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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
requirements for the degree PhD in Art History,
University of Auckland, September 1984

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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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my supervisor, Professor Tony Green, for his advice in the writing of this thesis. I am particularly indebted for their assistance during my research to the following: Sherrah Francis and Janet Paul (former Art Librarians) and Moira Long and Marion Minson (present Art Librarians) of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Margaret Murphy and Barbara Perry of the National Library of Australia, Canberra, Tim Garritty, Curator of Pictures, of the Hocken Library, University of Otago, and Betty McFadgen, Ethnologist, of the National Museum, Wellington.

I thank too for their assistance: Ron Brownson, Roger Blackley and Alexa Johnston of the Auckland City Art Gallery, Ian Thwaites and Gordon Maitland of the Auckland Institute and Museum Library, Derek Schultz of the Sarjeant Art Gallery, Wanganui, John Perry and Ian Rockel of the Rotorua Art Gallery and Museum, Anne Kirker and Tony Mackle of the National Art Gallery, Wellington, Patricia Sargison of the Alexander Turnbull Library, the Librarians in the New Zealand section of the Auckland Public Library, Elspeth Orwin and Teresa Graham of the New Zealand Room, University of Auckland Library, Judith Bright of the St. Johns College Library, Warner Haldane of the Gisborne Museum and Art Centre, D. W. Cimino of the Wanganui Regional Museum, N. W. Nicholls of the Tauranga District Museum Historic Village, Roger Quarm of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Stephen Shannon of the Durham Light Infantry Museum, D. L. Jones of the Chelmsford and Essex Museum, Andrew Greg of the Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle, and Joyce McGrath and Michael Watson of the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne. I extend my thanks too to all those who assisted me at other museums, art galleries and libraries I worked in and consulted in New Zealand, Australia, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Great Britain. I am grateful for discussion with and advice from Charles Wood, formerly Andersonian Librarian, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Mr. J. C. Graham, Ms. Una Platts

Arthur Everard of the National Film Unit, Associate-Professor Bill Pearson and Michael Dunn of the University of Auckland, David Simmons, Ethnologist of the Auckland Institute and Museum, Mrs Diana Villar, Michael King, Merata Mita, and Rose Young of Waikato Art Gallery. Besides citation in the Bibliography and Notes special acknowledgement must be made to Rose Young too for her catalogues of von Tempsky's paintings and drawings in R. Young (and others) Gustavus von Tempsky: Artist and Adventurer, 1981, and Gustavus Ferdinand von Tempsky: The Man and the Artist, exhibition catalogue, 1978.

I am very grateful to the Research Committee, University of Auckland, for several travel grants for the purposes of research towards this thesis. Godfrey Boehnke, Photographer, University of Auckland, must be thanked for his photographic work. Thanks also to Susanne Taylor, Slide Technician, Department of Art History, University of Auckland, for her help in the acquisition of photographs. And finally many thanks to Robyn Beckerleg who carried out the monumental task of typing this thesis.

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
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
I.L.N.	The Illustrated London News
Interior	Interior of a Native Village or "Pa" in New Zealand (lithograph after Gilfillan)
Korero	Maori Korero: Native Council deliberating on a War Expedition (Gilfillan)
N.L.A.	National Library of Australia, Canberra
N.M.	National Museum, Wellington
Narrative	(A. Earle) A Narrative of Nine Months Residence in New Zealand; together with a Journal of Residence in Tristan d'Acunha, 1832
S.A.M.	South Australian Museum
Savage Life	(G. F. Angas) Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand, 1847
Scholz	Illustrations of Missionary Scenes: An Offering to Youth, Joseph Scholz, Publisher, Mayence, 1856
Sketches	(A. Earle) Sketches Illustrative of the Native Inhabitants of New Zealand, 1838
T.N.Z.I.	The New Zealanders Illustrated, 1847
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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.

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155. Seaward, Dennis. Toheriri and his Mere, 1913, dimensions unavailable, location unknown.

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159. Lindauer, Gottfried. Maori Women Weaving Flax Baskets, c.1903, oil, 2032 x 2503 mm, A.C.A.G.

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168. S. G. (Sherriff, George). Hinemoa, in E. M., Hinemoa, A Poem, 1887, unpaginated.

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170. Hawcridge, Robert. Hinemoa: Tutanekai, in E. Howes, "Hinemoa's Swim", Red Funnel, December 1906.

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N.M.

180. Goldie, Charles. Patara te Tuhi: An Old Warrior, 1901, oil, 765 x 635 mm, Auckland Institute and Museum.

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INTRODUCTION

"Every text takes shape as a mosaic of citations; every text is an absorption and transformation of other texts". - Julia Kristeva.[1]

This thesis is an investigation of the meanings and functions of representations of the Maori made by Europeans for Europeans from c.1840 to c.1914 - that is, from the time of the first organised European settlement, the foundation and early years of the colony of New Zealand, to the period in which New Zealand made the transition from "mature" colony to independent nation; a Dominion within the British Empire.

The sheer quantity of such representations is enormous, and their range and variety in terms of style, image-type or genre, medium, function, circumstances of production, the audiences to which they were directed, and the relationships between artists and subjects, considerable. For instance, there were portraits, daily life scenes, fancy pictures, images of warfare, figures in landscapes and pa scenes, depictions of traditional activities, historical and mythological events, and Maori-European interactions - in oil paintings, colour prints, watercolours, drawings, lithographs, engravings and photographs. They include representations for newspapers and periodicals, illustrated travel books, "fine art" exhibitions and ethnological shows, and for institutions, such as missionary societies, commercial companies and government agencies, involved in the colonisation of New Zealand in particular, and/or in the expanding economic, political, missionary and military penetration by Britain of Asia, Africa and the Pacific region generally in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

A survey of the entire field would be an encyclopaedic task. To attempt a survey in a single thesis would be to run the risk of generalisation and simplification of the complexities of the representations. In this thesis then

I focus attention on a selection only, a small proportion of the many representations of the Maori in the period - in most instances, but not exclusively, works by professional artists or aspiring professionals, and/or works, not necessarily "fine art" images, that were exhibited, published, made for sale, collected in Australasia or Britain, produced for or commissioned by galleries, museums, and leading figures and institutions connected with the colonisation of New Zealand.

Aesthetic quality was not necessarily a criterion for selection of the works discussed, even though high quality may have been attributed to them by their original audiences. Within my selection some images or groups of images are examined in considerable detail, others less intensively, more generally. Those concentrated on tend to be either key images of their type or by artists, who were major, well-known figures in particular situations. The works discussed and referred to overall should reveal the range and variety of European representations of the Maori generally, while the concentration on particular works or groups of works, either packaged together in books or exhibitions, or brought together in collections, is geared to the exemplification of themes, problems and features central to the representation of the Maori in the period.

Chapter I deals with representations of the Maori produced in the 1840s and early 1850s by British artists, who, with the exception of J. W. Carmichael, had been in New Zealand during that period: G. F. Angas, S. C. Brees, R. A. Oliver, J. J. Merrett, C. Clarke and Carmichael. The involvement of Sir George Grey, Governor of New Zealand from 1845-53, in the production of representations of the Maori in that period is also noted. It is the work of Angas that is examined at most length - in particular his illustrated travel book, The New Zealanders Illustrated, 1847, and his watercolours exhibited in Australia and, especially, at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London, in 1846. The bulk of the work considered in this chapter was not produced for "fine art"

institutions, and the artists themselves, with the exception of Carmichael again, either were not professionally trained practitioners of "fine art" or did not make or sustain careers in the "fine arts" in New Zealand or elsewhere.

In Chapter II mid 19th century representations relating to missionary activities - images promoting, publicising, commemorating missionary work, for instance - primarily for publication and distribution in Britain, are discussed. The chapter does not survey the entire field of such representations with Maori figures. Most space is devoted to detailed investigations of two works - Illustrations of Missionary Scenes: An Offering to Youth, published in 1856, and James Smetham's Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House, 1863, painted in London by an artist, who had not been in New Zealand. As a preface to the examination of these works, to provide a context of functionally related images, I describe more generally a large selection of mid 19th century missionary representations. This illustrates the common types of image, and the recurrence and dominance of certain themes, motifs and figural relationships - for instance, the central or controlling positions that Europeans occupied in depictions of Maoris and Europeans interacting; the theme of Maori submission to European dominance.

In Chapter III the works of two professionally trained "fine artists", J. A. Gilfillan and W. Strutt, both of whom settled in New Zealand for short periods (Gilfillan 1841-47, Strutt 1855-56), are examined. Drawings, watercolours and oil sketches executed in New Zealand are discussed; a number, for instance Gilfillan's View of Wanganui, 1847, in considerable detail. It is, though, several of their oil paintings and a coloured lithograph after an oil painting by Gilfillan, produced and exhibited either in Australia or Britain after they had left New Zealand, that are subject to the most intensive investigation - most notably, Gilfillan's Maori Korero: Native Council Deliberating on a War Expedition, 1853, the lithograph, Interior of a Native Village or "Pa" in New Zealand, 1851, and Strutt's Hare Pomare and Family,

1863-64.

Chapter IV concerns representations by artists active in New Zealand in the 1860s. The rudimentary nature of the "fine art" context in New Zealand then is noted, and works by A. Martin, E. Temple, C. D. Barraud and W. Ewart, all except the latter permanent residents, are referred to. However the bulk of the chapter is given over to an examination of the work of two soldier-artists involved in the Land Wars, G. F. von Tempsky, a settler, and H. G. Robley, a visitor, and of an oil painting, Hinemoa: A Maori Maiden, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1879. This was by Nicholas Chevalier, who has been described as "the most successful painter in terms of official recognition to have visited New Zealand in the 19th century".[2] The engravings after Robley's sketches that appeared in The Illustrated London News in the 1860s are also discussed, as is the manner in which his 1860s sketches were used in the early 20th century in New Zealand. This affords a link with the later 19th and early 20th century work investigated in the last three chapters. Most of this was produced in New Zealand for New Zealand audiences.

In Chapter V I concentrate primarily on historical works produced from c.1888 to 1916 in or for a by now well-established Auckland "fine art" milieu by such resident and leading professional artists as L. J. Steele, K. Watkins and Walter Wright - that is, historical works produced for Auckland patrons and audiences; works that were publicly exhibited at the Auckland Society of Arts and the Auckland Art Gallery, which, besides Henry Partridge's Lindauer Gallery, were the dominant art institutions of the day in the city. The term historical painting in this and the following chapter embraces depictions of historical events, both pre-European and those involving European contact, Maori mythology, traditional activities and customs, in the form of both large scale History paintings and smaller scale historical or exotic genre and anecdotal works. How such work related to the development of a European culture in a country making the transition from a colony to an independent

nation is discussed. A short section on the historical works of several other artists, amateurs or less experienced professionals, not necessarily based in Auckland - M. T. Clayton, W. M. Hodgkins, J. E. Moultray, D. Seaward, H. L. Richardson - concludes the chapter.

The subject of Chapter VI is the historical painting of G. Lindauer, a German-speaking Bohemian, who settled in New Zealand in 1873. A group of eight large paintings - seven of traditional or "old-time" Maori activities and customs, one of a contemporary village scene - for Lindauer's major patron, Henry Partridge, an Auckland businessman, and his two depictions of the legendary Arawa heroine, Hinemoa, are discussed in most detail. The chapter concludes with a briefer comment on Lindauer's historical paintings for another major patron, Sir Walter Buller.

In Chapter VII the work of W. Dittmer, a German professional artist, who lived in New Zealand from 1898-1905, is examined - in particular his oil paintings, mainly of single Maori figures, painted in New Zealand, and his representations of Maori mythology published in a book, Te Tohunga, 1907, the text of which he also wrote. With his New Zealand paintings comparative references are made to contemporary portraits of the Maori by such leading artists as Lindauer, Goldie and Frances Hodgkins.

My selections and emphases should not be seen as an attempt to reduce a multitude of images to a limited number of patterns. This thesis is not an all-embracing structural analysis. I do indicate, though, major areas of activity. I note recurring and dominant types of imagery - images of the haka, the tangi, and meetings between Maoris and European authority figures, portrayals of dignified old chiefs and pretty young women, for instance.

Representations of the Maori were never unproblematic, "faithful" transcriptions of the visible; simply "literal" reproductions of the physical, social and psychological actualities of Maori existence, however much some contemporary viewers claimed they were. The notion that representations in the

form of paintings, drawings, lithographs and engravings, for example, can mirror or copy "reality" or the "natural", as it is or was, has, of course, been well put to rest.[3] There is a complex of mediations between "reality" and representation. For one, the "real" only exists in so far as it is perceived, and perception is never unmediated or value-free. To quote Nelson Goodman:[4]

> Not only how but what it sees is regulated by need and prejudice.... It (the eye) does not so much as mirror as take and make.

The same could be said about representation. "The way we ... depict depends on and varies with experience, practice, interest and attitude".[5] By its very nature representation involves construction, transformation. Roland Barthes wrote that to make a drawing or a painting of something "requires a set of rule-governed transpositions; there is no essential nature of the pictorial copy, and the codes of transposition are historical",[6] originating in culture, that is, not nature.

Conventions in European art and image making then inevitably affected how the Maori was represented and what Europeans chose to represent. That is common to all the representations, however diverse in their appearances and circumstances of production and use they otherwise might have been. It was as much the case with seemingly "realistic" pictures, pictures based on close observation and experience of physical and social actualities of Maori life, as it was with the most fanciful, idealised, transparently "unrealistic" representations. While these notions and the argument that representations of the Maori could never be facsimiles of "reality", simply depictions of things and people as they were, are hardly startling or controversial, it is still necessary to isolate the models and pictorial codes to which they can be related. That is fundamental to any understanding of their meaning.

As constructs, rather than replications of the "real", representations of the Maori need to be interpreted. Few if any of them simply "speak for themselves"; require no explanation. Barthes' observation is pertinent: "We

never encounter a literal image", an "innocent" image, that is, without connotations,[7] even when the depicted subject (scene, event, person) is presented as if without signification, simply as denotation.[8] What might seem, for instance, "straight up and down", "direct" portraits of the Maori, records of ethnological fact, or reproductions of scenes and events from their daily life, in which the artist was just "capturing" a sense of "likeness", or resemblance to the actual, are invariably loaded with cultural significance. Excavations of the contextual relationships and the mechanics of the representations, rather than just an appraisal of their surface forms, reveals this.

Janet Wolff has written:[9]

> Works of art ... are not closed, self-contained, transcendent entities, but are the products of specific historical practices on the part of identifiable social groups in given conditions, and therefore bear the imprint of the ideas, values and conditions of existence of these groups, and their representatives, in particular artists.

My prime concern is with the meanings and functions of the representations of the Maori, when they were first produced, exhibited, distributed, collected, "consumed" - that is, with the relations between the material conditions of their existence and their operation as producers of meaning. For instance, what went into the making of these representations? How was the Maori represented? Why was the Maori so represented and what for? Why, for example, was the "old-time" Maori, allegedly vanishing, such a preoccupation among European artists from Angas in the 1840s to Lindauer in the 20th century? Or why were there so many images seemingly romanticising the Maori at a time when Government policy and the dominant ideology looked forward to the end of a distinctive Maori culture and the incorporation of the Maori into European structures? What discourses in European culture did the representations of the Maori participate in? What roles did they play in indigenous European culture in New Zealand - in the formulation of a sense of national identity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, for example? How can they be seen as

crystallisations, whether consciously or unconsciously on the part of the artists, of certain interests, states of mind and feeling fundamental to European, in particular British evaluations and treatment of the Maori in the period?

In order to situate the representations in their particular social and cultural contexts I investigate the variety and conjunction of factors that contributed to their formal structure and their physical appearance, and which mediated their meanings - the aesthetic, ideological, social and institutional coordinates, that is. The emphases in the examination of particular representations may vary. I have already noted the fundamental importance of the models, formal and thematic, and the image types to which the representations can be related - the pictorial forms and codes available to the artists and image makers. To accept that "existing sets of rules and conventions determine what can be said in particular cultural tradition"[10] does not mean that they are to be considered as the sole determinants, or that representation is exclusively a matter of convention. Other determining and mediating factors include the specific circumstances of production and use, the particular practices of the artists, his motives and intentions. That is, works can still bear the imprint of the individual artist, rather than just being part of a collective of representations, in which individual "authorship" is incidental, even immaterial. One needs to consider too such factors as the needs of patrons and commissioning bodies, and the attitudinal frameworks the artists were working within - for instance, the ideas and values, social, political and religious, sustaining the artist, the social group to which he belonged and the groups who made use of the images. For example, the points of view of the artists and their audiences about the place of the Maori and their relationships to European culture and society can be crucial to a reading of a representation. In relation to this, in some instances how the representations were seen and responded to by contemporary viewers and reviewers is discussed.

Audience response can be fundamental to any consideration of meaning.[11] It ought to be noted that most of the material cited or quoted from contemporary newspaper and periodical articles, exhibition reviews, letters, private journals, catalogues, publicity tracts, for instance, was not serious or very sophisticated art criticism, or discourse, or image analysis. Indeed much of this comment about the representations may now seem simplistic, naive or superficial. Nevertheless it can provide evidence of relevant attitudes to the Maori, the socio-political implications the representations could have, and of their operation as cultural artefacts, if not as aesthetic objects.

European artists constructed differing views of the Maori and Maori culture and history. For instance, the Maori could be presented as a savage existing at a primitive stage of life much lower on the evolutionary hierarchy than that of the artist and the culture of which he was a member. Or the Maori could be presented as a romantic being, as noble, as ignoble, as an antiquity, as barbaric, as exotic, as picturesque, as an object of desire, as a member of a dying race, as an ethnological specimen, as a marketable commodity, as an antipodean peasant. That is, the depicted Maori could be anything that a European artist wanted him or her to be, regardless of ascertainable actualities of Maori appearances, customs, history and socio-political experience. In respect of this, central to my investigation are considerations of the ideological components or correlatives of the representations - in particular their relationships with the ideology of colonialism; the relationships between imperialism and culture.[12]

The representations examined and discussed were produced during a period of expanding European economic and political penetration and colonisation of the globe[13] - in particular during the period in which New Zealand was colonised, European culture became dominant, the Maori subordinated. By the late 1840s-early 1850s the majority of Maoris had adopted Christianity; conversion basically being a response to the culturally disruptive changes

resulting from European contact and expansionism.[14] Those Maori who resisted colonisation, who disputed the European drive for more land, for example, were militarily subjugated, particularly in the Land Wars of the 1860s in Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Taranaki. Defeat of the Maori resulted in large scale confiscations of their land. By the early 20th century effective control or ownership of most of the most productive land was in European hands.[15] From 1840 to the first decade of the 20th century the European population of New Zealand increased from about two thousand to over a million, outnumbering the Maori by the 1860s. The Maori population dwindled from an estimated 115,000 in 1843 to a low point of c.42,000 in 1896.[16] In short, in the 1840-1914 period New Zealand was taken over by Europeans. The standard colonialist scenario for the Maori demanded assimilation into European culture and society, and the concurrent disappearance of a distinctive Maori culture.[17]

Many, if not necessarily all representations of the Maori can be related to these processes or the ideological imperatives sustaining them. Connections between images and colonialist ideology are not necessarily overt or self-evident. Seen in isolation, simply as aesthetic objects or as ethnological records, for instance, representations might not indicate or suggest any essential relationship with colonialist structures of thought and feeling. Yet looked at in context they turn out to have a fundamental ideological component - a dimension of meaning that "served" the interests of specific European social groups. Rather than just passively "reflecting" the ideological, representations could be prime sites for the articulation of the ideological - for the articulation of views and ideas important and necessary for the dominant European culture, in so far as they contributed to a justification of its actions in New Zealand and to a validation of its presence in the country. Representation of the Maori could amount to a form of appropriation of aspects of Maori culture and history. In the context of colonialism and imperialism such representations can be seen as an aspect of

the domination and control of the Maori by Europeans.

It is important to stress that even if many representations of the Maori bear an ideological imprint rarely did they operate just as ideological statements. While art may have an ideological component, rarely if ever is it reducible to ideology.[18] That was so with representations of the Maori. In those instances then in which I examine the ideological components or correlatives the intention is not to collapse the image into non-artistic or extra-pictorial factors. The degree of autonomy of artistic and image making practices must be recognised. An examination of the ideological aspect of the imagery is not intended to negate the validity and possibility of a purely or primarily aesthetic response, regardless of the ideological component. Obviously too aesthetic processes, the conventions in visual representation to which the works can be related, and circumstances of production and exhibition mediate the ideological: "It is essential to examine ... the nature of the ideology worked into the text <u>and</u> the aesthetic modes of that working".[19]

Nelson Goodman has argued: "The making of a picture commonly participates in making what is to be pictured".[20] Certainly the images of the Maori that I discuss show that representation involved the fashioning of "realities" for the Maori, both past and contemporary - "realities" geared to the tastes, beliefs, values and requirements of the European artists, patrons and audiences, however much the "reality" asserted or implied might be at variance with socio-political, psychological and physical actualities as perceived by the Maori themselves or by later historians and critics.

One can view the Maori or aspects of Maori culture and history so transformed as fundamentally myths or fictions. That does not mean that the representations were without any elements of "truth". Some features of an image, as we shall see, may have squared with ascertainable social and physical actualities. For instance, some representations provide useful and reliable information about Maori physical appearances, the moko and aspects of material

culture. Further, to see the representations as fictions or myths does not mean that they are to be classified as falsifications, deliberate distortions of the "truth", or of "real" appearances and conditions, intended to mislead - "misrepresentations" at which we must moralistically point accusing fingers. Barthes has written:[21]

> What the world supplies to myth is an historical reality ... and what the myth gives back in return is a natural image of this reality ... it transforms history into nature.

European representations of the Maori then often tell us more about the artists' own culture and society than about their ostensible subject, the Maori. The Maori existed primarily as "raw material" to be given form by Europeans. That, of course, was not unique to artists and image makers. European writers and anthropologists too, for example, represented, described, "explained" the behaviour of the Maori in terms of European concepts, mores and classification systems; fitted the Maori to European structures of thought and feeling - just as the colonial enterprise generally involved fitting the Maori to European political, economic and legal structures. One could say a "The Maori" was constructed.

It ought to be stressed that these remarks and what I have noted about the centrality of the ideological are not meant to suggest that the representations were products mechanically determined by the sheer fact of colonialist domination or the will to dominate. Rather the images contributed to the making of the colonialist "reality". Their production and uses can be regarded as components in a complex fabric, in which social, artistic and political "strands" were "interwoven". As such the representations, these fictions, that I have selected for investigation, can also image "truths" about the nature and quality of the interactions between European colonisers and colonised Maori. Study of the imagery can contribute much to an understanding of this crucial historical relationship. Indeed European representations of the Maori could be said to have participated in the making of history.

My readings of these representations are not presented as definitive, as the single, "correct" interpretation, disallowing, excluding other possible readings, different emphases. Images can have a plurality of meanings, beyond the scope of a single interpretation. They can be open to a range of readings.[22] This thesis certainly does not presume to embrace all the meanings a particular representation could have. It is not a jigsaw puzzle. Inevitably things have been left unaccounted for. Moreover, as much as the artists and image makers I discuss, my text is subject to an historically situated set of determinants and has its own ideological component. Julia Kristeva's observation that prefaces this Introduction is applicable to this thesis as much as to the representations of the Maori discussed in it.

CHAPTER I

THE 1840S AND EARLY 1850S : THE WORK OF G. F. ANGAS, S. C. BREES, R. A. OLIVER, J. J. MERRETT, C. CLARKE AND J. W. CARMICHAEL

The South Australian Register claimed in 1845 that George French Angas (1822-86) was "the first professional artist who has ever visited New Zealand and wandered amongst the savages" with the "object" of illustrating the place and people; "fields of labour which no artist has ever trod before".[1] That was not so. For instance, another independent travelling artist, Augustus Earle, was a most notable predecessor, though apart from the reproductions after his work in his A Narrative of Nine Months Residence in New Zealand in 1827, 1832, and Sketches Illustrative of the Native Inhabitants of New Zealand, 1838, Earle's watercolours and oils of the Maori were not publicly known.[2] Angas, though, with the possible exception of Joseph Merrett, had, as the I.L.N. claimed, "seen more of the country than any other artist".[3] He was in New Zealand for only three months in 1844, yet he travelled extensively, mainly in the North Island, visiting remote interior places, such as Taupo, which were little known to Europeans.[4] From these experiences Angas produced the largest body of representations of the Maori to be exhibited or published throughout the 19th century. Even if recognised as "art",[5] his small scale watercolours and lithographs, supposedly "delineating the characteristic features of the countries and people"[6] would not have been seen as "high art". "Ethnographical illustrations"[7] and illustrated travel books, the genres in which he worked, did not have the status of oil paintings, especially those in "fine art" exhibitions.

Given the quantity of Angas' representations of the Maori and aspects of Maori culture it is not within the scope of this thesis to examine his works one by one. Rather, while referring to individual pieces, I will consider his

works in terms of the packages in which they were presented to the public - their uses, their primary themes and characteristics, how they were seen at the time.

Angas claimed to have come to New Zealand on a romantic impulse.[8] He elsewhere described himself as a "disinterested observer, who went to the Antipodes actuated by an ardent admiration of the grandeur and loveliness of nature in her wildest aspect".[9] Be that as it may, letters from his father to George Grey, then Governor of South Australia,[10] and an article in the Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian in 1844 indicate that Angas was primarily in New Zealand to gather material for publication: "Mr Angas ... is shortly to publish in England a work on this colony".[11] The Atheneum was to describe Angas as an artist "who sought the Antipodes for subjects in which to exercise his professional skills" and who "returned home" after "he had done enough for the gratification of English curiosity".[12]

Angas made drawings on the spot, though generally he worked up his watercolours later, both in New Zealand and after he had departed.[13] It would seem too that he made copies from drawings of Maori customs by Merrett.[14] Angas did not publicly exhibit his works in New Zealand, though they had been seen by some colonists. For instance, it was noted in the Southern Cross, the staff of which had "been kindly favoured with the sight of many of his sketches":[15]

> ... we have no doubt Mr Angus' (sic) pencil will tend to convey to our friends at home a more accurate idea of the scenery, the native population, and their domestic and social habits, than anything which has heretofore appeared ... the native costume is admirably done ... he has ... been enabled to take likenesses of all the important chiefs .... He has also taken sketches of everything remarkable about their settlements, their domestic dwellings, their fortifications, their monuments, canoes, weapons of war, and domestic utensils - in short his pencil has recorded everything that is worth knowing about the New Zealanders.

And Mr Forsaith, Protector of Aborigines at Kawhia, wrote to Angas:[16]

> The New Zealander in my opinion has never been correctly portrayed before, and the very striking likenesses you have obtained of Te Whero Whero, Te Paki, Te Karaka, Muriwhenua, Te Awaitaia and other principal chiefs will

> enable the English public to form a better idea of their character and costume than from any of the unsuccessful attempts which have hitherto been made to depict them.

Angas made this claim for himself too - a means, one suspects, of promoting his work: "Up to the present time the New Zealander ... has never been carefully and faithfully portrayed".[17]

Angas exhibited his Maori (and South Australian) sketches in Australia in 1845 - in Adelaide in June, under the patronage of Governor Grey, in the Legislative Council Chambers,[18] and then for a month in Sydney.[19] The shows were popular and were reviewed positively in the Press. On Angas' count there were "about 1266" viewers in Sydney.[20] The South Australian described the sketches of Maoris as "striking and picturesque ... we could not conceive of a more accurate and complete picture of a nation than is afforded by the production of Mr Angas' pencil".[21] The Sydney Morning Chronicle announced: "... a more splendid exhibition, or more deserving of public patronage, we have not seen in Sydney".[22]

In London, at a time when one person exhibitions with admission charges were relatively uncommon, Angas' Australian and New Zealand sketches were presented first to the Queen, then exhibited briefly at the British and Foreign Institution, and most notably for three months from 6 April at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly (accompanied by an extensive catalogue). There, according to the I.L.N., "this novel exhibition ... proved one of the great Easter attractions, a success which augured well for the improved intelligence of sightseers".[23] One hundred and thirty-nine of the two hundred and seventy paintings exhibited were of New Zealand subjects, of which eighty-two were portraits of Maori individuals and groups, the remainder, representations of customs and activities, architecture, artefacts, pa scenes and some landscapes. With the possible exception of Burford's Panorama of the Bay of Islands, shown in 1838, which was based on Earle's sketches,[24] nothing remotely comparable had been exhibited in Europe before. The New Zealand Journal reviewer opined: "So

skilfully has the enterprise of Mr Angas been directed ... that he has left little to be reaped by any successor".[25] Angas himself wrote of his "success in this country, and the flattering reception my works have met with".[26]

The publication of two books in 1847 completed Angas' marketing of his sketches of the Maori and his New Zealand experiences. In Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand, dedicated to Grey, he recounted his travels, what he had seen, where he had been, and made observations about the place of the Maori in relation to colonisation and European civilisation. The other, The New Zealanders Illustrated, is comprised of sixty plates of coloured lithographs, in some instances with more than one image to a plate,[27] each plate accompanied by a short descriptive letterpress. It appeared in ten parts, each a guinea. The lithographs, forty-six portraits and figure studies, the remainder depictions of artefacts, architecture, pa scenes and customs with smallish figures, and the occasional spectacular landscape, were a selection from the watercolours. Four people participated in the lithographic reproduction - his former teacher, Waterhouse Hawkins, Louisa Hawkins, J. W. Giles and Angas himself. Angas' close involvement in, perhaps supervision of the production suggests that the manner in which the Maori was represented in the lithographs would have fitted his prescription. Comparisons between the watercolours and the lithographs after them show that the latter generally followed the former closely, even if the process of lithographic reproduction introduced a greater "refinement" in line and smoothness of surface. (Figs. 1 and 2)

In Britain Angas' watercolour exhibition was commented on by reviewers primarily in terms of its operation as the repository of "a mass of ethnological and geographical information of the very highest interest".[28] According to the Art Union:[29]

> In this collection we read a history of the inhabitants - nothing appertaining to them has been forgotten ... thus ... affording a key to their habits, customs and institutions.

Angas' stated intention was "to represent the natives and the scenery of New Zealand ... with unexaggerated truth and fidelity".[30] And the watercolours (and the lithographs too) are characterised by a close, meticulous attention to detail in the rendering of carving, architecture, dress and other artefacts. The Rev. J. Morgan, a missionary at Otawhao, wrote that Angas' drawings of "native carvings and architecture ... are very careful and exact".[31] Angas' works generally are regarded by anthropologists as accurate and reliable records of Maori material culture. For example, the Maori anthropologist, S. M. Mead, has written:[32]

> With the documentation provided by Angas ... it is thus possible to build up a fairly clearcut picture of architectural style, painted pattern and carving style of the Tainui tribes of the 1840s ... what is known about architecture and decorative art in the 1840s is, with few exceptions, based on where Angas went and what he recorded.

The degree of "truth" and "fidelity" of Angas' representations of people is a more complex matter, raising the thorny problem of what constitutes a "likeness". A. C. Hanson has noted that in the mid 19th century "likeness" or "truth to the natural" could be attributed to the most schematic and simplified renderings of facial appearance.[33] (It was also conventional to claim that representations of things foreign in travel books, however obviously fanciful they were, were "faithful" or "lifelike". A suspension of disbelief was perhaps involved.) Certainly to modern eyes Angas' delineations of facial feature in his watercolour portraits might look crude. (Fig. 3) Yet they were described by Europeans in New Zealand as "very good"[34] and "striking"[35] likenesses, even though with few exceptions they would not be convincing as physiognomic studies isolating unmistakably Maori features and looks.[36]

The absence of physiognomic "realism" is particularly marked in his portrayals of women and children. This can be related to the schemata for figure portrayal (discussed later) he adopted - schemata for which close attention to the particularities of individual facial feature was not an essential requirement. Angas presented the majority of women and children in a

standardised and uniform manner, "artistically and tastefully grouped",[37] with little or no sense of ethnic or personal differentiation. A letter writer to the South Australian noted:[38]

> One lass reminded us partly of a figure in Sir Joshua Reynolds' Infant Academy, and partly of a whole length by Wheatley. Some others have a cast of the lower Spanish characters. (In a Murilloesque vein perhaps.)

The portraits of men more frequently include some individuation in the rendering of facial feature, with a number of the figures presented in a seemingly "earthy", "warts and all" manner. For example, Angas' Te Uepehi (1846 Cat.no. 36, S.A.M.) has a huge, ugly and unsightly wen on his forehead, his Hurihanga (Fig. 4), bloodshot eyes and a stubbled chin, and his Te Rauparaha (1846 Cat.no. 32, S.A.M.), a distinctive aquiline nose and overhanging upper lip. Yet, despite the occasional flattened noses and thickened lips, the "Maoriness" of Angas' adult males was signified primarily by dress, darkish skin colour, title and catalogue description. Details of dress in particular were stressed by Angas, whether it was the grubby, non-descript old blanket of the old "savage", Rangituatea (1846 Cat.no. 74, S.A.M.), or the splendid cloaks of Te Awaitaia and Te Moanaroa (Fig. 1), to the extent that the figures can seem primarily props on which picturesque and ethnological information is hung.

In fact Angas' figures could image more - ideas about social type, cultural status and the character of the Maori. For instance, one could contrast his portrayals of Maoris bearing the marks of savagery with those showing the attributes of civilisation. For Angas "dishevelled hair and grizzly beard", for example, could denote the savage,[39] while the moko, which he considered "barbarous",[40] dominating the face, as in the watercolour of the "villainous"[41] Hurihanga, graphed the allegedly essential violence of savage life. In contrast, the European dress, carefully groomed hair, and the absence of moko, as in the portrait of Josiah Taonui (Fig. 5), signified the adoption of European customs: "He was much too attracted to the customs of the Pakeha

ever to disfigure himself with a moko".[42] The depicted moko on Maoris, once savage, now Christianised or "friendly", are generally tidier and less obtrusive, as in the portrait of the neatly coiffed Te Awaitaia and Te Moanaroa.

The watercolour exhibition in London also operated as entertainment, picturesque and sensational, as did most of the ethnological exhibitions that were so frequent and popular in the city in the mid 19th century.[43] The sheer novelty of Angas' Maoris, besides the colourful and bizarre aspects of their appearance and behaviour as depicted and described in the catalogue, would have rendered them exotic - a point that had been made in Sydney, where the Examiner recommended "all lovers of the beautiful and strange to visit this singular exhibition".[44]

The catalogue, besides identifying the subjects, artefacts and activities, contains anecdotes and "background" information about the history and habits of the Maori - material that would have cued the viewer to see the depicted Maori in certain ways. Though a few of the entries noted the increasing Christianisation of the Maori and instances of Maori friendship towards Europeans, the prime emphases in this material are on adventure, extreme violence, mystery, the astonishing, sensational and bizarre, and the quaint and the sentimental - that is, the stuff of popular entertainment and melodrama. Even Tamati Waka Nene, an ally of the British in the war with Hone Heke in 1845-46, is characterised in the catalogue by a sensational and extraordinary act of violence:[45]

> Some years ago a chief of East Cape killed a relation of Nene's; he went to the Pah of the chief, attended only by one slave, called him by name, and accusing him of murder, deliberately levelled his gun and shot him dead. Nene walked away; no-one touched him; all were paralysed.

As an ensemble, the paintings, artefacts and catalogue constituted an audio-visual show, both instructive, in its accumulation of ethnological facts, and entertaining. For instance, accompanying a painting of a pretty girl, Ko

Amai (1846 Cat.no. 55), the catalogue imparted a charming and peculiar little titbit of information: "New Zealand women ... bring up little pigs as pets, which become so very tame, that they nestle in their garments".[46] In contrast, Ngatata (1846 Cat.no. 40), a Port Nicholson chief, is characterised as a man with six toes on his left foot, who "in his earlier days took an astonishing delight in roasting children alive and then devouring their flesh".[47] Accounts of "cannibal feasts held ... for days"[48] and a chief "with eight wives" whose person was so sacred that "no slave may touch him under pain of death"[49] would have contributed a melodramatic tone to the presentation, that could be related to contemporary theatrical entertainment in London. For instance, one, Moko Wairua, A New Zealand Captive, also mixed a lurid sensationalism with a delineation of the "Customs, Habits, Manners ... of the Natives", both "interesting" and "instructive" to the "Public in general", but particularly to those "about to emigrate ... and locate in these Settlements".[50]

The choice of venue for the exhibition highlighted its operation as an entertainment. The Egyptian Hall was not a museum or art gallery, even if occasional exhibitions of paintings were held there. Though it had been built in 1812 as a museum of natural history to house William Bullock's collection, most of which came from the South Seas, Africa and the Americas, by the 1840s it was being put to rather different uses. It had become the major mass entertainment venue in Piccadilly, featuring bizarre and exotic displays and performances, such as "living skeletons", Siamese twins, midgets, clowns, magicians, besides troupes of "savages" from various parts of the globe.[51] The Hall's natural history museum origins still lingered on in the ethnological exhibitions of the 1840s, though these were criticised for their carnival-like presentation.[52] The most famous ethnological exhibition was Catlin's Red Indian show of 1841. Indeed Catlin provided a prime model for Angas' marketing of the Maori in London. Besides exhibiting paintings, he published two books on Indians in the early 1840s - Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and

Conditions of the North American Indians, 1841, and his Indian Portfolio of twenty five hand coloured engravings in 1844. Catlin too was both a serious artist and naturalist, and his paintings were recognised for their ethnological value.[53] Yet he was also a travelling showman seeking mass audiences and financial success, who was all too ready to exploit the popular taste for the exotic and the bizarre. His exhibition featured a group of "living" Indians, who in the Egyptian Hall milieu would have had a curiosity value akin to midgets. Angas' show too was augmented by a Maori youth, James Pomara, described as the "living attraction", who "excited considerable interest among savants".[54]

As a result of his Sydney exhibition in 1845 Angas had "obtained nearly forty subscribers"[55] for his proposed book on New Zealand. It is probable that the London exhibition had a promotional purpose too - a means of attracting the subscribers necessary to allow publication of the books on South Australia and New Zealand, that had been the prime reason for his travels. A large and expensive illustrated book, directed at a smaller and socially, politically and financially more elite audience, represented an altogether more "serious undertaking"[56] - one that was likely to serve the interests of "art" and "science" to a greater degree than a temporary exhibition at a popular entertainment venue.[57] Back in 1844 Angas' father had noted that his son would have "considerable difficulty ... preparing his work for the Press", given the "capital required".[58] To handle this problem Angas managed a list of 193 subscribers, which included Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, the Secretary of State of the Colonial Department, the East India Company, the Governor and Bishop of New Zealand, and other leading figures in the colonisation of New Zealand, such as Eyre and the Wakefields.

With the exception of Earle's Sketches, which was smaller, with only ten lithographs, and basically a promotional tract for the New Zealand Association, which aimed to colonise New Zealand, Angas' The New Zealanders Illustrated was

the first illustrated travel book devoted specifically to New Zealand. In the first half of the 19th century there was an enormous output of illustrated travel books, featuring exotic and picturesque people in the Mediterranean, the Orient, Africa and the Americas.[59] In a highly competitive business, in which a place could become over-exposed, over-delineated, novelty of subject matter could be a crucial selling point.[60] It has been argued, for instance, that novelty was a key to the success of David Roberts, one of the leading practitioners of the genre, whose books of lithographs on Nubia, Egypt and the Middle East were published in parts during the 1840s.[61] Exploring new territory then was one way for an artist to establish himself. This was so with Angas. He claimed "originality" for himself.[62] His New Zealand works were seen as "novel".[63] And, as already noted, he was described as the first artist to exploit the Maori as subject matter. That novelty was a factor in his successes in London is suggested by Angas' remarks to Grey in December 1846: "My public here wish me to get into the interior of Madagascar - <u>there</u> is a splendid and totally unknown field".[64] Indeed Angas was one of the more prolific exponents of the illustrated travel book - with the publications also of <u>South Australia Illustrated</u>, 1846, <u>The Kaffirs Illustrated</u>, 1849, <u>Six Views of the Gold Fields of Ophir</u>, 1851, and <u>Views of the Gold Regions of Australia</u>, 1853.[65]

It is not within the scope of this thesis to expatiate on the conventions of the illustrated travel book genre in the 19th century. Suffice to note that books illustrating non-European people and places could function on several levels of meaning and reference. For one, they catered for a widespread taste for the exotic and picturesque. Colourful dress, attractive people, charming children, "wondrous" scenes, "strange" customs, unusual or ornate architecture and artefacts were among the staple ingredients. Ugliness, dirtiness, signs of deprivation and poverty, the banal, or anything "disturbing" tended to be omitted. The "pleasing", the decorative and cosmetic prevailed. Yet there

could be a scientific component to the illustrated travel book too - a concern with accurate delineations of architecture, artefacts, the dress and customs of a people, which could have ethnological use and value, or with the recording of ruins and antiquities for archeological purposes.[66] Further, illustrated travel books often dealt with people and places, in which Europeans had economic and colonial interests, and which thus had a topical interest for people "at home". For instance, J. B. Langston, Headmaster of Sydney College, wrote to Angas in 1845: "Recent events have excited the deepest interest in the affairs of New Zealand, and I cannot doubt that your sketches will serve to increase that interest in Europe, as they have done in Australia".[67] Angas himself wrote in the Preface of T.N.Z.I.:[68]

> The position the New Zealanders hold in respects of thousands of our countrymen and the great changes that are daily going on in their physical and social conditions renders it necessary that a more correct idea of them should be obtained at home than one offered by mere description.

That is, the facts and/or fancies presented in illustrated travel books could have a fundamental, even if not necessarily overt or immediately apparent, ideological component.

All three elements were operative in T.N.Z.I. It is full of arresting scenes (e.g. Plate 2, Mt Egmont and War Canoes) and depictions of ornate decor (e.g. Plate 10, Monument to Te Whero Whero's Daughter). The lithographs are light, colourful, "pleasing" to look at. The book has a fundamental decorative quality. This is most apparent in Angas' presentation of the Maori in portraits and figure studies.

For instance, Angas' young Maori women, whether presented singly or in groups with husbands or children, are invariably pretty, charming, coyly smiling or half-smiling, with large, dark eyes, flowing, black tresses, and complexions tonally more Mediterranean than Polynesian. E Wai and Kahoki (Fig. 6) are typical. They conform to a type of female beauty or prettiness that had widespread and popular currency in contemporary European imagery - in

particular in fashion-setting periodicals such as Heath's Books of Beauty, 1833-47, a main repository of this so-called keepsake beauty type. This model of femininity was characterised by large, often soulful eyes, dainty noses, pert lips, dimpled cheeks, neat and symmetrical 'U' curves to the chin and jawline, and a delicate, fragile look. The figures in the Books of Beauty were often "modelled" on aristocratic ladies,[69] just as Angas' women were largely wives and daughters of chiefs. The keepsake beauty could be placed in landscape or exotic settings, their dress and gestures often connoting romance or pastoral fancy. Angas' Nga Toenga (Fig. 7), for example, seductively rustic or gypsy-like in attire, her hat garlanded with flowers, her hand gathered at her throat (suggesting vulnerability), sweet and passive in expression, would have been quite at home in one of Heath's volumes - as a companion, perhaps, to an epitome of the keepsake type on p. 179 of the 1838 edition, Aisha (engraved from Chalon R. A.), "a beautiful maid set among the Bedoween on the shores of the Red Sea".[70] Indeed the typical ladies in Oriental and Mediterranean settings and dress of illustrated travel books generally belonged to the same type.[71] That is, the femininity of the women in T.N.Z.I. was not determined by ethnic particularity.

That applies to the children too. Invariably innocent and cute-looking, their eyes inordinately large, as in Children at the Hot Springs (Fig. 8), impeccably clean, charming and neat in their rusticity, they conform to a type commonly found in travel books too, and also in English genre painting of the 1830s and 1840s[72] - the children of the painted rural folk that George Eliot was to describe as "chimney ornaments".[73]

The men of T.N.Z.I. constitute a more varied group, though the decorative and the fanciful prevail among them too. There are a number of very dark mokoed faces, with exaggeratedly bulbous lips, bulging eyes and grimaces. This might have represented an attempt at physiognomic differentiation between Maori and European, though the resulting look is more theatrical and carnival-like

than ethnologically authentic. The vogue for black minstrels in Britain in the 1840s might not have been without its effect.[74] For instance, Hongi Hongi (Fig. 9), a grimacing, ugly "blackface" looks like a caricature "wildman" (hardly to be taken seriously) - a presentation consistent with his description in the letterpress as a heathen who had been renowned for his savagery and was "looked upon with dread by his inferiors", but who was now a "courteous" fellow, whom Europeans had no cause to fear.[75]

The majority of adult males, though, were presented in a bland manner, in physiognomy ethnically ambiguous; mannequins clad in exotic and picturesque garb - as in Hone Heke and Patuone (Fig. 10). That corresponded with the normative type of non-European male in the illustrated travel book. For instance, Rattray's Afghans, Roberts' Nubians and Daniell's Africans exhibit a similar specimen-like lack of individuality, neutrality of expression, and emphasis on dress and weaponry.[76] It is noteworthy that the male figures from the watercolour exhibition, who are most individuated physiognomically or in choice of dress - Te Rauparaha, Te Uepehi, Rangituatea, Hurihanga, for example - were not reproduced in T.N.Z.I.

Angas' scientific interests and involvements are well documented.[77] A scientific orientation is apparent in T.N.Z.I. The artefacts depicted are laid out and numbered as in a museum display (e.g. Plate 39, Native Ornaments), while the manner of presentation of the figure studies could bring to mind the museum display of specimens or lay figures. With the exception of Plate 49, half a dozen "typical" heads, "mounted" frontally and in profile, the figures in the portrait studies, whether individuals, couples or groups, were presented in a rigidly standardised manner - in most instances frontally disposed, either seated or standing, in the foreground plane, occupying much of the picture space. Following the watercolours, their "Maoriness" is signified primarily by dress and the occasional schematically rendered moko. Facial features are not necessarily distinctively Maori. In many instances - Hone Heke and Patuone,

for example - physiognomically they could pass as Europeans, with exotic dress and makeup - "clothes-hangers" for picturesque decoration and ethnological report.

The scientific component of T.N.Z.I. is manifest in another respect too. In the Preface Angas wrote that Maori "habits, costumes and works of art, though so rapidly disappearing before the progress of Christianity and Civilisation, are yet unrecorded by the pencil of the artist"[78] - something which he set out to do. Angas' belief that a primitive culture was going to vanish as a result of European expansion, and the assertion of the need to record it before it was too late paralleled conventional notions in ethnological circles of the day. Indeed the Ethnological Society was founded in 1843 partly as a result of the "need" to collect data on "disappearing" native populations.[79] Angas was not the first artist whose work was intended or seen as scientific documentation of a "disappearing" culture. Catlin too was motivated in part by the belief that the American Indian faced extinction,[80] while the Art Union, for instance, in 1839 described Thomas Allom's Constantinople and the Seven Churches in terminology close to Angas' prefatory remarks in T.N.Z.I.:[81]

> The peculiarities of Turkish habits and customs ... are now rapidly disappearing, and the next generation may find them differing little from their Western neighbours. It is only from such work combining the learning of a man of letters and the skill of the artist, that it will be possible to obtain a correct record of them.

Ethnological interest in primitive peoples, "only now emerging from a ... state of barbarism", as Angas characterised the Maori,[82] was not a disinterested, ideologically neutral discipline. Rather it can be seen as one aspect of European territorial and economic expansion into the non-European world in the 19th century.[83] Angas' belief in the superiority of the British and their civilising mission, commonplace attitudes at the time, are well documented. They are clearly articulated, for instance, in his South Australia Illustrated, Savage Life and The Wreck of the Admella and other Poems, 1874.

His interest in recording aspects of Maori culture was sustained by a belief in the inexorable advance of civilisation and Christianity at the expense of the savage and primitive.[84]

From this viewpoint the need to record Maori culture before it "disappeared" before civilisation implied no sentimentalisation or romanticisation of the savage culture, or regret for its impending demise. On the contrary this development was looked forward to. Far from romanticising, Angas' comments on traditional Maori practices could be derogatory. For instance, in Savage Life the horrors of "cannibalism and savage warfare" are emphasised, and "heathen customs" found "absurd" - the moko "barbarous", a Maori at a tangi described as "howling like a hyena ... yelling horribly, to my great annoyance ... like housetop cats on moonlight nights".[85]

At a paper read at the Ethnological Society in London in 1855 the President, J. L. Connelly, asserted that most of the London exhibitions "illustrative of the varieties of mankind" had treated the peoples displayed simply as "objects of curiosity or of unfruitful wonder", rather than as "manifestations of some aspect of man's ... history or progress".[86] That was perhaps applicable to the 1846 Egyptian Hall exhibition, but T.N.Z.I. may have met with Connolly's approval, since, besides its ethnological and exotic picturesque dimensions, it represented a view of the relationship between the Maori and civilisation. The Maoris depicted provided "evidence" of the advance of civilisation. They exemplified a people "once addicted to cannibalism and giving loose to the worst and wildest passions", many of whom now "in a period of but a few years" made up an "intelligent and superior race",[87] allegedly as a result of their openness to the positive effects of European contact - Christianity, and social and economic progress.

While Angas included portraits of Maoris who had not converted to Christianity (e.g. Plate 41, Te Ohu, a "heathen priest"), only one of the named figures, Tom Street (Plate 19), tohunga brother of the "notorious" Te

Rauparaha, is described as anti-Christian and hostile to European presence - a token concession that there were Maoris who opposed the colonial programme. The other named New Zealanders were either converted or, if unconverted, amenable to Europeans. For example, the mild-looking convert Te Awaitaia (Fig. 2) was cited as an "invariable friend of the Colonists",[88] while Tamati Waka Nene, A Christianised Chief of Hokianga (Plate 17), with smiling, good-natured face, epitomised the benign: "Nene is no longer the thoughtless, mischievous New Zealander; for many years he has been playing another part in the serious game of life".[89] That contrasts radically with his characterisation in the 1846 exhibition catalogue, noted before.

Maori leaders hostile to colonisation, such as Pomare, "one of the few New Zealanders who have degraded themselves by the use of ardent spirits",[90] Te Rangihaeata's tohunga, the "villainous" Hurihanga, and Te Rauparaha, of "cunning and treacherous disposition",[91] whose inclusion in the Egyptian Hall exhibition would have enhanced the sensationalist component, were not included in T.N.Z.I. Nor is there an image of Ngatata, who epitomised the hideously violent savage in the watercolour exhibition. Hone Heke was included and his disputes with the British described, but he was depicted as a mild-looking character, and accompanied by Patuone, a friend and supporter of Europeans and well-known peacemaker - as if Hone Heke's opposition was a thing of the past. The note that he had converted to Christianity, in the context of the book's text, implied a shift to more peaceable pursuits.

There are a couple of figures in T.N.Z.I., whose grotesque appearance might have suggested barbarity (e.g. Hongi Hongi, and Plate 29, Old Solomon). The letterpress, though, makes clear that they had progressed beyond that condition - the dialectical relationship between appearance and description in these cases pointing to the evolution of the Maori from savagery to civilisation. Otherwise the Maoris in the portraits generally make up an attractive and genteel group - in fine dress, the women and children pretty and

charming, the men blandly good-looking, in some cases even "noble" in look, as with Tara Iriranga (Plate 34), a friendly chief with a "fine intellectual head".[92]

This seemingly sympathetic and positive view of the Maori did not result from some humanist or egalitarian respect for his fellow men by Angas, as J. Tregenza has claimed.[93] Rather it can be related to contemporary racial ideology and to Angas' views on the place of the Maori in the colonising process. Angas' positive regard for the Maori was conditional on their acceptance of progress and the settlement of Europeans. His view that the Maori was the most "capable of civilisation" of the non-European peoples was consistent with the common classification of the Maori as the "best" of the savages; "their superiority over most of the uncivilised races".[94] In contrast Angas considered the Australian Aborigines, who were at the bottom of the Victorian racial hierarchy, as "degraded denizens of the soil", "benighted and sunken creatures", who, lacking the potential for civilisation, would become physically extinct before the "mighty flood" of "British colonisation".[95]

T.N.Z.I. then presented an image of Maoridom characterised by passivity, orderliness, acceptance of change and European colonisation - an ideal, wished-for state of affairs. Maori resistance to or suspicion of colonisation, still a problem in various parts of the country at the time of publication, though acknowledged, was minimised. For the subscribing institutions and individuals, some of whom had a close interest or involvement in colonisation, the New Zealand imaged in the book was a comfortable and reassuring place, where "now, the Maori sits peacefully in his plantation; the hoe and the spade having taken the place of the tomahawk".[96] The emphasis on the decorative and the picturesque in the depiction of the Maori would have enhanced this quality. The letterpress is moderate in tone, stressing the positive aspects of Maori-European interaction, and noting that the "horrors of cannibalism and savage warfare", dwelt upon as sensational fare for the Egyptian Hall

exhibition, had been "swept away" by the "progress of Christianity" and were now looked upon by most Maoris "with shame and regret".[97]

While recording the architecture and artefacts of the culture that was to be superceded, T.N.Z.I. also pointed to a future in which the Maori would be assimilated into a European order. One Plate, Ko Nga Waka Te Karaka, The Christian Chief of the Ngati Waoroa Tribe (Plate 47), had an adult male in complete bourgeois European dress - in effect demonstrating the changes in the habits and social conditions of the Maori allegedly "wrought" by the "progress of Christianity".[98] This lithograph exemplified a quality that the Southern Cross had attributed to some of Angas' watercolours of the Maori: "... another part represents the full dress and features of civilisation, differing in nothing from the European save in the less fairness of the complexion".[99]

T.N.Z.I., however, should not be seen as some sort of propagandist tract, primarily intended to promote colonisation and the spread of civilisation and Christianity.[100] Rather the colonialist ideological component existed more as a sub-text, secondary too, though also an aspect of the book's more overt functions as ethnological record and exercise in the exotic picturesque. Or it could be put this way: Angas' exhibitions and book constituted a system of meanings, in which the individual images were contributing units;[101] participants in a number of discourses - entertainment, ethnology, the exotic picturesque, colonialism.

Angas produced only occasional representations of the Maori after 1847. Though he had written to Grey in December 1846 that he hoped to return to New Zealand by mid 1847, his career took other directions - first to South Africa, then to Britain, before returning to Australia in 1850. He had settled in Sydney by mid 1851. There, "taste" being "confined to the few", as he wrote to Grey when seeking a testimonial for his application for the Secretaryship of the Australian Museum, it was not easy to "follow" his "profession as an Artist".[102]

In Savage Life Angas had written of New Zealand: "The energy and enterprise of British colonists and the benign influence of Christianity will eventually render the peaceful abodes of civilised and prosperous communities",[103] in which "the natives and the settler may live and amalgamate together, so as to form a powerful and distinguished nation".[104] Two of the last watercolour depictions of the Maori that Angas produced, a bust and a full-standing portrait of Tamihana te Rauparaha (Fig. 11), could be seen as visual "personifications" of this ideal. They were presumably painted in Australia, while Tamihana was en route from Britain, which he visited from April 1851 to July 1852. The full-standing portrait presents a smartly dressed (in European clothes), handsome, self assured gentleman, who at the same time is unmistakably Maori in his physical appearance. Tamihana, whom Angas described as a "Civilised and Christianised New Zealand Chief",[105] was the younger son of the still "heathen" Te Rauparaha, who, in contrast, epitomised the savage for the colonists and Angas.[106] Tamihana was quite a "catch" for civilisation. He had been ordained as an Anglican clergyman, had worked as a missionary in the South Island, and in the later 1840s and early 1850s was so committed to assimilation and the "superior" values of civilised life that he formed a club, "the members of which engaged themselves to live in English style homes and to wear European clothing".[107]

Angas had painted Tamihana before. He appeared with his father in the 1846 watercolour exhibition.[108] In that image, named Ko Katu and clad in Maori dress, the rendering of physiognomy is ethnically non-specific; his "Maoriness" is indicated primarily by the dress. He appeared basically as an exotic specimen in picturesque dress. In contrast in the 1852 portraits closer attention to the particulars of anatomy and facial feature, the "realistic" rendering of the face, allow the figure to be identified as Maori without recourse to the traditional attributes of "Maoriness". That might seem to suggest more a sense of individual personhood, in which case the contrasting

portrayals could be correlated with Angas' belief that Christianity and civilisation would allow the Maori to realise his potential as a superior human being, rather than remaining stunted by barbarism. However the more "realistic" mode of representing the face, rather than just "innocently" transcribing the actual, was convention bound too. It conformed to standard Victorian portrait types - types which primarily dealt with or represented social rank, status and achievement, before individual personality. For instance, the full standing portrait is characterised by features commonly found in portrayals of eminent, upper-middle class and aristocratic personages, successful writers, artists and politicians - the authoritative frontal pose, the formal dress, the confident look, the gaze usually direct, a hand or arm resting on a table or bench, which often holds an object indicating the subject's eminence or profession.[109] Tamihana's hand rests on an open book. Perhaps it is a bible, a sign of civilising Christianity, though books generally could connote such qualities as good works and enlightenment[110] - most apt given Tamihana's missionary work and his response to colonisation. Angas' tailoring of Tamihana then to a particular portrait type corresponded with, in effect expressed his (Tamihana's) incorporation at this time into the colonialist scheme.

As far as is known the portraits of Tamihana were not published or exhibited, though they did find their way into the collection of T. E. Donne, New Zealand High Commissioner in London in the early 20th century - a period when official policy still held that assimilation into European culture and the disappearance of a separate Maori culture was in the best interests of the Maori.

Besides Angas' <u>T.N.Z.I.</u> and Earle's <u>Sketches</u> there were two other illustrated travel books about New Zealand published in the mid 19th century: <u>Pictorial Illustrations of New Zealand</u>, 1847, by S. C. Brees (1810-65), and <u>A Series of Lithographic Drawings from Sketches in New Zealand</u>, 1852, by

Commander R. A. Oliver (1811-89).

Brees, who had been the principal surveyor and engineer for the New Zealand Co. from 1841-44,[111] focused primarily on the representation of the New Zealand landscape; the landscape both "untouched" and in the process of being developed by European colonists. In the I.L.N., Brees' sketches, a half a dozen of which were reproduced, were described as "representing scenes from the active colonisation of the Island ... the progress of the settlement".[112] There are Maori figures in thirty-three of the sixty-seven illustrations. With the exception of those in the frontispiece illustration these figures are all small, often barely distinguishable. Their size allowed little or no attention to details of physiognomy or dress. Brees' watercolours with Maori figures are the same in this respect. For instance, in A Tangi at Kopekehinga, Wairarapa. E Koro, the Chief of the Kaikokerri, meeting some of the Huangaroa Natives (Hocken Library), the tiny figures are no more than "blobs" without detail or feature picked out, located in a forest setting, the depiction of which dominates the image.

Nevertheless the seemingly secondary or small place the Maori figures occupy in Pictorial Illustrations does not mean that they are necessarily incidental, without any social or aesthetic connotations. For Brees the Maoris were "ignorant savages",[113] whose "submission to our laws" or total absence was necessary if New Zealand was going to be settled and developed successfully.[114] In a book, the primary thrust of which was to present the "general character" of a country that had many "advantages" for colonisation and so be of "service to the colonists",[115] it was apt that the Maori in his savage state, a drawback to development, would have only a minor role. Brees believed that "the redemption and occupation of wasteland" through colonisation was of "vital interest and importance in the present time".[116] Thus signs of European activity and development - towns, farms, churches, roading, bush clearing - are conspicuous in the illustrations, while the Maori figures, with only two

exceptions, are inactive, doing nothing, just there, unless they are assisting European development, as in Kai Warra Warra Saw Mill (Fig. 12), for instance. But the Maori figures did fulfil other functions. They could act as exotic and bizarre accents in the landscape being Europeanised - as in View Looking Down Hawkestone Street, Wellington, with Mr Brees Cottage (Plate 13), in which a group of Maoris franticly haul a canoe up a steep hill a long way from the water. Or they could provide picturesque items in the landscape, as in Interior of Archway at Pani Pani, Looking South (Plate 17), which features a standard picturesque motif, the pierced rock.

The frontispiece illustration (Fig. 13), in which the Maori figures are larger than in the others, "announces" the uses to which European artists could put the Maori: the exotic and picturesque value they could have. In a setting that contrasts the forest, the habitation of those at a primitive stage of social evolution,[117] and signs of European penetration (a camp), will to order and control (the surveyor's theodolyte), a European artist sketches a group of Maoris. The most prominent, an upright young male with moko, cloak, feathers in his hair and a taiaha, and a bare breasted, pretty and delicate young female exemplify two of the most common types in European representations of the Maori in the 1840s and 1850s - the exotic and decorative chieftain-like figure and the belle, both of which feature prominently in Angas' T.N.Z.I.

Brees also superintended the painting of a Panorama of New Zealand exhibited at the Linwood Gallery, Leicester Square, London in 1850.[118] The catalogue descriptions of the various sections of the Panorama indicate that the Maori took a secondary place to landscape and European development in this representation too, which, besides providing entertainment, functioned as an advertisement to attract investment and immigrants to the colony.[119] Only six of the twenty-six sections feature things Maori - five pa scenes and a monument to a "famous chief, Warepouri".[120] No reproductions of these remain. An illustration on a handbill advertising the Panorama (Fig. 14) suggests what the

tone of the Maori scenes may have been like. It shows a Maori and a European embracing, rubbing noses, coming together - an image of harmony and amalgamation that no doubt would have been reassuring to potential investors and immigrants.

In contrast to Brees' Pictorial Illustrations, Oliver's A Series of Lithographic Drawings concentrates primarily on the Maori; eight of the nine illustrations featuring Maoris cast in a variety of situations. Oliver's book was intended as the first in an ambitious, though never realised series of publications of lithographs of New Zealand, Maori and Pacific subjects, "to range in size and character with Robert's Spain and Miss Eden's India".[121] These were to be compiled from sketches made by Oliver while he was in New Zealand and the Pacific from 1847-51. Oliver was neither a professional artist nor a draughtsman. He was the Captain of the H.M.S. Fly, which was engaged mainly in the first hydrographic survey of New Zealand, though letters and entries in his private Journal indicate that he assisted in the administration of the colony too, by accompanying Governor Grey on diplomatic missions among the Maori and on tours of inspection of the European settlements.[122]

Oliver's many drawings and watercolours include at least sixty in which Maori figures are the main focus of attention - mostly portraits of named people and portrait-like studies of unnamed Maoris, in the majority of instances young women.[123] Besides landscape studies, which include figures, Oliver also made a number of sketches with smaller figures either in pa scenes or engaged in activities, such as a tangi, a canoe launching, a meeting and act of warfare. "Picturesque" is a recurring term in his Journal descriptions of landscape and people in New Zealand, and his representations, while including information about the dress and habits of the Maori, were mediated by the same conventions of the picturesque and the exotic as Angas'. For instance, his sketches of young Maori women (e.g. Sophia Gray (Te Paea), Bay of Islands, Fig. 15), who in look and facial feature are more European than Maori, fit the

keepsake beauty model too, like so many Oriental, Mediterranean and peasant belles of mid 19th century imagery. Oliver's presentations of male figures also conform to the mode favoured by Angas. Te Hara of the Ngati Whatua of Orakei (Fig. 16), for instance, presents a full-standing "specimen", bland in expression, in physiognomy ethnically non-specific, Maori identity signified by weapon, cloak and tattoo. A Group outside a Tent, Pomare's Pah, Bay of Islands (Fig. 17) combines in the one image a store of motifs stereotypic in contemporary British art and illustration - the belle again, the idealised mother and child, the plump and putti-like child, the decorative pile of exotic artefacts, and another staple of the exotic, the armed young male. An extract from Oliver's Journal provides an insight into the aesthetic distance he maintained from his Maori subjects:[124]

> ... a little, temporary Maori settlement of surpassing loveliness, all seemed a fancy scene and work of enchantment, till the smell of the half dried sharks and other abominations and close proximity to the dirty natives brought you back to the world.

Oliver's sketches veer towards the "fancy" rather than to the more earthy realities of "the world".

A mixture of the conventionally exotic picturesque and some information about the actualities of contemporary Maori life and aspects of Maori-European contact characterise his A Series of Lithographic Drawings too. For example, Plate 2, A Korero, represents an important meeting between Governor Grey and Te Rangihaeata, a leading Maori critic of colonial practices, at Waikanae in 1851, though the multitude of figures are tiny, individuals barely distinguishable (see Fig. 18). Plate 5, Strangers House, Hauraki Pa, shows a "typical" pa and traditionally dressed Maoris, with an ornately carved whare a central feature. A stock motif of the picturesque, a waterfall, features in Plate 4, The Falls of Kirikiri. This includes two small Maori spectators gesturing towards the sight, as a European traveller encountering a waterfall was usually depicted as doing.[125] Plate 8, two single figure studies, Henry Bluff and Johnny, and

Plate 6, a group portrait, Half Castes at Pomare's Pa, present named half castes, for whom Oliver seemed to have a special attraction: "the finest mixed race in the world".[126] Given this attitude it might seem apt that these figures are good looking, but this quality, combined with their uniform neatness, cleanliness, blandness of expression and lack of individuation, conforms to the cosmetic presentation so frequent in illustrated travel books. Plate 3, A Tangi exemplifies another staple of the travel book - the exotic: "Of all the curious customs that strike the European upon coming in contact with savage races, there is nothing more extraordinary than the tangi of the New Zealanders".[127] The traditionally savage is represented by Plate 10, a portrait of Te Rangihaeata, who epitomised, according to the letterpress, the "warlike" and the "pagan" characteristic of those who opposed colonisation. In fact the actual portrait inclines more in the direction of the stereotypical decoratively exotic "native" chieftain.[128]

So Oliver included "a bit of everything", in the bid, perhaps, to exploit the vogue for illustrated travel books on exotic and foreign places. Back in England in 1852 Oliver sought other outlets for his Maori sketches too. He checked out the possibilities for publication of a volume of Maori legends by Grey and poems by a leading colonial politician, Domett, illustrated with his sketches.[129] Like his planned series of lithographs of New Zealand and the Pacific this came to nought. The views of one major publisher, Boone, as reported by Oliver to Grey, may explain why: "New Zealand is overdone, illustrated books (are) overdone".[130]

Oliver was not the first person of limited artistic skills to advertise a series of lithographs featuring the Maori that did not eventuate. In April 1846, the year before Angas' T.N.Z.I. appeared, Joseph Merrett, who, like Angas and Oliver, had close associations with Grey, advertised (in New Zealand) as forthcoming:[131]

Portraits of Heki, Kawiti, Heke's wife, Tamati Waka, Noble, Ripa, and

> others will arrive from Sydney, by the earliest opportunity .... They will be published in Sydney, Hobart Town and England; first singly, then in sets, with letterpress, containing as much interesting biography as can be collected.

