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THE REPRESENTATION OF THE MAORI
BY EUROPEAN ARTISTS
FROM C.1840 TO C.1914

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
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ABSTRACT

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE MAORI BY EUROPEAN ARTISTS

FROM C.1840 TO C.1914

LEONARD BELL

This thesis deals with the visual representation of the Maori by Europeans from the time New Zealand became a colony of Britain to the period in which it became an independent nation, a Dominion within the British Empire. It does not attempt to survey the vast number of such representations, but rather involves an investigation of the meanings and functions for Europeans of a selection of oil paintings, watercolours, lithographs and engravings. In most instances they are works by professional artists or aspiring professionals, and/or works that were exhibited, published or collected in New Zealand, Australia, or Britain.

The artists whose representations are examined in most detail include G. F. Angas, S. C. Brees, R. A. Oliver, J. J. Merrett, C. Clarke, J. W. Carmichael, J. Smetham, J. A. Gilfillan, W. Strutt, N. Chevalier, H. G. Robley, G. F. von Tempsky, L. J. Steele, K. Watkins, W. Wright, J. E. Moultray, M. T. Clayton, G. Lindauer and W. Dittmer. Works by other artists are referred to also. Groups of images published in missionary periodicals and The Illustrated London News are looked at closely too. The representations concentrated on are either key images of the period or ones that exemplify matters central to the representation of the Maori by Europeans.

The text concentrates primarily on how the Maori was represented, the differing views of the Maori, Maori culture and history, and Maori-European interaction depicted, and the uses and meanings of the representations in specific social and cultural contexts. To these ends a number of fundamental

factors are discussed:

1. The formal and iconographic sources and models; the manner in which representations of the Maori were determined or mediated by conventions and codes in European art and image making.
2. The circumstances of production, exhibition, publication, distribution and collection of the representations.
3. The ideas, beliefs, tastes and values - aesthetic, social, political and religious, for instance - sustaining the representations and which the representations sustained; the discourses in European culture they participated in.

In particular, since the representations examined were produced during the period in which New Zealand was colonised, and in which European culture became dominant, Maori culture subordinate, the nature of the relationships between particular representations and the ideology of colonialism and imperialism is a central consideration. The excavation of the ideological, though, is not intended to exclude or diminish a more purely aesthetic reading of the works.

It is contended that European depictions of the Maori, rather than ever representing the Maori "as they were", involved fashioning "realities" for them - "realities" that were primarily geared to European tastes, beliefs, requirements and interests, however much these "realities" might conflict with perceptions of the socio-political, psychological and physical conditions of the Maori by the Maori themselves or by later historians and critics. As such the images discussed often tell more about British culture, European culture in New Zealand and colonialist ideology than about their ostensible subjects, the Maori. The approaches to the interpretation of visual representations of the Maori adopted in this thesis are not intended to disallow differing approaches and emphases. My readings are not set up as definitive. The plurality of meanings and levels of operation that visual representations can have is recognised.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.C.A.G.	Auckland City Art Gallery
A.P.L.	Auckland Public Library
A.S.A.	Auckland Society of Arts
A.T.L.	Alexander Turnbull Library
<u>C.M.S.</u>	<u>Church Missionary Society</u>
<u>I.L.N.</u>	<u>The Illustrated London News</u>
<u>Interior</u>	<u>Interior of a Native Village or "Pa" in New Zealand</u> (lithograph after Gilfillan)
<u>Korero</u>	<u>Maori Korero: Native Council deliberating on a War Expedition</u> (Gilfillan)
N.L.A.	National Library of Australia, Canberra
N.M.	National Museum, Wellington
<u>Narrative</u>	(A. Earle) <u>A Narrative of Nine Months Residence in New Zealand; together with a Journal of Residence in Tristan d'Acunha, 1832</u>
S.A.M.	South Australian Museum
<u>Savage Life</u>	(G. F. Angas) <u>Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand, 1847</u>
<u>Scholz</u>	<u>Illustrations of Missionary Scenes: An Offering to Youth, Joseph Scholz, Publisher, Mayence, 1856</u>
<u>Sketches</u>	(A. Earle) <u>Sketches Illustrative of the Native Inhabitants of New Zealand, 1838</u>
<u>T.N.Z.I.</u>	<u>The New Zealanders Illustrated, 1847</u>
<u>1846 Cat.</u>	<u>A Catalogue of Paintings by George French Angas Illustrative of the Natives and Scenery of New Zealand and South Australia. Also Sketches in Brazil, Cape Verde Islands, New South Wales, etc., 1846</u>

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150. Clayton, Matthew. The Landing of Lieutenant Governor Hobson at Waitangi, Bay of Islands, 5th February 1840, for the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1897, oil, 413 x 886 mm, A.C.A.G.
151. Clayton, Matthew. The Landing of the Rev. Samuel Marsden at the Bay of Islands on Christmas Day, 1814, 1914, oil, 470 x 904 mm, St Johns College, Auckland.
152. Moultray, John. "It is a God": Captain Cook's Ship off the Coast of New Zealand, 1910, oil, 608 x 915 mm, Hocken Library.
153. Moultray, John. A Trooper of the Wanganui Cavalry attacked by a Hau Hau, 1892, oil, 610 x 450 mm, N.L.A.
154. Moultray, John. The Battle of Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu, Sept. 7, 1868, 1912, oil, 760 x 1268 mm, Hocken Library.
155. Seaward, Dennis. Toheriri and his Mere, 1913, dimensions unavailable, location unknown.
156. Richardson, Harold. Life in an Olden-Time Maori Pah, 1914, oil, 1800 x 900 mm, Anderson Park Art Gallery, Invercargill.
157. Lindauer, Gottfried. Tohunga under Tapu, 1901, oil, 2159 x 1905 mm, A.C.A.G.
158. Lindauer, Gottfried. Tohunga-a-moko at Work, 1903, oil, 1892 x 2337 mm, A.C.A.G.

