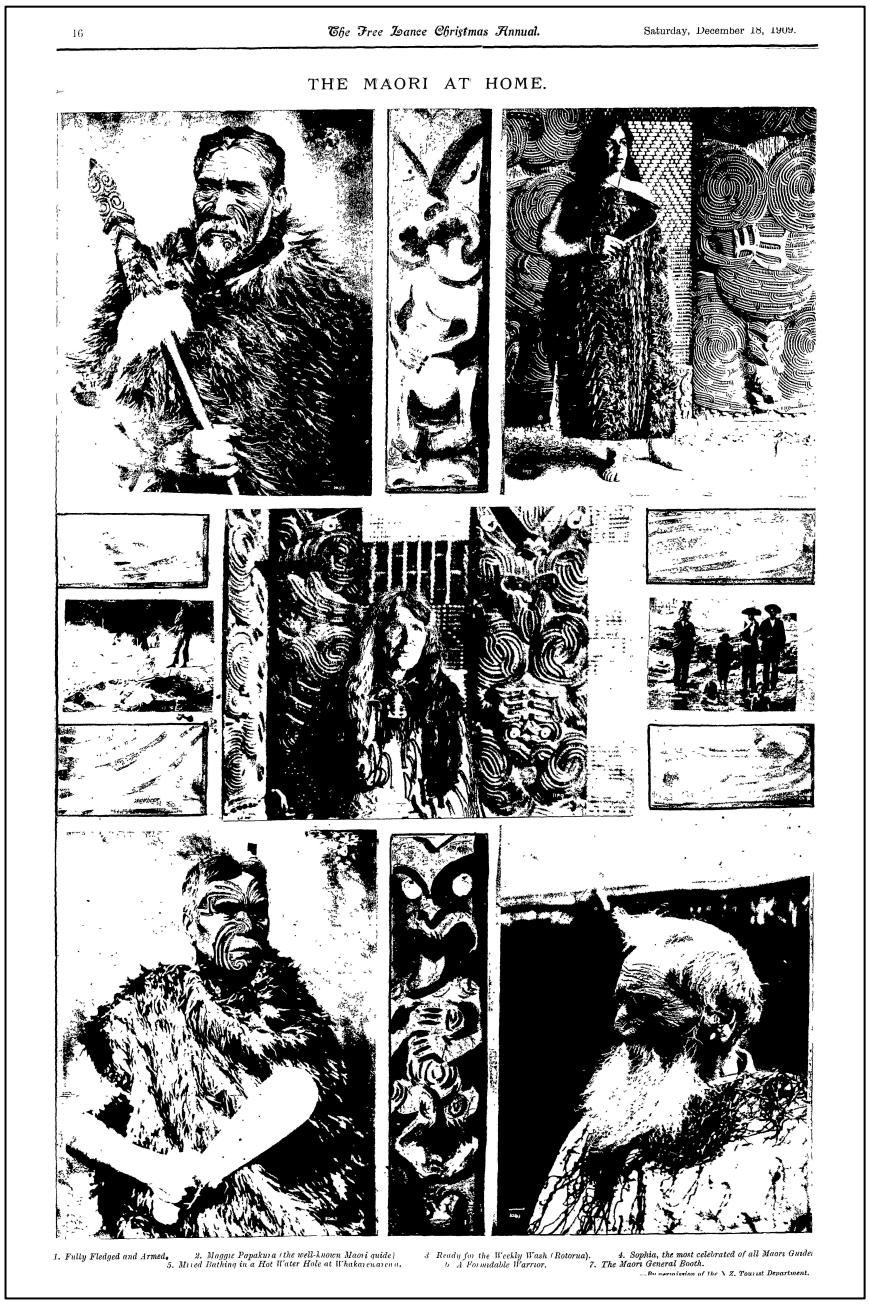


Figure 5.31. 'Christmas Annual: The Maori at Home', photocollage featuring "Maggie Papakura (the well-known Maori guide)" (top right), Sophia (centre), and tattooed 'old-time warriors' and 'chiefs' (various photographers for NZ Government Tourist Department in The New Zealand Free Lance (Supplement), 1909, p. 16). Courtesy of National Library of New Zealand (via Papers Past).

Mid to late nineteenth-century photographs, including those of 'old-time warriors' and 'chiefs', also remained persistently popular during the early twentieth-century. Photographs such as Tāwhiao's 1884 portrait were reused on new forms of souvenirs, including postcards (figures 5.32). Realising their continued economic viability, the tourist department officially purchased and reproduced older portfolios from businesses, including Pulman Studios after Elizabeth Pulman's death in 1900. Their reuse fed into notions of cultural 'salvage' (see Chapter 4), and recycled and perpetuated older photographs in the visual economy, ensuring their longevity and broader distribution. Facial tattooing as a practice had as noted, ceased some forty years previously and with few living tattooed male elders remaining, these nostalgic remediations created a sense of timelessness, placing Māori outside of modernity. Further complicating meanings, they also appeared in newspaper supplements and on souvenirs (e.g. the aforementioned locket), alongside contemporary photographs of Makereti, Bella and Sophia and other 'Maori celebrities' (figures 5.28, 5.31). The affect of this was an ahistorical merger of periods.

As well as the persistence of photographic tropes, new ones also formed, such as 'belles', 'beauties' and 'dusky maidens', which were variations of a feminine theme. The majority of the photographs employing these tropes also came from the Rotorua region, especially Whakarewarewa. They show pretty young women wearing 'traditional' clothing and unrestrained hair. The latter is suggestive of the broader photographic eroticisation of 'native' Pacific women, although nudity is rare in a NZ context. These feminine tropes remained fundamentally based upon 'typical NZ native types' but also referenced older literary and painterly tropes that are redolent of the 'male gaze'. Merton Russell-Cotes's autobiography contains several references to "Maori belle[s]" and "brown beauties" (c.1920: 395, 400). Like 'dusky maidens', these terms were also used generically to refer to indigenous Polynesian or 'South Seas' (an Oceanic sub-region) women (Quanchi and Shekleton, 2015). This led to their indiscriminate application across the Pacific as raised by Ngāti Rānana members during NMM workshops. Additionally, these feminine tropes adapted European bourgeois notions of beauty (Poole, 1997: 133). For example, the paler skin of Māori with mixed heritage (termed 'half castes') like Makereti was commended.

Figure 5.32. Colour halftone postcard of "Tawhao [sic], Maori Warrior Chief", (Mayall, c.1884), printed by Post H&B Card (c.1900s-1910s). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [BORGM: 2014.7].

Photographers used terminology from these tropes on prints and in catalogues. Pringle's "Maoriland Beauties" (c.1905) and highly popular "Maori Studies" (available from 1907-1917) sets feature photographs of young Rotorua women framed by imprinted text, such as "The [Te] Arawa Beauty" and "A Tribal Belle" (figures 5.33-5.34). These terms were subsequently replicated in third-party marketing by official agents, such as Auckland stationers Wildman & Lyell's newspaper adverts for Martin's

“Maori Beauties” (e.g. Anonymous, 1900: 6). The *NZG* also used them to advertise the free halftone prints regularly enclosed, including Pringle’s “The Belle of the Kainga [village]” and “Sylvan Beauties of the Maoriland bush” (Anonymous, 1905a: 6). These terms also appeared as photographic captions in publications, including Donne’s *The Maori Past and Present* (1927). In all instances, the hand inscribed and mechanically imprinted additive traces were intended to prescribe and limit photographic meaning.

Figure 5.33. “A Tribal Belle” inside Rāuru (Pringle, c.1905). © The Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,A39.5 from “Maori Studies” photogravure album Oc,A39.1-13]. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Treagus (2012: 38) observes that several of the formative and later photographs of Makereti by commercial photographers, including those produced for the tourist department, could be interpreted as conforming to the feminine tropes and ‘typical NZ native type’. For example, Pringle photographed Makereti inside Rāuru using poses similar to those in his “Maori Studies” and “Maoriland Beauties” series (figure 5.35). This framing was, however, moderated by Makereti’s status as a famous celebrity guide, rather than an anonymous ‘Maori belle’. As noted, Makereti’s popularity extended beyond NZ through international newspapers (figure 5.36) and she famously received letters simply addressed to ‘Maggie, New Zealand’. Many of

these correspondences, which flowed through the postal system's meshwork of exchange, requested her photograph and writing samples.[130] In one photograph, Makereti seems to be self-aware of her own and the kiwi's statuses as iconic NZ symbols (Diamond, 2007: 67), and is perhaps parodying this through their visual juxtaposition (figure 5.37). She also seems to be simultaneously conforming to and subverting the feminine 'Maori maiden' trope through her playful expression and gestures. Reflecting on Treagus' observations, it is therefore perhaps more accurate to state that certain photographs of Makereti have a greater capacity to be interpreted according to prescribed colonial readings than others.

Figure 5.34. '"Mairie", The Arawa Beauty" inside Rāuru (Pringle, c.1905-1907). © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.90.1.5 from "Maoriland Beauties" set, 1998.90.1-12].

[130] In a letter to Makereti, G.C. Delman's thanks her for sending her photograph and notes "it is an excellent likeness of your charming self and will be a constant reminder to me of the royal good time, which thanks to you, I enjoyed during my visit to Whakarewarewa" (1901: 8-9).

Figure 5.35. Makereti inside Rāuru (Pringle, c.1905). Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand for personal non-commercial use [1/1-003285-G, A.E. Birch Scenic negatives and prints collection taken by Thomas Pringle]. /records/22579990

The large quantities of photographs, postcards, and newspaper clippings Makereti collected as mementoes about herself, appear to indicate she understood the power of the range of photographic media at this time, and her role in governmentally approved tourist photographs. Certain photographs, such the one by Iles' of Makereti outside of Rāuru *wharenui*, seem to overtly facilitate dual roles, communicating governmentally approved notions of 'traditional' Māori culture with elements from *Mātauranga Māori* (figure 5.38). Iles' photograph, which contrasts with Pringle's (figure 5.35), is on certain levels framed for tourists. For example, the *wharenui* backdrop references the building's role as a venue for tourist performances and Makereti's job as a guide. It can also be read in other ways. The juxtaposition of Rāuru, including the ancestral carvings on the door, and canoe prow at Makereti's feet could be interpreted as an assertion of her *mana* or status. This includes as the first born of a noble and sacred ancestral line with *whakapapa* to many of the original migratory *waka*/canoes, such as the Te Arawa confederation of tribes in the Rotorua

and Bay of Plenty regions.[131] It also communicates Makereti's relationship to Whakarewarewa, as both her *turangawawae* or homeland and the tourist landscape in which she lived and worked.

Figure 5.36. Illustrated German newspaper article (c.1901-1910) featuring Pringle's photograph of Makereti (top right) and a variation of her c.1893 portrait (bottom). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection: Box IX/9 Cuttings and ephemera (1901-1910), Blue album, p. 7].

[131] Te Arawa ancestor Hatupatu eluded the bird-woman Kurangaituku, whom is carved on Rāuru's door, by leaping across hot springs.

Figure 5.37. Makereti on the porch of her whare Tukiterangi with a kiwi (anonymous, c.1902-1905). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.277.73 in B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection].

Figure 5.38. Makereti outside Rāuru (Iles, c.1900-1904). © Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,B9.20]. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Makereti engaged in discourses about Māori and acted as a cultural interface between Māori and non-Māori, and the old and new worlds (Diamond, 2007; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Treagus, 2012). This necessitated adapting to a life traversing worlds,

a role occupied by other Māori in the past and present. A 1906 newspaper photomontage shows Makereti demonstrating her skill at this through her engagement in a variety of 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' activities (figure 5.39). These include cooking using geothermal steam, performing with a *poi*/ball, guiding, reading, writing and cycling. The *kotiate*/wooden hand clubs function to cohesively construct life in Whakarewarewa 'Wonderland' (and 'Maoriland' more broadly) and Makereti's place in it.

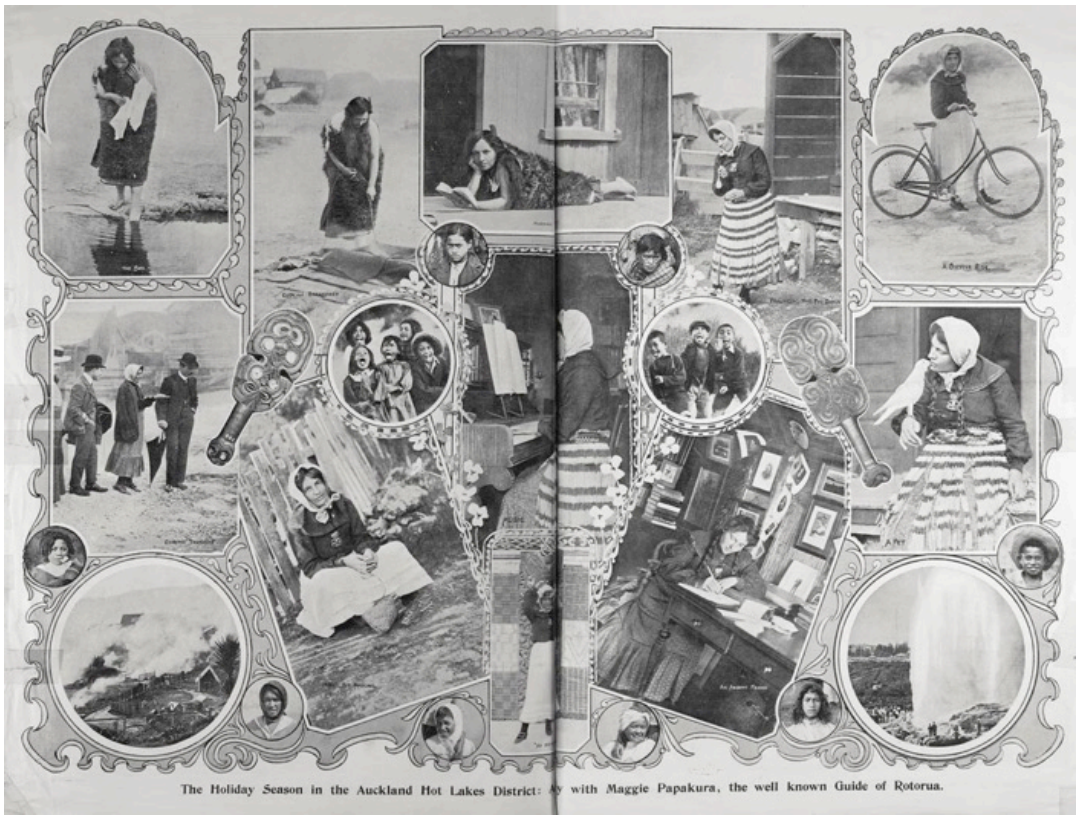


Figure 5.39. Photomontage of "The Holiday Season in the Auckland Hot Lakes District: with Maggie Papakura, the well known Guide of Rotorua" and featuring kotiate/wooden hand clubs on both pages (various photographers for AWNS, 20 December 1906, p. 12). Courtesy of Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries [AWNS-19061220-12-1].

Like 'Maoriland', the *hongi* or pressing of noses and sharing of *hauora*/breath of life breath between people was (and is) a theme that endured across the centuries. This photographic formula was highly successful because it was a recognisable practice of Māori salutation. Photographs showing Makereti engaged in *hongi* strategically combined this with the prevalent 'Māori celebrities' trope. Recognising the *hongi*'s photographic profitability, Pringle took out a patent in 1905 to try to ensure his

exclusive use of it (Main, 1976: 82). *Hongi* photographs remained studio based (figure 5.40), until photographic advances enabled them to be contextually framed outside and subsequently inside *wharenui* (figures 5.41-5.42).

Figure 5.40. Carte showing a studio based hongi (Foy Brothers, c.1872). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T6.7.2006.10, verso of a double sided carte].

Figures 5.41. Hongi outside Rāuru (Martin, c.1900). © The Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,B131.19]. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Characteristically, *hongi* photographs feature two people pressing their noses together and shaking hands, as Gooding describes in his publication:

> two old Maori women … were engaged in the prosaic occupation of rubbing each other's nose. They were squatting on the ground, their hands were clasped, tears rolled down their cheeks, and moans escaped from their slightly moving lips. They had long been separated, and were simply greeting each other in the most approved Maori fashion (1913: 282).

Figure 5.42. Hongi between two women in Rāuru (Pringle, c.1905). © The Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,A38.2 from "Maori Studies" photogravure album Oc,A38.1-19]. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

These compositional conventions are observable in Martin's photograph of women outside Rāuru, which Gooding used to illustrate his description (1913: opposite 282), Pringle's "Maori Studies" series and an early Foy Brothers' studio photograph (figures 5.40-5.42). Therefore, the partial absence of these conventions is noticeable in a 1908 tourist department photograph of Makereti and renders it less easily understandable, especially outside of a NZ context (figure 5.43). This photograph shows Makereti tactilely and visually engaging with the presence and *mauri* of a *pou*/carved wooden post in ancestral human form on Rāuru's porch. Although performed for the camera and intended as a tourist souvenir, this does not negate the deeply meaningful interaction it shows. Rather it is suggestive of reactions to and communication with ancestral photographs, which this chapter explores. Representative of a continued practice, people still physically engage with ancestral *pou* when visiting *wharenui*, as a Ngāti Rānana member states:

> [W]e hug them, we kiss them, we touch them ... Being able to touch and feel them and give them and feel their life force within us (Netana, 2016).

Figure 5.43. Makereti sharing a hongi with the pou/ancestral carving outside Rāuru (anonymous for NZ Government Tourist Department, 1908). Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand for personal non-commercial use [1/2-105149-F]. /records/23035917

Makereti's ability to traverse the Māori and non-Māori worlds, and combine the personal with commercial or public is also indicated by two postcards. The first shows her on a porch with her mother Pia Ngarotu Te Rihi and three young women with a baby (figure 5.44). All wear Western clothing with *korowai*/tasselled cloaks, except Makereti. Her plaited hair and clothing indicate her status as a guide and interaction

with the non-Māori world, whilst her bare feet and *hei tiki*/greenstone pendant connect her to *Te Ao Māori*. The postcard's gendered subject matter also aligns with her focus in *Old Time Maori* (Papakura, 1938) on the undocumented roles of women in Māori society (e.g. marriage, children, food and houses). This publication was unusual for its time as an academically rigorous but personal account written by a female 'insider' anthropologist about the cultural practices on her own people.

Figure 5.44. Postcard of "Maggie Papakura and her Friends" (Jones & Coleman, c.1901-1905), printed in Germany. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [2004.27.1 in B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection].

The second postcard is a formal studio portrait by Jones & Coleman showing Makereti with her mother Pia and aunt Tiripa (figure 5.45). Makereti was especially well versed in *whakapapa* and family relations are indicated in this postcard by the presence of two female generations and use of the term relatives in the caption. Like Tāwhiao's 1884 portrait, the postcard also uses 'readable' conventions drawn from European figurative paintings, and is a visually astute combination of props, arrangement of body positions and facial expressions. These express Makereti's identity, high status from birth, dual heritage and cross-cultural bonds to NZ and Britain. Her Māori heritage is referenced by her mother and aunt's presence, and their cloaks and other

heirloom *taonga*; whilst the classical studio backdrop with its stately grounds and urn suggests her British heritage through her father William Thom.

Figure 5.45. Postcard of "Maggie Papakura and her Relatives" (Jones & Coleman, c.1900s), printed in Germany. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [2004.27.2 in B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection].

As if emphasising these relationships, a cropped and labelled photograph of the postcard appears in one of Makereti's albums at the PRM (figure 5.46). Also on this 'family album page' is a newspaper photograph of Makereti with Bella, who was both her half-sister and cousin through their shared father. Dressed as guides, it expresses another level of relatedness with family members that Makereti lived and worked alongside in the tourism industry in Whakarewarewa. The complexity of Makereti's layered self-representation and use in her *whare* of the commercial photographs she was actively involved in co-creating, reflects her skilled engagement with photography and tourism. It suggests she understood not only photography's power but also its capacity for multiple readings depending on the context and viewer.

Figure 5.46. Album spread featuring Makereti and Bella (Blencowe for AWNS, 28 July 1904, p.3) and detail of Jones & Coleman postcard labelled "Tiripa, Ereti [Makereti], Pia". Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection: Box IX/9 Cuttings and ephemera (1901-1910), Blue album, p. 7].

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the various ways photographs were utilised by Māori at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I argued that the development of photographic uses over this period reflects culturally specific

transculturation into a Māori framework. I also explained that the capacity of photographs to play relational and affective ancestral roles at *tangi* and in *wharenui* demonstrates their integration into a dynamic system of remembrance through performance and display. This was established by examination of the evolution of sacred non-commercial photographic uses within existing practices used at *tangi* and in *wharenui* by the 1880-1890s. A traceable lineage back to *Toi moko* and development of customary processes aided my argument. Through analysis of additive traces, I have shown that *mauri*, ancestral trace and presence are essential for understanding the significant roles of ancestral remembrance and presence, mediation and guidance that photographs play in funerary and display contexts in *Te Ao Māori*. I used Makereti's domestic use of photographs inside her *whare* to establish that the process of transculturation continued during the early twentieth-century and investigate what this entailed.

Through discussion of additive and reductive traces, including the retouching of *moko*, I have evaluated the various meanings and tensions resulting from the dual status of photographs as commercial souvenirs and non-commercial inalienable *taonga*. This reveals absences in the photographic record owing to the general prohibition of photography at *tangi* and inside *wharenui*. Finally, I explained how Makereti's complicit involvement in the creation of photographs of herself during the early twentieth-century, allowed her to exploit her role and the medium, in order to communicate values integral to *Te Ao Māori*. By referencing the new and reaching back to the past, Makereti carefully mediated and presented her image through the tourist department's official visual channel.

This account of the development of photographic uses at *tangi* and inside *wharenui* is pertinent for the preceding two chapters, which turn to past, present and future displays of NZ photographs in British museum contexts. The historical conceptualisations of photographs in *Te Ao Māori*, as well as contemporary perspectives, are important because they establish a case for particular types of treatment and use in museums. This includes how photographs are interpreted in exhibitions and accessed by descendant communities.

Chapter 6: Temporally tracing exhibitions

Introduction

Ko te taura whiri, he whiri i te tangata

The *muka* cord is like the cord that connects people.

The importance of relations is communicated by the *muka* or flax fibre cord in the *whakataukī* above. I use it to indicate the meshwork of enduring relations that exist between museums, photographs and people (staff and descendant communities). This concept is important to this chapter's analysis of the exhibitionary roles and uses of photographs, and meanings attributed to them at the BM, PRM and RCAGM. In addressing this, I reveal the institutional structures and practices, and sociocultural and political ecosystems within which photographs move, and accrue meaning and value (Poole, 1997: 10).

Woven throughout this chapter are parallel strands of institutional absence and presence. This includes the customary functions of photographs and their infrequently object-focused roles, resulting in display presentations that either obscure or highlight photographic form. I demonstrate how photographic use and meaning is shaped through the presence or absence of text and curatorial decision-making. Building on the previous two chapters' explanations of photographic 'types' and tropes, I also consider the motivations for the persistent exhibitionary reuse or presence of certain photographs of Tāwhiao and Makereti. Finally, I examine exhibition development since the 1980s, to identify whether photographs have a presence or absence during consultation with Māori. This is situated within the broader context of relations between museums, Māori and *taonga*.

A range of sources are utilised in this chapter, including photographs, exhibition analysis, fieldwork with Ngāti Rānana, newspaper articles, photography catalogues, and exhibition and object files. Reflecting these sources and subject matter, an institutional frame is foregrounded over a *Mātauranga Māori* one. The exhibitions I discuss were chosen for their use of colonial-era NZ photographs. They include a mixture of large and small-scale, temporary and permanent, and those which are either mixed object or solely photographic in nature. A number of these were developed in consultation with Māori academics, artists and groups (e.g. Ngāti Rānana) in Britain and NZ. Although the majority are solely concerned with Māori culture, a few have broader Pacific foci. Starting with the BM, I concentrate on three exhibitions created by the Ethnography and AOA departments that span 1998 to the present. This includes *Maori*, which opened in 1998 (temporary) and *Sustaining Each Other* (hereafter *Sustaining*). The latter is a large display in the permanent *Living and Dying* exhibition. It was installed in 2009, six years after the exhibition and Wellcome Trust Gallery opened, and remains on display today. The third is *Pacific Portraits*, a small temporary photographic exhibition also held during 2009.

I also address five exhibitions at the PRM from the mid 1940s to the present. These include two small permanent exhibitions, *The Maori of New Zealand*, which was exhibited c.1945/1946, and a current display, *Welcome to the Museum*, which opened c.2001-2002. *Body Arts*, a large permanent exhibition, which first opened in 1987 and remains on display, is also considered along with two temporary photographic exhibitions. These include *Whakaahua: Photographic images of Maori life* (hereafter *Whakaahua)*, a touring photographic exhibition held during 1991; and the *Burton Bros. of Dunedin: Photographs of New Zealand and Fiji by a Late Nineteenth-Century Commercial Studio* (hereafter *Burton Bros*.), a photographic Archive Case exhibition held during 2015-2016. Finally, I examine two exhibitions at the RCAGM. These include a permanent Māori display variously known as the *New Zealand* or *Maori Room*, and subsequently as the *New Zealand* exhibition. It was located during the 1970s-1980s at Rothesay Museum, a subsidiary site providing additional display space, before being redisplayed at the main museum site in 1988. It most likely remained on display until a Heritage Lottery Fund restoration project in

1998-2001. Finally, I make reference to *Under the Skin*, a temporary exhibition held in 2006. This was the last recorded time Māori photographs were displayed at the museum.

Contextualising exhibitions

Museum and exhibition frames

Before addressing the roles of photographs and how meaning is shaped, it is necessary to introduce the concept of museum and exhibition frames. As expansively covered by Bennett (1988; 1995) and other scholars (e.g. Coombes, 1992: 47; Dankl *et al.*, 2013: 84; Karp and Lavine, 1997), museums are not neutral spaces. Museums' traditional responsibilities for collecting, housing, preserving, researching and exhibiting objects are fundamentally affected by their institutional frames. These mask the subjectivity of internal museological knowledge systems, ideologies, policies and practices. In turn, these shape collection access, external relationships with indigenous descendant communities of former colonies, and the politics of cultural representation and production of meaning implicit in object interpretation. Ways of authoritatively communicating and representing knowledge, termed the 'exhibitionary complex' by Bennett (1988), were established in early public museums during the nineteenth-century and bound up with the dynamics of power. Museums, as well as their staff and the exhibitions they produce, are therefore not isolated from the world but located within and affected by external economic, political, cultural and societal discourses, including those relating to the colonial past and postcolonial present.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, commercial photographs were collected by or donated to museums and subsequently reframed within museological systems of knowledge (Morton, 2014: 244). Over time these photographs and others formed "photographic ecosystems" (Edwards and Lien, 2014a: 4). These amorphous internal systems support various internally and externally facing museological functions, including exhibitions. Commercial NZ photographers appear to have been aware that museums repurposed their photographs and incorporated this into their

wide-ranging marketing strategies. Using newspaper adverts, catalogues, international exhibition displays, and lectures at institutes and photography clubs, photographers exposed their work to a wide customer base, including the general public, tourists, collectors and museum curators. This resulted in a comprehensive dissemination and representation of commercial photographs in global collections, including the BM, PRM and RCAGM. Photographers such as the Burton Brothers also used other approaches, which made their photographs appealing to museums. This includes a 'quasi-documentary' photographic style that was starting to develop in the late nineteenth-century. The brothers complimented this through the serialised newspaper publication of Alfred Burton's field diary, which he wrote during photographic trips (1885b). These excerpts are full of direct observations about remote Māori communities. This combined approach most likely bolstered the ethnographic appeal of their photographs given the increasing value placed on fieldwork in the late nineteenth-century.