Merrett (1816-54) was a settler, "well-known in the northern portion of the island",[132] not merely a visitor: "My interests, my prospects are bound up in New Zealand ... it is the land of my adoption", he wrote in 1846.[133] He travelled extensively in the North Island, particularly in the areas with the largest Maori populations. For instance, he accompanied Captain Symonds, Chief Magistrate and Assistant Surveyor General, the German naturalist Dieffenbach and Ensign Best on their journey through the Bay of Plenty and central North Island in 1841,[134] and he journeyed alone in the Bay of Islands in 1846 and in Waikato in 1848.[135] He was married to a "Native female", with whom he had lived since 1841. He spoke Maori and was regarded by his contemporaries as being "conversant from long experience with all the concerns of the natives".[136]

The Maori was his speciality in picture making, mostly portraits of identified and unnamed figures, singly and in groups, sketches of Maori customs and traditional activities, and occasional depictions of contemporary events. Merrett regarded and advertised himself as an "artist" in the 1840s,[137] and wrote of painting as his "profession".[138] In early colonial society, in which professionally trained artists were a rarity, a person of Merrett's limited technical skills could find some, if not regular, employment for himself and his images, even if more in the realm of illustration than "high art". For instance, three lithographs after Merrett's sketches of Maoris were published in E. Terry's New Zealand: Its Advantages and Prospects as a British Colony, 1842, and at least one in E. Dieffenbach's Travels on New Zealand, 1843. A lithograph, The New Zealand Festival, from Merrett's sketch of a Maori feast held at Remuera, 11 May, 1843, was published in Hobart in 1845, while another, Warrior Chieftains of New Zealand, was published in Sydney in 1846. This may

have been part of the planned series of Maori portraits in lithograph. Merrett's ambitions tended to exceed the realities of the colonial art market place. For instance, he advertised himself in 1849 as willing and able "to execute Designs or Paintings from the historical records or legends of New Zealand, for publishers or authors".[139] As far as is known there were no takers. But earlier from mid 1846 to mid 1847 he had benefited from the "handsome" patronage of Governor Grey.[140] Merrett also received portrait commissions from other colonists.[141] Grey's Pictorial Scrapbooks, donated to the British Museum in 1854, include more than sixty pen and pencil sketches of Maori figures and customs that have been attributed to Merrett.[142] Two, Visitors weeping over the head of a deceased relation and A taua taking the female of her tribe by force, were reproduced in Grey's Polynesian Mythology, 1855, pp. 199 and 174.

Merrett also wrote about the Maori and Maori-European relations, a brief consideration of which helps to elucidate the viewpoints from which his images were made. His writings include a longish article, An Account of a Visit to the New Zealand Chiefs, Heki and Kawiti, published in Simmonds Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany in 1846, the poems, To Maketu (Lines Written Previous to His Execution), published in the New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette, 19 March 1842, and The Lizard Rock: A Ballad in The New Zealander, 9 June 1847, another article in The New Zealander, 3 July 1847, in which he discussed aspects of Maori history and culture, such as their origins and the practice of cannibalism, and a letter, 12 February 1848, to the same paper, suggesting means of dealing with the tensions between Maori and Pakeha. His evaluations of "old savages" and descriptions of their "barbarities" could be simplistic and lurid, in conformity with the stereotype of the unredeemed, ignoble savage, given over to vice and depravity: "... men of cruel minds, without conscience, without principle, and like the people denounced by the Almighty in Ezekiel ... wretches seeking blood".[143]

Yet in his Simmonds Colonial Magazine article Merrett wrote about the "rebels" Kawiti and Hone Heke relatively sympathetically: "... not withstanding that there are dark spots of their savage natures exhibited in one or two instances, still there is a large proportion of civilisation and intelligence amongst them".[144] He counselled moderation and diplomacy in any dealings with them, arguing that peaceful colonisation depended on winning them over non violently, not on military suppression. He asserted that he himself had always:[145]

> ... endeavoured to reason the natives into a sense of the advantages which must result to themselves from becoming embodied as a part of a powerful nation like Britain, rather than remaining an insignificant dependency, relapsing into their original state of barbarism, and becoming a prey to, the lawless and licentious rovers of all nations.

Merrett's visit to Kawiti and Heke would seem to have been an intelligence gathering mission[146] - another aspect of his patronage by Governor Grey perhaps - an attempt to gauge the chiefs' intentions, military or otherwise, towards colonisation and Grey's administration.

Merrett's contacts with these powerful and influential chiefs and their followers were very close, and he was able to make sketches of them on the spot, even if surreptitiously, "through the window of my little house", in the case of Heke.[147] The lithograph after Merrett, Warrior Chieftains of New Zealand (Fig. 19), which features Kawiti, Heke and his wife Hariata, can be related to the experiences and attitudes that Merrett recorded in the Simmonds Colonial Magazine. In so far as these people, central participants in the Northern Wars of 1845-46, had been in the news the lithograph's publication would have had a topical immediacy. The seemingly positive presentation - Heke, handsome, forceful-looking in strong profile with a rifle, Kawiti, old and benevolent looking, Hariata, attractive and agreeable - corresponded with Merrett's published views of them, and also fitted his belief that they had much to offer peaceful colonisation, even though at the time they still had an adversary relationship with the British. Of Hariata Merrett had written: "She

is a woman of excellent proportions ... her manner exceedingly agreeable, with a quite pleasing smile in the expression of her lips ... a superior woman for a native".[148] He considered Kawiti a reasonable and dignified old man, and Heke "shrewd" and strong. He used no derogatory appellations, in contrast to his characterisation of Te Rauparaha as a "fiend".[149]

The other Merrett sketches of Maoris published in lithographic form in the 1840s either implied in their context or imaged overtly a willingness by the Maori to accept European colonisation. That was in keeping with Merrett's beliefs that congenial relations with the Maori were necessary and that the Maori would benefit from colonisation. The four Maoris, the Ngati Whatua chief Te Kauwau and three dependants, illustrated in Terry's New Zealand: Its Advantages and Prospects as a British Colony, were all Christian converts, "fine specimens of the present ranks of New Zealanders", and in the case of Te Kauwau "respected for his peaceable habits ... and very desirous to gain the friendship of Europeans".[150] The frontispiece illustration, Te Waro (Fig. 20), in Dieffenbach's Travels in New Zealand celebrated the recognition by a Maori of the alleged superiority of British civilisation over traditional Maori mores - and by implication postulated a model, an ideal for Maori acceptance of British presence. It represents an incident in the Waipa district, which Merrett witnessed and sketched on the spot.[151] An elderly chief, Te Waro, acknowledged British law over Maori custom by handing over his only daughter to a British magistrate for a killing, that would have been legitimate revenge under Maori law, but which was "murder" according to the British legal code.[152] The central figure of Te Waro, idealised as youthful and handsome, his stance and gestures reminiscent of protagonists in History painting, and the subject itself, respect for the law, duty to the state over personal and familial loyalties and feelings, bring to mind such heroic celebrations of civilised morality as David's Lictors Returning to Brutus the Bodies of his Sons (1789, Louvre) - apt echoes and idealisations for an image of a moment of transition

from savagery to civilisation.

The published lithograph, The New Zealand Festival, (Fig. 21), after another Merrett watercolour, can be related to the potentially explosive tensions between Maori and European that existed in Auckland in early 1844. It depicts a gathering of thousands of Maoris, "well armed and well disciplined", which had been "anticipated with some anxiety" by settlers and Governor Fitzroy.[153] In the event it passed off peacefully. The presence of Fitzroy on horseback and his retinue in the right foreground being welcomed at this gathering can be linked to the conciliatory strategies which Merrett advised, and was consistent with Fitzroy's own belief in the "absolute necessity of acting so as to make the large majority of the natives really friendly towards the Government, and disposed of their own free will to support his authority".[154] The lithograph then, besides presenting an exotic spectacle in a panoramic landscape, was of political import, celebrating the successful conciliation between the races when a "serious collision"[155] had been feared. It ought to be noted, though, that the presentation of Maoris and Europeans in Merrett's watercolour, from which the lithograph was derived, differs in some respects. For instance, in the watercolour (Fig. 22) the welcoming haka party and the hordes of armed Maoris loom much larger in the composition (the haka in the centre foreground rather than the right midground), while Fitzroy's horse rears up. The lithographer downgraded the sense of animation of the Maori figures in the watercolour in favour of a more "orderly" and calmer scene, in which attention is directed towards Fitzroy, as if he was presiding over the event.

Virtually all of Merrett's other watercolours of Maoris feature full length and the occasional seated figures, male and female, mostly young, frontally posed, though with some of the heads in profile. They occupy the foreground plane, and if in groups fill most of the picture space, which is otherwise either void or decorated with botanical items. Merrett, as noted,

did do some portraits of individual and well-known chiefs, such as Solomon, Patuone and Hone Heke, which, even if not very effective as studies in individual physiognomy, reveal an attempt to make distinctions between various Maori notables.[156] Otherwise Merrett's groups of Maori figures, in which dress, ornamentation and weaponry were rendered in detail, operated primarily as colourful, decorative and exotic knick-knacks, in which actual identity was of little relevance. Distinctively Maori facial features were rarely delineated. The figures could pass as tinted Europeans in fancy dress.

Merrett's females in these works, as in Maori Game of Poi (Fig. 23), are invariably sweet, pretty, delicate looking, large eyed, pert lipped, their faces forming gentle curves - like Angas'. Often draped languorously against one another or a male companion, they too conform to the keepsake beauty model, in which signs or hints of romance or amorousness are often apparent. A note about the poi in an Album (that included a number of Merrett's Maori belles) presented to Mrs Hobson, the wife of the first Governor of New Zealand, is relevant here. The poi was "the love letter of the Maori".[157] These watercolours were primarily fancy pictures; the appearances of the figures, skin smooth and unblemished, neat and tidy with gentle, smiling expressions, doll-like in structure, and the mood of idyllic contentment, passivity and good cheer far removed from the psychological and social actualities of Maori life in the 1840s. The "chimney ornament" treatment could extend to Hone Heke too. For instance, in the watercolour Hone Heke and his wife Harriet, with four attendants (Fig. 24) Heke is not the stern profiled figure of the single figure portrait or lithograph, but just another soft and tame looking "clotheshanger" for an ornately decorated cloak. Merrett's fancy pictures are visual analogues of the characters in his poetic romance, The Lizard Rock, that features "handsome" and "dusky" warriors, beautiful maidens, and groups of girls who "laughed in merry glee"[158] - fictional entities quite distinct from the Maoris Merrett documented in his Simmonds Colonial Magazine report.

One South Australian viewer who wrote critically of the limitations of Angas' style added: "But the fine arts were never born for new colonies".[159] Certainly the production of "fine art" in the early years of colonisation in New Zealand was virtually non-existent, and the possibilities of a person making a career as a professional artist slight. In Adelaide Grey had assisted and encouraged Angas,[160] and after shifting to New Zealand in 1845 his patronage was important for aspiring artists. Besides Merrett, one artist he employed was Cuthbert Clarke, who was in New Zealand from April 1849 to 1852.[161] Clarke was in the Bay of Islands with Grey in August-September 1849, and accompanied him too on a major expedition from Auckland to Taranaki, via Thames, Waikato, Taupo and the West Coast from December 1849 to March 1850.[162] However, despite this, Clarke, unlike Merrett, did not become well-known as an artist during his short stay in New Zealand - as the remarks of another patron John Logan Campbell, one of the first and most prominent settlers in Auckland, indicate: "I have at last stumbled on a party who claims to be a professional artist, and who says he has illustrated books at home for the descriptive letterpress".[163]

The usual brief for artists accompanying travellers, explorers and diplomats in foreign or little-known territory was to take notes on places visited, people and things encountered, and notable events and experiences, both for the personal record and for possible use in publications. Clarke's surviving works from the Grey expeditions fit this prescription. Although he produced a few portraits and figure studies of single Maori figures, in most of his drawings and watercolours with Maoris the figures are small, with anatomy and physiognomy only schematically rendered. They usually either accompany a Maori artefact, such as a carving, a canoe prow or a building, as in _Patuka containing the remains of Te Heu Heu, Chief of Taupo_ (British Museum),[164] or are participants in some multifigure event, in which architecture and/or landscape again play prominent parts, as in _Maoris Beating Fern Root for_

Visitors (British Museum).[165] The Maori was a source of picturesque material for Clarke, as his Sketch at Matamata, Horowai (Fig. 25) demonstrates. This shows the artist sketching a cloaked Maori girl - yet another keepsake belle - whose pose, with basket on her head, echoes too a common type in 19th century imagery - the exotic Oriental or Mediterranean girl carrying a pitcher.[166]

There are three extant Clarke drawings with Maoris relating to Grey's trips that are more worked up. In two the primary accent is less on the characteristics of the figures themselves than on the activity in which they are participants. For instance, in Sir George Grey and Party crossing the Matamata Swamp, New Zealand, 1849 (Fig. 26) and Exploring Party Descending the Cliffs, West Coast of the North Island (1849, Mitchell Library) the Maoris are subsidiary figures, mere adjuncts in the drama of Europeans travelling in remote spots, reminiscent of a type exemplified by Augustus Earle's autobiographical sketches of the travelling artist in the wilderness.[167] Only in one, Group of Waikato Warriors, New Zealand (Fig. 27), worked up from a rough sketch in his Travel Diary,[168] are the Maori figures concentrated on. There are four seated and armed figures, three of whom grimace "fiercely", while one is equipped with bizarre feather wings projecting from his ears - an exotic item indeed. The more finished appearance of these drawings suggests that they may have been done as potential illustrations for a published account of the Auckland-Taranaki trip, though that which did appear, G. S. Cooper's Journal of an Expedition overland from Auckland to Taranaki by Way of Rotorua, Taupo and the West Coast in the Summer of 1849-50 by His Excellency the Governor in Chief of New Zealand, 1851, does not include any illustrations.

Only two of the sketches with Maoris from the Grey trips were published - in engraved versions - in the 1850s. Both image aspects of Maori-European interaction, events that advanced colonialist interests. A crudish drawing (A.T.L.) that Clarke made on the spot of the baptism of an elderly and influential chief, Te Ngahue, at Te Ariki, 29 December, 1849, worked up into a

more figuratively and architecturally detailed engraving by J. Johnston, appeared in the Church Missionary Intelligencer, v. 2, 1851, p. 70. It advertised missionary and governmental success among the Maori. Significantly Grey, who sent the drawing and an account of the baptism to the periodical,[169] appears in the image. Clarke made several watercolours and drawings of a hakari or food stage surrounded by many Maori figures (Fig. 28), that was constructed for a feast given by Bay of Island chiefs for Grey in September 1849 to celebrate peace between the two races. Engraved versions of this appeared in the Wesleyan Juvenile Offering, v. 11, 1855, p. 61, titled Pyramid of Food and as frontispiece illustration in A. S. Thomson's The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present; Savage and Civilised, v. 2, 1859. Besides recording an important political event, Clarke's depiction of the hakari can be seen in terms of the taste for the exotic picturesque too. Small figures clambering over and around an enormous frame emblazoned with banners would have constituted a bizarre and novel image for European viewers. That is, Clarke's sketches, like Angas' and Merrett's, could mix the exotic and socio-political referents. For instance, his Sketch of A Maori Policeman (Fig. 29) is less a portrait (there is little individuation or attention to the face), than a representation of an exotic cultural mix (moko, noseflute and uniform) and an aspect of European governmental policy at the time. It illustrated, according to the later annotation of the collector Hocken, Grey's practice of appointing Maoris to civil posts "in common with their English fellow subjects with the view of bringing the two races into closer and more friendly contact".

While the works for Grey were produced primarily as records, the sketches Clarke was commissioned to do in 1852 by John Logan Campbell had a more "artistic" orientation. Campbell was a very successful businessman and merchant, a social type that had begun to play a major part in art patronage in Britain in the mid 19th century.[170] The sketches, for which Clarke was paid ten guineas,[171] were for illustrations for a proposed publication of Campbell's

memoirs. The book, Poenamo: Sketches of the Early Days of New Zealand, in fact, was not published until 1881 and then with illustrations by a later 19th century Auckland artist, Kennett Watkins. However a copy of his book that Campbell donated to the Auckland Public Library includes photographs of seven of Clarke's sketches, four with Maori figures, inserted into the text. These photographs, though, are small and poor quality. The original sketches remain unlocated.

In contrast to his work for Grey, Clarke's Maori pieces for Campbell were imaginative reconstructions of earlier experiences of Campbell's, not events Clarke had witnessed. Campbell believed that illustrations, with, for instance, "nude (Maori) devils", or a "semicircle of mourners", would make his book "go down much more slick".[172] Not surprisingly the primary stresses in the sketches were on dramatic, exotic and picturesque effects. Campbell also wanted the illustrations to have an "artistic" quality,[173] which, from the evidence of the photographs, they had. The Letter of Introduction to the Ngatitoa, Poenamo, p. 255, for instance, was a conventionally structured picturesque landscape panorama, with small figures in the foreground, repoussoir trees, a sweeping view of land and water and a chain of hills in the distance. The landscape setting was similarly organised in The Maori Wake, p. 177, though the figures were more numerous and larger. Campbell's suggested semicircle of mourners, with a centrally placed, bare breasted young woman and several figures in contorted poses gesticulating wildly, provided the dramatic accent, and corresponded with Campbell's own stress on the grotesque and the bizarre in his description of the "obsequies".[174] Another sketch, p. 79, The Timber Draggers, subtitled "It was a Wild and Exciting Scene", showed a team of naked Maoris struggling with a gigantic log, dwarfed by "awesomely" towering trees - a touch of the sublime. (Fig. 30, Lumbering Timber in the Kauri Forest, Kaipara is very close to the Poenamo sketch, though with fewer figures.)

Clarke's manner of staging these scenes invested the colonial experiences of Campbell with a certain romance, which corresponded with Campbell's own representation of his experiences in the memoir, as suggested by the book's subtitle: "Romance and Reality in Antipodean Life in the Infancy of the Colony". For instance, the presentation of the figures in The Letter of Introduction to the Ngatitoa - a single European in a "new" land, meeting the Maori and surrounded by trappings of an alien culture (stockade, canoe, whare) - was consistent with the tone of adventure and the theme of the intrepid European broaching virgin territory central to Campbell's Poenamo. The romantic motif of the adventurer braving the unexplored wilds, outnumbered and fronting up to the as yet uncivilised natives, had a New Zealand precedent in Augustus Earle's The Meeting of the Artist with the Wounded Chief Hongi, Bay of Islands, November 1827 (1828, A.T.L.), reproduced in Earle's Sketches.

Except for Brees, all the artists discussed so far in this section had connections with George Grey. Besides using images of the Maori for propagandist or promotional purposes, visual representations of the Maori were an aspect of Grey's ambitious project to record Maori customs and mythology. There were several reasons for this. In the Preface of his Polynesian Mythology Grey asserted that it was necessary to study Maori language, customs and mythology (which he labelled "puerile") in order to be able to communicate with and understand the Maori better. Understanding would ideally facilitate control and the civilising of the Maori. Further, Grey, like Angas, believed the transition from barbarism to civilisation necessarily involved the assimilation of the Maori into European culture, and the consequent disappearance of traditional Maori culture. It was important then in the interests of progress to record that which was going to disappear. As Grey put in a lecture in 1851:[175]

> We who stand in this country occupy an historical position of extraordinary interest. Before us lies a future already brilliant with the light of a glorious morn, which we are to usher in to gladden unborn

> generations. Behind us lies a night of fearful gloom, unillumined by the light of written records, of picture memorials, of aught which can give a certain idea of the past.

Grey's Pictorial Scrapbooks, a collection of sketches and notes on New Zealand and the Maori by a variety of artists, even if the scope and quality of the material was limited, resulted from such views.

A number of artists contributed representations of the Maori - C. Heaphy (1822-81) and C. D. Barraud (1812-97), for instance, besides Merrett and Clarke. The Heaphys include watercolour portraits and pencil sketches of aspects of Maori life, such as the catching of a weka and the making of a kaitaka. Engraved versions of his sketches of a dead chief lying in state after having been killed in a battle and of war canoes appeared in Grey's Polynesian Mythology, p. 151 and title page. There are six sheets of Barraud's sketches in the Scrapbooks. All relate to the Arawa legend of Hinemoa and Tutanekai (Fig. 31), a version of which was included in Polynesian Mythology. Barraud's sketches, only two of which have figures, combine image and text in the manner of an illuminated manuscript, and it is possible that they were preliminary studies for the prospective illustrated book of legend and verse by Grey and Domett that Oliver referred to. Barraud, a chemist who settled in Wellington in 1850, did other work for Grey too - in the absence perhaps of an available professional in the settlement. His oil painting, Baptism of the Maori Chief, Te Puni, in Otaki Church (Fig. 32), in which Grey and his wife are prominent, was painted for Grey in 1852.[176] Te Puni was a powerful and influential chief, whose friendship was most useful in the establishment of the Wellington settlement. The painting celebrated Grey's belief that successful colonisation required the assimilation of the Maori; conversion to Christianity being considered a major step on the way towards this.

Oil paintings featuring or including the Maori were rare in New Zealand in the 1840s and 1850s. Only Barraud of the artists discussed so far in this chapter produced any. However a large oil painting, the first History

painting[177] with Maori figures in the 19th century, was painted in England in 1847 by a well-known professional artist, who had not been in New Zealand. That was The Erebus and Terror at Anchor off New Zealand (Fig. 33) by J. W. Carmichael (1799-1868). It does not seem to have been publicly exhibited at the time.[178] Certainly it was not shown at the Royal Academy, the Society of British Artists or the British Institution - all places where Carmichael otherwise exhibited frequently.[179] The eponymous ships under the command of Captain James Clark Ross had visited New Zealand from August-December 1841, during an expedition to the southern Pacific and the Antarctic to study the earth's magnetic field, in an attempt to locate the southern magnetic pole. This voyage had been urged on the Government by the British Society for the Advancement of Science, the Royal Society, and by "illustrious" scientists and philosophers.[180] Indeed Carmichael's painting and a companion piece, The Erebus and Terror in the Antarctic (1847, National Maritime Museum), had been commissioned by the Royal Society, probably to commemorate the voyage. Ross's account of the expedition, A Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions During the Years 1839-43, was published in the same year. It has been suggested that the paintings could also have been intended to memorialise the two ships, which had been lost in 1845 during a voyage under Sir John Franklin in search of the north west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific.[181]

With The Erebus and Terror at Anchor off New Zealand Carmichael was not constructing a documentary report of people, place or actual historical event. The canoes and carvings in the foreground, for instance, while evoking the Polynesian and the exotic, are not ethnologically accurate. Carmichael's lack of concern with documentary accuracy is suggested too by differences in detail between the ships in the two paintings, while the small figures, either in physical appearance or dress, are not necessarily or distinctively Maori. Their identification is dependent on title. They functioned primarily as

exotic props in a dramatic scene invented or imagined by Carmichael. There is no mention in Ross' book of such a scene either on his arrival or on any other occasion during his stay in New Zealand. Indeed his ships first anchored in an estuary at Kawakawa during heavy fog and rain with no Maoris in attendance.[182] Carmichael's presentation of the Maori as welcoming, offering gifts and deferential in general mien, varied radically from Ross' assessment of the mood of the Maori in 1841. Ross noted their general dissatisfaction with the Treaty of Waitangi:"... so strong was the impression in my mind of the readiness of the natives to seize any favourable opportunity of regaining possession of their lands and driving the Europeans out of the country, that I always felt much anxiety in the absence of our people".[183]

Besides frequently rewriting history, commemorative pieces and monuments tend to present historical events as dramatic and extraordinary. Carmichael turned out an impressive scene - a crowd of gesticulating figures in exotic canoes in the fore and near midground, European ships in bright focus rising above them, and a group of Europeans in a dinghy setting out to meet the natives occupying the midground; all set against a dramatically craggy and mountainous coastline, with the drama of the encounter and setting further enhanced by the atmospherics - light bursting from behind the mountains, bathing the Europeans in a glow, and contrasting with the darker, more shadowed foreground area. Yet, except for the identification of the setting as New Zealand, there was nothing new in Carmichael's formulation of his scene - so closely did it conform to a standard compositional type in marine painting. The placement and interrelationships of sailing ships, horizon line and atmospheric effects followed a model, that Turner (himself inspired by a 17th century Dutch marine painting) had primarily been responsible for establishing in English art in the first decade of the 19th century. Basic ingredients of the type include smaller boats with figures engaged in various activities, located in or near the foreground, pointing to the principle focus of the

painting, sailing ships characterised by a complex play of sails, masts and rigging, in the midground, the horizon about a quarter to a third way up the picture space, allowing an open expanse of sky against which the play of masts and sails was accentuated, with contrasting areas of light and shade enlivening the picture space. There are many examples of this type amongst the works of such leading early-mid 19th century marine painters as Stanfield, Chambers, Cooke and Carmichael himself.[184]

A number of features of The Erebus and Terror at Anchor off New Zealand also echo earlier representations of European navigators' meetings with Pacific peoples and of exotic Pacific sights and landscapes encountered during voyages of exploration. For instance, the attention to and the foregrounding of the ornate decorated canoes crowded with natives in a coastal setting recalls such works as Hodges' The War Boats of the Island of Otaheiti (1777, Admiralty), while the relationship of Polynesians in small boats in the foreground and European sailing ships in the left midground, with an awesomely mountainous backdrop to the right, and the lighting dramatic brings to mind Hodges' The Resolution and the Adventure in Matavai Bay, Tahiti (1776, National Maritime Museum) - though the European boats are smaller in relation to picture space in the Hodges. The closeness of Carmichael's mountainous coastscape to the Hodges suggests a direct derivation. Certainly the paintings of Hodges, representations of the voyages of Cook, the most famous Pacific explorer, would have provided apt models for Carmichael's celebratory pieces, particularly in the absence of any first hand experience of Pacific places and people.

Carmichael's painting then, even though it refers to the actual event of the ships being in New Zealand, emerges primarily as a fictional construct, determined mainly by conventions and types in European art and little by the actualities of Maori-European interaction during Ross' visit.

CHAPTER II

MID NINETEENTH CENTURY REPRESENTATIONS RELATING TO MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

Engravings in missionary periodicals, lithographs, colour prints and the occasional oil painting, commemorating missionary activities in New Zealand or promoting missionary work and beliefs constituted one of the largest bodies of published representations of the Maori in the mid 19th century. With the exceptions of the paintings, these images would have been, with Angas' watercolours and the illustrations in travel books and the I.L.N.[1] the representations of the Maori most widely seen or publicly accessible in Britain in the period. The ideological components of missionary representations are generally clearcut and unambiguous, tending towards the connotatively "closed" or rigid. As one would expect, given their functions, the missionary representations with Maoris correlate with standard Evangelical Christian views about the Maori, their relationships with Europeans, and the value and significance of the changes occurring in Maori culture and society as a result of missionary activities. Though the first missionary, Samuel Marsden, visited New Zealand in 1814, and the first Church Missionary Society station was established in the same year, no Maoris were converted to Christianity in New Zealand until the later 1820s. It was not until the 1830s and 1840s that conversion became widespread, so that by the later 1850s the majority of Maoris had adopted Christianity.[2] Though there had been a few missionary-related representations of the Maori produced before 1830[3] a major increase in the output of such representations in the 1830s, 1840s and especially the 1850s corresponded with this period of greatest missionary successes.

Many of the missionary representations with Maoris dealt with aspects of missionary success and presence in New Zealand. There were portraits of

converted Maoris. For instance, *Portrait of Edward Parry, a baptised New Zealand youth* (Fig. 34), *Quarterly Papers of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East*, 1834, shows a mild and serious looking youth, who had shed his "primitive" Maori ways and name, "in order to listen to the voice of (his) Teacher".[4] And *Thomas Walker, Wesleyan Chief in New Zealand*, *Wesleyan Juvenile Offering*, v. 4, 1847, p. 48, also presents a mild, innocuous looking person, à radical contrast, according to the accompanying text, to his "thieving and mischievous" behaviour before conversion.[5] Illustrations of mission stations and churches for the Maori, with small Maori figures, constituted a common type of image (e.g. *Wesleyan Mission Station at Waingaroa, New Zealand. Natives Assembling for Worship*, *Wesleyan Juvenile Offering*, v. 3, 1846, frontispiece; *Zion Chapel and Mission Building, Lake Tarawera, New Zealand*, *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, v. 5, 1854, p. 247; *Pepepe, A Church Missionary Society Station on the Waikato, New Zealand*, *Quarterly Papers of the Church Missionary Society*, no. 126, 1847, frontispiece,[6] and *Native Church at Turanga, Poverty Bay, New Zealand*, *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, v. 3, 1852, p. 26).

There were depictions of missionaries and converted Maoris preaching, dispensing the word, and presiding over funeral rituals and baptisms. I have already noted Barraud's *Baptism of the Maori Chief, Te Puni* for Grey, and *The Baptism of Te Ngahue, An Aged New Zealand Chief, at Te Ariki*, in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, v. 2, 1851. Other examples include *Missionaries Distributing Bibles to a Gathering of Maoris*, Workers Educational Union Print, c.1852; *Nathaniel Addressing The New Zealand Children*, *Wesleyan Juvenile Offering*, v. 4, 1847, p. 97; *Samuel Marsden Preaching*, *Church Missionary Tracts*, no. 2, 1852, frontispiece; *The Rev. C. P. Davies Teaching Maoris*, *Church Missionary Gleaner*, v. 1, 1850, frontispiece; *The Lying in State of the New Zealand Chief, Hone Heke, Kaikohe, 8 August 1850*, *Church Missionary Gleaner*, v. 3, 1852, p. 169. One image of a missionary preaching, *A Night Scene in New Zealand* (Fig. 35), *Quarterly Papers of the Church Missionary Society*, 1837,

made "real" the connotations that light (God's illumination) and dark (Godless wilderness) can have in the Christian scheme of things.[7] It depicts a Mr Kemp preaching at night to a group of Maoris round "our" fire: "... the light of which, and the faint glimmer of the candle inside our tent, were all that relieved the darkness of the night".[8] The missionary, that is, is the "bearer of light", both literally and metaphorically.

There were depictions of such events as missionaries arriving in new territories, confronting the "wilderness" and on peace-making missions among hitherto warlike Maoris (e.g. The Arrival of the Rev. T. S. Grace and Mrs Grace at Pukawa, Taupo (Fig. 36), Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1856; Reconciliation of Hostile New Zealand Tribes, Church Missionary Gleaner, v. 3, 1852, p. 49; and Chief Tumewawakairo and the Rev. R. Taylor cutting their way through dense forest, Church Missionary Gleaner, v. 1, 1850, p. 57). The strength and heroism of the Maori civilised by Christianity was typically represented in Tamehana te Rauparaha persuading the hostile chiefs to make peace (Fig. 37), Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1852. Tamehana in European dress, unarmed, stands alone before a crowd of about forty figures mainly in Maori dress and heavily armed. His upright stance, one leg thrust before the other, his extended right arm connote his authority, and ability to pacify and control a potentially threatening situation.

In contrast to these images of missionary success and struggle there was a smaller number of representations of unconverted Maoris and pre-Christian customs, which either illustrated or referred to the warlike nature, violence and "cruel practices" allegedly fundamental to the makeup of the "ignoble savage."[9] New Zealanders Preparing for Battle, Wesleyan Juvenile Offering, v. 9, 1854, p. 133, for instance, features two grotesque, goggle eyed, crazy-looking figures, strutting and prancing with spears and axes.[10] Other examples include A New Zealand War Expedition, Quarterly Papers of the Church Missionary Society, no. 77, 1835, and A Maori Council of War: The New

Zealanders as they were, Church Missionary Gleaner, v. 2, 1851, p. 13.[11]

A fundamental polarity then is apparent in missionary representations of the Maori. Converted Maoris and those on the path to conversion and civilisation were presented positively. In contrast Maoris in their unredeemed state, as they were before missionary teaching took effect, were intended to be seen negatively, either through features of the image itself or on the "direction" of the accompanying text. For instance, a frontispiece engraving A New Zealand Chief, Quarterly Papers of the Church Missionary Society, no. 97, 1840, was in itself neutral, value-free, simply a depiction of the seated chief, his wife and son in traditional dress. It was in fact derived from an oil portrait, Te Rangituke, Chief of Kawa Kawa, Bay of Islands, with his wife and son (1827, A.T.L.) by Augustus Earle, which had positive connotations.[12] Yet the missionary periodical text gave a negative value to elements of the image - the weaponry, for instance, indicated the propensity for violence of the savage, while the "smiling and artless countenances of his (the chief's) children (sic)" in this situation suggested that they too were "likely to follow his example" and remain "wild, naked savages", noted for their "ferocity", unless Christianised.[13]

The most overt demonstrations of the "superiority" and triumph of Christianity are generally found among representations of Maori-missionary encounters - in images of missionaries preaching or first coming ashore in some part of New Zealand, for instance. The largest and most elaborate depiction of a missionary arrival in New Zealand was George Baxter's colour print, The Rev. J. Waterhouse Superintending the Arrival of the Missionaries, The Rev. Charles and Mrs Creed, at Taranaki, New Zealand (Fig. 38), 1844. Baxter, the pioneer and leading exponent of cheap colour printing techniques in the mid 19th century, produced twenty-nine colour prints of global missionary activities for various missionary societies between 1837-57.[14] Two were set in New Zealand, both for the Wesleyan Missionary Society. His prints were intended for popular

distribution, and aimed "to promote the maintenance and diffusion of the missionary spirit".[15] To this end he presented the arrival of the Creeds in the manner of a triumphal entry. Though relatively small in scale the print manifests the rhetorical and dramatic apparatus of a History painting. The setting is imposing, the masses of figures are organised in a way that indicates European dominance and Maori subordination. (A wished-for rather than actual state of affairs in New Zealand in the early 1840s.) The Maoris gesture in homage and supplication, gaze in awe at the new arrivals. Mrs Creed is borne aloft by adoring maidens. Waterhouse oversees the event. He is the central commanding figure, to whom a Maori elder lowers himself. The insistence verticality of Waterhouse's stance, and the heavenward direction of his pointing left arm is echoed in the sharp pointed shape of the background mountain (Egmont), which could imply in this context the missionary aim to uplift the Maori and their aspirations to spiritual heights.[16] The Arrival of the Rev. T. S. Grace and Mrs Grace at Pukawa, Taupo (Fig. 36) manifests a number of similar features - the missionaries arriving by canoe to a joyous welcome from Maoris, who stretch out their arms towards the missionaries or raise them above their heads; gestures both of exuberance and submission to "superior" authority.

Not all representations of missionary arrivals display such operatic hyperbole. The frontispiece illustration of The Landing of the Rev. Samuel Marsden in New Zealand, December 19, 1814, in The Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand, 1847 (printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), simply shows Maori and European meeting on the beach - small, undemonstrative, even non-descript figures, though Marsden, extending his hand, is the central figure. This small engraving is very secondary to the text; unlike Baxter's oil print not an image that worked in its own right, asserting missionary prowess by visual means alone. In contrast, Abraham Le Blond's colour print, The Landing of Samuel Marsden, the First Missionary to New Zealand, Christmas

1814 (Fig. 39)[17] did, and rather more subtly, without the "overkill" of Baxter. Le Blond's Marsden, dressed in light coloured clothes, occupies a central position, his right arm extended in that gesture of "natural" authority and control that recurs frequently in representations of encounters between Europeans and non-Europeans.[18] There is space and light round Marsden's head and body, accentuating his presence. In contrast the Maoris are crowded round the edges of the picture. They are slightly bowed or bent forward in posture. One woman kneels, a conventional gesture of submission.[19] Their eyes are directed upwards towards the centre and their "superior", Marsden. The Maoris constitute a darker mass against the light. Appropriately the masts of the ship, from which Marsden has come, form a cross shape against the light too. Marsden is presented as the bearer of the light, about to bestow the benefits of Christianity and civilisation on the Maori. The presentation of Marsden and his relationship to the other figures echo a well-known type of religious painting in European art - representations of Christian celebrities demonstrating their powers and authority, depictions of saints preaching or conducting miracles, or of popes being deferred to and received by secular figures.[20] These echoes do not necessarily mean that Le Blond consciously modelled his image on such paintings. Rather he was making use of common elements, whose signification was clear, to transmit his message. These elements were initially used for images promoting Catholicism. In Le Blond's case they were put to the use of a militant and proselytising Protestantism.

The process by which manufacturers of popular images in the service of missionary ideology exploited the meanings or emotional reverberations of certain "high art" models is most strikingly evident in Scholz' Illustrations of Missionary Scenes: An Offering to Youth, the most elaborate illustrated book about missionary activities in New Zealand - a book in which earlier images of the Maori were "synthesised", the dominant missionary society beliefs and attitudes to the Maori most comprehensively visualised.

Scholz was a simple and straightforward propagandist tract that demonstrated and promoted in a series of full page colour lithographs and accompanying textual description the "struggle" and "triumph" of Christian missionaries in converting the "heathen" of West Africa, India, North West America, China, and New Zealand. Nine illustrations were devoted to the Christianisation of the Maori. To a modern audience the illustrations and commentary may seem gauche, naive, and patronising - a crude expression of Anglo-Christian ethnocentrism.[21] Nevertheless they do reflect the attitudes and feelings that sustained most missionaries and their supporters in their encounters with the non-European people amongst whom they were proselytising. For instance, the notion advertised in Scholz that darkness and depravity ruled the lives and minds of the unconverted typified missionary response to the pre-Christian Maori.[22]

As with most propaganda, the representations in Scholz bore only a tenuous or incomplete connection with the actual socio-political phenomena referred to - that is, the process of Christianisation as the Maori experienced it in the 1830s and 1840s. Scholz attributed the large scale conversions of the 1840s simply to the "power of God's word" via stalwart and courageous missionaries, whereas in fact a complex of social and economic factors predisposed Maoris to the adoption of Christianity. As noted in the Introduction, conversion can be viewed primarily as part of the process of adjustment to, a method of coping with, the culturally disruptive changes resulting from European contact and expansionism.[23] The mythology of Scholz did not allow for that.

There had been books, besides periodicals, that reported and eulogised missionary activity in New Zealand before Scholz, and which include illustrations of Maori people and customs, and Maori-missionary interaction - for instance, William Yate's An Account of New Zealand, 1835, and Miss Sarah Tucker's The Southern Cross and the Southern Crown, or the Gospel in New Zealand, 1855. Indeed the text of the New Zealand section of Scholz derived

closely from Miss Tucker's account.[24] The illustrations in these earlier publications are small, black and white engravings, often crude or indistinct in execution, frequently neither prominent in nor closely married to the text, to which they take a secondary position. In contrast the large coloured lithographs in Scholz are more prominent than the text in conveying the message. It was first and foremost a picture book. The texts accompanying the lithographs served primarily as extended subtitles, directing the viewer's reading of the images. The few larger colour prints celebrating mission work in New Zealand, such as the Baxter, the Le Blond and the Workers Educational Union prints were published and distributed singly, without the narrative progression in word and picture that distinguishes Scholz.

Scholz, though, drew heavily, almost entirely, on previously published material for its text and illustrations. That is, the lithographs were not based on first hand experience and observation of the Maori. Either they were derived, often loosely, sometimes at second hand, from other lithographs or engravings, which were in turn based on earlier drawings, or they were fictitious reconstructions of actual events on written record, that made use of "high art" models - compositional formats, figural relationships, gestures, poses and expressions from well-known 17th, 18th and 19th century types of History or narrative painting. Still Scholz was unique in 1856 in its synthesis of the disparate borrowings into its particular format - full page colour lithographs and accompanying commentary.

There are nine lithographs in Scholz relating to the Maori and Maori-missionary relations - in v. 1, Plate 9, The New Zealand Savage; Plate 10, A New Zealand Chief lying in State surrounded by the Heads of his Enemies; Plate 11, Blind Solomon, led by his Wife on a Missionary Journey; Plate 12, The Martyrdom of Kereopa and Manihera; and Plate 13, Interior of the Native Church at Otaki (The Residence of Tamihana te Rauparaha); and in v. 2, Plate 12, War Canoes; Plate 13, The Power of God's Word; Plate 14, Missionary Meeting, and

Plate 15, A Dying Christian Chief, exhorting his Followers. This selection might seem somewhat random and haphazard in terms of subject. In fact the lithographs operated as moral narratives, the choice and thrust of which were carefully calculated. The fundamental missionary ideas about the unconverted and the converted are visualised in these few images - bluntly and unambiguously.

Two of the lithographs wholly and one in part demonstrate the primary qualities of the pre-Christian Maori makeup, as conceived of in missionary ideology. They depict or refer to savagery, a penchant for ghoulish practices and thievery. According to Scholz The New Zealand Savage (Fig. 40) signified the barbarity and taste for ultra-violence characteristic of the Maori:[25]

> Their passion for war, and their cruel and vindictive feelings towards their enemies have probably never been surpassed .... Surely a more unlikely subject for the reception of the Gospel, and for the bringing forth of the peaceable fruits of righteousness than such a cannibal and savage warrior as that here represented cannot be conceived.

It has been suggested that The New Zealand Savage bears some resemblance to a calico print published by the Working Men's Educational Union about 1852 - Head of a Maori Chief after S. Parkinson.[26] In Scholz the lithograph is described as the copy of an "original" in one of the accounts of Cook's voyages published in the 1770s - in that case after Parkinson or Hodges.[27] In fact the source of the image was neither just one nor the other. It was a composite image - an amalgamation of features from several earlier images, engravings after drawings of artists who accompanied Cook, plus some additions invented by the lithographer. One source for the Scholz lithographer was an engraving by H. B. Godfrey after a drawing by Parkinson - The Manner in which the New Zealand Warriors defy their Enemies, Plate 17 in Parkinson's A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in His Majesty's Ship the Endeavour, 1773. This engraving shows Maoris with feathers in their hair and ear pendants, clad in cloaks, sticking their tongues out. Other illustrators before the Scholz artist had borrowed from this engraving - for instance the crude engraving, New

Zealander in the Expression of Defiance - from a drawing in the British Museum, in Craik's The New Zealanders, 1830, p. 50. The Scholz lithographer could have worked from this illustration rather than from the original engraving. The closest point of contact with a Polynesian, otherwise, was an engraving by J. K. Sherwin after a drawing by William Hodges of a Tongan, called Otago, Plate 40 in Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World, Performed in ... Resolution and Adventure in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774 and 1775, v. 1, 1777. The engraving presents a figure with his arm drawn back above his shoulder, clutching a weapon, facing to the left, as in The New Zealand Savage. Those are the only similarities. Otherwise the Scholz lithographer went his own way.

In order to denote wildness and savagery, he added and stressed certain features of his own invention - the hair and the cloak agitatedly thrown back, the wide, bulging eyes, the fearsome and impossibly large dagger-like object thrust through the "New Zealander's" ear, and the bizarre tattoo.[28] (The tattoo bears no relation to the tattoos one finds in Parkinson's and Hodges' work, which approximated actual moko designs.) The visualisation of the idea of savagery did not require physical "likeness" or ethnological accuracy. The fancifulness of the concoction, the lack of concern for physical and ethnological actualities were enhanced by the colours in the lithograph - bright and strident reds, blues, greens and oranges. This would be more appropriate in the makeup of a carnival "wildman", which bore much the same relationship to actual "primitive" people as the missionary savage.

The New Zealand Chief lying in State surrounded by the Heads of his Enemies (Fig. 41) was identified in Scholz as "Upoki, one of the bloody warriors of New Zealand".[29] The lithograph exemplifies how an aspect of complex death and funeral ritual could be torn from its meaningful context, distorted, and used to illustrate a negative view of Maori culture. It was presented as evidence of the morbid preoccupation with death, the worship of

false idols, and the mutilation and murder of prisoners allegedly typical of "heathenism". The skull and the bones by the chief no doubt evoked the spectre of cannibalism, and the decapitated heads provided another "sensational" feature.[30] In some respects the image does indicate a general knowledge of the ways in which corpses could be displayed in pre-Christian times - the figure covered with mats up to the chin, seated within an enclosure on which hung his weapons, with the heads of his enemies in attendance.[31] It is unlikely, though, that the presentation of these features was accurate in a specific sense. Otherwise concern with ethnological accuracy was irrelevant to the lithograph's message. For example, the statuary and the weaponry bear little resemblance to Maori artefacts, whereas if the lithographer had so chosen he could have made use of visual documentation (e.g. Angas' T.N.Z.I.), which included meticulously accurate descriptions of Maori artefacts. The most likely source for the lithographer was a crude engraving, The remains of Upokia - a chief of Wangari, lying in state in J. S. Polack's Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, 1840, v. 1, p. 64.[32]

The third image that demonstrates pre-Christian Maori "vice" and "sinfulness" is The Power of God's Word (Fig. 42). The Maoris, replete with "nasty" curling lips, sinister pendulous noses, ugly grimaces, and petulantly clenched fists, are presented simply as thieves given to random violence against unarmed innocents - though in this case "virtue" and "godliness" prevail against the threat. The negative qualities of the Maoris are accentuated by the contrasting looks and behaviour of the Europeans, accompanied by a dog, an emblem of fidelity. The Rev. Henry Williams and his companion stand alone, armed only with "God's word". Williams is upright, open, sternly authoritative - a representative of Christianity and civilisation stilling a "savage and warlike tribe"[33] intent on stealing his potatoes. Scholz noted that the "critical moment" was depicted, when after the Maoris had declared, "What care we for your Lord's Day", Williams read the Bible to them,

thus diverting them from the perpetration of "great wickedness and sin against God".[34]

The scene constitutes a form of defeat for the Maoris. The image implies a recognition by them of their "inferiority" before God's representative. European Christian "superiority" is asserted. Given this, it is hardly surprising that the composition, disposition of figures, stances, expressions and gestures of the principal protagonists parallel, in a debased form, late 18th and early 19th century paintings of confrontations between opposing ethnic or national groups, in which one is dominant and of exemplary virtue in contrast to the overt or implied inferiority or vice of the other. A couple of examples of the type may be useful. Guerin's Napoleon pardoning the Rebels at Cairo (1808, Versailles) has been described as:[35]

> ... a precocious demonstration of Napoleonic mercy - the pardoning of the native rebels at the Place d'Elbekir, Cairo, on October 23, 1798. Here a civilised scene of benevolent law-giving through a native interpreter brings peace and order after the bloody insurrection fomented by the natives still ignorant, as it were, of the virtues of Napoleonic rule.

In that painting, Napoleon, like Williams, stands impressively upright, his stern expression in profile, with his left leg, knee slightly bent, ahead of the straight right leg. Stance, gesture and look signify dominance and superior power, as he faces a crowd of thwarted natives. And in Benjamin West's famous painting, Penn's Treaty with the Indians (1772, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art), though the encounter is a friendly one, there is a similar, antique frieze-like disposition of the figures, a similar simple division of Europeans on one side, natives on the other, with the stance and gesture of Penn likewise signifying superiority and virtue. Again the non-Europeans are making concessions to European expansionism.[36]

I am not suggesting that The Power of God's Word was modelled specifically on either of these paintings. There were numerous such images that the Scholz lithographer could have used as his model. It was a popular and well-known type. The lithographer exploited ingredients that were familiar in order to

make his point, and to make a striking image that could be easily understood. As with The New Zealand Savage the unreality of the performance is heightened by the colours used - pastelly pinks and blues in the Maori cloaks, for instance.

The other five lithographs[37] in Scholz, in which Maori figures feature prominently, present a very different picture - Maoris in the service of Christianity having abandoned their former savage ways. Missionary Meeting (Fig. 43) is the polar opposite of The Power of God's Word in the bipartite narrative scheme - "struggle" and "triumph" of Scholz. This lithograph - again notable for its startling oranges, reds, and mauves - shows an antique relief-like procession of Maoris at the mission station of Matthews and Puckey in Kaitaia obediently giving offerings in "gratitude to God" for having been "saved" from "Sin and Satan".[38] Puckey and Matthews survey the proceedings with a proprietorial and triumphant air. Note the commanding gesture of the standing missionary. In contrast to the aggressive, stiff and angular stances, gestures and expressions of the Maori figures in The Power of God's Word, those of Missionary Meeting Maoris are relaxed, rounded, gentle and passive. This suggests their new status as pacified "followers of the Lamb" of God.[39] The compositional format and the disposition of the figures reinforces this too, since, as with The Power of God's Word, the image in these respects echoes numerous late 18th-early 19th century images involving confrontations of some sort between two ethnic or national groups, one of which is dominant, the other subjugated, deferential, or in retreat.[40] Missionary Meeting is an image of surrender - even if to God. Its formal correspondence with pictures of surrender to military or secular powers was appropriate in an age when missionary work was often described in martial terms.

The Interior of the Native Church at Otaki (Plate 13, v. 1) might seem a randomly chosen illustration if the viewer was unaware of the circumstances and significance of the construction of the church. In fact the inclusion of this

lithograph was far from arbitrary. Tamihana te Rauparaha built the church. As noted in Chapter I, his conversion represented quite a "catch" for civilisation, as the accompanying caption in Scholz made clear:[41]

> ... the chief, whose recent visit to this country has endeared him to many of the Societies friends. In commencing his efforts for the improvement of his people, he told them that it was the wish of his heart to make a town like the white man.

So the lithograph of the grand and superbly decorated church, coupled with this recognition by a converted Maori of the "superior" benefits and value of Christianity and civilisation, represented an essential ingredient of missionary endeavour - the assimilation of the Christianised Maori into the European way of life.

As striking proof of the "triumph" and success of missionary work in New Zealand, Otaki church had been and was to be frequently depicted. Scholz conformed to this use. For instance the Scholz illustration was based on a colour lithograph by R. K. Thomas after a sketch by C. D. Barraud, Interior of Otaki Church, published by Day and Son in 1853. The Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1854, v. 5, p. 267, includes a wood engraving by J. Johnston of the church interior. More tellingly in the context of its conventional use Otaki church provided the setting for conversion in Barraud's oil painting Baptism of the Maori Chief, Te Puni, commissioned by Grey. As noted in Chapter I, this painting commemorated an event important for the establishment of European power and authority in the district. It could also be seen, as Scholz can, as a celebration of the notion that European customs and beliefs were more advanced and better than Maori ones. In fact the baptism of Te Puni did not take place in Otaki church, but in a commonplace, undecorated chapel in Petone.[42] History was rewritten, or reconstructed in the interests of ideology.

At the opposite pole to The New Zealand Savage was Blind Solomon (Fig. 44) - a look of quiet humility and gentleness opposing horrendous expression and

violent gesture. Blind Solomon is accompanied by a short verse: "... O what a triumph has the cross obtained there, where of old a hell of darkness reigned".[43] Like Otaki church Solomon was well-known to Europeans. Numerous written accounts and images of Solomon had been published in Britain, since his conversion by Henry Williams at Matamata in 1845. For instance, he appeared, though without a companion, in Angas' T.N.Z.I. (Plate 29) and a watercolour portrait was exhibited in Angas' exhibition at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly in 1846. A wood engraving, Solomon, the Blind Catechist, by J. Whimper after S. Williams, illustrated the Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand, printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London in 1847. The Scholz illustration was based on the Angas colour lithograph, while the accompanying text was indebted to Tucker's description of Solomon's career in The Southern Cross and the Southern Crown. According to Tucker this former "captive of Sin and Satan" was now (1855) one of the "lively stones" in "God's spiritual house".[44] Indeed for propaganda purposes Solomon provided a perfect example of conversion. Once a fighting chief and a participant in mass slaughter of prisoners and cannibalism, after blindness and baptism he became a wandering preacher. Solomon's vulnerability, because of his blindness, accentuated his heroism and zeal, and served to intensify the emotional force, and, therefore, the potential propaganda power of the image. This could explain Solomon's recurrent appearance in print and picture as an example of the remarkable changes effected among cannibals and savages by Christianity.

The intense and earnest old man with cloak and stave was a familiar type in European culture. It evoked a number of mind or feeling states, so that the Scholz lithographer (and Angas) in using the type were able to exploit these states to their own ends. In this way the unfamiliar, the new and remarkable (a former cannibal becoming a missionary) could be accommodated. In general appearance Blind Solomon recalls the St John the Baptist figure of European religious painting - implying his own saint-like qualities. More particularly

Blind Solomon descends from a long line of European culture heroes in whom blindness and hyperacuteness of perception and/or discovery of divine "light" and the path to salvation, together with realisation of past error, are in conjunction - Tiresias, St Paul (even if his blindness was only temporary), Samson of Milton's Samson Agonistes.[45] To pursue just one of his forbears: Solomon's blindness, his situation as depicted - being led by a companion - could have echoed for the classically educated viewer the figure of Oedipus, once a man of power and prestige, who blinded himself in punishment and recognition of his sins (incest and patricide) and took up a wandering life. In comparison Solomon was a former "captive of Sin and Satan", who went blind (punishment), and then discovered "truth" and "light". Though the fates of Oedipus and Solomon diverge, though there are only partial overlaps in their experiences, rather than exact parallels, the similarities that evoke the association would nevertheless have intensified the emotional charge of Blind Solomon. Blind Oedipus has been regarded as a symbol of humankind's suffering.[46] That is a step away, but allied to the status of Blind Solomon, who had also sinned and suffered, but became a representative of Christ, who within the Christian scheme carried the burden of man's sins.

The two remaining lithographs in Scholz, The Martyrdom of Kereopa and Manihera and A Dying Christian Chief, exemplify in the most overt and clearcut way the use, even if again in a debased form, of image types, stock gestures, poses, expressions and figural relationships, the conventional meanings and emotional connotations of which were extensive and well-known in European art and culture, in order to demonstrate the "struggle" and "triumph" of Christianity and missionary work in New Zealand.

The Martyrdom of Kereopa and Manihera (Fig. 45) was based on the experiences of four Christian Maoris from Wanganui in the 1840s. They had undertaken a missionary trip among their "warlike and savage heathen countrymen"[47] and traditional enemies in the Taupo district, but suffered an

ambush. Kereopa was killed instantly. Manihera, mortally wounded, managed to pass on his New Testament to another companion, who survived to spread the Gospel. The Scholz text proclaims that Manihera died a "Christian soldier having his harness on and prepared for battle", and asserts:[48]

> ... the soldiers of the Queen perish, but the soldiers of Christ live for ever ... we must not be discouraged but send two more to preach the Gospel, and if they are also killed, we must send two more ....

The image was intended to show how the "blood of the martyrs has here as elsewhere been the seed of the Church. The people by whom these devoted men were murdered have received the Gospel".[49]

It hardly needs to be said that there was an immense quantity of images of Christian martyrdom in European art - images that were designed to strengthen and inspire the faithful. So in a general sense The Martyrdom of Kereopa and Manihera fitted into a common and easily recognisable type, of which the meaning was clear and unambiguous. Depictions of martyrdom were most frequently produced for Catholic churches and patrons, less so for Protestants, as was so for The Martyrdom of Kereopa and Manihera. However martyrdom pictures tended to enjoy the greatest popularity when the church was most militant. The presence of this image in a Protestant document would reflect the militancy and vigorous evangelising of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand.

There were other sources, besides images of Christian martyrdom, for primary features in The Martyrdom of Kereopa and Manihera. The Scholz lithographer drew on a stock of types that had clear signification in European culture - a means, theoretically, of intensifying the dramatic and emotional impact of the picture, even if the actual effect may have been rather clichéd for some viewers. For instance, the pose of the dead Kereopa, stretched flat on the ground with head and arm thrown back, is not arbitrary. Besides generally echoing the dead Christ of Lamentation scenes, the pose bears a more definite, even if crudely rendered, resemblance to an engraving by Henry

Fuseli, The Death of Abel, in Lavater's The Art of knowing Man by Means of Physiognomy (first English edition, 1789) - a book of great prestige in the mid 19th century. Fuseli's The Death of Abel shows, according to Lavater, "suffering innocence ... here presented in manly and energetic traits under the form of a hero".[50] This description could stand as a subtitle for Kereopa.

Since Manihera, Kereopa and their companions were described as heroic "Christian soldiers", it was appropriate for the lithographer to derive the gestures, poses and grouping of the figures from images commemorating heroic military struggle and death in battle. The standing figure striking a stalwart stance, with stern profile expression, the angularities of shoulders, arms, and legs expressing strength and determination was stock-in-trade of such imagery. For example, Flaxman's engravings for Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, which had circulated widely since the late 18th century and had been republished, sometimes in colour, in the 19th century, provided a rich store of motifs. The mortally wounded fallen figure, supported on one arm, reaching up with he other, was a standard type too. For example, the "low art" Manihera and the "high art" dying regimental drummer in Copley's Death of Major Pierson (1782-84, Tate Gallery), a famous painting, reproduced in engraving, were one of a kind - embodying heroic will to struggle until the last breath.

Like The Martyrdom of Kereopa and Manihera, A Dying Christian Chief exhorting his Followers (Fig. 46) presents an instance of high-minded human behaviour intended to serve as a moral and spiritual exemplar for mid 19th century audiences. The deathbed-surrounded-by-mourners type had undergone a major revival from the mid 18th century and continued to be very popular in the 19th. Examples of the type in European art would run into the thousands.[51] Conventions had quickly developed in deathbed imagery which largely restricted the artist to stereotyped manners of presentation, whether this was appropriate to the incident referred to or not. The model for A Dying Christian Chief was the classic and neo-classic type - the figures arrayed in the front planes of

the image, displaying the stock gestures and expressions of grief and respect (e.g. bowed heads, heads in hands), the dying person laid out on a bed attended by a standing figure more composed than his companions. To cite a few "high art" examples of the type: Poussin's Extreme Unction (1644, National Gallery, Scotland), a seminal image for the 18th century vogue in deathbed scenes, and such famous works as G. Hamilton's Andromache bewailing the Death of Hector, 1761, (Cunego engraving, 1764), and Greuze's The Punished Son (1778, Louvre), furnish parallels in pose, gesture, expression and figure placement with A Dying Christian Chief.

In particular the correspondences with Poussin's Extreme Unction (second version) are noteworthy. Besides the general parallels, specific features such as the slumped weeping figure, the kneeling, praying figure, the standing, cloaked character at the end of the bed, head bowed, hands drawn up round the face, and the flowing toga-like drapery in A Dying Christian Chief closely follow the Poussin, which had been circulated widely in engraved form. The similarity of Maori and Classical dress may have been coincidental, but it is worth noting that by the mid 1850s European dress or a mixture of Maori and European was the norm among Maoris. Maori drapery, though, lent itself aptly to classic tailoring.

It might seem absurd to couple a large painting of the quality of Extreme Unction with a small lithograph of slender aesthetic value - a popular image which might be seen as representing a debasement of "high art" models. Yet the images are linked, the differences in quality immaterial, in that, as moral narratives, they manifest a common set of compositional and signifying elements. The stock features used combined to endow these images with certain meanings of a morally instructive kind - meanings which would have been immediately recognisable by virtue of their recurrent practice.

Certainly the signification of A Dying Christian Chief is unmistakable - especially when set against its polarity in the "struggle" sections of Scholz,

A New Zealand Chief lying in State surrounded by the Heads of his Enemies. That image of savage death is entirely negative, with a stress on ghoulish practices, the worship of "false idols", and bones and skulls - the latter connoting in European culture the finality of death, the reduction of earthly life to nullity. In this case the viewer could draw the further connotation that "heathen" practices were spiritually dead, offering nothing to the living. In contrast A Dying Chief presents the positive - the dying chief stoically faithful to the last, hand on the bible, a source of inspiration to the living, exhorting his followers "to love God" and "live in peace".[52] The accompanying Scholz text merely amplifies the message clearly evident from these two contrasting images of death. A Dying Christian Chief demonstrated the "wonderful change" that had taken place among the Maori because of Christianity - "loving where he once hated ... peaceable where once violent".[53]

Whether or not A Dying Christian Chief, based on conventions in deathbed imagery rather than on observation and experience of an actual event, provided a reliable record of the historical incident referred to would have been immaterial to Scholz. Since its business was propaganda and moral instruction the image had to be memorable and its meaning easily understandable for the European audience. So the lithographer did not depart from the known stock of stereotypes.[54] What you "know" you are less likely to forget.

In so far as A Dying Christian Chief imaged the aim of incorporation of the Christianised Maori into European civilisation, the prominent place of the English missionary was not incidental. He is the guide, the mentor, the "superior" being - literally above the Maoris in the image - who, holding the bible, has control of the sources of power, and who is responsible for the "advancement" of the natives. That is what the image asserts. So this lithograph about the possession of the Maori by Christianity, could also function as a form of symbolic possession or taking over of Maori society by British people. It demonstrated to the "Youth", to whom Scholz was

specifically directed, that "wild savages" had been pacified, that hitherto dangerous places were now part of Britain's colonial domains.

In this case "Christian soldiers" had done the job. As Governor Grey had made abundantly clear, in the 1840s and 1850s at least, Christianisation of peoples in territories subject to British colonialist expansion could be an important means of control and a necessary precondition for successful colonisation - or, as it would have been described at the time, an essential requirement for the "spread of Civilisation". Tucker quoted from a speech by Grey at a meeting of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Mansion House, 19 July 1854:[55]

> I have found where countries were, in the first instance, occupied by men of that class (missionaries), that comparatively few difficulties take place when intercourse resulted between our merchants and the races who inhabit countries where missionaries are known .... I feel confident that, regarded as a mere money investment, the very best investment that this country can make, is to send out in advance, of either colonists or merchants, missionaries, who may prepare the way for those who are to follow them.

In theory pacification, Christianisation, and European control and economic expansion went hand in hand.

To link up with other images in the service of missionary and colonialist ideology and interests, Grey's involvement in the production of Barraud's _Baptism of the Maori Chief, Te Puni_ and the engraving, _The Baptism of Te Ngahue_, has been noted. The terminology and view of Maori conversion in the description of Te Ngahue's baptism by Grey's Assistant Private Secretary, Cooper, which he sent to the _Church Missionary Intelligencer_, closely parallel overtly propagandist tracts like Tucker's _The Southern Cross and the Southern Crown_ and _Scholz_:[56]

> It was a truly impressive and touching sight to see the old savage, one of the Maori chiefs of the old school, who had often led his tribe to deeds of blood and savage warfare, and had feasted, time after time, upon the flesh of his enemies, now meekly offering himself as a Candidate for admission into the Church of Christ.

The Church Missionary Society presented Grey with a copy of _The Baptism of Te_

Ngahue printed on silk:[57] A commemoration of the alliance of Church and State, and of their mutual interest in New Zealand.

With the Land Wars in the 1860s the belief that Christianisation in itself would enable the colonists to control the Maori was shown to be ill-founded. Nevertheless Scholz still provides valuable evidence of the means by which such beliefs were propagated at a popular level. In mid 19th century New Zealand missionary ideology and socio-political actualities rarely corresponded. Whether or not Maori (converted or unconverted) and European co-existed peacefully depended on a complex set of social, political and economic interrelationships and phenomena, not on the simple matter of whether the Maori was "heathen" or a "pacified Lamb" of God. The examination of Smetham's Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House (Fig. 47), one of the few mid 19th century oil paintings of missionary society personnel and Maoris together, demonstrates the mechanics (and hazards) of the ideological presented as "reality" or the "natural".