159. Lindauer, Gottfried. Maori Women Weaving Flax Baskets, c.1903, oil, 2032 x 2503 mm, A.C.A.G.
160. Lindauer, Gottfried. Maori Women Weaving Flax Garments, 1906, oil, 2261 x 2070 mm, A.C.A.G.
161. Lindauer, Gottfried. Happy Days: Maori Children Playing Knucklebones, 1907, oil, 1347 x 1827 mm, A.C.A.G.
162. Lindauer, Gottfried. As Cook Found Them: Digging with the Ko, 1907, oil, 1775 x 2490 mm, A.C.A.G.
163. Lindauer, Gottfried. In Days Gone By: Firemaking, 1910, oil, 1999 x 1791/1505 mm, A.C.A.G.
164. Lindauer, Gottfried. The Time of Kai, 1907, oil, 1981 x 2591 mm, A.C.A.G.
165. Puvis de Chavannes, Pierre. The Childhood of St. Genevieve, 1874-8, mural, Pantheon, Paris.
166. Puvis de Chavannes, Pierre. St. Genevieve at Prayer, 1874-8, mural, Pantheon, Paris.
167. Lindauer, Gottfried. Hinemoa, 1907, oil, 966 x 1219 mm, A.C.A.G.
168. S. G. (Sherriff, George). Hinemoa, in E. M., Hinemoa, A Poem, 1887, unpaginated.
169. Atkinson, Robert. Hinemoa, in K. McCosh Clark, Maori Tales and Legends, 1896, p. 62.
170. Hawcridge, Robert. Hinemoa: Tutanekai, in E. Howes, "Hinemoa's Swim", Red Funnel, December 1906.
171. A Maori Love Idyll: The Old, Old Story Told on Mokoia Island, Rotorua, Before the Days of the Pakeha, after a painting by L. J. Steele, in the New Zealand Graphic, 5 March 1904.
172. Lindauer, Gottfried. The Laughing Girl, 1885, oil, 1015 x 805 mm, Wanganui Regional Museum.
173. Lindauer, Gottfried. Meri Nereaha, c.1884, photograph, Private Collection.
174. Lindauer, Gottfried. The Maori at Home, 1885, oil, 3047 x 2124 mm, Wanganui Regional Museum.
175. Lindauer, Gottfried. Three Maori Girls and a Boy sitting on a large carved Maori canoe by a lake, 1899, oil, 2133 x 1524 mm, N.L.A.
176. Dittmer, Wilhelm. A Maori Chief, c.1904, oil, 610 x 458 mm, N.M.
177. Dittmer, Wilhelm. An Old Time Leader, c.1904, oil, 914 x 662 mm, N.M.
178. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Memories of a Century, 1905, oil, 914 x 762 mm, N.M.
179. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Mana: Te Heu Heu Tukino, c.1904, oil, 1398 x 1017 mm,

N.M.

180. Goldie, Charles. Patara te Tuhi: An Old Warrior, 1901, oil, 765 x 635 mm, Auckland Institute and Museum.
181. Goldie, Charles. The Last of the Chivalrous Days, 1906, oil, 1257 x 1003 mm, A.C.A.G.
182. Lindauer, Gottfried. Te Hira te Kawau, 1874, oil, 863 x 685 mm, A.C.A.G.
183. Dittmer, Wilhelm. On Guard, c.1904, oil, 1045 x 762 mm, N.M.
184. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Maori Man Holding a Hoeroa, 1905, oil, 787 x 661 mm, N.M.
185. Lindauer, Gottfried. Taraia Ngakuti te Tamahuia, 1874, oil, 825 x 680 mm, A.C.A.G.
186. Dittmer, Wilhelm. The Keeper of Pahikaure, c.1904, oil, 914 x 762 mm, Private Collection, Auckland.
187. Lindauer, Gottfried. Rangi Topeora, oil, 611 x 509 mm, A.C.A.G.
188. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Maori Girl with Taiaha, c.1904, oil, 636 x 762 mm, N.M.
189. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Profile of a Maori Girl, c.1904, oil, 611 x 458 mm, N.M.
190. Lindauer, Gottfried. Anna Rupene and Child, 1879, oil, one of about thirty versions.
191. Hodgkins, Frances. Maori Woman with Daisies, 1898, watercolour, 463 x 317 mm, Private Collection.
192. Lindauer, Gottfried. Portrait of an Unknown Girl, oil, 673 x 546 mm, National Art Gallery.
193. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, 1907, Plate 9, Maui.
194. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, Plate 7, Tane and the Trees.
195. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, Plate 3, Tane, The God of Trees.
196. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, Plate 16, Hinemoa.
197. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, Plate 15, Hine-nui-te-po.
198. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, p. 9, Matapo: A Blind Tohunga.
199. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, Plate 23, The Journey.
200. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, p. 56, Mahuika, the Goddess of Fire.
201. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, Plate 24, The First Offering to the Gods.
202. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, Plate 19, A Tangi.

203. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, Plate 14, Maui's Fight with the Sun.
204. Dittmer, Wilhelm. Te Tohunga, Plate 21, The Battle of the Giants.
205. Gilfillan, John. Interior of a Pa, on the Wanganui River, 1847, watercolour, 285 x 410 mm, Sold at McArthur & Co., Auckland, 27 April 1984.