A specific example of the incorporation of photographs into a museum's internal knowledge systems is PRM curator Balfour's creation of a visually and culturally comparative photographic series during the 1930s (see Morton, 2012). It was created from the museum's disparate accumulation of old and newer, and commercial and non-commercial (e.g. fieldwork) photographs. This combined those, which had serendipitously survived with those that had been purposefully collected, including by Balfour. The process of correspondence between groups of photographs and their presentation on A3 card mounts created new photographic objects (figure 6.1). Even though anthropology had mostly moved away from evolutionism by the 1930s, this series drew on these earlier discourses. Accordingly, photographs were categorised geographically according to the races of mankind (B series). They were also classified thematically or typologically according to object types and practices, resulting in mono and cross-cultural photographic groupings (C series). Photographic meaning was framed through handwritten subject titles and individual captions, including the 'Maoris of New Zealand' (B series), 'Funerary', 'Dwellings &c. New Zealand' and 'Deformations', the latter including tattooing (C series). Mirroring the museum's display conventions, Artificial Deformation (Tattooing), for example, is mentioned in

interpretation for *The Maori of New Zealand* (Pitt Rivers Museum, c.1945/1946). Morton (2012: 383-384), who also notes the connections between the physical displays and this photographic series, explains that although Balfour was aware of the constructed nature of commercial photographs by this time, their use in the series draws on their presumed evidential, illustrative and comparative value as cultural data.

Figure 6.1. Ngaroki Te Uru, Tāwhiao and Ringori Te Ao (from left to right, Martin, c.1880s). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.189.2.1-3 or C2/12.2.a-c from 'New Zealand', part of Balfour's comparative photographic series (1930s)].

Notwithstanding the commonplace exhibition of photographs at international exhibitions from the mid nineteenth-century, their display in public museums was not widespread until the 1930s (Crane, 2013: 126). They have since this time become an essential exhibitionary component. Exhibitions generally comprise objects along with a composite blend of pictorial (photographs and illustrations) and text components in the form of labels, interpretation panels, multimedia devices and visual backdrops. These are combined with the overall approach (e.g. anthropological) and naturalised design elements that form the 'technologies of display', such as vitrines, lighting, spatial arrangement and architectural features (Rose, 2012: 242-251). This entangled meshwork of elements contributes toward creating an exhibition's theme, tone, style,

and communication of an overall message or value. In terms of architecture, all of the thesis's museum examples, and thus their exhibitions, are located in historically significant listed buildings, which have for the most part been retained. This includes the BM's neoclassical exterior and columned permanent galleries; the PRM's functional exterior and dark gothic interior with tiered gallery spaces around an open central court; and East Cliff Hall's Renaissance, Italian and old Scottish Baronial exterior style and lavish interiors inspired by Annie and Merton Russell-Cotes's travels. These period galleries are all adjoined by contemporary ones in modern extensions, including the BM's Wellcome Trust Gallery created during the 1997-2000 Queen Elizabeth Great Court redesign; PRM's Archive Case display area developed during the 2004-2007 extension; and RCAGM's contemporary café gallery created during the 1989-1990 extension.

At the BM, the former Ethnography and subsequent AOA departments' exhibitions are characterised by an anthropological approach and aesthetic style, which are legacies from approaches used at the Museum of Mankind. In contrast with the BM's older galleries and permanent exhibitions, these anthropological exhibitions at the main site include a dual focus on objects and people, the presentation of cultures as evolving not static, and high levels of supporting information and photographs. At the PRM, exhibitions reflect the museum's dual anthropological and archaeological approach. They are characterised by a retention of comparative typological arrangements, density of objects and preservation of period display cases and labels. In contrast, the RCGAM uses an overall historical approach to present the founders' stories, and the world and art collections they amassed and showcased in East Cliff Hall. Additionally, Annie Russell-Cotes's bedroom has a long association with ethnographic displays, including NZ objects.

Photographs play a key role in 'rhetorics of value' or the ways in which values about, and the identities of people and their cultural practices are curatorially presented and communicated in exhibitions (Kratz, 2011). These values are also influenced by a museum's past and present relationships with indigenous groups from former colonies, and may also reference historical classifications. In British museums

(particularly anthropological), exhibitions displaying collective Polynesian, Oceanic or Pacific framings commonly reflect a widespread museological application of cultural classifications. They were used to geographically divide up the world and affiliated race with culture. Polynesia dates from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It includes the East-Central Pacific Islands in the Pacific Ocean, including NZ, and was distinct from islands categorised as Micronesia and Melanesia. Oceania, a more inclusive term came into museological use, including at the BM, during the twentieth-century. It incorporates several sub-regions, including Polynesia and is also evident in PRM exhibitions (e.g. *The Maori of New Zealand*). Aligned with the Oceania classification, the Pacific also appears as part of contemporary exhibition themes at the BM (e.g. *Pacific Portraits* and *Living and Dying*) and PRM (e.g. *Burton Bros.*), encapsulating an equally wide area, including NZ. These groupings also affect(ed) object classification (e.g. Balfour's comparative photographic series at the PRM), catalogue records and curatorial departments (e.g. the BM's AOA).

Within exhibitions these classifications are potentially problematic because they collapse and conflate NZ photographs into broader categories, thereby denying their specificity. In a research context, Quanchi (2011: 170) argues it may be beneficial to carry out a combined visual history on Australia, NZ and the Pacific. He cites shared context and interests as drivers and suggests comparative studies might reveal commonalities. Although this has validity, it is hard to successfully achieve within the limitations of exhibitions. This is due to the level of research required and difficulty of rigorously distilling complex debates into comprehensible interpretation that does not generalise, and can be accommodated within the BM's and PRM's small-scale photographic displays. Furthermore, Ngāti Rānana members stated they viewed groupings, such as the Pacific and Polynesia, as distinctly different from NZ, and not applicable to them as Māori (Barrett, 2016b). For these reasons, the group expressed that Pacific galleries should highlight both cultural differences and commonalities.

Photographic roles, reasons for their use and shaping meaning

Now that I have provided the necessary background context for understanding exhibitions, I will examine the varied roles of photographs and reasons why they are used, as well as considering how their meaning is shaped. In the majority of the exhibitions analysed for this thesis, motivations for use stem from a photograph's image content. This is premised on European attitudes towards photography as it developed in the nineteenth-century. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, this includes photography's classification as a technology and art form, as well as a media associated with uses that promoted its evidential value. Consequently, photographs are commonly used in exhibitions for the informational and aesthetic capacities of their image content (Edwards, 2001: 186; Porter, 1989: 21-24, 29). Image content-based roles can be contextual or design orientated (Crane, 2013: 123-124, 129; Edwards and Lien, 2014a: 8-9; Kratz, 2011). They facilitate didactic, interpretive or explanatory, affective (including creating atmosphere) and evidential functions; produce meaning for narratives and interpretation; and authenticate, visually bring to life, represent and support other object types (Crane, 2013: 123; Edwards, 2001: 186; Edwards and Lien, 2014a: 8-9; Kratz, 2011; Porter, 1989). As an indication of the breadth of the "jobs" photographs do, BM, PRM and RCAGM curators described them as "context images", "pictorial material", "information", "physical source[s]" and design solutions (Adams, 2016; British Museum, 2007: 2; McGreevy, 2016; Starzecka, 1996: 1; Walker, 2016).

Exhibition research for this thesis confirms that whilst photographs are used in varied exhibition roles, they are less frequently displayed in museums as objects in their own right.[132] Simply put, photographs in museums are neither treated nor expected to act as objects by either staff or museumgoers. Therefore, they are not regularly displayed in vitrines using the same conventions (e.g. captions and explanatory interpretative

[132] Photographs are more commonly presented in exhibitions as objects at photography and art galleries but within the parameters of predominantly aesthetic or documentary frames.

narrative) and values (e.g. the focus of display) applied to other object types. As such, photographs are commonly subsumed into and obscured by the technologies of display. The supporting role of photographs for other objects is not new though. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett observes that photographs, diagrams and casts were all commonly used in the nineteenth-century to perform the function of "surrogates for primary artifacts" (1991: 395, emphasis added). Curator Balfour also describes photographs in a letter dated 1896 as an "important … adjunct to a Museum" (Morton, 2012: 376), positioning them as useful exhibition and research resources but not necessarily essential.

The display inequality of photographs is linked to curatorial confusion over the roles of photographic representation and their ambiguous museological positioning. Morton describes this as an "uncertain status within the museum as artefact, art object, and document" (2014: 243-244). Even at the PRM where photographs are understood and displayed as objects, they are still used to perform a range of common exhibitionary tasks where their objecthood is minimised or nearly entirely absent. Photographs may also simultaneously play several distinct or combined roles within an exhibition, further complicating the effects of their use. For example, the BM's *Pacific Portraits* used photographs analytically as well as evidentially, treating them as objects and documents.

Comparative to other object types, the roles of photographs in past exhibitions are more difficult to ascertain because they are not commonly recorded. This includes criteria used to make photographic selections and who made these decisions. Therefore whilst photographs of Tāwhiao and Makereti, for example, have been written about, their regular reoccurrence and roles in exhibitions have not, remaining hidden within internal knowledge systems. As demonstrated by fieldwork, documentation absences are particularly acute with exhibitions prior to the 1990s-early 2000s given a general institutional deficit of exhibition records. RCAGM curator Walker termed this knowledge absence a form of "institutional amnesia" (2016). For example, the existence of and information about the PRM's *The Maori of New Zealand* exhibition was only revealed through discovery of interpretations panels in

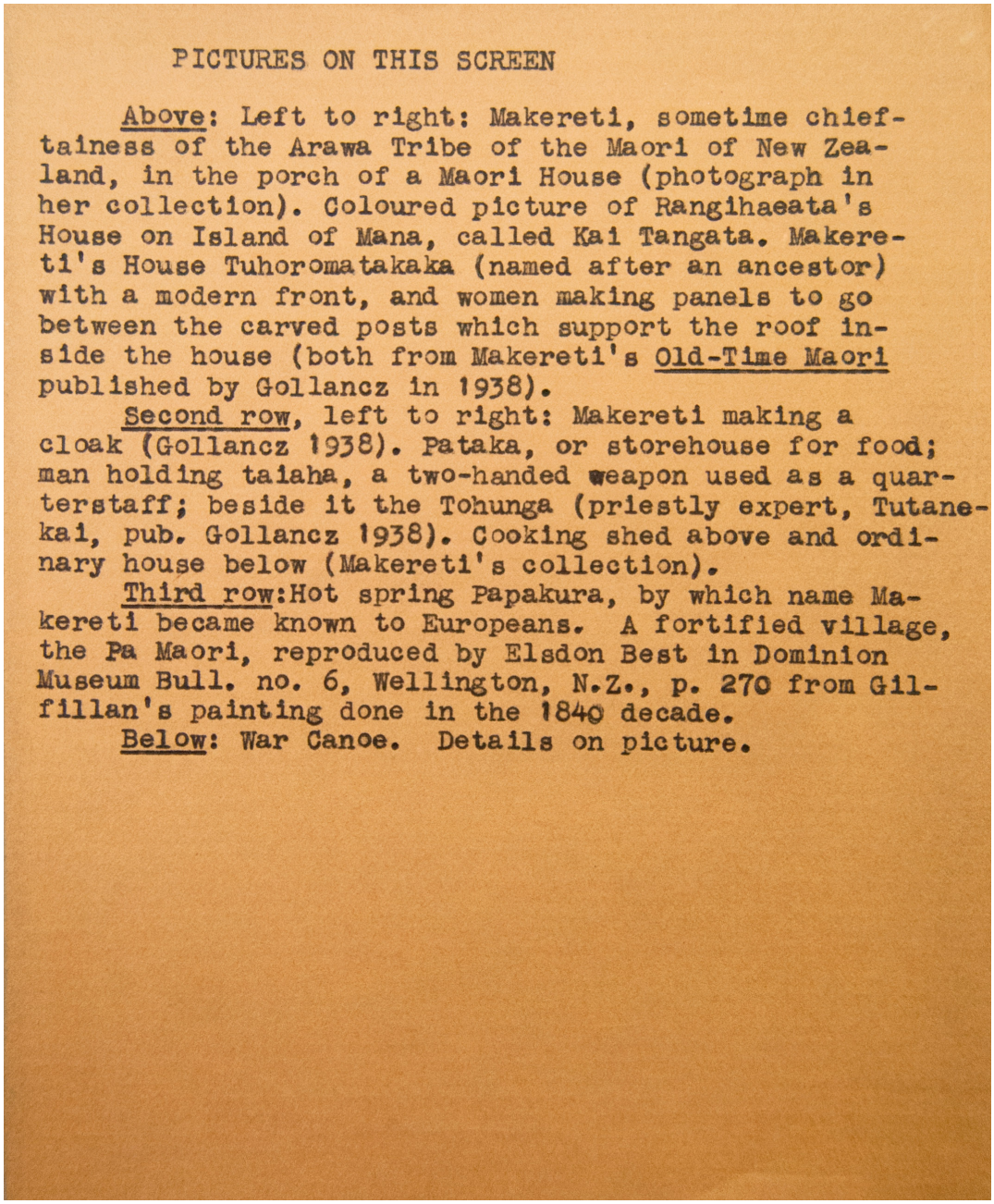
Makereti's collection.[133] Even after museums implemented recording keeping practices for exhibitions, documentation imbalances remain.

Technological advances in the reproduction of interpretative materials have enhanced the capacity of photographs to be edited, modified and reproduced. Furthermore, as Nielssen (2014) argues, it is technological changes, rather than exhibition display trends, that have altered the nuances of photographic use over time. She describes this as "as a series of movements in and out of cases and around objects" (Nielssen, 2014: 61). For example, photographs can be easily reduced and embedded alongside text within contextual interpretation. Or they can be enlarged and used as visual backdrops inside vitrines or on banners. The monumental photographic vinyls in the BM's *Living and Dying* exhibition reflect dramatic shifts in scale and media, enabling photographic expansion beyond the constraints of vitrines and onto their exterior. This movement is not solely due to technological advances increasing the ways photographs can be used. Rather, as Lugon (2015: 391) argues, it is because technological changes have fundamentally amplified the usefulness of photographs as visual resources for exhibitions.

In doing so, technological changes have further reduced photographic objecthood. This is evident through comparison with older exhibitions, such as the PRM's *The Maori of New Zealand*. Opening in c.1945-1946 it included photographs from Makereti's collection, many of which had been previously included in her publication *Old Time Maori* (Papakura, 1938). The exhibition formed part of the *Exhibition of Stone-Age Industries* series, which focused on various parts of the world including Polynesia, under which classification NZ featured. Text and photographic prints of Makereti and her *whare* Tuhoromatakaka were physically mounted onto boards (figures 6.2-6.3). The former was most likely produced on a typewriter and shows gestural traces, distinguishing it from computer-generated text. The prints were probably reproduced from the museum's collections, resulting in a photographic transfer of trace. Like Balfour's series, the thematic mounting of these photographs

[133] B.43A.

also creates new discreet objects. Since this time, technological advances have seamlessly flattened and subsumed photographs and text into interpretation panels. This has profoundly altered the material properties of photographs and removed gestural traces from text in exhibitions.



PICTURES ON THIS SCREEN

Above: Left to right: Makereti, sometime chieftainess of the Arawa Tribe of the Maori of New Zealand, in the porch of a Maori House (photograph in her collection). Coloured picture of Rangihaeata's House on Island of Mana, called Kai Tangata. Makereti's House Tuhoromatakaka (named after an ancestor) with a modern front, and women making panels to go between the carved posts which support the roof inside the house (both from Makereti's Old-Time Maori published by Gollancz in 1938).

Second row, left to right: Makereti making a cloak (Gollancz 1938). Pataka, or storehouse for food; man holding taiaha, a two-handed weapon used as a quarterstaff; beside it the Tohunga (priestly expert, Tutanekai, pub. Gollancz 1938). Cooking shed above and ordinary house below (Makereti's collection).

Third row: Hot spring Papakura, by which name Makereti became known to Europeans. A fortified village, the Pa Maori, reproduced by Elsdon Best in Dominion Museum Bull. no. 6, Wellington, N.Z., p. 270 from Gilfillan's painting done in the 1840 decade.

Below: War Canoe. Details on picture.

Figure 6.2. Photograph captions in interpretation from The Maori of New Zealand (c.1945/1946). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [B.43A: Box X – Miscellaneous, etc. Museum].

Figure 6.3. Makereti's whare Tuhoromatakaka in interpretation from The Maori of New Zealand at the PRM (c.1945/1946). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection: Box X – Miscellaneous, etc. Museum].

Context

The contextual roles of photographs comprise their main usage in the exhibitions analysed, including the BM's *Maori* in 1998. This was the museum's first major exhibition to solely focus on its *taonga Māori* collection. In planning since 1987, and involving curatorial exchanges between Britain and NZ, it was originally due to open a year before the Museum of Mankind's closure (1970-1997) but was delayed, opening instead at the main site. Although 500 non-photographic *taonga* were displayed in this large-scale exhibition, colonial-era and contemporary photographs only featured

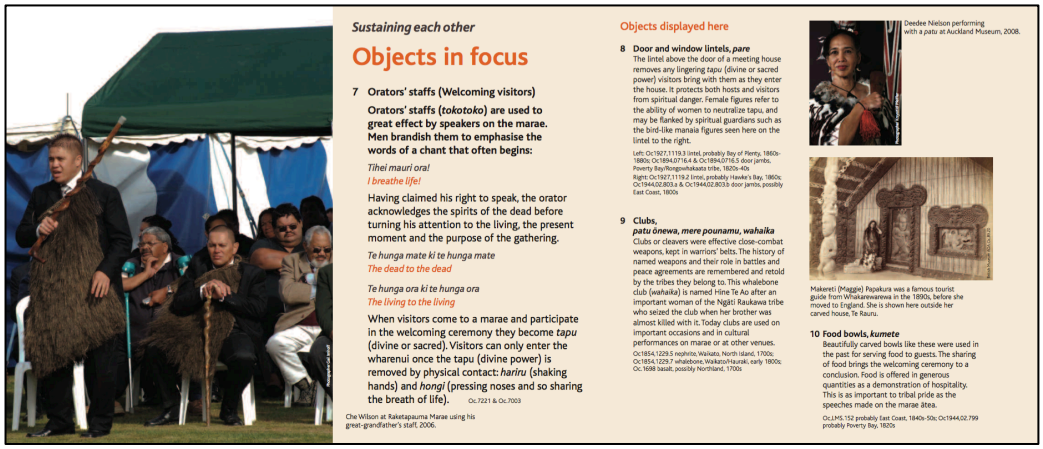
in the interpretation. In this capacity they contextually or representationally situated Māori culture and other objects. Alongside narrative text, photographs and their labels extended explanations and facilitated visual and informational connections between non-photographic *taonga*, and the people who made and use(d) them. They also helped define the exhibition's thematically functional vitrines and object groupings (e.g. Chiefly Garments, Death and Burial, Tattooing). Although *Maori* was fundamentally intended to showcase the museum's *taonga* from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, it also presented historical and contemporary accounts of NZ history and society, and Māori culture. Accordingly, photographs played an important role in addressing the impact of colonisation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Sustaining was the BM's next significant Māori display. It is one of four large case study vitrines, which provide country specific content and depth within the *Living & Dying*. These vitrines fit within the exhibition's overall thematic focus on preventative wellbeing and health from a cosmological perspective. The inclusion of a Māori vitrine reflects the importance of the *taonga* collections, and the museum's relationships with Māori in NZ and Britain. Like *Maori*, *Sustaining*'s interpretation reflects the common yoking of photographs and text to interpretively contextualise explanations of how *taonga* were and are made, used and worn. Many of the photographs used also depict the Rotorua region, further perpetuating the persistent photographic concentration on this area within an exhibition context. The use of photographic "context images" was explicitly outlined from the start of exhibition development (British Museum, 2007: 2). As curator Julie Adams notes, the contextual usage of photographs in this gallery and more generally is the "defining feature of an anthropological display" (2016). She also credited the photographs with doing the main contextual "job" in *Living and Dying* (Adams, 2016).

Similar to *Maori*, photographs in *Sustaining* also function as illustrative and explanatory conduits for certain messages. This includes communicating the vitrine's dual focus on objects and people, and the continuity of cultural traditions through the practices of weaving, carving and oratory. The importance of *wharenui* in helping

sustain communities and relationships is expressed through the *wharenui* display framework around which the *taonga* are arranged. It is also evident in the inclusion of colonial-era and contemporary photographs of *wharenui* in nearly all of the eight interpretation panels (figures 6.4-6.6). Photographs of Makereti outside Rāuru in Whakarewarewa (figures 5.38, 6.4) and Ngāti Rānana outside Hinemihi in Clandon Park reflect the significance of *wharenui* in the past and present, and in NZ and overseas in Britain.

Figure 6.4. Wharenui structure and vinyls in Sustaining Each Other at the BM. Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Sustaining each other

Objects in focus

7 **Orators' staffs (Welcoming visitors)**

Orators' staffs (*tokotoko*) are used to great effect by speakers on the marae. Men brandish them to emphasise the words of a chant that often begins:

Tihei mauri ora!
I breathe life!

Having claimed his right to speak, the orator acknowledges the spirits of the dead before turning his attention to the living, the present moment and the purpose of the gathering.

Te hunga mate ki te hunga mate
The dead to the dead

Te hunga ora ki te hunga ora
The living to the living

When visitors come to a marae and participate in the welcoming ceremony they become *tapu* (divine or sacred). Visitors can only enter the wharenui once the tapu (divine power) is removed by physical contact: *hariru* (shaking hands) and *hongi* (pressing noses and so sharing the breath of life). Oc.7221 & Oc.7003

Che Wilson at Raketapauma Marae using his great-grandfather's staff, 2006.

Objects displayed here

8 **Door and window lintels, *pare***
The lintel above the door of a meeting house removes any lingering *tapu* (divine or sacred power) visitors bring with them as they enter the house. It protects both hosts and visitors from spiritual danger. Female figures refer to the ability of women to neutralize tapu, and may be flanked by spiritual guardians such as the bird-like manaia figures seen here on the lintel to the right.

Left: Oc1927,1119.3 lintel, probably Bay of Plenty, 1860s-1880s; Oc1894,0716.4 & Oc1894,0716.5 door jambs, Poverty Bay/Rongowhakaata tribe, 1820s-40s
Right: Oc1927,1119.2 lintel, probably Hawke's Bay, 1860s; Oc1944,02.803.a & Oc1944,02.803.b door jambs, possibly East Coast, 1800s

9 **Clubs,**
patu ōnewa, mere pounamu, wahaika
Clubs or cleavers were effective close-combat weapons, kept in warriors' belts. The history of named weapons and their role in battles and peace agreements are remembered and retold by the tribes they belong to. This whalebone club (*wahaika*) is named Hine Te Ao after an important woman of the Ngāti Raukawa tribe who seized the club when her brother was almost killed with it. Today clubs are used on important occasions and in cultural performances on marae or at other venues.

Oc1854,1229.5 nephrite, Waikato, North Island, 1700s; Oc1854,1229.7 whalebone, Waikato/Hauraki, early 1800s; Oc. 1698 basalt, possibly Northland, 1700s

Deedee Nielson performing with a *patu* at Auckland Museum, 2008.

Makereti (Maggie) Papakura was a famous tourist guide from Whakarewarewa in the 1890s, before she moved to England. She is shown here outside her carved house, Te Rauru.

10 **Food bowls, *kumete***
Beautifully carved bowls like these were used in the past for serving food to guests. The sharing of food brings the welcoming ceremony to a conclusion. Food is offered in generous quantities as a demonstration of hospitality. This is as important to tribal pride as the speeches made on the marae ātea.

Oc.LMS.152 probably East Coast, 1840s-50s; Oc1944,02.799 probably Poverty Bay, 1820s

Figure 6.5. Makereti outside Rāuru (far right, Iles, c.1900) in the "Objects in focus" interpretation from Sustaining. © The Trustees of the British Museum [digital exhibition file, no reference].

Figure 6.6. Wharenui structure and vinyls in Sustaining Each Other at the BM. Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Chapter 5 discussed the interchangeable use of photographs, illustrations and paintings in publications for their evidential value. I extend this argument here by examining this in relation to their contextual use in exhibitions. Photographs have been displayed at all three museums alongside paintings by Goldie and Lindauer to demonstrate *tā moko* (e.g. the BM's *Maori*, PRM's *Body Arts* and RCAGM's *Under the Skin*). The exhibition proposal for the BM's *Maori* makes clear the lack of curatorial differentiation between photographs, paintings and illustrations, collectively categorising them as contextualising visual resources or "pictorial material" (Starzecka, 1996: 1). At the PRM, Balfour used photographic reproductions of Lindauer's paintings of Māori men and women with facial *moko* in his comparative photographic series, titling it 'Deformation New Zealand'.[134] These paintings were probably chosen for the clarity of the *moko* lines compared with the indistinct or

[134] 1998.189.1.1-4 or C2/12.1.a-d.

retouched nature of most nineteenth-century photographs. Similarly, line illustrations are sometimes selected for their simplicity as contextualising visual resources, rather than photographs. This is evident in the permanent *Whakairo rākau/*wood carving exhibition (Court Gallery), which opened at the PRM in 2015. During discussion about this exhibition and those more generally, curator Zena McGreevy emphasised the need to find the right balance of textual and pictorial (photographs and illustrations) information (2016). This was to ensure these elements did not obscure or "detract … from the [carved] objects" in the vitrine's relatively small-scale confines (McGreevy, 2016). Thus it appears that practical and aesthetic factors, including the suitability of photographs available and exhibition theme, influence decisions regarding what type of 'pictorial material' is used in contextual roles.

At Rothesay Museum (RCAGM), photographs accompanied by line drawing outlines of them were used evidentially and didactically to interpret and explain other objects in the *Maori Room*. The NZ collection was exhibited at this satellite museum branch, a former bus and coach station, between 1963 and 1988. By 1978 (if not earlier), Rothesay Museum had a *New Zealand* or *Maori Room*. Using a "cabinet of curiosities approach", displays were designed to create wonder through juxtapositions (Walker, 2016). The *Maori Room* was additionally framed as an ethnographic space and reflected the broad interests of Annie Russell-Cotes and the NZ objects she collected. It contained a mix of natural history specimens (e.g. taxidermy kiwi), ethnographic objects (e.g. cloaks and weapons), and artworks (e.g. painted portraits of Māori by Goldie) (figure 6.7).

Documentation from 1986 outlining maintenance and interpretative work in the *Maori Room* includes photocopies of a photograph of a young woman in a garden and a hand-drawn photographic outline (figures 6.8-6.9).[135] The woman is seated in a pose similar to the photograph of Keita in Annie Russell-Cotes's album (figure 4.32). Also like Keita, this woman is wearing fine cloaks and has several arranged around her, including a checkerboard patterned *kahu huruhuru*/cloak. These cloaks, the *hei*

[135] :T6.7.2006.11.

tiki/greenstone pendant around her neck, *mere/*hand club she is holding and *taiaha*/wooden staff in the background, all indicate she is probably of high status. The lines forming the photograph's outline simplify and reduce these details into graphic shapes, flattening the photograph's perceived three-dimensionality.

Figure 6.7. NZ/Maori Room at Rothesay Museum showing Tāwhiao's checker patterned cloak, Goldie paintings and taxidermy kiwi (anonymous, c.1986). Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of the Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [Maori Enquiries files: Beige folder, 1978-1996].

Framed versions of the photograph and outline were displayed in the *Maori Room* and placed alongside a "Key to the Artefacts" (Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, 1978-1996; Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, c.1986).[136] As illustrative contextual devices, they authenticated similar *taonga* displayed on the walls and in vitrines. Labels for other objects explicitly draw museumgoers' attention to the photograph, outline and key, thereby helping to explain how pendants and cloaks were (and are) worn. For example, one label reads "[g]reenstone pendants honouring ancestors as worn by the Maori woman illustrated" (Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, 1978-1996). This active correspondence between elements creates

[136] :T19.9.2006.2.

referential lines of meaning between photographs and other object types. In this exhibition, *Sustaining* and *Maori,* it is the image content of photographs, which is essential to their contextual roles. Cast in this role, photographs are used interchangeably with illustrations to provide visually instructive and veracious context to other objects, exhibition themes, and more detailed explanations of cultural practices, including the making and wearing of objects.