In July 1863 the artist and poet James Smetham, a close friend of Ruskin and Dante Gabriel Rossetti,[58] was commissioned by the Wesleyan Mission Society to paint a group portrait of a party of Maori chiefs, some of their womenfolk, and a number of Europeans closely associated with Wesleyan Mission work, gathered together in the house in London, in which John Wesley died. (See Fig. 48, a plan of the painting.) This large oil painting was intended as a commemoration of the Wesleyan Mission Jubilee.[59] The representation of non-Europeans or of encounters between Europeans and non-Europeans was well outside Smetham's usual territory, which was described by Rossetti as ranging "from Gospel subjects of the subtlest imaginative and mental insight ... through Old Testament compositions and through poetic and pastoral themes of every kind to a special imaginative form of landscape ... generally of small or moderate size".[60] Furthermore Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House is the only large scale group portrait Smetham is known to have painted.[61] His close connections

with Methodism probably explain why he was offered the job. His father and brother were Methodist ministers, he taught drawing at the Wesleyan Normal School from 1851 to 1877,[62] and he was also a close friend of Dr. Jobson, Secretary of the Wesleyan Mission Society,[63] who was included in the group portrait. It would seem too that Smetham, with a young family, experienced considerable financial difficulties in the early 1860s.[64] The 150 guineas for the commission would have been most welcome and the plan to sell engravings after the painting would have brought further remuneration.[65] Anyway by January 1864[66] Smetham had completed the painting - a job competently done, even if it lacked the "intensity" and Blakean "spirit" that Rossetti was to ascribe to his art.[67]

The ten Maori chiefs and three Maori women depicted by Smetham were all Christian converts. Their trip to England was organised and supervised by William Jenkins, a one-time Wesleyan Missionary and Colonial Government Interpreter.[68] Despite some criticism of Jenkins' project before he left New Zealand, the trip had been approved by Sir George Grey, then Governor-General.[69] In early 1863 Maori and Pakeha were fighting in Taranaki. War was imminent in Waikato. It would seem that one aim of Jenkins' expedition was to demonstrate to the Maori group the "might" and "virtue" of England, English institutions and Englishmen, to "instruct and improve them",[70] in order to foster the idea that the Maori would benefit from peaceable relations with Europeans in New Zealand.[71] For instance, on 17 July 1863 the New Zealand Examiner (published in Britain) had this to say about the New Zealand chiefs:[72]

> They have come to this country with the high official sanction of our model Governor, Sir George Grey. So shortly after the misunderstandings we have had with the chiefs the step was a bold and politic one, and calculated more than anything else to induce them to forget their past quarrels, and persuade them to work in harmony with us for the common good of the colony .... Here these stalwart, intelligent and apt to learn natives might, in the course of a few months, pick up some general idea of the prowess, magnamity and superiority of the British race. But in order that they have the opportunity of doing so, they must be taken to our great arsenals, our naval and military establishments. A short visit to these manufactories of the weapons of warfare might very soon convince

> them of the utter folly of attempting to wage a serious war with us. By visiting our Exchange, the Bank of England, our large mercantile establishments and factories in London and the provinces, they may get an inkling of the secret of our greatness as an industrious people. By visiting our Legislature, our Courts of Law ... combined with what they witness of our social habits by private intercourse among all classes of society, they may be taught more effectively than by the logic of the sword, some of those great principles by which nations rise to prominence, and man becomes a ministering angel to his fellow men.

And on 18 July the I.L.N. reported that Jenkins' chiefs had indeed:[73]

> ... declared themselves to be favourably impressed both with England and English people, ... it is our public establishments and noble institutions which appear most of all to impress the Maoris with the greatness of this country, and these impressions will no doubt, on the return of the visitors to their native land, tend to the peaceful disposition of their respective tribes.

The news would not yet have reached England that on 12 July British troops had crossed the Mangatawhiri, so beginning the military campaign to subjugate the Waikato tribes. A year and a half of war was to come.

The presence of Jenkins' Maori group in England could also be seen as a demonstration of, or as living evidence of the successes of Christian missions in New Zealand. Jenkins wrote in his Journal of "... standing on a Missionary platform with a party of New Zealand converts - the fruits of Mission Labour",[74] and after a visit to the Rev. Dr. Jobson he reported, "He will take up our cause. He thinks these Christian New Zealanders fruits of Mission Labour".[75] Later Dr. Hocken, the son of a Wesleyan Minister, described Smetham's picture as, "... the meeting of the civilised Maori with the Missionary to whose labour his advancement is due".[76] It is noteworthy that a portrait of Wesley hangs on the wall in a central position in the painting; watching over and linking Maori and Pakeha. As a celebration of the good works of Christian missions and as a testimony to an allegedly successful union between Maori and European a promising future could have been expected for Smetham's Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House. That was not to be. The Wesleyans did not retain the painting. There are no records of it ever hanging in the Mission Hall in London, and a scheme undertaken by a Darlington publisher, Mr.

Swales, to publish a Jubilee print after the painting came to nothing.[77] The painting itself eventually turned up for sale in Christchurch, New Zealand. It was bought there by Dr. Hocken in 1881.[78]

The sudden change of fortunes of Smetham's Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House paralleled that of Jenkins and his party in the winter of 1863-64. "Mr. Jenkins' visit too soon lost its hold upon the moral sympathy of the public", opined a Wesleyan official, George W. Oliver in 1887.[79] To elaborate: Jenkins and his party initially received a good reception in England from Royalty, aristocracy, Government and Church officials, and the Press. Shortly after their arrival in June 1863 Jenkins wrote: "... we are becoming very noted characters in the fashionable circles of London .... We are really rising in the ladder of fame but we must go higher still".[80] Jenkins had an eye for publicity. He "Furnished the Editor of "Cassells Illustrated Paper" with photographs of the Chiefs to be inserted in their paper",[81] and arranged for the party to be photographed for the I.L.N. in order "to bring us out before the world as important personages".[82]

The group was fêted lavishly in London and the provinces for several months. However money was the problem. As early as 2 July 1863 Jenkins noted in his Journal that "... our expenses far exceed anything I anticipated",[83] and on 24 July, "our position just now is a very critical one. Our funds are gone. Our expenses are enormous".[84] Relations between Jenkins and his party began to sour: "... several of (the Maoris) are beginning to get dissatisfied".[85] At the beginning of the visit Jenkins had been at pains to distinguish his group from another party of Maori Chiefs "... hired out for the purpose of exhibition by a theatrical speculator at the "Alhambra"".[86] But early in August some of his Maoris defected to the Alhambra troupe. Jenkins began to regret that he had ever undertaken the expedition.[87] His relationship with the Maoris continued to deteriorate. For instance, on 20 August he accused them privately of behaving with "ingratitude of the blackest kind",[88] though the pretence of

good relationships was kept up publicly for some time. However by January 1864, Jenkins was being openly criticised for financial mismanagement.[89] On 28 January he heard that complaints had been made to the Colonial office about his treatment of the Maoris.[90] The Wesleyans too became concerned about the behaviour of Jenkins and the Maoris.[91] Individuals, like Elisabeth Colenso, who had earlier supported Jenkins, turned against him.[92] Jenkins desperately attributed his troubles to his "numerous enemies",[93] "foul and malicious slanders"[94] and the continual "ingratitude of the natives".[95] By this stage, nothing could save the collapse of the venture.

Yet Smetham's Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House, painted while Jenkins' scheme crumbled, is a model of harmony[96] and good relations. Consider the composition. The piano, piano stool, urn, and, above all, the portrait of Wesley occupy the centre of the picture. Groups of figures are deployed on either side: Ten Maoris in the left group, four Europeans and three Maoris in the right. Though the Maoris on the left are more numerous, there is, nevertheless, a sense of balance between the two groups - an asymmetrical equilibrium. The compression of the Maori group into an area almost exactly the same size as that of the predominantly European group contributes to this. Probably the Maoris on the right side were added primarily for formal reasons, for the sake of compositional balance, though their inclusion with the English could suggest assimilation of the Maori into European society. The breakdown into two groups, one Maori and one mainly European, is important. For the image celebrates their meeting and union - the gap bridged by Wesley. He represents the force uniting Maori and Pakeha. All is well. Common interests and concerns link Jenkins and the Maoris without hindrance. That is what the image asserts. Yet, given the actual circumstances of the trip, the credibility of the picture in this respect is slight. What might seem to the uninformed viewer to be a reasonable historical record with a high degree of "realism" in the dress and appearance of the sitters was in fact a charade, a

"misrepresentation". The image was antithetical to social actualities as experienced by the sitters - in particular Jenkins and the Maoris.

The discrepancies between image and actuality raise several points. Representations of missionary society personnel and converted "natives", as in the Baxter and Le Blond colour prints, routinely idealised missionaries and placed them in the central or commanding position. For instance, in another large oil painting of a famous missionary, H. Room's The Rev. J. Legge and Chinese Converts in Hong Kong (Fig. 49), commissioned by the London Missionary Society, the missionary is shown in profile, stern, upright and strong, in pose, gesture and expression looking authoritative, and almost proprietorial towards his relatively "soft", more rounded and "malleable" pupils. They are neat, tidy and obedient looking - deferring to Legge, who is presented as the guide, the mentor, by implication the "superior" being responsible for the "advancement" of the Chinese.[97]

Smetham's painting could stand as a monument to Jenkins' hopes and ambitions for the expedition, and as an attempt at self-aggrandisement.[98] Jenkins has a dominant position in the portrait - overseeing the meeting. He is depicted full standing, semi-profile, left arm akimbo, right arm extended slightly forward, a stern yet relaxed expression, the pose and the look, like Legge's, authoritative, almost proprietorial. As such the painted Jenkins was a common type in British formal portraiture.[99] Portraits of this sort signified the "importance", the "nobility", or the "heroism" of the subject. Jenkins realised this. On 2 September 1863, after "settling disputes with the natives...", Jenkins commented on Smetham's Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House: "It will be a most interesting affair and as I am to figure prominently in the picture, I suppose my name will be handed down to posterity as having done something to be talked about".[100] On 5 January 1864 he mused again: "This picture will immortalise my name and connect it with Methodism and Methodist Missions for many generations to come".[101] This at a time when by his own

account, Jenkins' relations with the Maori were poor and his ambitious venture was disintegrating. It would seem that Jenkins was quite consciously hoping and seeking through the painting and engravings of it to shape a different consciousness of the whole affair, to present what was in fact a fiction of harmony and good relations as "reality". Of course consciousness-shaping for contemporary and later viewers had always been one of the primary functions of formal portraiture. They can be viewed as demonstrations of the way the person or institution commissioning the picture would like the subjects to be seen by others - literally presenting a "face" to the world, whether or not that "face" gave a false impression or distorted "reality" in the eyes or opinions of others. Smetham's Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House is a striking instance of this.

Another factor no doubt contributed to the tenuous relationship between Smetham's portrait and the social actualities it referred to. The conventions of formal group portraiture of the day determined, to a large extent, the way in which the subjects of a portrait were presented, regardless of the social authenticity of that presentation. In Smetham's painting figure composition, setting, poses and expressions conform to the conventions of the formal group portrait type. Smetham, a minor, fundamentally derivative artist, not noted for any iconographic or stylistic innovations, when faced with a commission for a group portrait, was hardly likely to deviate from past models.[102]

In Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House the seventeen figures stand or sit in fairly uniform groupings across the canvas. The admixture of sitting and standing figures in a group portrait was normal. I have already noted the central emphasis. Jenkins and Wiremu te Wana frame a portrait of Wesley preaching. Wiremu te Wana's gesture is significant. His right hand is raised across his chest, the index finger is extended, all the others are closed. The precise meaning of an extended forefinger can vary, depending much on the overall context.[103] Here, it functions as an indicator, drawing attention to a

focal point - Wesley. So the pictures within the picture and the setting are fundamental to the fixing of the meaning of the image - the other two portraits on the wall are believed to be Wesley's mother and an important Wesleyan, the Rev. Dr. Coke.[104]

The poses of the figures are simple and standardised. With the possible exceptions of Jenkins and Wiremu te Wana there is nothing obtrusive or eye-catching about any particular figure that might concentrate attention on an individual at the expense of the group. Likewise the expressions of the figures are bland and neutral. That is, though externals - dress and physical appearance - were rendered carefully and in detail, there is little or no sense of individual characterisation. Personalities do not emerge. The figures remain stiffish and distant. This does not necessarily indicate any deficiency on Smetham's part, but was determined rather by the demands of formal group portraiture. It was not a function of the typical formal group portrait to reveal personalities or the workings of the individual psyche.[105] The primary concern was with the group - the relationship and status of the members. The primacy of the group, the display of a large number of figures with common or linked expressions, poses and gestures signified the common concerns, real or imagined, of the people depicted. They were presented as allies not adversaries. Thus Smetham's portrait: Maori and Pakeha, Jenkins and his party of converts demonstrating their alleged community of interest.

That the major features of Smetham's painting conformed to the norms of the day is borne out by a random sampling of typical 19th century formal group portraits. For instance, three from the National Portrait Gallery, London: J. Partridge, The Meeting of the Royal Fine Arts Commission, Whitehall, 1841; J. Gilbert, R. A., The Coalition Ministry of 1852-55: A Meeting of the Earl of Aberdeen's Cabinet, 1855; S. Deance, The Arctic Council Discussing a Plan of the Search for Sir John Franklin, c.1880.[106] In all these works, as the titles suggest, the figures are members of a group bound by common concerns. As in

Smetham's painting, pictures within the pictures help to indicate this. For example, in the Deance a portrait of Franklin occupies a central position. The individuals within the paintings are not portrayed for their own sake, only as participants in a joint venture. The portraits celebrate the group and its function. To this end personalities are downgraded, the figures emotionless with standardised poses. Sitting or standing, frontally or near-frontally disposed, uniformly spread across the painting, they gaze blankly out towards the viewer; the historical import of the group pinned down.

Many portraits that were accepted as credible or "truthful" social and historical documents at the time of their production, are in fact as mythical, fictitious, or propagandist as Smetham's Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House. Surface "realism" or careful and accurate rendering of dress, physical appearance and setting was, and still is, often confused with historical authenticity. Unfortunately for Jenkins, Swales the publisher, and any other interested parties the discrepancies between the "reality" asserted in the painting and the social actualities referred to were so acute that they could hardly be ignored at the time. Jenkins fell out of favour with the Wesleyans, and so did Smetham's painting, which had originally been planned to hang in the Wesleyan Mission Hall.[107] A grandiose scheme came to nought. According to his biographer, The Rev. W. G. Beardmore, Smetham, who had hoped to considerably improve his financial position from the sale of engravings after the painting, also suffered - "loss of fame and financial blight"[108] - because of the failure of the enterprise.

There is one further problem about Smetham's presentation of his Maori sitters. To what extent were the Maoris Europeanised or depicted as Europeans would have liked to see them? Or to what extent were the Maoris presented as different members of a separate and distinct non-European culture? Certainly there are a number of unmistakably Maori features in their dress and appearance. For instance, all the Maoris wear cloaks, of which Smetham

described the pattern and ornamentation in detail. Two of the Maori women wear headbands, one man holds a taiaha, and several figures sport ear pendants. However beneath their cloaks the Maoris wear European clothes. Ties, collars, sleeves obtrude in a way that helps undermine the essential "Maoriness" of the figures. This is borne out if one compares the large finished painting with the small preliminary sketch (Fig. 50). In the sketch the Maori figures are clad only in Maori dress. They are not collared or sleeved, and so they contrast markedly with the Europeans in the portrait. They are different. This effect is lessened in the big painting. Maori dress becomes primarily ceremonial garb, merely a gloss on the adoption of European habits, no longer an indicator of cultural difference. No doubt these Maoris did in fact wear European dress, and one could argue that the European dress signified the adoption of European habits, in particular Christianity. But nevertheless, in conjunction with other factors I will discuss, the admixture of European and Maori dress did contribute to the Europeanisation of the Maori as they appear in Smetham's big portrait.

Along with their collars and ties the Maori chiefs have European haircuts. This may not count for much in itself, but with the standardised half smiles and sets of the faces, it adds up to a Victorian look, despite brown skin and tattooing. Charles Baudelaire, in an essay published in 1863, claimed:[109]

> ... every age has its own carriage, its expression, its gestures. This proposition may be easily verified in a large portrait gallery .... But it can be yet further extended. In a unity we call a nation, the professions, the social classes, the successive centuries, introduce variety not only in gesture and manners, but also in the general outlines of the faces. Such and such a nose, mouth, forehead will be standard for a given interval of time.

This fits Smetham's Maori Chiefs. Consider, for instance, the two standing chiefs on the right or the pointing Wiremu te Wana on the left centre. Their noses, mouths, foreheads, hairlines, the "general outlines" of their faces, are not dissimilar to the Europeans. There is little or no significant attention to physiognomic differences between European and Maori. Likewise the moko, the

prime method of fixing identity for the Maori and a prominent mark of cultural uniqueness and difference, is given fairly rudimentary treatment by Smetham. Moko is not clearly defined, not dominant in the portrait, but downgraded[110] in the interests of assimilation of the Maori to European ways. The neutrality, the uniformity of expression of the figures also serve to diminish any meaningful sense of individuality among the Maoris. The Maoris in Smetham's portrait have no really distinctive personality or character that would serve to separate them markedly from Victorian Englishmen and women. They have become, except for token concessions to ethnicity like brown skins and a display of Maori artefacts, like "us". The representation then amounted to a form of appropriation of the Maori, that can be related too to their roles as ciphers in Jenkins' scheme to convince the Maori of the "superiority" of things British and the advantages of adopting European beliefs and customs.

CHAPTER III

GILFILLAN AND STRUTT

Very few oil paintings featuring the Maori were produced by British artists in the first half of the 19th century - the known works by identified artists comprising three by Augustus Earle in the late 1820s,[1] three by James Barry, several portraits by William Duke in the mid-1840s,[2] Carmichael's one, and one by Gilfillan (1793-1864). There was a simple reason for this paucity of representations in oil. Few artists, professionally trained and active with the medium, either visited or settled in New Zealand before the 1850s. Gilfillan and Strutt (1825-1916), in New Zealand in 1841-7 and 1855-56 respectively, were the first two professional artists to produce and exhibit oil paintings featuring the Maori in the 1850s. Both men had substantial professional careers behind them before coming to New Zealand[3] - much more so than the artists, except for Carmichael, discussed in Chapter I. Yet unlike Angas, Merrett or Clarke, neither Gilfillan nor Strutt pursued a career as an artist in New Zealand, even though they did make drawings and the occasional paintings. The remarks of a settler in Wanganui, where the Gilfillan family lived, suggest that Gilfillan's former career was not well known either:[4]

> Mr Gilfillan talks as if he were a very clever artist and says he made £500 a year at home. If that was the case his coming out here was a mystery. He says he lost all by the failure of a London Bank.... Be sure to ask Grace about Gilfillan. He was a Professor of Painting at the Andersonian Institute and boasts of living in great style at home. I do not believe it.

Gilfillan and Strutt's settlement, even if temporary, represented decisive breaks from their former careers. They both attempted to farm - that is, to participate in the central economic thrust of the early colonisation of New Zealand, the development of land recently acquired from the Maori, to make civilised what had previously been primitive and savage. To this end,

according to the Rev. Taylor, in 1844 "Mr Gilfillan had his fingers jerked off by a calf",[5] a potentially disastrous accident for an artist. One assumes, though, that the lost fingers were not on his executive hand.

Gilfillan and Strutt's Maori pictures, that were exhibited or published, were produced after they had abandoned this venture, had left New Zealand and had returned to the business of making "fine art" in countries where institutions to support the "fine arts" (such institutions did not exist in New Zealand) were either being established, as in Australia, or long established, as in England. (Gilfillan remained in Australia from 1848 until his death; Strutt was there until 1863, when he returned to England.) Gilfillan and Strutt's exhibited Maori representations were more overtly or self consciously "fine art" pieces than the works of Angas, Merrett, Clarke, Oliver and Brees. Illustrated books, lithographs, watercolours exhibited in popular entertainment venues, drawings for Pictorial Scrapbooks did not have the status of oil paintings exhibited in specifically "fine art" institutions. Strutt's feelings about the practice of art in New Zealand, and this had a bearing on his Maori oil paintings, are referred to in a letter from a friend in New Plymouth to him in London in 1863:[6]

> I am glad to hear of you and your family and that you are all well and are placed in a more favourable locality for carrying on your profession. I think you are right when you say that the colonies are not the places for the fine arts.

Yet the New Zealand-made sketches and drawings of Strutt and Gilfillan, which made up the bulk of their depictions of the Maori, were important for their "fine art" in Australia and England, in that they provided basic material from which their few oil paintings with Maori figures were constructed.

There are nearly fifty Gilfillan drawings of Maori figures, activities and artefacts in public collections. All but four are in two sketchbooks purchased by the collector Hocken in 1905 and now in the Hocken Library.[7] The drawings include studies of seated figures (some identified), waistlength portrayals,

bust portraits of named individuals, scenes of daily life and traditional activities (a number of which are multi-figure), representations of groups of figures in landscape settings, and nude studies. The majority of the drawings are small, thumbnail sketches, sometimes several to a page (Figs 51 and 52). They could be seen as standard artists' notes, material gathered for possible future use. There are a number of genre and portrait studies, larger and one to the sheet, that are either more finished or more elaborate in their formal organisation, and narrative and socio-political connotations. The nude studies are primarily just that; their Maori source incidental, except that models were probably more readily available among the Maori than among Europeans in early colonial Wanganui. Though the thickened lips and flattened noses of the figures in these studies signify that they are non-European, their physiognomies are not distinctly Maori. They are, though, interspersed with drawings in which the subjects are identifiable as Maori either by their titles, or through such attributes of "Maoriness" as moko, dress or flax baskets, or because of the activities in which they are engaged (e.g. the haka).

Yet ethnological documentation would not seem to have been Gilfillan's prime business. In contrast to Angas' works, there is little information about Maori material culture, except for half a dozen tiny sketches of Maori artefacts and a few portrait heads - e.g. Abrahama Tipai Putiki (Fig. 51) and Tematohe Tamaharie (Fig. 52) - in which the moko is rendered in detail. Gilfillan's daughter, who accompanied him on sketching trips, claimed that the attention to detail resulted from Gilfillan's desire "to get the tattooing absolutely correct, as the natives themselves insisted on every line being drawn and put in its proper place".[8] That may have been so. Otherwise, however, Gilfillan's drawings are not characterised by other than a rudimentary attention to distinctively Maori facial feature and structure. Without moko and in European dress most of his figures (except for the nude studies) could

pass as European physiognomically. In most instances they have a standardised look, with little differentiation in facial feature.

The few exceptions to the formulaic rendering of facial feature and look are not necessarily unmistakably Maori in physical appearance either. Differentiation from the standard, seeming individuation of facial feature is most notable in his two portrayals of the famous Ngatitoa chief, Te Rauparaha. Gilfillan's semi-profile Te Rauparahas, most markedly the larger drawing in the Turnbull Library (Fig. 53), are characterised by very long, hawked, stereotypically "Jewish" noses, "cold" eyes, deepish set and small in relation to face size, short foreheads that slope back into the hair, small, thinnish lips, slightly downturned and the upper slightly overhanging, jutting chins and the jaws slung long and broad (in the direction of lantern jawed). This distinctive physiognomic rendering led T. W. Downes, the historian of colonial Wanganui, to assert, when the existence of Gifillan's Maori drawings was first publicly announced in New Zealand in 1905, that, unlike other European artists of the 1840s, Gilfillan's portraits of Te Rauparaha were notable for their "accuracy", and for their "true" and "faithful" likeness.[9] It would be difficult, though, to gauge the degree of their "accuracy" and "truth", since there are no "faithful", or "objective" or detailed records of Te Rauparaha's actual physical appearance in its entirety. Only written descriptions and other drawings from the 1840s exist to set the Gilfillan's against. Nor is there photographic evidence. One feature of Gilfillan's representations that brings into doubt their actual "accuracy" and "truth" is the apparent age of the figure depicted. Gilfillan's Te Rauparahas do not look old, even though at the time when Gilfillan could have seen the chief he was nearly eighty, and had been described as "old" by European writers since the 1830s.[10] Indeed only two drawings by European artists from the 1840s, those of Bambridge and Oliver (Fig. 85),[11] present a face and look for Te Rauparaha that corresponds to "old age". This suggests the extent to which most, if not all, portrayals of Te

Rauparaha involved fitting him to a type.

With Gilfillan's Te Rauparahas, while noting that some features like the long nose and slightly overhanging upper lip could be "corroborated" from written descriptions, his attention to these features did not necessarily result from any quest for "likeness". There is little or nothing in Gilfillan's other representations of the Maori to indicate much concern with "truth to nature" in the rendering of Maori physical appearance and facial feature. More crucially a number of factors suggest strongly that the manner in which Gilfillan represented Te Rauparaha depended primarily on the view of the chief prevailing among New Zealand Co. settlement officials and colonists in the 1840s, allied with the effect in that period of well-known ideas and theories about physiognomy, which held that a person's character could be ascertained or read from their facial features. The best-known and most prestigious texts on physiognomy published during the 19th century, those of Johan Caspar Lavater (e.g. Essays on Physiognomy, London, 1840 and 1850), included illustrations, which could have afforded visual schemata for any depiction of a person, such as Te Rauparaha, whose character or personality was the prime reason for the representation being made. The represented Maori face then can be seen as a site of social meaning, rather than just (if at all) a record of physical appearance.

In the 1830s and 1840s Te Rauparaha had a special place in the consciousness of Europeans, especially those like Gilfillan involved with New Zealand Co. settlements. He, Te Rauparaha, was generally cast as the "Notorious Cannibal Warrior",[12] a person whose violence and treachery both epitomised the savage and far exceeded the norm among his fellow New Zealanders, many of whom, unlike Te Rauparaha, had converted to Christianity. For instance, Edward Wakefield, who was closely associated with the establishment of the New Zealand Co. settlement at Wanganui, wrote that Te Rauparaha, "... a deceitful old savage",[13] had a "reputation for cruelty and

duplicity almost unequalled in the traditions of Maori history".[14] The Nelson Examiner in 1843, in a description taken from the Journal of William Wakefield in 1839, defined Te Rauparaha as a "wily savage, whose whole life has been a tissue of treachery and bloodshed ... the terror of all the neighbouring tribes",[15] while the New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian summed him up as "a common enemy of mankind".[16]

Te Rauparaha's exemplary notoriety, his status as an ideal personification of the savage - unrepentant, unrelenting in his hostility towards Europeans - distinguished him, set him apart from most others. The distinctiveness of Gilfillan's representation of Te Rauparaha, in contrast to the uniformity of most of his other Maori portraits, correlates with his exceptional status. He "needed" to be set apart from the norm. Given this, the correspondences between Gilfillan's rendering of facial features in his representations of Te Rauparaha and physiognomic traits, which according to the "science" of physiognomy denoted bad character, depravity, inhumanity take on some weight.

I have noted Lavater's writings that involved decoding a person's moral and psychological makeup from their physical traits. First published in English in the late 18th century, the fifth and sixth editions appearing in the mid 19th century, Lavater's theories had been generally absorbed into popular belief by that time.[17] Within Lavater's scheme an abnormally large, hawked nose, the tip of which hung lower than the nostrils, and the length of which was greater than that of the forehead, combined with a receding forehead, jutting chin and broad swing of jaw - all of which Gifillan's Te Rauparahas possess - signify "brutal insensibility" and "enormous depravity" (Fig. 54).[18] Deepish sunk, small eyes signify "cunning penetration" and "artful simulation",[19] while "All disproportion between upper and under lips is a sign of folly and wickedness",[20] and "A long broad thick chin ... is only found in harsh, rude, proud or violent persons".[21] All these features characterise Gilfillan's Te Rauparahas.

Viewed within the Lavater framework Gilfillan's Te Rauparahas, even if not so baldly and blatantly stated as in Lavater, appear not as neutral descriptions of a person, but as depictions loaded with negative connotations - which happen to correspond with commonplace evaluations of Te Rauparaha among Europeans. Not uncoincidentally perhaps a profile representation in Lavater of the Attila type (Fig. 55),[22] a violent "scourge" exemplifying the most "inhuman and brutal character",[23] is characterised by much the same features as Gilfillan's Te Rauparahas - even if presented in an exaggerated, caricatured manner in comparison to the more "natural" looks of Gilfillan's man. These figures manifest similarly shaped noses, overhanging upper lips, thin lipped, receding foreheads, and broad ("aggressive") swings of jaws and chins.

It might be that these parallels were quite coincidental - that Te Rauparaha's facial features as organised by Gilfillan did not necessarily carry connotations of brutality, inhumanity and deceit. Certainly it can not be proved that Gilfillan intended a physiognomic reading, though in so far as he had taught anatomical drawing to medical students at the Andersonian University in Glasgow until 1841[24] one could reasonably assume his familiarity with Lavater's texts. More cogently, given a social and attitudinal context in which the tendency to ascribe moral and psychological value to physical traits was commonplace, and in which it would have been difficult for a European to view that "notorious" chief neutrally, Gilfillan's representations allow a physiognomic reading.

The extent to which physiognomic theory had permeated popular consciousness is exemplified by descriptions of Te Rauparaha by Europeans in which, either explicitly or implicitly, physiognomic and character traits are coupled. In particular analogies were drawn between Te Rauparaha's physical appearance and animal features - for instance, those of snakes, wolves and apes; creatures invested with low value in European culture, and commonly seen as brutal and treacherous like Te Rauparaha.[25] For instance, E. Wakefield, in

attributing the "savage ferocity of a tiger" to Te Rauparaha, claimed "the destructive ambition of the selfish despot was plainly discernible (that is from his facial features) on nearer view".[26] William Wakefield in 1839 assessed the chief's "receding forehead, and deep eyelids, in raising which his eyelids are elevated into the furrows of his brow, give a resemblance to the ape in the upper part of his face".[27] Capt. F. G. Moore, a friend of Gilfillan's, assessed Te Rauparaha's physiognomy as "low, ill-favoured" and his physical appearance generally as "bad":[28]

> His eyes were black and deepset, and restless like a shark's, his cheek bones were high and massive, his tattooed nose arched like a hawk ... his chin square .... I at once totted him up as a low-looking common fellow.

And W. T. Power, with whom Gilfillan was associated in Wanganui, characterised Te Rauparaha as "treacherous" and "coldly sanguinary", and noted that:[29]

> The general expression of his features is placid and thoughtful, but with the least excitement they assume a malignant, wolfish expression; his small, snaky eyes gleam, and his thin lips turn down, showing long yellow fangs that I suppose might belong to a vampire or wehrwolf.

If one accepts the Lavater correspondences and that the linking of character to physical appearance, commonplace in the mid 19th century, could have contributed to Gilfillan's formulation of his Te Rauparaha, the depicted Te Rauparaha comes across less as a representation of an individual, than of the "character" in the colonial drama - that is, Te Rauparaha in the role of a Maori Attila, "who would not scruple to use any means for the attainment of power".[30] It is interesting to note that Angas in his presentation of Te Rauparaha at his 1846 Exhibition in London cojoined a textual attribution of "cunning and treacherous disposition ... insatiable cupidity" and a watercolour portrayal, "schematic" rather than "realistic", in which large nose and overhanging upper lip were stressed, singled out for special attention.[31] While it is important not to overload with ideological connotations what were after all unexhibited sketches, it is significant that an engraved reproduction of a Gilfillan Te Rauparaha accompanied Power's diatribe against the chief in

his Sketches in New Zealand, 1849,[32] an account of the colonial enterprise and the place of the Maori therein.

The degree to which drawings of the Maori which at first glance may seem merely casual, "on the spot", "objective" records of human appearances and activities can in fact be loaded with socio-political connotations, and are "pictorialist" rather than "documentary" is exemplified by several of Gilfillan's sketches of Maori activities and Maori-European encounters, - for instance, A settler bartering tobacco for potatoes and pumpkins (Fig. 56), Traders bartering with upriver natives (Fig. 57), and War Dance (Fig. 58). Gilfillan's figures in these works (and in his drawings generally) do not have the idealised, cosmeticised or fanciful looks that characterise most Maori figures in published or finished representations by British artists in the early colonial period. In contrast to the lithographs after Angas and Oliver, and Merrett's and most of Angas' watercolours, for instance, Gilfillan's drawings may seem more socially "realistic", more "direct", less mediated by artistic conventions. That was not so. Rather the contrasts can be related to the different uses of Gilfillan's drawings and to the input of a different set of pictorial conventions. For one, artists' notes and preliminary sketches not intended for exhibition or publication did not need the sort of cosmeticisation and emphasis on picturesque elements that convention and taste generally "demanded" of images intended for public consumption.

That Gilfillan did not necessarily "see" and represent the Maori more "realistically" in his genre sketches is suggested too by his standardised rendering of facial features. Except for the slightly broader nostrils in a couple of the female figures, the Maoris and Europeans in A settler bartering and Traders bartering are very similar in physical appearance. They are stocky, roughish, broad browed and shouldered peasant types - interchangeable, except for their dress and undress. This figure type points to Gilfillan's Scottish background and the operation of a code of representation derived from

early 19th century Scottish genre - the images of rural and low life folk of artists such as Geikie, Carse and the young Wilkie.[33] Their genre works are generally peopled by unpretty, comparatively unidealised, ungenteel, rough-hewn figures - inspired in turn by the 17th century Dutch low life representations of artists such as Teniers and van Ostade. Such figures in early 19th century Scottish genre contrast with the pretty, or bland, neat, genteel and ornamental figures in much early-mid 19th century English genre - the sort of imagery that contributed to the formulation of many of Angas, Merrett and Oliver's Maori representations.

There are other parallels between Gilfillan's genre studies and early 19th century Scottish genre. Favoured or recurrent subjects in Scottish genre included social gatherings (with dancing and carousing), market and street scenes, beggars soliciting arms, tradesmen or peddlers and customers haggling - as one has with Gilfillan's A settler bartering, Traders bartering, Maori Council (Fig. 65), and Maoris setting upriver (Hocken Library). Depictions of economic transactions on the street by Geikie, for example, are characterised by attention to nuances of gesture, expression and body language, and an interest in the interactions of members of different social groups. Whether or not these features amounted to a form of social and psychological "realism", the main thrust of the work was anecdotal; with the generation of discourse, often with a comic or satiric dimension, through gesture, expression and figural interrelations. To cite an example: In Geikie's A Canny Customer, from his Etchings Illustrative of the Scottish Character, 1841, a prospective customer examines a bull.[34] The gestures and looks of the four figures involved in the bargaining reveal wiliness, mutual suspicion and gamesmanship, and contribute to a witty dramatic tableau. Likewise in Gilfillan's A settler bartering there are a crafty peddler and a suspicious customer. Gesture, look and body language carry the anecdote. The settler with sceptical expression has his arms folded. He is on guard, defensive, keeping the "other", the Maori

delivering his sales pitch, at a distance. (This is not to say that Gilfillan had not observed transactions between Maori and European.) There are comic elements in Gilfillan's genre studies too. For instance, Traders bartering includes a Maori about to be engulfed by unwinding material, connoting, perhaps, an inability to cope with the products of European technology, that was a common source of humour for other European artists and cartoonists in the 19th and early 20th centuries.[35] In War Dance the distortion of facial features and the stumbling gait of some of the figures come close to caricature or an exercise in the grotesque. This supposition is given weight by another unambiguously caricatured representation of a Maori dancer accompanied by Gilfillan's comment: "... a kind of buffoon standing behind the seated group keeping time in his horrible gestures and grimaces".[36] Gilfillan's response to the haka was not unique. For instance, an engraving, War Dance of New Zealanders, in the I.L.N., 16 January 1847, p. 40, was captioned: "... got up for the amusement of the British, who are enjoying the grotesque exhibition".

Early 19th century Scottish genre and low life imagery are not the only types of representation to which Gilfillan's sketches of typical Maori activities can be linked. Among the few representations of the Maori published or exhibited in Britain in the 1830s there are a number which anticipate Gilfillan's in choice of subject. For instance, War Dance and A Native Council have precedents in two sepia engravings of a haka and a war speech (a figure addressing a large assembly) after Earle in his Narrative, pp, 70 and 160, while Earle's Sketches includes another image of a single figure addressing a large group, War Speech prior to a Naval Expedition (Plate 9), and also a scene of barter between Maori and European, Village of Parkuni, River Hokianga (Plate 4). One might have expected an artist and prospective colonist to refer to recent publications about New Zealand, particularly Sketches, produced to promote colonisation by the New Zealand Association. Whether or not Gilfillan actually saw Earle's work, the coincidence of subject choice, together with the

frequent reappearance of certain types of subjects (e.g. haka, tangi, war-related events) points to that tendency of European artists to concentrate on a limited number of aspects of Maori life and custom. The subjects chosen were those aspects of Maori culture that could be fitted most readily to existing pictorial categories and models. The extent to which Gilfillan saw and chose his subjects in terms of pictoriality is suggested by his comments on Traders bartering: "This subject for its proper illustration will require many figures and a very great number of pigs some secured to the ground by their legs ready to be put into the canoes" - that is, stress on the sort of incident and activity that would have brought it closer to such multi-figure representations of fairs as Carse's Oldhamstead Fair (1796, National Gallery of Scotland) or Wilkie's Pitlessie Fair (1804, National Gallery of Scotland).

In linking Gilfillan's genre sketches to Scottish models I am not suggesting either that his sketches should be seen simply as Pacific variants of Scottish genre, in which the Maori is primarily an incidental ingredient, or that he was just engaged in data gathering for potential pictures of exotica, the specific locations of which are unimportant. The Maori references are fundamental to any reading of the images. I have noted the argument that no pictorial representation simply amounts to a denotation of the seen, that, however seemingly literal a description of material facts, no representation exists, to quote Barthes, in an "Edenic state ... cleared utopianically of connotations".[37] Certainly the sketches of Maori activities, especially those involving the Maori-European encounters, by Gilfillan, who was otherwise engaged in the business of developing the "new" land, are not "innocent". They allow a reading in terms of the discourse of colonialism - in particular they have elements that connote views or feelings about relationships between Maori and European.

For example, in both Traders bartering and A Settler bartering, as in so many missionary representations, status is implied by the relative heights of

Maori and Pakeha and their placement in the composition. The Europeans are higher, upright in stance and central. The Maoris, besides being lower, are to the side of the Europeans, either seated, bent in posture, or with heads bowed and torsos somewhat dropped in comparison with the Europeans. Moreover the opposition of the crafty peddler and suspicious customer in A settler bartering, in the context of Maori-European relations in the colony, takes on connotations that have little to do with the Scottish genre model - namely, the need for settlers to be on guard and the deceitful and wheedling nature that some Europeans ascribed to Maoris.[38] For instance, Gilfillan's wife, Mary, described the Wanganui Maoris as "nearly useless to us being both dishonest and lazy they will not perform the most trifling office without remuneration".[39] Gilfillan's associate, Power, viewed the "unchanged" Maori as "obscene in their habits, avaricious and grasping in their dealings, bullying or cringing in their demeanour",[40] given to "lying, which is almost a universal failing",[41] and "generally distrustful and incredulous".[42]

Allowing for a degree of ambiguity, the gestures and expressions of two of the Maoris perhaps trying to "con" the Europeans in A settler bartering can be related to this negative view of the Maori. European womanhood (Mary Gilfillan?) has to cope with a leering Maori male. The tilt of his head, pose and placement to the left and slightly behind her could be seen as constituting the configuration of an over-the-shoulder proposition - an indication of dubious morality. The two fingered gesture made by the figure to the right of the European male may have indicated more than the bargaining process too. Such a gesture could have aggressive and hostile connotations, since in Scotland (and Britain generally) this gesture is commonly understood and used to signify sexual insult.[43] That the drawing did involve a comment on the character of the Maori, especially in their dealings with European settlers, is suggested further by a description in the Melbourne newspaper The Argus of an oil painting, Settlers Bartering with Natives (location unknown) by Gilfillan,

exhibited in 1853: "... the fair complexion and civilised expression of the European countenance is well brought out in contrast with the dusky hue and look of savage cunning expressed in the faces of the dark children of the forest".[44] In that Gilfillan's New Zealand sketches provided him with basic material for the oil paintings produced in Australia it is likely that correspondences existed between the drawing and later painting of the same subject.

In terms of the relationship between the Maori and European colonists the ideological connotations of Gilfillan's watercolour View of Wanganui (Fig. 59), are more clearcut. It is not known whether this painting was either exhibited or published,[45] though the degree of its finish is that of an exhibitable work, and an engraving, Wanganui, Scene of the Late Conflict, in the I.L.N., 6 November 1847, could have been derived at least in part from it. View of Wanganui includes a group of seven Maori figures and two dogs gathered round a cooking pot in the left of a foreground prominence of ferny scrubland. In the midground there is a clearing - a European cottage and farmlet with cows. Sweeping panoramically beyond is a river full of ships and the New Zealand Co. settlement (founded in 1841) still sparsely laid out. In the distant background beyond the town there is a vast expanse of more scrubland and low rolling hills. The Maori figures, the farm cottage, the river and ships, the spread of buildings and the distant hills derive from a sketchbook drawing, Wanganui, New Zealand, 1844 (Hocken Library) - which the I.L.N. engraving is closer to than to the watercolour. This drawing is more straightforwardly topographic in character - a simple outline drawing, without the detail (especially the foreground botanical detail) or the sense of panoramic sweep of the watercolour.

The image types to which the finished watercolour can be related are the townscape, with the view across water to the town, often with spectator figures in the foreground (a formula dating back to the 16th century), and the

picturesque panoramic landscape, which usually includes foreground figures and could include architectural elements and views of towns too.[46] Gilfillan's Maori figures, two of whom hold spears, are the equivalent of the rural types - peasants, shepherds often holding staves - so common in the typical landscape panorama. Gilfillan himself produced a number of paintings in Scotland which fit the picturesque model in terms of composition and basic landscape ingredients. For instance, his watercolours Dunollie Castle and Quarantine Station near Greenoch (undated, Glasgow City Art Gallery) both present views from one shore with small figures across water to a further landscape with buildings and hills beyond. And several pages of Gilfillan's sketchbooks, otherwise devoted to New Zealand, include drawings of Scottish landscape scenes with lakes, mountains and harbour scenes with boats, farmlets and cows grazing, plus small figures (in one[47] gathered in the foreground as in View of Wanganui).

The painting is more than just a picturesque panorama cum townscape, though. When the possible signification of the various elements in combination is considered, a meaning specific to its New Zealand reference emerges. The Maoris are not simply antipodean stand-ins for the "lazy cowherd" or the "peasant lolling on a rock" that could be pleasing elements in the standard picturesque landscape.[48] As an image of man and/in landscape View of Wanganui represents or implies an attitude to place and people that can be related to the business of colonial development and entrepeneurship (in which Gilfillan participated), and to prevailing notions about the civilising of New Zealand. In short View of Wanganui can function as a paradigmatic image of the "undeveloped", pre-European, even godless "wilderness" inhabited by savages, in opposition to the landscape "improved" by Europeans, the beginnings of civilisation and the establishment of Christianity. To elaborate: The Maori in View of Wanganui, either naked or in traditional dress, representing those Maoris still savage, and except for the cooking pot, as yet unaffected by

civilisation, inhabit the part of the landscape that is "unimproved". It is the sort of scrubby fernland that many European settlers and visitors considered the most barren and bleak aspect of New Zealand.[49] This scrubland extends beyond the small township, indicating that Wanganui was as yet surrounded, just at the beginning of its development. In contrast to the wilderness the town and the farm represent the colonial foothold, the "civilised spot".[50] Farm, the cottage and cows could stand for domesticity, virtuous pastorality, productivity, the making of a barren place fruitful.

Consider the remarks of the Rev. Richard Taylor, an associate of Gilfillan's and one of the leading Church Missionary Society missionaries in New Zealand, who was based in Wanganui from April 1843:[51]

> I had them (the Maoris) compare that fruitful garden (the farmlet of the Rev. Chapman) with the fruitless wilderness we had passed over, that they might see what civilisation could effect, and then draw the comparison between the natural heart and the new man.

It is noteworthy that Taylor's Sketchbook includes a drawing by Gilfillan, in which two traditionally dressed Maori figures in the foreground scrubland gaze over a landscape panorama that features in the mid-distance a small European settlement with conspicuous church.[52] In View of Wanganui the Maoris still have their backs to the new, looking away from progress. They are doing "nothing" - the standing figure, slumped in posture, head downcast, in particular, could epitomise unproductive inertia. In contrast, the farm, so quaintly reminiscent of "home" connects with the New Zealand Co. colonising programme - to build a version of Britain in the South Seas.[53] Likewise the burgeoning township and the ships, signs too of economic development and commerce, indicate the imposition of a European order on a hitherto savage place. Another artist, Albin Martin, wrote in 1851 of the ships, farmlets, the buildings and pastures of the new Auckland settlement, hewn from the scrubland, as "internal indices of successful progress".[54] That Christianity had a central part in the making of the landscape European is suggested by the most

prominent building in Gilfillan's township - the church. The first church in Wanganui was opened by Taylor in January 1844.

In respect of the place of the Maori vis à vis colonisation, the parallelism of Taylor and Gilfillan's constructions is further exemplified by the following extract from Taylor's Journal - an extract which could serve as a letterpress to Gilfillan's View of Wanganui, a view of the process of reclaiming the wilderness at an early stage, and of the savage amidst his fern destined by implication to disappear in face of European progress:[55]

> The whole country itself is in a transitional state. England has passed through its fern age ... here the country is still enveloped in its dingy mantle of fern. England's painted savages are now the most highly civilised race on the face of the globe; here the savage bedaubed with red ochre and shark oil is still lord paramount, but my faith assures me old things are rapidly passing away (and) a new and better order will and is already arising. The fern is being everywhere trampled down, the cow, the sheep and the horse are encroaching on its ancient domain....

The equation of the state of the landscape with the levels of social progress of European and Maori was commonplace among Europeans in New Zealand in the mid 19th century. Certain motifs recur time and time again; the opposition of fernland and pasturage, and the aesthetic, besides the economic, "improvement" of the landscape - the making, for instance, of "sylvan scenery and quiet rustic beauty" from the "gloomy forest and repulsive rugged waste", as Charles Hursthouse Jnr put it in New Zealand: Britain of the South, 1857.[56] He also wrote:[57]

> Picturesque sites and sheltered nooks for hamlet tower and town, homestead cottage and castle, are multitudinous in New Zealand; and when cultivation has given colour to the landscape, and contrast to the universal background of green, when the hills are more dotted with sheep (and "trim fields of cattle"[58]), and the valleys more golden with corn .... New Zealand will offer a thousand views which even a Turner might cross the seas to paint.

Two further passages from the writings of mid 19th century settlers in New Zealand indicate the extent to which View of Wanganui imaged colonialist ideology and the extent to which the oppositions in the painting were part of the European cultural baggage of the period, rather than peculiar to the odd

Taylor or Gilfillan. William Fox, a leading colonial politician and also an amateur watercolourist, contrasted Auckland in 1846 and 1851 thus:[59]

> ... my eye roamed disconsolately over the sea of fern tree and fern clad plains and mountains, as dun, as dismal, and apparently unproductive as the wildest mountains in Scotland (1846) ... Muirland has given place to meadowland; unenclosed wastes to rich and securely hedged pastures, and where formerly the eye fell sad upon a dense and profitless heath, it now revels delightedly amidst brilliant sweeps of luxuriant emerald clover.

And the "father" of Auckland and Cuthbert Clark's patron, John Logan Campbell, compared Auckland as it was when he first arrived in 1840 to what it quickly became:[60]

> On that morning the open country stretched away in vast fields of fern, and nature reigned supreme. It is fernclad no longer, but green fields gladden the eye; the white gleam of the farmers' homesteads dot the landscape; there are villas on the heights and cottages on the shore. While white sails skim the water, and the black smoke can be seen of many a steamer, as it cuts its way, passenger laden; and last but not least, the loudest, with its screech of civilisation, the locomotive on its iron road proclaims, "I have reclaimed the wilderness and made the desert place glad".

Gilfillan's "take" on man and landscape in early colonial New Zealand was not unique among visual representations in the mid 19th century period either. Panoramic landscapes in which European urban and landscape development opposed the Maori in traditional dress standing outside or apart from that development emerged as a distinct type in the mid 19th century. (The type with Aborigines, was also found in Australia where Gilfillan shifted in 1847.[61]) That is, in the colonial context, and enhanced by their recurrent use, the various elements I have noted in View of Wanganui can be seen as belonging to a stock of signs capable of being read in a certain way. For instance, Merrett's View (in Auckland) looking South from Khyber Pass (Fig. 60) has a foreground group of Maoris in "old-time" dress, preparing a meal amidst fern and scrubland; their backs turned to the prospect beyond, which includes European buildings, large fenced enclosures, cultivation and roads upon which British soldiers march.[62] And other contemporaneous examples of the type, which were either published or made use of by leading figures in the mid 19th century colonisation of New

Zealand, include Edward Ashworth's Auckland Looking Northwest (A.C.A.G.), a watercolour from the early 1840s which belonged to the wife of Governor Hobson, an engraving by Ford and West after P. J. Hogan's A View of the City of Auckland (1851, Private Collection), which was the frontispiece illustration to William Swainson's Auckland, The Capital of New Zealand, 1852, and John Kinder's View of Tauranga, Maungatapu (1862, A.C.A.G.).[63]

This reading of View of Wanganui in terms of colonialist ideology takes on more weight if related to Gilfillan's oil paintings that dealt with European discovery and/or settlement of "new" lands, such as his Robinson Crusoe Landing Stores from the Wreck (undated, Glasgow City Art Gallery) and Capt. Cook Taking Possession of the Australian Continent, 1770 (location unknown), exhibited at the Victorian Society of Fine Arts in 1857.[64] The former is a representation of a seminal proto-imperialist and colonialist entrepeneur, the archetypal European setting out to remake, order, develop, control the wilderness, while the latter celebrated the explorer, whose voyages opened the way to colonialist expansion in Australasia and the Pacific. It commemorated the taking over of a place and included a number of natives obsequiously deferring to the Europeans.

While concentrating on the imprint of colonialist ideology in Gilfillan's representation of the Maori in View of Wanganui, it must be reiterated that the painting allows more than just the one reading. One reading does not exclude another. View of Wanganui could have been seen simply as the depiction of a New Zealand scene in the early colonial period, as a record of the new settlement and surrounding landscape of Wanganui. It can be seen too in terms of landscape aesthetics - as a "pleasing" view with such picturesque and decorative elements as the gambolling child and dog, exotic rural folk (even if, except for the child, they are not particularly attractive by European conventions), and rough and irregular botanical and architectural features; simply a picturesque prospect that just happens to be set at "the other end of the world".[65]

Gilfillan's first oil painting featuring the Maori, Interior of a Native Village or "Pa" in New Zealand, was painted in Sydney in 1849.[66] He entrusted his friend, Capt. F. G. Moore, a mariner associated with the New Zealand Co.,[67] to take the painting to London for exhibition at the Royal Academy.[68] It arrived too late for inclusion in the 1849 show, but it was exhibited in several venues and became well-known. For instance, William Burnand, an associate of Moore, and like him closely involved in the colonisation of New Zealand (a major shareholder in the New Zealand Co. and an important landowner there) arranged for a showing at a private gallery in Regent Street.[69] The painting was hung too in the rooms of the Canterbury Association in the Adelphi, where the New Zealand Journal announced "it was much admired and would well repay the trouble of a visit".[70] Otherwise, to quote Moore, Interior was displayed "in my mother's drawing room where it was seen and much admired by many leading artists and others (including the Duke of Wellington and Prince Albert), who wondered that such merit could be found in the then infant colony".[71] According to Moore, Prince Albert suggested hanging the painting at the Great Exhibition in 1851 and also offered to assist getting it hung at the Royal Academy.[72] As it turned out it was not exhibited at either place, though the large lithographic reproduction was displayed at the Great Exhibition, in the New Zealand Court, which Moore was in charge of.[73] There it was probably seen by many more people than any other representation of the Maori presented to the British public in the early colonial period. The painting itself disappeared from public view in the mid 1850s and remains unlocated.[74]

Given the loss of the painting my discussion of Gilfillan's image of the Maori village focuses on the 1851 lithographic reproduction. Without any photographic reproductions the closeness of the lithograph to the original painting cannot be assessed. Nor can it be gauged whether the lithographer altered features of the painting according either to prevailing conventions in the lithographic representation of non-European people or to the intended uses

of the lithograph. Whether the meanings of the painting and the lithograph in their context of use corresponded must remain speculative, whatever other factors may point to the likelihood of correspondence. So, even if the ideological dimension of the lithograph is not inconsistent with that of Gilfillan's watercolour and drawings already discussed, the uses to which the painting and the lithograph were put must be distinguished. It is not known how complicit Gilfillan was in the production and use of the lithographic reproduction in Britain and New Zealand. Gilfillan, aspiring to Royal Academy exhibition, may have been primarily concerned with making "fine art", for which the novelty of the Maori subject was a means of attracting attention, making a mark.

The lithograph (Fig. 61) represents a large number of Maori figures engaged in a diversity of activities, enclosed by the buildings (whare, patuka with prominent carvings) and palisades of the pa. In the foreground, there are seventeen adults and four babies. Two figures are asleep, a couple play draughts, a naked young woman breastfeeds a baby, a figure plaits flax, a large group is gathered round a cooking pot. All except one of the figures are seated or reclining. They are at rest - the air of ease pointed further by the inclusion of domestic pets, dogs, lolling on the ground and playing. The twelve midground figures are more physically active - two are building a whare, one is training a bird, a group stands in conversation and three children leap round dogs chasing a pig. There are more, much smaller figures, standing and sitting, further back in the pa. The surrounds and backdrop to this (stage) setting feature dense forestation and rugged, mountainous land formations bathed in a goldenish light. That is, Interior presents a colourful and crowded scene full of incident and character in an impressive location.

The lithograph was accompanied by an "explanation" - a caption written by Moore:

The figures in the foreground are all Portraits, and the original Picture

> (now in London) was Painted on the spot. This picture is descriptive of a portion of the beautiful scenery of that young and interesting colony, and of the native habits and customs. In its grouping and general delineation it is perfect, and was formerly an everyday scene at a Native Village. The whole is a most pleasing and instructive painting, and is valuable as a faithful record of the Early History of New Zealand.

That is, besides its merits as a work of art being lauded, Interior, allegedly depicting the Putiki-whare-nui pa on the Wanganui River, was presented as if it was a literal description of what had been before the artist's eyes. The assertion that the artist made the original representation "on the spot" was the sort of fiction that functioned to imply or prove authenticity. While allowing that the mise-en-scène is identifiably Maori, and that there are elements in the image that can be related to observations by Europeans of actual pa scenes, the image did not simply denote the facts, record physical appearances unproblematicly. It was an imaginative construct, a composite work, with figures, motifs, elements from a variety of sources - visual and verbal.

There were two primary New Zealand sources for the figures and the view. Several of the fore and midground figures echo or derive directly from Gilfillan's drawings made in New Zealand. A few examples: The motif of the group round the cooking pot, while not identically arranged and posed, and the seated bare-breasted young woman with a toddler in her lap, came from the 1844 drawing, Wanganui, New Zealand. (The source too for similar figures in View of Wanganui.) The kneeling, semi-nude woman suckling a child on the left, the carved patuka on the right, the figure plaiting flax in the centre foreground, the crouched bare shouldered female, beside the figure with the pack (close to one in Settlers bartering tobacco for potatoes and Pumpkins), in the midground were all based on drawings in Gilfillan's Hocken Library sketchbooks.[75]

There are also parallels between the lithograph and an illustration, Interior of a Pa, on the Wanganui River (Fig. 62), from a drawing by W. T. Power, that appeared in Power's Sketches in New Zealand. The viewpoint from

which the pa is seen, the background whare with two patukas and an elevated platform to its left, the palisades behind spanning the picture, the stagelike presentation with open midground space with animals and figures, some seated, some at work, framed or boxed in by the buildings and palisades, the hilly backdrop and the massive trunked trees are all features in the lithograph which echo Power's drawing. The likelihood of the derivation is strong, given Gilfillan and Power's close association.[76] Two of Gilfillan's sketches were reproduced in Power's book - besides the portrait of Te Rauparaha, the frontispiece illustration, Matarawa, the Farm of Mr Gilfillan, which is another panoramic view of a landscape wilderness punctuated only by the small clearing of the farm - conspicuously pointed at by a group of armed Maoris in their savage state in the foreground. Some features of Interior echo a description by Power of life and activities in a "typical" pa, which accompanied the illustration Interior of a Pa, on the Wanganui River:[77]

> ... girls in their best mats ... and the children in "puris naturalibus" ... the Wahines ... busy weaving flax mats, cleaning potatoes or fish, or engaged in the superintendence of an ... oven, or a huge gypsy-looking cauldron ... groups are scattered about in all directions, engaged in various occupations ... or busy in the mysteries of gossip.

And the general mood of Interior, its quaintness, corresponds with Power's picture of Wanganui pa life in 1848 as a relaxed, easy going affair, in which the pleasures of food and conversation featured prominently.

Moore's claim that Interior documented Maori life and appearances, "native habits and customs", conflicts somewhat with the actual presentation of the figures and scene. For one, there are ethnologically erroneous features, such as the placement of a sleeping figure in the elevated food storage hut and the male looks of the figure carrying out a traditional female occupation, plaiting flax. Secondly, the figures are idealised or cosmeticised in their appearance. Clean, neat and tidy looking, there is no suggestion of the alleged dirtiness, skin and hair bedaubed with red ochre and shark oil, and high incidence of skin disease, which Power, for instance, cited as characterising the Maoris of the

Wanganui region.[78] The bulk of the figures, especially the dominant foreground ones, appear as decoratively picturesque items. The bright drapery colours - reds, blues, yellows, greens - enhance this quality, as do the playful pets and the arrangement of gourds and vines in the left foreground. Features that might have disturbed the pleasantly picturesque appearances were not included.

In this respect too consider the pictorial types to which Interior can be related, the representational conventions that mediated this "record of the Early History of New Zealand". Nineteenth century British anecdotal genre painting, with its frequent prettification of figures, obviously played a part in the formulation of the image. And as a multi-figure composition, the presentation of a variety of figure groups and a diversity of incident, disposed on several planes from fore to midground, the rhythmic flow of the inter-relating groups, the crowdedness, the sense of animation (offset somewhat by sleeping figures), motifs such as mischievous children and animals, all enclosed by the village architecture suggest the staging and "choreography" of the Wilkie-esque model - the Wilkie of Pitlessie Fair, or The Village Festival (1811, Tate Gallery), for example. The landscape setting and backdrop, whether or not it included actual landscape features seen by Gilfillan in New Zealand, manifests primary features of a standard, Claude-inspired late 18th-early 19th century British landscape type, characterised by balancing elements (notably trees) framing a central avenue of space directed towards distant mountains, cast in a hazy, in this instance golden, atmosphere. Gilfillan himself produced examples of the type in Scotland.[79]

Given this sort of parentage it might seem that Interior would have offered a primarily aesthetic experience to the viewer - the image operating as a combination of elements from Claudian pastorale and "jocund"[80] rustic genre in exotic antipodean dress. But images of rural idylls, arcadian harmony and ease do not exclude an ideological dimension. The ideal world of 18th century British pastorales and 18th and 19th century images of happy rural folk have

been correlated with that fiction of an harmonious and peaceful human existence, in which social and class tensions have evaporated, which was entertained by social groups in positions of power and control in those periods.[81] Interior can be viewed similarly.

Consider the uses to which the lithographic Interior was put. Displayed at the Great Exhibition, the New Zealand Co. connection was noted by the subtitle; the Pa was "situated near the Town of Petre at Wanganui, one of the New Zealand Company's settlements in Cooks Straits, Northern Island". The lithograph was not exhibited in a space given over to art objects, but amongst the "works of industry". Its neighbours on show included Maori artefacts, minerals to be found in New Zealand (coal, iron, manganese), specimens of native wood and other raw materials (flax, hides), and manufactured products made from them.[82] That is, Interior was shown in a display, the main thrust of which was to demonstrate the productive potential of the colony. (While Interior in itself does not overtly advertise this, the representation of the Maori as peaceable and showing a capacity for constructive activity would have contributed to a positive image of New Zealand.) The involvement of the image with the promotion and process of colonisation did not end with the Great Exhibition. Of fifty lithographs printed, twenty-five were sent to New Zealand under the patronage of Governor Grey - yet another instance of his central role in the production of images of the Maori in this period. The other twenty-five were sold in Britain in order to assist mission work in New Zealand.[83]

In this context of use the presentation of the Maori as picturesque, colourful, happy "peasants" had very pronounced ideological connotations. It represented an ideal; the Maori, peaceable, docile, behaving well, by implication open and friendly to Europeans (the out-of-the-picture partners in this encounter) - that is, as in Angas' T.N.Z.I., the Maori as European colonists wanted and needed them to be, if colonisation was to proceed smoothly. It could be argued that pa life so imaged was simply a

"misrepresentation" of the Maori condition in the early-mid 19th century - a period primarily characterised for the Maori by traumatic cultural disruption and loss of population through warfare and disease. An image of idyllic, arcadian harmony and ease could hardly stand as a "representative" image, an adequate metaphor for Maori life and Maori-European relations during the period Gilfillan was in Wanganui. That is not to say there were not peaceable villages or periods of peace, but 1841-47 was marked by unrest, mutual suspicion between the races and sometimes violent conflict in several regions in New Zealand and the Wanganui region.[84] Indeed for Gilfillan this culminated in clashes in 1847 in which his wife and three of his children were killed - the reason he left New Zealand the same year.[85] And as late as 12 February 1848 The New Zealander reported rumours of plans by dissident Maoris to exterminate the Wanganui settlers.

However there is not a simple, unitary relationship between the ideal Interior images and actual events, Maori-European interactions and European views of the Maori in the mid 19th century. This image too allows other readings, other connections. However "misrepresentative" of the "Early History of New Zealand" Interior might have been, when it was exhibited and circulated the image of a peaceable Maori village could have been related to a particular view of Maori-European interrelationships in the 1848-51 period that had some currency among Europeans at that time. To elaborate: In contrast to the conflict and disturbance of the early 1840s up to early 1848, and the discontent over land sales that emerged again from 1852-53 in the South Taranaki-Wanganui region (escalating into violence in the later 1850s), Maori-European relations in the 1848-52 period in the Wanganui region and in New Zealand generally were relatively peaceful and quiet.[86] Power, for instance, stressed the major changes that occurred in Maori-European relations in Wanganui in 1848: "The old causes of quarrel have been amicably arranged; and we can count some of our firmest friends among those who were so lately

arrayed in arms against us".[87] In this context too the Maori and Maori life of the Wanganui region could be represented positively, if not "realistically". That is, the idealisation, the cosmetic view was contingent on the belief that the Maori was amenable, or more amenable than in the past to the colonists and Governor Grey's designs; more accepting of European presence.[88]

In the context of its use the idealised image of the Maori in Interior can be related too to the belief that successful colonisation required the civilising of the Maori, their "amalgamation" into European socio-economic structures. The lithograph was captioned as a representation of Maori life as it had been; a "delineation" of what "was formerly an everyday scene in a Native village". That is, it represented activities, habitations and artefacts that were passing away, not remaining constant; a style of life which would ideally be superceded by advancing civilisation. The signs of incipient Europeanisation - draughts, items of European dress, the cooking pot - all conspicuously placed in the foreground, even if slight in themselves in terms of change, imply that the Maori was beginning to make the transition from a primitive to a civilised state. The very depiction of the Maori as peaceable, especially if seen against the common stereotype of the pre-European settlement Maori as devoted primarily to war,[89] implies the same development, that they were becoming more civilised as a result of European contact.[90] The Maoris in Interior were presented too in terms of relationships that had high standing in Victorian society - namely domesticity and close familial attachment, as exemplified by the devotion of mothers to their children.[91] Obviously domesticity and familial attachment were aspects of actual Maori existence, but in the early-mid 19th century uncivilised or savage Pacific peoples were frequently stereotyped as lacking these qualities.[92] Given that, the image of the Maori domesticated could connote their openness to civilisation.

The seemingly positive representation of the Maori, as in Interior, and the negative stereotype of the Maori as an ignoble savage living in the

wilderness, opposed to civilisation, as imaged in a View of Wanganui, were not mutually exclusive, but parts of the same colonialist attitudinal package. Whether the Maori was represented one way or the other depended on factors such as the specific nature of the interactions between Maori and European at a particular place and time (and these varied from place to place and could change quickly), and the circumstances of the production, exhibition and use of the image.

Whether Gilfillan's original painting similarly imaged both a fiction of the past and an ideal for the present and future; whether his figures were equally cosmeticised or perhaps more "realistically" rendered is not known. As had happened with paintings of the Maori[93] his image may have experienced a metamorphosis in the hands of the lithographer. Indeed the degree to which an image of the Maori could be manipulated, according to its intended purpose, so that with a few elements altered and/or the caption changed the representation could take on very different connotations, very different meanings is exemplified by an engraving after Interior, by G. F. Sargent, that appeared in the I.L.N., 27 October 1860 (Fig. 63). (The source of the image in the lithograph and Gilfillan's role were not acknowledged.) Published at a time when there was violent conflict between Maori and European in the Taranaki, the engraving was called Pah, a Fortified Village of the Natives, in the Province of New Plymouth, New Zealand. It accompanied an article which described the province as "the seat of war", the Maoris as a threat to the European settlement there, and a "fortified pah, the Puketakauere Pah, so noted in the recent conflict".[94] The engraver transformed the idyllic village, the peaceable and "good" Maoris of the lithograph, so that the presentation of the Maori, in relation to the text and to race relations in Taranaki, took on negative connotations. Those signs of relaxed domesticity and docility that characterise the lithograph - the woman suckling the baby, the draughts players, the group chatting round the cooking pot, the belle with the toddler

and dog, the figure plaiting flax, for instance, - were removed, and replaced in the foreground by figures, almost exclusively male, often in aggressive and tense poses, with "violently" out-thrust limbs, brandishing weapons (rifle and taiaha). The stress on the martial as opposed to the domestic correlates with that commonplace European notion that the life of the "unchanged savage" was primarily geared to warfare and destruction - in contrast to the constructive pursuits, the progressive impulses of the civilised. Another detail warrants comment. Having shifted the pa from Wanganui to New Plymouth, the engraver changed the generalised mountainous backdrop of the lithograph into a specific and identifiable mountain, Egmont, which for Charles Hursthouse a few years earlier had evoked the boldness of Salvator Rosa[95] - an apt element in this representation of Maori "banditti".