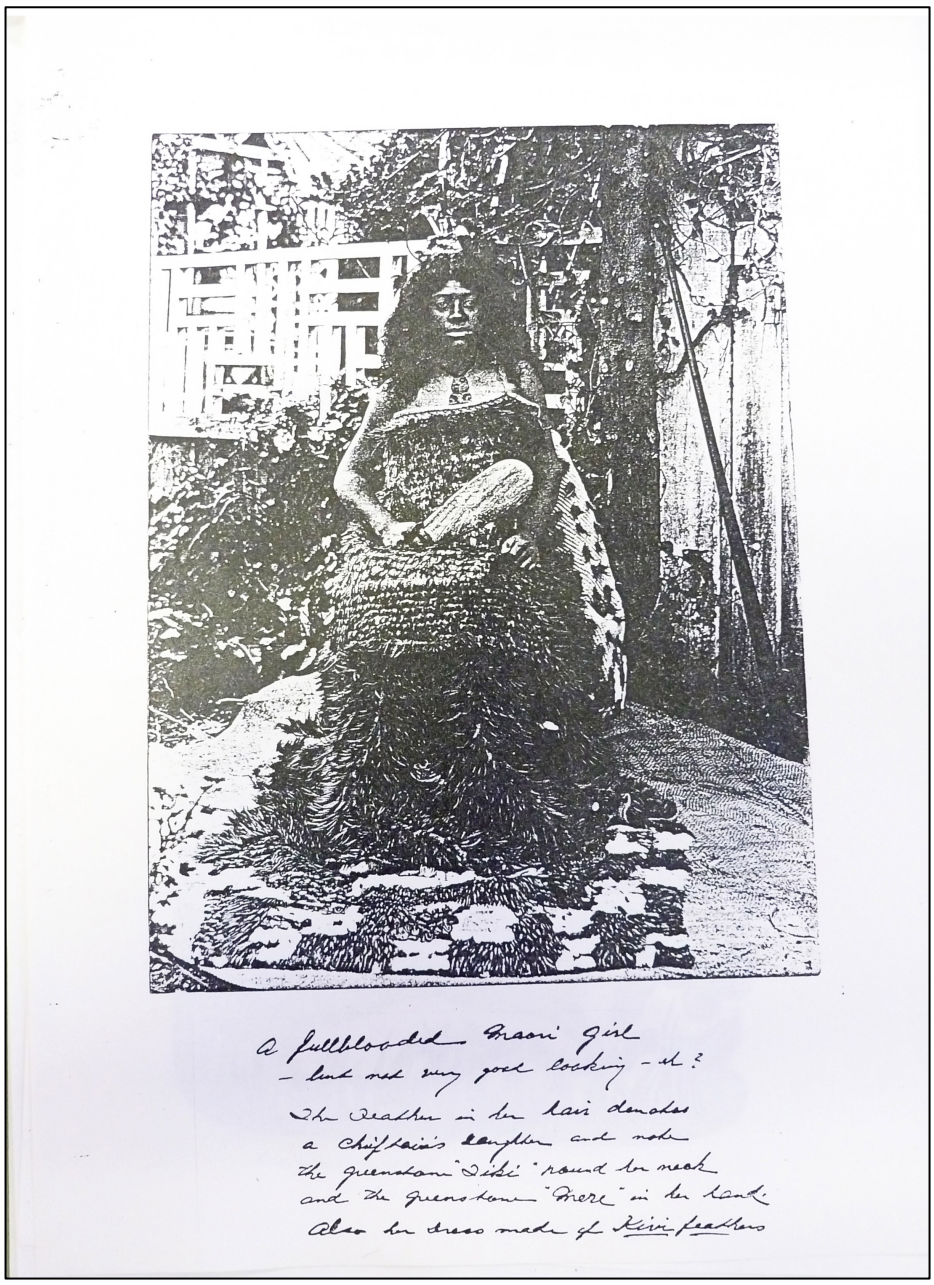


Figure 6.8. Photocopy (c.1986) of a "Chieftain's daughter" (anonymous, c.1910s). Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of the Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [Maori Enquiries files: Pale green folder, c.1986].

Figure 6.9. Photocopy (c.1986) of a hand drawn outline of a "Chieftain's daughter". Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of the Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [Maori Enquiries files: Pale green folder, c.1986].

Design

In addition to the contextual uses examined so far, photographs are also used in design-orientated ways, often with the intention of creating specific effects. This can

produce positive and negative results, both of which I cover in this section. Design uses are overtly evident in *Living and Dying*. In this exhibition photographs are not limited to the interpretation but feature as enlarged semi-transparent vinyls on the exterior surfaces of the four large free-standing vitrines, including *Sustaining* (figures 6.4, 6.6, 6.10-6.11). These additive vinyl traces were affixed onto the vitrines in 2009, six years after *Living and Dying* opened. Their use references the AOA department's previous immersive set-like exhibitions at the Museum of Mankind, which utilised large photographs of people and painted murals. These were intended to contextualise, humanise and create cultural understanding by making viewers receptive to these messages.

Figure 6.10. Vinyls on the Sustaining vitrine. Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

As several curators noted, the vinyls in *Living and Dying* were 2D design solutions by the museum's internal exhibitions department, rather than curatorial (Barrett, 2016a; Bolton, 2016; McKinney, 2016). The intention was to make the gallery more aesthetically cohesive and mitigate the difficulty of displaying photographs inside the immense glass vitrines. Curators had wanted to use large-scale photographs inside the vitrines when the gallery first opened in 2003 but the external gallery designers

disallowed it. As an institution, at that time, that rarely displayed photographs, AOA department keeper and curator Lissant Bolton noted there was a general prohibition on using photographs in permanent exhibitions, which came from a directorial level (2016). Despite the BM's large budget, exhibition development, particularly of a permanent nature, can therefore be more restrictive than at smaller institutions. Designers, as well as curators, play key roles in shaping exhibition content, including photographic. Content and design are also subject to editorial processes, which take into consideration gallery themes and the broader museum context. Natasha McKinney, the *Sustaining* display's main curator, states a balance also has to be maintained with the museum's "established interpretation style and standards" (2016). Although described by some curators as a compromise, the vinyls enabled the museum's general restrictions on photographic usage to be bypassed and expanded their opportunities for use.

Figure 6.11. Detail of the vinyls on the Sustaining vitrine. Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Design uses can potentially conflict though with the use of photographs in interpretation. The vinyls comprise various photographic formats (*cartes*, photogravures and digital files) and time periods (1880s, 1900s and 2000s) (figures 6.12-6.13).[137] The processes involved in creating the vinyls substantially enlarged and altered the photograph's dimensions (size) and scale (proportions relative to other things) to create the visual impact required and uniform proportions (figure 6.14). Lugon (2015: 387-388) argues that scale changes are implicit to photography, from the moment of a photograph's creation to its production as a print.[138] Notwithstanding the veracity of this, the editing and cohering processes used to reproduce the vinyls potentially negate the contextual function of the photographs in the interpretation, which are used for their perceived evidential and historical value.

Figures 6.12-6.13. Unidentified man (Bishop, c.1880s) and woman (Denton, c.1907) used in the Sustaining vinyls. © The Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,B1.10; Oc,A38.16 from "Maori Studies" album (Oc,A38.1-19], CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

[137] The contemporary photographs were taken by NZ photographer Kristof Pfeiffer for *Te Ara: Maori Pathways of Leadership*, a research project and touring exhibition, including Britain and NZ (2010-2014).

[138] E.g. a negative translates the subject's scale into a new one. The negative is then enlarged to another scale when it is printed from.

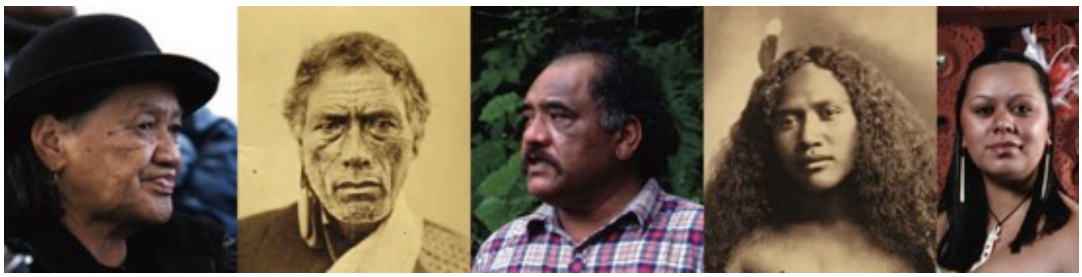


Figure 6.14. Final Sustaining vinyl proofs (c.2009). © The Trustees of the British Museum [digital exhibition file, no reference].

The height, placement and way the vinyls wrap around the *wharenui* display structure and vitrine also has cultural resonance. This is due to the similarities it has with the way ancestral photographs are hung inside *wharenui*. Looking up at the vinyls when in close proximity to the vitrine, creates a referential gazing up affect with the ancestors looking back, which bears some resemblance to the experience of being inside a *wharenui*. However, the curator noted that the vinyls' combination of colonial-era and contemporary photographs was seen as problematic for some because of the "juxtaposition of the living and the dead" (McKinney, 2016). Discomfort from this temporal integration most likely arises from the practice of only using photographs of deceased ancestors inside *wharenui* and not those of the living (see Chapter 5).

The utilisation of photographs in design roles also confers the most passivity to their exhibitionary uses because it relies upon their "just thereness" and aesthetic value (Edwards and Lien, 2014a: 4, 9). However, in *Sustaining* the vinyls fulfil a number of roles, which are not entirely inactive. These include encouraging engagement with the vitrine and showing Māori as a living culture. Interactions between museumgoers and objects are profoundly affected by physical space, however many of the common spatial cues are absent in the Wellcome Trust Gallery. This is due to the contemporary gallery's amorphous football pitch dimensions and 6.3 meters high ceiling (figure 6.15). Curators Adams (2016) and Bolton (2016), also describe the large size of the four glass vitrines, which were designed to be proportional to the gallery,

as not facilitating any form of intimacy.[139] This makes looking into them challenging. All these factors reduce opportunities for engagement with the displays.

Figure 6.15. Solomon Islands vitrine illustrating scale in Living and Dying. Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The gallery's scale and dimensions are also exacerbated by its transitory use as one of the main paths through and around the museum. For this reason, Adams noted museumgoers do not linger and only take "snapshot impressions" (2016). By continually moving "along lines" through the gallery, they navigate using maps to other places and experiences in the museum, including into the adjoining renovated Great Court space (Ingold, 2016: 1, 16). Bolton also described the gallery's spatial issues as being compounded by an exhibition theme, which is not necessarily readily understandable (2016). The subtheme of *Sustaining* is also seen as a barrier by Adams (2016), either requiring prior knowledge or effort to be invested into reading the interpretation. The vinyls partly counteract the spatial and vitrine issues by creating focal points of engagement for museumgoers as they pass through the gallery. Their

[139] The vitrines owe a stylistic paternity to the Museum of Mankind and were intended to be practically flexible and informal with a temporary sensibility.

monumental size and proportional scale, which are incrementally beyond human size, act as "imposing objects, pictures to stop you in your tracks" (Cotton, 2014: 83). Furthermore, their material semi-transparency magnifies their transparent immediacy and affect because the vinyl interface 'disappears', rendering only the people 'visible'.

The vinyls' scale and design orientated use of photographs also references the historical lineage of principles that were applied to museum exhibition design. This includes twentieth-century monumental photomurals and billboard adverts, which were used to convey political messages (e.g. fascism) or market commercial products to large audiences (Crane, 2013: 126-127; Lugon, 2015: 394). In *Sustaining*, the vinyls help convey the message that Māori culture is contemporary, thriving and dynamically active, and draws strength, continuity and inspiration from its past.[140] Using a technique commonly used in exhibitions, the vinyls' temporal range is identified by the photographs' tonal qualities, with the sepia and colour tones indicating the past and present respectively.[141] The purposeful use of an active tense in the interpretation text further supports the current vitality of Māori culture. The smaller scale vinyls repeated lower down on the vitrine provide information (where known) about the sitters' names, tribal affiliations and the photographers, dates and accession numbers. This device helps express these were and are real individuals, not generic 'types', and links the vinyls back to the photograph collections. The vinyls therefore help resist the common public perception that many Pacific cultures are extinct, which Adams (2016) stated was a problematic misconception. She described the vinyls as the "most powerful communication in that gallery" and instantly capable of communicating that Māori people have persisted into the present and have a vibrant developing culture (Adams, 2016). As this demonstrates, the consequences of using photographs in design roles are complex, including positively enhancing exhibition intentions and combining gallery dynamics, as well as creating tensions over the roles of photographic representation.

[140] Ngāti Rānana also argued for this type of presentation during NMM workshops (Barrett, 2016c).

[141] *Sustaining* is the only case-study vitrine with non-contemporary vinyls.

Practical and strategic reasons

Beyond contextual and design roles, photographs are also used for practical and strategic curatorial reasons. At both the PRM and BM, photographs have been employed practically as visual research resources and reference tools during exhibition development. This includes the postcard of Makereti and her family discussed in Chapter 5 (figure 5.45), which was used during research for the aforementioned PRM woodcarving exhibition. The curator published an institutional blog post about this process a year before the exhibition opened (McGreevy, 2014). The blog draws visual references between the *huia* bird feathers worn by Makereti and her family in the postcard, and the *wakahuia*/treasure boxes used to house them (figure 6.16).[142] The digital version of the postcard therefore serves to explain and authenticate the function of the *wakahuia*, which were included in the final display.

Figure 6.16. Postcard of Makereti and family (Jones & Coleman, c.1900s, PRM 2004.27.2) used in a blog post about wakahuia (20 August 2014). Screenshot by Natasha Barrett. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford. http://pittrivers-object.blogspot.co.uk/2014/08/maori-treasure-boxes.html

[142] The white-tipped feathers of this now extinct bird are viewed as sacred and were worn by high-status Māori.

The postcard was also subsequently used in a poster advertising a 2016 student anthropology talk on kinship and displayed in the museum (figure 6.17). In preference to kinship diagrams, Katherine Clough, the assistant photographs and manuscripts curator, suggested the postcard for its capacity to show relations between people, as well as indicating the museum's persistent links to Makereti.[143] Both the blog and poster also demonstrate the complexity of photographic uses within the PRM's broader photographic and visual ecosystems, and the continued relevancy of these collection photographs.

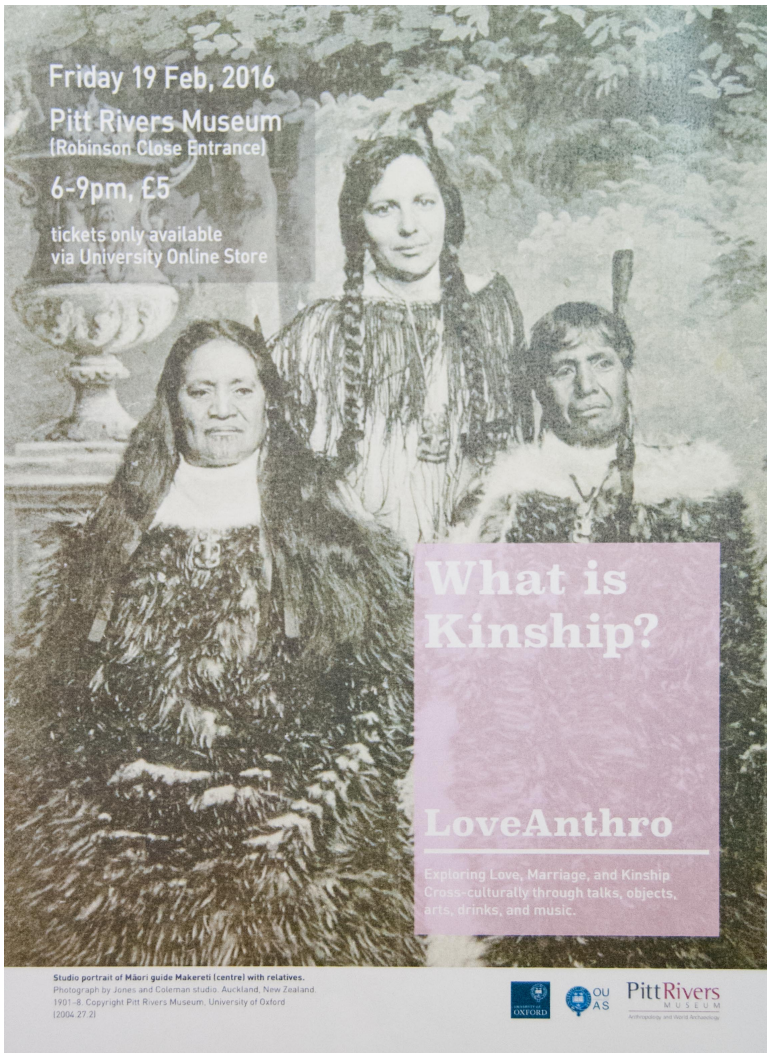


Figure 6.17. Makereti and her family in a poster advertising a University of Oxford Anthropology Society student talk "LoveAnthro: Love, Marriage, and Kinship" at the PRM (19 February 2016). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection: Related Documents File 1998.277; 2004.27].

[143] Informal discussion during research trip (12-15 April 2016).

During exhibition development for *Maori*, photographs were also used practically as visual reference tools. BM curators drew on PRM collections to source photographs of Makereti outside a model *pātaka*/storehouse at the 1910 Sydney international exhibition in Australia (figures 6.18-6.19). The *pātaka* was presented to the BM in 1933 and disassembled in the 1970s (Starzecka *et al.*, 2010: 10, 33).[144] PRM photographs were used to aid the *pātaka*'s reassembly for the *Maori* exhibition. Reconstruction took place during a reciprocal collections visit by Auckland Institute and Museum (hereafter AIM) curator Roger Neich and was recorded photographically. One of these photographs features a photocopy of a PRM photograph being held against the *pātaka* to evidentially guide its reconstruction (figure 6.20). This is emphasised by disembodied hands, which hold the photocopy and touch the *pātaka*. Although the PRM photographs were not included in the interpretation, their use during exhibition development reveals the affinities made between different objects types and the collections of separate institutions.

Practical photographic use in PRM and RCAGM exhibitions also arises from budgetary considerations. At the PRM, photographs, including Mayall's portrait of Tāwhiao in *Body Arts,* are generated in-house directly from collections in order to reduce costs. This process replicates one started at least as far back as Balfour's curatorship (1890-1939). By reproducing prints from the museum's collections, including Tāwhiao's portrait, the comparative photographic series was produced in a cost efficient manner (figure 6.1). Aligned with this strategy, photographs at the RCAGM, including those in Annie's album, are seen as available "physical source[s]" that can be digitally employed illustratively in exhibitions, museum guidebooks and catalogues (Walker, 2016). The fact they are already in the museum's collections and therefore exempt from any associated permissions and licensing costs, was seen by the museum as additionally advantageous.

[144] Oc,1892.11-12.1-5/1933.7-8.1.

Figures 6.18. Detail of Makereti (centre) with Tatiana (left) and Bella (right) outside the pātaka at the Sydney international exhibition (anonymous, c.1910). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection: Box VIII/8, Cuttings & ephemera (1901-1908), Green album, 16:1].

Figures 6.19. Makereti outside the pātaka (Talma, c.1910). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.277.61/B43a.61 in B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection].

Figure 6.20. Curators at the BM using the photograph of Makereti and pātaka as a visual reference tool (anonymous, c.1990s). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © The Trustees of the British Museum [Exhibitions (Curatorial File) Maori – Case Layout OCEANIA 2].

At the PRM, which shows the greatest range of photographic uses, photographs also serve the practical and important task of refreshing permanent exhibitions. From a distance, the PRM's overall semblance appears "unchanging" or static (McGreevy, 2016). This common perception partly arises from the nineteenth-century display furniture and longevity of permanent exhibitions, such as *Body Arts*, which are expected to last for over 50 years. The museum uses the addition or presence of new photographs to alter the appearance of permanent exhibitions. For example, when *Body Arts* was redisplayed ten years after it opened in 1987, the portrait of Tāwhiao was included in the *tā moko* case. As noted, photographs are also used for strategic reasons. The instigation for the BM's small *Pacific Portraits* photographic exhibition in 2009 was tactical. It sought to showcase and raise visibility of the Getty Foundation funded research, digitisation and documentation project (2006-2009). This focused on the AOA department's relatively unknown collection of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Oceanic photographs, including NZ. Digitisation was targeted at a wide audience, including descendant communities, academics and the general public. The interpretation specifically mentions the project details and forthcoming online

access to the photographs, serving as a direct form of marketing. *Pacific Portraits* coincided with *Sustaining*; the latter also opening during 2009 in a nearby gallery and prominently featuring AOA collection photographs. An additional link was provided by curator McKinney's involvement in both exhibitions.

At the PRM, Makereti's portrait is purposefully deployed to explain how objects reached the museum through a wide range of donors, including indigenous collectors.[145] The portrait, a variation of the more famous one included in her two publications (figure 5.24), is prominently displayed near the museum's entrance. In this location, it forms part of the *Welcome to the Pitt Rivers Museum* introductory displays that orientate museumgoers (figures 6.21-6.22).[146] The display seeks to dispel the myth that all objects in the museum were looted or collected by Europeans. Using Makereti's portrait and carvings from her collection, the interpretation references her Māori heritage, and explains that she collected and donated family heirloom *taonga* to the museum. Photographs from Makereti's collection were also used in a similar way in one of the museum's 2016 Print Project Collect public workshops, which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 7. These workshops enabled small groups to engage with the museum's photographic collections analytically, materially and sensorially. In one activity, participants were tasked with actively looking, identifying and categorising photographs according to their producer and/or collector (e.g. commercial photographer, travel writer, indigenous collector and anthropologist). Photographs of Makereti and her *iwi* were utilised strategically to illustrate that indigenous collectors also amassed photographs about their own culture.

[145] 1998.277.97.1.

[146] Makereti's portrait and other *taonga* were on display by 2007 but may have been added when the exhibit opened in c.2001 or sometime thereafter.

Figure 6.21. Makereti's portrait (anonymous, c.1893) in Welcome to the Pitt Rivers Museum (centre of second panel from left). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

As well as being continually reused in the commercial, private and publication contexts discussed in Chapters 4-5, certain photographs of Makereti and Tāwhiao have been persistently utilised in British museum exhibitions for both practical and strategic reasons. As a way of exploring this museological phenomenon, I use the concept of the iconic. A coalescence of factors has made these photographs iconic, including the popularity of their image content and 'celebrity status' of Tāwhiao and Makereti. This has led to these photographs' widespread dissemination and persistent reuse. Over time they have become recognisable markers in popular consciousness against which other photographs are compared (Sekula, 1986: 10). This has elevated their visibility within the collective body of the colonial photographic archive and given them cultural weight or value. Unlike other iconic photographs in British museums, those of Makereti and Tāwhiao do not have an influential societal impact. This is because they are generally unlikely to be recognised or responded to in any particular way that defines them as iconic. Instead they have institutional saliency and might be described as icons of the museum "subculture" (Hariman,

2007: 7). This results from their habitual reuse in exhibitions, as part of a small pool of photographs that partly define or limit future selections. This self-perpetuating cycle has made these photographs complicit in shaping the presentation of knowledge inside museums.

Figure 6.22. Detail of Makereti's portrait (anonymous, c.1893) in Welcome to the Pitt Rivers Museum. Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

As well as being iconic, certain photographs of Makereti and Tāwhiao are characterised by their practical ease of use in exhibitions as visual resources. At a basic level, this is because they have aesthetic merit, including composition and technical skill. They are also effective at "communicating social knowledge" because their image content visually condenses and effectively projects social values (Hariman, 2007: 5, 9, 29). This makes them convenient for exhibitionary purposes because of their capacity to easily convey certain messages. Although their use has been informed by contemporary institutional changes in practice, and external discourses and ideologies, certain motivations for their selection align with their original accumulation in museums. These relate to their ability to convey Māori culture and customs, especially relating to *wharenui* and *tā moko*.

The range of photographs of Makereti used in the exhibitions analysed shows a greater variety comparative to those of Tāwhiao. This is unsurprising since Makereti was widely photographed as part of her professional guiding career. Patterns of reuse include a higher exhibitionary reoccurrence of Makereti's famous c.1893 portrait from the start of her career, and Iles' photograph of her outside Rāuru *wharenui* taken when she was an established guide (figures 5.24, 5.38). The latter's iconicity is enhanced by Makereti's enduring 'celebrity status' in NZ, early ambassadorial role for Māori culture, connections to Britain, and continued importance to her descendants and Māori generally. The *Sustaining* interpretation caption for Iles' photograph outlines many of these factors and relates them to the display's *wharenui* theme (figure 6.5):

> Makereti (Maggie) Papakura was a famous tourist guide from Whakarewarewa in the 1890s, before she moved to England. She is shown here outside her carved house, Te Rauru (British Museum, 2009: Objects in focus).

Tāwhiao's portrait by Mayall appears in all but one instance of the exhibitions analysed in this chapter (figure 4.18). As Chapter 5 explains, this portrait is unusual because it captures the grooved *moko* line without any retouching. This is comparative to Pulman's retouched portrait of Tāwhiao (1882) that was displayed in

the RCAGM's *Under the Skin* tattooing exhibition (figure 4.36). Historically, there was some British public awareness and recognition of Tāwhiao's likeness due to nineteenth-century press coverage, all of which focused on his *moko*. This includes articles on his 1884 visit to Britain, the display of his painted portrait by Lindauer in the 1886 Colonial and Indian exhibition, and 1894 obituary. Contemporarily, Tāwhiao is almost entirely unknown in Britain but his iconic portrait remains persistently reused in exhibitions. PRM curator, Jeremy Coote, noted it was not familiarity with the portrait from its previous exhibition uses that influenced its selection for *Body Arts.* Rather it was for its clarity and capacity to show "the process" of *tā moko* (Coote, 2016). This is because its image content is able to efficaciously communicate information about Māori body modification practices. Therefore, this indicates its selection was for practical reasons related to the exhibition's overall theme and *tā moko* sub-theme.[147]

The curator stated another reason for the photograph's selection, and of others in *Body Arts*, was for its "dignity and integrity" (Coote, 2016). This explanation may stem from an awareness of historically racialised recodings of colonial-era commercial photographs of indigenous peoples. It could therefore reflect curatorial anxiety over the ability to limit and contain meaning. By strategically selecting overtly positive portrayals of Māori culture and practices this could be seen as an attempt to reduce the potential for negative readings. Although a dignified photograph (like any photograph) can still be used derogatively, the framing of Tāwhiao's portrait is also contextually and ideologically tied to *Body Arts*' cross-cultural approach. This seeks to demystify, and positively and equitably portray global body arts practices through thematic juxtapositions drawn from varied cultures (European and indigenous) and time periods (e.g. colonial and contemporary). As I explicate, there are a wide range of practical and strategic curatorial reasons for selecting photographs for exhibitionary use. These are tied to an equally varied range of factors, including the

[147] This photograph also appears in the BM's *Pacific Portraits* (Oc,B52.9), and PRM's *Body Arts* and *Whakaahua* (1998.189.2.2 or C2/12.2.b). British museum focus on *moko* contrasts with NZ uses of this portrait, such as its use in an Auckland Libraries exhibition (2013) to address the *Kīngitanga* movement.

museological roles of photographs, their iconic status, discourses around colonial-era photographs and specificity of individual exhibitions.