Gilfillan, who had delivered lectures on Fine Arts at the Mechanics School of Art in Sydney in 1848,[96] does not seem to have exhibited his Maori village scene in that colony. According to Marshall Claxton, another British artist endeavouring to make a career as an artist in Sydney, that city was not very amenable to the "fine arts" in the late 1840s and 1850s: "There was not a single room in Sydney where pictures, or any other works of art, can be seen to advantage".[97] This could have been a factor in Gilfillan's shipping of his painting to Britain. In contrast to Sydney however, by 1853 Melbourne, where Gilfillan was then living, offered a more hospitable climate for the "fine arts" - a point made by Claxton.[98] It was in Melbourne that Gilfillan exhibited his two other recorded oil paintings featuring the Maori. Maori Korero: Native Council deliberating on a War Expedition (Fig. 64) and Settlers Bartering with Natives, both "large pieces",[99] were exhibited at the first exhibition of the Victoria Fine Art Society in August 1853.[100] Both paintings were exhibited again at the Victorian Exhibition of Fine Arts in December 1856.[101] The reviewer in The Argus in 1853 praised Gilfillan's paintings: "... no person accustomed to the survey of works of art can retire from the

contemplation of them without feeling that he has been examining the work of an artist far above the ordinary stamp".[102]

Korero shows a large number of seated and standing figures in Maori dress, disposed in several groups from the foreground through to the far midground. One of the most prominent figures is a reclining semi-nude female, right arm thrown up behind her head, in the right foreground. Most of the figures, participants or observers in a war council, are grouped in a radically attenuated oval, in which two figures brandishing taiaha are animatedly orating. According to The Argus reviewer, one "runs in a state of wild excitement up and down the circle".[103] There are also a number of figures not immediately engaged in the council; an amorous couple, a playful and affectionate child, and a figure cooking. The scene is located in an open area by a forest of impressively towering trees, with a mountainous backdrop; the whole bathed in a golden, atmospheric haze. In the right midground several canoes, some with ornately carved prows and "cut-off" by the foreground trees, add a further exotic touch to the scene.

In his address to members of the New Zealand Society in Wellington in 1851 Governor Grey suggested that the Maori offered material rich in possibilities for "art":[104]

> How eagerly the poet, the painter, the sculptor would seek to recover some traits of their (the Maori) terrible lineaments - or of their softer outlines, when they related to those scenes of the gentler passions, or of domestic life - that either a stern grandeur or the romantic glow of a primitive state of existence might be imparted to some work of art.

With Korero it was almost as if Gilfillan was following Grey's prescription for the use of Maori subjects by artists. Different figures personify both "some traits" of the "terrible lineaments" of the Maori and aspects of the "gentler passions, or of domestic life", while the setting and the atmospherics correspond with the "stern grandeur" and "the romantic glow of a primitive state of existence". The painting suggests too both the "fearful spectres" and the "real poetry" that Grey saw in the Maori past.[105]

Like Interior, Korero was a composite work, the Maori ingredients of which were drawn from a variety of sources. For instance the embracing couple, the semi-nude female in the foreground and the figure at the cooking pot all derived from Gilfillan's New Zealand drawings.[106] More particularly, the activity and grouping of the main body of seated and standing figures derived from a drawing Maori Council (Fig. 65) (not a war council), though the organisation and personnel of the groups in the two images are not identical. Gilfillan made changes, added figures in the painting. For example, the oval of figures surrounding the orator is more "naturally" compressed in the drawing, in contrast to the fantastically elongated, drama-enhancing, depth-zooming oval in the painting. Other ingredients of the painting, also fundamental to the establishment of the mise-en-scène, the visualisation of a dramatic view - the setting of towering trees, exotic landscape and mountains and the bizarrely "amputated" canoes - do not appear in the drawing. The drawing operates on a more mundane level. It does not necessarily intimate violence and warfare. Yet even if related to an actual event that Gilfillan witnessed, a number of ethnologically suspect features suggest that this drawing was probably made less as documentation of the "real", than, as with The traders bartering drawing, as a preliminary for a "picture". For example, both the drawing and the painting show two people orating at the same time and food being cooked close to the speechmaking, both of which would amount to improper or incorrect behaviour according to Maori protocol.

Representations of war speeches and korero by European artists had been published before, and there are parallels in Gilfillan's painting with features in several of them, most notably the engraving, A New Zealand War Speech in Earle's Narrative. For instance, the contrast of an animated standing speaker surrounded by mainly seated, still warriors in that image, the very pose and gestures of the orating figure, one arm above his head, the bend and positioning of his legs, and the hilly background and foreground decorative

adjuncts all anticipate Gilfillan's presentation. Plate 36 of Angas' T.N.Z.I. also features an extended oval of mainly seated figures, within which and on the left stands an orating figure wielding a spear. There is too a watercolour (1847, Hocken Library) by William Fox of a Maori orating to a surrounding group, the title of which, Native Haranguing, Massacre Bay, is echoed in the 1853 exhibition catalogue description of Korero: "... the speaker with spear is delivering a harangue".[107] In that Fox was connected with the New Zealand Co. and a keen artist, it is possible Gilfillan could have seen the sketch.

Korero, of course, can be distinguished from these book illustrations and small sketches. Besides its much larger size, it is a very obvious piece of "high art" - indeed the first oil painting since the foundation of the colony by an artist, who had been in New Zealand, that can be classified as a History painting (sub-category Historical landscape). It would have qualified as one of the "specimens of the heavy style of the Old Masters", that The Banner reviewer noted in the 1853 Melbourne exhibition.[108] The apparatus of Historical landscape is unmistakable. Gilfillan's basic model for the organisation and presentation of his New Zealand scene was the Claudian ideal landscape formula. Primary elements of the painting so derived include the staging of the events viewed from above on a flat area framed by trees, with a series of counterbalancing coulisses "leading" the eye into a deep space and expanse of hills and towering mountain tops, the size and placement of the figures in relation to this landscape, and the atmospheric play of glowing golds and misty blues. The Claudian landscape formula had high prestige in Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries, so there would have been plenty of precedent examples for Gilfillan, from Richard Wilson to Turner to Alexander Nasmyth's renderings of Scottish landscape, for example.[109]

Korero is saturated with elements derived from or echoing other "fine art" types or categories too. For example, the reclining semi-nude female in the left foreground and her companion, the embracing couple recall the world of the

Titianesque pastorale and its descendants, while the conspicuous pierced rock and waterfall in the mid-distance were standard motifs of the picturesque landscape - by the mid 19th century cliches. There are suggestions of another favourite late 18th-early 19th century "take" on the landscape too, the sublime - even if in moderate form compared with the full blown sublime performances, characterised by extremes of meteorological, botanical and geological turbulence and drama, that artists such as De Loutherbourg and Turner had produced.[110] Nevertheless Maori Korero tapped the sublime in so far as it imaged the remote, the awesomely mountainous and densely forested, against which the midground figures are dwarfed specks, the uncultivated, the wild and the terrific, (as implied by the savage inhabitants, many of whom are contemplating violence unto others).[111] The combination in the one image of the Claudian, with its associations of the idyllic and the romantic, and the sublime, with its expression or intimation of the horrific and the violent, can be related too to the dualistic view of the "old-time" Maori articulated by Grey.

The activities of Gilfillan's figures bring to mind also a popular and commonplace type in 18th and 19th century European theatre and the visual arts, for which Rosa was a prime inspirational source - the banditti, inhabiting romantically enforested and mountainous locations.[112] The combination of banditti and the Claudian landscape formula had precedents in British art (e.g. Richard Wilson's Landscape with Banditti, (1752, Private Collection, London)), and Korero shares with the 19th century banditti pieces of the Scottish artist, William Allan and Charles Eastlake, for example, the combination of exotic spectacle and setting, and suggestions of both violence and love in the behaviour of the figures.[113] (Though in Eastlake and Allan's works the figures are larger in relation to the picture space, the anecdotal more in the foreground, the landscape less prominent.)

Korero was made in Australia for Australian audiences, and there were

precedents for the choice of subject and presentation; for dramatic spectacles featuring "natives" (Aborigines) in Australian art. Depictions of aspects of Aboriginal life with the accent on the decorative, exotic and picturesque constituted an identifiable type in the 1840s and 1850s. For instance, there were a number of artists, whose work Gilfillan could have known in South Australia (he was in Adelaide, 1849-52), who produced paintings of Aboriginal gatherings, in particular communal rituals such as corroborree - for example, Alexander Schramm, Adelaide Tribes on the Banks of the River Torrance (c.1850, Private Collection) and J. M. Skipper, Corroborree, South Australia (1840, S.A.M.) - both much the same size as Korero.[114] Particularly relevant is a work by S. T. Gill, one of the best known Australian artists of the period, who, like Gilfillan, lived in Adelaide before travelling to Melbourne via the goldfields in 1852.[115] Gill's Native Corroborree at Night (c.1850, N.L.A.), like Korero, features what for many Europeans would have been bizarre and exotic behaviour and physical appearances - prancing figures, a circle of seated spectators in a bush setting, with a mountainous backdrop. It is noteworthy that in both the Gill and the Skipper European spectators are included in the representation. The events are overtly for them, for the entertainment and aesthetic delectation of Europeans - as by implication was the Maori scene in Korero.

This inventory of Korero's relationships with and echoes of "fine art" types and motifs points to a very definite "aestheticisation" of the Maori subject. In respect of this it is useful to consider the specific nature of the socio-cultural context in which the painting was exhibited. In Melbourne in 1853 an identifiable "fine art" milieu in the sense of art societies, exhibitions, the promotion of the "value" of art was only just developing. The Victoria Fine Art Society was the first art society in Melbourne, and its founding was sustained by the belief that it was necessary for the "advancement of the Fine Arts" and the "cultivation" of a "taste" for the fine arts in the

"rising generation"[116] - necessary components for any truly civilised place. Melbourne underwent enormous population and economic growth in the 1850s - from colonial outpost to major Victorian metropolis.[117] The development of cultural and higher educational institutions generally in the 1850s can be linked to the notion that "culture" was a fundamental requirement for the installation and growth of civilisation in the colony.[118] For instance, the writer of an article in The Month, advocating a comprehensive scheme for the promotion of art in Australia, had this to say in 1857:[119]

> If this fifth great division of the earth is ever to be something more than a safety valve to regulate the high pressure of the European money market, and is to be celebrated for other than bucolic and mercantile pursuits, it is the duty of her present peoples to lay the foundation of those institutions which not only promote civilisation, but win the universal consent of enlightened mankind, and the brightest and most enduring renown.

Specifically in relation to Melbourne in 1853 the artist Marshall Claxton, congratulating the founders of the Victoria Fine Art Society, equated the establishment of such institutions with the "intellectual advancement of the city" and the encouragement of a "taste for refinement".[120] It was asserted too in The Argus that the first exhibition, opened by the Lieutenant Governor, "would be creditable to any town or city in Great Britain" (excepting the "capitals")[121] - proof that Melbourne had "arrived". The reviewer of the exhibition in The Banner wrote:[122]

> It would ... be little satisfaction to know that this important city merely progressed in worldly sensual matters; nor would any increase in wealth or commerce, however great, compensate for a lack of cultivation of that refined taste so essential to the social condition of a great people .... It therefore becomes a matter involving a great amount of consideration, as to which is the best means of infusing into the minds and feelings of the masses, this refinement of sentiment ... to win them over from the low and vulgar, to the lofty and intellectual. Of all the means calculated to effect this object we know of none so likely to work efficiently as the Exhibition of Pictures at the Mechanics Institute ... few will return from a careful survey of the many objects so worthy of attention ... without being mentally delighted and intellectually improved.

Gilfillan himself participated in the institutionalisation of the "fine arts" in Melbourne. He was a founding member of the Victoria Fine Art Society

in 1853 and in 1856 he was one of the three professional artists elected to frame the rules of its successor, the Victorian Society of Fine Arts [123] - a Society which he claimed would be of "value ... in fostering and encouraging the arts".[124] The founding of this Society too was sustained by a belief that the "fine arts" had a "great influence ... in civilisation and progression", as one member at a meeting to inaugurate the Society put it.[125] Another went so far as to assert that "no one could despise the fine arts with impunity - they did so at the risk of retrograding into barbarism".[126] It was in this context of attitudes and what now might seem almost naively self-conscious attempts to promote the "fine arts" that Korero and Settlers Bartering with Natives were exhibited and evaluated highly. That is, at a time when very few large scale narrative or History paintings had been produced in Australia Gilfillan's paintings can be seen as conspicuous demonstrations of "fine art" in a city in need of "culture", either to establish its place as part of European civilisation or to facilitate its development towards that goal.

The overt "aestheticisation" makes it clear too that Korero was not a documentation of "reality", but an imagined vision of landscape and events. The likelihood of Gilfillan ever having witnessed an actual Maori war council is remote and the adoption of the Claudian ideal landscape formula in itself would have served to distance the image from the "real" - to locate it in the realm of the imagined.[127] That is not to say, however, that the Maori simply provided convenient and novel subject matter for Gilfillan, the pretext for a "fine art" performance. Given Gilfillan's background and experiences, and the fact that a number of his other paintings and drawings either overtly or latently imaged a view of Maori-European relations and colonisation, it is worth considering the possible ideological and socio-political correlatives of Korero.

Historical landscape paintings traditionally could spark off a complex of associations in the minds of their viewers on such matters as, for example, the

"human condition".[128] In Korero several features carry connotations about the condition of the "old-time" Maori and by implication the relationship of the savage non-European to the civilised European. Except for the cooking pot the Maoris of Korero are untouched by any attributes or artefacts of European culture. Several features fix their identities as pre-civilised beings. For one their placement in the wilds without signs of cultivation or permanent habitation establishes them as "children of the forest"[129] - thus occupying a lowly place on the social evolutionary scale. Their state of dress or undress, given that there is little or no emphasis on traditional costume as decorative or picturesque, could indicate status too. In the 1840s and 1850s when most Maoris were adopting or had adopted European dress, the equation was frequently made between mode of dress and degree of civilisation. To Power, for instance, the "most civilised" of the Maori, those "in constant communication with the settlers", were marked by "the acquisition of clothing", while the "unchanged" native remained in a state of "undress".[130] Certain aspects of their behaviour fit the savage profile too. For instance, the very activity depicted, war preparation, could evoke Grey's "fearful spectre" of the Maori past - the alleged dominance of warfare and violence. But more specifically the action that the 1853 exhibition catalogue singled out for special mention contributes to a certain type of the Maori: "... the Orator while speaking runs backwards and forwards and as he gradually becomes excited throws off his clothes".[131] Though only a small figure, the wildly gesticulating speaker among the mass of mostly still figures holds centre stage. His volatility, occasioned by the prospect of warfare, and the contrast of the figures at rest and the hyperactivity of the orator brings to mind a number of negative stereotypes, as articulated by Power, for example: that the savage state of the Maori was characterised by "indolence", "unless when war or some strong excitement calls for their exertion", and by an "absence of even the remotest sense of decency or decorum in their social habits".[132] Certainly the speaker throwing off his

clothes would hardly have fitted official Victorian standards of decorum.

The exhibition date, 1853, of _Korero_ corresponded with the public emergence of a new movement among the Maori - the King movement, which sought a national and intertribal unity in opposition to the sale of land to Europeans and the expansion of settlements. Large meetings - korero - at which grievances were expressed, were at the core of these developments. Rumbles of discontent had been apparent among some tribes earlier in the 1850s. For instance, the Ngatiruanui of South Taranaki, well-known for their antagonism towards Europeans, held meetings for some years before 1853 - meetings at which their opposition was expressed in militant terms. That is, in the early 1850s there were signs of stress and tension - Maoris organising to stop land sale and settlement, while settlers were pressing for more land. The ingredients for a crisis in race relations and for the renewal of violent conflict in the mid 1850s were there.[133]

However, even if stereotypical views of the savage Maori are connoted in _Korero_, it is unlikely that the painting was intended as a reference to these developments in Maori-European relations in 1853. Gilfillan's treatment of his subject otherwise, particularly the romantic elements, such as the amorous couple and the reclining nude, and the context of its use militate against this. There is no indication in the painting against whom the violence being "deliberated upon" would be directed. Nor did the catalogue or title direct the viewer to view the painting in terms of tensions between Maori and European. It was probably quite coincidental that the work imaged a prelude to warfare, evoked that possibility, when the first symptoms of conflict to come between Maori and European were occurring. Further, unlike _Interior_, _Korero_ was not appropriated by people and institutions involved with the colonisation of New Zealand for propagandist or political purposes.

It might be argued that the very act of representation of the Maori by Europeans at this period,[134] the "aestheticisation" in itself, had a

fundamental ideological dimension in so far as it amounted to a form of incorporation by the culture aspiring to domination of an aspect of a culture in the process of being subordinated. Interestingly, Grey's 1851 recommendation of the Maori as subject matter for "art" was predicated by an assertion about the place of the traditional Maori in relation to colonialism and the spread of civilisation. Colonisation, he claimed, opened up a "future already brilliant with the light of a glorious morn" after "a night of fearful gloom".[135] Given this sort of linkage, "aestheticisation" could perhaps be seen as a form of possession, an aspect of colonial progress - especially, in respect of Korero, when the painting was introduced into European culture in New Zealand with its purchase by Dr Hocken in 1906.[136] However in the Melbourne cultural milieu specifically, as distinct from conditions of viewer reception in New Zealand or Britain, the painting would have operated primarily as a "fine art" fantasy piece, a dramatic spectacle and romantic entertainment acted out by an exotic people, with any connotations about the conditions and behaviour of the savage Maori secondary or coincidental.

William Strutt, who returned from New Plymouth to Melbourne in July 1856 and also participated in the founding of the Victorian Society of Fine Arts that year,[137] exhibited at least two oil paintings featuring the Maori in Australia. War Dance at Taranaki: Mt Egmont in the Distance (Fig. 66) was shown at the Victorian Society of Fine Arts in 1857.[138] (He exhibited another New Zealand work too, New Zealand Coastal Scene (location unknown), though it is not known if it included Maori figures.) In December 1861 Strutt's View of Mt Egmont from New Plymouth, with Maoris Driving off Settlers' Cattle (Fig. 67) appeared at the Victoria Picture Gallery.[139] There are five other extant oil paintings with Maoris by Strutt. Beach at Taranaki, New Zealand, with boats and Maoris (Fig. 68), 1855, was his only known oil painting with Maoris definitely painted in New Zealand. Taranaki (Fig. 69), a landscape with small figures and Egmont in the distance again, was produced in 1856, either in

Australia or New Zealand, while Maoris in Ambuscade (Fig. 70), exhibited in 1867 at the Society of British Artists in London, was possibly painted, or at least started, eight years earlier in Australia.[140] The other two were produced after Strutt returned to England to further his career as an artist: Maoris Beaching their Canoes (Fig. 71), 1865, and Hare Pomare and Family (Fig. 72), 1863-64, (with Mt Egmont in the background yet again). An exhibition of Strutt's paintings and sketches, "chiefly made in Australia and New Zealand",[141] was held at the Corn Exchange, Chelmsford, Essex, in October-November 1866.[142] Hare Pomare and Family was shown and also a number of Strutt's New Zealand watercolours. Though I have not located any references indicating that those with Maori figures were included, it is possible that some of these works were exhibited.

Strutt's surviving New Zealand drawings and watercolours of the Maori are contained in his Diary and Sketchbook, New Zealand, 1855-56 and in two albums entitled A Collection of Drawings in Watercolour, Ink and Pencil ... Illustrative of the Scenery and Early Life of Settlers and Maoris in New Zealand, 1855-63, (all in A.T.L.). The drawings of Maori artefacts, such as carvings and canoes in the Sketchbook, are often quite detailed, though the figures studies are mostly small and crudish in structure, with only the occasional moko rendered in any detail. They are typical field notes, memory aids, material gathered on the spot for possible future use - a conventional practice among travelling artists in foreign or non-European places. The albums (i.e. the packaging not the actual drawings therein) were compiled after Strutt's return to England in 1863. They were acquired by the booksellers Angus and Robertson, and eventually bought by the New Zealand bibliophile and collector, Alexander Turnbull in 1913.[143]

In the albums there are fifty-one Maori representations, some made on the spot, others composite works or worked up from rougher drawings. Most are dated 1855-56, though at least four, studies of a young North Auckland chief

Hare Pomare, were made in England in 1863 - preliminary studies for Strutt's oil painting Hare Pomare and Family. There are about a dozen small, "thumbnail" sketches of seated and standing figures, both single and in groups, in which, as in the Sketchbook, the rendering of physical form and physiognomy is rudimentary - works in which the postures, the look of figures seen from mid distance in landscape settings, the configurations they form, were concentrated on, rather than the specifics of physical appearance, dress and ornamentation of individuals seen close up. However most of the album drawings and watercolours with Maoris are larger and more finished or detailed than the Sketchbook drawings - more in the manner of preliminary studies for larger oil paintings or exercises in "pictorial" possibilities, than rough field notes. Most of the album sketches were made in New Plymouth and environs, though one sheet has drawings executed in Onehunga, Auckland. About half the sketches are portrayals of named and unnamed Maoris presented either in a conventional formal portrait format, or more "casually" or informally, seated, for instance, in landscape settings. The remaining sketches feature Maoris, either singly or in groups, engaged in various activities, either traditional or those indicating the effects of European contact. Sixteen of these are single figure haka studies. One is a beach landscape with fourteen prominent, though small, foreground figures and more in the mid and background. The remaining six include a haka party, a tangi, a woman at the grave of her husband, girls surfing, horseriders, and a group of figures round a totem-like pole. Besides the Maori figure studies, the albums include landscape studies and New Plymouth scenes, studies of Maori artefacts and native flora (fern, rata, nikau), and European settler activities such as bush felling and burning. There are also a number of photographs of Maoris in European dress.

As the title of the albums suggests, some of the works document aspects of Maori physical appearances, behaviour and customs. In contrast to Gilfillan's, Strutt's depicted Maoris are less homogenous looking, and in some, though by no

means all of his drawings, particularly his single figure portrayals, a greater attention to the rendering of recognisably Maori facial features is apparent. For instance, in Strutt's portraits of Martha and Tomate (Figs. 73 and 74) the careful delineation of breadth of their noses, thickness of their lips, and height of cheekbones "adds up" to a distinctively Maori-looking physiognomy. More so than Gilfillan too, Strutt included information in his drawings about such distinguishing features of the Maori as moko and dress, whether traditional or the frequent mixing of European and traditional items. For example, his sketch of Hore Ripaha (Fig. 75), described by Strutt as a "powerful chief in the Taranaki district also a Wesleyan catchist",[144] shows a seated figure, the moko clearly delineated, barefooted, wearing a European suit and a tasselled military cap, plus a ceremonial Maori feather cloak - an image of the Maori in a transitional state, as it was in the 1850s when the old ways of life and modes of dress were being radically altered as a result of European contact. This drawing includes the signature of the subject on it - another sign of the far reaching changes in Maori culture resulting from European presence.[145]

The incongruities of cross-cultural interaction caught Strutt's attention too - as, for instance, in his depiction of Maori horseriders (Fig. 76) (to be discussed), or in his bust portrait of Tamati Waka Ngaru (Fig. 77), in which Strutt depicted in detail the intricate moko design of a dejected-looking chief dressed in a European suit, complete with neck tie. Strutt's drawings of traditional practices could show close attention to the specifics of physical appearances and actual practices. For example, in his sketches of single haka figures he depicted the characteristic gestures (e.g. striking the thigh with the hand), movements and facial expressions (e.g. tongues poking out in the extreme) of the dance in an authentic manner. At the same time the figures in several of the large haka studies (Fig. 78) are close to the typical poses of nude studies so favoured within the 19th century French Academic pedagogical

system, of which Strutt was a product.[146]

However, even if some of Strutt's sketches do provide information about the customs, behaviour and appearances of the Maoris living near European settlements in the mid 1850s, the albums did not operate simply as a form of documentation, as neutral or "objective" records of typical and characteristic aspects of Maori life. It was not Strutt's brief, as it had been for artists such as Hodges, Parkinson and De Sainson, who accompanied explorers and scientists in the late 18th-early 19th centuries, to record for ethnological purposes. Strutt was an artist, not an ethnological reporter. However "realistic" or accurate his renderings of surface appearances (dress, artefacts, physiognomy) may be, his sketches would not come within the compass of Realism either. (In the Parisian art world of the 1840s, in which he trained and his style was formed, Realism as a concept, as a mode of representing the contemporary had not yet been formulated.) Rather, much of what Strutt represented and how he represented his Maori subjects can be related primarily to a conventional concern for the picturesque, the exotic, the anecdotal and the dramatic (the antitheses of Realism), rather than to the ordinary, the banal, the matter of fact stuff of everyday life.[147] This is most obviously so in the larger, more finished and detailed portraits and genre studies, which I will concentrate on. Pictorial suitability, determined by prevailing tastes and existing image-types, was a major factor in 19th century European artists' choices of non-European subjects, whether people or places. Consider, for instance, Strutt's comment about a group of Nubians brought to London by the "famous wild animal dealer Hagenbeck".[148] They provided, he wrote, "inexhaustible material for pencil and brush"[149] - that is, material for pictorialisation, rather than documentation. The Maori models for his New Zealand sketches and watercolours can be viewed similarly.

The extent to which seemingly straightforward descriptions of the contemporary Taranaki Maori could in fact be prescriptive - types connoting

certain conventional sentiments and tastes - is exemplified by Strutt's portraits of individual Maoris, such as Tomate, Martha and their son (Fig. 79). Martha, formally posed, three quarter length, fine looking, in a patterned cloak, with moko, tiki and shark tooth earrings, cast in a configuration of harmonious curves and rhythms, fits the exotic (usually Oriental or Polynesian) belle type so common in the 19th century. She would not have been out of place among Delacroix's Women of Algiers (1834, Louvre) or Gleyre's portraits of Oriental women, for instance.[150] She is the Exotic Native woman as much as she is an individual woman, who happens to be Maori. Tomate, also, posed frontally, three quarter length, young and handsome, draped in a cloak, feather in his hair, bland in expression, holding a weapon upright beside him, belongs to a type too - the Exotic Native Chief or warrior - that had many precedents among published European representations of the Maori.[151] By the time Strutt portrayed Tomate this presentation amounted to a stereotype - the traditional warrior of the old order. The drawing of Tomate, as much as it is a portrait of an individual, is a portrayal of that exotic "specimen" - a term Strutt frequently used in respect of his Maori subjects:[152]

> I sketched the Maori in their town pah, especially selecting the grim, old fully tattooed specimens, who were as a rule, very shy and superstitious, also scarce. One, a perfect fiend of ugliness, I could not prevail upon to sit ... but I succeeded in obtaining a good natured jolly old Chief called Rawiri ... a typical specimen.

With A Maori Boy: Son of Tomate and Martha (Fig. 79) an individual Maori became primarily the embodiment of a commonplace pictorial sentiment. The small boy, in European dress, gazing directly at the viewer and clutching a corncob, is not as exaggeratedly and sentimentally pretty as Angas and Merrett's depictions of Maori children. Yet he still incarnated the ideal of innocence and gentleness, that characterised so many portraits of children from the late 18th century and particularly in the 19th century, as in the work of Reynolds, Romney, Lawrence, Landseer and Dyce, for instance[153] - an ideal that was a basic ingredient of the mythology of the Family in Victorian times.[154] A

Maori Boy manifests standard features of the type. Tidy, gently waved hair, the wide-eyed vulnerable look, the symmetry of the head and face, the softly rounded rhythms of head, jawline, facial features, arms and torso were all aspects of the stereotypical presentation. That commonplace component of conventional pictorial order and harmony, the centralised pyramidal form, is pronounced too, so contributing to the idealisation. The symmetry, the figure placed in a "relentlessly central position",[155] the eye contact, is particularly reminiscent of Reynolds Age of Innocence (1788, National Gallery, London) and Dyce's portraits of children. The ideal child could be accompanied by flowers and small animals, such as playful dogs and rabbits, suggesting innocence, purity, the "natural" as a manifestation of the "divine". The corncob, with its connotations of growth, awakening life, held by the Maori boy could function likewise. With the European dress, it could also suggest the nature of the change in the Maori condition as a result of contact with civilisation. Corn had been used in contemporary painting to symbolise the civilising effect of Christianity on hitherto barbarous people.[156]

With Maori Girl Carrying a Dog (Fig. 80) too the child's Maori identity is almost lost sight of, such is the degree of idealisation and conventionalisation. This watercolour is a worked up version of a tiny, thumbnail sketch, probably made on the spot, in which the facial features and expression of the girl are indistinct, not rendered in detail.[157] In the larger work, in contrast, the primary focus is on the expression and look of the girl and dog. They are both charming and smiling, with large dark eyes, seemingly invested with the same emotion and quality of sensibility. As such the image belongs to that current of sentimental anthropomorphism, exemplified in the work of Landseer, Richard Ansdell and William Huggins, for instance, that was so popular in Victorian art.[158] The girl too would have been quite at home among the stereotypical rustic children of Victorian genre painting. Again the delicacy of the draughtsmanship, the gentle rhythms, lines and shapes

of head, body and dress help establish the romantically picturesque view of this girl, who happened to be Maori. In contrast to the portraits of Martha and Tomate, which include information about Maori appearances and culture, the ethnological or documentary component of A Maori Boy and Maori Girl Carrying a Dog is virtually nil.

Strutt's awareness of the extent to which his portraits of Taranaki Maoris partook of conventional pictorial rhetoric is suggested by his description of his drawing, Young Man of the New Plymouth Tribe, Taranaki, New Zealand (Fig. 81) as "tender and classical".[159] The centralised frontality of the figure, accentuated by the symmetry of the face, and the fine lines and rhythms of face, hair and drapery establish an order and harmony that is indeed classical, which in this instance served the picturesque, in so far as the picturesque dresses up, transforms ordinary visible facts.[160] That Strutt could represent a Maori in this way is not surprising. Analogous renderings of non-Europeans, especially Orientals, in French art of the 1830s and 1840s are not difficult to find - for instance, in the work of Gleyre, Chassériau and Delacroix, whose work Strutt expressed his admiration for.[161] For example, there is a portrayal of a young Arab by Chassériau, that is almost identically "tender and classical".[162] Not that it necessarily influenced Strutt. He probably had not seen it. Rather, both artists made use of similar devices to make their non-Europeans "worthy of art".[163]

Strutt's genre sketches, whatever their documentary value, are not representations of the mundane and everyday, without rhetorical flourishes and stereotypical elements either. In choice or treatment of subject they show too an orientation to imaging the exotic, bizarre, quaint or sentimental. For example, in his multifigure landscape sketch, The Beach, New Plmouth (Fig. 82), though it includes a number of small figures unostentatiously just there, sitting, standing, the dominating figures in the foreground, those that arrest attention, are characterised by bizarre and exaggerated gestures and movements.

They prance and brandish weapons for no obvious reason connected with the subject of the image otherwise. Another figure is dramatically cracking a whip. These figures exoticise the image and bring to mind, despite their small size, a stock character of the Orientalist repertoire, the animated, impulsive, belligerent male.[164]

Strutt's sketch of two Maori girls in European dress surfriding or shooting the waves, from the European point of view a bizarre activity, exemplifies the exotic too - as did Maori Family Mourning their Dead.[165] The figure relationships and actions in this latter sketch are not unduly dramatic in themselves, but the event, the tangi, and the behaviour associated with it, were routinely characterised as bizarre and sometimes as hideous or comical by Europeans.[166] With the haka, it was probably the most recurrent, the favourite genre subject for European artists - in contrast to the virtual absence of representations of mundane, non-exotic, less pictorially "suitable" aspects of Maori life.

Strutt's The Maori Widow at Rawiri's Grave (Fig. 83) relates to an actual event in so far as it includes the facts, as noted by Strutt: "Rawiri's widow used to lay her best dress on the tomb and had his canoe placed by the grave".[167] The drawing, however, is less a documentary than a dramatic and anecdotal piece, in which Strutt made use of conventional gestures, poses and other elements from narrative painting (and tomb sculpture) featuring mourning or tragic figures,[168] which expressed or connoted stereotypical sentiments and a favourite theme - desolate grief and virtuous widowhood. The slumped figure, melancholic looking, head downcast, wringing her hands - all aspects of the rhetoric of grief - could have fitted comfortably into any number of heightened or dramatic representations of tragic or funereal events from, for instance, 18th century Neo-Classical and 19th century Academic and Romantic art back to the Antique (representations which contrast with the banality, the "ordinariness" of the representations of funerals by such mid 19th century

Realist artists as Courbet and Manet[169]). There were precedent figures in exotic locations too for Strutt's widow, which he was likely to have been familiar with. For instance, there is a female figure, likewise in a seated, slumped position, her legs drawn up and head downcast, in the left foreground of Delacroix's Massacre of Chios (1824, Louvre), while Joseph Wright's Indian Widow (1785, Derby Museum and Art Gallery) provides an obvious precedent for the solitary, non-European widow mourning her dead husband, amidst exotic paraphernalia suggesting strange customs, in a meteorologically melodramatic setting - in Strutt the sombre darkness enlightened dramatically by the curve of a rainbow; in the Wright the stormy night lit by a volcanic eruption.

Whether or not in the 1850s Taranaki Maoris, clad in items of European dress, rode horses, as Strutt depicted in A Group I once saw in Maoriland (Fig. 76), his presentation of the subject implies a level of meaning that divorces the image from a straightforward documentation of a contemporary scene. It too focuses on an aspect of Maori life that from a European perspective would have seemed quaint and incongruous - people considered to be just emerging from barbarism adopting a pastime and style generally associated with the privileged and genteel classes in Britain. Seen in relation to British imagery of horseriding and ownership, and to certain assessments of non-European behaviour, A Group I once saw in Maoriland assumes meanings beyond the immediately denotative. Strutt's presentation of the Maori riders - the "elegantly" dressed and hatted figures, "correctly" seated upright, "genteelly" trotting their charges, the disposition of the profile shapes of horses and riders constituting an orderly and harmoniously balanced configuration - echoes a standard type in sporting imagery in British 18th and 19th century art - that is, representations of aristocratic and wealthy people mounted on horses on their estates or in splendid parklands settings.[170] In relation to this type of image Strutt's drawing takes on a comical or satirical dimension. Such details as the bare feet of one of the riders and hair flying out of control

beneath the hats, in the context of colonialist attitudes to non-European people, could connote a confused and laughable attempt to adopt the modes of dress and behaviour of the upper classes or gentlefolk. That is, the Maori could be seen to be aping the style of social groups to which they did not belong. This was a common source of humour and derision for Europeans in the 19th and early 20th centuries. A very early example is James Finucan's caricature, Tippahee, a Chief of New Zealand (Fig. 84), in which the Maori figure is clad in an ill-fitting military uniform and carries a cane. And Oliver, for instance, had found Te Rauparaha's "inappropriate" use of European dress "ludicrous".[171] His drawing of the chief expresses this evaluation (Fig. 85). A very well-known later example of the type is C. F. Goldie's All the Same the Pakeha (1905, Dunedin Public Art Gallery), in which the "comedy" implicit in the combination of bowler hat and elaborately mokoed face is signposted by the pigeon English put into the mouth of the figure - yet another instance of a "comically" garbled adoption of a European model.[172] Strutt's comedy is mild in comparison with many examples of the type, especially those in the U.S.A. There, Thomas Nast was a specialist. His Darktown Hunt: The Meet (c.1880), for instance, also features a horseriding situation, in which derisively caricatured blacks, elegantly dressed, are sedately posed on their charges - absurdly, so Nast would have the viewer believe, endeavouring to go beyond their proper station in society.[173]

Extrapictorial information, in the form of Strutt's remarks about the haka and Maori carving, provides a key to a reading of his The Maori War Dance (Fig. 86), which might not necessarily be apparent from the image alone. It depicts nine Maoris, semi-naked, with scattered items of European military apparel, brandishing a mixture of traditional weapons and guns. Again the incongruous combination, the "misuse" of European gear, could have given the image a comical dimension. I have noted the haka was one of the Maori activities most frequently represented by European artists - for Europeans the idiosyncratic

gestures and movements furnishing an exotic treasure trove. Earle, Angas, De Sainson, Gilfillan, Merrett, Markham and Gold, for instance, before Strutt, had all depicted the haka - though in all these works, unlike Strutt's, the figures are either naked or in traditional dress. Strutt's studies of single haka figures indicate that he had studied the haka closely. His comments too about the Michelangelesque physique[174] of some Maoris corresponded with his rendering of anatomy in the largest of these drawings. In the multi-figured The Maori War Dance, however, Strutt's concerns would seem to have been different. Even if the representation was based on what he had seen, certain aspects of the work suggest that it was negatively loaded. The haka becomes an exercise in the grotesque - not an uncommon classification of that particular activity.[175] The physiques of the figures play a less dominant role than in the single figure studies. The primary focus is on the dance as a whole, in which wildly flourished weapons, stuck out tongues, and figures who appear to be awkwardly hopping dominate. It is hardly a flattering image. It brings to mind more the buffoonery associated with the blackface Jim Crow shows that were so popular in Britain in the 1840s and 1850s and which conveyed a derogatory stereotype of blacks.[176] Strutt's album notes point to a derisive element in his depiction. He equated "the tongue put out and extended to its utmost capacity" with "the face convulsed into the most hideous distortions".[177] The inclusion of the carved canoe prow opposite the dancers suggests caricature too, or negative evaluation. The bulging eyes and the radically extended tongue of the carved head parallel those of the dancers - and Strutt wrote of such carvings in disparaging terms: "The designs for the figure heads on their canoes are all identical; the same hideous little figure with staring mother of pearl eyes and large protuding tongue".[178]

Strutt's genre images could also have political referents. For instance, Fitzroy's Pole (Fig. 87) depicts the elaborately carved pole erected by the Puketapu people of Ngatiawa in 1845 to mark the boundary beyond which Europeans

should not attempt to settle or acquire land. This was later to be seen as the first action of the Maori Anti-Land Selling League, which was to culminate in wars in the Taranaki and Waikato in the later 1850s and 1860s.[179] Strutt's inclusion of two figures aggressively presenting weapons points to the belligerent threat that the pole signified.[180] However Fitzroy's Pole primarily imaged the exotic picturesque. That a number of the figures appear in very different circumstances in other Strutt sketches suggests that the image as a whole was a fictional contrivance to that end. For instance, the inclusion of the "tender and classical" young man and the "good natured, jolly old chief Rawiri", a friend of Europeans, would hardly have been appropriate in a documentation of martial and anti-European feelings among Maoris.

While features of some of Strutt's sketches imply certain views about Maori life and culture, and Maori-European interactions, when first produced these may have been incidental or secondary to their primary purpose as exercises in the exotic picturesque - an investigation of the pictorial possibilities of Maori material. However a distinction can be made between the works as made and used in New Zealand in the 1850s, and their later packaging and use after Strutt returned to England. There they were to become a form of publication. In the albums the selection of images as a whole reveals a very definite view about the Maori and their relationship to European colonisation. An attitude can be extrapolated from what is not included in a representation. In the case of the albums, with one minor exception, and then the figures are small, there are no depictions of Maoris at work. That might not necessarily mean anything in itself, but in that most of the sketches featuring Europeans show them hard at work, mainly burning and clearing the bush, the wilderness, it can.[181] They, the Europeans, are developing the land, making it productive, a central ingredient of the colonialist enterprise. There is another sketch too by Strutt of himself as a "New Zealand Bushman" (1855-56, Dixson Library), in which he stands, one arm akimbo, the other holding his "weapon", an axe, one

leg placed on a fallen log, with a tree to his right showing two enormous axe bites. The pose has connotations of ownership and victory. Strutt casts himself as a tamer and conquerer of the wilderness - a quintessential colonialist type.

The contrast of unproductive native and productive colonist is also a feature of the oil painting, Taranaki (Fig. 69) (though not necessarily the only aspect). The painting can be seen in several ways. For one, it could have operated quite simply as a depiction of typical and characteristic facts of Taranaki in 1856 - the human and geographical topography - with a group of four seated Maoris face to the viewer in the foreground, right of centre, and two smaller standing figures back a bit on the left, European farms with fields, cottages, farm animals in the midground, with more bush beyond and Mt Egmont centrally placed in the background. That is, it shows the identifying marks of Taranaki in the mid 1850s - the mountain always towering beyond the otherwise generally flattish or low rolling landscape, the beginnings of European habitation, "typical" representatives of the indigenous inhabitants. The landscape fits the picturesque vision too - with its sweep mixing the rough and the irregular,the signs of rural domesticity, the impressive snow-capped mountain, and such elements of rusticity as the colourfully ragged, Maori/peasant figures. Yet, like Gilfillan's View of Wanganui, the organisation of elements connoted a view of colonial social and race relations. The Maori group set in as yet undeveloped scrubland are doing nothing. They are not a particularly attractive-looking bunch. Indeed one fiendishly grimacing figure, reclining awkwardly in a ragged mat, a European hat perched incongruously, comically on his head, could epitomise the grotesque. Their grouping too is clumsy, dissonant even. They represent the primitive. Their inactivity is opposed to the signs of European cultivation and development of the land. Clearances have been made out of the surrounding scrubland, and are fenced off. There are sheep, cattle and the odd homestead. The implication

that the artist did not view the Maori in his un or semi-civilised condition as equipped for this development programme is lent support by a comment in his Autobiography: "All the work in the bush was at the time very costly, and that of the Maori eminently unsatisfactory".[182]

It has been claimed that another landscape that Strutt exhibited in Melbourne in 1857 "may be identical with"[183] Beach at Taranaki, New Zealand with boats and Maoris (Fig. 68). In fact that is not likely. Beach at Taranaki is no more than a very small, rough oil sketch - a typical landscape etude, a preliminary study only, that within the Academic system Strutt was trained in, would not have been considered a finished, exhibitable work.[184] The sketchiness, the looseness of the brushwork, the lack of clear definition in the rendering of objects and in the anatomy and dress of figures, all features of the preliminary sketch, contrast with the conventional smooth and tight finish, the sharp definition of forms, the modelling of figures, the detailing that characterise Strutt's exhibited New Zealand oil paintings. Indeed the "high finish" of Strutt's rendering of the figures in a larger exhibited Maori representation was noted and praised by an art reviewer in Melbourne.[185] The physiognomically indistinct and rudimentarily modelled Maori figures in Beach at Taranaki, which are of little intrinsic interest, functioned primarily as staffage studies in the rough sketch, at most a prelude to a possible finished painting.

The two oil paintings with Maoris that Strutt exhibited in Australia, War Dance at Taranaki (Fig. 66) and Maoris Driving off Settlers Cattle (Fig. 67), combine a "shot" of Mt Egmont (a favoured subject for painting in New Zealand[186]) and martial activities. The paintings can be distinguished in terms of the view of the Maori they present, and the nature of the relationships between the imaged Maori and socio-political actualities in New Zealand.

Even though War Dance at Taranaki was exhibited at a time when relations

between Maori and Pakeha were very tense, close to war,[187] the painting can be seen in much the same way as Gilfillan's Korero - primarily as a "fine art" piece, as an exotic entertainment and spectacle. Though it too could connote that commonplace attitude about the nature of traditional Maoridom, the alleged centrality of war, it does not include any reference to contemporary events. There are no overt signs of Europeanisation in dress, weapons or artefacts, for instance; nor is it clear against whom the war preparations are directed. The arrangement of the figurative elements, their poses, expressions, groupings, gestures and compositional placement bring to mind rather Grey's romance of the "primitive state of existence" combining "traits of the terrible lineaments" and the "gentler passions". The foreground figures, framed by intricately patterned sprays of exotic foliage (nikau and treefern), make up an attractive and decorative display. There are five seated figures (four women and an elderly male), each of whom constitutes a stable, fundamentally pyramidal configuration, the constituent drapery and bodily shapes of which are orderly and comfortable. The women are young and attractive. The old man wrapped in a cloak, holding a mere, his moko accentuated, calm in expression, good looking, was derived from Strutt's sketch of the "goodnatured" chief Rawiri. There is also a standing, nude young male, whose splendid musculature and pose recalls a stock-in-trade Academic life study figure. He is an imposing decorative stage prop. The figures of the haka group in midground function primarily too as an item of exotica. Uniformly nude and anatomically impressive, they form a rhythmically regular group, without the negatively connoting details and disjunctive features, such as the hodge-podge of dress and the stress on "hideous" expression, which, in contrast, characterise Strutt's earlier sketch, The Maori War Dance. These decorative people and exotic events are set in a scenically spectacular landscape capped by a distant mountain peak. The painting was a composite work, not the representation of an actual incident. It was made up of elements and motifs from a variety of sources - from Strutt's

own sketches and also from the work of other artists. For instance, the haka party itself strongly resembles in reverse a group in Plate 53 of Angas' T.N.Z.I.

Maoris Driving off Settlers Cattle does allow reference to the contemporaneous disputes between Maori and European over land - war having broken out in the Taranaki in 1860[188] - whether the incident depicted was Strutt's own invention or inspired by an actual event. It depicts Maoris, in European dress, equipped with European military hardware, opposing European development. However, even if the representation of such an act in itself could have suggested the "villainy" of the Maoris resisting colonisation, it is unlikely that the painting was intended as a statement about Maori-European relations, or as a political or ideological tract. The primary emphases are on dramatic action and the exotic setting. The location is scenically spectacular, featuring a stately nikau palm, a wide panoramic plain, with the mountain beyond bathed in that Claudian golden glow - a pictorial element that often correlated with the imagined, the fancy, rather than the "real". Certainly Strutt, who left New Zealand before the outbreak of hostilities in New Zealand, would not have witnessed such an incident. In this visually splendid setting, or stageset, the figures are performers. The Maori figures are smallish, their configurations primarily geared to action and drama. Their adversaries, the Europeans, are barely visible; their presence indicated primarily by the smoke of their rifles in the mid distance on the far left of the image. Strutt again in Maoris Driving off Settlers Cattle was producing "fine art", - "good" picture, an "exciting" narrative and spectacle. While that of course does not exclude an ideological dimension, it is likely that the painting would have provided a mainly aesthetic experience for art audiences in Melbourne.

As exotic spectacle both paintings exhibited in Melbourne can be seen as antipodean relatives of a mid 19th century genre well-established and popular

in Europe, in particular in France. That is, the Oriental picture, in which animated and passionate physical activities, scenes of violence, bizarre customs, attractive women, fine physical specimens, and visually exciting locations were common ingredients.[189] For instance, Decamps and Delacroix produced pictures of figures, often on horseback, in Oriental settings, engaged in violent skirmishes[190] - groups of figures in movement, usually characterised by out-thrust limbs, diagonally disposed torsos, dramatically expressive shapes that set up lines of force across the pictures space, as in Strutt's Maoris Driving off Settlers Cattle. The midground motif of figures on horseback driving cattle (though the figures are much smaller) also brings to mind a painting by one of Strutt's teachers at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Horace Vernet's A Roman Horseman Driving Cattle (1829, Wallace Collection). Strutt praised too "all" Vernet's "large battle pictures in Algeria"[191] - precedent images of conflict between colonising Europeans and colonised non-Europeans.

The structuring, the mise-en-scène of Strutt's Maoris Beaching their Canoes at Onehunga (Fig. 71) has an Orientalist stamp too. For instance, the spread and deployment of a crowd of figures, many of whom are in movement, right across the lower third of a broad format picture space, leaving a large expanse of space above and a sense of space beyond, and the concentration of the figures in the fore and midground planes brings to mind a painting Strutt particularly admired, Vernet's "wonderful La Smala" (1845, Versailles), even though the subject of that work, a battle, is very different.[192] More specifically, in terms of subject and landscape setting, besides the multi-figure spread across the composition, Strutt's painting can be related to one of the standard types in the French Orientalist repertoire - images of groups of Arabs with horses or camels, either on the move in the desert, as in Vernet's Arabs Travelling in the Desert (1847, Wallace Collection), or pausing at watering places while travelling, as in Decamp's The Watering Place (1832, Wallace Collection). Strutt's painting combines figures on the move and at

rest, sandy locations and connections with water.

Unlike The Maori War Dance and Maoris Driving off Settlers Cattle, Maoris Beaching their Canoes, in terms of subject, relates to actual events witnessed by Strutt and recorded in his Autobiography, 4 July 1856:[193]

> Before leaving Onehunga a pretty scene presented itself to us. The morning was lovely and the charming bay and beach were quite animated with a fleet of canoes, just arrived with all sorts of produce for the Auckland market. The picturesque canoes were beached to the lively song of the natives, their contents landed, and the tribe gathered together to hear a short speech from a fine old chief, which done the kits (native baskets) were shouldered, or strapped to the backs of the bearers, with the strong and handy slings, each generally as well carrying a huge cum cum or pumpkin, while not a few drove fat pigs tied by one leg to the market.

However the painting did not amount to a documentary record of this event. Nor was it a Realist-type modern subject picture, but yet another exercise in the exotic picturesque, for which the event witnessed by Strutt provided some, but far from the only source of material. It has already been noted (by Heather Curnow) that the painting was a composite work, in which Strutt made use of landscape elements and figures from his drawings made in both New Plymouth and Onehunga.[194] For instance, the "friendly" old Chief, Rawiri, sketched in New Plymouth, appears yet again. But the painting is more composite than that. Several motifs and figures parallel features from other artists' representations of the Maori. For instance, the motif of the canoes drawn up or being drawn up onto the shoreline had precedents in two works Strutt could well have been familiar with: the lithograph after Earle, A War Speech Previous to a Naval Expedition, Plate 9 in his Sketches, and Gilfillan's Korero, exhibited while Strutt was living in Melbourne. The vigorous movements and dress of the two figures struggling with the pigs on the left bring to mind Gilfillan too. They are closer to figures in his sketch Maoris bartering with settlers (and possibly appeared in the oil painting of the same title that Gilfillan exhibited in Melbourne in 1853 and 1856) than to Strutt's own earlier sketch of a Maori with a pig (A.T.L.). Angas could also have contributed to the formulation of Strutt's painting. The standing figure in traditional dress

standing in the centre - the "fine old chief" - bears a striking resemblance to Mungakahu, Chief of Motupoi, Plate 6, T.N.Z.I.. Moreover, the very subject of the painting, Maoris on a beach, bringing food to market, their canoes drawn up nearby, had a recent precedent in an engraving after a sketch by H. G. Robley, Maori War Canoe at Tauranga, published in the I.L.N., 6 August 1864.

Besides the Orientalist echoes, Maoris Beaching their Canoes, manifests allusions to and quotes from other image types in European art. For instance, one aspect of the subject, going to the market, with the central bullock-drawn wagon laden with produce, was a common one in 18th and 19th century representations of peasant life, from the harvest wagons of Gainsborough and Wheatley.[195] The painting is akin too to the depictions of peasantry on the move in such French works as Leopold Robert's (a pupil of Vernet) The Arrival of the Harvesters (1830, Louvre) or Louis Le Breton's The Return of the Gleaners, (1859, Arras) - works in which the peasants, like Strutt's Maoris, are picturesque specimens, whose physical appearance and organisation within the composition amounts to a form of idealisation. With these non-Realist, mid 19th century peasant paintings too the idealisation of the figure was combined with attention to details of dress and accompanying objects - a "realism" of surface appearances masking what was fundamentally a cosmeticisation. In contrast to the figures in Taranaki, the figures in Maoris Beaching their Canoes are generally well built, good-looking "specimens". They are arranged with few exceptions in orderly, "calmly" rounded, rhythmically harmonious configurations. An exception, the two men struggling with the pig on the left - a comical incident - does not interrupt the flow or stability of the composition. The composition is anchored by the pyramidal group in the centre and the balancing groups of seated and reclining figures on the left and right foregrounds, all of which together form a broader triangular axis holding in check or stabilising the flow of moving figures disposed in roughly equal numbers on either side. Further contributing to the idealisation of the event

and enhancing the image's picturesqueness or picture-worthiness was Strutt's use of Antique or classical motifs. For instance, there are reclining Maori "River Gods" on the left and right foreground, while the gesture of the woman, sixth from the left with her head tilted back looking over her shoulder, her left arm flung out, palm upward, is a standard rhetorical gesture (even if here emptied of its signification) more generally associated with 18th and 19th century History painting.[196]

Heather Curnow has asserted, without giving examples, that, "By the use of classical poses and compositional formulae that derive from his Academic training, he (Strutt) invested his subjects with dignity which elevated them above the level of mere genre painting"[197] - the implication being that the painting amounted to a positive celebration of Maoridom. That would be difficult to substantiate. Rather Strutt "did" the Maori in terms of conventional image types and idealising pictorial formulae in the interests of the "good" picture. It remains an Orientalist cum genre type painting (note the smallish scale); an admixture of the conventionally picturesque peasant and exotic non-European. It represents, as was frequently the case in Strutt's work, not an ordinary, banal event, but the Maori dressed up, an incident "transformed, heightened, romantically transfigured in order to make it worthy of art".[198] An "elevated" treatment does not necessarily demonstrate or imply either sympathy or admiration of the Maori, or belief in their dignity as Maori per se. Rather the Maori had to be "aestheticised" for the painting to enter the "fine art" discourse. It was not the Maori who was elevated but the painting.

The idealisation of the Maori in Maoris Beaching their Canoes had a possible ideological correlative too. As with the lithograph after Gilfillan's Interior this image of orderliness and equilibrium could be related to the ideal of the peaceable Maori - at a time, in this case, when there was considerable tension and conflict between Maori and European. The painting

shows the Maori gearing their activities to colonial development, not resisting it. They are transporting produce to a European settlement - so contributing to the progress of civilisation.

Strutt's Hare Pomare and Family (Fig. 72) can be distinguished from his other Maori oil paintings in that it relates to specific and well documented transactions between a group of identifiable Maoris visiting England and Europeans. Indeed the painting only came into existence because of those transactions. So, besides being a piece of "fine art", the view of Maori-European relations it embodied is a central and primary aspect of the work. Strutt's return to England coincided with the well publicised visit by a group of Maori chiefs under the supervision of William Jenkins (discussed in Chapter II). Two of the Maoris were spared the troubles that otherwise afflicted the group. A couple of months after their arrival Hare Pomare and his wife Hariata left the group and went to live with Mrs. Elisabeth Colenso.[199] The reason for this shift was Hariata's pregnancy and Queen Victoria's concern that mother and child receive the best attention, for which she offered to pay all expenses.[200] In July 1863 William Jenkins had noted in his Journal after a visit to the Queen:[201]

> The most interesting part of the interview was the disclosing on the part of the Queen a promise that will confer on the "future" of New Zealand a higher honour than was ever before accorded by an English sovereign to the offspring of an aboriginal tribe. Her Majesty having been informed that the wife of Pomare was in an "interesting condition" expressed herself pleased at the prospect of the birth of a New Zealand child of distinction in this country ... and the Queen also signified her wish to stand "Godmother" to the British born New Zealander.

Consequently in November 1863 in the district church of St. Pauls, Nottingham, Hariata and Pomare's baby was named Albert Victor "by the desire of his Royal Godmother".[202] Besides the sponsorship of the Queen the fortunate infant received a "handsome present from her Majesty ... consisting of an elegantly chased goblet, a spoon, and knife and fork, all of pure gold ... in a handsome jewel case, in which a note for £25.00 was also enclosed".[203] These events

attracted the attention of Strutt. He later wrote:[204]

> Having resided in New Zealand and had not a little to do with the Maori I thought an interesting picture might be made of Pomare, Mrs. Pomare and Albert Victor and I thus painted the little scene which had the honour of her late Majesty's inspection and approbation.... The little picture was by her permission exhibited to her Majesty, who expressed her satisfaction as seen.

At first glance Strutt's "little picture" may seem a straightforward uncomplicated image; simply a formal portrait of Hare Pomare, Hariata, the infant Albert Victor, and another Maori chief, Patuone, an uncle of Pomare. But this seemingly sympathetic portrait turns out to be much more complex in meaning and allusion than the bare facts might seem to allow. The portrait, rather than just being the record of a "scene" that Strutt witnessed or staged, was a composite image, with quotations from and references to a variety of earlier images - paintings, drawings, photographs by other artists besides himself. Strutt depicted a fictive ensemble, the ingredients of which combined in an arrangement that embodied prevailing moral and cultural values, and also ideas about the place of the Maori in an Imperial edifice. And while the rendering of faces, artefacts and landscape, the attention to detail might suggest authenticity, that the image corresponded with, reflected "reality", in fact fidelity to ethnological, physiognomic and geographic actualities does not characterise the painting.

There are several obvious attributes of "New Zealandness" and "Maoriness" - the pa fortifications, the botanical specimens (flax and clematis),[205] the cloaks and ear pendants of Hare Pomare and Patuone, the taiaha, the carved canoe prow that Hare Pomare rests his hand on. These features may be reasonably accurately delineated in themselves, but certain aspects of their presentation reveal an ignorance of or lack of concern for their appropriate use and meanings for the Maori. For instance, the taiaha is presented incorrectly for such a formal occasion. It would be directed downwards. And the inclusion of the clematis (to the left of Hariata) was not apt for this

domestic grouping, since for the Maori it is associated with death and mourning. Strutt probably included it for decorative reasons.

Strutt took license with the geographical location of his subjects too. In the background, beyond Patuone, there is a chain of mountains. One is snowcapped and similar in shape to Egmont in Taranaki. However Hare Pomare, Patuone and Hariata were not from Taranaki. They were Ngapuhi from North Auckland, which does not have snow capped peaks. For Strutt its inclusion could have had several purposes. The mountain could have functioned as a typical feature of New Zealand; something, along with the flax and the fortifications, the place could be identified by. Also, Egmont, described by Charles Hursthouse in 1857 as the "Apollo" of mountains, provided a strikingly picturesque or picture-enhancing motif.[206] Further, in combination with other elements of the picture it could have had more than just picturesque and place-typifying functions. In 1860s mountains could still be equated with raw, untamed nature, awesome and sublime.[207] Strutt's mountains in the distance, left behind, could have suggested the uncivilised wilderness from which these natives, now Christianised, had come.

The presence of Patuone would have been anomalous in any record of an actual grouping or scene. He was neither a member of Jenkins' party nor was he in England in 1863-64.[208] Yet he occupies a prominent place in the portrait, even though he stares abstractedly, as if unaware of the foreground family group, whose commemoration was ostensibly the main reason for the production of the painting. Patuone's inclusion, the possible reasons for which will be discussed later, in itself indicates that the painting represented more than merely a charming domestic scene or the commemoration of a particular event of historic interest.

Strutt's model for his portrait of Patuone, twelve thousand miles away, was probably a photograph of the chief he possessed.[209] In terms of age, expression and disposition of the head the painted Patuone parallels the

photograph, even though there he is clad in European dress and armed with a rifle. There are also a number of photographs of Hare Pomare, Hariata and Albert Victor by the well-known Victorian photographer J. E. Mayall[210] (Fig. 88). These photographs closely resemble Strutt's portrait in the poses and expressions of the figures, and in their relationships to one another - though in Mayall's photographs the figures are in European dress. The parallels between the painting and the photographs suggest that Strutt made use of the photographs even though his subjects were near at hand in London.

Strutt did make drawings of Hare Pomare, Hariata and Albert Victor.[211] The drawings are accompanied by notes about skin and eye colour. This suggests that they were careful studies designed to be as faithful as possible to Hare Pomare's actual physiognomy. Yet if these drawings and the figures in the finished portrait are compared with Mayall's photographs of Hare Pomare and Hariata it is apparent that while Strutt's figures are recognisable, and while he retained some distinctive features of his subjects, such as the curl and parting of Hare Pomare's hair, the faces were idealised. For instance, Strutt reduced the broadness of their nostrils, sharpened the ridges of their noses, and hardened their jawlines, especially that of Hare Pomare. He presented them near profile with only one side of the face visible - unlike Mayall's photographs - so that the sense of the broadness and flatness of their features, in relation to European facial structure, was diminished. That is, Strutt subtly "refined" the physiognomy of his Maori subjects, so that they were more "handsome", according to European tastes and conventions, and in a way that markedly reduced the sense of individual personality. Their faces became masks in what was primarily a demonstration of European ideals and preoccupations.

In this respect consider the tondo format, the grouping of the figures, and the poses and expressions of Strutt's family group. They were obviously modelled on the Raphaelesque Holy Family type. Interestingly in the 18th and

19th centuries Raphael's tondo The Madonna della Sedia (c.1514, Pitti Palace) became especially popular, the centre of a cult of beauty. Numerous reproductions of it were made. For many "it became the embodiment of an Italian Madonna".[212] The pose and relationship of Hariata and her baby parallel innumerable Virgin and Christ children. The inclusion of the flax may not have been incidental. Besides being a typically New Zealand and exotic attribute, the shape of the leaf closely resembles the frond of the palm, an attribute of the Virgin Mary.[213] Hare Pomare could be a Joseph, and Patuone an attendant Saint, though in placement and expression, he (Patuone) too parallels more closely a commonly found variant of the Holy Family Joseph figure. That is the Joseph who stands behind the Virgin and Child, an abstracted look on his face, fulfilling a supportive role, even if he does not share the immediate intimacy of Mary and Jesus.[214] (Patuone's status as a "father figure", a source of strength is discussed later).

The Holy Family quotations point to Strutt's use of his Maori family. Consciously or unconsciously Strutt fashioned the Maori figures according to a cluster of stereotypical attitudes relating to "home", "family", mothers and children - attitudes that were deeply entrenched in Victorian culture and society. First: The "Blessed Mother". In the 19th century, in theory at least, motherhood embodied all that was pure, warm and loving,[215] and of course in this scheme the children reciprocated. The ideal mother was a secularised Madonna. In many middle class homes, so it has been claimed, sex was such a secret that to all intents and purposes births could have been virginal, the result of immaculate conception.[216] Not surprisingly the standard representations of mothers and children in 19th century British and French art demonstrated this ideal, "mythical" situation. There were innumerable images of mothers and children in which beauty, gentleness, comfort, quietness, softness were emphasised, and anything ugly, dissonant, unpleasing absent. Hariata and her baby fitted this model.[217] In paintings of this type, however

"realistic" the dress and the setting might be, particulars of time and place assume a secondary position. The images can be seen as statements of the allegedly eternal nature of the mother-child relationship - a point that John Millais, for instance, in his Mrs James Wyatt and her daughter Sarah (1849, Private Collection) made sure the viewer would not overlook by including within the portrait a print of Raphael's the Madonna della Sedia, hanging on the wall behind and overlooking the Wyatts.

Second: Ideally, if not necessarily in fact, "home" and "family" in Victorian society were characterised by peace, unity, harmony and tenderness - the sites of all that was valuable in human relationships - of "sacred" status.[218] Baldwin Brown, for instance, believed "It (the home) was made by God, like the first man after a divine original".[219] Thus Strutt's rendering of Hare Pomare and Family. The adoption of the circular format, with its connotations of the infinite, the eternal, was apt in this respect too. Charles Kingsley claimed that all domestic relations were "given us to teach us their divine anti-types ... and it is only in proportion as we can appreciate and understand the types that we can understand the anti-types".[220] He believed that "these simple everyday relations and duties of the family ... are the most divine (because they are the most human)".[221] Given that attitudes such as these were conventional commonplaces the analogy that Strutt drew between Hare Pomare, Hariata and Albert Victor and the Holy Family would have been quite reasonable and meaningful to contemporary viewers. It would not have seemed extravagant and farfetched. The universalising effect of the Holy Family analogy can dominate so much that particulars of time and place, and the individuality of the figures become secondary. Hare Pomare, wife, child and uncle become an ideal family.

Strutt's sanctification of his Maori family did not necessarily indicate any really positive or sympathetic feelings towards the Maori as an ethnic group. Good looks can be misleading. Indeed he did not seem to hold the Maori

in very high esteem. Though he described some Maori chiefs as "very pleasant and intelligent fellows",[222] he more frequently referred to his Maori subjects as "specimens", and "unfriendly" Maoris as "savages".[223] He displayed a standard Victorian attitude on miscegenation:[224]

> The occasional fusion of the races does not seem to answer very well, and I am not aware of any great advantages having accrued to the world in improved physique or mental endowments by such alliances.

His disparaging remarks about Maori carving, moko and design work show that he had little regard for the quality of Maori culture: "There is one very singular feature in connection with the Maori, and that is their cramped power of imagination."[225]

Therefore it is unlikely that Strutt was implying in his Hare Pomare and Family that either these particular Maoris or the Maori as an ethnic group were as worthy of elevated treatment as the Holy Family or the ideal Victorian family by virtue of being Maori alone. Rather the Holy Family analogy, the fitting of Hare Pomare, his wife and child to European artistic models and social stereotypes primarily served to make this particular Maori group acceptable in Victorian society. They, like Smetham's Maoris in Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House, had, in effect, been assimilated. They had progressed beyond their savage state. The signs of domesticity, "femininity", gentility and Christianity indicated that they had been civilised - from the colonialist point of view the ideal condition for the Maori.

The subtle Europeanisation of their facial features contributed to this. It was a device enabling alien ethnic groups to be accommodated, their "otherness" and any potentially divisive and disorientating social and cultural differences to be overlooked. Queen Victoria viewed the Maori group as depicted by Strutt with "approbation and satisfaction"[226] - as well she might, since, despite their Maori dress, a forum of acculturation had been imposed on Hare Pomare and his family. They look and behave like respectable Victorians. Paradoxically the Maori dress contributed to this effect. Hare Pomare, Hariata

and the other Maoris on the Jenkins expedition of 1863 usually wore European dress. They only wore Maori dress for formal or ceremonial occasions. For instance, Paratene te Manu, a member of the group, had this to say about their visit to the Queen in July 1863:[227]

> ... and then we were taken to see the Queen. Presently arrived for us the steamer of the Queen; we embarked and we were taken to the Island where the Queen lived. When we arrived there we attired ourselves in our Maori garments, and took in our hands our weapons ... and then we went into the presence of the Queen.

Not coincidentally Strutt's portrait was painted with the Queen very much in mind. Hare Pomare, Hariata and Patuone were appropriately attired for he occasion - wearing their "best" dress, as any European would also for a formal family portrait. In this context Maori dress was superficial costume that did not really contribute to any sense of essential "Maoriness" - though, of course, the Maori dress did add an exotic flavour to the picture.

Strutt's tailoring of Hare Pomare and Family according to artistic conventions and social stereotypes amounted to the construction of a new "reality" for his sitters - a "reality" not of their making, one in which rather they were acted upon. One learns little about Hare Pomare, Hariata and Patuone as people, as individuals, from Strutt's painting. The inclusion of the old chief, Patuone, is crucial to the reading of Hare Pomare and Family as a visualisation of typically colonialist ideals or ideas in respect of the Maori. I have noted that if the painting was merely a celebration of the christening, or an idealised family portrait, the presence of Patuone, not in England, would have been incongruous. Patuone was a very famous chief, the most respected and influential member of the Ngapuhi tribe. Reputably nearly a hundred years old when Strutt painted his picture, Patuone claimed to have seen Captain Cook. He had been a famous fighter, a one time friend and comrade-in-arms of Hongi, and allegedly a cannibal, before his involvement with the missionaries in North Auckland in the 1820s and his baptism by Henry Williams in February 1840.[228] He was greatly respected by both Maori and

Pakeha as a peacemaker, as a mediator between warring factions of Maoris, and between Maori and European. He had always been friendly with Europeans and believed that the Maori could benefit from European contact.[229] He thought it would be best for both groups if they were "united in purpose".[230] To this end he had "declared for the Queen"[231] at the Treaty of Waitangi and with Tamati Wake Nene (Thomas Walker) supported Grey at Ruapekapeka in 1845 when the "rebel" Hone Heke was defeated. Patuone's biographer, C. O. Davis, claimed that his shift to Auckland on the invitation of Grey, and his gift of land there, was a shrewd move by the Governor to secure peace in the area.[232] In short Patuone enjoyed a special relationship with Europeans.

He was a particularly striking example of an influential and powerful "old-time" warrior chief, who had accepted the coming of the Europeans and changed his ways accordingly. From the European point of view he was an ideal Maori, who could provide a model for the young. Significantly in the painting Patuone stands above the younger generations, detached because of his age and background, yet connected as a kinsman and their shared positive relationships with Europeans. Patuone was popularly known by the early settlers in North Auckland as the "Father of the Pakeha",[233] while the baby, Albert Victor, his grand-nephew, had Queen Victoria for a Godmother. The coming together of these figures within the circle could signify mutual acceptance of Maori and Pakeha, the recognition of European authority and dominance by the people of the tribes these Maoris represented, and the vast changes that had taken place among the Maori as a result of European contact - from cannibal to Queen Victoria's godson; a process of assimilation, even if only partial, into European culture and society. Interestingly Davis, described Patuone's life as characterised by a "transition from a barbarous to a civilised state".[234]

Hare Pomare and Family imaged an ideological ideal - the Maori incorporated into a colonialist scenario, the Maori transformed; Christianised, the model bourgeois family. The painting could stand as a symbol of the Maori

"tamed", controlled, at a time when military resistance to colonisation was a prime, probably the most urgent aspect of Maori-European relations in New Zealand. Yet it would diminish an image with several levels of meaning and reference to see it only in terms of contemporary social and political relationships, or for that matter simply as a portrait of a specific family. For instance, the presence together of the old chief, the young adults, and the baby brings to mind that traditional theme in European art, the implications of which were more "universal" - the Ages of Man. Allusions to this theme continued to appear frequently in mid 19th century painting - in both "realistic" representations of family groups and contemporary life scenes.[235]

Strutt's other painting featuring the Maori exhibited in England, Maoris in Ambuscade (Fig. 70), shows in concentrated "close-up", in contrast to the "long shot" of Maoris Driving off Settlers Cattle, Maoris and Europeans in conflict - more specifically five Maoris back to the viewer about to ambush an unsuspecting British soldier. It has been claimed that the painting "was probably a reconstruction of a specific incident of which Strutt was informed after his return to Melbourne".[236] That is purely speculative. There is no evidence to support the claim. For one, to be a reconstruction of an actual incident it would have to have been described to Strutt by one of the hostile Maoris - somewhat unlikely. Rather it was an imaginative work, which in the British "fine art" context would have functioned as an exotic action piece, perhaps allowing the viewer a vicarious thrill or frisson of adventure and danger. In this respect Strutt made use of a number of basic drama-enhancing devices in the organisation of the picture. For instance, that most of the picture space is occupied by the foreground Maori group in their bush surrounds gives a closed in, claustrophobic quality to the scene, enhancing the feeling of impending entrapment, while the viewpoint from which the drama is enacted, in illusionistic effect, makes the spectator - European - a "participant" in the ambush. That requires a suspension of disbelief and points to the

fictitious nature of the image.

Nevertheless Maoris in Ambuscade could still connote a view of the relationship between dissident Maoris and Europeans, the "advancing civilisers".[237] It was exhibited at a time when the Hau Hau were conducting a fierce guerrilla-type campaign with British and colonial troops - a state of affairs of which the Cornhill Magazine, for instance, could comment: "... some hundreds of tattooed savages hold at bay some thousands of our best troops ... we still wonder why savages are so deaf to the call of 'progress'".[238] The fighting was well covered too in popular British periodicals such as the I.L.N., so Strutt's depiction of the moment before the assault could have been related easily by the British viewer to contemporary events, even if it was not a record of an actual event.

In contrast to the positive representation of the "friendly" Maoris in Maoris Beaching their Canoes and Hare Pomare and Family, the presentation of these "unfriendly" Maoris is not very flattering. Their well muscled torsos are primarily a sign of Strutt's Academic training. Otherwise the way that they are posed and placed in relation to the British soldier, certain gestures and looks, the very act they are committing are negatively loaded. The five figures constitute a largely faceless, anonymous dark mass, a dark destructive force in the shade, four out of five tensely crouched, huddled, the partial glimpse of only two faces revealing bulging eyes, desperate savage looks. (In his Autobiography classified "troublesome" Maoris simply as "savages".[239]) In contrast the threatened British soldier is upright, his open, "honest" face in the light. The oppositions in these respects contrast with the more neutral, "distant" presentation of the event, and the smaller Maori figures (Europeans are not visible) in Maoris Driving off Settlers Cattle. That is, even if Maoris in Ambuscade could still operate as an exotic action picture for a "fine art" audience, it was more pointed in an ideological sense than the earlier work. What may be implied about the condition and nature of the Maori was more

outfront, more prominent. For instance, Maori Driving off Settlers Cattle does not suggest so much that quality of hidden, unprovoked violence, a "mugging", that characterises Maoris in Ambuscade, and which could put the Maori so depicted in "bad light".

Comparisons between Maoris in Ambuscade, Maoris Driving off Settlers Cattle and Hare Pomare and Family show that the ideological component was not uniform in Maori representations by the same artist. It could exist in different ways, and to different degrees - primary, secondary, tertiary - according to circumstances of production and use. As noted in the discussion of Gilfillan's Korero, it might be argued that the very "aestheticisation" of the Maori had a fundamental ideological dimension, even if latent rather than overt. Certainly the affinities between the Maori made picturesque and exotic and colonialist structures of thought and feeling could be close - as has been noted with Angas and as will be discussed in greater detail in the chapters on von Tempsky, Chevalier, and late 19th-early 20th century historical work.

CHAPTER IV

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MAORI

BY ARTISTS ACTIVE IN NEW ZEALAND IN THE 1860S

In New Zealand in the 1860s it would have been difficult for a person to make a living as an artist, given the non-existence of an adequate support structure. Exhibitions were rare, art societies did not emerge till the 1870s,[1] and potential buyers and patrons of art were few. Not surprisingly only a small number of professional or professionally trained artists were active. These artists, like the resident "serious" amateurs, tended to favour the indigenous landscape as subject matter. In this milieu relatively few paintings featuring the Maori were produced or exhibited.

Consider, for instance, the work and views of the professionally trained Albin Martin (1813-88).[2] He was a founder of the Auckland Society of Artists and one who considered "art" a "means of civilisation".[3] In his obituary the New Zealand Herald noted: "To Mr Martin might be assigned the position of father of art in this district (Auckland), probably the colony".[4] Soon after his arrival in Auckland in 1851 he went to the races, since, as he noted:[5]

> These public amusements are the best places to see the inhabitants of the country .... I was mostly interested in looking at the Maoris; they wear blankets of every hue and colour, and seated in their wild and picturesque groups they formed subjects fit for Michelangelo. I saw natives with giant-like and finely moulded limbs in attitudes that reminded me how true Michelangelo was to nature.

Yet, though Martin "was able to get material for three little sketches"[6] on this occasion, no drawings or paintings either specifically of the Maori or in which Maoris featured prominently by Martin have come to light.[7] In the 1850s Martin, who, like Strutt and Gilfillan, was primarily engaged in farming, had "but little leisure for the arts".[8] Otherwise he was primarily a landscape painter. Some of his landscapes from the 1860s and 1870s, such as The Artist's

Farm at East Tamaki (c.1865, A.C.A.G.), do include small Maori staffage figures, but usually they are so sketchily rendered that their facial features and identity as Maoris are barely distinguishable.[9]

J. C. Firth, run-holder and businessman, a major figure in the "opening up" of the Waikato, commissioned from Martin a number of paintings of contemporary events of historic import that included Maoris.[10] The Meeting of J. C. Firth and Te Kooti (Fig. 89), 1873, commemorated a famous encounter and negotiations between Firth and the dissident chief. The meeting, the only peaceful one between a European and the "notorious" rebel, since Te Kooti[11] had adopted guerilla tactics, proved vital for the end of hostilities, and for the well being of settlers in the Matamata district, where Firth occupied large tracts of land. The Evening Star noted:[12]

> In the interests of mercy and peace, for the good of the Maori and Pakeha, he (Firth) has walked into the very jaws of death ... if ever a man exhibited the signs of disinterested devotion to the public good, he has done it in his visit to Te Kooti.

The subject and the occasion then might reasonably lead one to expect a concentration on and prominence in the composition of the figures and the encounter, as in conventional 18th and 19th century representations of meetings between Europeans and non-Europeans. However Martin's figures are so tiny, sketchily rendered and secondary to the landscape, that, but for the title, there would be no way of identifying either them or the nominal subject of the painting. It is extremely difficult even to distinguish Maori figures from European.

Another Martin painting, The Death of Thompson, commemorated Firth's relationship with another famous Maori leader. Firth obtained his Matamata land from Thompson, or Wiremu Tamihana, whom he described as "the greatest and best of his race".[13] Tamihana, the Kingmaker, was a leading figure in the autonomist King movement and in transactions, martial and diplomatic, between colonists and Maoris resisting colonial expansion in the mid 19th century.[14]

Unfortunately the work remains unlocated, and Martin's treatment of his subject unknown. The titles of just two of Martin's paintings exhibited at the Auckland Society of Artists in the 1870s refer to Maori subjects: Maoris Washing their Nets, East Tamaki, Maoris Fishing, East Tamaki (both 1877, locations unknown).[15] In line with his usual practice and with extant paintings, the titles of which suggest Maori subjects, it is likely that the figures in these works too would have been small, conventionally picturesque elements in what were primarily landscapes.

It would seem from his extant writings that for Martin "art" in New Zealand primarily meant landscape painting. The "beautiful" New Zealand "scenery" was "the great preceptor of true art" for the locals.[16] In his Report on the Free School of Art in 1879 Martin wrote: "The province of Auckland ought to produce artists ... if climate and scenery have anything to do with it, for in this respect it is second only to Greece".[17] However for Martin the "true" painter would not be a "mere topographical delineator", but one for whom "accurate imitation" was "only the commencement of art"; one who had learnt his lessons from the "great Masters".[18] Thus, in thanking James McKelvie for the gift of pictures and books "for the use and instruction of the people of Auckland", Martin noted "the Claudes should be very useful to our Auckland artists".[19]

In contrast to Grey, Martin did not single out Maori culture and history as a prime source of subject matter or inspiration for artists. If the work at the Auckland Society of Artists exhibitions in the 1870s is any indication, it would seem that most practitioners of the "fine arts" then shared this orientation. Only five works in the 1873, 1875 and 1877 exhibitions contained a Maori reference in the title: the two Martin's already cited, two landscapes by Hoyte, Ohinemutu: A Native Settlement Situated on Lake Rotorua and Lake Tarawera, from Kariri, a small settlement of the Arawa,[20] and Alfred Sharpe's Old Native Pah and Burial Ground.[21] The occasional Maori figures in the

landscapes of Sharpe and Hoyte, both leading figures in the Auckland art world of the day, are small, primarily picturesque elements. In some instances, though, the figures can connote views or sentiments about the place of the Maori in the process of development. For example, in Hoyte's Auckland in 1873 (Fig. 90) a solitary Maori figure in traditional dress, though small, stands prominently in the undeveloped scrubland in the centre fore-midground, looking over a panorama with burgeoning township and enclosures, the signs of the landscape being made European. The landscape manifests the same sort of oppositions discussed in Chapter III. In the Hoyte the solitary figure could allow a further connotation - the approaching end of traditional Maoridom, after defeat in the Land Wars, decline of Maori population and expansion of European settlement in the 1860s and 1870s. He could be a "Last Man".[22]

The most notable oil painting of a Maori produced by a professional artist in New Zealand in the 1860s was William Ewart's large Portrait of John Hobbs (Fig. 91), painted for George Grey in 1862.[23] This presents Hobbs, who had adopted the name of the eponymous missionary on baptism, as a handsome figure in white European dress, though barefooted, in a full-standing pose, holding a rifle in the "at-ease" position. The scale and pose relate the presentation to a conventional portrait format for European aristocrats and military gentlemen - people of "importance". This was apt in that Hobbs had rendered valuable assistance in the military campaign against Hone Heke in 1845-46 and had been rewarded with a valuable property in Mechanics Bay, Auckland, for this and other services to Grey.[24] The only known precedent large scale, similarly posed, "positive" portrayals in oil of a Maori, made in New Zealand in the post 1840 period, had also been of a "friendly" chief closely associated with Grey - C. D. Barraud's portraits of Te Puni (1854, Wellington Public Library and, undated, N.L.A.). As with the figures in Strutt's contemporaneous Hare Pomare and Family and Smetham's Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House, the fine looking John Hobbs represented an ideal - the sort of Maori Europeans required if control

and colonisation in New Zealand was to be extended and consolidated.

Occasional paintings in which the Maori figures are central to the content or narrative were produced by amateur artists. For instance, in 1869 an E. Temple, possibly Capt. E. F. Temple, who became the first Secretary of the Canterbury Society of Arts in 1880,[25] painted Capt. Cook Landing in New Zealand (Fig. 92) - a hundred years after the event; a centennial piece perhaps. The watercolour is historically notable as one of the earliest painted reconstructions of an actual event from the past featuring the Maori. Otherwise it is a quite conventional representation. The depicted situation, the disposition of the Maori and European figures, for instance, relate it to a distinct image type in later 18th and 19th century European art - the meeting on the beach of indigenous non-European and recently arrived European explorers, settlers, missionaries, or, in the case of Earle's The Meeting of the Artist with the Wounded Chief Hongi, an itinerant artist.[26] It brings to mind too Gilfillan's Capt. Cook Taking Possession of the Australian Continent, 1770, 1857. In both, Cook is the central dominant figure to whom the natives defer. Most of Temple's Maoris, none of whom are very Maori looking, bow or lower themselves, gape in awe (as Gilfillan's Aborigines do), or beckon to their out-of-the-picture fellows to come and see the "wondrous" event.

Painted commemorations of contemporary New Zealand events of historical import with Maori figures prominent had been produced by colonial artists before Temple. Barraud's The Baptism of the Maori Chief, Te Puni has been noted. Like Martin, Barraud was a leading figure in the rudimentary New Zealand art world. In the 1860s and 1870s he too concentrated primarily on landscape painting, some with Maori staffage,[27] though he continued to produce a few watercolours and sketches of Maoris - for example, a genre piece, Maori in Whare at Pipitea Pah (1860, A.T.L.) and New Zealand Chief: Te Rangihaeata (1864, A.T.L.), which was shown in the Fine Arts section of the New Zealand Exhibition in Dunedin in 1865.[28] That there was only one other Maori subject,

William Fox's Oteriah Pah, Wellington,[29] as indicated by the Catalogue titles, among the 412 "fine art" exhibits further suggests that Maori representations played a relatively small part in art production in New Zealand in the 1860s. The Russian-born Swiss artist, Nicholas Chevalier (1828-1902) did produce paintings and drawings with Maori figures in New Zealand in the 1860s. However his few works featuring the Maori that were exhibited appeared not in New Zealand but in England in the 1870s. (Discussed later in the chapter.)

A picture emerges then of few artists, amateur or professional, addressing specifically Maori subjects in the 1860s - and into the 1870s. Lindauer, who arrived in New Zealand in 1873, was the first resident professional who specialised in portrayals of the Maori. However, while "fine art" and the Maori were not common partners, there were two men active in New Zealand in the 1860s, Horatio Robley (1840-1930) and Gustavus von Tempsky (1828-68), who did concentrate primarily on representations, mainly in watercolour, of the Maori, Maori-European interactions and other aspects of contemporary Maori existence. Their paintings are central to any history of 19th-early 20th century European representations of the Maori not just because they were the major bodies of such representations produced in New Zealand in the 1860s, but because they were, or were to become highly regarded both as "art" and as "historical records". To show the roles their works played in colonial culture and the culture of colonialism it is necessary to situate Robley's and von Tempsky's representations in relation to "art" production in New Zealand in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Both von Tempsky and Robley served in the Land Wars. Robley was a Lieutenant in the 68th Regiment of the British Army, which was engaged in the battles of Gate Pa and Te Ranga in 1864, and thereafter until its departure from New Zealand in 1866 with peacekeeping in the Bay of Plenty.[30] He also accompanied Major Mair on a "search and destroy" mission against the Hau Hau "insurgents" in the Bay of Plenty in 1865. Von Tempsky was the leader of a

force recruited from colonists, the Forest Rangers, from 1863-66, and again in 1868.[31] Both were amateurs, even if they earned some money from their picture making. Though it was routine for trainee officers in Europe to be taught draughtsmanship and watercolour techniques, neither Robley nor von Tempsky had either trained or practised as professional painters before coming to New Zealand. Both men, though, sketched in the course of their travels, and had or were to do illustrative work for periodicals and books - for instance, von Tempsky for his book, Mitla, 1858, and Robley for the I.L.N., and the Illustrated New Zealand Herald in the 1860s, the London Graphic from the 1870s-1890s, Cassell and Co.'s The Races of Mankind, 1874,[32] and a number of books (to be noted) in the early 20th century.

Although von Tempsky made sketches of the Maori and Land War scenes as early as 1864 he was not generally known as an "artist" until he went public in 1867:[33]

> At the shop of Mr Leech, Shortland Street ... there are some very interesting pictures on Maori subjects, the work of Major von Tempsky, a gentleman well-known to every colonist in New Zealand as a literary man and soldier of distinction, but also to many will appear in a new character as an artist, which he sustains with equal credit.

Exhibitions of von Tempsky's paintings in Auckland and Wellington in 1867 were the first of works featuring the Maori in New Zealand. They were described by a contemporary newspaper reviewer as "works of true art", which "for minuteness of detail, harmony of colour and beauty of finish, we have never seen equalled in the colony".[34] Even though von Tempsky himself regarded his own talents as limited and his 1867 Exhibition works as "mediocre",[35] the reviewer's enthusiasm can be linked to the smallness of European society in New Zealand and the virtual absence of the institutions of culture. Only thirteen years earlier Albin Martin had lamented: "It must be centuries before Poetry and art can find a home in New Zealand".[36] In such a milieu, with few art exhibitions and little art by professionals to be seen, the paintings of von Tempsky could stand out.

Robley's career and work present a more complex picture. His output was much larger and more varied in subject and image-type than von Tempsky's. It is difficult to quantify precisely the work he produced in New Zealand, because he continued to make drawings and watercolours of Maori subjects after he left the country. In particular, in Britain from 1887, when he retired from the Army, until the 1920s he produced an enormous number of sketches, many of which were copies of his New Zealand works. Accurate dating of Robley's work can be problematic, given the numerous versions of some subjects, many of which are undated. Given the quantity[37] and complexity of Robley's work, for the purposes of this text I concentrate on two groups of images: paintings made in New Zealand from 1864-66 acquired by the Colonial (from 1907 the Dominion) Museum in Wellington in the first two decades of this century, most notably in a package of seventy in 1905, and engraved reproductions of ten of his New Zealand sketches published in the I.L.N. between 1864-68. To deal adequately with Robley's total oeuvre would require an entire thesis in itself.

In contrast to von Tempsky there is no indication that Robley's 1864-66 sketches were conceived of either as "fine art" or as preliminaries for "fine art" representations at the time of their production. Certainly none were exhibited or published then as "art". Rather they can be linked to documentary or reportorial modes of representation. They came into being because of Robley's ethnological ("scientific" rather than "artistic") interests and because of his involvements with pictorial journalism. His depictions of moko designs and Maori artefacts, for example, can be seen primarily as field notes of his early researches into Maori art, architecture and design. (He wrote: "I helped to record by painting and drawing what was then seen of the art of the Maori".[38]) While Robley's representations of war related scenes and aspects of contemporary Maori life, particularly as affected by European contact, can be seen as a form of reportage - records of the events and appearances of the day - it is possible too that they (or some of them) fulfilled a more "private",

diaristic function also - a traveller's visual mementos - "snapshots" of people met, places visited and events witnessed.

In the 19th century reportorial and documentary representational modes were geared to the "authentic" record of "real life", to attempts to show how things, people, events actually were.[39] It was either stated in the accompanying text or titles, or implicit in the presentation that the qualities or properties attributed to the represented subject actually existed, that they were not "dressed up" in the "finery" of "fine art", which conventionally in the mid 19th century sought to improve on "real life".[40] In this respect an article, "Speaking to the Eye", published in the I.L.N. in 1851 is notable. It could stand as a credo for the pictorial journalism of the day. It was claimed that drawings for the illustrated news periodicals described "passing events truly and graphically";[41] that such "pictures convey immediately much new knowledge to the mind .... They are equivalent ... to seeing the objects themselves". The point was made too that these "representations of the material world and of common life do not constitute ... high and fine art".[42] Of course such representations of "real life" did not simply provide unproblematic facsimiles of given "reality". They too, no less than "fine art" and "fancy" pictures, were constructs having a set of strategies and formal means by which "meaning" was effected, information was conveyed and, in their case, the "real" denoted. (More on this later in respect of Robley's Maori representations.)

While in the 1860s the only Robley works reproduced appeared in news periodicals, after his retirement from the Army in 1887 Robley put them to new and differing uses. Living then in England he resumed his research into Maori culture, particularly tattooing. He built up an unrivalled collection of moko-mokai - preserved Maori heads.[43] The publication of Robley's book, Moko: Maori Tattooing in 1896, established his reputation as an expert on moko and moko-mokai, and also made public many of his hitherto unpublished sketches.

While the book was seen as a pioneering and authoritative ethnological text[44] it was intended as much by Robley as a vehicle for his drawings:[45]

> Literary skill I cannot claim .... It is, however as a means of publishing my drawings, sketches and photographs that I have put my notes together .... I hope my book shall be judged on by the illustrations and not by the letterpress.

The book contained 180 illustrations - of sketches executed by Robley both in New Zealand in 1864-66 and later in Britain, photographs and reproductions of representations of the Maori by earlier artists, such as Parkinson, Sylvester, Earle and Angas. The exposure his sketches received in Moko and the contacts he made as a result of the book and his preparation for it opened the way to a small business in Maori representations. Robley came to see himself as much an "artist" as a "scientist",[46] though he practised in the area of illustration rather than "fine art". He is not known to have exhibited in Britain, though he produced watercolours and drawings of Maori subjects, sometimes packaged in albums[47] and some for the purposes of book illustration, as a means of livelihood. For instance, his second book, Pounamu: Notes on New Zealand Greenstone, 1915, provided a further outlet for his sketches. He also did illustrative work for Gilbert Mair's The Story of Gate Pa, c.1920, Reminiscences and Maori Stories, 1923, and for the 1930 edition of F. E. Maning's Old New Zealand. In respect of his books and sketches Robley was to say: "I did fairly well for my twenty-seven months observation in New Zealand".[48]

Robley also sold his earlier 1864-66 sketches - most notably in the collection of seventy to the New Zealand Government in 1905 for the Colonial Museum, then under the Directorship of Augustus Hamilton, author of Maori Art, 1901. The purchase was made at a time when New Zealand artists concerned with formulating a distinctively New Zealand imagery were seeking out local subjects, historical and contemporary, and when a high premium was attached by cultural institutions in New Zealand to historical records, often in the form

of "art", of the allegedly vanishing Maori.[49] (Discussed in Chapters V and VI.) (Dr. Hocken's purchase of the additional notes and the complete set of blocks for the illustrations in Robley's Moko was a manifestation too of these preoccupations.) Robley's 1864-66 sketches were incorporated into these discourses, and acquired meanings and values they did not have when originally executed, since then the appropriate cultural institutions did not exist, the Maori did not feature as a prime subject for "art", and the sketches largely remained publicly unseen. When the Robleys were first put on public exhibition together at the Dominion Museum, the person responsible, the Acting Director James MacDonald, himself an artist who had made paintings and sketches of the Maori, traditional Maori activities and historical events, described the event as "the first exhibition of the kind held here ... an event of no little importance in the history of the Museum".[50] The Evening Post ascribed "high artistic order" to the Robley "collection of pictures illustrative of Maori life in the early days",[51] while the New Zealand Times described the work as "unique":[52]

> They show a freshness and a depth of colouring that is remarkable after all the years. Some of the sketches have been dashed off hurriedly, but others are ... works of art.

The status Robley's work - books and pictures - acquired in New Zealand is exemplified in an obituary in the Auckland Star, in which Robley was classified as a "Soldier" and "Artist": "As an illustrator of Maori physiognomy, carving and art generally, Major General Robley stands almost unrivalled".[53]

So Robley's 1864-66 sketches became historical records and art.[54] Among Europeans who made pictures of the Maori Robley's career was unique. It spanned sixty years, during which time European society in New Zealand evolved from Albin Martin's cultural wasteland to a place where both the promotion of art as a "means of civilisation" and the collection of historical records (also an aspect of progress) were institutionalised. With Grey as art patron and collector, promoting the notion that the Maori offered a mine of material for

artists and writers, Robley was a key link figure in this process.[55]

Robley addressed a variety of aspects of Maori culture, appearances and contemporary experience in his 1864-66 watercolours. The work purchased by the Colonial or Dominion Museum (now the National Museum) can be divided into a number of categories in terms of primary subject. (Some sketches include elements from more than one category. For example, Tribal War Canoe (N.M. catalogue no. F.A. 846) represents a genre scene of barter between Maori and European, a prominent Maori artefact - an ornately carved canoe - and a landscape scene - Tauranga harbour.) A sample of titles should give an idea of the range and variety of Robley's representations.

There are representations of battle scenes and war related events that Robley had witnessed or participated in. Most, though not necessarily all, of these include Maori figures - for instance, Attack on the Maori Trenches at Gate Pa (F.A. 847), Scene in the Pits, Gate Pa, Early Morning 30 April 1869 (F.A. 850), Rawiri Tuaia Killed at Gate Pa 29 April 1864 (F.A. 740), Rewete and another Maori wounded and left in the Pits (F.A. 842), The Surrender of the Tauranga Natives of Te Papa (F.A. 828), Morning of the 29 April 1864, 68th Infantry in parties in Rear of Gate Pa (F.A. 731).

There are sketches, with or without small figures, of architectural sites and localities connected with the military campaign - Maori pa and fortifications, European redoubts - viewed from within or from afar in a landscape image. These include My Redoubt and Gate Pa (F.A. 827), Te Papa - Tauranga, Durham Redoubt and Huts (F.A. 1893), View of Maketu Pa, Bay of Plenty (F.A. 826), Scene at Maketu Pa (F.A. 852), Pa on the Awa-o-te-Atua River Captured by Natives under Capt. G. Mair (F.A. 848).

There are sketches, in the main executed after the cessation of hostilities in Tauranga, which depict both traditional activities such as haka, tangi and mourning ritual, carving, and seemingly more mundane aspects of pa life, and Maoris engaged in commercial activities, usually trade with Europeans

- for instance, Carving Totara Slabs inside a Log Whare for Sir George Grey at Matapihi (F.A. 741), Tangi over a Woman, Matapihi (F.A. 740), Women Mourning over the Spear of a Man who Fell at Te Ranga (F.A. 737), Pa Scene, Sketch at Oponui (F.A. 851), Young Man before a Whare (F.A. 833), Maoris Bringing Oysters to a Redoubt (F.A. 1701), Kauri Gum Diggers from Kati Kati at Te Papa (F.A. 830).

There are sketches in which Maori artefacts and architecture, both traditional and European influenced, are concentrated on, though usually Maori figures are in attendance too - for example, Carved Pataka-foodstore (F.A. 1838), One of the Gates at Maketu Pa (F.A. 727), Interior of Roman Catholic Chapel Built by the Maoris at Otameotahi (F.A. 1705), Carved Figure Guarding a Field (F.A. 840).

There is also a group of portraits - named and unidentified figures, both "friendly" and one-time adversaries of the Europeans. Most of these are head or bust format, with the moko rendered in meticulous detail. They include Penetaka, Chief who planned Gate Pa (F.A. 1139), One of the Fighting Ngati Pikao, Te Matenga Puwha Kaoho (F.A. 2201), Portrait of an Old Woman, with Tattoos of some time past (F.A. 2150), Chief Tomika te Mutu (F.A. 733), Chief Te Kani (F.A. 734). Only a few of the portraits are half or full length. One such is Raniera te Hiahia (F.A. 2205), presented full standing in European dress with a gun, in a pose very similar to that in Ewart's Portrait of John Hobbs. Raniera te Hiahia too had served the British, as guide for the Army in the Tauranga campaign.

Against the cosmeticised view of Maori life and appearances exemplified by the lithographs after Earle and Angas, Oliver and Gilfillan, the romanticisations of Merrett, the "demonology" sustaining the representations in Scholz, the "aestheticisation" apparent in Gilfillan, Strutt, Barraud and Ewart's paintings, Robley's Maori representations look "blunt" and "down to earth". His figures (e.g. Fig. 93) and scenes (e.g. Fig. 94) are, with few

exceptions, unidealised, unpretty, "unsanitised", roughish, ordinary-looking - as if Robley was primarily concerned with an unromanticised, "straightforward" recording of the facts of people's appearances, habitations and styles of life, places and events, in order to isolate a sense of the distinctive "feel" or look of Maori life and Maori-European interactions at a particular time at a particular place - Tauranga and Bay of Plenty coastal region in 1864-66.

Consider Robley's portraits. Of course the very act of making a portrait - posing a figure, placing it within a certain format - is convention determined. Allowing for this Robley's portraits are generally characterised by a number of features that distinguish them from the bulk of earlier and contemporaneous European portraits of the Maori.[56] First the face, usually tattooed, was concentrated upon, with little or secondary attention to dress and artefacts, the conventional attributes of "Maoriness" in the majority of earlier and contemporaneous portraits, in which the faces were often idealised, Europeanised, standardised, or secondary to the display of exotic artefacts. The facial features in Robley's portraits are more distinctively Maori-looking than had generally been the case; his figures more individuated, less homogeneous in appearance. His portraits of Te Kuha (Fig. 95), a Tauranga chief who had fought the British, are typical. A rugged, severe, unsmiling face, the gaze of which is directed at the viewer, occupies much of the picture space. He does not illustrate a readily recognisable type, with necessarily positive or negative connotations, as the bulk of other portraits did. He is neither "grotesque" nor "attractive", noble or ignoble, the stereotypic savage or the romanticised, impressive warrior chief. Nor is he a "clotheshanger", identifiable as Maori primarily by the accompanying artefacts or title. Robley, it would seem, was more concerned with "stern facts". Crucially in this respect the moko was rendered with a clarity, detail, and attention to the particularities of individual pattern and design. An annotation to one of his portraits of Te Kuha, besides providing an insight into the nature of the

relationship between Robley and his Maori subjects, points to the centrality of the accurate delineation of the moko in his portraits:[57]

> When the Ngaiterangi gave up their arms it was safer to take drawings. The chief sat for me for presents of rum and tobacco in the village of Matapahi. The crowd round criticising or acclaiming the portrait and the tattooing so this picture is correct of a splendidly decorated man .... I have never seen the design he had on the centre of his nose alike on any other man, or any preserved head.

Robley was the first European to consistently and systematically transcribe the moko in detail, often in close up, noting individual features. His moko transcripts are regarded by ethnologists as accurate and were highly regarded by the Maori, the moko of whose kin he had recorded.[58] This can be related to his ethnological interests. For Robley the moko was not simply either a picturesque form of decoration or a sign of barbarism, as it was for most Europeans.[59] He recognised that in Maori culture the moko made or is the face, that it was the foremost sign of individual identity, status and presence.[60] On his sketch Graves at Huria (F.A. 748) he noted: "... figures set up to commemorate the dead were a close imitation of their tattooing and constituted a method of identification that rendered all inscription unnecessary". In respect of pictorial representations, there had been occasional earlier portraits (e.g. Sylvester's Portrait of Tupai Cupa with full tattoo (1826, N.L.A.), Strutt's Tamati Waka Ngaru (Fig. 77) or Gilfillan's Abrahama Tipai Putiki (Fig. 51), in which the elaborate rendering of the moko might suggest a concern with accurate recording. However in most cases artists simply indicated the moko design in a schematic, often abbreviated manner without attention to individual differences. That was all that was necessary to denote the exotic and/or barbaric, or to give a general idea of what tattooing was like. To these ends a few sprays of curved lines with the odd koru motif on the forehead and chin and spirals on the cheeks generally sufficed. This was so, for instance, with Angas, Merrett, Le Jeune, the engravings after De Sainson,[61] and with Earle too, even though he was one of

the few Europeans to view moko as "art", rather than just as a barbarity or curiosity.[62] It was common too for Europeans to tidy up the moko designs, so that the curves and patterns conformed more to European concepts of "good" design. For instance, in the engraving by T. Chambers after Parkinson's Head of Otegoowgoow, Son of a New Zealand Chief, the face curiously tataow'd, Plate 21 in Parkinson's Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in His Majesty's Ship Endeavour, 1773, the curves are more conventionally rococo than Polynesian.[63] In Earle's portraits too, in which the tattoo is visible - for instance, Eranghie, the Tattooer (1827, N.L.A.) - and in Strutt's Hare Pomare and Family the patterns are neat and smoothly curved, uncluttered, "artistically" acceptable perhaps, in contrast to the irregularities, the density of detail, the frequent "awkwardness" in the rendering of a curve or a spiral that often characterise the actual moko, and which are apparent in Robley's work (Fig. 93). Put simply, Robley's representations of the moko look like the work of someone who had been closer to the Maori faces, than any other European artist.

The head, considered the site of a person's mana, was for the Maori an extremely sensitive territory, which outsiders could not readily gain access to. It is possible that Robley's unusual personal circumstances and experiences in New Zealand had allowed him to get closer than was normally so among Europeans making portraits of the Maori. For one, he was able to make transcriptions of the moko of dead Maori warriors after the battles of Gate Pa and Te Ranga. Secondly, after the cessation of hostilities in Tauranga Robley lived at Matapihi in a de facto relationship with a Maori woman, Hane Ngatai, who was a relative of Hori Ngatai, a chief and orator of the Ngaiterangi, a tribe which had fought the British. They had a son named Hamiora Tu.[64] (Robley's sketch, Enoku te Whanaki's House at Matapihi (Fig. 94), a multi-figure pa scene with the inhabitants going about their daily business, includes an unobtrusive European figure among the Maori - Robley?) Though his family remained in New Zealand after his departure in 1866, unlike many

European males who sired children with Maori women,[65] Robley maintained contact and good relations with them.[66]

European artists generally remained observers outside Maori culture. Their viewpoint could be likened to that of tourists - "tourists in other people's realities".[67] While Robley's sketches were still inevitably made in terms of a European looking at the Maori as a member of another culture, his domestic situation would have placed him less outside Maori "realities". A necessary ingredient for any adequate representation of the "real life" of another culture, it has been suggested, would be as close as familiarity as possible with the subject in terms of time spent and physical proximity.[68] It would be difficult, though, to quantify the extent to which Robley's domestic circumstances informed his portrayal of the Maori. Nevertheless his post Tauranga war sketches were produced from a position of greater familiarity than was usual among European artists. (Only Merrett among the artists discussed in this thesis had a comparable involvement, and his preoccupations, pictorial orientation and "artistic" aspirations differed markedly from Robley's.)

The special nature of Robley's relationship with the Maori could have contributed too to the "down-to-earth", more "ordinary", less conventionally decorative and picturesque quality of his Maori genre sketches, and to the sensitivity apparent in some sketches to the particulars and nuances of contemporary Maori experience as a result of European presence. While the forms in his portraits are generally rendered "carefully" and individual features detailed, in most of Robley's sketches of contemporary Maori life and Maori-European interactions, in which the figures are smaller in relation to the picture space, the handling is freer, forms are more sketchily rendered and, except for the occasional artefact like a carving, there is not so much attention to detail (e.g. Tangi Over a Woman (Fig. 96)). Figures tend to be chunky, bulbous, with limbs "crudely" articulated, and facial features reduced to a few blobs and summary marks. They are neither "attractive" nor

"unattractive", idealised or caricatured. European notions of beauty and decorum did not contribute to their formulation. This is especially apparent in his representations of women and children. Few mid 19th century European artists resisted producing "pleasing" Maori women and children - whether modelled on keepsake images, the charming rustics and innocent children of early Victorian genre and portrait painting, or the belles of arcadian romance. Reporter rather than artist, Robley usually did. The women and children in his One of the Gates at Maketu Pa (Fig. 97), for instance, are typical, while there is not the conventional exploitation of nudity or sensuousness of form in the unclothed female figures in Beach at Maketu Pa: Redoubt in the Distance (Fig. 98).

The relative absence from Robley's sketches of the paraphernalia of the picturesque and exotic is apparent too in his treatment of the dress of his Maori figures. It is non-descript, often European - not the colourful, "eye-catching", usually traditional garb that European artists tended to favour, even though Maoris near European settlements had long before adopted or partially adopted European dress. For instance, as early as 1827 Augustus Earle had edited out unpicturesque European dress from his sketches of Bay of Islands Maoris, while complaining that the missionaries, who encouraged the use of European dress, "had no taste for the picturesque".[69] And Oliver remarked that those with a "taste for the Picturesque" would "lament" the change from traditional to European dress.[70]

Enoku te Whanaki's House at Matapihi typifies the prevailing ordinariness and banality of Robley's sketches of pa scenes and contemporary life. Groups of seated and standing figures are scattered round. None is doing anything particularly "eye-catching". None is more important pictorially than another. They are just there in a drabbish setting that is without any special or dramatic accents. This ordinariness and banality again suggests a primary concern with documenting actualities without frills,with creating an authentic

image of "real life", rather than "artistic" or potentially "artistic" arrangements. The usual looseness and informality of the compositions and figural relationships in Robley's sketches can be related to this. In Enoku te Whanaki's House there seems no necessary "order" to the figure arrangement. They are located "randomly" across the picture - as if just added to the space, rather than carefully placed within a composition, calculatedly "staged" as in a conventional "fine art" genre piece. This informality was common in Robley's multi-figure sketches. It contributed to a sense of on-the-spot "immediacy" - a sign of the reportorial stance. For instance, Tangi over the Chief Manao (Fig. 99) could be seen as a "candid shot". There is a nominal focal point, the laid-out body, but the picture is compositionally dispersed, with attention falling as much on thematically incidental or peripheral figures, such as a boy playing with a top in the right foreground and a standing man gesturing with a stick on the far left. These and other features, such as the awning billowing in the wind, contribute both to a sense of the momentary instant recorded, and to a sense of the mundane in a depiction of a ritual, unusual to Europeans, that would have had considerable exotic potential.

There are exceptions to Robley's preference for ordinary presentations; to his tendency to downgrade the potentially exotic or sensational. For instance, Night Haka (Fig. 100) and other images of the haka[71] among Robley's sketches of traditional activities show that he was not exempt from the lures of the exotic and dramatic. The Night Haka in particular images the extraordinary. The accent is on grimacing, gesturing and prancing figures, fugitively and dramatically lit in the darkness by light from a fire in the centre of the picture. The haka was a Maori activity so frequently depicted by Europeans in search of the exotic and the bizarre that it came to typify those qualities. Any representation which focussed on the haka almost inevitably carried that signification.

Robley's scenes of Maori life otherwise may have offered little that was

conventionally dramatic or picturesque. That is not to say that they are without incident or "telling" detail. His images often include details which succinctly "captured" a sense of a culture in transition; the effects on the Maori of European culture and technology. For example, Young Man before a Whare (Fig. 101) shows in what were the last days of Maori tattooing[72] a half tattooed man wearing a European suit (the accompanying child is traditionally dressed), while his raupo roofed hut sports glass windows - a visualisation of the incongruities, the clashes of different cultures meeting. Robley attended to economic relations in his sketches - in particular to the food trade in a period in which European settlements were largely dependant on Maori supply.[73] Albin Martin remarked that after initially having been taken advantage of by Europeans Maori traders quickly became skilled in their bargaining.[74] Certainly the astute and wily look of the woman in Maoris bringing Oysters to a Redoubt (Fig. 102) suggests that Robley was attuned to this development in Maori-European relations. While market and barter scenes were common subjects in 19th century genre painting, Robley's representations of such subjects are not characterised by either conventional anecdotal or satiric elements, or by the tendency to choreograph the figures. These sketches too are low-keyed, unostentatious, "everyday" in look to the point of banality, as in Kauri Gum Diggers from Kati Kati at Te Papa (Fig. 103) - which contrasts radically with the exoticisms, the idealisations of Strutt's Maoris Beaching their Canoes, for example.

Another work which exemplifies Robley's attention to the "textures" and complexities of cultural interaction is Whare at Matapihi (Fig. 104). Glass windows and mixed dress appear in this pa scene too, in which the Maori building is more conspicuously traditional - featuring elaborate carving - than that in Young Man before a Whare. In contrast to those earlier representations of pa scenes by other artists, which present images of harmony and order,[75] and which imply an acceptance of European presence by the Maori, this image points

without sensation or caricature, not just to a culture in transition as a result of European contact, but to an element of rupture in Maori culture and attendant uneasiness towards Europeans - a primary feature of contemporary social actuality. Four males to the right of the picture in stiff and uncomfortable postures direct sullen gazes at the viewer - by implication European and, one assumes, the artist making the sketch. One figure, whom Robley described as "daring me to take his portrait",[76] holds a weapon threateningly - a detail that enhances the sense of "immediacy".

The reportorial nature of Robley's work is manifest too in his representations of battle and its aftermath. The accent is on grimness, ugliness, confusion, banality, not, as was conventionally so in mid 19th century battle painting, on heroics, sensation, glamour and melodrama.[77] The figures in Attack on the Maori Trenches at Gate Pa (Fig. 105), for instance, are neither cast with heroic poses and gestures nor choreographed into the conventional rhythmically dynamic, yet ordered and harmonious figural relationships. Rather they are jumbled awkwardly and seemingly randomly together. Maori and European dead and wounded in this and other pictures, such as Rear of Koriri Fence, Gate Pa (F.A. 834), are depicted in much the same way - awkwardly slumped, ordinary, not histrionic in pose and gesture, in drab surroundings, in what could be seen as the bare facts of trench warfare. Rewete and another Maori wounded and left in the Pits (Fig. 106) exemplifies too this quality of low-keyed factual reportage - as the note accompanying the drawing suggests: "... their faithful dogs with them - one growling as I took a pencil sketch, gave both these some brandy ... Gate Pa, 30 April, 1864. Sketched on the spot".[78]

Robley's representations of defeated Maoris are not clad in the rhetoric of Imperial victory. For instance, The Surrender of the Tauranga Natives at Te Papa (Fig. 107) shows a large number of Maoris in a motley assortment of European and traditional dress giving up their arms to a small group of

British. There is no flag waving pomp or ceremony, no propagandist glorification of the British in terms of their size and place in the pictorial organisation, such as one finds in contrast in typical representations of missionary "triumphs". In Robley's sketch the British figures are small. They occupy only a small corner of the image. He presented the event not as dramatic or extraordinary, but as "matter-of-fact", almost "uneventful".

It might seem apt to view Robley's work as socially and psychologically realistic; rooted more closely in observable actualities, and less determined by pictorial conventions, and colonialist ideology and requirements than the normative mid 19th century representations of the Maori. I have noted, though, that representations of "real life" and the reportorial do not provide unproblematic facsimiles of a given "reality". They are characterised by a number of elements and devices, that serve to denote the "real", the authentic; to announce: "This is how it is". A number of features I have noted as characteristic of Robley's sketches (not necessarily all operative in the one image) could function in this way. To recapitulate: These include an attention to the banal, the everyday and the ordinary, as much as to, or rather than to the exotic and extraordinary; an informality, a looseness in composition; sketchiness, lack of finish, "roughness" in the rendering of figures and objects; signs of speed of working, suggesting an on-the-spot "immediacy"; and technical "crudeness" or amateurishness indicating the primacy of the subject, the report over conventional "artistry" with its technical "excellence".

So characterised Robley's work can be linked to several image types that operated essentially as either documentation of the "real" or commentaries on contemporary social conditions. While not isolating specific models or prototypes for specific Robley sketches, it is useful to indicate the range of pre-existing and contemporaneous image types with a seemingly similar orientation to the "real" and similar formal features, in order to show the extent to which Robley was operating within a framework of conventions; the

extent to which his "social realism" (if that is an apt classification) was convention mediated.

First, though, the status of Robley's New Zealand-made works must be made clear. They were sketches of the sort not originally made for exhibition or publication as they were. As such they can be linked to the practices of some 19th century travelling artists and illustrators, who, whether collecting material either for their own purposes or for official accounts of voyages of exploration, routinely documented what they observed and experienced. This research material, not intended for publication or exhibition in itself, often, though not necessarily, does not manifest the formal niceties of draughtsmanship and treatment of form necessary for finished work for publication and exhibition. They did not need to. The code of the "sketch" allowed for this - though the circumstances of the work's production and the practices of the artist otherwise were also important determinants. For instance, the 1827 New Zealand sketches of Earle, who, like Robley and unusually for a European artist, lived and worked amidst his Maori subjects and learnt their language,[79] and the 1824 sketches of Louis Le Jeune, the artist on the French navigator Duperrey's Pacific voyages,[80] share a number of features with Robley's work. The figures and objects in their genre scenes are rendered sketchily, "crudely", with a bluntness and earthiness that contrasts with the conventionally idealised and picturesque. Poses and gestures seem awkward, limbs and bodies poorly articulated, and there is little attention to detail.[81] Yet their occasional bust portrait studies, like Robley's, are more carefully delineated, with more attention to detail and to the particulars of facial feature and structure.[82]

Particularly pertinent to Robley's work is the visual reportage of contemporary social conditions in such mid 19th century illustrated periodicals as the Illustrated Times, the New Times, and the Pictorial Times - papers sustained by the belief that their role was to depict things as they actually

were, the "truth" without bias.[83] Their illustrations of contemporary social conditions, especially of the lower socio-economic strata, are characterised by a "roughness", bluntness, sketchiness, looseness, earthiness in form and look - features that denoted the socially and psychologically "real". The stress was on presentation of the facts, without idealisation, orderliness, picturesque or decorative embellishments and "artistic" effects, that in contrast characterised mid 19th century illustrated travel books and "fine art", non or pre-Realist depictions of contemporary life scenes. Like Robley the pictorial journalists for these publications researched the field intensively. Theirs too were on-the-spot reports.

In contrast to these periodicals, and despite the claims made in "Speaking to the Eye", in the engravings of the I.L.N. there was generally a tendency to tidy up and refine appearances, to largely bypass the rough, earthy and ugly - particularly in representations of contemporary British life,[84] though less so in representations of foreign, especially non-European people and places.[85] Nevertheless original sketches by I.L.N. pictorial reporters could be characterised by some of those elements listed as denotative of the "real". For instance, there are parallels between Robley's New Zealand sketches and the work of a leading I.L.N. illustrator from the 1840s and 1850s, Constantin Guys. Guys too specialised in sketches of contemporary life, war related scenes, and foreign places (Spain, Turkey, Crimea), made on the spot. His drawing too looks primitive, naive - as Baudelaire put it: "to be honest, he drew like a barbarian".[86] Like Robley's, Guys' work is characterised by sketchiness, compositional looseness and informality, figures unidealised, unprettified, "roughly" rendered, the modelling rudimentary, the presentation ordinary rather than extraordinary or histrionic - all features that contributed to the sense of "truth", authenticity in his recording of "passing events", that was the mark of the successful pictorial journalist, and a quality which Baudelaire heralded in his Painter of Modern Life, 1862.

While it is unlikely that Robley could have seen Guys' actual drawings (unless available in the offices of the I.L.N.), it is possible that as an aspiring illustrator he had heard about the work. (Perhaps he had read Baudelaire's essay in which Guys' work is described in detail.) Whatever the case, the parallels between their sketches suggest the existence of a repertoire of formal means for the reportage of "real life". After all that current of social reportage and commentary in British art and illustration from Hogarth[87] manifests generally similar qualities. Consider Rowlandson's work, for instance. In his representations of contemporary social scenes the ideal, the pretty, the picturesque have no place, figures and objects are rendered schematically, "crudely", the compositional structure is loose - as if the sketches were made on the run. The signs of apparent speed of execution (denotes "immediacy") are central to their operation as reports on life and events in the "raw".[88] The equation of speed of execution and the "capture" of the passing moment was made by Baudelaire in his essay on Guys and the representation of the "present": "There are in the trivial things of life; in the daily changing of things, a speed of movement that imposes upon the artist an equal speed of execution".[89] Such views sustained the efficacy of the technically rough, sketchy, and primitive functioning as denotations of the "real".[90]

Robley's sketches of contemporary New Zealand scenes too, especially the war related, in so far as they were the work of an aspiring pictorial journalist can be seen as attempts to give a "direct" and "immediate" sense of the "reality" of the occasion for the purposes of news. For instance, Robley's memoir description of the production of his Gate Pa battle drawings and their simultaneous dispatch to the I.L.N. with the news of the battle points to a consciousness of the linkages between news, the allegedly truthful record of the actual event and the quick sketch done on the spot, of necessity loose, unfinished, rough:[91]

> One subject for a sketch I got (as the Maoris rushed away in the dark) but then a lot in the trenches of the dead and wounded. Had to be done quick ... I hurried for hearing a small country steamer was to carry at once the bad news to the Government in Auckland I just managed to run to ask the captain to stamp and post my envelope on his arrival there - this caught the Home Mail, and my picture was printed in the Illustrated London News, 23 July, a notice to my people, and quite a quick record ....

To classify Robley's sketches as documentation of the "real" is neither to impute to them an objectivity nor an illusion of the absence of any outside party viewing the scene depicted, as if the presence of a potential viewer and/or of the person making the representation was not a factor contributing to how the Maori was represented. That is, they were not made as if they were windows on or transparencies of "real life", unaffected by the presence of the European image-maker. On the contrary, the admission of spectator (Robley) presence just out of the picture was a fundamental factor in the formulation of many of Robley's works. (They could be seen as much as representations of Robley's experience of being in New Zealand as of the Maori). For example, the inclusion of the figure "daring me to take his portrait" in Whare at Matapihi (Fig. 104) "requires" a spectator. The detail signifies Robley's being there on the spot. It also "tells" that the very act of making such an image - an activity alien to traditional Maori culture - put Robley outside that culture when he was so engaged, however close he may have been otherwise.[92] The frontality of many of the figures in the genre and pa scenes, placed as they frequently are in or towards the foreground, often looking straight out, presupposes a spectator close at hand too, and carries the implication that what is depicted is "real". For example, consider Robley's comments about The Surrender of the Tauranga Natives at Te Papa (Fig. 107), which includes a number of figures in the foreground looking directly out at the viewer: "The tribes surrendered and came in on the 25th - a picture was being taken but as they saw pencil and paper many of the Maoris looked curiously ...".[93] It is as much a sketch of the Maoris watching Robley sketching them, as it is of the surrender.

The admission of European spectator presence can have other connotations too. For example, in some of the sketches of traditional activities, such as Night Haka (Fig. 100) and The War Dance of the Arawa (F.A. 839), a number of European spectators are included in the image. The performance is primarily for them. It is noteworthy that among the European spectators in the I.L.N. engraving after Robley, The War Dance of the Ngaiterangi (Fig. 108), there is a soldier - Robley? - making a sketch - the implication being that this sort of performance made a "good" picture. That is, picture worthiness, as distinct from the conventionally picturesque, could be or remained a primary condition of his representations - however "faithfully" and with whatever sense of "immediacy" Robley may have documented Maori life and culture. Picture worthiness was more likely to be a factor in his sketches for the I.L.N. A newspaper correspondent's "snaps" must be newsworthy to be publishable. Robley's sketches for the paper would have been made with the potential spectator very much in mind, a factor that would inevitably have affected what he chose to represent and how he chose to do it.

The ten engravings after Robley's sketches that appeared in the I.L.N. in the 1860s would have been the most widely seen, the most publicly known of the few Robley images that were published in that period. In relation to the preceding reading of Robley's New Zealand sketches they exemplify a number of key problems concerning the uses and meanings of Maori representations. For example, they reveal the manner in which images of the Maori could be pulled in varying ideological directions - directions that might not have been intended or considered by the artist, and which might even have conflicted with his known views. They show too the manner in which the meanings of images could vary according to their context of use. Representations primarily intended to provide factual information about places and events could be used to "illustrate" a particular political viewpoint, for instance.

Whatever the claims made for unbiased reports, "truth" and "accuracy" in

news periodicals in the 19th century, the representations invariably can be correlated with particular socio-political viewpoints. What did the I.L.N. do with Robley's documentary material? How was his reportage manipulated, incorporated into the I.L.N. views of the conflicts in New Zealand? It also needs to be borne in mind that, then as now, bad news - warfare, conflict, violence - made "good" news.[94] It is perhaps not surprising then that nine of the ten Robley sketches reproduced in the I.L.N. related to Maori-European conflict. None of Robley's sketches dealing with ordinary, "everyday" conditions of Maori life were published (maybe even submitted). Robley was not commissioned by the I.L.N. to report on the military campaigns in the Bay of Plenty. Rather he was a freelance correspondent - one of a number of military personnel active in the Tauranga and Waikato battles who submitted sketches to the paper without guarantee of publication.[95]

All the engravings of Robley's sketches have accompanying texts, that either "explain" the scene depicted or give an account of events in New Zealand, aspects of which the sketches were used to illustrate. The texts, implicitly or explicitly, direct the viewer to see the images in a certain way - anchor them to certain meanings, that is. So a Robley sketch which alone might seem a neutral, factual description could take on more socio-political connotations in its engraved form. Though Robley is reported to have sent "verbal sketches" to the I.L.N. too,[96] it is not clear to what extent he was the authorial source of the texts accompanying the engravings. He was quoted only once (24 February 1866, p. 189) and, while it is possible that his written reports were used elsewhere, other aspects of the accompanying texts point to sources other than Robley. For instance, the attitudes expressed in one text conflict with Robley's views expressed elsewhere, while the important editorial on 23 July 1864, which his first sketch to be reproduced in the I.L.N. accompanied, would definitely not have been written by him. Whatever his contribution, the manner in which the engravings and texts were presented and

organised, and the meanings resulting from this, would have been outside Robley's control. That is, Robley in New Zealand could not have been fully complicit (if at all) in the socio-political connotations his sketches engraved had in the I.L.N.

Even if, as has been claimed, the I.L.N. "chronicled the progress of the Empire",[97] the reports on that progress were by no means uncritical celebrations of colonial expansion. Indeed in mid 1864 the I.L.N. was extremely critical of what it considered the war mongering of the Colonial Government in New Zealand, and the colonial policy of the British Government which provided British troops and money that facilitated the possession or confiscation of Maori land by settlers. In particular the I.L.N. editorial on 23 July 1864 (the same issue in which the defeat of British troops at Gate Pa was reported) lambasted the strategy of war in New Zealand; a war described as "unrighteous ... in its objects and origins".[98]

> Whatever may be adduced by way of special argument to show that the existing hostilities in New Zealand have been excited immediately by acts of the Maoris, which, as being the deeds of dark-skinned men whom we are pleased to designate savages, are assumed to be at once treacherous and gratuitous, it is impossible to talk away the fact that the real or occult cause of the war is to be found in the coveting of their neighbours' land by the English settlers; in that territorial lust which we at home denounce in Frenchmen, Germans, and Russians, but to which we give free license when we come in contact with the "brown man". For what, after all, are we maintaining ten thousand troops in the Northern Island of the New Zealand group, but that, in such time as British troops can subdue a very slippery and dangerous foe, the colonial speculators in land may confiscate the heritage of the natives; the delay being made pleasant by the interim profits, large and continuous, of contractors for the material of warfare.

To avoid a "long and inglorious" war and the financial entanglements that such a war and British military presence would entail the I.L.N. counselled a policy of conciliation towards the Maoris defending their land. Thus on 29 October 1864, p. 437, (with the report of the surrender of the Tauranga tribes after their defeat at Te Ranga) the paper welcomed the end of the Tauranga campaign and the "clemency and the conciliatory spirit of the Governor of New Zealand", with the expressed hope that this would lead to the "immediate and final

settlement of all our disputes with the Maori".

That, however, was not to be the case. Unlike the Maoris who fought at Gate Pa and Te Ranga, the Pai-Mairire or Hau Hau movement, that became newsworthy later in 1864 with its increasing support among the Maori, did not receive sympathetic coverage in the I.L.N. Rather than as a legitimate response to loss of land and European expansionism the Hau Haus were represented simply as a threat to peace and, particularly after the killing of the missionary Volkner in Opotiki in 1865, a murderous and perverted return to barbarism.[99] That is, the I.L.N. articles were not characterised by a single or simple view of the nature and cause of Maori-European conflict during the 1860s. The paper's evaluations of the Maori could vary according to specific circumstances, and this was apparent in the uses to which Robley's sketches were put and the connotations they acquired.

The four sketches published in 1864 all imaged the immediately topical newswise. Robley's Scene in the Pits, Gate Pa: Early Morning 30 April 1864 was titled The War in New Zealand: The Interior of the Puke Wharanga Pah after the Conflict of April 29 (Fig. 109). As noted, when it appeared on 23 July 1864 this was "hot" news. The immediacy, the closeness of the image to the event (the pa evacuated by the Maori after their victory over the British) was stressed: "Lieutenant Robley, who had carried his sketchbook in his haversack while marching and fighting on the previous day, then made his sketches of the interior of the pah".[100] However the engraving was not just a literal description of actualities, but rather had a crucial connotative level of operation, the authorial source of which was the I.L.N., not Robley. That is, what for Robley had primarily been a factual report of the scene at Gate Pa after the battle was used by the I.L.N. as a visual complement to its editorial attack on the Colonial Government and any British Governmental support of the war. The engraving presents a scene of bleakness and desolation - two British sentries in an empty pa, the stockading broken, with the trenches or "hiding

holes ... from which the Maoris had shot down our soldiers"[100] prominent in the foreground. The engraving imaged then the site of a "disastrous failure", as the I.L.N. described the battle. It (the engraving) provided "evidence" of or metaphorically "stood for" a misguided colonial policy, the folly of an "unrighteous war". In this respect there are a number of significant differences between the engraving and Robley's sketch. His image does not manifest such a mood of lowering bleakness. Some of the post-battle facts that Robley "recorded" were excluded from the engraving - stretcher bearers removing dead and wounded Maoris and Europeans in the right background of the Robley, for example. Most notably the left foreground trench in the Robley contains a dead Maori, inclusion of whom in the I.L.N. would hardly have fitted the paper's characterisation of the trench as a prime cause of British fatalities and defeat.

Maori War Canoe at Tauranga, New Zealand (Fig. 110), the second Robley sketch published in the I.L.N., 6 August 1864, depicts Maoris bringing fish and vegetables to trade with Europeans in Tauranga. It might just seem a genre study. However in the I.L.N. context, besides indicating the source of food supply for the Army, it could have suggested the desirability of the conciliatory strategies that the paper promoted - with the Maoris now "friendly" and a war canoe put to a peaceful purpose. The third Robley sketch reproduced was an inventory of the variety of weapons used by the Maori, titled Arms taken from the Maori at Te Ranga and published on 21 September 1864. This accompanied an account of the British victory at that battle, which led to the surrender of the Tauranga tribes and their taking of an oath of allegiance to the Crown. An engraving of Robley's The Surrender of the Tauranga Natives of Te Papa was used on 29 October 1864 as "an Illustration" of what the I.L.N. described as "these satisfactory negotiations"[101] (Fig. 111). As noted Robley's presentation of the event was low-keyed, with the British figures small and peripheral. The engraving generally followed the sketch closely in

the disposition of the figures and the rendering of the location. There is, though, a notable difference between the two images. The centrally placed British flag was made much more prominent in the I.L.N. The pattern of the Union Jack is much more obvious - a feature that "signposts" British dominance - even if now "benevolent", linked as it was by the paper to a welcome policy of peace and avoidance of war. The I.L.N. explanation for the scarcity of British soldiery in the image dovetails with this: "British soldiers were confined to their camps lest the war-like spirit of the Maori was aroused again".[101]

The engravings of two Robley sketches that appeared on 28 April 1866, The War Dance of the Ngaiterangi (Fig. 108) and War Canoes Competing for Prizes (Fig. 112), were used to demonstrate British peace-keeping strategies too - to avert the possibility of renewed Hau Hau inspired violence - and in the case of The War Dance to exemplify the propensity to savagery of the Maori unless conciliated. Yet these sketches without the textual complement do not necessarily carry those connotations. They simply show Maori activities, exotic perhaps to viewers in Europe, and aspects of contemporary Tauranga life - events staged for the entertainment of Europeans, a number of whom are included in the foreground of each image. The text describes the canoe race as part of Christmas festivities in 1864 after the cessation of hostilities - an occasion, it is stressed, on which British officers diplomatically treated the local Maori to a feast of "pork, biscuit and beer" in order to counteract the Hau Hau agents "agitating to drive the Europeans into the sea".[102] The War Dance is identified as a performance during a meeting between the Ngaiterangi and Governor Grey on 29 December 1865 during his tour in the interests of peace through the interior of the North Island. The textual description of the haka figures as "resembling a set of demons", "quite maddened" and "worked up to the fighting mark"[102] foregrounds the alleged potential savagery of the Maori. There is no evidence that Robley shared this stereotypical view of the haka.

On the contrary he responded to the haka positively - later describing the activity as "splendid"[103] - rather than as a mark of savagery that it was for many Europeans, including such artists as Strutt and Gilfillan.[104]

The one engraving after Robley that was not connected in some way to Maori-European conflict appeared on 17 February 1866. Maori Funeral Ceremony (Fig. 113) derived from Robley's Tangi over a Woman (Fig. 96). Robley's depiction of the event is typically low-keyed and factual, with most of the picture space taken up by non-descript figures just sitting or standing, without a central focus on the body or any unduly dramatic stresses. In the I.L.N. changes were made so that the image took on a more conventionally exotic and dramatic look. Figures are placed closer to the foreground and arranged in a more orderly manner - stage-set, that is. Indeed the tangi is described in the accompanying text as a "performance".[105] To this end the gesturing female figures are more prominent in the engraving, while one figure group in particular, that did not come from Robley's drawing, heightens the dramatic charge - a kneeling woman with a child burying her head in her lap; a conventional motif for grief.

The remaining three engravings after Robley were all tied either by title or accompanying text to the Hau Hau uprising of 1865-68. Robley's Pah on the Awa-o-te-Atua River captured by Natives under Capt. G. Mair (F.A. 848), the record of a place he had been in, a straightforward scene of whares, stockades and the odd group of people, appeared on 24 February 1866 as The Matata Pah, New Zealand. The Refuge of the Murderers of the Rev. Mr. Volkner. (The Hau Hau were described as "barbaric".[106]) Robley's sketch, One of the Gates at Maketu Pa (Fig. 97), in which the attention to the elaborate carving can be related to his interest in Maori art, was used by the I.L.N. on 12 January 1867 to illustrate Maori fortifications (Fig. 114) for an article, "The Last Conflict with the Maori in New Zealand" - even though the pa and the people of Maketu were not connected with the European assault on the Hau Hau ("savage and

fanatical") stronghold of Tutaekuri in the Hawkes Bay described in the article.[107] The martial implications are stressed too by the replacement of one of three female figures in Robley's sketch by a warrior armed with a taiaha.