The presence and absence of text

Shifting from the practical and strategic, I now explore how photographic meaning is shaped by text in exhibitions. Regardless of how photographs are displayed, they are usually accompanied by titles, interpretation and labels, which perform several functions. As Kratz notes (2011: 34-35), text highlights particular objects and themes, indicates relations between objects, and contributes towards an exhibition's pervading atmosphere. Exhibition text anchors, constructs and affects meaning in ways similar to a photographer's use of imprinted titles, and the captions used in albums and publications that Chapters 4-5 examine. Although text may be presented as objective, it is no less subjective than other forms of exhibition framing. Given the flexibility of photographic meaning, it also has a proportionally greater influence on photographs than other objects.

The creation of exhibition titles may be influenced by curatorial decisions, media strategies and a desire to reference trends (Kratz, 2011: 36). At both the BM and PRM, it is continuity that drives title and theme selection. For example, prior to the Māori display, the *Sustaining* title, theme and vitrine were used with a Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu case study when the gallery first opened in 2003. *Sustaining* therefore confers a common focus on the relationships between people across past and present displays. At the PRM, *Body Arts* has a lineage to *Deformation of body* exhibitions, which extend back to the museum's early history in 1888, four years after it opened. The museum's first annual report written by Balfour notes a "new series has also been added to illustrate artificial deformation of the human body, according to the fashions of different races" (1888). This theme is also mirrored by Balfour's categorisation of photographs under 'Deformation Cicatrization and tattooing' in his comparative photographic series (figure 6.1).

Subsequent PRM annual reports chart steady work on these body modification exhibitions into the early twentieth-century. The Māori section included tattooing

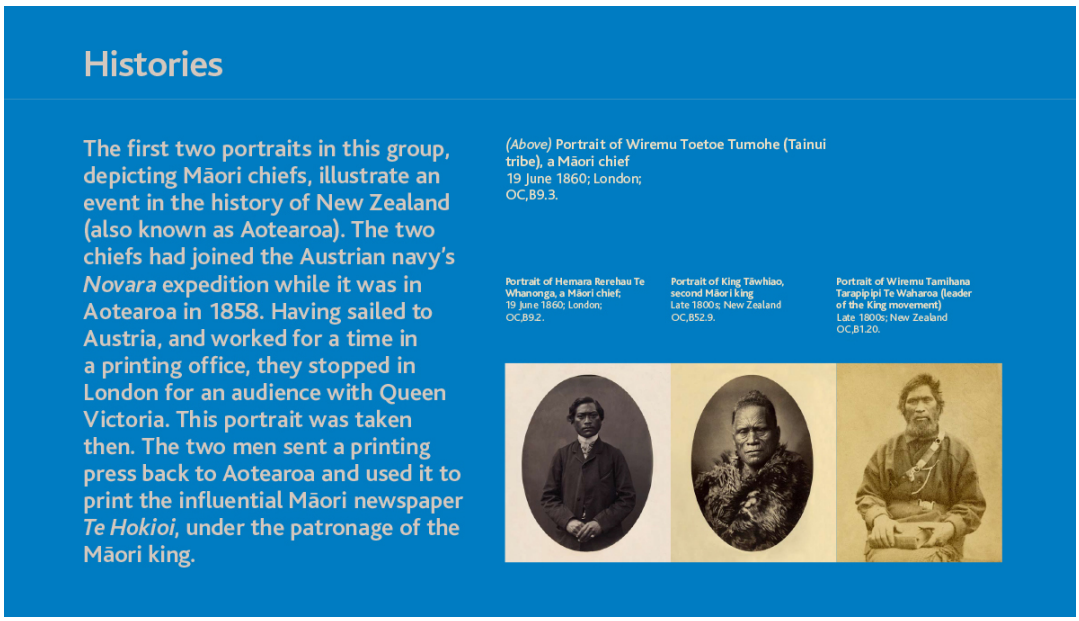
equipment and it appears photographs were added at a later date. The longevity of the body modification theme reflects the subject's persistent public popularity. Changes to interpretative descriptions and terminology from *Deformation of body* (1888 to c.1930s) to *Artificial Deformation (Tattooing)* (c.1930s) and *Body Arts* (c.1987) mark changes in exhibitionary rhetorics of value and institutional knowledge systems. This progressive reframing of photographs and other objects, affects how cultures and practices are understood and represented. In contrast to the annual report's portrayal of the 1888 exhibition, *Body Arts* is displayed and described in ways that reduce cultural difference and create parallels between global traditions of body modification.

At the BM, headings, explanatory and caption text were explicitly used in *Pacific Portraits* to present an analytical approach towards the AOA department's ethnographic photograph collections. This enabled the presentation of multiple perspectives including source communities, the BM (as a collecting institution) and anthropology (as a discipline). The exhibition was held in the vestibule display area of the quieter Montague Place/North entrance, near the Anthropology Library & Research Centre. It consisted of a large interpretation panel featuring photographs and text thematically grouped under headings (e.g. Anonymity, Portraits in Anthropology, Contact and impact) (figures 6.23-6.25). Although small, it is significant as a solely photographic exhibition, which is unusual for the BM. As the co-curator Devorah Romanek notes, photographic selections were intended to have resonance with Pacific audiences and be "revealing of anthropological practice, past and present" (2016). Photographs, including Mayall's portrait of Tāwhiao, and text were used reflexively. This approach sought to address how and why photographs of indigenous peoples were constructed as anonymous 'physical types' for anthropological use, including in texts. This aligns with Ngāti Rānana's desire during NMM workshops for museums to address the influence of photography on the historical and contemporary representation of indigenous peoples, including in anthropology. A comparative approach in *Pacific Portraits* enabled exploration of the complexities of colonisation and contemporary value these photographs hold for source communities. For example, the presence or absence of 'traditional' clothing was used to reveal how

this affects the construction of photographic meaning. Curator Romanek expressed that she saw the exhibition and digitisation project as part of the museum's:

> [O]ngoing responsibility to try and be accountable to what it holds in collections and to get that information out in the world as appropriate, which begins with peoples and communities represented in collections, and so the [Getty digitisation and research] project and exhibition were an act of accountability (2016).

Vocabulary, content and phrasing shape meaning and curatorial voice. At the BM, words in *Te Reo Māori* have been used in object labels, interpretation text and captions since 1998, and at the PRM since the mid 1940s. This bilingual approach is a prevailing and empowering technique used in NZ. Te Papa's 2016 Pacific manifesto, for example, acknowledges that, "Pacific languages have the power to open up other levels of meaning and understanding about museum collections" (Mallon, 2016: 31). The use of *Te Reo Māori* terms in *Sustaining* communicate specific values about Māori identity and helps culturally contextualise the displayed *taonga*, including the interpretation photographs. It also limits shifts in meaning, which can occur, as PRM curator McGreevy noted, through sole use of translated English terms (2016).



Figures 6.23-6.25. Pacific Portraits display banner at the BM (2009) (top) and details of the "Histories" section showing Tāwhiao (middle and bottom). Supplied by former curator Devorah Romanek and © The Trustees of the British Museum [digital exhibition file, no reference].

The absence of text also shapes photographic meaning. In the PRM's *Body Arts*, object labels are entirely absent in the 23-paired horizontal and upright cases. Moreover, only a limited number of the interpretation panels refer at a general level to the vitrine contents, including the photographs. This creates a lack of relationality between the photographic objects (and other objects) and text. It also leaves photographic meaning open to unintended interpretations and anonymises the sitters, thereby obscuring links to their descendants. Finally, the absence of labels means other details are unacknowledged, including the photographer, date and photographic processes. This denies the photographs' historicity or historical origins and place in time, and subsumes the photographs sourced externally into the PRM's collections.

This information is not entirely absent and themed booklets, including one on the *tā moko* vitrines, replace object labels. The booklets were described in the PRM's annual report as a new form of information provision, which would be monitored (2001-2002). During interviews, curators acknowledged this system and absence of labels is functionally problematic but resources currently preclude it from being remedied. Fundamentally, the provision of information outside vitrines introduces additional

barriers. This includes a sense of dislocation between the interpretation, photographs and booklets, particularly since the latter are not referenced in the exhibition. Unlike the RCAGM where a similar system is utilised, the PRM booklets are also not prominently located. Instead, discovery of the booklets is reliant on museumgoers. A lack of initial interpretation can sometimes enable a sensorial and emotive response to objects, a type of "pre-knowledge encounter" experienced before reading interpretation (Dudley, 2012a: 2). However, this is far more difficult to successfully achieve with photographs given their flexibility of meaning.

Object labels were also absent from the PRM's *Burton Bros.* Archive Case, which focused on the Burton Brothers' studio and photographic technology (figure 6.26-6.27). The photographs displayed, which are contemporaries to those in Annie Russell-Cotes's album and featured at the 1886 Colonial and Indian exhibition, are from the Burton Brothers' *The Maori at home* and *The Camera in the Coral Islands* series. The presence of imprinted text on the photographs influenced the curatorial decision not to use individual labels, since they were already "captioned within the negatives" as curator Philip Grover explained (2016). This information was therefore relied upon (and judged not to be misinformation) and not re-authored like Annie's album captions. The Burton Brothers' imprinted text provides location details and a numbering series, which was also used to identify and date each negative during research and cataloguing. The exhibition interpretation explains this, thereby reflexively revealing internal museum processes to museumgoers.

The interpretation briefly mentions the photographs' original presentation mounts, which are embossed with studio's details (figure 6.27). In addition to this, the mounts also reveal details about specific photographic trips and series, as well as their donation to the museum. Whybrew's (2011) analysis of the Burton Brothers positions interactions between text on their photographs, mounts, and other written sources (e.g. catalogues, published excerpts of Alfred Burton's field diaries and journalists' coverage of his field trips) as performing key roles. This includes revealing the internal workings of their business practices and locating colonial-era photographic meaning and consumption. During an interview with Grover, the exhibition curator, he also

described the Burton Brother's early branding and copyright attempts using imprinted text, published diaries and logos as reflecting an "early syndication" (2016). Had time and space permitted it, a closer focus and critical analysis of imprinted text and mounts would have enhanced the exhibition's focus on the Burton Brothers studio. This could have provided for example, further insight into the brothers' professional and commercially focused production, and marketing strategies, and how this shapes photographic meaning.

Figure 6.26. Burton Bros. Archive Case. Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Figure 6.27. Burton Bros. featuring Balfour's comparative photographic series of NZ (top) and Burton Brothers's studio presentation prints of Fiji (bottom). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Curatorial authority conveyed through photograph captions can also have unintended consequences.[148] This includes inviting certain types of visual consumption, which perpetuate the legacy of the 'colonial gaze' and unfavourably frame indigenous peoples. In the RCAGM's *New Zealand Room*, this was exemplified by the imposition of a derogative caption title onto the famous c.1893 portrait of Makereti. The title, 'Demure & Submissive', overwrites notes on the photograph's verso, which identify her as Maggie Papakura and Mrs Staples-Browne (her married name).[149] In doing so, it creates new meaning through a gendered and anonymous framing (see Chapter 5). In contrast, the same portrait is labelled "MAKERETI. About 1893" in Makereti's *Old Time Maori* (Papakura, 1938: plate I). Thomas Kenneth Penniman edited the publication, possibly helping shape the photograph captions. A year after it was published, he succeeded Balfour as PRM curator, a post he held until 1963. The description for the photograph reflects Makereti's status and the photograph's encoded cultural knowledge:

> In her hair a feather of the huia bird, black with white tip, worn only by chiefs. Round her neck a greenstone TIKI whose name is Te Uoro. It has been buried with ancestors and dug up after a lapse of thirty years at five different times, and is over five hundred years old. The shoulder mat or cloak is of golden-brown kiwi feathers, worn only by chiefs, with a border of white pigeon feathers (Papakura, 1938: 11).

Interpretation can also create erroneous assumptions about colonial development of the land. Interpretation in the PRM's *Burton Bros*. stated "the photographs reveal an

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[148] E.g. the controversial and heavily criticised *Into the Heart of Africa* (1989-1990) at the large interdisciplinary Royal Ontario Museum in Canada, which used critical and reflexive approaches incorporating irony. It was intended to enable a multiplicity of perspectives but the curator misjudged museumgoers' capacity to understand the exhibition in this way or their desire to read object captions. The curator was therefore unable to contain undesirable interpretations (see Butler, 1999; Edwards, 2001: 189; Phillips, 2007; Schildkrout, 1991). Similarly, *The Stolen Shadow: Photography as Ethnographic Document*, shown at German museums (1989-1990), was unsuccessful in critiquing colonialism and ethnographic photography (see Nordstrom, 1991: 9-11).

[149] Makereti met Richard Staples-Browne whilst he was in NZ. She moved to Britain when they married in 1912.

undiminished landscape and native habit" (Pitt Rivers Museum, 2015). This was not representative of large areas of NZ, which had already been converted to farmland or settlements by the 1880s. Although several of the landscape photographs appear to show 'untouched wildernesses', photographers strategically framed photographs to create commercially viable products by excluding the effects of colonisation. The interpretation text therefore creates a tension that belies the colonial impact on the land.

Except for the BM's *Pacific Portraits*, the textual framings of photographs in the exhibitions analysed reveal a general lack of critical engagement with the colonial. None of museum curators interviewed, expressed any reluctance over using colonial-era photographs of Māori in past or present exhibitions. They also reported no real concern over their ability to restrain or shape photographic meaning within exhibitions, which has been observed in other research projects (e.g. Edwards and Lien, 2014a: 11). This is most likely because there is a predilection towards not positioning photographs in the colonial past within exhibitions. More broadly, Edwards (2016: 54) argues there is a historical detachment from the colonial past in the public history narratives of British museums, resulting in the past being positioned "elsewhere". This distances colonial history and neutralises the disruptive potential of the colonial photographic archive, so it does not threaten current sociopolitical discourses on postcolonialism and multiculturalism in museums (Edwards, 2016: 54-56).[150] Although a more reflexive approach is starting to be adopted with non-photographic objects, this is less evident with photographs.

As Edwards describes, the location of the colonial past elsewhere can be disciplinary, such as the anthropological framing of the BM's *Sustaining* and PRM's *Body Arts* exhibitions. She also suggests it can be temporal or spatial. The PRM's *Burton Bros.* combines the temporal and spatial, positioning the NZ colonial past as historically and geographically remote from a British context. Another common device used to try

[150] British museums have commonly approached the colonial past through multiculturalism and inclusive immigration stories (Boast, 2011: 56; Purkis, 2013: 53; Thomas, 2010: 7). Intended to be reaffirming, these exhibitions have been criticised for neither critically nor deeply engaging with the past (Boast, 2011: 56).

and fix, contain and control photographic meaning is a focus on specific microhistories (Edwards, 2016: 56, 61), which is also evident in the *Burton Bros.* The exhibition references but does not critically engage with colonisation or the identities of the coloniser or colonised, instead it uses the specificity of a commercial photographic studio and development of photographic practices as a narrative theme. The intention here has not been to specifically criticise any one institution but to raise visibility of this issue and the others discussed in this section, which are observable in many museums. Text is therefore powerful through its presence (including its content) and absence, and affects how exhibitions and photographs are framed, and discourses are approached.

Photographs as objects

In contrast to the non-object orientated roles of photographs in exhibitions, I examine next their functions as objects. As recent literature suggests (Edwards and Lien, 2014b; Edwards and Morton, 2015b), the conceptualisation of photographs as material and sensory objects is changing traditional display conventions. In order to fully appreciate this, I first explain how photographs have started to be perceived as objects and the deeper meanings this has institutionally. Shifts in the perception of photographs started during the 1980s due to a growth in curatorial photographic knowledge, and initiation of photographic research and cataloguing by museums. Scholarly, public and indigenous interest in photograph collections largely drove these developments, and at the PRM this also included the establishment of a specialised photographic department (Morton, 2014: 244).

Like many museums, photographs at the RCAGM do not appear to have been originally valued as objects. Instead, it seems they were viewed as "secondary material" by Quick, the museum's first curator (Walker, 2016). This perception was not only held internally but also projected externally. For example, photographs were not selected for exhibitions until the 1980s, creating historical absences prior to this. They were also not detailed alongside other *taonga* in the RCAGM's bulletins (1922-1956). This journal ran for over thirty years and listed historical and contemporary donations and acquisitions, including objects the Russell-Cotes collected. The status

of photographs at the RCAGM has been subsequently elevated and they are now considered by curators to be essential to the founders' story, including their global travels.

The NZ photograph album, which as noted in Chapter 4 was rediscovered during the 1980s to mid 1990s, is specifically understood to have "huge value to us [the RCAGM] because Annie put it together" (Walker, 2016). Although Annie's album and other NZ photographs have not been displayed since 2006, there are future plans to potentially do so for the museum's 100th anniversary in 2021. Given the Yellow Room's former use as Annie's bedroom and association with ethnographic displays, the curator stated that this makes it the most likely location for their display (Walker, 2016). Family portraits are already exhibited as objects in this room, alongside other personal objects and NZ *taonga*. One of the didactic themes in the museum's interpretative strategy is 'World Travel and Culture', which focuses on the Russell-Cotes's global travels and seeks to instil cultural understanding (Lemon Drizzle, 2013: 11). In presenting the album as a valued collection object, this theme could be used to address nineteenth-century tourism overseas, Māori culture, the Russell-Cotes's NZ trip and their collection of photographs and other *taonga*.

At the PRM, the framing of photographs as material and valuable collection objects and thus the management this implies, arose not only from interest in the collections but as a politically tactical approach to internal and broader external museological issues. This includes the relatively low importance attributed to photograph collections, and prevalent museum practice of microfilming and disposing of them (see Knowles, 2014). Immaterial approaches used in microfilming and digitisation subsequently, also commonly prioritise and separate visual content from an photographic object's form, thereby excluding the historical potential of the latter (Edwards, 2013, personal communication referenced in Morton, 2014: 247). The theoretical development of photographic materiality in scholarly literature developed later on in response to such discourses, and changes to practical curatorial work and institutional shifts.

Changing approaches towards photographs was marked at the PRM by a touring exhibition from NZ, which the museum hosted in 1991. *Whakaahua* was created by AIM and is significant because it is one of the PRM's earliest photography exhibitions. At this time, the status of the museum's photograph collections had yet to be fully elevated and viewed as collections objects. Moreover, it was the first time in the museum's contemporary history, that collection photographs rather than reproduced prints were displayed. In agreeing to host the exhibition, the PRM stipulated it could make photographic additions, a common practice then. The museum's annual report describes this process, noting *Whakaahua* was "complemented by early photographs of Maoris from our own collections" (1990-1991: 4). These additions, including Mayall's portrait of Tāwhiao used in Balfour's comparative photographic series (figure 6.1), were exhibited alongside uniformly enlarged photographs reproduced from AIM's collections. In NZ, the exhibition intersected with a period of heightened Māori political activism and cultural revival, and changes to museum practice.[151] In Britain, this touring exhibition with its local additions provided a tactical way of internally and externally raising visibility of the PRM's photograph collections.

The Archive Case exhibitions, which are held two or three times a year, are also strategically important and indicative of the PRM's recognition and presentation of photographs as collection objects (figure 6.28). Established in late 2003, they are the only exhibitions at the main site, which regularly display collection photographs rather than reproductions. These exhibitions are largely due to the influence of Elizabeth Edwards' curatorial role at the museum (1988-2005), both in terms of her practical and theoretical approaches, and drive to establish a photographic display space. Reflecting the nature of the Photograph and Manuscript Collections, Archive Case exhibitions are historically and anthropologically focused. They are also distinct from contemporary photographic exhibitions of anthropological interest held in the museum's other spaces, which commonly deal with postcolonialism and indigenous

[151] E.g. planning for Te Papa and the touring exhibition *Te Maori*.

issues.[152] Since being established, Archive Case exhibitions have evolved to include mixed object displays, thereby developing associations between other objects and collections. To date, there is no slippage within these displays, and photographic objects remain firmly positioned as the main actors around which other objects revolve, rather than *vice versa*. However, the vitrine used for Archive Case exhibitions is currently somewhat obscurely located outside the main Lower Gallery (first floor), in the corridor space of the building's modern extension. Prior to the extension's completion (2004-2007), it was more prominently positioned inside the Lower Gallery. For this reason, it was designed to be sympathetic to the gallery's nineteenth-century vitrines and atmosphere. Archive Case exhibitions became an integral part of the Lower Gallery from 2003 to 2007, resulting in a prominent reintegration and display of collection photographs alongside other object types. Despite the vitrine's current physical marginalisation outside the galleries, it remains important as a permanent photographic display space that clearly presents photographs as objects.

Figure 6.28. Burton Bros. Archive Case at the PRM. Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

[152] Contemporary photography exhibitions are held in the Long Gallery (2007 to present), whilst other contemporary and archival photographs exhibitions are displayed offsite at Banbury Road (1985 to present).

The *Body Arts* exhibition, also in the Lower Gallery, is another location where photographs are prominently displayed as objects. In contrast though, prints reproduced from the collections are used. The exhibition opened in 1987 with a permanent and greatly expanded grant funded redisplay in 1997. It developed from older manifestations of this exhibition theme, which included *tā moko* displays. *Body Arts* is a physically linear exhibition spanning almost the gallery's entire length (figure 6.29). It portrays body arts as a social and communal practice and features lifecycles themes from birth to death. Over 1,300 objects, including photographs, are on display and arranged from temporary (e.g. jewellery) to permanent (e.g. tattooing) changes in appearance. This includes four *tā moko* vitrines with tattooing equipment, life masks, paintings and photographs, which illustrate past and present *tā moko* practices. Rather than being embedded and subsumed into the interpretation panels, Mayall's portrait of Tāwhiao, like other photograph in the exhibition, is framed and hung in an upright vitrine (figure 6.30). The use of modern everyday red frames supports the curatorial intention to demystify historical and contemporary global cultural practices. The act of framing also confers not only object status onto the photographs but an aesthetic value, as observed in Chapter 5 in relation to *tangi*. For example, it aesthetically aligns Tāwhiao's portrait with a framed painting of Ngairo Rakai Hikuroa by Lindauer (1878) in the *tā moko* vitrines.[153]

Edwards suggests that focusing on the material nature of photographs, which displaying them as objects prompts, could help dissolve the invisibility of the viewing act by increasing museumgoers' awareness of this socially embedded process (2001: 196). It does so emphasising a photograph's material properties, including presentation formats, rather than solely its image content. This makes the photographic form overt, transforming it from a state of transparent immediacy into one of visible hypermediacy. This can help prevent photographs from being subsumed within the curated technologies of display. In turn, this may prompt more consciously reflexive engagements with photographs and communicate to

[153] 1938.35.1880

museumgoers that photographs are historically located objects whose meanings are framed in particular ways, including through prior uses.

Figure 6.29. The Ta Moko vitrines in Body Arts (far right). Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Despite changes to the status and display of photographs, non-photography curators were observed during interviews having difficulty describing photographs in ways that clearly indicated their objecthood. For example, PRM curators resorted to using prefixes, to dually indicate the museum's object framing of photographs and distinguish them from other object types. When describing Archive Case exhibitions, one curator referred to displays with either "photos or objects objects" (Coote, 2016). This is similarly observed in academia. For example, Wright uses the term "photo-object[s]" to describe and communicate indigenous perspectives about photographs as cultural objects (2004: 73-74). Current vocabulary, which is based on a persistent and widespread privileging of image content, is therefore inadequate to describe photographs as objects. This suggests a new lexicon is required to match current curatorial practices and institutional shifts.

Figure 6.30. Detail of the framed portrait of Tāwhiao (top right) and painting by Lindauer (half out of the frame on the right) in the Ta Moko vitrines in Body Arts. Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Photographs as *taonga*/cultural treasures, relationships and exhibition consultation

The museological conceptualisation of photographs as material objects has also been strategically important for indigenous descendant communities. This is because it recognises and implies particular curatorial conventions relating to collection care, research and access. This framing along with the political rhetoric of postcolonialism and indigenous activism has helped museums understand and ethically respond to the value these photographs hold for descendant communities. Relating to these issues, I consider the enduring relations between descendants and all *taonga*, and how this is manifest in exhibitions and during exhibition development. Meshworks of relations exist between museums, and Māori groups and individuals because museums are places, which hold collections either originating from or of interest to descendant communities. Each place or museum with photograph collections forms "a knot in the meshwork" through which relations flow (Ingold, 2016: 104). This is not an ordered network of connected points emanating out from and controlled by a place/museum (Ingold, 2016: 101-104). Rather it can be envisaged as relational entanglement of threads, which enmesh the place/museum with source communities (Ingold, 2016: 101-104). Since "[t]hings *are* their relations" (Ingold, 2011a: 70, emphasis in original), it is the photographic *taonga* and people (museum staff, ancestors and living descendants) that constitute the meshwork's threads. These threads are surfaceless, unbreakable and enduring, forming across time and space (Ingold, 2016: 42). This is comparative to ANT, older forms of network analysis and kinship theory, which Strathern argues by their very nature are not infinite and can be broken or cut, causing them to cease at some point (1996).

Relationships between museums and Māori are invariably intermittent though. At the PRM, these relational expressions are acknowledged as being either "explicit" or "implicit" (Coote, 2016). They heighten during particular activities and are demonstrably overt during exhibition consultation. At other times they may subside, becoming inactive during these momentary pauses. As acknowledged by curators during interviews, the BM's relationship with Ngāti Rānana has waned since the 2009

opening of *Sustaining*. During fieldwork with the group in 2016, only a few members had visited or were aware of the display. Both BM and PRM curators explained these moments of relationship 'cooling' are often due to practical constraints, including resources (staff and financial) and commitments to other groups. Equally, as Brown and Peers (2006: 198) note, museums do not always fully appreciate that indigenous groups perceive these relationships to be perpetual once initiated. This is problematic for indigenous groups and Ngāti Rānana members voiced similar concerns during NMM workshops.

Although relationships are understood as being expressed differently at times, the PRM sees them as an indispensible "part of the intermeshing of things" (Coote, 2016). Accordingly, the PRM perceives them to be an ongoing and vital part of the museum's work, rather than additional. This acknowledges the ethical responsibility implicit in these persistent relations between institutions, people and objects. Accordingly, momentary pauses are not perceived to be permanent but dormant stages in cycles of relations. They are described as "very easy to reignite whenever there is the right moment, the right combination of people and Makereti's obviously a huge part of that" (Coote, 2016). The legacy of relations between the museum and Makereti are therefore perceived to strengthen the durability of these overall relations, enabling them to easily become explicit at times.

As a thread in the meshwork, Makereti is tied through events during her lifetime and beyond to the university, museum and their staff, and her photograph and manuscript collections. During her anthropological studies at the University of Oxford (1926-1930), Makereti forged a friendship with fellow student Penniman. He assisted with her thesis during her lifetime, and as noted in Chapter 4, he also helped prepare and publish it is as *Old Time Maori* after her death in 1930. Prior to publication Penniman consulted with Makereti's son Te Aonui, sister Bella and other family in NZ to check the manuscript's accuracy and for any culturally sensitive content. With assistance from Balfour, Penniman negotiated with the publishers Victor Gollancz, edited and finalised the text, photographic plates and captions. Not only did this add the presence of another authorial layer or frame but it reflects the close relations

between the university, museum, people and collections. Makereti's enduring impact on the PRM is also indicated through exhibitions, including the aforementioned *Welcome to the Museum* and *Maori of New Zealand*. The latter was created some 15 years after Makereti's death and curated by Penniman and university demonstrator and ethnology lecturer, Beatrice Blackwood (from 1928-1959). It was as much about celebrating Makereti and her connection to the university and museum, as it was about Māori culture. Even through the official language of the museum's annual report, Penniman's respect and regard for Makereti is evident:

> [M]any who were privileged to know her in Oxford remember her vividly as a great interpreter of a great people and treasure her book, published after her death, on The Old-Time Maori (1940-1941).

The exhibition interpretation included photographs used in Makereti's publication, such as her *whare* Tuhoromatakaka (figures 5.10, 6.2). The inclusion of Sydney Charles Smith's photograph of the Papakura Geyser (c.1920s) from an external collection also indicates Penniman's knowledge of Makereti (figure 6.31).[154] When asked by a tourist what her surname was, Makereti is famously said to have used the Papakura Geyser in Whakarewarewa as inspiration. She subsequently used Papakura during her professional guiding career and for publications. This exhibition and *Welcome to the Museum*, therefore reflect a myriad of human and object interactions across the PRM's history.