Greater license was taken with the Robley sketch used unacknowledged on 19 October 1868 and described by Robley as a "bad copy" of his sketch.[108] Here a representation of a Maori male with a rifle kneeling by a stockade, titled A Maori of New Zealand in Fighting Dress (Fig. 115), illustrates an account of an outbreak of fighting by the "notorious Ngatiruanui tribe ... remarkable for its implacable hatred of whites"[109] on the Wellington-Taranaki border area in 1868. That is, a Robley sketch made in 1864-66 was used in reference to people and to events that Robley had had no experience of. He left New Zealand in 1866 and had not ever been in the Wellington-Taranaki area. The figure of the armed Maori male, for Robley probably primarily a description of social fact, became a sign of the barbaric savage - an entity that played a prominent part in European interpretations of Maori-European conflict. The I.L.N. use of Robley's sketches then exemplifies how the meanings of European representations of the Maori could vary according to the context in which they were seen and used, and the manner in which they were packaged. This was to be a fundamental aspect of the "career" of Robley's 1864-66 watercolours in the 1890s and first decades of the 20th century, when, as has been noted, they took on, or had ascribed to them, qualities and status that they had not originally had.

There are fundamental contrasts between Robley's and von Tempsky's 1860s representations of the Maori - in the reasons for their production, in the choices of subject and in the manners in which they depicted the Maori, in the views and attitudes to Maori people and culture sustaining and/or embedded in the images, and in the uses to which they were put. I have already noted that while Robley's work comes within the categories of reportage and field notes, von Tempsky's were made and seen as, or in terms of "art". While Robley sought

to record actualities, von Tempsky wrote of altering aspects of an actual event "for the sake of art".[110] The contrasts between their work provide too an exemplification of how a complex of sometimes conflicting factors, rather than a single coherent set of determinants, effected the way the Maori was represented in any given period. There was no necessary homogeneity among European artists in the manner in which the Maori was represented, even if at times a particular type of representation tended to dominate the field.

Unlike Robley's, von Tempsky's works were made for public use in New Zealand, whether through presentation to individuals or through exhibition and sale. In particular between his periods of military service he sought financially remunerative "employment to my brush".[111] His 1867 exhibitions featured six paintings; five of them Maori subjects: Maoris Leaving Orakau Pa, A Maori Ambush, Wanganui, The Maori Attack on Burtt's Farmhouse, A Hau Hau Country, and An Officer of a Military Train Cutting Down a Rebel at Nukumaru.[112] There is evidence too of other works being held by the John Leech Gallery in Auckland for sale.[113] While von Tempsky's paintings were recommended to "lovers of art" and reviewers enthused over the high "merit" of the work,[114] von Tempsky himself adopted a more hard headed and business-like stance. In Auckland there was an admission price of one shilling to see his paintings,[115] and it is apparent from a letter by von Tempsky to Dr. James Hector of the Colonial Museum in Wellington that the primary motivation for his 1867 exhibitions was the need to make money. Von Tempsky experienced considerable financial difficulties during 1866-67. Sale of his art constituted an attempt to remain solvent. The letter indicates too an element of anxiety and a certain opportunism in his attempt to exploit his friendship with Hector to promote work that he (von Tempsky) did not regard very highly. Von Tempsky wrote:[116]

> I send by this mail some pictures on Maori subjects, to be raffled for in Wellington ... I now ask you to do something for me, by pushing the raffle. I don't know how far your artistic conscience will permit you to

> act cordially in the pushing of mediocre pictures into your Wellington world - but I hope you will see at least a sufficient number of good points in them to permit your voice of friendship for me, to overcome the niceties of your artistic acumen. I have been rather hard pushed latterly in making two ends meet - seeing that Auckland is bankrupt and the Government is determined to ignore me - up to this however I have kept out of debt and hope to do so in the future - particularly if this raffle comes off. Could you not get one or two subjects painted for your museum - if you find my style creditable enough for this purpose - Anything now would be a great lift to me ....

Dr. Hector was to arrange an exhibition of the paintings at the Museum.

Von Tempsky attempted also to use his paintings as "letters of introduction" to influential and important people in colonial politics and administration, and as a means of social and professional advancement. As early as 1864, for instance, he had sent a sketch inspired by an incident at the Battle of Orakau to Governor Grey, and in the accompanying letter spoke of using the picture for "obtruding myself upon your excellency".[117] Grey was to be the patron for his 1867 Wellington exhibition. Russell, the Minister for Colonial Defence, was sent a sketch in 1864 too,[118] and after von Tempsky's lack of success selling his paintings at the 1867 shows he wrote: "... now I can no longer paint for the public, I'll paint for those who rule the public".[119] Among the beneficiaries of this policy were William Fox, leading colonial politician and Prime Minister for a period during the Land Wars, Judge Gillies of Auckland, Governor Sir George Bowen and Dr. Featherston.[120]

There are twenty-two watercolours and drawings featuring or including the Maori by von Tempsky still extant.[121] With one exception these representations are exclusively of battle scenes and war related events and/or landscapes with figures. The exception, Girl with a Dog in a Canoe (Private Collection), is a fragment only of a larger work, the subject of which is unknown. Von Tempsky is not known to have produced any portraits of individual Maoris, genre scenes or studies of Maori artefacts. His extant works with Maori figures can be divided into four groups.

There are action pieces with both Maori and European figures prominent,

which refer to actual and well-known incidents in the Land Wars, some, though not all of which von Tempsky either participated in or observed. The Europeans in these works can often be identified, either from von Tempsky's accounts in his unpublished Memoranda of the New Zealand Campaign 1863-4 or from other contemporary reports. The following paintings come within this category: The Maori Attack on Burtt's Farmhouse (Fig. 116), Forest Rangers under von Tempsky nobly engaged with the Natives who were defeated (Fig. 117), a watercolour (Fig. 118) and a pen ink sketch (Private Collection) of an encounter at Te Ranga, An Officer of the Military Train Cutting Down a Rebel at Nukumaru (Fig. 119), The Storming of Otapawa Pa in Taranaki (Fig. 120), On General Chute's March, West Coast (Fig. 121).

There are representations of named and identifiable landscapes with Maori staffage (and in three instances European too) usually in the foreground. In all except one, A New Zealand Scene (Private Collection), which includes a township identified as Thames,[122] the places depicted were connected with engagements in the Land Wars, and there are references to military activities. Attention to topography, Maori fortifications or European camps are primary features of these works, while the figures are generally secondary. In Forest Rangers Camp, Waipa River (Private Collection), Mangapiko Creek and Pa at Waiari (Private Collection) and Maori Fortifications at Paparata (Auckland Institute and Museum) the figures are very small. In The Junction of the Karapiro Stream and the Waikato River (National Art Gallery) and The Ohaupo Redoubt and Rangers Camp; Prisoners in the Foreground (Hawkes Bay Art Gallery and Museum) the more prominent Maori figures add an anecdotal element to the landscape - suggested by the title in the latter, while in the former a solitary Maori warrior belligerently and defiantly raises a clenched fist towards a former stronghold of the Maori abandoned after the Battle of Orakau. In contrast in Encampment of General Chute's Forces near Te Putaki Pa, on the Whenuakura River (1866, A.T.L.) European soldiers and "friendly" Maoris occupy

the foreground of a panoramic landscape.

There are imaginary martial narratives - representations of activities and actions which are not linked to specific and identifiable incidents, and which, with the exception of one with small European figures in midground, feature Maori fighters alone. That these are painted as if from the Maori point of view points to their fictional status, since if similar events did occur von Tempsky could not have witnessed or participated in them: The Maori War Council (Fig. 122), The Return of the War Party (Fig. 123), A Maori Ambush, Wanganui (Fig. 124), Council of War near Taranaki (Fig. 125).

And there are landscapes, more picturesque than topographic, not geographically specific or identifiable, though recognisable as New Zealand by the prominence of the native foliage and the Maori figures in the foreground: A New Zealand Maori Scene (Fig. 126), Scouting Party (Fig. 127) and a work (Fig. 128) that fits the description of A Hau Hau Country in the 1867 exhibitions.[123]

I have distinguished between those works which represent specific historical events, and actual or identifiable geographical locations, and those which do not. In fact all von Tempsky's pictures with Maori figures were essentially fictions, or "fancy" pictures - a term he himself used in his letter to Grey, referring to his depiction of the Maori retreat from the Battle of Orakau.[124] Even though the Daily Southern Cross called another work, Maoris Leaving Orakau (location unknown), "a most powerful delineation of that extraordinary historical event",[125] and though von Tempsky's battle pictures in general have been described by a modern commentator as "of no small historical interest as unique records of incidents in the wars of the 1860s",[126] with the odd exception von Tempsky was not in fact making records or historical documentation. The most he claimed for his narrative and anecdotal work was that it captured "the spirit of certain incidents".[127] Unlike Robley he was not in the business of socio-political or ethnological reportage.

Von Tempsky's drawings of Central American Indians show that he was

capable of delineating the distinctive facial features and characteristic looks of specific ethnic groups.[128] This, however, was not a concern in his New Zealand works, in which physiognomically his "Maoris" are not necessarily Maori. Nor did he pay more than rudimentary attention to the specifics of ethnicity, such as artefacts, architecture, ornamentation and moko - just sufficient to allow identification of the figures as Maori. Even if the topography or "terrain" was "correct" in a number of works,[129] and even if the viewer could learn something about the conduct of the wars from his works, actual places and incidents functioned primarily as raw material for his "art". He intended his paintings to be "sufficiently true to nature to be recognisable ... sufficiently idealised to suit my artistic purpose".[130] The Maoris then in this scheme were primarily actors in romantic dramatisations and picturesque visions.

Von Tempksy's emphasis of the colourful and the decorative in his painting was an aspect of this. For instance, in Scouting Party the combination of the lush greens of the foliage and the bright blues, yellows, reds and whites of the clothing of the Maori figures constitutes an undoubtedly vibrant colour experience, while the prominent accents of sharp blues, reds and yellows of the drapery in works such as The Maori War Council and The Return of the War Party are both "pleasing" in themselves and drama-enhancing. In these and other paintings too ornately rendered patterns of exotic foliage - sprays and curlicues of tree fern, flax, toi toi, ponga and creepers occupying much of the picture space - are a basically decorative feature. Pattern and rhythm of shape are manifest in other forms too. For example, in Scouting Party there is a play on curves of shape and line from the fall of the creepers in the foreground through the radically schematised sequence of U curves representing a river to the sweeps of coastline and distant hills. Similar colouristic and decorative botanical patterns are apparent in his battle pictures - for example, A Maori Ambush, An Officer ... Cutting Down a Rebel, and The Maori

Attack on Burtt's Farmhouse. The latter, for example, described in the Weekly News in 1867 as the "gem of the collection", was praised for its "magnificent foliage".[131] The ornateness of the settings has the quality of theatrical decor, and von Tempsky's tendency to frame his dramas and picturesque exotica with foreground trees on either side enhanced this stage set or tableaux-like quality. In such environments his figures come across less as representations of "real" people than as participants in melodramas - though to some extent von Tempsky's technical shortcomings, such as the poor articulation of the limbs and modelling of the volumes of figures, contribute to this.

In the battle pictures von Tempsky's Maoris and Europeans play at war games. Guns are wielded, swords are brandished, violent deeds are done, bodies fall, figures grimace and gesticulate histrionically. These images do not manifest the drabness, the earthiness, the ordinariness and absence of rhetoric that in contrast characterise Robley's reportage from the front line. Works like The Maori Attack on Burtt's Farmhouse and An Officer ... Cutting Down a Rebel have a quaintness and charm about them suitable for images of romance and adventure, but at odds with the actualities of war. The Maoris in von Tempsky's non-martial images, as in A New Zealand Maori Scene, for instance, are equally "unreal"-looking, existing primarily as exotic items in landscapes of lush bush and limpid atmosphere. The idyllic mood of these images was remote from the actualities of war, land confiscation, social and cultural disruption, that characterised Maori life in central North Island, where von Tempsky was, in the 1860s. These were visualisations of the "easy dream" described by von Tempsky in his Memoranda - "the romantic halo of undisturbed nature, with its brown children gambolling, lounging and sleeping in the foreground".[132]

Not surprisingly von Tempsky's "artistic" representations of the Maori show "fine art" sources of inspiration - elements from, for instance, picturesque, sublime, battle and banditti imagery contributing to his

formulations. A passage from the Memoranda indicates von Tempsky's tendency to frame his experience and representations of New Zealand landscape and people within the rhetoric of conventional aesthetic categories. Here he describes "the Salvator Rosa scene before me":[133]

> The elevation of the forest ridge became now considerable and sometimes dark gorges of the wildest character, with weird trails of mist trailing along dim ravine bottoms opened up at our feet. It wanted but some savage figures of a brown tint to make the picture ravishing, to whoever loved the wild and the grand ....

Both von Tempsky's Scouting Party and A Hau Hau Country with their high viewpoints, tree-framed vistas of precipitous hills and deep valleys, dramatic contrasts of light and dark areas, height and scale, with armed brown tinted figures gracing the foreground could be seen as actualisations of this cultural costume - allowing for their small scale, exercises in the picturesque sublime.

Standard features of battle pictures are apparent in the staging of the action and the rendering of the figures in An Officer ... Cutting Down a Rebel and Forest Rangers under von Tempsky nobly engaged - the confusions of combat choreographed into ordered arrangements of figure groupings concentrated mainly in the foreground planes, with the figure or group representing the prospective victors dominating or occupying the central position, while the prospective vanquished are arranged on either or to one side.[134] As was conventionally so in battle pictures the sense of violent animation is sustained by the accumulation of individual configurations characterised by out-thrust limbs, diagonal lines of force, insistent verticals and sharp angularities. Von Tempsky made use of commonplace motifs of the battle picture too - motifs that would have enhanced the "artistic" effect of his paintings. For instance, in An Officer ... Cutting Down a Rebel the slumped, wounded Maori figure on the left foreground was based on the Dying Gaul type, while the rearing horse and its heroic and fiery rider had innumerable precedents in late 18th-early 19th century European art - a favourite type for the military hero.[135]

The martial narratives can be related to the 19th century banditti genre,

notable exponents of which included Leopold Robert, Charles Eastlake and William Allan. For instance, Eastlake's banditti images, well-known and popular through engravings, are usually characterised by enforested and/or mountainous "sets", with "fierce"-looking bandits - male and female - striking "impressive" poses and grouped in the foreground, while their adversaries, if included, are often small figures in the distance, seen by but unaware of the bandits.[136] Von Tempsky's A Maori Ambush, for example, fits this model closely. The pose of the central male is particularly "impressive", based as it was on a classical model, the Apollo Belvedere type, while The Maori War Council and The Return of the War Party, with their concentration on Maori figures alone in heightened or melodramatic situations, also partook of the banditti genre.[137] In the latter work, for instance, the Maori woman tending to the exhausted warrior in the right foreground has a direct counterpart in a stock character of the banditti genre - the brigand belle succouring or assisting the wounded or distressed male.[138] The banditti so popular in early-mid 19th century theatre and visual arts were self-consciously romantic fictions not to be confused with actual bandits - a point made by Eastlake: "A painter may introduce a band of robbers with effect in a landscape, but it would not be so agreeable to find them fill an actual foreground or to have to boast of adventure while in their hands".[139] Likewise von Tempsky's Maori bandits, seemingly cast in a romantic mould, did not necessarily correspond with or indicate any sympathy for the actual and contemporary Maoris, whom von Tempsky had encountered.

However von Tempsky's depicted Maoris did not exist solely in a self-contained world of "art", affording only aesthetic delectation for their decorative, formal, melodramatic, romantic or picturesque qualities. His Maoris were not just versions of European types in New Zealand dress, simply determined by the requirements of "art". Other factors contributed to their making - in particular ideological components were fundamental. They were

"about" both "art" and von Tempsky's views of the Maori and the relationships of Maori people and culture with European; views shared by many, even if not all European settlers in New Zealand. Von Tempsky indicated his consciousness of this aspect of his work when he stated to Walter Mantell that he aimed in his paintings to "give an exposition of my ideas on the subject (of) Maori nature" - to be "a fair exponent of that curious and original race of beings".[140] To determine what his "ideas" about the Maori were it is necessary to consider how he presented the Maori vis à vis Europeans in specific works, and to see these representations in conjunction with the attitudes and sentiments he expressed in his Memoranda and in the articles he wrote for the Daily Southern Cross.

Von Tempsky's presentation of the Maori could differ depending on whether the depicted Maori was friend or foe, engaged in battle or not. For instance, in the scenes of Maori-European conflict and its aftermath the Maoris are generally grimacing, wild-eyed, crazy-looking figures - to quote von Tempsky, a "gang of tattooed savages".[141] This negative presentation corresponded with his Memoranda descriptions of his Maori opponents, in which disparaging allusions abound - for instance, the Maori characterised as "carrion crows",[142] "fiendish",[143] "gallinaceous"[144] (i.e. belonging to the order of fowl and game birds like pheasants and partridges - to be hunted). For von Tempsky the Maori could be equated with forms of life less developed than Europeans - sub-human. For instance, he asserted that the response to pain of wounded Maori "rebels" was "a sure sign of an inferior organisation much too like that of the less developed classes of life to be desirable in a race of men".[145]

In opposition to these "villainous"[146] savages, the stern-looking Europeans in von Tempsky's works are cast in noble and heroic poses, and are invariably defeating or about to defeat the Maori. For instance, to quote the Weekly News reviewer, the "gallant Major" Mitchell on his "grey charger" in An Officer ... Cutting Down a Rebel is "in the act of giving a fatal cut to"[147]

the Maori, while in the watercolour Incident at Te Ranga (Fig. 118) the foreground Maori receives a bayonet thrust to the chest, while his colleagues are put to flight. In the more populous pen and ink version of the same subject the contrasting shapes and dispositions of the bodies of European and Maori, connoting strength and weakness, dominance and submission respectively, enhance this celebration of Maori defeat and European triumph. The Maori figures are predominantly backward leaning, slumped, in several instances craven in stance, their heads mostly hidden or bowed, while in contrast the British soldiers are upright, shoulders, torsos, knees thrusting forward, chins up, faces open. Heather Curnow's claim in a recent essay that the Maori and European in hand-to-hand combat in these Te Ranga pictures are "monumentalised, equally heroic, there being no bias towards one race or the other"[148] is simply not borne out by the evidence either of the pictures themselves or of von Tempsky's writings.

The unlocated sketch that von Tempsky sent to Grey included Maori "fugitives" with "the cavalry trying to cut off their retreat" and "the Forest Rangers in pursuit" too,[149] while the central figure, "Mr Mair", protecting a comrade, exemplified the allegedly typical "nobility" of the European soldiers.[150] The Maoris defeated at Orakau von Tempsky described as "pusillanimous", "quaking frogs".[151] Maoris die or are about to die in Forest Rangers under von Tempsky nobly engaged with the Natives, while the corpses of others are dragged ignominously away by European soldiers. In contrast European corpses do not appear in the battle pictures with Maoris, though The Storming Of Otapawa Pa includes a wounded European "hero" carried off on a stretcher. Maori dead and distraught women and children feature prominently too in The Return of the War Party - the not so latent meaning of this image being that this was what the Maori could expect from warfare - defeat by European. This view was articulated clearly by von Tempsky at the outbreak of war in Taranaki in July 1863: "At last those overbearing, headstrong and

pampered natives were to get a lesson so long needed".[152]

The opposition of "fiendish" savage and "noble" European corresponds to the evaluations of adversaries in the Land Wars that von Tempsky made in his Memoranda. For instance, of the battle of Mauku, in which he took part, he wrote: "The forces of the whites gallantly advanced", while the Maoris "commenced a murderous fire on our men".[153] Interestingly on the same day, 6 July 1867, that von Tempsky's Auckland exhibition was reviewed in the Weekly News, a long poem, "The Battle of Mauku" was published too. It could stand as a literary analogue to his battle pictures. The Maoris of the poem are a "wily foe", "tattooed demons", "grim barbarians", who "flashed red fire from their eyeballs". In contrast the "noble" European soldiers, "though surrounded", "fought in that wild melee/Like bearded Texan hunters amidst buffalo on prairie ... for God and our Good Cause". This could have served as a caption for An Officer ... Cutting Down a Rebel.

Two of von Tempsky's paintings exhibited in 1867 show ambush situations. In one, A Maori Ambush, Wanganui, the classic pose of the central Maori figure may seem to imply a sympathetic view by von Tempsky of his adversaries, and to be an exception to his usual negative representation of Maoris opposing Europeans. However the choice of this stance was probably geared to "artistic effect", since other primary elements of the picture conflict with a sympathetic reading. The majority of the Maori figures are typically wild in gesture and look, dark, shadowy figures lurking in the jungle, treading as if wading through dank-looking undergrowth - a presentation that brings to mind von Tempsky's claim that the "Maori have a natural affinity to swamps, there is a strong amphibious bias and mudlarking tendency in the brown man".[154] Moreover within the conventions of battle pictures in the 19th century an ambush of European soldiers ("noble" and "gallant") by non-Europeans in itself signified the treacherous and cowardly nature of savages.[155] In his Memoranda von Tempsky described the Maoris in The Maori Attack on Burtt's Farmhouse as

"cowardly marauders" and "sneaks". In contrast to the relatively faceless and squat Maoris in that painting the Europeans coming to the rescue are open-faced, upright and in the light, suggesting their quality as "men in the noblest sense of the word".[156] Another Memoranda passage exemplifies this favoured polarity: The Maoris who attacked the farm of a Capt. Calvert near Keri Keri were a "cowardly crew (who) shrunk away before the bright blade of the old soldier".[157]

It was hardly surprising that von Tempsky should have represented the Maori resisting the colonisation of New Zealand in such a negative way, given his views of the place of the Maori in the process of European settlement. He was a text book imperialist.[158] He had an unquestioned belief in European "superiority" and the right and duty of the British to take over and civilise a hitherto savage country. Within this ideological framework war against the Maori was both necessary and laudable: "... the cause of reclaiming a heaven-blessed country from the ill-directed guidance of savagedom is as noble a cause as man may wish to fight for", he wrote in his Daily Southern Cross column before the outbreak of fighting in the Waikato in 1863[159] - while he asserted in his Memoranda: "In new countries yet under the sway of barbarism there is no more powerful civiliser than war; all obstacles to civilisation ... go down before it".[160] Unable to recognise any Maori land rights he viewed Maori resistance merely as evidence of the innate propensity to violence of the savage. The advance of civilisation required then "crushing either the spirit or very existence of native races, yet the Anglo Saxon is not cruel".[161] "That which cannot be civilised, which cannot be assimilated to civilisation, must give room to it, as in North America, and find its level 'under' it", he opined too.[162]

Yet for all his constant derogation of the Maori, the Maori figures in some of von Tempsky's works are depicted in a seemingly positive, at least not negative way. To qualify for that either they are not engaged in combat with

Europeans or they are "friendly" - that is, supporting the British against the "rebels". For instance, there are Maori auxiliaries in the left foreground of The Storming of Otapawa Pa. However they are peripheral to the main action, which is dominated by British soldiers. One, "Spain, our best guide",[163] is dead, another male simply stands with a rifle, while the third is a seated female with long black tresses and striped red dress. Both these figure types, or variants of them, recur frequently in von Tempsky's works. For instance, all the banditti type representations, except Council of War near Taranaki, and the picturesque landscapes include an almost identical belle, seated or standing in colourfully patterned or white blouse and skirt, while the handsome, inactive standing male smoking a pipe features in Scouting Party and A Hau Hau Country. Functioning primarily as decorative and exotic motifs they do not necessarily indicate any sympathy for actual Maoris. In On General Chute's March, West Coast, for example, a "friendly" Maori beauty on a white horse occupies the foreground centre of the composition - a bright, attractive, beguiling accent in the otherwise drab column of anonymous marching soldiers extending interminably into the distance. Though this figure may refer to Bloody Mary, the wife of a Maori guide who was on the expedition, her central placement primarily invests the image with a sense of the romantic - a useful ingredient "for the sake of art".

Exotic and picturesque representations of native people in colonised countries, and the belief in the God-given rightness of colonialist expansion and the expression of disparaging remarks about the natives were not necessarily contradictory or mutually exclusive. Indeed the designation of exotic and picturesque to a place and people could be used to promote the cause of European social and economic imperialism, in so far as these qualities could be equated with undeveloped nature, inhabited by people at a low level of social evolution, that needed to be progressed beyond. That was so with von Tempsky, who definitely subscribed to the notions of progress and development -

among other things being an early advocate of the exploitation of the "mineral wealth" of New Zealand against the wishes of the indigenous inhabitants.[164] Consider this passage from his Memoranda, a small portion of which was quoted earlier:[165]

> If it is man's mission to pass his life in an easy dream then let us preserve by all means the artistic effect, the romantic halo of undisturbed nature, with its brown children gambolling, lounging and sleeping in the foreground. But if each era of men is destined not to think only of its own comfort, but of the well-being of its children's children also, then let us to work - then down with the beauteous trees and down with the picturesque hill - and build hot, oily, ugly steamboats puffing all day like true businessmen.

A New Zealand Maori Scene can be seen in this light - a representation of a seemingly arcadian and idyllic scene, the landscape beautiful, whares nestling in the bush, handsome people living relaxed and easy existences, canoeing on the river, simply there, "at one with nature". But this "dream" was suitable for entertainment or "artistic" pleasure, but not for "real" life or the advance of civilisation. That this painting implied a condition of life and environment in New Zealand that was or had to be superceded by economic development is suggested too, if seen in conjunction with von Tempsky's assessment of the "fruits" of civilisation:[166]

> ... the hills are levelled, the streams bridged ... the same Waikato that had up to this passed its time in toying with native canoes, had turned now into a systematic hard-working element of transport, and the steam whistle shrieked into the ears of the drowsy gullies and slumbering hills.

And there is a drawing by von Tempsky, Waipa Valley (Private Collection), which shows a river scene with a paddle steamer overseen by European soldiers, without a Maori or any dense forestation in sight. The contrast between natives, however exotic, inhabiting undeveloped nature, and the land developed by colonists, civilisation established, is imaged explicitly in von Tempsky's A New Zealand Scene - a depiction of a panoramic landscape, which includes and opposes a European township in the distance and a Maori couple in fernland in the foreground. It exemplifies that common type, with clear ideological connotations, in 19th century Australasian art, discussed in relation to

Gilfillan's View of Wanganui, Strutt's Taranaki, and Hoyte's Auckland in 1873.

In addressing the ideological coordinates of von Tempsky's representations with Maori figures I am not suggesting that his works were simply "illustrations" of certain socio-political and economic attitudes and sentiments commonplace among the proponents of colonialism. They were not just propaganda pieces, made simply to carry ideological statements. Von Tempsky was producing "art". As such the ideological component was affected by the requirements of art, by the formal, dramatic and narrative conventions of certain genres in European art, examples of which have been noted. Thus the picturesque, exotic and decorative aspects of the works, praised as they were for minuteness in detail, "harmony of colour, and beauty of finish", the stress on action and adventure were as much for the pleasures of the local "lovers of art" in a colonial milieu where art was a scarce commodity,[167] as a demonstration of the merits and demerits of European and Maori respectively. Indeed the conjunction of ideology and artistic conventions could result in images which revealed several, even seemingly contradictory perspectives in terms of meaning. For instance, A Maori Ambush, Wanganui, on one hand, even if on the level of make believe, operates as a banditti genre-determined romantic incident, the dominant protagonists of which, an imposing "classical" warrior and his attractive lady companion, invite a positive response. Yet in terms of the image's relationship to actual contemporary events in New Zealand - after all they can be identified as Maori - the viewer can see a "cowardly" ambush by savages, some of whom verge on the grotesque, of British soldiers advancing civilisation. This possible duality of meaning does not indicate any ambivalence towards the Maori subjects on the part of the artist. Von Tempsky could denigrate or idealise the Maori according to the demands of the occasion and the purposes of the representation. That suggests the extent to which romanticisation of the Maori could be accommodated within a colonialist ideological framework - an aspect of European representations of the Maori that

is examined more closely in the discussion of Chevalier's work.

Chevalier had emigrated to Australia from England in the early 1850s. In Melbourne he quickly established himself as one of the leading painters and illustrators.[168] He visited New Zealand several times - the South Island in 1865-66, the North Island in 1868, and in 1869-70 he served as official artist on the Duke of Edinburgh's tour of Australasia, the Pacific and Asia.[169] In his New Zealand watercolours and oils he concentrated almost exclusively on the landscape, though occasionally these included small Maori staffage figures.[170] While no Maori drawings are known from his 1865-66 trip, he did make drawings of the Maori during his journey through the Wanganui and Wairarapa districts in 1868 and while in Auckland in 1869. His <u>Sketches From My Journal on a Visit to the Disturbed Districts of Wanganui</u> (National Art Gallery, Wellington) includes thirty of the Maori and Maori artefacts - predominantly single figures, male and female of all ages, small groups in whare and pa settings, and the odd carvings and canoes. Most are small and sketchy with little attention to detail. They are no more than field notes or memory aids, again the standard jottings of the travelling artist gathering material for possible future use. Not all the drawings were from life. For example, ten were made from earlier sketches by William Fox, on whose estate at Westoe in Rangitikei Chevalier stayed. These include the few more finished sketches of Maori figures, in which there is a detailed rendering of distinctively Polynesian facial features.[171] The Auckland drawings are mostly of Maori artefacts; there being only two of Maori figures.[172]

Chevalier produced a number of watercolours featuring the Maori either while or as a result of travelling with the Duke of Edinburgh. The catalogue for the 1872 South Kensington Museum exhibition of artefacts collected by the Duke on his world trip of 1869-71 and of watercolours (and drawings) by Chevalier and the other official artist, Oswald Brierly, includes two specifically Maori subjects by Chevalier: <u>A Group of New Zealand Warriors, with</u>

a Pah or Fortified Village near Wanganui: 12th April 1869 (location unknown) and War Dance of Friendly Natives, performed before the Duke of Edinburgh at Wellington, New Zealand, the 17th April 1869 (National Art Gallery). Chevalier exhibited other Maori representations in England too. For instance, an exhibition of a 150 "Sketches of New Zealand Scenery" was held at the Crystal Palace in 1871.[173] This was the first exhibition of New Zealand representations in London since Angas' 1846 show at the Egyptian Hall - a state of affairs which may have contributed to the Art Journal reviewer's observation that "Until the last few years New Zealand may be said to have been to the great body of the public a veritable terra incognita - a name, and nothing more".[174] Chevalier's "beautiful and picturesque" depictions of the New Zealand landscape would help rectify the situation, claimed the reviewer: "... altogether (they) form an exhibition which those who are interested in our Australasian possessions would do well to visit".[175] The reviewer noted that while the prime accent was on landscape, it was "not merely scenery that Mr Chevalier portrays: we are shown strange types of physiognomy, quaint and marvellous tattooing devices, drawings of elaborately carved canoes, uncomfortable looking weapons ... altogether composing a very perfect and valuable series".[176] How many and what precisely these were is not known.[177] One assumes that they included the more finished and detailed of his Wanganui and Auckland sketches, such as the portrait heads after Fox, the Duke of Edinburgh Exhibition watercolours, and perhaps the few watercolours, such as Maori War Canoe off Mt Egmont, Taranaki, (1870, National Art Gallery) and Maori Girl (location unknown), that have passed through auction houses in recent years.[178]

Chevalier exhibited one oil painting of a Maori subject in London: Hinemoa: A Maori Maiden (Fig. 129), 1879. This work, which can be related to two of his rough Wanganui notes, Paddling Her Own Canoe, 5th December 1868[179] and Maori girl in her canoe, very long flowing hair nearly touching the

water,[180] and to a small oil study (Louise Whitford Gallery, London),[181] is the only oil painting of a Maori subject that Chevalier is known to have exhibited. He had travelled widely in Australasia, the Pacific and Asia in the 1850s and 1860s, and his Royal Academy offerings after his return to England in 1870 were mainly representations of foreign places and people.[182] The New Zealand work constituted only a small proportion of the total number of such pictures he produced and exhibited in London - for instance, only nine out of ninety-six watercolours at the 1872 South Kensington Museum exhibition. New Zealand, the scenery and to a lesser extent the Maori, provided just one source of picturesque and exotic material for him. Chevalier continued too to receive Royal patronage in the 1870s and 1880s. For instance, in 1872 he was commissioned to do a series of paintings commemorating thirty-five years of Victoria's reign. Chevalier's career was at its peak in the 1870s. The Art Journal devoted two articles to his work and career - in March 1871 at the time of his New Zealand exhibition, and in March 1879, the year in which Hinemoa was exhibited at the Royal Academy.

In my examination of Strutt's Hare Pomare and Family I argued that what might simply seem a formal portrait of a group of Maoris was primarily a fiction imaging prevailing moral, cultural and political values and attitudes. I argued that the transformations that the Maori as "raw material" was subjected to had an essential ideological dimension; that the Maori so presented amounted to a form of assimilation or incorporation of things Maori into a British scheme. Chevalier's Hinemoa presents a different situation and a different character, yet a similar "picture" emerges. Like the Strutt, seen in isolation, as an aesthetic object, a "fine art" piece, Hinemoa might not necessarily indicate any essential relationship to colonialist structures of thought and feeling. Yet, while not losing sight of the fact that many viewers at the Royal Academy may have seen the painting simply as non-referential "art", nevertheless examined in context Hinemoa turns out to be as enmeshed

ideologically as the Strutt, Angas' work or the coloured lithograph of Gilfillan's Interior.

The name, Hinemoa, derived from a legend of the Arawa, a tribe located in the Bay of Plenty. Hinemoa was a chief's daughter, whose status as a puhi (a young woman of high rank, esteemed for good looks, intelligence and social skills, whose function was to preserve the mana or authority of the tribe) meant that customarily she would not have been able to choose her own husband or lover. Choice would have been made for her, in order to preserve the power and prestige of the tribe.[183] Hinemoa went against tribal custom and family pressure for the sake of her love for Tutanekai, an illegitimate younger son of lower status, marriage with whom would have been unthinkable[184] - not that these aspects of Hinemoa's history are either evident or hinted at in Chevalier's painting. Chevalier's representation emphasises beauty, comeliness, curvaceousness and languor. Hinemoa is inactive, drifting on the water, rather than asserting herself against the current.

The painting might seem to present a positive and sympathetic image of a Maori person - a romantic celebration of a beautiful girl. It is unlikely, though, that the figure in the painting, executed long after Chevalier's visit to New Zealand, was modelled on or derived from an actual Maori, even if the motif of a girl in a canoe can be linked to earlier drawings. Certainly there is nothing distinctively Maori in her facial features. But for the title she could pass for a dark complexioned European in exotic dress. Furthermore Chevalier's representation involved a reshaping of the source. The mode of presentation, the appearance and meaning of Hinemoa depended almost exclusively on conventions in European image making - and had little or nothing to do with the role and status of the Hinemoa of Arawa mythology.

One might have expected that the Maori mythological reference would have eluded many British viewers; yet the Art Journal critic wrote without explanation of the "legendary beauty"[185] - implying that the legend of Hinemoa

and Tutanekai was reasonably well known. English versions of Maori myth and folklore had been published in Britain - most notably Polynesian Mythology by Sir George Grey, who, besides having been Governor of New Zealand from 1845 to 1853 and 1861 to 1867, was Prime Minister from 1877 to 1879. Polynesian Mythology was first published in 1855 and was republished in 1885. Hinemoa and Tutanekai featured prominently. It was the Maori legend that recurred most frequently in English publications concerning New Zealand from the mid 19th to the early 20th century - in books on Maori history, customs and mythology, travel books, tourist brochures and poetry.[186] For example, two long poetic variants of the legend were published in London in the 1870s - S. Ollivant's Hinemoa: The Maori Maiden, 114 pages, appeared the same year that Chevalier's painting was exhibited, and the poet-politician and friend of Browning, Alfred Domett, had incorporated readily recognisable elements from the legend in his massive 487-page epic poem, Ranolf and Amohia, which was "exceptionally well received"[187] in 1872; the Sunday Times "hailing" it as "the New Zealand epic".[188]

The legend's frequent publication and popularity among Europeans can be linked to the manner in which narrative elements were wedded neatly with European popular romance conventions - lovers from different social classes, their relationship frowned upon and obstructed by their families, they battled against hardship and adversity to achieve union and consummation of their love.[189] That is, it was a familiar, well-known narrative,[190] with the exotic setting and the legendary, or quasi-legendary, also being standard ingredients of popular romance in the 19th century.[191] Fundamental romance elements characterising European renderings include the setting of the tale in the past, the improbability of the events recounted within the readers' own social situation, the simplification of the characters and their relationships, the thwarted lovers need, in order to realise their love, to go against the prevailing code of conduct in their society, and in the case of Hinemoa to

escape "from the confinement of her father's house".[192]

European renderings resulted in some startling transformations of the original. Unlike English versions, in its Arawa context the legend was not primarily a love story. Even if it features strong passions and people who feel intensely about one another, the prime meaning and significance of the legend for the Arawa people lay in the area of land rights, intra-tribal relations and decision making (all lost in European versions) - issues in which the status of Tutanekai, the question of his illegitimacy, was crucial.[193] In relation to these issues too the delineation of the genealogies of Hinemoa and Tutanekai was of fundamental importance in the Maori tellings, whereas in European tellings this was treated cursorily, if at all. For the Arawa the legend also provided a demonstration of a younger son (his status lower still because of his illegitimacy) achieving pre-eminence; going above those who customarily would have taken precedence over him. Maori history and legend includes a number of such stories - younger sons achieving positions that conventionally they would not have been able to attain.[194] The "love story" then was a vehicle for the articulation of this - a central aspect of the legend that does not emerge in European versions.

Furthermore Maori tellings of the legend[195] were "matter-of-fact" and factual, the language plain, people and events described in a simple, down-to-earth manner, the emotion understated.[196] In contrast English versions were generally more melodramatic, the emotional tone highly strung, the language hyperbolic, ornate, florid[197] - as was so often the case in popular romance and melodrama in the Victorian period.[198] Those features of the legend which fitted the romance model were exaggerated, while those of importance in the Arawa original (the genealogies, the significance of Hinemoa's puhi status and Tutanekai's younger son and illegitimate status), which could not be fitted so readily, were downgraded or eliminated.

Chevalier, of course, abstracted Hinemoa from the narrative and

concentrated on her alone. The scene and activity that he depicted would make little sense in the legend - a crucial episode of which involved a long swim by Hinemoa across a lake to reach Tutanekai; the canoes of her tribe having been hauled on to land to prevent the lovers meeting. Given the discrepancies between the legend and the painting one may well wonder why Chevalier bothered to make the reference to Hinemoa at all. It was commonplace at the time for oil paintings of comely, beautiful girls, which might have been seen simply as large-scale "keepsakes" if dressed, and as at odds with decorum, even "immoral", if nude, to be either elevated or "clothed" with literary, mythological or biblical references, or removed to far-away non-European places. (The Mediterranean qualified too.) There were innumerable examples of this. For instance, besides Hinemoa, on show at the 1879 Royal Academy exhibition were Edwin Long's biblical Esther, described in the Art Journal review as "dark-eyed, fair-skinned, and exceedingly comely", a bevy of Leightons with exotic names - Brondina, Catarina and Neruccia "with a face that is Oriental in type"[199] - and The Roum Sultana, "another famous beauty reclining", in this case "one of the wives of the Great Akbar",[200] by Val Prinsep, another Eastern traveller. Images of languid and sensuous Oriental ladies, often in harem scenes, and frequently reclining or sitting on cushions, by artists who had journeyed to the East, had a lengthy pedigree too - from the Indian girls of Tilly Kettle in the 1780s and William Daniell in the 1820s and 1830s, for instance, to the Egyptian belles of John Lewis in the 1850s and 1860s.[201] Chevalier himself included at least seven images of belles from Tahiti, the Philippines, India and China in his 1872 South Kensington Museum exhibition.[202] Hinemoa's Maori identity could have given what had become a commonplace type a touch of novelty and distinctiveness.

Hinemoa's proximity to water connects the painting to another common and related image-type with a rich associative heritage in European culture - solitary women either reclining by or emerging from water. These figures were

generally nude or semi-nude, but the possible connotations - nymphs, exotic idylls, Venus, love, desire, sex and romance, for example - were not necessarily lost or diminished if the figure was clothed. European versions of the Hinemoa legend stressed episodes in which water played a key role - namely, Hinemoa's long swim across a cold lake to Tutanekai's island, and her wait and recovery in a warm pool to which she eventually attracted him. Hinemoa's emergence from the water and the reunion with Tutanekai constituted the climax of the narrative in English versions.[203] Chevalier's Hinemoa neatly fits into the longstanding European associations of beautiful women, water and intimations of sexuality (the source: Venus, love goddess, born of the sea). English writers had made this sort of connection in describing Hinemoa-type figures. For example, in Domett's Ranolf and Amohia there is a long episode, dervied directly from the Hinemoa and Tutanekai legend, in which Amohia's emergence from the water is likened to the "foam-born ... Anadyomene".[204] Chevalier's Hinemoa is curvaceous, sensuous, with long flowing hair (so often an erotic fetish in Victorian art), and she directs a soft, fetching, "come-hither" look at the viewer.

One could view her as an object of desire, largely detached from the legendary context and from narrative concerns, existing primarily to be looked at, to give pleasure to Europeans. Claude Levi-Strauss has asserted that "naturalistic" and "illusionistic" art in Western culture has often implied a symbolic possession of the depicted object by the artist and the audience, particularly the owner, for whose use the image was intended: "an avid and ambitious desire to take possession".[205] This proposition applied specifically to representations of nude females has gained widespread currency over the last ten or so years.[206] It is useful to test a variant of the proposition (which can be sweeping and simplistic without substantiating evidence, and which is not necessarily applicable to all such representations) against Chevalier's Hinemoa - to consider whether the painting in its context of production and

exhibition could be regarded as a form of symbolic possession, not just of a non-European female and an aspect of Maori culture (the legend), but also of Maori people and culture (which Hinemoa can stand for) in general - at a time when New Zealand was being "taken over"; when British culture was becoming dominant, the Maori subordinate. In these respects it is necessary to "see" the painting in conjunction with both Chevalier's own relationships and attitudes to the Maori, and the attitudes and literary works of politicians and writers who inhabited the same artistic and social milieu as Chevalier in New Zealand and Britain.

Chevalier was in New Zealand at the time of the Land Wars of the 1860s. For the Maori the Land Wars meant vigorous military-backed European expansionism and the loss of much land through conquest and confiscation from Waikato, Taranaki and Bay of Plenty tribes. Chevalier's visit to the Wanganui and Wairarapa districts in 1868-9, where the bulk of his Maori sketches were executed, coincided with one of the last major instances of violent resistance by a group of Maoris under Titokowaru. Notes accompanying the sketches which Chevalier made on the trip[207] show that he shared the standard attitudes of the colonists towards the land rights of the Maori and the role of colonialism. He believed that colonists with support of the British army were justified in suppressing the resisting Maoris, whose rights were not recognised. For Chevalier European expansionism represented progress, the civilising of a hitherto savage place inhabited by "brutes" and "niggers".[208] Maoris who opposed this he saw simply as "ruthless", a "scourge", given to mindless "fire, rapine and murder".[209]

Chevalier's sketches include a few overtly racist caricatures. Two drawings under the title of A "civilised brute", (Fig. 130) made in Auckland, May 1869, present a "grotesque", tattooed Maori wearing a tam-o-shanter and smoking a pipe - a figure of fun, and another example of the Maori "aping" European ways presented as a source of the "comic" in 19th century imagery. Chevalier's

Wanganui sketches included "jokes" too - one in which a Maori is depicted foolishly gawping at an icon of civilisation (a camp stool) and another of a carved figure with a protruding tongue captioned "whistling tapoued".[210] Like Strutt, Chevalier's Journal comments suggest that he had little sympathy for the Maori or interest in their culture in general. For instance, he pejoratively described the "whole Maori race" as "cunning", and once noted that some dogs were "certainly better looking than the child" they accompanied.[211]

Yet most of Chevalier's depicted Maoris seem to be viewed sympathetically, or at least neutrally. There was a reason for this. The majority of the Maoris whom Chevalier sketched were "friendly" or pacified. As Edward Said has noted of European literary, anthropological and sociological representations of "Orientals",[212] so European pictorial representations of the Maori could be sympathetic or positive as long as the subject was "good" - that is, as long as the "native" could be shaped to European desires and requirements. But if Maoris, on whom Europeans were attempting to impose their will, resisted or asserted their autonomy then they were usually represented as "bad", or "evil", or "difficult", or "incorrigible". This was so with von Tempsky's representations of the Maori. A variant of the "rule" is applicable to Chevalier's rendering of the legendary heroine Hinemoa. She could be represented sympathetically because the legend had been transformed or "taken over", the heroine stereotyped for European purposes. This representation then, which had little to do with the actual legendary figure, reveals much about the uses and the ideological bases of exoticism in European culture in the 19th century.

The long epic poem, Ranolf and Amohia, by Alfred Domett can be linked with Chevalier's Hinemoa here. The poem narrates the love between a young European traveller and adventurer and a Maori girl in New Zealand in the early 19th century. In true romantic fashion the two encounter a variety of obstacles to their love, which they eventually overcome, and live happily everafter. Amohia

is described in the most positive terms - beautiful, graceful, charming and intelligent. In the poem too there are lengthy and detailed, seemingly sympathetic descriptions of Maori mythology and customs. Yet the writer of this romance was otherwise known as a colonial administrator and politician, who during his stay in New Zealand (1842-70) took a consistently hard line against the Maori, especially if they resisted European attempts to take over their land. He derisively dismissed any concern for Maori rights as "sentimental". Domett believed in the use of "force" to bend the "savage" to the law and will of the "most civilised".[213] Notably he was Prime Minister of New Zealand during a crucial period in the Land Wars of the early 1860s. His differing treatments of the Maori in poetry and politics may seem contradictory or mutually exclusive. In fact they were not - rather parts of the same package. As with Chevalier the seeming sympathy, the positive image of Maoridom is superficial. Domett's poem was sustained by an overriding belief in European superiority. Ranolf yearns for civilisation:[214]

> It was the crave for intellectual food
> For which a young enthusiast thinker pines.
> Ambition - progress - all the hope and pride
> Of true existence seemed to him denied.
> That land so rich in Beauty's sensuous smile
> Seemed for the soul only a desert isle.

Not surprisingly the lovers finally depart New Zealand for more civilised shores. Amohia accepted European "superiority" and forsook Maori culture. Thus she was acceptable and could be portrayed positively. Maori customs and myths too could be represented sympathetically as long as it was clear that Maori culture and society were at a stage of development (akin to childhood) that had to be progressed beyond.[215]

Ranolf and Amohia is subtitled A South Seas Day Dream. That is what it was - a fantasy set in the first years of the 19th century before the arrival of European missionaries, traders and colonists. The less pleasant, less comfortable, decidedly unromantic realities of Maori-European contact in the

1860s and 1870s could be avoided. Domett's New Zealand in Ranolf and Amohia was a nostalgic never-never land - "fit for romantic poets to dream in".[216] Chevalier's Hinemoa too was a figure of fantasy and nostalgia, remote from contemporary actualities. Domett's description of the "Maori" Amohia could well have served as a caption for Hinemoa: "The beautiful exotic ... the realisation of a sculptor's dream/ Of pure symmetry ... so simply clad in Classic drapery".[217]

The analogies that can be drawn between Hinemoa and Amohia might seem coincidental, a simple convergence of attitudes, of little significance - except that Domett and Chevalier were friendly acquaintances. The institutions and personalities of colonial domination featured prominently in the social and political milieu they inhabited in New Zealand and England. They probably met in New Zealand in the 1860s. Chevalier then was closely connected with a number of leading New Zealand politicians - most notably, William Fox, Prime Minister in 1861, 1863-4, and 1869-72, who had also played a central part in the alienation of Maori land. Chevalier stayed on Fox's estate, Westoe, during his Wanganui-Wairarapa sketching trip. Fox's admiration for Domett's poem is on record - and tying them all closer together, to further indicate the common attitudes and feelings that sustained these men, Domett effusively praised Chevalier's paintings and drawings of Pacific subjects:[218]

> ... brilliant bays with dreaming snowing coral reef breakers bounding the richest deep violet stillness of the inside waters, with a flower crowned crew of happy islanders, all glowing with sunlight and seasparkle ...; real life rightly idealised into a sort of blissful blue ... Arcadia, all indolent liveliness and laughing loveliness.

Yet Domett could elsewhere write in respect of the Maori:[219]

> Now surely the general maxims for the good government of savages are well-known and indisputable. To assume and maintain towards them the tone and attitude of superiors dealing with inferiors ... never to allow that authority to be questioned for a moment; never to tolerate any display of that arrogance which is natural to every race of savage ... to be completely and confessedly their masters.

This combination of dreamy, soft and romantic South Seas fiction and

belief in the need for the stern imposition of British power on the actual people of the Pacific demonstrates the function of exoticism in colonialist ideology. Just as nostalgia for "Red Indians" in the U.S.A. often coincided with official policies intended to hasten their demise,[220] so exotic representations of Pacific people and the belief in the "rightness" of European power and control in the region could go together. According to function and circumstance Chevalier and Domett's Maoris could be exotics - to be viewed with nostalgia for the past - or "niggers" - to be either suppressed or civilised in the present.

CHAPTER V

LATE NINETEENTH - EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORICAL PAINTINGS

In 1851 Grey recommended that artists and poets in New Zealand engage with Maori tradition and culture:[1]

> ... to recover some traits of their terrible lineaments ... of their softer outlines ... that either a stern grandeur, or the romantic glow of a primitive state of existence might be imparted to some works of art.

The rarity of Maori representations, especially historical works, in the New Zealand art world, such as it was, in the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s has been noted. It was only towards the end of the century, particularly in the 1890s and in the first two decades of the 20th century, that the sort of views that Grey articulated were put into practice with any frequency or impact in art production in New Zealand. A conjunction of several factors enabled this - the increased presence of trained professional artists, current ideas and attitudes about national identity, a "search" for distinctively New Zealand imagery in art, the patronage necessary to support such work, and the growth and firm establishment of "fine art" institutions, which were seen as evidence of, and necessary for the advance of culture and civilisation in what, for Europeans, was still a relatively "new" land.

Within Grey's scheme the "aestheticisation" of the Maori, the making of things Maori into "fine art" was not simply for the sake of "art". It had fundamental socio-political and ideological coordinates - linked as it was to a particular view of the relationships between Maori history and traditional culture and European colonisation and civilisation. In the interests of progress and civilisation the prescribed role for the Maori was assimilation into European culture and society. By its very nature this would involve the extinction of traditional Maori culture. Grey's 1851 address indicates that this assimilation should extend to the Maori past. According to Grey it should

be a central task of the artist and poet in New Zealand to salvage, in the interests of present and future culture, that past before it vanished.[2] This notion was to be a primary element too in European artists' representations of Maori history, mythology and traditional practices in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Auckland was the centre for the production and exhibition of such work; the city in which the concern for historical painting featuring the Maori was most notably realised. In 1888, for instance, E. A. McKechnie, the President of the Auckland Society of Arts, in his address at the opening of the Society's annual exhibition recommended that a section of the Auckland Art Gallery (opened in 1888) "be set apart exclusively for New Zealand art work representative of the Colony, its people and traditions".[3] He cited Chevalier's "greatly admired" Hinemoa as evidence of "how fit such subjects are for poetic and imaginative rendering by an artist of competent skill",[4] and went on:[5]

> Our own local artists have been impressed of late with the same ideas. At the fortnightly meetings of the Mahl-stick Club they turned their attention during last year to illustrate Mr. Domett's poem, Ranolf and Amohia, descriptions of the native race, and the scenery of the Lake District. Other writings on the history and traditions, the customs and superstitions, the myths and poetry of the Maori are equally deserving of attention as Mr. Domett, and afford innumerable subjects for the pencil.

Consider too the Auckland Star reviewer's response to L. J. Steele's Tattooing in Olden Times (Fig. 131) on show at the A.S.A. annual exhibition in 1894:[6]

> Mr. Steele has chosen an entirely native subject and one that is unique .... It teaches the value and interest of subjects which are not only native but illustrative of a portion of the history of New Zealand that have hardly been touched by the painter, and of delineating those early customs which are rapidly dying out, and will be nothing but a name unless presented to us in the manner of Mr. Steele .... He is the first in point of merit to recognise the interest ... (and) didactic value ... of Maori subjects ... the work is highly characteristic of New Zealand. It belongs to a class of picture of which we have almost no pictures of merit.

Earlier the New Zealand Graphic reviewer of the second exhibition of the Auckland Academy of Arts in 1891, singling out the "excellent pictures" and

"masterly effort" of Steele (1843-1917), wrote: "It is with such a brush that the incidents of our peculiar life and history should be recorded".[7]

The preoccupations apparent in these passages became recurring and primary themes in art reviews and commentaries in Auckland over the subsequent twenty years - the need for historical and narrative painting featuring the Maori, "characteristic of New Zealand" or "distinctively" New Zealand,[8] the value of such work for Europeans in New Zealand, and the notion that Maori history and traditional culture would vanish unless recorded or "preserved" by Europeans. While the 1894 writer noted correctly that very few "native subjects" and historical pictures had been produced, by 1910 the Weekly Graphic reviewer could write:[9]

> Maori life (in particular work of "definite historic value") continues to draw a widening circle of adherents ... that realm of poesy and romance, which is destined probably to be both the salvation and realisation of our national art.

Yet in comparison with landscape and portraiture the number of Maori historical paintings exhibited in Auckland might not seem great. For example, there were no more than thirty shown at the A.S.A. between 1886, the year Steele arrived in Auckland, and 1916. There were, though, larger numbers of genre paintings of Maori scenes and portraits of Maoris, some of which (especially Goldie's) were basically historical in orientation.[10] The existence of the Lindauer Gallery (discussed in Chapter VI) too, with the Auckland Art Gallery, the main site for the permanent exhibition of the historical, would have offset the otherwise quantitive predominance of landscape and portraiture. The small number of Maori historical pictures in contrast to landscape and portraiture was much more pronounced in other cities, to the extent that Johannes Andersen, based in Christchurch, could write in Maori Life in Ao-Tea, 1907:[11]

> I would appeal to the artists of New Zealand do not allow the scenery entrancing as it is to consolidate the main subject of study. Seek inspiration from the ancient indwellers - to the picture of whose stirring history and myth-shadowed life, the scenery is after all no more than a

frame.

However the historical paintings that were produced in Auckland - in most instances painted by the leading professional artists - attracted much attention and were almost invariably praised highly, their importance and value over other types of locally produced paintings stressed[12] - a response that cannot simply be explained away by the high position that History painting traditionally occupied in the hierarchy of pictorial types. For instance, Walter Wright's The Burning of the Boyd (Fig. 132), 1908, was described as the "finest picture in this year's collection" by a reviewer, who asserted that "paintings of scenes illustrative of early events which had their share in the history of New Zealand (were) the most important in a national exhibition".[13] Watkins' The Legend of the Voyage to New Zealand (Fig. 133), 1912, was "the picture of the year",[14] as was Wright's A Native Gathering (Fig. 134), 1910,[15] while Steele's The Launching of a Maori Canoe (Fig. 135), 1916, was "in the place of honour among the oils".[16]

The high status attributed to the Maori historical paintings can be related to a number of developments and tendencies - some of which have been briefly noted in the opening paragraphs of this chapter - in New Zealand culture and society. To elaborate: Even if the habits of mind of European New Zealanders, as P. J. Gibbons has argued, were still predominantly British,[17] nevertheless in the 1890s and early 1900s a sense of distinct national identity was emerging among Europeans in New Zealand in a forceful and unprecedented manner.[18] The problems of national identity would provide a thesis topic in itself. Note then just some manifestations. In the socio-political realm the innovative labour and welfare legislation of the 1890s, the extension of votes to women in 1893, for example, gave New Zealand a distinct identity - as a "social laboratory".[19] And the growing sense of national distinctiveness would have been a factor too in the change of New Zealand's constitutional status from self governing colony to Dominion with an independent foreign policy in

1907.

E. H. McCormick has written of the self-conscious concern with national identity, "the spirit of independence", and the theorising about a national culture among writers in New Zealand in the 1890s - as in the work of the writer and radical politician, William Pember Reeves, the "intellectual leader" of the period, and the poets Jessie McKay and Thomas Bracken (also a politician), for instance.[20] In particular, Bracken, considered by R. Irvine and O. Alpers in The Progress of New Zealand in the Century, 1902, as "after Domett, the colony's best writer of verse",[21] wrote poems such as Hurrah for New Zealand and Gods Own Country, (1892), which demonstrate simply and crudely a sense of emerging national identity. It is noteworthy that Bracken's Musings in Maoriland: A Jubilee Volume, 1890, included an "Historical Sketch", "The Rise and Progress of New Zealand" by Sir Robert Stout (another leading Liberal politician), in which he wrote of the need for and the beginnings of (with Bracken as a "pioneer") a "truly national literature", "distinctively New Zealand":[22]

> ... every country should have its distinctive character faithfully expressed .... Such a national literature must ... be greatly influenced by the nature (landscape) of the country and the character of the native people with whom the early settlers came in contact ... the appearances, beliefs and legends of a newly discovered race of men ... their history, and the stories of the struggles between the two races.

More pertinently in respect of painting, H. A. Talbott-Tubbs, in the first number of the New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, in 1899 wrote:[23]

> There comes time in the history of every colony ... when the new country ceases to be a mere appanage of the old. The offshoot sends down roots of its own into soil of its own ... new life "finds itself" .... The first fruits of the new era ... may be looked for in painting and poetry.

The demand for Maori subjects in art, the production of historical and narrative paintings featuring the Maori, the choice by leading professionals of distinctively New Zealand subjects, and the importance attached to these works can be seen then as aspects of this attitudinal set.

It is not intended to imply that the historical paintings should be

regarded simply as "a sign of an emerging nationalism".[24] That would be too crude and would suggest, for instance, that such paintings amounted just to a form of ideological statement. That was not the case. The historical paintings did not "reflect" the ideology of nationalism. For one, certain distinctions need to be made between nationalism, and national identity and consciousness. Nationalism is a term frequently used very loosely to refer to differing political and cultural phenomena. The word usually summons up an image of movements attracting mass support engaged in political action to create a nation state.[25] This was hardly the case in New Zealand. While New Zealand did indeed become a nation in the period, it is more apt to speak of a sense of distinct national identity, that in no way invalidates or contradicts either Andre Siegfried's observation in 1904 that New Zealand was "the English colony ... most faithful to the mother country"[26] or that common tendency of European New Zealanders to refer to Britain as "home".

Relationships between art objects and social, economic and ideological structures are complex. As was so with the historical paintings, a multiplicity of factors can contribute to the making of an art object, its meanings and effects. In so far as these paintings were produced in a particular time and place, in which assertions of national identity were being made, in which there was a strong sense of an indigenous European culture emerging, they can be seen to be permeated by that ideological factor, without ever being simply "illustrations" of it. Other dimensions of meaning and reference are not excluded by positing this relationship - or by linking the historical paintings with the belief that for an indigenous culture to be viable and independent it had to be "home grown", not imported or imposed from the outside. Thus Johannes Andersen's claim that the "artist who will break away from old world fetters will find in this land a mine of wealth"[27] - by which he meant Maori mythology and tradition.

More specifically the Maori historical paintings can be related to the

need for a culture to have a past. Europeans in New Zealand did not have a very long actual past - having only been in the country in any numbers for about fifty years. New Zealand simply did not have much history in terms of European experience and activity. In contrast the Maori had a long history in New Zealand and that could provide a past for Europeans. For instance, Talbott-Tubbs wrote in 1899 in the New Zealand Illustrated Magazine, which aimed "to encourage Colonial Literature and Art":[28]

> She (New Zealand) has a past, with traditions of conflict not without its dangers and honourable triumphs. She has been throughout, and still is, in contact with a remote stage of human development receiving alternately the stimulus of repulsion by what in it is savage; of attraction by what in it is romantic, noble, uncontaminated.

- a dualistic view that echoes Grey. As the remarks of the 1891 New Zealand Graphic and 1894 Star reviewers and Johannes Andersen indicate too, Europeans recognised the potential the Maori past had for the construction of a necessary past for themselves in New Zealand. The evaluation in 1899 of Steele's and Goldie's The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand (Fig. 136) as "of such extraordinary national interest (that) it should find a place in an Art Gallery"[29] implies this recognition too. The ethnologist S. P. Smith, a member of the A.S.A. in the 1890s, put his idea of history for Europeans this way:[30]

> We ... erroneously think that history commenced with the advent of the white man to these shores. It is not so however. Prior to our coming the ... race we are now supplanting had a history of its own .... Happily we have arrived at a stage in the development of this country, when a few students ... are making the early history of this country the subject of earnest study, and are collecting from the old men of the Maori race, the material on which a future history must be founded.

Interestingly this passage prefaced a book Old Whanganui, 1915, by T. W. Downes, who also painted and drew pictures of the Maori, some of them copies of or based on Gilfillan's work from the 1840s.[31] Several were reproduced in Old Whanganui, most notably a large oil, The Sale of Wanganui to the New Zealand Company (Fig. 137). That is, there was a conjunction of the notion that the formulation of New Zealand history for Europeans should incorporate the Maori past and an historical painting featuring the Maori. It is not difficult to

establish links between the historical paintings and contemporaneous ethnological and historical writing sustained by this need for a past.[32]

The call for Maori historical painting and the attribution of high status to such work coincided with a major expansion of interest among Europeans in the origins and culture of the Maori; with major developments in the practice of ethnology. For instance the Polynesian Society (of which Smith was a founder and President) and the Journal of that Society, the prime forces in ethnological investigations in the late 19th-early 20th centuries, were founded in 1892, and several pioneering studies of Maori history and culture published.[33] It is noteworthy too that those major late 19th-early 20th century collectors of New Zealand historical material and builders of libraries and archives of New Zealand history, past and present, Dr. William Hocken and Alexander Turnbull, included visual representations of the Maori in their collections. As noted, Hocken, for instance, acquired Gilfillan's sketchbooks and his Korero, Smetham's Maori Chiefs in Wesley's House and the blocks for the illustrations in Robley's Moko, while Turnbull acquired sketchbooks and paintings by Strutt.[34] And one of the major institutions concerned with excavating, salvaging the Maori past, with setting up "an orthodox doctrine of what ... unchanging traditional Maori culture should be like",[35] the Colonial, later the Dominion Museum, under the Directorship of Augustus Hamilton, himself a painter and photographer of Maori subjects,[36] included paintings of the Maori within its patronage - most notably the Robley purchases and works by Wilhelm Dittmer (see Chapter VII). Writers, artists and collectors were all contributing to the piecing together of a history - to quote Norman Bryson:[37]

> ... in history event and scripture (or representation) fuse, for the historical is not only that which has occurred but that which has occurred in writing (or representation).

The ethnological investigations, the collecting of Maori historical and cultural material were far from ideologically objective or disinterested. As elements in that drive for a national and indigenous European culture they

amounted to an absorption (and transformation) of aspects of a subordinated culture into the dominant culture. (In the case of Edward Tregear, founder and Secretary of the Polynesian Society, and J. MacMillan Brown, a leading academic, this went to the extent of aryanising the Maori. In Tregear's Aryan Maori, 1885, and Brown's The Maori and Polynesia, 1907, the notion was postulated, on the basis of linguistic "evidence", that the Maori descended from the same common stock as the Anglo Saxon.[38]) In this context too, given the circumstances of production, exhibition, patronage and reception, the "aestheticisation" of the Maori in the form of historical paintings contributed to the appropriation of Maori culture and history by European culture. And that was a central ingredient in the colonialist "take over" of New Zealand.

The search for distinctively and uniquely New Zealand imagery - the "dream of a New Zealand school in the art world"[39] - can be linked to another recurrent preoccupation among Auckland based artists, exhibition reviewers and patrons in the late 19th-early 20th centuries - that is, the concern with the "advance of culture" in the sense of "cultural activities", the "arts" and "humane intellectual works" (as distinct from the anthropological and sociological sense of culture as a "whole way of life"[40]), and the consciousness of the need for the expansion of culture in this sense in a society still in its "infancy".[41] This can be related to the notion of its development into an independent national entity; its "growth" to "adulthood".[42] One of the foremost painters of Maori historical material, Steele, touched on this at his opening address at the first exhibition of the Auckland Academy of Arts in 1890, when he stated that the primary aim of the Academy was "to promote the study and representation of New Zealand nature in general (meaning landscape and history) ... for the advance of true art in this city".[43] (Notably the central exhibit at this show was Steele and Watkins' The Explosion of the Boyd (Fig. 138) - one the first History paintings featuring the Maori produced and exhibited in New Zealand.) In this respect the New Zealand

Graphic reviewer described the 1891 exhibition of the Auckland Academy of Arts as "an auspicious circumstance in connection with the general advance which culture has been making throughout New Zealand in recent years".[44]

The correlation of the advance of culture and historical painting (and national identity) was articulated clearly, for example, in a series of articles in the New Zealand Herald in 1908 on "The Condition of New Zealand Art", and on the exhibits and speeches by the Governor General and President of the A.S.A. at its annual exhibition.[45] The writer noted that one of the most important "special tendencies that will ... become a national characteristic in our school of painting ... is in the direction of a national sentiment by the painting of scenes illustrative of the early events which had their share in the history of New Zealand". He urged Government patronage (and private) in the form of purchases of "the best work of our New Zealand artists" for the Art Galleries and travelling scholarships for artists to study "great art of past and present", so that on their return they could "assist in the valuable historic work ... of preserving on canvas the type and characteristics of the dying Maori race".[46] (This was not simply a romantic and nostalgic concern for an allegedly "dying race". The Maori "race" represented a social condition that had been superceded by more "advanced" European culture and society; a "race" that had been supplanted in the interests of growth and development.) The writer praised the initiative of the A.S.A. for having established a purchase fund for paintings for the Auckland Art Gallery (which was subsidised pound for pound by the Government), and he tied this to the Governor-General, Lord Plunket's description, at the Exhibition Opening, of "Art" as, after religion, "the most refining and elevating influence on human life"[47] - necessary for the "advance of culture".

In this milieu it is notable that two of the three pictures purchased from the Fund in 1908 were of an historical nature: Walter Wright's The Burning of the Boyd and Goldie's portrait of Patara te Tuhi,[48] and the other was a

"characteristically" New Zealand scene, Worsley's Otira Gorge. Furthermore the Trustees of the Fund regretted that they were not able to acquire the other major historical work on show, Kennett Watkins' The Departure of the Canoes (Fig. 139), though this work was gifted to the Gallery soon after by Mr. John Marshall, a Life Member of the A.S.A. from 1904. According to the President of the Purchase Fund Committee, Mr. E. E. Vaile, it would only be through "vigorous" and "enlightened" patronage that Auckland would "remain at the forefront of Art and Culture in New Zealand".[49] Vaile himself donated Goldie's Portrait of Tamehana (1900) to the Gallery in this period. As early as 1899 the A.S.A. had been cited as "the foremost organisation in promoting art in New Zealand" in the form of prizes and picture buying for the Auckland Art Gallery.[50] In that year the Gallery acquired Steele and Goldie's The Arrival of the Maori through a bequest administered by the Society. The A.S.A. Purchase Fund with its Government subsidy was also responsible for the Gallery's acquisition of the following Maori historical pieces from 1908-13: Steele's Spoils to the Victor (Fig. 140), Walter Wright's A Native Gathering, and three Goldie portraits, A Night in the Whare, Kapi Kapi, aged 102, and A Noble Relic of a Noble Race. Other major acquisitions by the Gallery of Maori historical works included Frank and Walter Wright's The Canoe Builders (Fig. 141), gifted c.1911-15 by a wealthy Lawyer and Mayor of Auckland, Mr. C. J. Parr, Watkins' The Haunt of the Moa (Fig. 142), transferred from the Public Library, Watkins' The Legend of the Voyage to New Zealand, presented by Samuel Vaile and Sons (of which E. E. Vaile was a member) in 1912, and also Watkins' The Phantom Canoe (Fig. 143), gifted by Auckland businessman Henry Partridge in 1915. Partridge also donated his enormous collection of Lindauer's Maori historical works - sixty-two portraits and eight large scale representations of traditional activities - climaxing a period in which a major effort had been made to establish and support a "school" of historical painting featuring the Maori.

The name Vaile crops up notably during this enterprise - and this reveals a conjunction of elements which brings into focus a fundamental ideological dimension to the representations of the Maori past at this stage. Members of the dominant class in colonial Auckland, wealthy businessmen and people prominent in the economic development and progress of the city, played leading roles in the art society milieu and the promotion of the "fine arts" and culture. For instance, James McKelvie (1822-88), who made a fortune from gold mining, made many gifts of rare books and works of art to the Public Library and Auckland Art Gallery, and left a bequest of £40,000 to the latter.[51] And John Logan Campbell, the "father" of Auckland, had funded the Auckland Free School of Art (1878-90), where Watkins taught. Watkins did illustrations for Campbell's memoir, Poenamo, which celebrated the author's central role in the establishment of Auckland and his contribution to the making of history.[52] With Campbell progress of the city, the sense of making history and art patronage came together. Likewise with the Vailes. Samuel Vaile and Sons were the leading real estate firm in Auckland in the first decades of the 20th century. The Firm was long established - founded in 1843 - and was a central participant in the development of valuable city properties.[53] It could be closely identified with the city's history and development. Certainly the Firm saw itself in that way - as one of the makers of history for Europeans in New Zealand; a self-consciousness about its past that was accompanied by an assertion of distinct national identity. In this respect a poem in a booklet celebrating the Firm's seventy fifth anniversary reads:[54]

> Native born are we, are we
> Zealandia, fair Zealandia -
> And the pride thrills through and through us,
> Tis our home Zealandia.

To this can be linked their contribution to the promotion of culture and the patronage of paintings that dealt with aspects of New Zealand history.

The Maori representations in their context of use then were components of

a progress that involved the expansion of European power and authority, economic growth and the subordination of the Maori. Not surprisingly E. E. Vaile's published views of the place of the traditional Maori within this process conform to those standard among 19th and early 20th century colonial developers. He opposed "civilisation" to the "barbarian":[55]

> The men of our race have gone forth to the uttermost corners of the earth to conquer and to tame them .... I am proud to have been given the opportunity of joining that band of adventurers, traders, missionaries and settlers who have ... prepared the waste places for future prosperity ... battling to extend the frontiers of civilisation.

Of the "old-time" Maori Vaile noted, also echoing the dualities of Grey's 1851 address: "Their mythology is rich in poetic sentiment and beauty of imagination".[56] (Vaile and Sons had gifted a representation of Maori mythology to the Gallery), though their "precarious existence ... was subject also to the vilest treachery and wickedest practices imaginable. I need only mention cannibalism".[57]

It ought to be stressed that the writers that I quote were not professional art critics, but amateurs - newspaper journalists, art society administrators, literary people. There was no professional or authoritative art criticism, there were no professional art critics in New Zealand at this time - a measure of the newness of the institutions of art and culture amongst the still small (relative to Europe and U.S.A.) European population, remote from the metropolitan art and cultural centres of Europe and far removed from contemporary art critical and theoretical discourse. The quoted writers did not deal seriously with the problems, the business of making pictures, so related. However, as noted in the Introduction, for the purposes of this thesis their writings, whatever the quality of intellection, do shed some light on the climate of opinion in which Maori historical work was produced and patronised, attitudes to certain types of subject matter, and the social and cultural implications the works could have for their European audience when first exhibited.

So whatever the extent to which the aspirations and pronouncements of artists, exhibition reviewers, writers, art society administrators, patrons and promoters of "fine art" were realised in practice over a longer term, at the time of their production and initial exhibition Maori historical paintings were seen not just as colonial variants of European "high art", but as quintessentially New Zealand images - that could operate both as central images in and for an indigenous European culture in New Zealand, and which would assist the progress of that culture to "adulthood". In Johannes Andersen's opinion "the world's art will be enriched with scenes from Maori legend", since for Europeans these would be different, distinctive, part of a "new world".[58]

Given the context of patronage and attitudes about the place and function of Maori historical works in European culture in New Zealand how then, in terms of their formal, thematic and iconographic features, could specific paintings function as repositories of cultural meaning? What, for instance, did the choice and treatment of subject connote or signify about the evaluation and use of the Maori, both past and present, by Europeans? To what extent was the Maori in these paintings represented in terms of prevailing social stereotypes, tastes and values? How was the view of the past expressed mediated by types, "rules", conventions in British and European art? Inevitably, though the paintings have unmistakably New Zealand subjects and foreground Maori elements and referents, European artistic models were still prime determinants in the articulation of the subject. Because of this a painting could embody meanings beyond the ostensible meaning given by the Maori subject, beyond even the intended or conscious meaning attributed to it by the painter, reviewers and audience. That is, the forms and types used could carry meanings that were not necessarily dependent on the particular Maori historical event referred to.

A Maori historical painting then could operate in several ways - as a distinctively New Zealand image, participating in the discourse of historical

construction and evolving national and cultural identity, for which the Maori subject was essential; as a demonstration of that much sought after commodity in colonial culture, "fine art", for which the Maori subject was incidental "local colour" rather than essential; or as a visualisation of a peculiarly European mind state or feeling states, for which the Maori referent was primarily a convenient pretext or vehicle.

Consider the historical paintings of Steele and Watkins (1847-1933). They were the pioneer figures in the "fine art" represention of New Zealand history for local, particularly Auckland audiences, and they were recognised as the first to do so, as "veterans" in the field.[59] Their professional standing was very high - especially in the 1890s, when Steele was described as "the only great artist in New Zealand", and Watkins, "after Mr. Steele, the most notable artist in this colony".[60] Though Watkins had exhibited genre paintings of Maori subjects in the 1880s (e.g. Maoris Collecting Flax on the Banks of the Waikato and Early Morning on the Waikato: Maoris Rafting Kahikatea, both 1883[61]), Steele and Watkins' first historical paintings on record and still extant, in which Maori figures are prominent, both appeared in 1888; Watkins' large The Phantom Canoe and Steele's small A Maori Legend, from Te Rau, exhibited at the A.S.A. Watkins' large The Haunt of the Moa (Fig. 142), 1885, originally displayed in the Auckland Public Library, could be classified as an historical painting too, though the sole Maori figure in this work is tiny, almost lost. The painting represents a moa, a large flightless bird, unique to New Zealand and extinct - signifying thus time past - in the depths of an extraordinary forest of mammoth trees, with little sky visible. Such forests conventionally connoted the most primitive and savage, an early stage of social evolution. In this milieu the tiny Maori figure is appropriately hunched in a neanderthal posture. Imaged then is New Zealand antiquity, awesome, sublime, a place where untamed, undeveloped nature dwarfed naked and equally undeveloped humankind.

Steele's painting is most probably a work now titled Maori Girl in a hut before the tattooed head of a Chief (Fig. 144), also dated 1888. The "Te Rau" of the title could be related to Te Rou; or the Maori at Home, 1874, an historical novel by John White, one of the leading European students of Maori history and culture, whose six volume The Ancient History of the Maori was published between 1887-91. White claimed in Te Rou to portray "The Social Life, Manners, Habits and Customs of the Maori Race in New Zealand, Prior to the Introduction of Civilisation amongst Them ... in truly life-like form", one of his aims being to record the "fast disappearing race" before it was too late.[62] Te Rou includes several accounts of mourning and funeral ritual, including the habit of preserving the heads of dead relatives, and detailed descriptions of dress worn on such occasions - as, for instance, the widow's cap, which Steele's grieving woman wears. That is, the book would have provided Steele with a useful source of information for his depiction of a woman in mourning kneeling before a preserved head. Steele could also have drawn on other sources of information about this custom, which died out with Maori conversion to Christianity. There were a number of illustrations of traditional funeral and mourning ritual in books by European writers, who could have witnessed these activities - in particular an engraving in William Yate's An Account of New Zealand, 1835, p. 133, titled A Chief Weeping over the Preserved Head of a Friend. This also depicts a kneeling Maori figure addressing a tattooed head on a stake, though, in contrast to the Steele, the setting is out of doors and the chief is attended and watched by several other figures. Another source of subject for Steele could have been an illustration in Grey's Polynesian Mythology, p. 199, Weeping over the head of a Dead Chief - apt given the authority granted the book as an historical record and Grey's role in promoting art in New Zealand, particularly Auckland.

Steele rendered dress, moko, artefacts (such as the carving) and ornament in detail, as if he was concerned with ethnological accuracy. However,

whatever the degree of accuracy, this close attention to detail was not geared to the end of recording the rituals and appearance of the "old-time" Maori for their own sake. Rather it served primarily to establish an unmistakably (for Europeans) Maori setting - to give credibility and authenticity to what was primarily a fictional construct, not an ethnological record - a construct that corresponded to prevailing European views about traditional Maori culture and society. John White's representation of traditional Maori life in allegedly "truly life-like forms" in fact demonstrates a predominant stress on the violent, the war-like, the exotic, the bizarre and the mysterious, and conversely little attention to the mundane, the "day-to-day", the unsensational aspects of life. Whatever elements of "truth", in terms of describing customs, for instance, there may have been in his account, overall it amounted to a grossly distorted view of traditional Maori culture. Europeans generally tended to view Maori history simplistically as an admixture of the savage and the romantic. This was so even with historians and/or "experts" on Maori culture, such as Grey, S. P. Smith and William Pember Reeves.[63]

Steele's Maori representations manifest this dualistic view of traditional Maoridom and the tendency, like John White, to alight on what for Europeans would have been extreme, exotic or sensational events, often with violence, either overt or implied. That was so in Maori Girl in a hut before the tattooed head of a Chief. It connotes both the barbaric and the romantic. Decapitation could suggest a culture prone to acts of extreme violence, while the combination of attractive young woman, the tender gaze, and the "private" encounter of a male and female in an enclosure (as distinct from outside in groups as in other representations of mourning over heads) could connote a former intimate relationship, a romantic involvement tragically terminated. The manner of the woman's address to the head - the gesture of the raised hand, some fingers extended, though immobile and less "aggressive"-looking than the pointing hand, was a conventional sign of speaking in art[64] - implying

communication with the dead. By presenting this act in a scene of spectral lighting, with primitive statuary emerging from the gloom, Steele's rendering of what would have been a normal, unsensational practice for the Maori takes on a mysterious, bizarre, occult quality even. That is, the impulse sustaining the work was oriented to the dramatic or narrative rather than to ethnological documentation.

As such, besides manifesting the stereotypes with which many Europeans viewed traditional, pre-Christian Maori behaviour, Steele's painting can be related to a type of imagery that was in vogue in Symbolist circles in late 19th century Europe, even if it was unusual in New Zealand in 1888 - that is, images in which the supernatural and the pathological mingled, often with intimations of violence and/or sex. Before coming to Auckland in 1886 Steele had spent his career mainly in Britain and France.[65] It is likely that he would have been familiar with the work of such major French artists as Odilon Redon and Gustave Moreau, much of whose work was concerned with occult, irrational and pathological states of mind, and, in the case of Moreau, an almost necrophiliac preoccupation with the death and dying of handsome and talented young males. The basic ingredients of Moreau's well-known Orpheus (1865, Gustave Moreau Museum), for instance, (Steele was in Paris in 1865), are generally paralleled in Maori Girl in a hut before the tattooed head of a Chief. Orpheus features an attractive, melancholic, mourning young woman cradling the decapitated head of Orpheus. The scene is characterised by a close attention to exotic detail. A mood of intense and sombre quiet and stillness prevails, appropriate for the aftermath of violence and the suggestion of romance.

So Steele's painting can be seen as the expression of emotional preoccupations and fancies typical of a certain social and artistic milieu in Europe in the late 19th century - the Maori dress providing a vehicle for this expression. That, of course, does not discount other dimensions of meaning. A

number of elements came together in the painting; a current interest in traditional Maori customs, a view of pre-Christian Maori culture as both savage and romantic, and a distinctively European Symbolist-associated taste for the macabre and the mysterious. Perhaps too the fact that severed and tattooed Maori heads exerted considerable fascination on Europeans both in New Zealand and Europe throughout the 19th century[66] contributed to Steele's choice of subject - with its prominent and carefully detailed display of such a head.

Watkins' choice of subject for The Phantom Canoe (Fig. 143), also points to a taste for the mysterious and the extraordinary, and to the tendency among European writers and artists to characterise Maori culture and experience frequently in terms of the sensational and the bizarre. Watkins was also, though, monumentalising well-known and recent events. The painting depicts a ghostly vessel, a fully manned war canoe, "seen" and reported by a group of Maoris and Pakehas on Lake Tarawera in 1886, and considered by the local Maori to have been an augury of the massive eruption that occurred soon after. (Watkins, though, depicted only a solitary Maori figure witnessing the canoe.) The magnitude of the Tarawera eruption and its catastrophic effects on landscape, people and property quickly established it as one of the Major Events of New Zealand history - its status recognised abroad as well: "... not only the fiercest and most destructive that New Zealand has known since the coming of the Maori, but one of the most violent recorded in the story of the world".[67] The eruption was an event by which New Zealand could be identified, characterised - an apt subject then for History painting.

An extensive Tarawera "literature" soon appeared - ranging from scientific reports to popular "disaster" accounts. It became one of the most written-about events in New Zealand history. There were numerous sources for Watkins to make use of. For instance, in the New Zealand Herald, 10 June 1886, there was a lengthy eye-witness account by a Mr. Warbrick of the sighting of the phantom canoe, which occurred during daylight, not by drama-enhancing

moonlight as Watkins depicted. Artistic representations of the eruption and related events in various media quickly appeared too. Among the poetic offerings were J. L. Kelly's Tarawera, or the curse of Tuhotu, 1887, William Skey's On the Late Volcanic Eruption at Tarawera, 1889,[68] which concentrated on "natures wrath", the horror, the terror, and Thomas Bracken's Tarawera in his Musings in Maoriland, which included reference to the "weird canoe, with ghostly warriors" (p. 63). In 1886 Thomas Blomfield produced an oil painting of Tarawera in eruption viewed from the other side of the lake. The same year a 20" x 16" chromolithographic reproduction in ten colours of this work was marketed by Willis and Co. of Wanganui.[69] There was an engraving too in a contemporary newspaper or illustrated periodical of the phantom canoe,[70] which is similar to Watkins' work in setting the canoe amidst a meteorological melodrama, but which differs in its inclusion of three figures in the foreground on the lakeside looking terrified at the sight of the canoe. It has been claimed that Watkins was primarily inspired by watercolours of the lake and mountain by Josiah Martin, who was in the Rotorua area at the time of the eruption.[71] These watercolours have not been traced, though illustrations after some of them are in S. P. Smith's The Eruption of Tarawera: A Report to the Surveyor-General, 1886. Watkins himself had made paintings of Lake Tarawera and environs in 1873, including an oil of the lake with the mountain in the background (Auckland Institute and Museum), as in The Phantom Canoe.

Whether or not Watkins made use of other paintings and periodical illustrations in the formulation of his picture, the large scale of The Phantom Canoe, combined with the manner in which the event was presented, establish the work as an exercise in the "high art" sublime, as much as it is a celebration and depiction of a notable New Zealand historical event. Though the sublime as an artistic category was rather passé by mid 19th century in the art centres of Britain and Europe, it still maintained a lively existence in the "provinces". One thinks, for instance, of the American, Frederick Church's Cotopaxi (1862,

Detroit Institute of Arts) - a depiction of a spectacular eruption.[72] Basic ingredients of the sublime are dominant in Watkins' painting - the sense of vast scale serving to dwarf the solitary Maori mortal in the small canoe, his expression of surprise and terror at the apparition, the intimations of horror and danger given by this and by the dramatic lighting with lightning flashes, and towering mountain moonlit in the surrounding darkness and gloominess. The representations of Alpine scenes (sometimes with catastrophes like avalanches) and Lake Country vistas of such well-known late 18th-early 19th century artists as de Loutherbourg and Turner come to mind. For instance, Turner's Buttermere Lake and part of Cromachwater (1798, Tate) presents a similar scene of mountains towering over a lake with tiny boats, with the light-dark drama investing the scene with a spectral mood. It is noteworthy too that Turner's The Eruption of the Souffrier Mountains (1815, University of Liverpool) (which Blomfield's image echoes closely) has a massive background mountainscape too, with light and flame flashing through the darkness over a foreground lake with boats.

Whatever the roles European models played in Steele and Watkins' historical painting, however much their Maori subjects could serve as vehicles for the expression of European preoccupations, their Maori representations were still based on intensive research into their New Zealand and Maori subjects. They made field trips to the Bay of Plenty, Waikato and Taupo to sketch the Maori and Maori artefacts in their home territory.[73] The auction catalogue of Steele's personal effects after his death reveals that he had a large collection of Maori artefacts and Maori-related material,[74] and features in his paintings point to a close familiarity with illustrations of the Maori in early-mid 19th century accounts of New Zealand and its inhabitants. Watkins' sketchbooks, besides numerous studies of the Maori, Maori architecture and craftwork indicating an interest in the Maori generally as material for art, reveal an early interest in the possibilities of New Zealand, including Maori,

subjects for History and narrative painting - in particular in the representation of events holding a central place in the historical consciousness of Europeans in New Zealand.[75] There are several sketches for possible paintings of Capt. Cook's first visit to New Zealand - one representing Cook "in full dress uniform to impress the natives" landing at the Bay of Islands,[76] and another depicting Cook's ship, The Endeavour, being met by Maoris in canoes.[77] An 1886 sketchbook includes drawings for a Coming of the Maori and a Burning of the Boyd,[78] while an 1890 sketchbook, under "suggestions for historical subjects for painting", includes Declaration of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1836 (sic), and another of the same year three pages of drawings for such a painting.[79] As far as is known Watkins did not produce an oil painting of the subject, though Steele did. He was commissioned in 1893 to produce a 20' x 15' The Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, to be placed in the Library of the House of Representatives in Wellington.[80] There is no trace of this work. It was presumably lost in the House of Parliament fire in 1907. Preliminary studies only for the work have survived.[81]

Watkins also produced several paintings representing events famous in or central to New Zealand history, involving encounters between Maori and European - works that were neither exhibited at the A.S.A. nor purchased for the Art Gallery, but which were reproduced in newspapers or periodicals. For instance, his Death of Major von Tempksy at Te Ngatu-o-te-Manu, N.Z., Sept 1, 1868 was reproduced in the New Zealand Mail 1 September 1893, his Invasion of the Ngatipoa, April 17, 1851 in the Auckland Weekly News, 17 December 1892, and A New Zealand Historical Event: The First Sermon in New Zealand: Preached by the Rev. Samuel Marsden to the Maori on Christmas Day, 1814 in Brett's Christmas Annual, 1923.[82]

In the late 1880s and early 1890s Steele and Watkins worked closely together. Besides accompanying one another on sketching trips and founding the Auckland Academy of Arts in 1890, they collaborated on some works - for

instance, a chromolithograph, The Advent of the Maori: Christmas A.D. 1000 (Fig. 145), which appeared in the Supplement to the Jubilee Christmas number of the Auckland Weekly News, 21 December 1889. But their most important joint production was The Explosion of the Boyd (Fig. 138) - the "star" exhibit at the inaugural exhibition of the Auckland Academy of Arts in 1890. Newspaper reviewers' responses to the painting were most enthusiastic: "... that splendid painting ... greatly admired by those who have seen it".[83]

The Explosion of the Boyd refers to a well-publicised incident in the early history of Maori-European contact - the massacre of the Boyd's crew in Whangaroa in 1809 in revenge for the ill-treatment experienced by the son of a chief during a passage from Sydney, and the subsequent destruction of the ship after a Maori accidentally ignited gunpowder. Though there were European writers who attributed a measure of responsibility for the disaster to European behaviour, the Boyd affair was commonly cited during the 19th century and into the 20th century as evidence of the fundamental ferocity and barbarism of the "uncivilised" Maori, or at least of the dangers and risks facing Europeans in New Zealand. For instance, as A. S. Thomson put it in The Story of New Zealand, 1859:[84]

> Revenge was accomplished by treachery which caused the natives to be denominated the enemies of mankind and justified the idea of extirpating a race of cannibals.

And Irvine and Alpers in The Progress of New Zealand in the Century, 1902, equated the "sinister ... treachery" of the Maori in the Boyd affair with the earlier assassination of Marion du Fresne, stressed the cannibalism, and exploited the negative resonance of another key event in the Imperial canon: "This butchery carried out with cold blooded ferocity equalled the worst incidents in the Indian Mutiny".[85]

Whatever the position adopted by European writers, the Boyd incident also had the status of a key event in New Zealand history - one which had a deep effect on subsequent relations between Maori and Pakeha. That is, Steele and

Watkins chose a well-known subject loaded with socio-cultural connotations. Though there were numerous accounts that they could have referred to, Steele and Watkins' prime source of information on the massacre and the explosion was cited as a paper, "Our Earliest Settlers" by C. R. Barstow in the Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute, 1882.[86]

In terms of the presentation of the subject The Explosion of the Boyd did not appear out of the "blue". Generally the depiction, featuring a European sailing ship surrounded by canoe loads of "natives", belongs to that class of imagery, primarily found in the 18th and 19th centuries, involving encounters in coastal settings between European voyagers, in or accompanied by sailing ships, and Pacific peoples, often in canoes, with little or no prior experience of Europeans - encounters which were often either violent or in which the behaviour, gestures, expressions and attributes (e.g. weapons) of the "natives" signified apprehension, excitation, a war-like disposition or the potential for violence.[87] More specifically, and perhaps aptly for one of the first publicly exhibited New Zealand History paintings, The Explosion of the Boyd can be related to a current of images of violent Maori-European encounters, that can be traced back to the first published representation of Maori-European contact - A View of Moordoerers Bay, after Isaac Gilsemans (Tasman's draughtsman), which first appeared in F. Valentyn's account of Tasman's expedition, published in 1726. This image or variants was reproduced in several other accounts of Pacific exploration in the 18th and 19th centuries.[88]

The basic compositional and narrative ingredients of the Gilsemans and the Steele/Watkins painting are much the same: violent conflict or its aftermath in a harbour setting, European sailing ship(s) and Maori canoes in the mid-distance, a canoe full of Maoris prominent in the right foreground, and a mountain landscape in the background. It is not known whether or not Steele and Watkins in fact knew of the Gilsemans, though it is tempting to see the parallel as deliberate rather than coincidental, given that their paintings and

sketches otherwise reveal a familiarity with early accounts of exploration and pre-colonial history in New Zealand. In this respect there are a number of striking echoes in their painting of another earlier representation of the Boyd affair - a full page engraving after a drawing by De Sainson, Enlèvement du Boyd par les Nouveaux Zélandais in Dumont D'Urville's Voyage Pittoresque autour du Monde, 1835-38, v. 2, p. 390. This too presents a burning ship in mid-distance, canoes, one in the right foreground, with Maoris gesticulating wildly and brandishing weapons, a narrow segment of land in the left foreground, and a mountainous backdrop.

The parallels with Gilsemans and De Sainson suggest that Steele and Watkins were drawing on an "archive" of visual "knowledge" about early Maori-European contact - a way of "rooting" their representation in history, a way of giving it substance as a statement about the historical relationship between Maori and European.[89] The differences in presentation between the engraving after De Sainson and Steele/Watkins are suggestive in this respect. De Sainson's image, produced before European settlement and control, has the Maori in the superior position. It includes some details, European corpses and Maoris in looted European clothes, that point to the barbarism of the natives. Steele and Watkins' choice and treatment of subject too implied (certainly in the minds of some contemporary viewers) the barbarity and warlike nature of the pre-Christian Maori. But the aspect of the incident that Steele and Watkins concentrated on showed the Maori no longer in a superior position, but suffering a major reversal - perhaps, by implication, receiving the "just deserts" for their previous acts. Consider the response of the Weekly News reviewer:[90]

> The picture represents the first experience of gunpowder on the famous and warlike Rawera tribe of Whangaroa. The "rascals" ... have just turned out in a ... war canoe from the well-known Waipuna creek, their stomachs evidently full and greedy for more human "kai". They have been quite flabbergasted by the explosion. The expression of terror in their faces, and the panic stricken attitudes are finely rendered by Mr. Steele.

That is, the pre-Christian, savage Maori appeared in "poor light" in the painting. The treatment of the subject implied a view, whether or not consciously intended by the artists, of the Maori as inferior on the social evolutionary scale. Known as cannibals, confounded by European technology, they represented a condition or level of human existence that had been progressed beyond, because of European colonisation and the introduction of the civilising attributes of European culture - of which "fine art" (such as embodied in The Explosion of the Boyd) was one manifestation. If such a reading may seem too crude, it is worth noting that Steele and Watkins were concerned with the advance of culture (as "true art") in New Zealand and all that that implied about the social evolution of the Maori. It is relevant too that contrasts between the earlier 19th century barbarism of the Maori and the impressively rapid development of European civilisation during the 19th century were still commonly made in 1890 or thereabouts.[91] In particular C. R. Barstow, in the article cited as the prime source of information for Steele and Watkins, characterised the "old-time" Maori as warlike and barbaric - "truculent savages" - and contrasted early New Zealand (c.1800-30) with the civilised place it had become by 1880 - "... a safe and prosperous dwelling place for many thousands of our race".[92]

Related to this view of traditional Maori culture and society one can set the frequency of war related activities, violent deeds, mutilation and abuse in Steele's New Zealand historical representations, whether exhibited oil paintings or sketches.[93] In respect of this note Johannes Andersen's comment in his Maori Life in Ao-tea, "specifically written with a view to furnishing subjects for painters and sculptors": "If the ideal side has been kept more in view, it has been rather as a set off against the gross which has been too often dwelt on, and too strongly emphasised".[94]

There was one oil painting by Steele of "a humorous encounter of natives with civilisation",[95] exhibited at the 1894 A.S.A. exhibition, not listed in

the catalogue, but described in detail in the Auckland Star, which clearly visualised the notion, even if in the form of a "joke", of the evolutionary inferiority of the uncivilised Maori, as indicated by their ignorance of an item that featured in European notions of their socio-cultural superiority. This painting depicted a group of Maoris on a beach eating cakes of soap and their "dawning realisation" that their belief "that what has such a delicious colour and appearance must be good eating" was mistaken.[96] The ignorance of soap could have carried connotations of dirtiness and unsanitary domestic conditions among the Maori, a negative stereotype commonly entertained by Europeans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[97]

It would be misleading and ideologically overdetermined to give too closed a reading to The Explosion of the Boyd. It can be viewed in other ways not dependant on knowledge of the specific historical and Maori referents and their socio-cultural implications. The painting can be seen as a more purely "artistic" statement; more simply in terms of the aesthetic experiences it offered or its operation as a "pleasing" image independent of the discourses to which I have related it. The work was commended for its "dramatic effects".[98] The "mushroom-cloud" marine explosion, the human agitation, the impressive setting allow the painting to function simply as a marine drama - a type with a long heritage in British and European art. There were innumerable representations of adventure and violence at sea in the 18th and 19th centuries.[99] The standard elements include ships in the mid to background, dinghies in the foreground, fire and clouds of smoke, and/or struggle with the "elements". The human figures are usually small, overwhelmed or at the mercy of forces, whether of natural or man-made origin, beyond their control. Yet, unlike most marine dramas involving conflict and struggle, the sea in The Explosion of the Boyd is not sympathetically turbulant, but calm; nor is the picture space conventionally packed with incident, but is more open. However these features, the particular placement and spacing of the boats on the

coastal seascape - a large vessel in the (left) background, a small craft with prominent figures in the (right) foreground, a clear expanse of water between them - characterise another of the standard types of 19th century marine painting, of which such notable painters as A. W. Callcott, Turner, Clarkson Stansfield and J. W. Carmichael produced examples. (Chap. I, n. 184.) As an amalgam of the marine drama and placid coastal scene on the European model the New Zealand landscape and Maori figures provided a convenient setting and actors. For viewers familiar with marine painting features such as the imposing canoe prow, the excitable savages, the mangroves would have added a dash of exoticism and "colour".

As a dramatic extravaganza and reconstruction of an historical event The Explosion of the Boyd also has some affinities with a class of History painting that was popular in France in the second half of the 19th century - that is, the use of historical events as "epic" entertainments, as exemplified in the work of such a major and influential artist as Jean Luc Gérôme, whose paintings Steele would undoubtedly have been familiar with. Paintings of Gérôme, such as The Death of Caesar (1863, Walters Gallery, Baltimore), and The Gladiators (1859, Phoenix Art Museum), besides being tightly painted and smooth surfaced[100] (as is The Explosion of the Boyd) in the approved Academic manner, show a preoccupation with violent events; with the figures small in relation to their surroundings, and a climactic moment depicted that allows for the play of dramatic gesture, posture and action. That serves primarily to enhance the pictorial drama for its own sake - in an art and social milieu, in which there was a taste for this type of entertainment. Such a taste, it would seem, did exist in the Auckland art world. Two of Steele's most successful works of the period were Captain Starlight (1891) and The Story of a Saddle, (1888, locations of both unknown) - both representations of adventure or violence that did not have any New Zealand historical referents, even if they did have some "colonial interest".[101]

So Steele and Watkins' The Explosion of the Boyd was dualistic (at least) in function - relating both to certain views of New Zealand history, and to ideas about the place and significance of paintings of New Zealand history in European New Zealand culture (though these ideological elements were mediated by what conventions in European paintings of marine dramas "allowed" to be depicted), and also to a standard type of painting, the marine drama, for which the New Zealand historical elements provided both a pretext for the performance and an exotic dimension. Seen in this way, though, it can still be related to the self-consciousness about culture in New Zealand that was characteristic of the period. A culture (in the anthropological sense) needs culture (fine art). The Explosion of the Boyd provided that.

The choice by Walter Wright (1866-1933) of the Boyd affair too for a historical painting, the praise lavished upon his The Burning of the Boyd (Fig. 132) in 1908, and its purchase for the Auckland Art Gallery all testify to the high status of the incident in the historical consciousness of Europeans in New Zealand, and to its dramatic suitability for History and narrative painting. It has been asserted that Wright presented "the tragedy in a straightforward documentary way ... almost as a press photographer would view it".[102] That is not so. Wright showed less concern than Steele and Watkins for historical or documentary accuracy. His staging of the event suggests an assault on the ship, which was then deliberately set alight. According to the records, as related by Barstow and the account of the Kaeo chief Heremaia te Ara, published in the New Zealand Herald, 31 December 1892, for instance, this did not happen. That is, Wright took some license with actualities in the interests of pictorial drama. The manner in which Wright depicted his New Zealand historical event was determined primarily by conventions of the marine drama featuring conflict and burning or smoke-shrouded ships. Indeed Wright conformed more closely to the conventions than Steele and Watkins. (Though their painting was probably a prime source of inspiration.[103]) For instance,

more in keeping with conventions, the painting is more crowded with incident (mainly canoes of gesticulating figures). There is less open sea space. Wright's burning ship occupies much more of the picture space. It is sited centrally, much closer to the foreground. Such a "close-up" and the manner in which the ship towers over the figures would have served to enhance the sense of excitement, confusion and the dramatic.

Parallels with representations of conflict at sea by leading 19th century British marine painters are more obvious and dominant than in the Steele/Watkins. For example, Turner's The Battle of Trafalgar (1823-24, National Maritime Museum) (a commemoration of an important historical event too) has a burning ship similarly centred in midground (though there are others to either side), with small boats beneath and to the foreground full of gesturing figures. And J. C. Schetky's The Loss of the Royal George (1840, National Maritime Museum) has a similarly placed huge ship in distress looming over, shadowing small boats crowded with figures. Not that Wright's painting was necessarily modelled on either work. Rather the artist was drawing on a common stock of motifs and compositional devices in the interests of the drama. Though many of the representations of marine battles commemorated great or notable moments in British naval history, there was also a concern with drama and spectacle for its own sake, and an exploitation of certain features to that end. The accentuation of stock dramatic motifs - burning ship, excitement, flurry of figures - might suggest that Wright's painting would have operated primarily as an aesthetic experience - that, given the stress on the spectacle, the New Zealand historical referents would slide into a secondary or incidental place. In fact the presentation of the Maori figures, the ship, and the opposition of the two elements, given the standard popular view of the Boyd affair - murder, cannibalism, treachery - among Europeans, carried some fairly obvious and stereotypical connotations. Wright's image has an attack being perpetrated on an imposing, centralised ship, an emblem of civilisation, by a

band of fist-waving natives, who are below the ship, looking up to it. Many of them are in the shadow, their faces mostly obscured, so that they come together as a dark, "sinister" mass. The ship then can be seen as a victim of barbarism, allegedly one of the fundamental characteristics of the "old-time" Maori.[104] Wright's painting was considered important because of its historical associations, its "local interest".[105] It was bought for the Auckland Art Gallery as much because of the value and status attributed to representations of New Zealand historical events, as for its "intrinsic merits"[106] as a painting.

That drama and spectacle for its own sake, a striking demonstration of "high art", for which the Maori subject provided the vehicle, and an urgent concern with events central to New Zealand history and the national consciousness of European New Zealanders could coexist in the one painting is exemplified too by Steele and Goldie's The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand (Fig. 136). This became the best known, the most frequently reproduced and the most highly regarded historical painting in New Zealand.[107] As a key image in New Zealand culture it provides a prime exemplification too of the manner in which Maori history and mythology could be absorbed into an emerging indigenous European culture.

Steele and Goldie produced the painting for a competition under the Helen Boyd Bequest for the purchase for the Auckland Art Gallery of an original work on a New Zealand subject by a resident artist.[108] From its first public showings in 1899, first at the French Academy of Art, a private teaching establishment run by Steele, and later at the A.S.A., the painting's superior standing was clearly evident. It was praised lavishly by newspaper and periodical reviewers: "Splendid" and "masterly", the Auckland Star;[109] "The feature of the Exhibition", the New Zealand Herald;[110] and the New Zealand Graphic:[111]

> ... magnificent ... in conception and treatment decidedly above the level

> we have been accustomed to in our local exhibitions ... in its historical interest, in the variety of clever studies of the human form which it embraces, in its terrible suggestiveness ... nothing of its kind has ever been attempted by any local or New Zealand artist.

The Arrival of the Maori was painted at a time when investigations and speculations by Europeans about the origins of the Maori were a major feature of New Zealand culture. Books published by leading researchers into Maori history and culture with accounts of Maori migration and the canoe traditions included John White's The Ancient History of the Maori, 1887-91, and S. P. Smith's Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori, with a Sketch of Polynesian History, 1898. Accounts of Maori migrations were not confined to "scholarly" publications. They were to be found too in books and periodical articles intended for a broader and more popular audience - for instance, J. A. Wilson's Sketches of Ancient Maori Life and History, 1894, which was originally serialised in the Auckland Star.

Professor M. P. K. Sorrenson has outlined the attempts by Europeans from the time of Cook to the present day to construct theories to explain Maori origins and migration to New Zealand.[112] He notes that at the time of British annexation in 1840, with the first major influx of British colonists, there was a "revival of interest in the coming of Maori colonists"[113] - an interest which expanded greatly as European settlement progressed and dominance over the Maori was established. Sorrenson also notes that the idea of a Great Fleet, first postulated at this time,[114] which gained wide currency among European writers in the later 19th and 20th centuries, was "essentially the construct of European collectors and editors of Maori traditions", not of the Maori themselves.[115] That is, for their own purposes, Europeans created a myth of the coming of the Maori, and in so doing assimilated the Maori traditions of their migrations into European culture in New Zealand.

Steele and Goldie treated their subject with a fair degree of licence in an ethnological sense, though the detail with which Maori artefacts and dress

were rendered may have given the impression of an authentic record, of an ethnological "accuracy", that is not in fact a feature of the work. Steele and Goldie's history making did not need the "laborious archeologising" that many writers have erroneously attributed to their Maori representations.[116] In respect of the The Arrival of the Maori David Simmons has written:[117]

> Ethnologically ... the picture is a disaster. The crew are shown as Polynesians with no tattoo, wearing tapa cloth, but they are sailing in a mixed up double Maori canoe of the 18th century using a sail form which probably never existed. So we have a presumably 14th century Maori arriving in New Zealand in a canoe with an 18th century carving and notational construction.

The inclusion of the figure standing in the prow of the canoe pointing towards land with his index finger was ethnologically inappropriate too, indeed absurd (from a Maori point of view ethically offensive) - though such a gesture had a clear meaning for Europeans. In traditional Maori culture to point at anyone or thing in such a way was an ill-omened act (an act of "tipi" - intended to cause ill) and an indication of impending misfortune - a "tohu-aitua".[118] No-one knows in what condition the Maori actually arrived in New Zealand. Extant Maori lore about the migrations did not speak of physical exhaustion and death among the crews, such as Steele and Goldie depicted. Accounts by the Maori of the event (as recorded by Europeans such as John White, for instance) make no mention of the physical suffering and stormy sea horrors that Steele and Goldie concentrate on in their painting. The descriptions tend to be factual and unsensational, primarily concerned with the names and interrelationships of ancestors, and the recording of places visited and at which landings were made.[119] That is so too in S. P. Smith's account of the discovery of New Zealand by the Maori in Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori.[120] Indeed Steele and Goldie's treatment of the arrival of the Maori in New Zealand does not appear to have its origins in the historical or ethnological literature of the period. Only in the popularising tracts like Wilson's Sketches of Ancient Maori Life and History was any attempt made to inject

"excitement" or "adventure" into the tale, and even then it is only of secondary importance in the narrative and very tame compared with Steele and Goldie's handling of the subject.

Steele and Goldie's treatment of the subject suggests that their intentions in painting The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand were not only to reconstruct imaginatively an event from Maori history, but also to dramatise certain European feelings and attitudes about suffering and struggle at sea and (sometimes) fortunate survival or miraculous salvation. Seen this way the sea voyage of the Maori to New Zealand provided a suitable vehicle for the artists, a pretext for the performance.[121] The Arrival of the Maori is an action piece. The major emphasis is on extreme physical suffering; men and women in a boat against the vast sea and all its terrors. Contemporary reviewers wrote most enthusiastically about this aspect of the painting. "Tragic", "terrible", "suffering" and allied language feature prominently in the reviews, as in the Auckland Star, for instance:[122]

> In tragic intensity and supreme suffering the picture is a wonderful conception .... The heavy storm-swept sky, the tattered sail, the broken carvings on the prow, all things suggest and tell of the suffering endured, just as much as the terrible figures with which the canoe is crammed.

And an earlier review in the Auckland Star dwelt on the "emaciation" of the "sea-worn Polynesian voyagers", and the "privations of the ... ocean voyage, the starving men and women", the "gaunt" limbs, the canoe "battered" by the sea.[123] The New Zealand Graphic reviewer too was impressed by the "starving voyagers ... helpless and desperate".[124] For him there was a "terrible attraction in these naked emaciated figures huddled in all different postures of agony and despair", and there was a "world of terrible meaning in the contortions of their bodies", "these scarecrows of human beings", "their limbs those of skeletons".[125] All in all for the man from the New Zealand Graphic, The Arrival of the Maori was "certainly most gruesome".[126]

With such primary attributes of suffering and horror The Arrival of the

Maori can be linked to a type with a long lineage in European culture - images of storm-battered boats with human cargoes in extreme states of misery and desperation. Lorenz Eitner has written:[127]

> ... the symbolism of the storm-tossed boat is ancient and familiar. Used to dramatise man's struggle against fate or nature, or to point up the need for salvation, it occurs in poetry and painting with the frequency of a popular figure of speech. A typical statement of it is this line from John Webster's White Devil, written about 1610; "My soul, like a ship in a black storm, is driven, I know not whither".

Of course not every image of a shipwreck or storm-battered boat in art and literature was consciously intended as a symbol; and it might seem to be reading too much into the image to attribute such explicit symbolism to The Arrival of the Maori. Yet for some contemporary viewers the painting did suggest feeling states analogous to the sort that Eitner discusses. Consider the response of the New Zealand Graphic reviewer:[128]

> The lowering sky, and the dark weary waste of waters over which the weather battered canoe is making its way conveys the idea of utter loneliness.

Moreover in the 1890s for some European commentators on the migration of the Maori to New Zealand, Aoteoroa and Paradise were synonymous. For example, in his Sketches of Ancient Maori Life and History Wilson describes the arrival of the Tainui in New Zealand thus:[129]

> The wayworn voyagers, turning their eyes from the beautiful land, grasped the situation at a glance, and their hearts fell from the heights of joy and hope to the depths of fear. Were they after all their suffering and pilgrimage to be sacrificed on the gates of Paradise on those jagged rocks.

To pursue the analogy, consider the connotations the image could have had for European viewers in New Zealand. In The Arrival of the Maori the voyagers bear the obvious marks of suffering and hardship, but they have endured, and light appears on the distant horizon. They are progressing to a new land. It is not surprising that the subject, the passage to and arrival in New Zealand, struck a chord with the European viewing public. It does not require much of an imaginative leap to see that a long journey across the sea to a another land

rich in possibilities could be an event that newly arrived Europeans could identify with. It was not an uncommon view that New Zealand was some sort of promised land for Europeans - a "new" country rich in potential which could look forward to a bright future.[130] This was one ingredient of that emerging sense of distinct national identity. Bracken and Seddon (Prime Minister 1892-1906), for instance, celebrated New Zealand as "Gods own Country". And the painting was produced and received during the tenure of the progressive Liberal Government, when New Zealand was cited internationally as a "social laboratory", offering a model for the reform and improvement of European societies;[131] a potential earthly paradise.

Whether or not such associations were intended by Steele and Goldie is immaterial. Paintings can have meanings in a particular cultural climate beyond those consciously intended by the artist. A representation of the Maori arrival could provide a prototype, a symbolic prefigurement for the emigrations from Britain in the 19th and 20th centuries. That is difficult to "prove", though the description of The Arrival of the Maori as of "extraordinary national interest" suggests that the image did crystallise sentiments or mind states central to European consciousness about their being in New Zealand. There is at least one visual representation that states overtly this identification by Europeans of Maori and British migrations - a full page colour illustration, The Coming of the Maori and the Emigrant, on the cover of Brett's Christmas Annual (published by the Auckland Star), 1925. This features a canoe with Maoris sighting New Zealand for the first time (and includes a pointing figure echoing that in the prow of The Arrival of the Maori) together with a liner (towering above the canoe) bringing Europeans to New Zealand. A reviewer's description of another representation of the first arrival of the Maori in New Zealand, Plate 23 in Dittmer's Te Tohunga, 1907, as "New Zealand's legendary Mayflower", and the titling of the reproduction of Dittmer's image, The Origin of the New Dominion,[132] imply too a metaphoric identification of the

event from Maori mythology and the emigration of Europeans to a "new" land, a place subject to colonisation.

The meanings or associations the painting can evoke, the states of mind and cultural phenomena to which it can be related originated in European constructs then, not Maori. I have noted the storm-battered boat and suffering at sea theme in European culture. There were numerous representations of the theme in European art in the late 18th and early-mid 19th centuries.[133] Related literary pieces like the shipwreck canto in Byron's Don Juan and Coleridge's Ancient Mariner also come readily to mind,[134] especially since such leading 19th century painters and illustrators as Delacroix and Gustave Doré drew on these works for inspiration and subject matter. The prime inspirational model for Steele and Goldie in painting The Arrival of the Maori was one of the most famous examples of the storm-battered boat - suffering at sea type; Gericault's The Raft of the Medusa (1819, Louvre). Not every feature of the Steele and Goldie painting was modelled on this work. There are notable differences, for instance in the scale of the paintings and in the treatment of the figures. But the fundamental similarities are striking: the stormy seas and lowering sky; the placement of the boat, which occupies most of the picture space, diagonally across the canvas; the upward thrust to the right of the boat and figures counterbalanced by the directional force to the left of the mast and sail; the distressed crew; the glimpse of salvation on the top right; the stress on out-thrust limbs and splayed naked torsos; in some figures the expressions and gestures of desperation like sagging half open mouths and hands to head; the positions of various figures in the raft or canoe. For instance, there is a figure in the prow of both the Steele-Goldie and the Gericault vessel, arm outstretched in the direction of rescue, head turned back towards his fellows.[135] Allowing for the obvious differences in their specific historical and social references, the general dramatic and narrative thrusts of the two paintings are basically the same: the evocation of the vast terror of

the sea in which humans suffer, though with salvation at hand if fortunate. Undoubtedly, Steele and Goldie, both of whom had lived and studied in Paris,[136] would have been familiar with the famous paintings of the storm-battered boat and sufferings at sea type by Gericault and Delacroix. Goldie in fact made a copy of The Raft of the Medusa in 1896. This would not have been difficult since the painting was on display in the Louvre, as were Delacroix' Shipwreck of Don Juan (1840) and Dante and Virgil in Hell (1822), which also feature desperate figures caught on forbidding waters.[137]

Steele and Goldie's treatment of the figures in The Arrival of the Maori further suggests the French connection that is basic to their work. The crowded arrangement, the twisted, tortured figures with jagged, extravagant gestures, recall strongly the work of Gustave Doré.[138] Human suffering was Doré's forte; brutal and "realistic" as, for example, in his images of urban poverty and misery in London; A Pilgrimage, 1871, his representations of the desperate and the damned in his Bible, 1866, and his Paradise Lost, 1866. Interestingly in 1875 Doré illustrated Coleridge's Ancient Mariner[139] with all the "tragic intensity and supreme suffering" in the figures that reviewers were later to ascribe to The Arrival of the Maori. In a way that in contrast the classically idealised, handsome and well muscled figures of Gericault's monument would not allow, Goldie and Steele's treatment of their figures, "ugly" and reduced to skin and bone, could be seen as a means to authenticate the image as history, to give a sense of "reality", as if the painting amounted to a credible historical reconstruction. As noted the attention to detail in the rendering of the various Maori bits and pieces would have contributed too - giving a "realism" of surface appearances to those Europeans unaware of the actual ethnological inaccuracies. However preposterous it might seem now at least one contemporary reviewer saw it like that - as a depiction of the "reality of that great migration".[140] That suggests the extent to which European constructions of Maori history and mythology could be "naturalised",

seen as if they corresponded with the "real" - which was a fundamental aspect of the European creation of a past and the appropriation of Maori history and culture to that end.

By the late 19th century a painting of the storm-battered boat - suffering at sea type would have seemed clichéd, old fashioned in British and European art centres, even in conservative institutions. Indeed by the 1850s the vogue for this type of painting was on the wane. The advent of steamships and the corresponding decline of sail during the 19th century, together with increasing safety of sea travel, meant that shipwrecks were no longer such ever present threat. It has been suggested that this may have diminished the resonance of suffering at sea imagery for the viewing public in Europe.[141] Certainly by the end of 19th century paintings of shipwrecks and hazardous sea voyages were virtually non-existent in the major European art institutions. For instance, during the 1890s no such paintings were exhibited at the Royal Academy in London.[142] Steele and Goldie did not of course conform entirely to the standard models of the type. Their introduction of novel or New Zealand-specific elements - the primitive sailors and boat, for instance - was one way of keeping the type "alive", avoiding what otherwise might have seemed a cultural cliché. That a type of painting generally out of fashion in Europe should have caused such a sensation in New Zealand points to its correlations with distinctive features of New Zealand culture and society. For instance, it suggests the provincialism of colonial culture, whatever the aspirations to autonomy. Generally in the visual arts there was a considerable time lag between the occurrence of certain developments and fashions in Europe and their appearance in New Zealand. (If they appeared at all.) Significantly in the 1890s the suffering at sea type was still alive and well in the U.S.A. - at this time in the art world still a province or colony of Europe. For example, Winslow Homer's The Gulf Stream (1899, Metropolitan Museum), which acquired instant fame when exhibited in Philadelphia in 1900, has the same basic

narrative structure as The Arrival of the Maori or Gericault's The Raft of the Medusa - man alone at the mercy of the sea and associated perils, and so suffering, but the possibility of salvation (ship or land) on the distant horizon. Interestingly in 1900 an American critic, Royal Cortiissoz, called The Gulf Stream, "Homer's Raft of the Medusa ... his equivalent for the drama of a Gericault or a Delacroix".[143]

Second: that the storm battered boat type did not appear hackneyed to the viewing public in New Zealand, but was still vital and compelling, suggests that the resonance of the type could still have been central to the general emotional climate in New Zealand, even if no longer so in Europe. Life and society in New Zealand, an extremely isolated and seabound place, might have seemed much more subject to the ocean's whims than in Europe. Certainly for a country with such a small population shipwrecks still occurred with frightening regularity. Between 1890-99, for instance, there were 107 recorded shipwrecks in New Zealand waters.[144] But more cogently, besides imaging an arrival in a "new" land (and by extension the possibilities that opened up), which many Europeans could identify with, Steele and Goldie's painting had a contemporary topicality in so far as it participated in that creation of a past, that invention of a tradition, which had a primary role in the development of a sense of national and cultural identity among European New Zealanders. That is, Steele and Goldie contributed to the making of myths for Europeans out of Maori history and legend - in respect of which a Maori is reported to have described the work as a "mere creation of the Pakeha mind".[145]

Watkins produced two large oil paintings dealing with the Maori migrations to New Zealand. His treatment of the subject differed markedly from Steele and Goldie's. The Departure of the Six Canoes (Fig. 139), in which the figures are barely visible, besides being an imaginative reconstruction of the mythological event, could function as a straightforward marine painting - a group of sailing vessels riding the wind in an expansive sea;[146] the coastline of palm trees and

the style of boat adding exotic touches to a commonplace type. The painting does not have either the dramatic emphasis or anecdotal component of The Arrival of the Maori or Watkins' later The Legend of the Voyage to New Zealand (Fig. 133).

In respect of the latter work, which shows the arrival in New Zealand, the Auckland Star reviewer described the Maori migration as "the Maori Odyssey" and Watkins' immigrants as "dashing argonauts", but noted too that Watkins' rendering of the arrival was "less strenuous" than Steele and Goldie's - "no two conceptions could be more diametrically opposed".[147] Watkins depicted the canoes arriving on calm waters, the crew relaxed and healthy looking, the atmosphere peaceful. In contrast to The Arrival of the Maori, Watkins' figures are smaller, not in "close up". He included an incident recorded by Maori oral tradition - the Arawa chief, Tauninihi, throwing away his precious, red feather headdress on seeing the splendid blossoming of the pohutakawa; an impulse he regretted when he discovered that the flowers soon faded. In this respect, and in that Maori accounts make no mention of privation and suffering, it might seem that Watkins' version is closer to Maori tradition than Steele and Goldie's. That, though, does not make it any less of a fictional construct. It too is an ethnological hotchpotch. For instance, one chief is tattooed with patterns only adopted much later by the Maori in New Zealand, and though the dress and canoe have a generally Polynesian look they are anachronistically of the 18th and 19th centuries.[148] Watkins represented New Zealand as a place of great natural beauty - limpid atmosphere and rich, splendid foliage, beautiful, "idyllic", as one reviewer described the scene depicted.[149] The beauties and splendour of nature in New Zealand were frequently cited by art reviewers and commentators as one of the prime characteristics of New Zealand that artists should get "to grips" with. This appreciation of the natural landscape was an aspect of that view of New Zealand as a new land with rich potential, as virgin territory ripe for development - a commonplace sentiment among Europeans at the

time.[150]

As an embodiment of the promise of the "new" land The Legend of the Voyage to New Zealand can be compared with an earlier historical work by Steele and Watkins - the 1889 chromolithograph, The Advent of the Maori, Christmas 1000 A.D. (Fig. 145). This too depicts the new arrivals jubilant and rejoicing under a blossoming pohutakawa (which alone could stand for the characteristically New Zealand). In this case the title, linking the Maori mythological event to that key sign of a new age in European culture (the birth of Christ) suggests the symbolic value the myth incorporated into European culture could have.

I have noted that violent, melodramatic, sensational or bizarre events and behaviour featured prominently in Steele's representations of Maori history, legend and traditional activities. This can be related both to a common European view of traditional Maori experience and behaviour and also to certain currents and tastes generally in European art and culture in the late 19th-early 20th centuries. The two Maori historical paintings Steele exhibited at the A.S.A. in 1909, Spoils to the Victor (Fig. 140) and Defiance (Fig. 146), demonstrate this perhaps more overtly than his other exhibited paintings. Both paintings show situations or activities that could have occurred in Maori inter-tribal warfare, though it is unlikely that either painting illustrates an actual incident. Defeated enemies were reduced to slavery and the status of objects, as the title Spoils to Victor implies. And in respect of Defiance, there were accounts of the abuse to which decapitated heads of enemies, especially chiefs', often impaled on stakes or the palisades of a pa, could be subjected.[151] In so far as physical appearance, skin colour, architecture, dress and other artefacts identify the figures and occasions as Maori, and in so far as that stereotype of the "old-time" Maori given to violence and warfare is imaged, Spoils and Defiance could be seen as distinctively New Zealand images - paintings about the New Zealand past.

However the Maori dress and locations also provided convenient ingredients for the visualisation of other social and emotional preoccupations, of which there were many examples in contemporary European art and literature, and which did not originate in Maori culture or history.

Consider Spoils to the Victor in this respect. In technique, pose, gesture, expression, composition, and in the sentiments and themes expressed the painting was "rooted" primarily in French models. Auckland reviewers, for instance, frequently linked Steele's paintings with those of Meissonier, one of the best-known mid-late 19th century French academic painters. Steele was described as a "devotee of Meissonier" and the "Meissonier of Maoriland",[152] while the Weekly Graphic reviewer of the 1909 A.S.A. exhibition wrote: "But in its Meissonier-like compactness, it (Spoils to the Victor) concentrates dramatic force and pathos".[153] Steele, who studied at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, could well have worked under Meissonier, who taught there then. Certainly their works share a scrupulous attention to detail and a tight, smooth handling of paint. Yet these features were not unique to Meissonier, but standard among 19th century French academic painters, of whom Ingres was the pivotal figure in mid century and Gérôme in the later 19th century. Among Gérôme's specialties, besides his large scale historical extravaganza, were smaller scale, exotically detailed, Orientalist pieces, some of which represent, or refer to the cruelty and sensuality with which Europeans stereotyped the Orient.[154] For instance, Gérôme's The Slave Market (undated, Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Ma.) features a frontally nude girl in the foreground, a passive victim, a "spoil" being examined by men. Such a painting, and there were many similar by Orientalist artists,[155] would have provided Steele with ready models - though a more specific parallel is afforded by Ingres' Roger and Angelica (1839, National Gallery London). This painting was exhibited at the Ingres Exhibition in Paris in 1867.[156] One would assume that Steele, in Paris then, would have visited an exhibition of the most

eminent French painter of the period. If he did not see this exhibition, there were lithographic reproductions of the 1839 Roger Saving Angelica available.[157]

The close similarities between Spoils to the Victor and the Ingres suggest conscious derivation by Steele. The basic dramatic situation and the manner of presentation are much the same in Spoils to the Victor and Roger Saving Angelica. The primary focal point in both paintings is a bound and nude female in distress.[158] Both pictures are small, cabinet size,[159] and the greater height than width reinforces the dominating vertical accents and concentrates attention on the central motif, the nude girl. Compositionally the position of the girl is similar in each picture - in the mid-right foreground. The position and the directional force of Roger's lance is echoed in Steele's painting by a spear-like shaft of the broken palisade above the dead warrior. In both pictures there is a preponderance of spiky, erect, vertical motifs; the weaponry, the post to which the Maori girl is tied, and the phallus-shaped rock to which Angelica is chained. Both Ingres and Steele explore the erotic possibilities of feathers and flesh juxtaposed, though Ingres goes further; providing a fetishist's armoury - teeth, scales and metal. The idealised body and softly voluptuous curves and proportions of the girl in Spoils to the Victor are similar to Angelica's, though obviously these features were not unique to Ingres, who continued the idealisation of the nude figure that was basic to classical and Academic art.[160]

There are also narrative parallels between Spoils to the Victor and Roger Saving Angelica. The incident of Roger saving Angelica was derived from Aristo's Orlando Furioso.[161] Roger's intentions were far from honourable. He lusted after Angelica, and after having saved her from the Orc, he endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to rape her.[162] So Roger Saving Angelica is in effect also a case of spoils to the victor. In keeping with this narrative orientation the bodies and limbs of both girls were displayed in a manner that best facilitated a fantasy of sexual possession (mental rape, perhaps)[163] - the

curve to the body, given by the positioning of the left leg before the right in the manner of a fashion model, the head twisted so that the neck, like the stomach and breasts, is exposed and vulnerable, the way in which the arms are drawn above or across the body in order to accentuate the vulnerability of the figure and to lift the breasts into a position providing optimum viewing conditions for the spectator.[164]

It would be difficult not to see that Steele's Maori girl and Ingres' Angelica were represented as objects of desire. They would provide useful "fuel" for the argument that 19th and early 20th century representations of nude females were fundamentally voyeuristic in function; the figures primarily on display to gratify spectators and owners, presumably male.[165] At this point it might seem that the "Maoriness" of subject almost disappears; that the Maori subject simply provided the vehicle or pretext for the voyeuristic performance. However the relationship between the Maori identity of the figure and the subject is somewhat more complex. First consider the painting in relation to a commonplace type in European art. Gérôme's The Slave Market has been noted, and there were many near contemporary precedents for the specific subject of Spoils to the Victor - the female as plunder, a slave object. This could be pointed by the inclusion of a male owner or prospective possessor in the image too - as, for instance, in the Gérôme or P. Jamin's exhibit at the 1893 Paris Salon, Brenn (the conquering male) and his Share of the Plunder (beautiful and abjectly submissive nude females) (Musée des Beaux Arts, Chantilly). Indeed nude, distressed and bound women recur so frequently in 19th and early 20th century painting that it is valid to isolate a specific sub-genre - women in bondage, to which Spoils to the Victor belongs.

Images of bondage, bound slaves and captives have fairly obvious social and sexual connotations. Bondage could stand as a paradigm of the submission of one person to another. The bound person/object is totally at the owner's mercy - as the title Spoils to Victor neatly advertises. Images of bound women

then did not exist in some sort of aesthetic vacuum, but can be read in terms of contemporary sexual and power relationships; as images about male power over women, either actual or wished for.[166] Invariably images of women in bondage in Victorian and Edwardian art were distanced in time and place - Greek myth, Roman history, medieval literature, the Orient, for example.[167] Rarely if ever were they located in contemporary Western Europe. In so far as these images sustained and were sustained by fantasies of lust and violence that could not be announced publicly and directly in polite society, they needed to be "clothed" by respectable literary and historical referents. That made them socially and artistically acceptable.

Spoils to the Victor was clothed as a representation of an allegedly typical practice of the "old-time" Maori. Nevertheless in the Auckland of 1909 Steele's paintings with nudes were considered risqué. In contrast to the standard fare at the Salon and Royal Academy exhibitions in the late 19th-early 20th centuries, nudity was unusual in exhibited New Zealand painting - a point made by the Weekly Graphic reviewer of the 1909 A.S.A. exhibition, who described Spoils to the Victor as "not altogether a nice subject":[168]

> A very chaste collection is one of the first impressions that the 28th Annual Exhibition of the Auckland Society of Arts presents to one fresh from the galleries of Britain and Europe. With two exceptions the study of the nude has been eschewed in favour of a highly varied taste in landscape and portraiture ... with its (i.e. New Zealand) illimitable wealth of natural beauty ..., it is easy to understand how its artists came to neglect sex in their art. That it should be so is perhaps as well. There are a number of people who believe that nude art is necessarily indecent.

In a social milieu in which puritanical elements were strong and in which there was common hostility to the exhibition of paintings of nude figures[169] it is unlikely that a bound and nude European girl would have been acceptable from a local artist.

The few nudes that did appear were almost invariably Maori or Polynesian, for instance, besides Steele's work, Lindauer's Hinemoa (Fig. 167) and W. Boodle's Shadow: Samoa (1887, location unknown).[170] There were, however,

numerous bare-breasted Maori girls to be found in periodical photographs and postcards at the time, but not European girls. That is, nude Maori females, members of a subordinated culture, were acceptable. They were fair game. They could be used in this way. In this context then the unmistakable Maoriness of the figures in Spoils to the Victor, the detailed rendering of Maori artefacts were not incidental features, merely "dress" in a common image-type that can be related to a standard European male evaluation of women. Spoils to the Victor carries meanings specific to its being made and exhibited in New Zealand. The Maori girl so presented, like those in photographs, was sustained by and promoted a certain set of assumptions about cultural and power relationships between subordinated Maori and dominant European. The Maori subject in the New Zealand context did not just allow the expression of commonplace male sentiments or fantasies concerning women.[171] Spoils to the Victor can be read as a symbol or expression of the European will to dominate the Maori; to "possess". To put it crudely, the female figure is bound for Europeans. The Maori male in the painting is significantly dead, defeated - "gashed, mute and limp", to cite the Weekly Graphic reviewer.[172]

The presence of Steele's Defiance in the same exhibition gives additional credibility to the reading of Spoils as the expression of a commonplace European male fantasy. Spoils and Defiance formed a complimentary pair embodying a vision of women that recurs frequently in European art and literature in the 19th and early 20th centuries. On the one hand women were presented as submissive, passive and subjugated - a positive and ideal state for the male, so the view held. On the other women were often depicted as destructive and dominating; expressing a male fear that his power could be overwhelmed. One could cite numerous examples of 19th century representations of women as femme fatales (bewitchers through sex and then destroyers of men),[173] but perhaps the most notable one in relation to Defiance was Gustave Moreau's The Apparition (Louvre) - "virtually the type of the fatal woman"[174] -

exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1876. There are a number of parallels between the two paintings. Both feature a bare-breasted standing woman in exotic garments, close to the foreground in a dance-like pose, one arm rigidly outstretched towards a decapitated male head, her gaze "evil" - with several still figures observing the action in the architecturally ornate background setting. The likelihood of the Moreau connection and Steele's concern with destructive women and victimised males is strengthened by the parallels that also exist between Steele's A Maori Girl in a hut before the head of a Chief and Moreau's Orpheus - another favourite theme among the adherents of femme-fatalism, though the female depicted in Orpheus is a related stereotype - the comforting maternal figure, which every male "victim" needs.

So Defiance too could function on several levels of meaning. It could operate as an image of the destructive, "castrating" female,[175] for which the Maori subject was both a pretext, and in the New Zealand social context allowed the public display of that - a point, which, as in Spoils to the Victor, implied the inferior status of the contemporary Maori. Defiance could also function as an exemplification of the barbarity and cruelty that Europeans saw as a prime characteristic of traditional Maori life - a typing of the past that had been used to justify European presence and domination.[176]

There were pictorial precedents among representations of the Maori for Steele's depiction of the abuse of a head. For instance, in Dumont D'Urville's Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde, a book that seems to have been a prime source for Steele, since it includes a number of illustrations of Maori historical events and traditional activities which Steele later painted, there is an engraving by Felix Danvin after De Sainson, A Native Showing a young Girl the Head of her Brother. This shows a grimacing Maori male, one arm violently and rigidly outstretched brandishing the head, the other pointing (a gesture of ill-omen) at it. The gesture, the expression and the disposition of the arms are paralleled in the female figure in Defiance. A coloured reproduction of a

sketch by R. I. McCormick in Horsley's Romance of Empire: New Zealand, 1908, p. 66, has a pack of savage-looking Maoris gesticulating wildly at the heads of enemies impaled on stakes. There is an illustration too in Dittmer's Te Tohunga (Fig. 202), 1907, with two semi-nude Maori women prancing about a head; one of the figures, as in Defiance, with her right arm thrust out and downwards towards the head - though in this image the scene is identified as mourning ritual, not abuse.