Relationships with descendant communities are also evident in exhibition development. Their level of involvement varies though, depending on museum practices, progressively scaling from engagement up to collaboration.[155] At the BM and PRM, the involvement of Māori groups and individuals in exhibitions development generally takes place at a consultative or midrange level. These consultative relationships have developed over time and include many of the same

[154] E.g. Alexander Turnbull Library (NZ) PAColl-9000.

[155] Onciul describes community involvement as ranging from "tokenism to community control" (2011: 102-103).

NZ based Māori academics, Te Papa and Auckland War Memorial Museum curators, and European based artists. At the BM, consultation for *Maori* during the late 1980s initiated this practice. It acted as a blueprint for subsequent exhibitions, including Ngāti Rānana's involvement with *Sustaining*. These relationships have also persisted despite curatorial changes at the PRM and BM, their longevity signalling the value placed in these relations. PRM curator Coote (2016), also perceives these relationships to predate the twentieth-century and to have initiated when *taonga* first entered the university's collections in 1772. It was these events that activated the meshwork of relations between countries, museums, people and *taonga*.

Figure 6.31. "Papakura Geyser, Whakarewarewa, N.Z." (Sydney Charles Smith, c.1920s) in an interpretation panel from Maori of New Zealand. Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [B.43A, New Zealand, Makereti collection: Box X – Miscellaneous, etc. Museum].

The RACGM is a smaller institution with fewer resources and a historical rather than ethnographic focus. The only recorded engagement with Māori was through the Aotearoa Maori Entertainers, who were associated with the London NZ High Commission and Ngāti Rānana. These entertainers performed at the high-profile 1988 opening of *New Zealand*, which was also attended by Bryce Harland, the NZ High Commissioner. The current curator described this and similar events, including the involvement of prominent people, as most likely being part of former curator Graham Teasdill's (from 1966-1988) strategic approach to creating beneficial opportunities for the museum (Walker, 2016). It was therefore unlikely to have been a targeted attempt to spark long-term relations.

The BM's and PRM's practice of habitually involving Māori in exhibition development reflects their commitment to ethical curatorship. It also demonstrates that these museums recognise descendant communities' access rights (analogue and digital) and status as knowledge holders; as well as the roles *taonga* play in cultural reclamation and resistance, and reinvigorating ancestral relations.[156] Although these consultative practices represent genuine efforts to understand and communicate in exhibitions the meanings *taonga* have for descendants, discrepancies do exist. As revealed during interviews and analysis of exhibition documentation, this is because colonial-era photographs are entirely excluded from these consultative processes. This means their interpretation and display remains inconsistent with Māori cultural responses to them as *taonga* with *mauri* and ancestral presence. At the BM, Ngāti Rānana's involvement in exhibition development for *Sustaining* comprised store visits, non-photographic object choices, case themes and interpretation text. Additionally, NZ based Māori curators were remotely involved in some of these processes via email. Although Ngāti Rānana were asked for suggestions for the contemporary photographs in the vitrine's interpretation and vinyls, they were not consulted about the colonial-era ancestral photographs that were used.

[156] During a NMM store visit, Ngāti Rānana used museum terminology to assert this authority by describing elders in NZ as the "curators with knowledge" (Barrett, 2016e).

At the PRM, the curator noted motivations for the *Burton Bros.* were triggered by a coalescence of factors, including a visit in 2013 by the Ngā Paerangi *iwi* from the Whanganui River (North Island) (Grover, 2016). During the visit the Whanganui group accessed photographic and non-photographic *taonga* from the collection of Charles Smith, a Whanganui resident (1859-1909). This visit successfully established a new relationship between the *iwi* and museum, and future initiatives may include a PRM exhibition and object loans to NZ. Despite desire by both parties to retain these relations, the group was not consulted or informed about the museum's 2016 *Burton Bros.* exhibition only a few years later. This featured Whanganui photographs from the Charles Smith collection, which the group had accessed. The museum had contacted the group though about *taonga* identification and interpretation for the aforementioned 2015 wooden carving exhibition. With *Burton Bros*. this consultative absence reflects a missed opportunity for multivocality to be included. Drawing on key themes arising from interviews and NMM workshops with Ngāti Rānana, this might have comprised a first person account from the Whanganui group as part of restitution and self-representation discourses. Alternatively a curatorial account of the group's visit could have interjected a reflexive institutional perspective, thereby helping to address the legacy of the British colonial photographic archive.

The absence of photographic consultation for both *Sustaining* and *Burton Bros.* does not appear purposeful but it does frame photographs as ancillary to other objects. It is inconsistent with the relations, which exist between the BM and PRM, Māori and *taonga*, and these museums' comprehension of this and engagement with Māori in other capacities. It is also surprising in some respects, given that anthropology museums such as the PRM were at the forefront of early engagements with indigenous descendant communities about photograph collections, as Edwards and Lien observe (2014a: 14).

Conclusion

This chapter has assessed historical and contemporary Māori and Pacific exhibitions at the BM, PRM and RCAGM to ascertain the various roles, uses and meanings of

photographs. At a granular level this shows institutional commonalities, as well as some differences. The former includes practical and strategic curatorial reasons for photographic use. This includes the capacity of certain continuously reused iconic photographs of Makereti and Tāwhiao to convey *wharenui* and *tā moko* themes. Analysis also reveals a complexity of exhibitionary approaches towards photographs, such as their more frequent contextual and design orientated roles comparative to their display as objects. Moreover, although these exhibitions shows some degree of reflexivity in their framing of photographs, I have argued this needs to be more rigorously addressed, particularly in relation to how the colonial past is approached. Connected with the unequal institutional positioning of photographs is the exclusion of colonial-era NZ photographs from consultative practices during exhibition development. This contrasts with the focus on and recognition of non-photographic objects as *taonga* during consultation at the BM and PRM. It also creates a contradiction in museums' understanding of and their articulation of the relations binding them to Māori and all forms of *taonga*. Collectively these findings validate and strengthen broader discourses evident in recent literature on photographs in museums, concerning the lack of clarity over the roles of photographic representation and their ambiguous museological positioning.

Ngāti Rānana members describe "museums [as] hold[ing] the windows to the past and ancestors, and how they lived" (Barrett, 2016b). However, as group members noted, museums often feel like "irrelevant" places for descendant communities because of the exhibition approaches used (Barrett, 2016d). Drawing on exhibition consultation with Māori individuals and groups, the next chapter explores different forms of interpretation and display in order to reflect and communicate Māori responses to photographs in exhibitions.

Chapter 7: Sensing exhibitions

Introduction

Mā te rongo ka mōhio

Through perception comes awareness

Mā te mōhio ka mārama

Through awareness comes understanding/light

Mā te mārama ka mātau

Through understanding/light comes knowledge

Mā te mātau ka ora

Through knowledge comes well being.

The relational chain from sensory perception through to emotional well-being is demonstrated by this *whakataukī*. It helps explicate how photographic displays can be enhanced by exhibition strategies, which are responsive to the sensory qualities and material properties of objects, and affective experiences they prompt. I propose this approach as a way of communicating the resonance of photographs in *Te Ao Māori* as *taonga* with *mauri*, ancestral presence and *Mātauranga Māori*. In this more exploratory chapter, which uses institutional and *Mātauranga Māori* frames, I review the presence and absence of sensorial opportunities at the BM, PRM and RCAGM (e.g. descendant community object handling and workshops). I also evaluate exhibitions with alternative interpretative and display methods beyond the solely visual and textual, and ways of creating sensory spaces (e.g. *wharenui*) or contexts (e.g.

blessings). By doing so, I seek to investigate the opportunities that photographs afford but which often remain latent in exhibitions. Reoccurring photographs of Tāwhiao and Makereti, and themes of presence and absence also appear throughout this chapter, as they do in previous ones. Specific senses and their multisensory or multimodal interconnectivity also feature, notably touch, vision and hearing. These are discussed in relation to object handling, and certain photographic formats (e.g. stereographs and lantern slides) and devices. There is also a focus on light as an important exhibitionary mode, which is closely aligned with photography, specific formats and *Te Ao Māori*. Technological innovations and the possibilities they engender are interwoven where appropriate.

The exhibitions I consider are drawn from the three museum examples, including several already introduced (e.g. *Maori*, *Sustaining* and *Whakaahua*), as well as exemplary British and NZ photography exhibitions. Collectively, these span the 1980s to 2016, and are photographic and mixed object in nature. Informing my discussion are published exhibition reviews and the perspectives of Māori individuals and groups from three decades of exhibition consultation (1990s-2010s). This includes fieldwork with Ngāti Rānana, and BM exhibition files featuring correspondence with Māori academics and artists (1990s-2000s) for *Maori* (1998), and consultation meetings with Ngāti Rānana for *Sustaining* (2009).

Contextualising the sensory in museums

The senses and museums

Before considering alternative interpretative and display methods, I provide contextual explanation of the senses and the sensory in museums. The five main senses include hearing, smell, sight, taste and touch. Parts of the body are specifically equipped to receive the stimuli of information from these sensory modalities. These senses influence how the world and objects in it are perceived. They are commonly experienced multimodally or in an integrated multisensory manner rather than separately and this is reflected in the range of senses involved when people engage with photographs. Consequently both Ingold (2011a: 133) and Bal (2003: 2, 6)

characterise the senses as fluidly porous or “impure”, neither isolated nor clearly defined or divisible from each other. Ingold critiques the limitations of a visual or ocularcentric bias for this reason. Drawing on Idhe (1976: 9), Ingold states that not only has the elevation of sight resulted in "the reduction *to* vision" but also a “reduction *of* vision", thereby limiting its multimodal potentiality (2000: 282, emphases in original). For example, touch is often an inherent part of looking at and reacting to things, including photographs. Work in neuroscience confirms this, accounting for the informational flow between the senses and general absence of occasions where single or unisensory perception is experienced (Levent and Pascual-Leone, 2014a: xvi). Accordingly, this chapter reflects this sensory meshwork.

As noted in Chapter 5, prior to colonisation and introduction of writing, Māori culture is generally understood to be oral, since no written text existed and emphasis was placed on the spoken word. However, a review of sensory terminology and practices suggests the significance of other senses and their interconnected nature. In *Te Ao Māori*, the terms *kite* and *rongo* indicate the five senses and both translate as to perceive or perception. *Rongo* is used according to this latter meaning in this chapter’s opening *whakataukī*. It also denotes hearing (aural), whilst *kite* means to have physical presence, and to see or be seen (visual). *Rongo* is additionally used to encapsulate hearing, touch, smell and taste, signalling their close enmeshed nature but slight degree of separation from vision. Oral recitation, other spoken and sung forms (e.g. *mōteatea*/poetic laments and *waiata*/songs), and attentive listening skills are central in *Te Ao Māori* to ceremonies and the remembrance of ancestral *whakapapa*. A sensitivity of touch and keen visual skills are also required for the arts, including *tā moko*. Therefore, in addition to oral skills, the development of aural, tactile and visual abilities was essential. During fieldwork, Ngāti Rānana members stressed the continued importance of this sensory range and how essential it is to include sound, tactile and visual elements in exhibitions. Equally during the BM’s exhibition consultation with Māori groups and individuals for *Maori* and *Sustaining*, there was demand for the inclusion of sensorial stimuli and emotive elements in exhibition narratives and design. Accordingly, these factors have shaped this chapter.

The senses are also far more complex and broader in range than the Aristotelian five generally recognised within Western cultures. These other senses, of which there may be as many as ten or twenty, occupy varying positions. This includes those on the periphery, as well as senses that are more readily accepted, including kinaesthesia, also known as muscle sense. The concept of *tūrangawaewae*, for example, implies tactile bodily contact and grounding with the homeland. Its translation as a place to stand also suggests a kinaesthetic or proprioceptive awareness of body position, weight, muscle tension and movement in relation to the environment. This includes the home base's natural (e.g. rivers) and manmade environments (e.g. *wharenui*). *Tūrangawaewae* is also evoked through traditional greetings spoken and heard on the *marae*, reflecting that land is not only experienced visually but multimodally.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, affective expereinces denote intense feelings or emotions in response to something of resonance. They are inextricably bound up with the senses and experienced simultaneously. Sensory responses occur physically within the body and cognitively in the mind, and are directly influenced by emotions and feelings (including those evoked by memories), and *vice versa*. This can result in the attribution of interpretative and subjective values to sensory responses. This interplay between the senses and affect is reflected in literature on photographs across a range of subjects, including exhibitions and indigenous responses (e.g. Barthes, 1981; Binney, 1992; Edwards, 2010; Edwards, 2005). Edwards, who describes photographs as "sensory and emotional enablers", also connects the senses and affect to the material properties of photographs (2010: 34; 2012). In a NZ context, Tapsell describes how viewing and touching non-photographic *taonga* results in the sensation of *ihi* (1997: 330; 2006b: 104). He translates this sensory and affective response as a "spiritual power; spontaneous physical reaction; supernatural; to feel an awesome presence" (Tapsell, 1997: 330). It is this ability of *taonga* to metaphysically channel ancestral presence and *mauri* that is viscerally felt by the mind and body.

Sensory stimuli have always been present in museums as part of the spectacle and dynamics of space. Vision was central to the development of formative British

museums during the nineteenth-century, and has more broadly been correlated with modernity. The visual gaze created a cognitively self-moderating, powerfully instructive and regulating affect on the bodies and behaviour of early museumgoers, as explored by Bennett (1988) in his seminal Foucauldian analysis. At one level, museum displays have exhibited ocularcentric dominance, resulting from persistent traditions that prioritise vision and visually frame object encounters. However, other sensory opportunities (either intended or unintended) have not always been entirely absent. It is perhaps more appropriate to say, that sensory opportunities in museums are more implicit or explicit at certain points. Before the implementation of preservation policies, museumgoers' tactile encounters with objects was a common and acknowledged practice at private collections and museums (Classen and Howes, 2006; Classen, 2007), including at the BM and Ashmolean Museum.[157] Even during the late nineteenth-century, collection items were also occasionally worn, a very intimate form of touch. For example, Ashmolean Museum textiles and other ethnographic objects were used by a University of Oxford staff member during an 1866 photographic event (Coote and Morton, 2015).[158] Students also physically handled PRM objects during anthropology lectures, an integral part of Balfour's approach to anthropological teaching (1893-1936) (Morton, 2012: 375).

New sensorial approaches towards object displays that developed during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries were most evident at science museums. Changes to museum practice were further stimulated by the democratising influence of the New Museology in the 1980s, and an increasing use of digital technologies since the 2000s. Sensory innovations have often taken place alongside strategies, which stimulate emotional responses inside museums. This has shifted exhibitions away from solely textual (and visual) object interpretation, which Ott argues is restricted in its communicative capacity:

[157] Ethnographic objects were transferred from the Ashmolean Museum to the PRM in 1886.

[158] Mathematician, librarian and photographer Charles Dodgson used Oceanic collection items, including a Māori cloak and paddle, in a series of themed photographs of Ella Monier-Williams.

> Sensory experience is essential to knowledge because words are limited … words do not embody meaning but merely facilitate it … Words are removed from the thing – they describe things … Sensory thinking – thinking through your senses – does not follow the same syntax or logic as thinking through words (2013: 272).

Sensory approaches also tend to be less straightforwardly didactic than textual interpretation. Instead they are dialogic, including performative and experiential elements, and privileging discovery and multiple perspectives. This has been aided by the application of new technologies, enabling increasingly sophisticated and nuanced forms of non-visual exhibition experiences. However, there has been an incrementally slow implementation of these approaches to photographic interpretation and display. Only in the last five years have shifts started to become observable. It is also noticeable that these changes are evident to a greater degree in photography and art gallery contexts, rather than museums. This may be because these institutions frame photographs as art objects, as opposed to their commonly non-object focused roles and presentations in cultural and historical museums, which Chapter 6 analysed.

Feldman observes that ocularcentrism has created a discrepancy between how objects are interpreted and exhibited using a predominantly visual emphasis, rather than their available range of sensory data (2006: 251). This available range might be described as their sensory potential and it has specific pertinence for photographs on display and in storage. As Edwards observes, photographs have especially suffered from sensory deprivation inside museums and archives due to their positioning outside of collections (2010: 27). As Chapter 6 explored, photographs are frequently interpreted at a basic level in exhibitions because their image content is commonly highlighted. Comparative to other objects, the sensory and affective reactions involved in the sociocultural uses of photographs are rarely covered in exhibitions. This includes the way photographs of the recently deceased or ancestors are subject to being touched, viewed, listened, sung and spoken to during their use at *tangi* and inside *wharenui* (see Chapter 5).

The sensory at the BM, PRM and RCAGM

Sensory opportunities at the thesis's three museum examples remain reasonably limited and are generally tailored towards specialised audiences. They are also mostly available through activities and events, which may only be indirectly related to exhibitions, if at all. These programmes are orientated towards education, outreach, and equitable access, and guided by museum hierarchies, priorities and policies. Photographs are infrequently used in these activities, revealing a gap in the sensory engagements available. Notably, object handling, including of a photographic nature, is offered to indigenous descendant communities through collection access.

Previously at the Museum of Mankind, education programmes facilitated a range of sensory experiences for a broad audience. In the museum's role as a cultural translator, sensorial components were an integral component. This has yet to be enacted at the main BM site, especially in the permanent galleries, which have been less of an institutional focus than temporary exhibitions. The BM acknowledges its ocularcentric nature but seeks to combat this through several methods, including "sensory details in labels" (Batty *et al.*, 2016: 77). Non-textual interpretative experiences are provided through audio-visual guides, object handling and sensory trails. These are generally aimed at either children and families or children and adults with physical impairments and learning disabilities (British Museum, 2012-2013: 12, 15; British Museum, n.d.; McKenzie, 2015; Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, 2008). Braille guides, for example, provide a level of equitable access through non-visual delivery methods. Notable exceptions pitched at a broad age or language spectrum include scheduled object handling (non-photographic) at the Hands on Desk in the Wellcome Trust Gallery and audio guides. As curator Bolton noted, the premise behind the "handling desks through the museum is to provide some kind of sensory experience", which is generally precluded by the volume of visitors and gallery proportions (2016). Under these conditions the personal audio guides are effective because they enable spoken and sung *Te Reo Māori* to be heard whilst experiencing the *Sustaining* display.

The BM also has relationships with several multidisciplinary organisations investigating alternative forms of non-textual object interpretation. This includes,

Sensory Objects and Museum in a Box (hereafter MIB), who have used their low cost devices to create sensory experiences in response to BM collections. Both devices were consciously developed without screens, due to the barriers the visual can create for certain audiences. Sensory Labels (hereafter SL) are developed collaboratively with and for adults with learning disabilities as a way to engage with museum collections in galleries, whilst the main application of MIB is outside the museum, including as a contemporary and compact school loans system. The devices' original project briefs and audiences do not preclude their broader application, including potentially helping to interpret photographs and communicate Māori perspectives.

At the RCAGM, the primacy of the visual inside the museum and provision of sensory elements through associated activities and events is also discernible. A notable contemporary exception is the practice of live piano performances inspired by the house and its collections, the sound of which enhances the museum viewing experience. 'Art in the Home' is a noteworthy historical example (see Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, 2015: 8). Originally known as the 'Picture Borrowing Scheme', this loans system ran from c.1933-2010 and utilised the museum's fine art collections. It not only developed to generate income but give the public direct access to art. This provided opportunities for more intimate and sensorial encounters with art objects in domestic home contexts.

The PRM has a long history of "[a]ccess of all kinds— [with] physical, intellectual, sensory, and cultural … high on the Museum's agenda" (2001-2002). Glass-topped open drawer displays enable a type of visual and tactile rummaging of a more exploratory nature, which engages wonder and awareness of body movements (Dudley, 2014). Although the museum's sensory themed activities and events are generally centred on non-photographic objects, they reflect a greater range and breadth of intended audiences compared with the BM and RCAGM. This includes an active programme of evening events, such as 'AfterHours' and 'Museum Takeover'. The PRM was also involved in 'Sensing Culture'. This Heritage Lottery funded project (2015-2017) created tactile experiences for blind and partially sighted visitors using 3D printed objects scanned from the collections. Object interpretation drew on the

museum's strong relationships with indigenous groups and the knowledge this has produced. Artists' installations and interventions have also taken place at the museum since 1987, a number of which employ sound and light. Significantly, sensory encounters are available to small groups in photographic workshops run by curators from the Photograph and Manuscripts Collections. This includes Print Project Collect (2016), which was mentioned in Chapter 6. Using the museum's nineteenth and twentieth centuries photograph collections, this three-part themed series covered photographs as objects (print), lantern slides (project) and collectors (collect). Sensory engagements were facilitated through tasks involving printing, physical handling, visual identification and classification, and viewing projections. I will elaborate on these workshops, SL and MIB, and other sensory opportunities at the PRM and BM, further on in this chapter.

Sensory spaces

Evoking *wharenui*/meeting houses: creating contextual and sensory environments

In the following, I look at ways of creating sensory display spaces for photographs by considering exhibitions that evoke *wharenui* and *whare*, and the practice of using cultural protocol at exhibition openings. Exhibition design has a considerable influence on the way objects are sensorially, emotionally and cognitively experienced and understood. Ngāti Rānana members described Eurocentric style design, including spatial arrangements and ways of displaying objects, as inappropriate for *taonga* because of the values they project onto them. "Angular" or non-curvilinear designs were seen as especially unsuitable and unreflective of Māori cultural practices and aesthetics (Barrett, 2016c). The avoidance of "sterile environment[s]" was also expressed as a principal consideration for making exhibitions relevant to descendant communities (Barrett, 2016d). Members therefore recommended a *marae* style environment, indicated through the use of a *wharenui* structure. A similar concept was deployed in the BM's *Sustaining*, which Chapter 6 outlined. A contextual "marae ambience" (Eruera, 2014) that evokes the sacred space of a *wharenui* helps indigenise

museum spaces and create cultural, spiritual and sensorial contexts for *taonga*. This immersive approach also acknowledges the specific historical development and continued practice of using, displaying and encountering photographs inside *wharenui*, which Chapter 5 explored.

Wharenui style display approaches have been used effectively in NZ with both photographic and mixed *taonga* exhibitions.[159] *Manatunga: ko ngā taonga waihohanga atu ki te arawhiti*, a predominantly photographic exhibition at Auckland Libraries (2013), utilised such a *wharenui* aesthetic (figure 7.1). Translated as *The treasures left behind in this realm*, uniformly sized photographs of ancestors were grouped on the walls according to *iwi*, family units and gender in a manner similar to the conventions inside *wharenui* that Chapter 5 described. Photographs of *wharenui* representing the different *iwi* in the exhibition further emphasised the connection to photographic displays inside these spaces.

Figure 7.1. Manatunga at the Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Central Library, (Auckland Libraries, 2013). © Auckland Council.

Sensory components were also woven into the display and exhibition experience. For example, prints displayed on the walls were purposefully reproduced from the

[159] Photographs were displayed as *taonga* with full objecthood in both types of exhibition, rather than in contextual or design roles.

collections. Although this approach reflects the persistence of museological hierarchies in terms of access and preservation concerns (as with most exhibitions), it enabled the photographs to be freely touched. Photograph labels were used to identify ancestors, and the absence of vitrine barriers encouraged conversations around the photographs (figure 7.2). Early written examples documenting ancestral teachings, including *mōteatea*/poetic laments, mythologies and *whakapapa* emphasised the importance of the oral and aural.

Figure 7.2. Visitors discussing and engaging with photographs in Manatunga (Auckland Libraries, 2013). © Auckland Council.

Another significant NZ exhibition is *He iti whetū: Ngāti Toa portraits/The Little Star: Ngāti Toa tribe portraits* at Te Papa (2015-2016), which featured an intimate display of ancestral photographs from the Ngāti Toa *iwi* (lower North and upper South Islands). Evoking a contemporary *whare* atmosphere, framed photographs were densely hung and clustered to demonstrate shared *whakapapa* or familial relationships. This referenced the legacy of early domestic uses of photographs by Māori, such as Makereti's photographic arrangements examined in Chapter 5. Described by the curator as "The Whanau [Family] Wall" (Baker, 2016), ancestral portraits were clustered around and underneath a photograph of a *wharenui* of tribal significance. This photograph further related tribal members to one another and the

land, by evoking a sense of *tūrangawaewae* and the shared home base. The display also extended into the gallery space via the chairs and table arranged beneath the photographs. This helped recreate a home setting and reduce the formality of the gallery environment. Creating a sense of intimacy like this can be helpful for minimising physical and metaphorical barriers separating descendants from their *taonga*. The chairs and 'living room style' arrangement also gave museumgoers the occasion to stop and sit. During momentary pauses from their movements around the exhibition, they could discuss the photographs on display or those in their own homes (figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3. The 'Whanau Wall' in Stories from He iti whetū: Ngāti Toa portraits at Te Papa. Photograph from a blog post about the exhibition (4 June 2015). © Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Image removed due to copyright restrictions. It can be accessed at: http://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2015/06/04/he-iti-whetu-a-small-star-indeed/

An earlier Te Papa example is *Te Awa Tupua: The Whanganui iwi/The Physical and Spiritual River: the Whanganui tribe* (2003-2006). This exhibition, which culminated from a co-collaborative process between Te Papa and the Whanganui *iwi*, featured a small, partially enclosed space. This intimate environment was covered in ancestral portraits and photographs of Whanganui settlements, including *wharenui* and *whare*. Dudding describes this arrangement and display convention as being akin to a photograph album (2007: 308), which is certainly convincing in part. However, it is the impression of photographs inside a *wharenui*, which is a more direct comparison. Photographs of named and cherished ancestors combined with the spatial effects to create a sense of ancestral presence and *whakapapa*. Like *He iti whetū: Ngāti Toa portraits*, seating in this space encouraged contemplative momentary pauses. Another significant design feature was the use of a doorway, which reflected entranceways into *marae* or *wharenui*. This symbolic use of doorways was a reoccurring strategy suggested by Ngāti Rānana during NMM workshops and exhibition consultation for the BM's *Maori*. Doorways into *wharenui*, as Chapter 5 explicated, signal the threshold or separation between the world of the living (outside) and spiritual realm of the ancestors (inside). Iles' photograph of Makereti leaning on the doorway of the Rāuru and surrounded by ancestral carvings (figure 5.38) photographically indicates the potent role of *wharenui* entrances. In the context of *Te Awa Tupua*, the doorway prepared museumgoers before they moved into the ancestral realm, symbolised by the ancestral portraits.

Movement into the space was also marked by a lighting change. Light is integral to both photography and vision, and its controlled presence and absence is fundamental to exhibition design. It helps influence engagement with and responses to objects, and conveys specific messages by creating affective exhibition atmospheres (Kratz, 2011: 30-34; Pattynama, 2014: 140-141). It can also be used as part of the "choreography of cues" (Kratz, 2011: 31), which prepared museumgoers for particular experiences. In this exhibition, the reduction of luminosity emphasised the space's affective *wharenui*-like environment and indicated the interior's potency. Spot lighting also directed focus onto the photographs. This was especially effective because of the prominence of light in *Te Ao Māori*. During consultation for the BM's

Maori exhibition, Bevan Ford drew attention to the use of light as an appropriate contextual and design device. As he states, this is because "light is an important Maori cultural symbol" and associated with the world's creation and energy (Bevan Ford, 1988: 6). For example, light of the natural world or *Te Ao Mārama* was created when the children of *Papatūānuku*/Mother Earth and *Ranginui*/Sky Father separated their parents' embrace. During fieldwork, Ngāti Rānana members also described the creative potential of using light in exhibitions and its capacity to evoke the *marae* and *wharenui*, reflect a Māori spiritual worldview, and indicate energy, ancestral presence, *mauri* and movement (Barrett, 2016c). Light was also seen as capable of helping to "explain[s] that connection … of the photograph and the person or the viewer", thereby portraying how photographs are understood in *Te Ao Māori* (Netana, 2016). Light in conjunction with a *wharenui*-style environment is therefore a powerful display approach that could be used with photographs in British museums to create sensory, affective and contextual exhibition environments.

Cultural protocol for exhibition openings: creating sensory relations

From exhibition design, I move to the institutional incorporation of Māori blessings into exhibition openings, and the spiritual context this creates for people and objects. Taking place as dawn breaks, and before exhibitions publicly open, blessings incorporate aspects of standard *pōwhiri* or ritualised welcoming ceremonies held on *marae.* These interactive occasions attended by museum staff and key stakeholders are standard practice in NZ. There is also a tradition for holding exhibition blessings outside of NZ, which can be traced to the touring exhibition *Te Maori* (1984-1986). Four years later, Māori curator Arapata Hakiwai described the impact of blessings during *Te Maori*'s movement around American venues:

> To the unknowing, the pieces by themselves are merely made of wood and stone; but when the elders with the young come together to chant the rituals of yesteryear, and to sing the songs that recount the history, the hopes, the hurts and the aspirations of the people– the exhibition lives. The people are the living culture, and they breathe life into the taonga–and when the two come together the

> exhibition becomes a living and new experience for the uninitiated (1990: 35).

Both the PRM and BM recognise the importance of holding exhibition blessings and have responsively included this into museum practice. However, the only example of a blessing being held for a photography exhibition was for the touring exhibition *Whakaahua* hosted at the PRM in 1991, which I discussed in Chapter 6. Sir Hugh Kāwharu, a respected Ngāti Whātua leader, scholar, ex-University of Oxford student and museum patron, helped support and plan this blessing. Described in the PRM annual report as a "ceremony to welcome the exhibition to the Museum" (1990-1991: 4), it acknowledged the ancestors in the photographs and rendered them safe for public viewing. As Māori academic Te Awekōtuku describes, these "ritual[s] that intersect[s] another reality" are required because *taonga* in museums are:

> [R]esonant with tapu, with mana, with ihi [spiritual power and force/presence] – with so much untranslatable but dormant energy. Their preparation, in a spiritual sense, to be presented to the wide world, is an imperative (1994: 2).

A blessing was also held for the BM's *Maori* in 1998 at the suggestion of Te Awekōtuku and other NZ based Māori academics, curators and artists. It was the first time such a ceremony had been observed at the museum and curator Starzecka and conservator Rae note its significance:

> At daybreak … a major exhibition will be ceremonially opened at the British Museum … Never before will there have been an opening quite like it (1998: 1).

Blessing proceedings include the sounds heard and body movements seen during the *karanga*/woman's ceremonial call welcoming visitors into the venue, *karakia*/prayers, *kōrero*/speeches, *waiata*/songs and the *haka*/posture dance. They culminate with a *hongi* or pressing of noses and sharing of *hauora*/the breath of life between people

(touch) and lifting of the *tapu* by eating (smell and taste).[160] Eminent Māori author Witi Ihimaera participated in the blessing for *Maori* and wrote a poem capturing the cultural protocol and sensory components inherent to the event:

> [M]ake way our putatara [shell trumpets] are braying to bring down
> your walls …
>
> So here we are
>
> climbing upward the Museum opening unwilling
>
> to the dawn, the kai karanga calling, the warriors
>
> pulling us in …
>
> And in the great hall
> for the first time we see the past before us
> the treasures of our ancestors a Pharaonic ransom
>
> of immense psychic power …
>
> *Oh, ancestors, stand forever!* …
>
> We come chanting, we come singing (2003: 81-82).

Subsequently a blessing was held in 2009 for the opening of *Sustaining*. Even during my fieldwork in 2016, it remained the gallery's only vitrine to have been blessed. Although photographs were used in this exhibition in contextual and design roles, rather than displayed as objects (see Chapter 6), the curator McKinney specified the "dedication ceremony acknowledged all taonga present" (2016). The blessing was shaped and led by Ngāti Rānana, and supported by museum staff and the broader NZ community, including the NZ High Commission. Adams, who attended the blessing prior to being a BM curator, noted it signified the museum's genuine "demonstration of that warm relationship as it was at that time" (2016). Building on relationships discussions in Chapter 6, blessings therefore additionally bind and strengthen the

[160] *Hauora* indicates physical, emotional and spiritual well-being.

relational threads that enmesh museums, *taonga* and people together across space and time.

Ngāti Rānana also blessed an early staging of NZ photographer Héloïse Bergman's exhibition *Ta Moko - Modern Maori Warriors* (hereafter *Ta Moko*), which was subsequently held at The Cass Gallery, London Metropolitan University in 2015. Ngāti Rānana's involvement was understood by Bergman, also a group member, to be important because it "witnessed and validated" the exhibition (2016). As with *Maori* and *Sustaining*, the blessing achieved this by lending authoritative approval and extending cultural protocol to a British exhibition context.[161] It also connected the exhibition back to NZ, as well as acknowledging the ancestors and living depicted in the photographs.

Interviews with Ngāti Rānana and footage of *Sustaining*'s blessing were included in a video created collaboratively by the BM and group. As the video records, Ngāti Rānana member Karl Burrows greets the *taonga* inside the museum during his speech and describes them as having been deprived of sensory contact with their originating culture:

> [L]iving here in this building. Living in the museum collections. Living in the cases, lonely, sad. That have come out to the world of light/understanding (British Museum, 2014).

Through the blessing, the *taonga* are understood to have moved into *Te Ao Mārama* or the world of light and understanding. As with other cultures, there is a correlation in *Te Ao Māori* between of light (usually white) and the spiritual world, knowledge and clarity, which is indicated in this chapter's opening *whakataukī*.

Scenes from the video show the group demonstrably responding to the *taonga*'s presence during the blessing. This includes sensory and paralinguistic reactions or nuanced emotional forms of vocalisation. Such responses have been strongly associated with photographs, as well as other object types (Edwards *et al.*, 2006b: 5-

[161] Adhering to cultural protocol, the photographs were blessed before leaving NZ and when they arrived in Britain.

6; Edwards, 2010: 26). Specifically, the video shows the group touching, singing and kinaesthetically walking around the vitrine. Its transparency and accessibility from all sides minimised to a degree the barriers between the group and *taonga.* The video also captures group member Kataeia Burrows' recollections of the event. This includes her explanation of the embodied spiritual encounters of a sensory and affective nature between the group and *taonga*:

> The importance of the people that were there that day to partake in the blessing and walk around the taonga and touch and feel what they could, was to awaken the taonga, was to put their mauri or their life force into the taonga (British Museum, 2014: , emphasis added).

Her words have observable parallels to Hakiwai's description of the *Te Maori* blessing. They indicate that adherence to the cultural protocols of exhibition blessings creates sensory, affective and spiritual contexts that reactivate *taonga* inside museums. This happens through a sharing of the *mauri* inherent to all living things, including people and *taonga*. Blessings therefore help reconstitute museums as more democratically sensory spaces. They are part of the development of broader ethical approaches towards curatorship including dialogical partnerships and multivocal object interpretation, that respect, engage with and incorporate the cultural beliefs and knowledge of indigenous descendant communities (see Herle, 2012; Peers, 2013: 137-138).

Sensing, accessing and curating the past

Descendant community access and direct touch

Connected with the issues raised by blessings, I turn to examination of descendant community access, and the benefits and affects of direct touch. First I briefly discuss touch, which has been principally aligned with vision in sensory literature. Similarities have been observed between how the brain processes visual and tactile information and the way the two senses inform one another, including when objects are engaged

with. The ways this has been interpreted show a breadth of nuanced meanings but also infer an underlying sensory hierarchy. Olin, for example, uses the term “tactile looking” to capture the employment of both senses when perceiving a photograph and in photography itself (2012: 3), whilst Batchen describes "vision as a form of touch" (2001: 21). O’Loughlin takes sensory interconnectivity further, suggesting all the other senses are “extensions of the sense of touch” (2006: 46). Going beyond these positions, Ingold argues against sensory distinctions. Instead he uses a holistic and enmeshed approach to account for how the senses are collectively perceived through engagements with environments and things (Ingold, 2000: 258-266).

Ingold’s approach has particular merit in the context of Māori descendant community access for several reasons. The terms used in the Māori language to describe perception and the senses, as noted earlier in this chapter, reflect their enmeshed nature in *Te Ao Māori*. Literature also shows that touching photographs for indigenous peoples in Australia and Canada, for example, accentuates other sensory (e.g. speaking, listening and viewing), and emotive responses and memories (Brown and Peers, 2006: 180; Edwards, 2005; Poignant and Poignant, 1996: 7, 15). In a Canadian context, PRM curator Peers (2013) has shown how loans of cultural objects to descendant communities can help heal the trauma caused by the colonial past by enabling physical touch and other interactions. Collectively these processes are part of cultural reconnection, reclamation and cultural preservation, which I come to further on. Touching *taonga*, including photographs, could therefore be viewed as enabling a meshwork of complex sensory, affective and emotional responses. Comments by PRM curators during interviews indicate this phenomenon. Curator Grover (2016) noted that during the Whanganui group’s collection visit to the PRM in 2013, which I mentioned in Chapter 6, members engaged with photographs in a variety of ways. This included touching, looking and speaking about them. Curator Coote also observed that all the *taonga* generated animated discussions and questions, and a “lot of quietness and … sitting thinking” (2016). These momentary pauses amid active communication were opportunities for contemplation.

Physically touching, viewing and talking about *taonga* was also expressed by Ngāti Rānana during NMM workshops as crucial for fully accessing ancestral presence and *mauri*, and encoded *Mātauranga Māori*. It is also reflected in Māori artist Lander's description of a store visit after the BM's *Maori* closed. She correlates the informative nature of the senses, especially direct touch, with knowledge transfer from *taonga*:

> Experiences like this leave me contemplating the diversity of the ways knowledge is preserved and passed on – not always with words but more often through the senses and by absorbing knowledge through the pores of the skin (Wood *et al.*, 2003: 93).

During *taonga* handling, the Whanganui group can be understood as being equally focused on actively seeking knowledge by touching, visually observing, vocally discussing the photographs and listening to one another. Conversations were partly structured around knowledge-seeking practices and focused on several topics. This included identification of people, places, activities and events, and a concentration on photographs of the group's ancestor, Tāmati Takarangi (figures 7.4-7.5). As Michelle Horwood, whose doctorial research on Charles Smith's globally disseminated collection prompted the group's 2013 visit (2015), explains:

> One image - PRM 1998.243.18.1 [figure 7.5] - they think includes individuals for whom they have never seen a photograph before. Also, they show people they are related to even if they are not sure who those people are, so the photographs are very important to them. … [conversations] were either about the people in the photo or trying to work out who the people in the photos were or about what they were doing ... They talked about potential locations the photographs were taken and possible events that PRM 1998.243.18.1 was taken at or after ... These conversations also generated others such as reminiscing about other events or people (Horwood, 2016).

Equally during Ngāti Rānana's visit to the NMM store, members were concerned with identifying and linking ancestors in the photograph albums to their own *whakapapa* (Barrett, 2016e). They expressed joy at identifying familial physical characteristics and recognising ancestors, including people they may have previously only known orally through their *whakapapa*. These types of interactions strengthen relations to family.

Figure 7.4. Cabinet card of Tāmati Takarangi with his wife Tīpare (Mere) Ōtene and son Te Rāngai Tāmati, (anonymous, c.1890). © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.507.2/B.45B].

Figure 7.5. Group including Tāmati Takarangi (back row, first left) probably at Kaiwhāiki, Whanganui (anonymous, c.1876-1877). © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [1998.243.18.1/B.45B].

As well as ancestors, the Whanganui group were interested in ancestral places, reflecting the topophilic relationship to land in *Te Ao Māori* (figure 7.5). Photographs of places in Whanganui were understood "to add to their understanding of Kaiwhāiki [where the *kāinga*/village was located] and the people who lived there/their tūpuna [ancestors]" (Horwood, 2016). Touch as part of an array of multisensory interactions with photographs of the land can be a way to re-perform attachments or bonds to home, through what Morton terms "place-as-presence" (2015: 254).[162] Extending the application of ancestral presence, Morton describes this as the deep ancestral connection between indigenous peoples and place that is manifest when descendant groups behold and engage with photographs of their ancestral land. The Whanganui group could therefore be understood to be responding to the photographic place-as-presence and their deep customary connection to Kaiwhāiki, as their *tūrangawaewae*. Re-performing bonds to home is also a way of *ahi kā*/keeping the home fires burning.

[162] Morton uses this term in relation to Aboriginal communities.

This ontological principle of occupation results from sustained connection to place and community through *whakapapa*, and the defensive protection and control of an area, as well as everyday lived experiences of being on the land. These multimodal photographic interactions thus reflect the power of photographs to stimulate memories about, and emotional responses to, people and places. This is not only due to image content, but also the traces of *mauri* and ancestral presence in the photographs and relations with the ancestors and land that the photographs embody. Looking beyond institutional frames (e.g. commercial mounts and research or store room environments), descendant communities use photographic object handling to access and reconnect with their ancestors and ancestral land, and reclaim and reconstruct the past according to values important in *Te Ao Māori*.

Museums are increasingly appreciative not only of the importance cultural objects hold for descendants but also the vital role of direct touch. Accordingly, this is reflected in changes to standard museum practice. For this reason, PRM curators Grover (2016) and McGreevy (2016) explained descendants are given higher access levels during object handling that override certain museum procedures and preservation guidelines. This was evident in the PRM's approach towards the Whanganui group's week-long visit. Notably the group were informed about the potential risks (e.g. pesticides) but given the opportunity not to wear gloves when handling *taonga*, including the photographs. The museum therefore understands that gloves cause interference. In accordance with this, Ngāti Rānana members stated that gloves create an unnatural "barrier" between descendants and *taonga* (Barrett, 2016b). Even at a curatorial level, gloves limit touch to what Ingold describes as "optical touch" (2011a: 133). This less intimate and distanced or dislocated tactile form is more visual in nature because gloves prevent direct physical "contact or exchange of materials across the surface of the skin" (Ingold, 2011a: 133). Touching without gloves also disrupts hegemonic museum approaches, and dismantles (and possibly exceeds) the privileging of more intimate sensory access to objects in museums, which is generally the domain of staff (Classen and Howes, 2006: 201; Edwards *et al.*, 2006b: 19-20).

In 1997, the curator of *Maori* described the BM as the site of a "sensitive interface" between seemingly oppositional ways of caring for *taonga* (Starzecka and Rae: 4). Around twenty years later, tensions still exist between museological and descendant community perspectives despite changes to procedural guidelines (e.g. overriding the requirement for gloves). During the NMM store visit, Ngāti Rānana described what they perceived to be a "conflict with the treatment by museums of *taonga* and how Māori view *taonga*" (Barrett, 2016b). This is because all *taonga* are viewed in *Te Ao Māori* as living things. Therefore, for Māori and other indigenous peoples, museum processes such as storage may appear akin to "sensory isolation and enforce[d] stasis" (Edwards *et al.*, 2006b: 20); whilst preservation practices, including interventive conservation and restoration methods, can seem violent, reducing living objects to lifeless states (McMaster, 2007: 75-76). In contrast to this, descriptions of exhibition blessings by Hakiwai and Burrows mentioned in the previous section, focused on processes that awakened the *taonga* including the exchange of *mauri*.

During their NMM store visit, Ngāti Rānana members said prayers, sang songs, viewed and touched the *taonga*, and told stories about the ancestors. This was part of a process called warming, which has been a subject of NZ scholarly writing and museum practice since the 1990s (e.g. MacAulay, 1999). Warming *taonga* can be described an equally valid form of what has been termed 'cultural preservation' (see Clavir, 2002). The agentive sensory interactions of warming help mitigate the affects of museum processes. It is something that has to be maintained though, as indicated by Ngāti Rānana's desire to visit the NMM *taonga* annually. Warming is also about cultural reconnection and reigniting the meshwork of relations between descendants and *taonga*. Actions by Ngāti Rānana during the store visit suggest this can also include descendants located far away. Specifically the group took digital photographs of the NMM photograph albums to send back to elders in NZ. The intentions behind this did not appear to be solely about information seeking but were also concerned with warming the *taonga* by strengthening relations extending between Britain and NZ. Warming, and more broadly the sensory processes involved in accessing museum collections, therefore cares for the photographic *taonga*, and reconnects descendants to their ancestors, land and culture.

Physically and virtually sensing touch through stereographs

Having evaluated private opportunities for tactile and multisensory encounters, I will consider how physical and virtual touch (or sensations that simulate this sense), can be publicly provided using stereographs in exhibitions. This responds to Ngāti Rānana members' requests during NMM workshops for different exhibitionary approaches. Members stressed that apart from exhibition blessings "museums need to go beyond display cases" and enable new forms of interpretative sensory engagements, particularly through touch (Barrett, 2016d). This is important because as the group note, "museums hold the windows to the past and ancestors, and how they lived" (Barrett, 2016b). However, the dynamics of exhibitions preclude or minimise touch in large part due to preservation policies. Acknowledging this, Ngāti Rānana described *taonga* as being "imprisoned by cases" that impose distressing physical, sensory and emotional barriers (Barrett, 2016c).

Museums sometimes use open displays with very large objects that have less reactive properties, such as those made of stone in the BM's *Living and Dying Gallery*. Apart from this and specific instances of handling desks, touch is generally not an institutionally approved activity in exhibitions due to preservation concerns. These anxieties are heightened with photographs because they are highly chemically reactive to human touch. With technological advances in the reproduction and move of photographs outside vitrines, as discussed in Chapter 6, photographic surrogates are being used to combat these issues and provide institutionally approved forms of touch. Rather than being "surrogates for [other] primary artifacts" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1991: 395) photographs (reproductions) have become surrogates for themselves (collection photographs).

Surrogates of specific photographic formats, particularly stereographs, offer creative solutions to Ngāti Rānana's request for sensory interactions outside of vitrines. A stereograph comprises two near identical photographs taken two degrees apart to replicate human vision. These are mounted onto card adjacent to one another, forming an integrated photographic object. When viewed through a device, the left and right views converge to give the illusion of a three-dimensional image.

Stereographs became collectible souvenirs during the nineteenth-century as a result of their mass production, low price and immersive qualities. They were widely available in NZ by the 1860s, with a brief resurgence in popularity around the turn of the twentieth-century. Many newspapers, including the *NZG*, gave away free stereographs on perforated card for easy removal. Nevertheless, they are a less common format in British museums and are not extensively represented even in NZ collections.[163] Small numbers by Frederick George Radcliffe and James D. Richardson, dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, appear in BM and PRM collections. Their subject matter mirrors the popular themes of other photographic formats, such as Māori undertaking activities in Whakarewarewa, thereby further perpetuating the photographic focus on the Rotorua region (figures 7.6).

Figure 7.6. Unmounted stereograph of women cooking with geothermal steam in Whakarewarewa (Richardson, 1890s-1910s). © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [2001.42.10, B.45].

Over the last few years, there has been a noticeable rise in the presence of nineteenth-century and contemporary stereographs in exhibitions at museums, and to a greater extent at contemporary photography and art galleries. This trend includes exhibitions where stereographs are the sole focus or form a component. Bergman's exhibition *Ta moko*, is an exception to an otherwise noticeable exhibitionary absence of stereographs of Māori. It layered nineteenth-century stereographs and *cartes* with contemporary photographic "reimaging[s]" that evoke

[163] Stereographs were sometimes cut in half for easy storage and different museum uses.

the formats and aesthetic of this period (Bergman, 2016). The display methods used in these contemporary exhibitions emphasise stereographs' material properties and sensorial qualities, and encourage tactical and visual encounters. This is demonstrably facilitated through the exhibitionary provision or presence of stereoscopic devices called stereoscopes, which are required to stimulate binocular vision or the visual convergence of the left and right eyes. This way of seeing temporarily transforms stereographs from a static two-dimensional state into an active three-dimensional one.

Stereoscopes are provided in contemporary exhibitions in several ways. Frequently they form an integral component of design and display. In the National Museum of Scotland's *Photography: A Victorian Sensation* (2015) (figure 7.7), stereoscopes were available at handling stations.[164] Alternatively, individual stereoscopes are given to museumgoers at the start of exhibitions, as was the case with contemporary artist Jim Naughten's *Animal Kingdom: Stereoscopic Images of Natural History* at the Horniman Museum and Gardens (2015/2016) (figure 7.8).[165] Both approaches provide museumgoers with opportunities to tactilely handle and look at surrogate stereoscopes and stereographs, and experience binocular vision. Where surrogate nineteenth or early twentieth century style stereoscopes and stereographs are included, as they were in *Photography: A Victorian Sensation*, this additionally locates the experience of seeing within the past. Although Bolter and Grusin critique stereoscopes as "unwieldy", giving an unsatisfactory experience and making the user aware of the actual medium, rather than the experience (1999: 37); this perhaps judges the technology by contemporary standards. Moreover, lightweight and more mobile stereoscopes had developed by the early twentieth-century, and readers who subscribed to the *NZG* in 1907, for example, received free stereoscopes by post.

[164] A ground-breaking exhibition, it addressed photography's development through specific formats, including stereographs.

[165] This featured framed contemporary stereographs presented as scientific art. Subject matter included historic natural history museum specimens, including from Oxford University Museum of Natural History. Natural history handling objects were also provided, thereby extending tactile opportunities.

Figure 7.7. Nineteenth-century (background of vitrine) and surrogate (centre foreground) stereoscopes and stereographs in Photography: A Victorian Sensation at the National Museum of Scotland (Ian Jacobs for the National Museum of Scotland, 2015). © National Museums Scotland/Ian Jacobs.

Figure 7.8. Contemporary stereoscope provided in Jim Naughten's Animal Kingdom: Stereoscopic Images of Natural History at The Horniman Museum & Gardens. Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2015. Taken courtesy of The Horniman Museum & Gardens.

Photography: A Victorian Sensation combined dense displays with interactive handling opportunities that referenced how stereographs were (and are) interacted with. Stereographs were not generally used for scientific purposes, instead they constituted a popular and instructive form of home and public entertainment.[166] For example, the *Auckland Star* newspaper advertised them as "pictures [that] will amuse you, they will amuse your friends, and … educate your children" (Anonymous, 1907: 8). The exhibition therefore specifically highlighted the domestic performative social practices and interactions that developed around stereographs. The use of minimal textual interpretation also placed a priority on experiential based learning (figure 7.9).

Figure 7.9. Looking through a stereoscope in Photography: A Victorian Sensation (Ian Jacobs for the National Museum of Scotland, 2015). © National Museums Scotland/Ian Jacobs.

This revealed the active coordination of the eyes and hands, and other kinaesthetic body movements necessary to trigger binocular vision. This was even evident in *Ta moko*, which presented a statically fixed nineteenth-century NZ stereograph and

[166] Belknap notes that whilst Eadweard Muybridge used a stereoscopic camera to create the different perspectives required for his motion photographs, stereographs were not commonly associated with scientific research (2016: 140).

stereoscope encased in a vitrine. By aligning the body to the correct viewing position, the stereograph could still be viewed three-dimensionally through the glass. Experiences at both exhibitions contrast with more common encounters in exhibitions and archives, where stereographs are presented in frames hung on walls or in archival boxes. The absence of stereoscopes in these contexts means binocular vision remains dormant and stereographs are rendered flattened and static, their sensory potential unfulfilled. As Willumson states, this foregrounds their two-dimensional image content and reduces their objecthood (2004: 69).

As well as sensory experiences outside of vitrines that enable touch, Ngāti Rānana also tasked museums with finding animated interpretative encounters that indicate "taonga are living things" with *mauri* and are the "personification of a person" (Barrett, 2016e; Barrett, 2016d; Barrett, 2016c; Netana, 2016). Suggestions from the group included using different photographic formats (e.g. holograms) to show elders in an animated manner and indicate their *mauri* and presence, and provide immersive sensory experiences for museumgoers.[167] Surrogate stereographs offer a suitable and low-cost solution because they can be relatively cheaply reproduced, and their immersive virtual reality-like and sensory qualities have the potential to suggest presence and *mauri*. To explicate, I will give a fuller description of how stereographs and stereoscopic vision function. The effective creation of stereographs is contingent upon the photographer's selection of suitable subject matter and careful composition of fore and backgrounds. This helps ensure strong angles or lines of perspective and is evident in Richardson's stereographs of women cooking using geothermal steam and *taonga* in AIM's Māori Gallery (figures 7.6, 7.10). These variables regulate and replicate the feeling of a three-dimensional plane, vanishing points, distance, depth, height and width. They also give people, objects and environments a solidity and texture, creating a sensation of presence and realness, which might be physically touched. Indeed stereoscope originates from the Greek

[167] Holograms appear three-dimensional because they are made using lasers, which record a broad spectrum of light. Using holograms of deceased elders at *tangi* and virtual reconstructions of *wharenui* is part of a digital initiative being explored by the *iwi* Te Aitanga a Hauiti (Ngata *et al.*, 2012: 232, 242).

words stereos and skopeō, which translates as to look or see something firm or solid. The process of viewing stereographs is therefore not simply light being processed by receptors in the eyes and cognitively interpreted by the brain. Instead vision and a virtual perception of touch are actively animated and engaged. Furthermore, as Lacey and Sathian explain, “vision and touch encode spatial information about objects" (2014: 6). Virtual touch in this respect functions like light. Both radiate outwards, suggesting a type of contact that touches surfaces and communicates information about the people, objects and environments depicted.

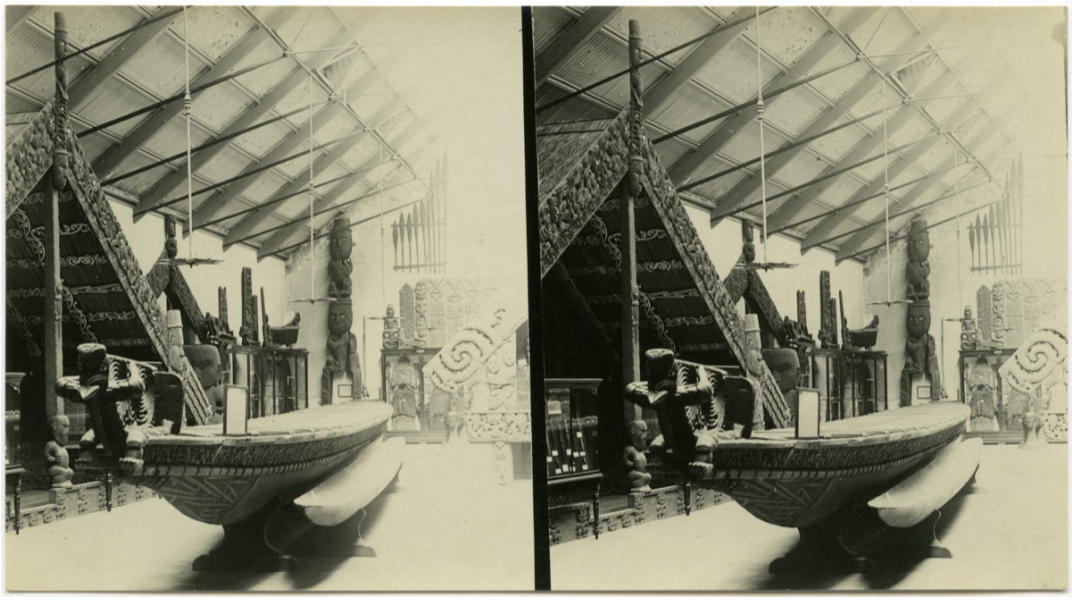

Figure 7.10. Unmounted stereograph of objects in the Māori Gallery at AIM, including a wharenui (left), waka/canoe (middle), waharoa/doorway (background) (Richardson, c.1890s-1910s). © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [2001.42.14, B.45].

Although Bolter and Grusin describe stereographs as “three-dimensional image[s] that seemed to float in space” (1999: 37), the three-dimensional affect of stereographs entirely fills the viewer’s vision, immersing them within the world depicted, including the presence of any people shown. This results from the medium’s transparent immediacy, whereby the stereoscopic interface disappears when stereographs are viewed. The realistic sensations of space, depth and virtual touch ‘inside’ stereographs have led some scholars to describe them as an early form of virtual reality (VR) or holographic photography (Maynard, 2000: 53; Willumson,

2004: 69; Wolf, 2011: 94).[168] Although there is an almost animated holographic appearance to stereographs, there is a stronger similarity between the immersive and generally solitarily experiences of stereographs and modern VR technology.

Sobchack's writing on presence, mentioned in Chapter 5, is helpful for ascertaining how presence and *mauri*, indicated by the sensorial and immersive virtual reality-like experience of viewing stereographs of Māori, might be understood in an exhibition context. Sobchack clearly distinguishes between two ways of understanding presence; a "*literal*" or "real" presence (as per Runia) and a type of "presence effect" (2011: 323-325, emphasis in original). Drawing on the way photographs are understood in *Te Ao Māori*, stereographs are likely to be experienced as indicating real ancestral presence, and the *mauri* of the ancestors and *taonga*. This provides closeness with the ancestors and *taonga*, rather than the tactile deprivation and other physical, sensory and emotional barriers Ngāti Rānana felt were often present in museums. For non-Māori, stereographs will probably be experienced as an "*illusory … effect"* of presence (Sobchack, 2011: 324, emphasis in original). However, this still encourages close and contemplative looking, and immersive three-dimensional experiences.

Stereographs also provide a sensation of slight motion, which is commonly associated with living things, presence and *mauri*. Cultural practices, such as the *haka*/posture dance, are especially capable of communicating movement because of their active subject matter. Moreover, instances where photographers took several stereographs of an event could be used to emphasise this effect. BM and NZ collections reveal that Radcliffe took a series of stereographs during a *haka* performance by young girls outside Tamatekapua *wharenui* in Ohinemutu, Rotorua at the start of the twentieth-century (figures 7.11-7.12). These show variations of body actions (and the presence of an additional child in one stereograph), which communicate a sense of motion and

[168] Photography and VR experiences are being explored by contemporary artists, including Mat Collishaw. In his immersive installation *Thresholds* at Somerset House (2017), VR headsets were used to mediate and experientially recreate the wonder of early photography in 1839.

vitality. Cumulatively they capture a filmic sense of multiple moments, akin to Muybridge's motion capture photographs.

Figure 7.11. Stereograph of girls performing a haka outside Tamatekapua, Ohinemutu (Radcliffe & Stewart, c.1900s). © The Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,B2.8]. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Figure 7.12. Stereograph of girls performing a haka outside Tamatekapua, Ohinemutu (Radcliffe & Stewart, c.1900s). Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ for personal non-commercial use [PAColl-10177-4-09, Ruth Elizabeth Lightbourne collection].

A similar correlation was made in a retrospective of Friedrich Wilhelm's films at the Lenbachhaus Museum in Munich, Germany (2016-2017). In this exhibition, digitised

stereographs were shown on wall-mounted screens as animated photographs using a graphic interchange format (GIFs).[169] The flickering movement between the right and left perspective views of the digitised stereographs indicated movement, and was reminiscent of the moving frames from the later technology of silent movies. As Nead (2008: 24, 120-121, 173) argues, the transition between still to moving images and old and new technologies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was not clear-cut but blurred. Stereographs, as well as lantern slides, which I explore next, both have links to the technological development of film. With the invention of moving images, the moments photography captured and animated were expanded. To conclude, the use of stereographs in exhibitions provides a range of benefits, which are responsive to Ngāti Rānana's requisitions. This includes providing physical and virtual touch, intimate and visceral sensations of being immersively present in the past, and encounters with the animated presence and life force of ancestors who might almost be touched.

Projecting and curating using lantern slides

Like stereographs, seeing lantern slides projected is an inherently embodied experience, combining sight with virtual touch, as well as sound. At the PRM, this was celebrated through practical demonstrations and lectures during the aforementioned Print Project Collect public workshops series (2016). In discussing this contemporary museological use of lantern slides, I consider how it might constitute a sensorial and reflexive curatorial approach. Firstly, I briefly outline what happens when lantern slides are projected and how they were used. When focused light is emitted through an illustrated or photographic lantern slide, that is slotted into a magic lantern device, it causes it to be projected onto a prepared surface. Projection, which is carried out in a darkened room, not only illuminates the image but also increases its size. In this activated state, a lantern slide has a level of transparent immediacy because the device is secondary to the image content and affect. The virtual perception of realism

[169] The exhibition avoided the problematics of digital provision that separates stereographs from their mounts, which Willumson notes can be an issue (2004: 69), by displaying surrogate stereographs and stereoscopes opposite digitised stereographs.

this creates also implies a degree of three-dimensional space and virtual sense of touch. It is these qualities and lantern slides' capacity for detailed large-scale projection that made them popular and naturally suited to communal viewing.

Early forms of magic lanterns developed in the seventeenth-century and lantern shows became a common form of public entertainment and scholarly instruction (see Nead, 2008). This includes the Bournemouth scientific and art lectures with 'lantern views' during the 1890s, which Merton Russell-Cotes documents in his newspaper scrapbooks, and talks on the RCAGM's art collections listed in the museum's bulletins during the 1930s and 1940s (1894-1895: 20, 32; 1922-1956). Contemporarily, lantern slides are increasingly being exhibited for group consumption using wall-mounted lightboxes.[170] This approach seeks to mimic some of the sensorial qualities of projected lantern slides.

From the 1880s, old and new NZ photographs were remediated across to the lantern slide format, replacing earlier hand-painted images. Like other photographers, George Valentine's family firm, Valentine and Sons (based in Scotland), produced lantern slides aimed at tourists and amateur lecturers. Their subject matter comprises familiar subjects, including pristine NZ landscapes, the *hongi*/pressing of noses and sharing of breath greeting, geothermal guides like Guide Sophia, and 'old time' chiefs and warriors with *moko* (figure 7.13). The BM holds lantern slides by J.S. Powell, a representative for Valentine and Sons, who, in 1893, spent several months photographing NZ.[171] They formed part of the firm's NZ lecturing set, which the press praised, stating:

> The amateur performer can now lecture interestingly on New Zealand without the bother of study [or travel], for Messrs Valentine will supply him with 50 slides of North and South Island

[170] E.g. *Painting with Light: Art and Photography From the Pre-Raphaelites to The Modern Age* at Tate Britain (2016).

[171] Oc,G.T.1444-1447.

scenery, etc., and a descriptive lecture for a very modest sum (Anonymous, 1893a: 4).

Figure 7.13. Lantern slide of chief Patarangukai (iwi not identified) holding a taiaha/wooden staff, wearing a korowai/tasselled cloak and with a retouched moko (Powell for Valentine and Sons, 1893). © The Trustees of the British Museum [Oc,G.T.1444]. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

As explained, light is key to the projection of lantern slides and the PRM has a contemporary practice of using light creatively. For example, torches are given to museumgoers to explore, illuminate and reveal objects in the dimly lit galleries. As part of the museum's series of artist installations, luminescent environments have also been temporarily created in galleries. This includes contemporary artist Wong Hoy Cheong's deployment of coloured theatrical lighting in his 2004 intervention *Slight Shifts*. The museum describes his affective use of light as having actively

responded to and "revealed new dimensions to objects", including creating functional contexts, such as blue ocean environments for boats (Pitt Rivers Museum, n.d.). In doing so, it generated sensorial opportunities for alternative object encounters that extended sensory engagements beyond the confines of vitrines. More recently, light was used during the second public workshop of the Print Project Collect series, which focused on projection and was attended by a small group of museumgoers.

During this workshop, scientific historian Hackmann performed a lantern show using original magic lantern devices and slides from his personal and PRM collections (figures 7.14-7.15). This included lantern slides from Balfour's teaching collection, which Clough, the museum's assistant photographs and manuscripts curator and workshop convenor, also used in a series of site-specific projections inside the Main Court Gallery (ground floor). Throughout this performance, the surfaces of the objects, vitrines and gallery were touched and animated by the illuminated projections and Clough's spoken words. These acts included instances of double indexicality where objects on display were overlapped by their projected and illuminated forms (figure 7.16). This performance created an embodied experience of encounter within the gallery. It also positioned the projected lantern slides alongside other objects. This re-insertion and re-integration of photographs was especially poignant given the removal of the Archive Case and photographic displays from the Lower Gallery in 2007 (see Chapter 6). Both Hackmann's and Clough's performances also demonstrated the intangible and transitory nature of lantern slides. In a projected incandescent state, lantern slides are briefly transformed by light rays into images made from ghostly lines. These impermanent visual transmissions last only momentarily, making this format, as Nead (2008: 54) states, more ephemeral than material. Along with the magic lantern's sound, they fade once a display concludes. However, traces of these ghostly lines and their effects linger afterwards in remembered experience.

Figure 7.14. Lantern slides at the second Print Project Collect workshop. Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Figure 7.15. Hackmann performing a magic lantern show at the second Print Project Collect workshop. Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

During the workshop, links were made between the lantern slides and their active curatorial use at the PRM. Workshop attendees were informed about Balfour's illustrative and instructive use of lantern slides during his lectures to students and Oxford University Anthropological Society members. As material and historically located objects, the museum's lantern slides are revelatory of his teaching practice, which brought together the oral, aural and visual. Similarly, Hackmann's and Clough's projection of lantern slides during the workshop, including from Balfour's collection, combined acts of speaking, listening and seeing with a virtual sensation of touch. Balfour's active use of lantern slides was also contextualised by the curator's discussion of his broader curatorial 'working' of the museum's photography collection. Balfour's varied use of photographs reveals a meshwork of interrelated purposes or functions, which form(ed) part of the museum's internal knowledge systems. His creation of lantern slides from photographs produced new objects, which continue to

be utilised in workshops like Print Project Collect and research capacities.[172] By communicating Balfour's pedagogic transmission of knowledge at the university museum, curator Clough reflexively addressed institutional photographic uses. Along with the other workshops in the series (covering object materiality, and the affects of text and collectors), Print Project Collect might be understood more broadly as a strategy for addressing the colonial photographic archive, rather than eliding the colonial past and positioning it elsewhere (see Chapter 6).

Figure 7.16. Projecting Balfour's lantern slides onto a PRM vitrine during the second Print Project Collect workshop. Photograph by Natasha Barrett, 2016. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

[172] Balfour also created illustrated lantern slides by drawing objects from publications and PRM collections.

Hearing, haptically feeling and seeing *moko*/tattoos

Building on discussion so far, I explore multimodal approaches towards photographic interpretation that combine sound, haptic touch and vision with a *tā moko* theme. This reacts to Ngāti Rānana's requests during NMM workshops to include sound, tactile and visual elements in exhibitions. It also reflects the centrality of these three senses to *Te Ao Māori*, which I outlined earlier in this chapter. The group additionally stated they would like museums to be sites that "help healing" through the way colonisation is reflexively addressed in exhibitions (Barrett, 2016d). They saw a *tā moko* theme as being particularly capable of this and suggested multisensory methods could be used to inform museumgoers about the nature and value of tattooing. Finally, the group placed an importance on orally featuring Māori characters and stories in exhibition narratives, which the combination of photographs and sound can provide.

Like touch and vision, research shows a strong correlation between photographs and sound (Edwards, 2005: 37, 39; Langford, 2001). Specifically this references the oral communication of memories, and range of sensory and gestural responses elicited when engaging with photographs. Literature shows a focus on this within indigenous contexts, including with Māori (Binney, 1992: 246; Binney and Chaplin, 2003: 100-102, 110; Brown, 2008: 63; King, 2000: 2; Salmond [Henare], 2013: 7; Wanhalla and Wolf, 2011b: 13), and Aboriginals and Solomon Islanders (Edwards, 2005; Lydon, 2005; Wright, 2004: 75-76, 80-82). Responses can also be peculiar to certain formats, such as the centrality of sound during the socially interactive and performative processes involved in showing and narrating albums to audiences (Edwards, 2005: 37, 39; Langford, 2001).

Within exhibitions, the combination of sound and photographs is being used advantageously and creatively as an affective strategy (Sørensen, 2014). Sound is heard and felt, and also like light, it has the ability to frame how exhibitions are conceptually and spatially comprehended. This is because sound, like touch, informs visual perception, as part of an embodied experience. Ingold describes sound as a "medium" (2011a: 138), although technically sound waves travel through the

medium of air. His description does, however, capture the experience of sound. Like light, sound is experienced directly as part of the environment through which a person passes. In exhibitions, the effects of sound are dependent on several factors. This includes the manner in which sound is transmitted and experienced (e.g. individually through headphones versus communally through speakers) and whether it is constant or intermittent. Recent exhibitions have included music and spoken words developed in response to unprovenanced photographs, whilst the symbiotic audiovisual combination of photographs and music has been used in other exhibitions to reference specific people, communities, places and historic events. [173]

A number of scholars hold the perspective that specific sounds are distinctive of certain cultural practices and environments (e.g. Feld, 2005; Kato, 2009). During exhibition consultation for *Sustaining*, Ngāti Rānana commented on the capacity of sound in exhibitions to "convey the life of the marae" (Newell, 2007). They noted:

> Oratory is central to every gathering at the marae. It plays an important role in ensuring cohesion, the vehicle for paying respect, welcoming outsiders, resolving conflict, and educating younger members of the group (Newell, 2008).

Sounds, such as *korero*/speeches and *waiata*/songs in *Te Reo Māori*, also play a role in communal events outside of the *marae*, such as exhibition blessings held at museums. Bergman's photography exhibition, *Ta Moko*, explicitly referenced the pivotal role of sound in blessings and *Te Ao Māori* more broadly. This was achieved by incorporating excerpts from an audiovisual recording of Ngāti Rānana's blessing of an earlier staging of her exhibition. It resulted in the continuous sound of a

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[173] E.g. *Paul Armfield: Found* at Dimbola Museum & Galleries (2015-2016) combined poetry and music composed in response to portraits found in German flea markets. There was a synergy between the sound of the poems' vocalisation and their textual reproduction underneath the framed photographs.

Shirley Baker: Women, Children and Loitering Men at The Photographers' Gallery (2015) combined documentary photographs with a specially commissioned non-musical sound score. The photographs depicting communities living amongst urban slum clearance in Manchester (1960-1980s) were layered with sounds of demolition and everyday life.

pūtātara/shell trumpet and singing being heard throughout the gallery. Oral histories heard via headphones provided detailed information about the individual meaning *tā moko* has for the sitters depicted in the contemporary photographs. Collectively this demonstrated how specific sounds can contextualise and heighten the experience of viewing photographs of Māori with facial and body *moko*.

The visual, tactile and aural are inherent to the practice of giving, and experience of receiving *tā moko*. Building on discussion in Chapter 5, tattoo artists use highly developed tactile and visual abilities, cognitive judgement and practised body movements to skilfully apply *moko* lines. The sound of tapping movements on the skin using a mallet and chisel also characterise the distinctive nature of *moko* being traditionally applied. In *Ta moko*, Bergman also included an audiovisual recording of Māori artist George Nuku receiving a facial *moko* in this manner.[174] This included the sound of *karakia*/prayers and rhythmic tapping, which suffused the gallery and acoustically invoked *tā moko*'s ritualistic and deeply sensorial nature. The combination of the video's sound and displayed photographs therefore created an immersive and didactic approach towards *tā moko*. The inclusion of words spoken in *Te Reo Māori* is also significant because the revival and reclamation of the language and practice of tattooing have been inextricably linked since Māori activism initiated in the 1970s. Since this time, Ngāti Rānana described how knowledge about the language and tattooing has been, and continues, to be used to "heal [the] wounds of the past" arising from colonisation (Barrett, 2016b).

As a traditional medium that supports ancestral relations and through which "knowledge is passed on", the contemporary practice of *tā moko* is understood by the group to help combat knowledge lost during and after colonisation (Barrett, 2016b; Bergman, 2016; Netana, 2016). They expressed sorrow over the "generations without knowledge" who were not educated traditionally due to the influences of colonisation and missionaries (Barrett, 2016b). For example, there was a governmentally enforced prohibition on speaking *Te Reo Māori* at schools as part of

[174] See: https://youtu.be/8kk7AbT4KPY [Accessed: 20 February 2018].

state assimilation policies, which continued in some areas until the 1960s. The 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act also prohibited the education of *tohunga*/traditional knowledge specialists, many of which were skilled *tā moko* artists. Photographs from the late nineteenth-century, such as Mayall's photograph of Tāwhiao (figure 4.18), therefore show the last fully tattooed male elders before this practice completely ceased with their passing. *Moko kauae* continued as an unbroken practice until the 1920s, with the last of these tattooed women passing in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Initially used by gang members and activists in the 1970s, *tā moko* has become a symbol of the reassertion of Māori rights, self-determination and identity, and given people a purpose and strength in their culture. Photographs of ancestors with facial and body *moko* are thus valuable not only for the *Mātauranga Māori* they encode but the sense of pride and identity they instil in descendants.

Ngāti Rānana argued that multisensory opportunities in exhibitions "offer different learning opportunities" and support diverse ways of learning (Barrett, 2016c). Used with a *tā moko* theme, this was perceived by the group to facilitate the preservation and dissemination of knowledge to future generations, and promote understanding at varied levels for heterogeneous exhibition audiences. They particularly focused on how sound and haptics could communicate the feeling of being tattooed, and showed no reticence over using technology to facilitate sensory elements. For example, they suggested that holograms of elders could be combined with audio as a method for orally communicating knowledge (Barrett, 2016c). The experience of attending the Tate Sensorium exhibition at Tate Britain (2015) during fieldwork showed how sound and haptics can be used effectively to interpret objects, and might potentially be applied to photographs showing *tā moko*. Produced by a multidisciplinary team, including composers, lighting designers and scientists, the exhibition played with different sensorial combinations that extended object encounters beyond the solely visual.[175] Experiences were tailored to the aesthetic visual content, cultural associations, and sensorial and emotional feelings evoked by four twentieth-century paintings. The dynamic multisensory interpretation of John Latham's painting *Full*

[175] It was encountered by small groups in a separate gallery and during allocated time slots.

Stop (1961) was especially noteworthy. It was achieved through abstract sounds and the haptic or tactile feel of ultrasound on the skin inspired by the painting. This type of haptic technology uses feedback sensors in the form of pressure, vibrational forces, and texture to communicate and recreate the active sensation of touch.

The SL and MIB devices mentioned earlier in this chapter, could provide low-cost conduits for applying a similar trisensory interpretative exhibition approach with photographs of ancestors with *moko*. These hand-sized wooden boxes trigger alternative and active object engagements, primarily through tactile and auditory triggers (figures 7.17-7.18). Museum objects govern the interfaces developed around both devices and invisible technology intuitively enables sensory responses.[176] SL and MIB also enable non-visual engagements to be developed beyond the confines of vitrines, which as noted earlier, were criteria Ngāti Rānana stressed museums needed to address. These devices can be used anywhere, but locating them in close proximity to exhibited collection photographs would help minimise any sense of dislocation between displays and interpretation (figure 7.19).

As explained by Kate Allen, the project's principal investigator, SL grew organically from the initial concept of recordable postcards. She noted the possibilities using SL with photographs offers, stating:

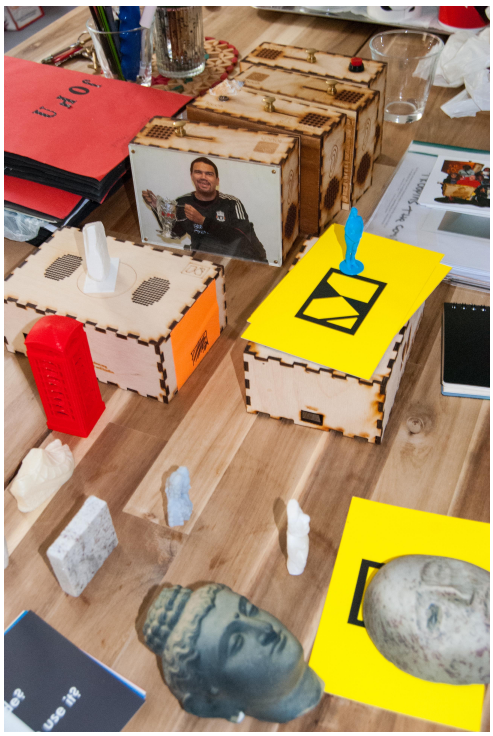
> The photograph is so important … it sums up all the other senses. And I know we do really rely on the visual thing but then it gets expanded by what this does. So you get smells and you get textures (Allen, 2016).

SL already include photographs of the devices' creators laser cut onto the wooden surfaces and this method could equally be used to capture the raised facial *moko* lines of ancestors from collection photographs (figure 7.20). This rendering of photographs into three-dimensional landscapes for the fingers also forms a type of surrogate object handling, thereby enabling touch. Animating the laser cut

[176] Powered by basic open source electronic systems (Arduino and Raspberry Pi) commonly used in interactive projects and increasingly by museums.

photographs using vibrational ultrasound pulses would help indicate the feeling and patterns of *moko* lines being tattooed onto the skin. SL also demonstrate a strongly symbiotic and interactive relationship between the laser cut photographs and recordings of the creators' memories and atmospheric sounds. The tactile experience of haptically animated *moko* lines could therefore be combined with sounds important to the tattooing process, as well as information recorded by *tā moko* experts based in Britain or NZ. These sounds might include the tapping of *moko* being applied and vocal utterances heard during the process, including *karakia*/prayers and *waiata mōteatea*/traditional chants. Sounds could be activated using MIB technology, which uses RFID tags embedded in postcards and 3D printed museum objects as the external prompts for auditory stimuli (figure 7.17). Object meanings are reactivated when these objects touch the boxes' sensors and are 'read' by the electronics board. Surrogate photographs of Māori with *tā moko* could provide the sensory triggers for oral histories about the ancestors depicted, as a way of responding to Ngāti Rānana's request to foreground Māori characters and stories in exhibitions. Finally, MIB are developing multiple interaction points on the devices to enable relational responses between objects. George Oates from MIB noted the intention is to emphasise the existing "little tiny threads" and "gentle interconnections between these things", which are currently most evident in the themed postcard sets (2016). This could potentially be used to reflect the meshwork of *whakapapa* connections between ancestors depicted in photographs through oral recordings by their descendants.

The sensory flexibilities of these two devices and their egalitarian user generated approaches offer collaborative opportunities for descendant communities to be involved in multisensory interpretations of their photographic *taonga*. Such an integrated aural, haptic, and visual interpretative photographic strategy additionally has the potential to encourage active and reflexive looking. It may also aid the transmission of knowledge about *tā moko*, ancestors and photographic *taonga* in ways that extend beyond vitrines and are not solely visual or text based.



Figures 7.17-7.18. MIB with postcards and 3D printed objects (left) and Sam Walker's SL with laser cut shell drawing on a vitrine in the BM's Enlightenment Gallery (right). Photographs © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of George Oates, Kate Allen and Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 7.19. Natasha Barrett listening to Ryan Burns' SL by the plates he interpreted, Enlightenment Gallery. Photograph © Kate Allen (2016). Taken courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 7.20. Ryan Burns' Sensory Label showing the laser cut photograph of him. Photograph © Natasha Barrett, 2016. Taken courtesy of Kate Allen.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the current level of sensory opportunities at the three museum examples, and analysed exhibitions with sensory elements at these sites and other British and NZ locations. Although exhibitions at art and photograph galleries indicate shifts in the conceptualisation and display of photographs, this is not yet as evident in museums. Therefore, I have suggested that alternative approaches beyond the solely visual and textual could be used to enhance museums' photographic interpretation by tapping into photographs' sensory potential. I have done so by focusing on the enmeshed nature of specific senses, namely (virtual) touch, vision and sound, which have resonance within *Te Ao Māori* and photography. This included a particular focus on stereographs and lantern slides as material formats that stimulate these senses, and in the case of the latter, might also constitute a reflexive curatorial method for overtly addressing museological frames and uses, as well as the colonial photographic archive.

To substantiate my approach, I have drawn on fieldwork with Ngāti Rānana and analysis of exhibition consultation with the group and Māori curators, artists and academics, as well as instances of collection access. This established a convergence of views, including a proclivity for the utilisation of an enmeshed sensory range (including touch, vision and sound) and specificity for the ways this might be achieved through exhibition design, interpretation and photographic formats. It also revealed the need to indicate ancestral *mauri* and establish sensory spaces in museums, both within (e.g. *wharenui*-like environments) and outside of exhibitions (e.g. handling and *taonga* warming). I have argued that the strategies presented in this chapter, including interpretative devices such as SL and MIB, offer object rich encounters and dynamic forms of engagement with photographs and the past. By recognising, treating and displaying photographs as sensorially and affectively resonant objects, the value of photographs as inalienable *taonga* with persistent *mauri*, ancestral presence can also be respected and communicated. This concludes the final research chapter and in Chapter 8, the research is drawn together and conclusions are made.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

Introduction

Ahakoa he iti he pounamu

Although it is small it is a treasure.

This *whakataukī* conveys the view that size does not necessarily indicate value and thus small things should not be underestimated. In the context of this thesis, it signifies that whilst each individual PhD makes a proportionally moderate individual contribution to overall research and knowledge, it still has value. The use of the word *pounamu*/greenstone, which translates in this *whakataukī* as a treasure, is also pertinent given this thesis's framing of photographs as *taonga*. This chapter acts as a net, bringing together the research treasures or culmination of the project. It synthesises the outcomes, discusses the potential contribution and impact, including within the broader context of existing literature, and reflects on the limitations of the research design and fieldwork. It also explores future research avenues, giving space for considering how the project could be extended in new directions.

Research outcomes

The aim of this thesis was to examine the historical and contemporary uses and meanings of commercial colonial-era photographs (1860s-1914) of Māori and their *taonga*. It achieves this by using three British museum examples (the BM, PRM and RCAGM) and a series of historical and contemporary interpretative questions located within British museum and Māori contexts. An overall qualitative ethnographic approach with mixed methods provided the research enquiry's methodological structure. Fieldwork comprised photographic research across a range of formats, exhibition analysis and archival research of primary and secondary sources. Semi-structured interviews with curatorial staff at the three museums, and interviews and participant observation with Ngāti Rānana also formed a central part of fieldwork.

Analysis of the many uses and meanings invested in photograph has resulted in a range of research outcomes or findings. I examine these as a series of contrasting and enmeshed themes that directly relate to the research questions. These are reiterated below for easy reference:

1. How were these photographs used by Māori and tourists, and more broadly within the NZ and British visual economies, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?
2. What does the historical adoption of these photographs by Māori represent?
3. How do Māori contemporarily view these photographs?
4. How have these photographs historically and contemporaneously been used in internally and externally facing capacities in British museums?
5. How and in what ways can Māori perspectives influence understanding and uses of these photographs in British museums?

The thesis traces photographic use by collectors, Māori and museums since the 1880s to the present day. Chapters 4-7 demonstrate that the endless temporal cycles of private, commercial and public photographic (re)production and (re)use were, and are, part of a broader meshwork of systems of image reproduction spanning the nineteenth to twenty-first centuries. From the range of photographic objects this thesis analyses, it is evident that photographic remediation takes place fluidly across a wide variety of formats and media, including stereographs, newspapers, books and exhibition interpretation in museums. As Chapter 5 in particular examines, this phenomenon has been greatly expanded by technological advancements in reproduction.

I argue these photographs have been, and continue to be used for a range of reasons and purposes across both non-Māori and Māori contexts. The reasons for their use span the cultural, socio-political, governmental, pedagogic (including within anthropology and museums), exhibitionary and commercial or monetary, and are revelatory more broadly of how Māori and non-Māori understand, experience and deal with the world around them. The purposes for their use, and thus the meanings invested in them, include aiding remembrance of ancestors and overseas trips;

providing strategies for recording, encoding and reclaiming knowledge; promoting NZ tourism; and imparting information about Māori culture. Specifically within *Te Ao Māori*, as Chapter 5 explores, photographic use has been shown to be a transculturation of existing cultural practices of ancestral remembrance and veneration. In Chapters 4-5, I establish that the motivations for, and results of creating and/or using photographs, have occasionally intersected across contexts. This results from presentation of the Māori image by non-Māori (e.g. Annie-Russell-Cotes) and prominently positioned Māori (e.g. Makereti Papakura).

Across Chapters 4-7, I determine that the display and dissemination of photographs across non-Māori and Māori contexts straddle the private, public, personal and communal spheres. This includes at *tangi*, academic and public lectures, museum workshops and exhibitions, and in albums, systematised photographic series, *wharenui* and *whare*. These uses have also contributed towards the creation and maintenance of divergent meanings and knowledge forms. They are, as I argue, dependent upon specific frames, perspectives, and cultural contexts, and arise from the multifarious ways of creating and/ or engaging with photographs.

Throughout the thesis, I substantiate that photographs are perceived in *Te Ao Māori* to be *taonga* or living things with persistent ancestral presence, *mauri* and *Mātuaranga Māori*. For these reasons, as I show in Chapters 6-7, photographs are considered to be part of enduring meshworks of relationships existing across time and space with museums, descendant Māori communities and ancestors. In contrast to this and despite institutional shifts in practice (e.g. collection access), I determine that exhibition processes (e.g. consultation and interpretation) are not always aligned with these perspectives. In Chapters 4 and 6, I connect this to and verify it against a more general museological confusion over the roles of photographic representation and a disparity in the conceptualisation of photographs comparative to other object types. The thesis concludes in Chapter 7, where I investigate new interpretative display strategies using sensory and material approaches intended to mitigate some of these issues.

Research contribution and impact

This interdisciplinary research project has enabled a dynamic interrogation of the research problem, purpose and questions. I have sought to contribute to scholarly research across museum studies, anthropology and photography, including within Britain and NZ. In particular, I have striven to build on burgeoning literature relating to the development of new knowledge about Māori photographs, and advancement of understanding about the role of photographs in museums. There are, I argue, four potential areas of research contribution and impact. Thematically these relate to the development of new knowledge; the methodological approach; broader application of sensorial exhibitionary approaches; and implications of this research for ethical curatorship.

I suggest the first research contribution is the development of new knowledge in an area where only minimal research has been previously conducted, including in a NZ context. This includes research on the RCAGM Māori photographic collection, which has not been previously studied, as well as expanding existing research on the BM and PRM collections, which have not been intensively investigated before. To explicate, detailed analysis of specific photographs and exhibitions, and narrative foci on Annie Russell-Cotes, Makereti Papakura and King Tāwhiao II has aided the rediscovery of latent meanings across different frames, cultural contexts and time periods. I establish that the historical adoption and use of photographs by Māori was a purposeful transculturation of pre-existing cultural practices in *Te Ao Māori*. Photographs therefore strengthened and expanded the ways ancestors were physically and spiritually remembered and venerated. This includes at *tangi* and inside *wharenui* from the late nineteenth-century, and subsequently inside *whare* from the early twentieth-century. This thesis has also built on the perception that photographs have and continue to be viewed as *taonga* in *Te Ao Māori*. It also determines that as *taonga* with traces of *mauri* and ancestral presence, photographs provide an interface between living descendants and deceased ancestors across different temporal realities.

The development of new knowledge results in large part from the ethnographic and object focused methodology, and this is the second research contribution I propose this thesis makes. The methodology could be considered unique because it approaches photographs as *taonga* and uses a dual theoretical framework combining Ingoldian theoretical concepts with *Mātauranga Māori*. This marks a significant departure from photographic research in NZ, which has until recently been characterised by art historical and historical approaches. Notably, existing literature shows a greater application of Ingold's work to non-photographic object based research, whilst the small body of existing photographic research using his work exhibits a concentration on modern discourses, rather than colonial (e.g. Zylinska, 2016).

The benefit of using Ingold's writing about meshworks, animism and sensory perception in the dual theoretical framework is manifold. His work provides a structure capable of dealing with the specific nature of photographs as *taonga* with *mauri* and objects endlessly capable of being reproduced and remediated, as well as constituting museum and descendant community relationships. It has the capacity to represent non-Māori perspectives of colonial collectors (e.g. Annie Russell-Cotes) and museums, whilst also being sympathetic to the ontological and epistemological principles central to *Mātauranga Māori*. The use of the latter in the dual theoretical framework provides an equitable method for approaching photographs, and Māori related research more broadly. Its use is respectful of Māori culture and responsive to the persistent affects of colonisation. It also provides an interpretative lens into *Te Ao Māori*, enabling the significance of photographic *taonga* to be more readily comprehended outside of Māori contexts.

Beyond this thesis's focus on Māori photographs, the flexibility of the theoretical framework means my approach could be adapted to address photographs of other indigenous peoples and their cultural treasures (e.g. ancestral land). It therefore has the potential to influence how future photographic research is conducted with other indigenous peoples. Works by Brown and Peers (2006), Edwards (2005), Geismar (2009), Morton (2015), Poignant (1996) and Romanek (2015) for example, indicate

certain similarities in the ways indigenous peoples from Canada, Vanuatu, Australia and New Mexico understand, and sensorially and affectively interact with photographs. Accordingly, Ingoldian theories could be combined with these respective knowledge systems and worldviews to create culturally specific and decolonising methodologies for researching photographs. Since this theoretical framework is not date specific, it could also be used to address photographs from different time periods, extending its reach beyond the colonial-era.

The third research contribution I present for consideration relates to multimodal methods for interpreting photographs in exhibitions. As the literature above shows, other indigenous cultures also interact with photographs in non-visual ways. MIB and SL, the non-text based sensorial devices discussed in Chapter 7, are neither restricted to culture nor date period. This gives them a broader application beyond colonial-era Māori photographs and the interpretative capacity to convey other human/photographic object relations. Furthermore, MIB and SL provide museums and communities with democratic affordable solutions for inclusive self-curated photographic interpretation and meaning-making. This is timely for several reasons, as exhibition analysis in Chapter 7 reveals. Notably, despite the burgeoning exhibition display trend that highlights the sensorial qualities and material properties of photographs, and their non-indigenous sociocultural uses, this is less evident in museums. Nor has such an approach been used in museums with photographs of Māori or other indigenous peoples. Therefore, these devices, and the other display approaches I present in Chapter 7, have the potential to help innovate the dynamics of photographic interpretation and display.

The fourth potential contribution I introduce relates to the broader institutional value and positioning of photographs in museum ecosystems. In this thesis I determine that there is a disparity in the treatment of photographs comparative to other *taonga* types. This is evident during exhibition consultation, and in photographic display modes and roles in exhibitions, as Chapter 6 explores. More broadly, I suggest my argument confirms and advances burgeoning interdisciplinary museological and photographic research concerning photographic objects (e.g. Edwards and Lien,

2014b; Edwards and Morton, 2015a; Edwards, 2016). Positioning photographs as *taonga* or cultural objects implies a certain type of care as part of an ethical approach towards curatorship, as Chapters 6-7 cover. This has already been (and continues to be) traversed with non-photographic indigenous cultural objects, including non-photographic *taonga*, and is noticeably advanced with the treatment of indigenous ancestral remains.[177] Dudding (2007) called for British guideline changes in her thesis on Māori photographs just over ten years ago, but it appears further ground has yet to be covered. Thus my thesis has practical policy implications. It demonstrates the need for additional changes to collection management and curatorial guidelines regarding exhibition consultation with descendant communities, and photographic interpretation and display in British museums in order to address this inconsistency.

Research limitations

As with any project, the scope of this thesis is bounded or delimited by the parameters of the PhD. Decisions made about the research design and fieldwork inevitably influenced the outcomes. Fundamentally, employing frames based on *Mātauranga Māori* and Ingold's work has been instrumental in shaping the research and resulting thesis. There were also more unpredictable or serendipitous factors, which affected the research. Firstly, the 2015-2016 fieldwork period necessarily defined the relevant contemporary exhibitions available for analysis; just as the recording and/or retention of documentation by museums had bearing on which historical exhibitions could be researched. Secondly, the more distant current relationship between Ngāti Rānana and the BM was not evident until fieldwork commenced. This was not a limiting factor though, and was treated as a revelatory facet of the dynamics between museums and indigenous source communities.

Studies with additional time and resources could include a broader selection of collections from British museums. This may further indicate whether the findings are

[177] E.g. through non-display guidelines and repatriation of indigenous ancestral remains, including Māori. In Britain, this has largely resulted from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport Human Remains Working Group's 2003 report.

indicative of broader trends. Such an approach may also lead to the development of additional interconnections between photographs. It is likely though, that the same level of in-depth non-abstracted research would not be possible with a larger sample. Instead, such an approach would probably necessitate the use of an alternative methodology and research questions.

The country specific location of the museums chosen has also characterised the research findings. This is due to the dynamics of the colonial legacy existing between Britain and NZ, as the former coloniser and colony respectively. The research's British context is, however, a strategic component of and central to the research design. Divergent research outcomes would probably be obtained if research were carried out in other European countries, NZ or Australia, for example. This is because each country's individual colonial legacies, and museological and postcolonial context would most likely affect not only the nature of the collections but also institutional frames and relationships between institutions and indigenous communities. Therefore, this would only be an advantageous approach, if it formed part of a comparative research design.

Finally, owing to the unforeseeable nature of group dynamics and level of cultural knowledge, it was not possible to obtain additional individual interviews with Ngāti Rānana members. Although it seems unlikely that further interviews would have revealed hugely divergent opinions, they may have provided a broader range of fine-grained perspectives. One solution that was considered was to undertake research with *iwi* in NZ. This was deemed unsuitable though since it would have significantly changed the research's British context. Instead, further group engagement was facilitated through participant observation at the NMM's exhibition development workshops with Ngāti Rānana. These workshops revealed strong opinions about *taonga* and exhibition design, and led to the development of thinking around relations between museums and descendant communities. The workshops' outcomes therefore proved to be highly productive and important fieldwork components.

Future research

It is timely to return to the *whakataukī* in Chapter 2: *Whaowhia te kete mātauranga*/Fill the basket of knowledge. Although research for this thesis has involved accruing knowledge, it is not an exhaustive inquiry. Rather, it provides the basis for future research baskets to be filled. I suggest there are two potential areas of future research. These relate to specific sensorial and affective responses to ancestral photographs, and early collection management style photographs of *taonga.* The first is aligned with research strands in this thesis. It pertains to *ihi* or the sensation experienced when seeing *taonga*, which I briefly mention in Chapter 7. Tapsell translates *ihi* as a "spiritual power; spontaneous physical reaction; supernatural; to feel an awesome presence" (1997: 330; 2006b: 104). This strong reaction arises from feeling and sensing ancestral presence and *mauri* in *taonga*. Although Tapsell is not writing about photographic *taonga*, a case could be made for exploring whether ancestral photographs are similarly experienced. Currently, minimal research exists on *ihi*, suggesting it is a potentially rich research area.

During fieldwork, there were a few instances where participants' descriptions of responses to photographs could have been categorised as *ihi*. For example, one Ngāti Rānana member described his grandmother's emotional and sensorial responses, including powerful paralinguistic reactions, to seeing a photograph of her deceased sister (Netana, 2016). Indeed, Tapsell specifically states *ihi* is experienced when conditions for *taonga* encounters are heightened, including during *tangi* and repatriations. Accordingly, the use of ancestral portraits at tangi and in the sacred spaces of *wharenui* could be investigated to ascertain whether similar sensations are experienced. Research questions could be formulated around whether *ihi* might be considered as a type of spiritual sense, rather than solely an emotional and paralinguistic response. This might contribute towards advancing the way photographs (and other *taonga*) are understood in *Te Ao Māori.* Given the focus of this subject, which is driven less by collections and more by participants' responses, research would probably be more effectively carried out in NZ.

The second area of future research relates to findings from initial research scoping and fieldwork. These observations suggest photographs of *taonga* (e.g. weapons, carvings, body adornments) from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in museum collections could constitute a subject worth developing. These photographs can be categorised by several themes, including Māori curios in NZ sales catalogues; groups of Māori or Pacific objects belonging to collectors; real and 'mock' displays in NZ museums (Chapter 4 mentions an example of the latter); and early collection management style photographs of *taonga* against plain backgrounds. In regards to the latter, there is a general absence of literature addressing these photographs, indicating a conceivably significant research gap. More broadly, this topic fits into recent literature addressing the naturalised positioning and roles of photographs in museum ecosystems.

To elaborate, both the BM and PRM hold early collection management-style photographs. Research could be formulated on the basis of these photographs' internal or external origins (e.g. from other British or European, NZ and Australian museums), and relationships to physical collections. Internal photographs include those physically produced by the museums being analysed. External photographs are those produced by other museums but held in the collections of the museums being examined. Research questions could be formulated to explore the changing museological purposes, functions and roles of these photographs. Hypothetically this may include their use as early forms of collection documentation and/or for research purposes. Photographs showing *taonga* could for example be connected to physical *taonga* in both internal and external collections, forming a type of visual repatriation. Questions could also be shaped around the reoccurrence of photographs of *taonga* from particular external institutions (e.g. AIM) in the collections being studied. This may reveal global meshworks of photographic exchange between curators, collectors and commercial photographers. Aligned with this thesis, the exhibitionary uses, and contemporary institutional and Māori perceptions of these photographs could also be examined. This would take the research in a new but related direction.

Afterword

Mate atu he tētē kura, ara mai he tētē kura

As one fern frond dies another grows in its place.

This final *whakataukī* speaks of the *koru*/unfurling young fern frond, a recognisable NZ symbol. It features in *tā moko*, art and design, acting as a metaphor for perpetual growth. In the PhD context, it speaks of the unfurling of the individual but enmeshed components of the research process, the active quest for research excellence, and perpetual search for knowledge. This cyclical image of continuing research is thus the perfect note to end the thesis on, since the research process never truly ends.

Figure 8.1. Detail of carved koru patterns on Hinemihi from "Nga Wahine … Guides to The Terraces" (Elizabeth Pulman, c.1881), Annie's NZ album (c.1885). © Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth [:T23.6.2006.5]. See figure 4.7 for full page.

Appendices

Appendix A: Words in *Te Reo Māori*/the Māori language

The following are definitions of the words in *Te Reo Māori*/the Māori language, which are used throughout this thesis. They are drawn from the author's own knowledge and dictionaries by Moorfield (2013-2015) and Williams (1975).

Iwi – Māori tribe(s) or tribal.

Kawa – customary process and protocol used at ceremonies.

Kīngitanga – the King movement, led by King Tāwhiao II between 1860-1894. Established in 1858, it originated in the Waikato (North Island) and acted to unite certain *iwi*/tribes against land seizure and the influence of non-Māori ways, including Christianity.

Mana – presence or essence and potential power, including a person's individual authority, power, identity, respect and social standing.

Marae – the open space in front of the *wharenui*/meeting house where formal meetings occur and all the buildings in the vicinity. Contemporary versions are found in bicultural institutions, including museums (e.g. Te Papa).

Mauri – the life force or vital essence of a being, entity, physical object, ecosystem or social group.

Mātauranga Māori – Māori knowledge and worldview. It comprises ontology, epistemology, cosmology, and cultural and environmental practices (e.g. language, creativity, fishing, natural medicine).

Moko – tattoos across the face or body. Full facial tattoos were traditionally reserved for male leaders of high *whakapapa*/genealogy, rank and social status.

Moko kauae – tattoos on the chin and lips of women, often of high *whakapapa*/genealogy, rank and social status.

Pātaka – carved, wooden storehouse(s) raised off the ground for the storage of food.

Tā moko – the art of Māori tattooing on men and women.

Tangi – funeral(s).

Taonga – cultural treasure(s) of a tangible (e.g. weapons and the land) and intangible (e.g. songs and tattooing) nature.

Tapu – culturally sacred and set aside, and subject to cultural restrictions; the opposite of *noa*/ordinary, unrestricted and free from *tapu*.

Te Ao Māori – the Māori world. It encompasses the Māori language, cultural protocols and customs, and *Te Tiriti o Waitingi*/the Treaty of Waitangi signed between the British Crown and various North Island Māori chiefs in 1840.

Te Reo Māori – the Māori language.

Toi moko – preserved tattooed ancestral head(s).

Tūrangawaewae – 'a place to stand'. It relates to a person's deep genealogical ties to their land, tribe and community.

Whakaahua – to photograph, film or portray; to acquire form or transform; a photograph(s), portrait(s), illustration(s), picture(s), image(s), photocopy(ies) and design(s).

Whakapapa – ancestral lineage/descent and mnemonic devices/oral maps for cognitively classifying and retaining spiritual, spatial, temporal and biophysical information.

Whakatauākī – Māori proverb(s).

Wharenui – carved wooden building(s), known as a meeting house(s).

Whare – domestic house(s).

Appendix B: Fieldwork details

B.1 Summary listing of interviews and participant observation

A total of 13 interviews and participant observation at six half-day workshops were carried out during fieldwork.

Institution or company	Name of interviewee where relevant	Role	Notes	Date of interview or participant observation	Method
BM	Dr Julie Adams	Curator, Oceania		23 March 2016	Interview in person
BM	Dr Lissant Bolton	Keeper, Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas		19 April 2016	Interview in person
BM (formerly)	Natasha McKinney	Former Curator Oceania (2006-2015)	Now NZ based.	3-27 April 2016	Interview by email
BM (formerly)	Devorah Romanek	Former Curator/ Researcher in Department of Africa, Oceania and Americas (2007-2011)	Curator of Exhibits at Maxwell Museum of Anthropology & PhD student based in New Mexico.	24 May-1 July 2016	Interview by email
Eastern Institute of Technology (EIT)	Dr Michelle Horwood	Programme Coordinator/ Lecturer	Former PhD student at Victoria University of Wellington, NZ and co-supervised by PRM staff. Carried out research on the PRM's Charles Smith collection in partnership with Ngā Paerangi *iwi* (Whanganui River).	27 April-4 July 2016	Interview by email

Institution or company	Name of interviewee where relevant	Role	Notes	Date of interview or participant observation	Method
Museum in a Box	George Oates	Designer and co-founder	Undertaken projects and training sessions with the BM.	22 July 2016	Interview in person
Ngāti Rānana	Group members	N/A	Half-day museum store visit (am). Part of the NMM's Pacific Explorations community engagement and consultation programme, which was run during development for the forthcoming Pacific Gallery (2018).	16 February 2016	Participant observation as a Ngāti Rānana member
Ngāti Rānana	Group members	N/A	Half-day exhibition workshop (pm). Part of the NMM's Pacific Explorations programme (see above).	16 February 2016	Participant observation as a Ngāti Rānana member
Ngāti Rānana	Group members	N/A	Half-day exhibition workshop, including a visit to the future gallery space (am). Part of the NMM's Pacific Explorations programme (see above).	27 February 2016	Participant observation as a Ngāti Rānana member
Ngāti Rānana	Group members	N/A	Half-day exhibition workshop (pm) titled Pacific Long Table: Walking into the Future with Our Eyes on the Past. Part of the NMM's Pacific Explorations programme (see above).	27 February 2016	Participant observation as a Ngāti Rānana member

Institution or company	Name of interviewee where relevant	Role	Notes	Date of interview or participant observation	Method
Ngāti Rānana member	Héloïse Bergman	UK based New Zealand photographer	Specialises in portraits of Māori with *tā moko.*	19 June 2016	Interview in person
Ngāti Rānana member	Te Rangitu Netana	New Zealand tattoo artist based in UK	Specialises in NZ *tā moko* using Western and 'traditional' tools.	22 March 2016	Interview in person
Pitt Rivers Museum	Jeremy Coote	Curator and Joint Head of Collections		14 April 2016	Interview in person
Pitt Rivers Museum	Philip Grover	Assistant Curator (and Acting Head of Photograph and Manuscript Collections in 2016)		3 February 2016	Interview in person
Pitt Rivers Museum	Zena McGreevy	Senior Assistant Curator		12 April 2016	Interview in person
Pitt Rivers Museum	N/A	N/A	The second half-day workshop in the Print Project Collect Project workshop series. This focused on projection and magic lanterns. Run by Katherine Clough and Philip Grover, the museum's Photograph and Manuscript curators and external speaker Dr Willem Hackmann, a scientific historian and lantern slides specialist.	13 August 2016	Participant observation as a workshop attendee

Institution or company	Name of interviewee where relevant	Role	Notes	Date of interview or participant observation	Method
Pitt Rivers Museum	N/A	N/A	The third half-day workshop in the Print Project Collect Project workshop series. This focused on collecting by different people, including anthropologists, such as Makereti Papakura and museum staff. Run by Katherine Clough and Philip Grover, the museum's Photograph and Manuscript curators.	17 September 2016	Participant observation as a workshop attendee
Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum	Duncan Walker	Curator		18 May 2016	Interview in person
University of Reading	Dr Kate Allen	Associate Professor & Principal Investigator for Sensory Objects	Undertaken work with the BM as part of the AHRC Sensory Objects project. The interview included a demonstration of the Sensory Labels interpretative objects in the BM's Enlightenment Gallery.	22 July 2016	Interview in person

Additionally informal email correspondence and conversations in person were carried out with:

- Matiu Baker, Curator Māori/Curator Historical Māori Visual Materials, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (NZ based). Email correspondence: 20-24 February 2016.
- Ben Burt, Curator Oceania, British Museum. Email correspondence: 27-29 April 2016.
- Rebecca Stanley, Curator at Auckland Botanic Gardens (NZ based). In relation to identification of plant specimens in Annie Russell-Cotes's NZ album. Email correspondence: 10 September-1 December 2014.
- Duncan Walker, Curator at RCAGM. Email correspondence: 23 Sept 2015, 10-19 August 2016 and conversations in person: 5 October 2015, 21 December 2015, 6-7 January 2016.

Prior to the PhD, I held an informal interview with a fellow Auckland Libraries colleague:

- Robert Eruera, *Pou Ārahi Taonga*/Heritage Māori - Senior Librarian Tā Hori Kerei, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries. Conversation in person: 8 May 2014.

B.2 List of archival research and exhibition analysis

Archival research was carried out at the following institutions:

- Bournemouth Library, Dorset: 6 & 12-13 October 2015, 4 January 2016
- British Museum, London: 3-11 August 2015, 1-9 September 2015, 22 October 2015, 9 December 2015, 15 January 2016, 22 February 2016
- British Library, London: 21 & 23 October 2015
- Hampshire Records Office, Winchester: 2-3 October 2015
- National Maritime Museum, London: 23 February 2016
- Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford: 23 July 2015, 1-4 February 2016, 11-15 April 2016
- Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum, Bournemouth: 5 October 2015, 21 & 29 December 2015, 6-7 January 2016
- Victoria & Albert Art Library and Blythe House, London: 24-26 February 2016.

Early scoping research was also carried out at the Horniman Museum and Gardens, London (2014) and Halsemere Educational Museum, Surrey (2015).

Analysis of various permanent and temporary exhibitions, either of a purely photographic or mixed object foci, was carried out at the:

- British Museum, London (2014-216)
- Cass Gallery, London Metropolitan University, London (2015)
- Dennis Servers' House, London (2016)
- Dimbola Museum & Galleries, Isle of Wight (2015)
- Horniman Museum and Gardens, London (2015-2016)
- National Maritime Museum, London (2016)
- National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh (2015)
- Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (2014-2016)
- Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, Bournemouth (2014-2016)

- Tate Britain and Tate Modern, London (2015-2106)
- The Photographers' Gallery, London (2015-2106).

Attendance at 'The Museum of Mankind: A recollection and consideration', a one day conference at the British Museum, 30 April 2016, was also formative in understanding the legacy of the Museum of Mankind's ethnographic approach.

Voluntary work was also carried out during the course of the PhD and contributed to the development of collection knowledge. This included an Arts Humanities Research Council Midlands 3 Cities Creative partnership (volunteer) with the British Museum that was undertaken during August 2015 to February 2016. This comprised researching and adding information to database records for the NZ photographic collections. Voluntary work was also carried out Russell-Cotes Art Gallery & Museum during 2014 to 2016. This involved cataloguing and researching the museum's Māori collections, including photographs.

B.3 Sample interview questions

Dr Julie Adams, British Museum

- Why do you think it was important to have Ngāti Rānana involved in the development of the *Sustaining Each Other* vitrine?
- What do you think the role or function of the photographs is in *Sustaining*?

Dr Lissant Bolton, British Museum

- I understand that *Sustaining Each Other* was a general Pacific theme for that vitrine. What can you tell me about this?
- Why were large-scale photographs used on the outside of the case study vitrines in the *Living and Dying* exhibition?

Natasha McKinney, former curator at the British Museum

- What was the involvement of Ngāti Rānana in the *Sustaining Each Other* vitrine?
- Were Ngāti Rānana involved in choosing any of the photographs? If so, what was the process?

Devorah Romanek, former curator at the British Museum

- Where was the *Pacific Portraits* exhibition displayed in the museum?
- What was the reasoning behind using the photograph of King Tāwhiao II in *Pacific Portraits*?

Dr Kate Allen, University of Reading and AHRC funded Sensory Objects (project associated with the British Museum)

- How were photographs used in the Sensory Objects project?
- What was the public response to the Sensory Labels during user testing in the British Museum's Enlightenment Gallery?

George Oates, Museum In a Box (project associated with the British Museum)

- How does the nature of an object govern the interface that is developed around it?
- What other sensory interactions beyond the visual do the Museum In a Box devices encourage?

Jeremy Coote, Pitt Rivers Museum

- How would you describe the use of photographs in the museum?
- Why was the photograph of King Tāwhiao II chosen for the *tā moko* vitrines in the *Body Arts* exhibition?

Philip Grover, Pitt Rivers Museum

- What are the main intentions and brief for the Archive Case exhibitions?
- Why were the Burton Brothers chosen for the 2015/2016 Archive Case exhibition?

Zena McGreevy, Pitt Rivers Museum

- Was it a conscious decision to use illustrations rather than photographs in the *Whakairo rākau/*wood carving exhibition display? And if so, why?
- What objects did the Whanganui group access during their 2013 visit?

Dr Michelle Horwood, former PhD researcher co-supervised by the Pitt Rivers Museum

- Do you think the Whanganui group were as interested in the photographs as the other *taonga*?
- Did the group wear gloves to handle the photographs?

Duncan Walker, Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum

- Why do you think the Russell-Cotes did not keep any documentation about the objects they collected, including photographs?
- What do you know about the museum's *NZ/Maori Room*?

Héloïse Bergman, Ngāti Rānana

- Did Ngāti Rānana carry out a blessing for your exhibition *Ta Moko*? If so, can you tell me about this?
- Can you tell me about the sound and audiovisual elements you used alongside the photographs in *Ta Moko*?

Te Rangitu Netana, Ngāti Rānana

- As a carver and *tā moko* artist, how do you interpret photographs where the *moko* lines have been retouched on photographs of ancestors?
- How were and are photographs of ancestors used in *wharenui*?

Robert Eruera, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries

- What is the organisational theme used to group the photographs on the walls of the *Manatunga* exhibition?
- How did you select photographs for *Manatunga*?

B.4 Exhibition analysis

Observations and analysis of exhibition were made using a thematic template, which covered:

- Atmosphere
- Exhibition environment (e.g. type of space, architecture, location)
- Interpretation (e.g. labels, text, title)
- Interactions between photographic and non-photographic objects
- Lighting
- Narratives and themes
- Overarching principles of exhibition style and approach (e.g. anthropological)
- Photographic treatment (e.g. as objects or contextual support to other objects, whether their material qualities are highlighted or surrogates are used)
- Presentation of Māori and their cultural practices (where relevant)
- Sensory elements and opportunities beyond a solely visual focus (e.g. sound and touch, handling of surrogates)
- Vitrines type and style.

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