Dittmer also exhibited - at the McGregor-Wright Gallery in Wellington in 1904 - an oil painting, Revenged (Fig. 147), which features a Maori woman and a male head. In this case, the depicted situation - a strikingly beautiful and haughty woman dispassionately viewing the severed male head in a basket - was modelled primarily on representations of Salome with the head of John the Baptist, though the title, Revenged, recalls that other favoured theme of female beauty and male decapitation, Judith and Holofernes. Even though traditionally Judith's act represented Justice, Fortitude and justifiable revenge,[177] in late 19th century representations Judith was transformed "from an example of piety and courage" into a "voracious femme fatale"[178] - that is, "emptied" of its original moral and didactic meaning, the subject became a pretext for the depiction of a dangerous lady.

It is possible that Dittmer's subject did derive from an actual episode from Maori history. It has been claimed that the woman could be one Ihumata, a Ngapuhi, while the head that of a male member of the Arawa, who incensed her by refusing her proferred love, and thus lost his head; Ihumata rewarding the killer by marrying him instead.[179] Whether or not this tale was in fact a source of inspiration for Dittmer, the painting, besides imaging the barbarism of the "old-time" Maori, operates primarily as an "embodiment" of the femme fatale type. The narrative and formal parallels with paintings of Salome by well-known artists are so close that inevitably the same ideas and/or feelings would have been signified or evoked by the Dittmer. For instance, Delaroche's

Salome (1843, Wallraf Richartz Museum, Cologne) depicts, like Dittmer's, a beautiful and haughty, frontally disposed female in the right foreground of a shallow spaced composition, cut off at thigh level, with a decapitated head in the lower left foreground corner, while the motif of arms crossed over the breasts had a precedent in a sculpture by Max Klinger (an artist whose work Dittmer surely would have been familiar with), The New Salome (1892-94, Leipzig Museum). This figure too, upright and standing, is beautiful and haughty, and the head is placed at knee level. While Klinger and Delaroche's Salomes are clothed, bare-breasted Salome's were not unprecedented - to cite one example, produced while Dittmer was still in Europe, Emile Fabry's Salome (1893, Private Collection, Brussels), in which the look and placement of the figure also fit the same model as Dittmer's Maori woman. Salome was a central preoccupation in European culture and consciousness of the period - the fascination with the character and narrative so intense in the late 19th century,[180] that the association of a beautiful woman and decapitated head with the ideas and feelings generated by the myth would have been inseparable. The Salome myth has been called "the supreme myth of symbolic castration"[181] - a representation, whether conscious or not, of male fears of female power. Whether or not one reads Ditmmer's Revenged in this way, it is clear that European tastes and aesthetic conventions determined both the form this illustration of a possible event from Maori history took and the primary meaning it was likely to have for European viewers.

There is another group of historical paintings, which, unlike Spoils to the Victor, Defiance, Revenged and The Arrival of the Maori, might not seem to deal with mind states and preoccupations specifically European, and in which the distinctively Maori element, the New Zealand subject is clearly dominant. That is representations, mostly large scale, though a few small, of customs and traditional activities of the Maori "as they were". Of course the traditional Maori so imaged was still a European construct that can be related to the

tendency among contemporary European writers and ethnologists to invent the traditional for non-Europeans. These paintings too can be distinguished from small to medium sized genre paintings - depictions of the everyday life of the contemporary Maori - of which Walter Wright and Frances Hodgkins were the most notable exponents.[182] Lindauer and Steele were the major figures in the representation of traditional activities, though Walter Wright too produced the occasional piece. Steele again was the initiator of this current - his Tattooing in Olden Times (Fig. 131) being much praised and described as the sort of work required if an historical "school" was to be established in Auckland:[183]

> Tattooing in Olden Times ... might serve as a text for a sermon to the majority of other exhibitors in the Hall .... There are months, perhaps years of toilsome research for the material necessary before the work can be begun.

This writer went on to praise the meticulous detailing of the Maori artefacts and the attention to expressions allegedly characteristic of this Maori custom. In that Steele could not possibly have witnessed such a ceremony - the tattooing of males having ceased long before Steele came to New Zealand[184] - the painting must be seen as a fictional reconstruction, not a record or documentary account. There are at least two book illustrations of tattooing from the pre-European settlement period, after paintings by artists who witnessed the ceremonies, which could have provided Steele with models or sources of information. An engraving, New Zealand Method of Tattooing, by J. Stewart after Earle appeared in Earle's Narrative p. 136. The tattooing here takes place before a whare too with another figure peeping out a door, though Steele included many more figures in more ornate surrounds.[185] The likelihood that Steele knew of the Earle is suggested by a sketch after the Earle by his friend Watkins from the early 1890s.[186] The other illustration, an engraving after de Sainson in D'Urville's Pittoresque Voyage Autour du Monde, p. 382, has some similarities with the Steele too. Indeed it is closer than the engraving

after Earle - in the scene depicted and the interrelationship of the tattooer and his subject. Steele, though, was producing "fine art", not an ethnological record, or illustration for a travel narrative or an official account of a voyage of exploration. His large painting is packed with detail and incident superfluous to any record of tattooing practices - detail and incident that enhance the pictorial, decorative and dramatic interest; the display of exotic dress, ornament and carving, the chanting women, flowers in their hair, one of them (yet again) using the ethnologically inappropriate pointing gesture, and a charming little dog (a stray from a Victorian genre or anecdotal painting).

What was primarily a colourful, picturesque and exotic display was given authenticity and credibility (as in his other historical pieces) by the "realism" in the rendering of the physical appearances of the Maori and Maori artefacts - a superficial realism that concealed from European viewers its confusion ethnologically. The "history", that the Auckland Star claimed the Tattooing in Olden Times represented was a European creation - in this case an embodiment of the romance and "poesy" that were the essential ingredients, along with violence and war, in a package of stereotypes about the "old-time" Maori.

Steele produced several paintings of traditional Maori activities.[187] For instance, a small tattooing painting was exhibited in 1910 at the A.S.A. Earlier in 1903, as part of an intended series Studies of Ancient Maori life and Character for the New Zealand Graphic, he painted Mat Weaving, which represented a bare-breasted young Maori belle being instructed in the art by an older woman, set in the architecturally elaborate interior of a pa.[188] Steele's Maori Firestick in Olden Times was exhibited at the A.S.A. in 1914. This is probably the same painting as one now titled Hakeahi (Fig. 148), which depicts a kneeling man making fire with a stick and log on a beach, with a Maori woman looking for shellfish in the background. These depictions of traditional activities can be related to that popular type in 19th and early

20th century European art - representations of Oriental life; of the "strange" and exotic habits and customs in North Africa and the Middle East. For instance, works such as Gérôme's The Snake Charmer (1860s, Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Ma.) or The Dance of the Almah (1863, Dayton Art Institute) come to mind. There are technical similarities too between such paintings and Steele's - all are tightly painted, smooth surfaced, with a miniaturist attention to detail. But the source for the specific subject for The Maori Firestick in Ancient Times was not a painting but a photograph - a mock-up of traditional firemaking practices taken by the Colonial Museum Director, Augustus Hamilton in 1898, as part of a programme to record the traditional practices of the Maori.[189]

Steele produced one other major representation of a traditional Maori activity on the scale of a History painting for A.S.A. exhibition. The Launching of a Maori Canoe (Fig. 135), 1916, was priced at £250,[190] a huge sum which indicated not just its large size, but the status Steele's Maori historical paintings had in the Auckland art world. The responses of newspaper reviewers were typically positive:[191]

> The old type of Maori figure in the picture, the men with their hair tied up and fastened with combs. Several are seen rolling a large canoe down the beach, its prow just approaching a prone man, who is about to be sacrificed as a human roller ... the ancient palisade enclosing the pah, the pohutakawa in the foreground all show the artist's characteristic attention to detail. As a picture which tells a story this is likely to create interest.

The Auckland Star reviewer, citing Steele as having the keenest interest in the legends and customs of the Maori, praised the work as a "fine, dramatic subject", with a "beautifully carved vessel", the bound figure about to be sacrificed reminding "one that the original inhabitants of the Dominion had some gruesome customs".[192]

The Launching exemplifies that dualism characteristic of Steele's representation of the Maori, and commonplace generally in 19th and early 20th century literary, anthropological and artistic representations of the

traditional Maori. Grey's claim that the "primitive state of existence" of the Maori was characterised by "some of the most fearful spectres that ever stalked amongst mankind", such as "human sacrifices", "mixed up with which in uncouth unison was much of real poetry"[193] could subtitle Steele's painting. Steele combined in the one image impressive spectacle, picturesque coastscape setting, golden sand, clear atmosphere with the near centralised compositional accent of the figure about to be crushed by the rolling canoe while in the right foreground there is evidence of Grey's "their softer outlines ... gentler passions" - an attractive young mother and child accompanied by a domestic pet. While Steele's close attention to particulars, such as dress, architecture and artefacts may have given the impression or illusion again that the scene or activity depicted constituted an accurate reconstruction in an ethnological and historical sense, this in fact was not necessarily the case. While some, by no means all Maori tribes occasionally had made sacrifices at the completion of the canoes making, it was not a common practice. And what sacrifices there were did not usually involve launching the canoe over a body used as a sled, as Steele depicted.[194] That is, Steele alighted on a practice, bizarre and sensational for European viewers, that was not typical of traditional Maori behaviour, but which certainly would have enhanced the dramatic interest of the painting, besides suggesting the barbaric element in the make-up of the European fiction, the "old-time" Maori.[195]

The Launching also exemplifies another primary element of Steele's Maori historical pieces - the echoes of earlier images, often book illustrations, from the pre-European settlement period. For The Launching he had a welter of images to draw upon for his reconstruction. For example, the lithograph after Earle, War Speech Previous to a Naval Expedition, in Earle's Sketches has similar elements to Steele's work too - an impressively carved war canoe on the beach about to be launched, the rollers near at hand, heavily armed warriors, some top-knotted, with a palisaded pa in the background. And that other

probable source for Steele, Dumont D'Urville's Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde includes three engravings after de Sainson, two of them full page, of war canoes and figures.[196] But most particularly and aptly in light of the parallels I have drawn between Grey and Steele's representation of the past, primary elements of Steele's painting echo closely an engraving in Grey's Polynesian Mythology, p. 135, titled Launching a Canoe. The large war canoe is similarly disposed in the composition, the poses of the small figures hauling the canoe are virtually identical, and the setting is similar - a coastline with some rocky outcrops and palisades on a rise in the right background.

Steele's History painting featuring a war canoe was not unprecedented in the Auckland art world. Frank and Walter Wright's The Canoe Builders (Fig. 141) was exhibited at the A.S.A. in 1899. It was one of Walter Wright's first Maori representations and the first of his three large scale History pieces exhibited at the A.S.A. The Canoe Builders would have fitted the 1894 Auckland Star reviewer's demand for "unique" native subjects, the "delineation" of early customs likely to be forgotten unless "preserved" by European artists.[197] The 1899 reviewers responded enthusiastically to the painting. Exhibited at the same time as Steele and Goldie's The Arrival of the Maori, a reviewer made a telling coupling: "... for each is an admirable foil to the other ... one represents the race in extremis and the other in the pleasant prosperity of ... glorious summer".[198] That is, The Canoe Builders, unlike Steele's later painting, without any barbarous practices, epitomised the "romantic glow of a primitive state of existence" that Europeans were inclined to fantasise about.

Walter Wright's A Native Gathering (Fig. 134), exhibited in 1910, might seem in terms of subject, a contemporary Maori village scene, to exemplify his speciality - Maori genre paintings. But the large size distinguishes it from his usually smaller works and elevates it to the level of History. And though it is a contemporary scene, it represented a style of living that belonged to or was a hangover from (in European eyes) "the order of things of the

past".[199] It was seen that way by the Weekly Graphic reviewer:[200]

> Mr Wright has enlarged upon his characteristic and truthful studies of Maori life with an ambitious painting ... his work has a definite historic value in that it records faithfully many details of a life that is vanishing and would otherwise be lost to New Zealand.

The notion that the traditional Maori way of life would disappear was commonplace among Europeans in the early 20th century. It was believed that the Maori would vanish either literally or through assimilation into European culture and society.[201] Indeed the latter was seen as necessary if the Maori was to survive physically at all - to quote Irvine and Alpers, The Progress of New Zealand in the Century, 1902: "... those who will survive will have assimilated the lessons of civilisation and have shaken off the influence of barbarism".[202]

The reviewer's remarks quoted reveal, whether or not he was conscious of it, the use and meaning that the painting could have in the European cultural context. A Native Gathering made sense in relation to the new European culture and society in New Zealand, in so far as it represented an aspect of that which was being progressed beyond, "supplanted", which would soon be part of the past. Another reviewer's description of the males in the painting as "... loafing, naturally enough"[203] suggests that what might seem now simply an innocuously picturesque and nostalgic rendering of Maori life was characterised then by behaviour and customs that were considered anachronistic and unfitted to the productive new European society. The attribution of idleness and/or a "happy-go-lucky" "nature" to the Maori, especially males, both "old-time" and contemporary un- or semi-assimilated, were among the commonplace stereotypes.[204] The opposition in mid 19th century representations of the idle Maori, situated on undeveloped land, and signs of European labour and productivity (evidence of their social evolutionary "superiority") has been discussed in Chapters III and IV. There were a number of Maori genre works by contemporaries of Wright's that were titled Idlers.[205] It is notable too that

there were hardly any paintings which featured contemporary Maori males at work, industrious and productive. Wright's own genre paintings exemplify well this conspicuous absence.[206]

As in Steele's paintings the "realism" in the attention to surface appearances (dress, artefacts, buildings, physical looks) in A Native Gathering is deceptive, suggesting perhaps that there was a 1:1 correspondence between what is imaged and social actualities. It serves to establish the subject as "Maori", but it sustains a fiction. The image of Maoridom presented is a carefully staged performance. This is strikingly apparent if the painting is set against the photograph in the Weekly News, 16 December 1907, which would seem to have provided Wright with his models for the scene and the architectural setting.[207] Wright arranged his figures and groups so as to give a calm and harmonious rhythm to the design, and in order to enhance its picturesque quality (a term the 1910 reviewer attached to the painting), its "pleasing" rusticity. In this respect the clothes, blankets, though probably generally authentic, were "spruced up", clean and tidy-looking. Likewise the buildings have a stability in look and interlock harmoniously in the composition, in contrast to the roughness and the relative irregularity of the buildings in the photograph. Overall the painting presents nothing awkward, discordant, rough or dirty about Maori life - at a time when young Maori professionals (doctors and politicians) like Buck and Pomare were deeply concerned about the serious problems confronting many Maori rural communities - inadequate housing, drainage, healthcare.[208] Contrast, by random example, this representation of the typical Maori village by Irvine and Alpers:[209]

> The wharepuni, or living house, is a low roofed, barn like structure. Inside, huddled on unwholesome straw, parents, children, dogs and pigs wage a common war against the pest of vermin.

Wright's soft-edged, hazily atmospheric, sanitised representation can be seen as a monument to an allegedly vanishing or superceded way of life - a monument in so far, as is characteristic of monuments, it presents a myth of the past,

or in this case, its "degenerate", soon-to-disappear remnant in the present, as calm, harmonious, with no suggestion of stress or conflict - far removed from the harder actualities of Maori existence in 1910. Wright gave his audience the "poesy" of Maori life. The golden glow of the pastoral idyll is literally embodied in the warm, amberish tonality of the painting. A Native Gathering then provides a good example of that colonialist ability or tendency to romanticise, to render picturesque an indigenous, "native" culture, or aspects of it, the demise of which Europeans colonialism either had contributed to or was looking forward to.

That the image of seemingly peaceful, even cosy contemporary Maoridom, such as Wright depicted, could be linked by Europeans, as I suggest, both to the idea of their (the Maori) present degeneration and the imminent disappearance of a distinct Maori culture and to their past savagery is exemplified in the following passage from an article on Maori customs and traditions in the literary periodical Red Funnel in 1906:[210]

> When New Zealand was discovered by Cook ... the Maori race was ... manly, warlike race of savages - cruel, but for all that, noble. Today that hardy, fierce race is a dying one. In less than a hundred short years, the Maori, with all their haughty pride and splendid physical development, have dwindled to a degenerate dying remnant. Today that remnant is peaceful, good humoured ... listless ... still hospitable (as in A Native Gathering), retaining nothing of the old heroic fury of war ... [but] decaying as they are, still cling to their old traditions.

Wright's A Native Gathering manifests other connections too. His representation of Maoridom, the view of the relationship of Maori lifestyle and European which the picture implies, was affected by a type of painting which occupied a major and popular place in the British art world in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. That is the Bastien-Lepage inspired rural Naturalism, the rustic imagery of artists such as La Thangue, Clausen, the Stotts and Stanhope Forbes.[211] They depicted peasants, agricultural workers and fishermen generally at work or "at home", in out-of-doors settings, with close attention to details of dress, architecture and artefacts. But, as with

Wright, the degree of realism was superficial. The rustic scenes were invested with a mood of picturesque, and, even if understated, nostalgic romanticism - given by anecdotal detail, the look of the figures, the "tidy" surfaces, the soft and pleasant colouration. Besides the choice and treatment of the subject, formal and technical features of A Native Gathering point to the British Naturalist model too - for instance, the large scale, the low-toned, "subdued" and "pleasing" colouration, the tendency to pick out the figure in greater detail than the surroundings (softly "atmospheric"), so that the figures tend to "come towards" the viewer, and the technique of painting in which broadish individual brushstrokes are visible, but still precise, under "control", not loose, "free", sketchy or "impressionistic" - all characteristics of the late 19th century British Naturalist painters of rural scenes and activities.

That is, as "fine art", A Native Gathering was as much a standard example of late 19th century rustic imagery, for which the Maori element provided "dress", giving an antipodean version of the type, as a depiction of a specifically located Maori historical subject. But rather than the rustic imagery reading and the historical Maori subject reading being mutually exclusive, they overlap, knit together on a "broader" thematic and socio-cultural level. The period in which Naturalist-style rustic imagery was central subject matter in British art coincided with the "last days" of the traditional agricultural workers and with the belief that this whole class of people was going to disappear.[212] Naturalist rural imagery hearkened back to days gone by - pre-industrial, pre-urban. Wright's A Native Gathering can be seen too as a representation of the vanishing face of a traditional style of life. This being so the formal and thematic parallels with British Naturalist paintings were apt.

There was a close precedent to Wright's representation of a contemporary Maori village on the scale of a History painting exhibited in Auckland earlier

- The Time of Kai (Fig. 164), by Gustav Lindauer, whose work too recorded the vanishing traditional Maori. As will become apparent in the next chapter, though there are differences, formal and connotative, between Lindauer and Wright's works, their immediate subjects are the same - groups of Maoris preparing food in a pa setting. Both paintings bring to mind a much earlier representation - the coloured lithograph after Gilfillan's Interior of a Native Village. The subject is comparable, and the viewpoint and colourfully picturesque quality paralleled. As already exemplified by Steele and Watkins' work, echoes and references to earlier New Zealand images are a prime feature of late 19th-early 20th century historical paintings. This suggests that an "archive" of distinctively New Zealand, historically based imagery was being added to, gathered together by artists-participants in that construction of a past, that invention of a tradition.

There were a number of other artists, either of lesser professional stature than Steele, Watkins, Wright and Lindauer or who lived outside Auckland, whose New Zealand historical paintings in the same period can be related to the concern with establishing a past, and to that climate of attitudes and values discussed earlier in this chapter. In this thesis there is space for only a sampling of such artists and their works: M. T. Clayton, James Moultray, Dennis Seaward, and H. Linley Richardson.[213] First, though, the contribution of William Matthew Hodgkins (1833-98) should be noted. Hodgkins was a founder of the Otago Society of Arts, for fifteen years its President, and the leading figure in the promotion and the institutionalisation of the "fine arts" in Dunedin in the late 19th century. He was primarily a landscape painter,[214] though he did exhibit a small number of sea or coastscapes that could be classified as New Zealand historical pieces. For instance, his watercolour, Dusky Sound: West Coast of New Zealand: An Incident of Capt. Cook's Second Voyage, March 1773 (Fig. 149), shown at the Otago Society of Arts in 1884, predates Watkins and Steele's first known excursions

into the historical. It shows a moment of early European-Maori contact, and features a lone Maori warrior (a carved canoe component beside him) in the foreground watching Cook's ship and landing party approaching in the mid-ground. Hodgkins exhibited another depiction of early Maori-European contact at the Society in 1886: An Old Time Sea Fight: Abel Janszoon Tasman with his Ships the Heemskerck and the Zee Haan attacked by the Natives at Massacre Bay, New Zealand, 18 December 1642, in which landscape and ships dominate and figures are barely visible. At the 1898 Hodgkins retrospective at the Otago Society of Arts these two were re-exhibited. There were two other historical pieces out of eighty-seven works on show, but neither included Maori figures or referents.[215] These paintings belonged to Dr. Hocken, as noted a prime figure in the construction of a New Zealand history.

The historical paintings of M. T. Clayton share some features with the Hodgkins. Capt. M. T. Clayton (1831-1922), a semi-professional artist, otherwise a marine surveyor in Auckland from 1876-1912, was a member of Steele and Watkins' short-lived Auckland Academy of Arts, and a working member of the A.S.A. from 1894 until his death. He specialised appropriately in marine painting, but also produced and exhibited a number of works in which the marine and the historical are combined - representations of key moments or events in New Zealand history - in coastal or harbour settings, with prominent boats and the figures small.[216] Three include Maori figures: The Landing of Lieutenant-Governor Hobson at Waitangi (Fig. 150), 1897; The Landing of the Rev. Samuel Marsden at the Bay of Islands on Christmas Day, 1814 (Fig. 151), 1914; and The Settlement of Wellington by the New Zealand Co. (a chromolithographic reproduction of which is held in the A.T.L.). Clayton would seem to have had close connections with Steele and Watkins.[217] Indeed "Mr Watkins (sic) ... supplied" Clayton with "information regarding the (Maori) figures and their costumes"[218] for The Landing of Lieutenant-Governor Hobson (prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840) - a work produced only

a few years after Watkins and Steele's sketches and paintings of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. In keeping with Steele's practice of echoing or making use of sketches or book illustrations executed at the time of first European contact and early settlement, Clayton's main sources for his painting were, according to the New Zealand Graphic, "sketches made at the time (1840) by the Rev. P. W. Walsh and Mr. E. Williams, who was native interpreter to Governor Hobson".[219]

Even if the aesthetic value of Clayton's work is slight, his paintings do provide insights into contemporary European views of what constituted New Zealand history and the place of the Maori in this history. In Clayton's historical work the emphasis is very much on Europeans making the history. The Maoris either defer to European "superiority" and power or are incidental to the primacy of the European acts. For example, in the paintings with Maori figures, ships, so often signs of European strength in representations of European encounters with non-Europeans in the Pacific, feature prominently. In this respect it is notable that the H.M.S. Herald in The Landing of Lieutenant-Governor Hobson is firing a royal salute. In that painting too a group of Maoris is standing, waiting to welcome or accept the Europeans, while in The Settlement of Wellington Col. Wakefield is transported by a war canoe load of Maori warriors in his service to greet the ships. In The Landing of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, exhibited at the A.S.A. in 1914, Maori canoes accompany Marsden in his small boat. Other groups of Maoris on shore rush forward excitedly, their arms thrown up in awe. An overt sign of British dominance is included too. The Union Jack is already flying above the pa at the highest point in the centre of the painting, thus anticipating the actual acquisition of sovereignty over New Zealand by twenty-six years. That feature implies too the recognition and celebration (in 1914) that missionary work, the Christianisation of the Maori, had been an essential aspect of the 19th century colonisation.

The motif of the Maori either greeting Europeans deferentially, or standing passively, or viewing in wonderment the impending arrival of Europeans from the sea was a recurrent one in representations of Maori-European encounters - from, for example, Webber's The Resolution and Discovery in Queen Charlotte Sound (c.1777, National Maritime Museum) and E. Temple's Capt. Cook Landing in New Zealand to such images of missionary activity as Baxter's The Rev. J. Waterhouse Superintending the Arrival of the Missionaries and Le Blond's The Landing of Samuel Marsden, The First Missionary to New Zealand, Christmas, 1914. In each case the European, be it Cook or a missionary, is dominant - and accompanied by such attributes of European power as sailing ships. Implicit in most if not all these depictions is the notion of the European as the superior benefactor. (Whether delivering pigs or Christianity.) This was spelt out clearly in a large history painting by John Elder Moultray, "It is a God": Capt. Cook's Ship off the Coast of New Zealand, (Fig. 152), exhibited at the Otago Society of Arts in 1910. This represents a group of startled and awed Maoris experiencing their first sight of a European vessel. (The historic moment of the first meeting between Maori and European is imminent.) Moultray depicted only Maori figures. All of them, except for the central, standing figure pointing at the ship, emerge from or sink into the dark, shadowed area in the left foreground. In dramatic contrast, the ship, though small, stands in the open, bathed in light - as if invested in some magical aura or power (over the Maori).

Moultray (1865-1922) was, after Lindauer, the most prolific painter of New Zealand history working outside Auckland. He lived in Dunedin from the early 1890s, where he was illustrator of things Maori for the Otago Daily Times and Witness.[220] In 1898 Moultray wrote that as early as 1888 he had "first decided that my life's work should be the transference to canvas of the leading events in the history of the colony, as I had discovered upon my arrival in New Zealand that it was a well-nigh neglected field among artists".[221] Moultray's

speciality was "Maori" War scenes, of which he produced many - the first, Episode of the Maori Wars (location unknown), exhibited in 1890 at the New Zealand Society of Arts in Wellington.[222] Moultray was a mediocre painter, with few of the technical and compositional skills of Steele, Watkins or Wright. The primary thrust of his War paintings (like von Tempsky's earlier) was the heroism and suffering of European soldiers and settlers in the face of villainous savages. Though he claimed to have "confined" himself "to a simple narrative of the facts as they were described to me by various eyewitnesses whom I interviewed during a tour over the battlefields of the North Island",[223] his paintings, which show close parallels with other later 19th century pictures celebrating British military exploits in the 19th century,[224] were primarily geared to mythmaking. Moultray's historical paintings too can be seen as contributions to the construction of a history - a history that helped justify or "naturalise" European presence in New Zealand and their treatment of the Maori.

The Maoris in Moultray's War paintings are dark (literally and metaphorically), brutish-looking creatures, often faceless, in the shadows and semi-concealed, usually perpetrating murderous attacks on stalwart and fine-looking Europeans. For instance, in A Trooper of the Wanganui Cavalry attacked by a Hau-Hau (Fig. 153), an axe and dagger-wielding Maori is presented back view - an anonymous and depersonalised dark mass, confronting, in contrast, a spotlit British soldier, an individuated human being, a handsome young, regular featured, strong-eyed man striking an impressive pose. While in The Battle of Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu, Sept. 7, 1868 (Fig. 154), exhibited at the Otago Society of Arts in 1912, the Maori figures are merely blobbish configurations semi-visible in the murk of the bush, again in striking contrast to the detailed presentation of British soldiers, their faces individualised, as brave and suffering human beings. Moultray's choice of subject, the type of Maori-European encounter he depicted often connoted viciousness, murderousness,

and bloodthirstiness on the part of the Maori. For instance, one of his works reproduced in the Otago Daily Times, Poverty Bay: Morning of the Massacre, 1898,[225] shows "monstrous" savages (one clutching a long, "mean"-looking dagger straight out of a Victorian melodrama) bursting in on an "innocent" European settler family having a meal - defiling the "sanctity" of the home. Otherwise Moultray favoured ambushes, as, for instance, in The Peach Grove Massacre, 1898,[226] in which semiconcealed Maori figures attack unsuspecting Europeans out in the open. As noted in respect of von Tempsky and Strutt's work, such an ambush of Europeans - noble and heroic - by Maoris in itself denoted their (the Maori) cowardliness, deceit, savagery and inferiority.[227] In Moultray's historical work, more overtly so than in any of the contemporaneous history pieces, the Maori remains a cipher, existing only in terms of European attitudes, values and power; only in so far as he provided a site for European heroism and courage - implying their (European) righteousness and "superiority". Moultray made little attempt to personalise the Maori, or to invest his depicted Maoris with even a superficial "realism" of dress and appearance. What attention there is to Maoris facial features and dress in Moultray's work is rudimentary and sketchy to the point of caricature.

Dennis Seaward, A.R.C.A., an art teacher in Wanganui, exhibited four paintings of Maori mythological events at the A.S.A. between 1910 and 1915. These paintings, which received a favourable critical reception, unfortunately remain untraced. Seaward's "allegorical" treatment of the Legend of Ngarahoe, 1910, was described as a "bold incursion into the realm of the creative imagination and strikes an original note in New Zealand art",[228] while Maori Legend: Tawhaki Seeking Tango, 1914, was described as a "decorative canvas" and a "welcome departure from the conventional";[229] "the treatment of the subject is original and remarkably well done".[230] Maui Lengthens the Daylight, 1915, was seen as an "effective bit of decorative work ... that will attract popular notice"[231], while his fourth Maori painting exhibited in Auckland, Toheriri and

his Mere (Fig. 155) 1913, was considered "a very vigorous piece of work, displaying a rather gruesome episode in Maori warfare".[232] Despite the reviewers' claims, there were in fact notable precedents for the representation of Maori myth and legend by professional artists of high standing in book and periodical illustrations - for instance, James Macdonald's work for the Otago Daily Times,[233] Robert Hawcridge's illustrations in the Red Funnel, 1906,[234] and Wilhelm Dittmer's Te Tohunga, 1907. There were, though, only a few paintings of this kind at Art Society exhibitions. Just as Steele's representations of Maori events can be linked to European types and models, the remarks of the reviewers suggest that this was so with Seaward's paintings too. For example, Maui in Maui Lengthening the Daylight was described as "the Maori Hercules", and the incident depicted allegedly served "to remind us how closely our [emphasis added] native legends resemble those of Antiquity".[235] That is, on the slender evidence available, Seaward's work too most probably could be related to the cultural forces discussed in this chapter - the incorporation of Maori material into an indigenous European culture in New Zealand in need of a past. One of the primary features of this incorporation was the tailoring of the Maori material to European types and tastes, while retaining and stressing outward Maori appearance in terms of dress, artefacts and sometimes physiognomy, in the interests of creating a distinctively New Zealand imagery.

In this respect H. Linley Richardson's Life in an Olden Time Maori Pah (Fig. 156), exhibited at the Otago Society of Arts and the Canterbury Society of Arts in 1914,[236] provides an apt conclusion. In this excursion into historical painting,[237] Richardson (1878-1947), an Englishman who came to New Zealand to teach art, presented an overt fiction; a fantasy of the "old-time" Maori. The painting is crammed with the popular "native" stereotypes - beautiful girls, imposing, chieftain-like warriors, exotic and picturesque clothes and surroundings, quaint children - all serving to enrich and decorate the set. It is Maoridom as a Hollywood director may have staged it; Maoridom

akin, for instance, to that in Domett's romance, Ranolf and Amohia and, to link up with Grey again, visualising "the romantic glow of a primitive state of existence".

CHAPTER VI

LINDAUER'S HISTORICAL PAINTINGS : THE LARGE SCALE REPRESENTATIONS OF TRADITIONAL MAORI ACTIVITIES AND LEGEND PRODUCED FOR HENRY PARTRIDGE AND WALTER BULLER

Lindauer (1839-1926) had the longest working career (from 1873) of any European painter who was resident in New Zealand and depicted the Maori. With the exception of Goldie he would have produced more oil paintings of the Maori than any other artist.[1] Unlike Goldie's work there is considerable variety in subject and manner of presentation in Lindauer's Maori pictures - for example, portraits of famous (living and dead) and little-known figures in European and Maori dress, depictions of traditional activities and customs, genre-like paintings of contemporary Maori life, groups of figures with Maori artefacts, and the occasional Maori belle and mythological subject.[2] It would require a book to do justice to his enormous oeuvre.

In terms of their social, economic, ideological and aesthetic co-ordinates Lindauer's Maori historical paintings are complex works, that exemplify well how a multiplicity of factors could contribute to the meanings and effects representations of the Maori could have. The group of eight large oil paintings of traditional activities and life style for the Auckland businessman, Henry Partridge, are comprised of:

> <u>Tohunga under Tapu</u> (Fig. 157), 1901;
> <u>The Tohunga-a-moko at Work</u> (Fig. 158), 1903;
> <u>Maori Women Plaiting Flax Baskets</u> (Fig. 159), c.1903;
> <u>Maori Women Weaving Flax Garments</u> (Fig. 160), 1906;
> <u>Happy Days</u> or <u>Maori Children Playing Knucklebones</u> (Fig. 161), 1907;
> <u>As Cook Found Them</u> or <u>Digging with the Ko</u> (Fig. 162), 1907;
> <u>In Days Gone By</u> or <u>Fire Making</u> (Fig. 163), 1910;
> <u>The Time of Kai</u> (Fig. 164), 1907.

Documents show that a painting of a traditional war dance or haka was planned too.[3] Considerable research was undertaken (mainly by Partridge) in 1902-03

for this proposed work, but I have not found any evidence that it was ever executed. The eight paintings were exhibited in Partridge's Lindauer Gallery in Queen Street[4] until late 1912, and thereafter in the Auckland Art Gallery, first on loan before being gifted in 1915.[5] Though produced for and shown in Auckland - "the proper and natural home for these pictures", according to Partridge[6] - at a time when Maori historical paintings were considered so important and necessary, they were not exhibited at the Auckland Society of Arts. Even if there are primary features in common between his works and those of Steele, Watkins and Wright, Lindauer himself operated largely outside the art society circuit. He exhibited only once at the A.S.A.[7]

When Partridge's Lindauer Gallery was opened in September 1901, the then forty Maori portraits and one large historical piece (Tohunga under Tapu) constituted a collection without parallel in New Zealand - "unrivalled in the world", claimed the historian, James Cowan.[8] As early as 1901 the Auckland Star reviewer described it as "a national collection, though it has been left to a private citizen to do that which should really have been the care of the State"[9] - a belief that was reiterated when the by then much expanded collection (sixty-two portraits and eight historical pieces) was gifted to the Art Gallery - "The Government should have undertaken ... (such) a great work years ago", the New Zealand Herald opined.[10] In fact the Government had shown considerable interest in the collection. Nine of the paintings, including Tohunga under Tapu and The Tohunga-a-moko at Work, were borrowed by the Government for the New Zealand exhibit at the Louisana World Exposition of 1904.[11] And in 1905-06 there were negotiations between Partridge and the Government to purchase the collection for the Colonial Museum in Wellington. Augustus Hamilton, the director and a leading creator of the Maori past for Europeans, wanted "the whole lot".[12] The negotiations fell through because the Government thought Partridge's price, £10,000, too high,[13] but the Government continued to make use of the work and recognise its national importance, via

the Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Tourism, which "continuously" notified "the travelling public" of the Lindauer Art Gallery.[14] The "fame" of the collection spread outside New Zealand. For instance, Partridge was offered "considerable sums" by "English, American and European art publishing firms and photographers for publication rights".[15]

The price that Partridge sought for his collection, the sums for which the paintings were insured and the amount they were eventually sold for suggest both the ambitions Partridge had for his work, and the status and value they were to achieve in New Zealand culture. The £10,000 he wanted for three large paintings and about fifty portraits in 1906 priced them above the going rates for comparable works by other leading Auckland artists such as Steele and Goldie. The two large Goldie paintings, Darby and Joan and The Widow, bought by the citizens of Auckland and gifted to the Countess of Ranfurly, cost a hundred guineas apiece in 1903.[16] Prices for Goldie's paintings, usually smaller in size, were generally much lower in the first decade of the century. For instance, Memories (Robert McDougall Art Gallery) fetched £31.10.00 in 1902, The Bonescraper (Auckland Institute and Museum) was priced likewise at the A.S.A. in 1904, and A Centenarian, Aperahama (Private Collection) £73.10.00 there in 1909.[17] In the 1910-15 period Goldie's Maori portraits of much the same size were priced from c.£84.00.00 to £105.00.00 in the A.S.A. catalogues.[18] Steele's large historical paintings remained at much the same level from 1899 - £200.00.00 for The Arrival of the Maori - until 1916 - £250.00.00 for The Launching of a Maori Canoe[19] - while the average price for a large New Zealand historical piece was £100.00.00 - for example, Watkins' The Legend of the Voyage to New Zealand.[20] The £10,000 that the seventy Lindauers were eventually released for in 1915, in the circumstances[21] probably less than Partridge would otherwise have asked, still placed them in monetary value at the top of the league. Back in 1904 the ten Lindauers exhibited at St Louis had been insured for £3,920 - £1,400 each for Tohunga under Tapu and The

Tohunga-a-moko at Work, and ₤140.00.00 apiece for the portraits.[22]

The wrangles over the pricing of the Lindauer collection in 1906 and Partridge's claim that he could "fetch" two or three times the price at Christies[23] suggest that his interest in the work was not financially disinterested; that, besides the aesthetic and historical uses they fulfilled for Europeans in the early 20th century, the paintings could have functioned as investment commodities. (That is the primary "meaning" they have for many Europeans in New Zealand today.) The insurance value of ₤140.00.00 for the portraits, for example, indicates their investment potential. Five of those paintings had been in a batch of eighteen for which Partridge paid Lindauer ₤190.00.00 in the mid 1880s - a little more than ₤10.00.00 each.[24] By 1900 Lindauer's portraits were generally selling from c.₤20.00.00 to ₤25.00.00. So by 1904, three years after the opening of his public gallery, Partridge's "mark-up" was huge. This does not necessarily mean that Partridge was simply speculating on the Lindauers - taking advantage of the status they had acquired. It points to the crucial role Partridge played in the "creation" of the Lindauers as the viewing public knew them - the way they acquired value, not just monetary, because of Partridge's contribution - his primary role in the presentation of the works in Auckland. Also the long-term patronage of Partridge was a fundamental factor in the formulation of Lindauer's image of the Maori. Lindauer produced the subjects that Partridge wanted, to Partridge's "order".[25] For twenty-five years this had amounted primarily to "memorials of prominent chiefs" and celebrities, many of whom were dead before Lindauer arrived in New Zealand, before the production of the large scale depictions of traditional Maori activities began. Given Partridge's participation in the planning of the paintings and his control of the public presentation it is not adequate to follow the conventional notion of the artist (in this case Lindauer) as the sole "creator" of the work. He was more of a "collaborator" with Partridge, in the production of what the latter described

as "practically a pictorial history of the colony since its earliest days".[26] Partridge's role was recognised. He, as much as Lindauer, was identified with the paintings - the collection being described as the result of "the labour of love and the all engrossing aims of its possessor".[27]

Another man, the writer and specialist on New Zealand and Maori history, James Cowan, also collaborated significantly in the "creation" of the paintings in their public viewing context - in terms of the meanings they had for contemporary viewers. He wrote a lengthy Descriptive Catalogue for the collection when it first appeared publicly in 1901. He directed viewers to see the paintings in a certain way. He emphatically presented the paintings as a record of the "old order" in "Maoriland", which, in his opinion, "passed away for ever" with the death of King Tawhiao in 1894.[28] This view cued contemporary response. Contemporary viewers did see the Partridge collection, especially the paintings of traditional activities, as a "pictorial history" of "Old Maoridom". According to the Lyttleton Times:[29]

> The Collection ... preserves something of the real old New Zealand for the coming years when the adventurous and romantic period in the Dominion history will have assumed the remoteness and dimness almost of a dream.

The New Zealand Herald claimed:[30]

> We have allowed an aboriginal race to largely pass away, with manners and customs largely unrecorded .... Mr. Partridge has preserved many valuable records of the noble Maori race ... of a type of Maori now fast dying out.

And a catalogue of the Auckland Art Gallery described the collection as:[31]

> ... permanent records of the life and art of the finest division of the Polynesian race.

A consideration of the constituents of this record of the "old-time" Maori displaced by European progress and of how the "pictorial history" was assembled is crucial to any understanding of the view (among Europeans) of the past and its relation to the present, to which Lindauer's paintings can be related. Claims were made for the ethnological accuracy of Lindauer's Maori paintings. Cowan insisted on their absolute correctness in his Descriptive Catalogue,[32]

while in his The Maoris of New Zealand, 1910, he characterised the paintings as "photographic in their meticulous fidelity to life".[33] That is, European viewers, who might not have known much about the Maori, were directed to see the paintings as "objective" records. Partridge too claimed they "faithfully represented ... past customs of the Maori people".[34] Cowan's line was followed. After all he was an "authority" on the Maori. Reviewers repeated his evaluations: So, for example, "painstaking fidelity to detail", "meticulous correctness",[35] "... inestimable ethnological value"[36] were presented as the dominant features of Lindauer's paintings.

In fact, though the attention to Maori artefacts is often very detailed, strict ethnological accuracy is not a primary feature of his paintings. This is not surprising since Lindauer was an artist not an ethnologist. While individual features of dress, ornament and architecture might have been depicted accurately, they were often combined together or presented in ways that were ethnologically and historically inappropriate and erroneous. For instance, the grass skirt worn by the tohunga in Tohunga under Tapu is anachronistically a 20th century artefact, not of the earlier period when the depicted custom was practised, while the dress of the figures in Digging with the Ko is wrong for the occasion - in particular the middle figure is incongruously garbed in ceremonial dress and a warbelt. And in Maori Women Weaving Flax Garments the method depicted in the foreground was not known among the Maori.[37] It is noteworthy too that Lindauer's delineations of the moko in individual portraits for Partridge were not necessarily accurate or faithful to the actual moko patterns of the person portrayed, despite claims made for their value as records.[38] Lindauer tended to "tidy up" the lines, curves and "roughnesses" of the moko, as most European artists did, in order, probably, to create more "pleasingly" rhythmic patterns by European standards.[39] This suggests that ethnological accuracy was not a primary concern of Lindauer, though the objects represented had to be sufficiently "Maori" to be credible

for European viewers.

In respect of their alleged documentary value it is noteworthy that the paintings were produced by Lindauer at several removes from any experience of authentic "old-time" Maori life. Despite the claim that Lindauer had studied in "isolated Maori villages that had not been disfigured by weatherboard shanties, and where the old Maoris clung to many of the customs of his ancestors",[40] a study of Lindauer's sources for these paintings shows that the information necessary to achieve credibility derived primarily from photographs, earlier paintings and book illustrations of Maori customs. For instance, Lindauer had close connections with the Napier photographer Samuel Carnell, who took many photographs of the Maori, Maori architecture and artefacts.[41] There are parallels between Carnell's photographs and features in Lindauer's paintings. For example, the viewpoint of the porch of a carved meeting house, the area of the porch depicted, the view through to the landscape on the left, and the carving in Maori Women Weaving Flax Garments parallels a Carnell photograph almost exactly, while the rafter painting and the tukutuku design are close variants.[42]

There is evidence too which suggests that Lindauer worked from photographs of staged "mock-ups" of traditional Maori activities. For instance, the extent to which Partridge was prepared to reconstruct a past, to fashion a fiction, and his disregard for ethnological authenticity is revealed in a series of letters from James McKay, a Government Land Purchase Commissioner, to Partridge. McKay and Partridge were trying to arrange a traditional haka, to be photographed so that Lindauer could paint another record of an "old-time" Maori custom.[43] McKay, whose job involved persuading Maoris to part with their land in the interests of European progress and development (mining and farming), made several attempts in 1902-03 to, in his own words, "attain our object of getting up a tuwae-wae" (war dance) - in Otorohonga, Waihi and Whakarewarewa. This proved difficult because of the "expense", and McKay's

claim that the young Maori lacked interest in and knowledge of the traditional activities.[44] How inauthentic the proposed haka painting by Lindauer would have been, torn out of its original cultural context without regard for tribal distinctions, is borne out in the following extract from a letter by McKay:[45]

> I had a talk with some of the chiefs here, but ... there are not enough old men in the district to make anything like a success (of the haka) here. The young fellows know nothing about a wardance. If the Ngatihaua (of Maungakawa) are not sufficient (at least forty were required) we could supplement them with some Ngatiraukawa from Patatere, all of these could easily be brought to Cambridge .... If the Maoris are procurable we could easily get them into a paddock quietly to be photographed .... The Urewera would be the place, but those Maoris would be difficult to get the consent of to being photographed. As to the cost I expect the Maori part would cost 15/- per head. That is for railway fares, entertainment, etc ....

McKay and Partridge were not unique in their manufacturing of a Maori past. Museum personnel such as Augustus Hamilton and James Macdonald also arranged stagings of traditional Maori customs in Maori dress (at a time when traditional dress was not worn), which were photographed and then used as anthropological and historical records or documents. For example, Augustus Hamilton went to Ruatahuna in 1898 "to photograph some of the older natives in Maori dress working at mats, carving, etc".[46] Indeed a number of Hamilton's staged photographs either provided the primary visual source or contributed to the formulation of Lindauer's paintings of traditional activities. For example, the row of figures digging a kumara patch in Digging with the Ko derives from Hamilton's photograph Maoris Digging with the Ko, though the figures are reversed. And In Days Gone By was based on Hamilton's Firemaking. Both these photographs were reproduced in Edward Tregear's The Maori Race, 1904,[47] while Hamilton's own Maori Art, 1901, had included these photographs too, as well as another of a female figure weaving a flax mat, which corresponds to the profile figure on the left of Lindauer's Maori Women Weaving Flax Garments.[48] There are also postcard, tourist brochure, and National or Government publicity photographs of traditional Maori activities, likewise re-enacted or staged. A number of these photographs show close parallels to

features in Lindauer's historical paintings and possibly provided source materials or models for him. For instance, there is a National Publicity photo (c.1900) of a group of Maori girls plaiting flax baskets[49] and another by an unidentified photographer of a group of six Maori children, playing knucklebones in the portico of a whare with carved panels behind them.[50] Hamilton, though he did not include a photo, described the playing of knucklebones in his Maori Art.[51] Cowan claimed that the tohunga and the girl in Tohunga under Tapu were painted "from life"[52] in the Wanganui district, but it is unlikely that Lindauer could have witnessed such a scene, since the practice had ended before Lindauer arrived in New Zealand. There were, however, Government Publicity photographs of women feeding tohungas, including one such photograph among Partridge's documents.[53]

Besides photographs, Lindauer's paintings can be related to a "pool" of European representations in various media of Maori customs. What the interconnections reveal is that Lindauer's paintings were generally composite images - made up of "bits and pieces" from a number of sources - elements from photographs, book illustrations, for instance, much expanded in scale, rendered in colour. That is, Lindauer's choices and presentation of subject in the Partridge paintings were "rooted" in other European representations of the Maori - embedded more in a matrix of other images rather than in the actualities of Maori history and experience. (They are representations of an idea of Maoridom.) For instance, there was a recent precedent, besides photographs, in terms of subject for Maori Women Weaving Flax Garments. That is Steele's Studies of Ancient Maori Life and Character, No. 1. Mat Weaving - a drawing reproduced in a double page spread in the New Zealand Graphic in 1903.[54] And there is a depiction of a tapued chief eating with a fern stalk in the Rev. Taylor's Te Ika a Maui, 1870, p. 163, and an engraving of tapued people being fed in Dumont D'Urville's Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde, v. 2, p. 374. This book also includes an illustration, p. 387, of a row of

figures digging a kumara patch, as in Digging with the Ko. There are a number of earlier European representations of Maori tattooers at work, some of which include features and details paralleled in Lindauer's Tohunga-a-moko - for example, another engraving, p. 382, in Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde and the sepia engraving after Earle in Earle's Narrative. A version of this appeared in Robley's Moko: or Maori Tattooing, p. 54, the "definitive" European text on tattooing. Steele's Tattooing in Olden Times also affords striking parallels: A cloaked male figure seated by the whare door to the left of the tattooer, the figures before the whare, the flax mats, the ornate carvings, the small dogs. And there is an illustration of a tattooing scene by another professional artist, Robert Atkinson, in Kate McCosh Clarke's Maori Tales and Legends, 1896, p. 136.[55] It has been noted too that the staging of the scene in The Time of Kai with small groups of figures of all ages preparing and eating food from fore to midground, the large buildings in the background and the hills in the far distance generally echo the lithograph of Gilfillan's Interior, 1851.

The prototypes or models for Lindauer's presentation of his subjects were not restricted to images made in New Zealand or depicting things Maori. For instance, there is an obvious model for Happy Days - the 17th century Spanish painter, Murillo's similarly large scale paintings of urchins at play or leisure. For instance, Murillo's Dice Players (c.1620, Alte Pinakothek, Munich) features a group of charmingly rustic, bare-shouldered children playing with knucklebone-sized objects. They occupy much the same place and space in the picture as the children in the Lindauer, which is likewise characterised by its subdued palette and exotic details. The strong likelihood of the Lindauer-Murillo connection is indicated by the existence of at least two copies after Murillo by Lindauer, one of which represents smiling and sweet peasant boys eating grapes - an image of bucolic charm and ease like Happy Days.[56]

Even if it would be difficult to isolate in European History painting models as specific as the Murillo for Happy Days for the other paintings, in general in terms of style, Lindauer's treatment of the figure, the relationship of figures to space, colouration and technique a number of possible models or sources of inspiration need to be considered. Lindauer had executed History paintings before he left Czechoslovakia - most notably two series of paintings of religious subjects for the decoration of chapels in Klobousky and Vizovice in Moravia in the 1860s. A Czech art historian, Frantisek Subert, has claimed that these works reveal an early-mid 19th century German Nazarene influence, via Lindauer's Professor at art school in Vienna, Joseph Fuhrich, who had recommended him for the chapel decoration.[57] Subert cites the "monumentality", the "planary execution", the "unexpressive" colouring, the "simple" and "severe" treatment of the forms, and the sharp contrasts of light and shade as Nazarene-derived features[58] - even though sharp contrasts of light and shade are not characteristic of Nazarene work, nor was "monumentality" the sole preserve of that school. In fact Lindauer's chapel decoration is not strikingly Nazarene or Fuhrich-like.[59] Even allowing for some Nazarene input in the treatment of the figures, formally Lindauer's Czech History paintings conform primarily less to Nazarene work than to a standard mid 19th century Academic "classic-baroque" mix. Basic ingredients of this manner; stock "histrionic" gestures, poses and expressions, dramatic and formulaic light-dark interactions, "animated" interrelationships of figures, which frequently merge and overlap, are apparent in Lindauer's work.[60]

Though there are some common features, Lindauer's paintings of Maori traditional activities produced forty years later differ in fundamental respects from his Czech paintings. The drawing and modelling of the Maori figures too are simplified, the articulation of their limbs "awkward", but whereas in Lindauer's youthful Czech works these features look as much the result of technical deficiency as deliberate, in the Maori paintings they look

more controlled, and are consistent with the way the paintings are structured, the figures handled otherwise - as if, that is, Lindauer was now working to a system. The mode of composition, the way the figures relate to one another and to their environment, the lighting, colouration and handling of paint are strikingly different in Lindauer's Maori work, and point to other, new sources of inspiration - which he would not have been familiar with in his Czech days.

The lighting in the New Zealand work is more even, "flat" and "non-dramatic". Very little shadow is cast by the figures and objects. This is most apparent in In Days Gone By. There is very little overlapping of anatomical forms. Even if engaged in physical activity, the figures have a static, frozen, non-dynamic quality. These features can be linked to the spatial effects and to the manner in which the compositions are layered (not a feature of the Czech works). The figures are large and close to the foreground, occupying either a very shallow space, closed off by buildings or walls (as in Happy Days, The Tohunga-a-moko at Work, Maori Women Weaving Flax Garments, Tohunga under Tapu), or they are set against a backdrop comprised of a "tipped-up" ground area with a high horizon, on which are placed buildings, palisades, trees, hills. For instance, in In Days Gone By the two foreground figures look "stuck on" to a series of layers - given by buildings, palisades, hills, sky - on top of one another, so that there is a flattened-out spatial effect, rather than a sense of illusionistic space or depth. To cite just one manifestation of this in In Days Gone By; the wood and the stones theoretically behind the male's arm and the palisade behind the female's head all appear (non-illusionistically) almost on the same plane. It might be suggested that this merely indicates Lindauer's technical incompetence, his inability to realise a convincing illusion. I will argue otherwise - that this, combined with other features, point to a deliberate application of a particular formal method, in an attempt to visualise certain ideas and feelings about the Maori and New Zealand history, and about the Maori as the subject for art - in

particular historical painting.

It is possible that early-mid 19th century German Nazarene painting, especially that of Fuhrich, may have contributed to the formulation of Lindauer's mature style too (though one might have expected such an influence to be more apparent than it was in his Bohemian period, when he had closer contact with actual Nazarene work). Nazarene paintings are generally characterised by an even lightness or an avoidance of dramatic light-dark relationships, and by a certain degree of simplification in the rendering of physiognomy and anatomical form. Nazarene figures are, though, still more full bodied and muscled, not so boneless and rudimentarily modelled as Lindauer's. And while Nazarene work too generally shows a clarity and lack of complication in spatial organisation and figure groupings, in contrast to Lindauer's work, landscape vistas giving a sense of deep space, and more dramatic situations and encounters remained primary features of their work.[61]

However primary features of Lindauer's historical paintings, such as the layered composition, the flattened-out look, the even lighting and frozen, non-dramatic quality of the depicted scenes bring to mind more particularly the large scale, monumental and decorative paintings of Puvis de Chavannes (1824-98).[62] While Nazarene painting attracted few followers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Puvis' work became very influential and well-known internationally in the 1880s, 1890s and early 1900s. Lindauer surely would have been familiar with it. In the 1890s and after his death many articles, critiques and monographs on Puvis' work were published in France, England and America.[63] He was admired by artists of a variety of stylistic camps. Major exhibitions of his work were held in 1887, 1899 and 1901, and the dealers, Durand-Ruel, in Paris maintained a large collection of his paintings. His major Parisian decorative cycles - the most notable produced in late 19th century Paris - in the Pantheon, the Hôtel de Ville and the Sorbonne - could be seen easily. For any artist commissioned to produce a series or group of large

scale paintings, thematically related, for installation in a specified location, as Lindauer was by and for Partridge, Puvis de Chavannes' work would have provided a primary reference point or model.

Lindauer visited Britain and Europe in 1886-87 and 1901. A number of Puvis' paintings, in particular the series on the life of St. Genevieve in the Pantheon (Figs 165 and 166) manifest striking formal parallels with Lindauer's work - even if such primary features as the flattened or patterned quality is more extreme in Puvis' work. To elaborate: Besides the non-illusionistic flattened-out space and the layered composition, Puvis' paintings are characterised by radical simplifications and schematisations in the forms of the figures - and by the use of repetition and echo of pose, shape and configuration in the interests of the pattern and visual rhythm necessary for monumental decoration (such repetition and patterning effects are not a feature of Nazarene work). There is not a great variety in pose and configuration among Puvis' figures. He avoided complexity and drama in the organisation of figures and groupings. Lindauer's historical paintings for Partridge are similarly characterised, even if not to such an extreme degree as Puvis. In Digging with the Ko, for instance, which is curiously inanimate for a scene ostensibly of action, there is a marked repetition of shape and pose across the picture shape. But more telling are the repetitions and echoes from painting to painting in the series. A recurrent motif, a leitmotif, in terms of shape is a configuration made up of smooth, interrelating bowl-shaped curves given by heads - usually profile or semi-profile, though sometimes frontal - running into similarly gently rounded curves of shoulders, heads and upper arms of the figures - whether seated or standing. This configuration, repeated in many of the figures from painting to painting, is a major device serving to link and unify the work. It is noteworthy that this same configuration is commonly found in Puvis' painting and fulfils the same function in terms of pattern and rhythm (see, for example, The Childhood of St. Genevieve, (Fig. 165)). These

"easy-to-look-at" rhythms are echoed by the "calm" undulations of landscape forms in Lindauer's painting and, sometimes, in the raupo roofing of huts - a system of rhyming also found in Puvis' painting (again see The Childhood of St. Genevieve). The rhythms given by the flow of the various curved shapes are, in paintings such as Digging with the Ko and Maori Women Weaving Flax Garments, counterpoised, stabilised, "held together" by "geometric" elements - vertical accents primarily, but also horizontals and diagonals, of palisades, posts, doors, frames, raupo walls, tukutuku panels. Puvis too structured his images in a similar way - with vertically and horizontally disposed and simplified botanical and architectural features establishing a grid-like aspect to many of his works.

The anatomical simplifications in the Lindauers and the schematised drawing look more Puvis-related too. In respect of possible technical defects it is noteworthy that accusations of "weak" modelling and "flabby" drawing were levelled against Puvis.[64] In both artists' work the shapes that anatomical forms take are geared less to anatomical actualities than to decorative and patterning requirements. The modelling of the upper torsos of the figures in Digging with the Ko, for example, is extremely rudimentary, with little attention to musculature and little sense of body volume. By the standards of the day they are not "fleshed-out", but flattish, and also smooth and unmarked. That is characteristic of Lindauer's figures. The legs of the figures too are radically simplified, with no internal modelling and no sense of the movement of muscle and ligament that an illusionist rendering of such an activity would represent. There are figures in Puvis' painting that are almost identical in these respects. For example, in St. Genevieve at Prayer (Fig. 166) there is a figure, back to the viewer, bare-backed and legged, clad in a simple drape round the waist, left arm extended, while in Pottery (Rouen Museum) there is a similarly clad and torsoed figure in profile digging. (A kumara digger transposed perhaps.) Besides the structural parallels, Lindauer and Puvis'

figures manifest much the same look. Faces lack much differentiation. The expressions are bland, "non-expressive", often set in blankish half-smiles. Faces tend to be smooth too, unwrinkled (except in Tohunga under Tapu), undetailed, except for the unnaturalistically sharp focused rendering of the moko in Lindauer's work, which rather than contributing to any illusion adds to the primacy of the decorative patterned effect.

To complete the Puvis correspondences: In both artists' work the paint surface is "thin" and undemonstrative, and the colouration is subdued - "anaemic" even, low toned, with only a few bright or intense colour accents. (In this respect contrasting markedly with Nazarene painting, which is characterised by bright local colours.) The colour effects in the Lindauers are orchestrated round tones of brown and green, with the occasional earth-toned red accent, as in the rafters and woman's head scarf in Maori Women Weaving and on the canoe prow in The Tohunga-a-moko at Work. It might be argued that the colouration is primarily geared to documentary requirements. But Lindauer's colour, though vegetal and organic, does not carry that sense of earthiness, ruggedness, roughness, which, by way of contrast, characterises Earle's very undecorative watercolours of traditional Maori life executed in the 1820s and based directly on the personal observation and experience of the artist.[65] In the Lindauer work there is nothing irregular or discordant in the colour or shape. All is ordered, "calm". Likewise the meticulous detailing of the Maori artefacts and architectural components, and the "build-up" of them from painting to painting in the group, was determined primarily by their decorativeness, not by the needs of ethnological documentation. Thus, for instance, the inclusion of the canoe prow in The Tohunga-a-moko at Work is incongruous, even nonsensical in an ethnological sense, but contributes a striking visual effect to the image, enhancing the decorative aspect - as do the ethnologically inappropriate garments on prominent display in Digging with the Ko. So, whatever value the paintings might have had in terms of

ethnological documentation, it was incidental to their primary function, for which the Puvis correspondences were most apt.

The formal parallels that I have drawn between Lindauer and Puvis' monumental and decorative pieces did not simply represent a convergence of stylistic means, coincidental or irrelevant to the artists' thematic and ideological purposes. Rather, it might be argued, the Puvis-type aspect of the work fulfilled a specifiable function. That is, the forms of representation Lindauer chose can not be divorced from the purposes of the imagery and the requirements of patron and audience.

Maurice Denis admired the deep "calm" of Puvis' painting.[66] Puvis himself spoke of his quest for the "eternal",[67] and the figures in many of his paintings do seem to inhabit some "timeless" realm, outside history. Meyer Schapiro has described Puvis' work as "noble, monumental and idealised"; "comprehensive images of a stable community, austere and harmonious".[68] Such views help elucidate the meaning of the Puvis-Lindauer connection. The "calm", the tranquility, the harmony of visual and decorative effect and of mood that prevail in Lindauer's images of traditional Maori activities represent an idealised world - a world that corresponds to one side - the romantic and poetic - of that dualistic view of the Maori past so commonly entertained by Europeans in the late 19th-early 20th centuries. That is, Lindauer's adoption, at least in part, of a formal method associated with an eminent French artist, whose work evoked an arcadian and mythical past (and by implication a less favourable view of the present), assisted him (Lindauer) to visualise a certain view of the Maori past. The absence of drama, the static, frozen quality of Lindauer's tableaux, the archaism of the figures, the half smiles and abstracted look of the figures carry a sense of remoteness, distance, "dream" - which fits in neatly with the standard European view of traditional, primitive Maoridom as either something of the past or something the last remnants of which were about to vanish for all time in face of European progress.[69]

That is why Lindauer's European contemporaries could view the paintings, despite the ethnological errors and the stress on the decorative, as records. They were representations of history as they viewed it. Nowadays Lindauer's paintings can be seen, despite Partridge, Cowan and others' claims, not as "slices of (Maori) life" as it was, but as monuments to a particular idea of the Maori past, as attempts to naturalise the ideological.[70] I have noted that the commonplace dualistic view of the Maori past imaged it as the site, on the one hand, of violence and barbarism, and on the other of romance, nobility and poesy - and that these seemingly contradictory states coexisted quite happily in the minds of Europeans. In contrast, though some of his portraits for Partridge could still be read as representations of the savage and the barbaric aspects of Maori "tradition",[71] Lindauer favoured the noble and the romantic - just as that other European romanticiser and builder of a Maori past, Johannes Andersen did: "If the ideal side (of Maori history and mythology) has been kept more in view, it has been rather as a set off against the gross, which has been too often dwelt on, and too strongly emphasised."[72]

While representations of Maori history as characterised by violence and barbarism could contribute to the justification of European colonialism in New Zealand in the interests of progress and civilisation, Lindauer's (and others) representations of the "old-time" Maori and Maori life as noble and romantic provided a readymade Antiquity for the new European culture in New Zealand. (Not for nothing did the dress of Lindauer's Maoris conveniently echo standardised classical drapery in its fall and order.) This Antiquity so created skirted over, evaded the conflicts, contradictions and uncertainties of the actual past (as monuments tend to do) in favour of an idealised past of order and harmony[73] - analogous to Puvis', "eternal", monumental - a myth of the past. Lindauer's "easy-to-live-with" view of the traditional activities of what the New Zealand Herald in 1900 described as the "noblest savage race in the world",[74] was, it would seem from the enthusiastic contemporary responses,

one view of the past that Europeans wanted and needed. When the Lindauer collection was first publicly presented Cowan in the Descriptive Catalogue directed viewers to see Lindauer's Maoris in this way. His insistence that Lindauer's "old-time" Maoris represented a "splendid race", "the finest aboriginal race known" was echoed by later writers.[75] But the monumentalisation, the "nobility" of Lindauer's and Partridge's depicted Maoris did not necessarily imply a similar view of the contemporary Maori people. Firstly: The "noblest savage" was not synonymous with the 18th century concept of the noble savage, a fundamental component of which was the notion that savage life was superior to civilisation.[76] It was noted in Chapter I that it was conventional among Europeans in New Zealand in the 19th century to classify the Maori as the most "superior" of the "inferior" races.[77] For instance, Angas' sympathetic and positive view of the Maori in T.N.Z.I. was sustained by this belief.

Secondly: The monumentalisation of the "old-time" Maori culture and people in the later 19th-early 20th century European social and cultural context could imply a contrary, negative view of the contemporary Maori (in particular those unassimilated or only semi-assimilated to European culture and society) and their relationship to Pakeha culture and society. The romanticisation of the "old order" that had passed away or the nostalgic lament for the passing of the "old order"[78] could carry the implication that the present day un- or semi-assimilated Maori were of lesser quality than their forbears (and Europeans). Why lament the "old order" otherwise? That is, the crucial factors in the monumentalisation of the "old-time" Maori were that they had passed into history and that they contrasted with the relative decadence of contemporary un- or semi-assimilated Maori existence, which could only be redeemed by complete assimilation into the allegedly more progressive European culture and society. For instance, to Lindauer's associate Cowan a "good" and praiseworthy Maori was one who had adapted him or herself to the "ways and

needs of Civilisation".[79] In The Maoris of New Zealand he singled out the Ngati-Porou for praise because they had made the most "progress in civilisation".[80] And James McKay, one of Partridge's collaborators in reconstructing traditional Maori culture so that Lindauer could make paintings of it, could comment in respect of this and the contemporary Maori: "So much for these degenerate days".[81] This view could be internalised by some Maoris too. For instance, in the Foreward of Andersen's Maori Life in Ao-tea, Apirana Ngata, a politician who recommended assimilation,[82] wrote:[83]

> As a Maori, albeit degenerate and much contaminated, I have to acknowledge my appreciation of the conscientious, painstaking and interesting effort of the author to reconstruct for us the scenes of the past.

It is noteworthy that Andersen's book was "Dedicated to the Older (i.e. traditional) Maori People of Ao-teo-roa and to the Younger (European) Poets and Artists of New Zealand with Hopes for the Immortality of One at the Hands of the Other".[84] Another artist, the itinerant Scottish sculptor, Allen Hutchinson, who was also closely involved with Lindauer and Partridge at the time of the opening of the Lindauer Gallery, could write: "Sad to see the decadence of the (Maori) race ... comparing the old generation to the new".[85] It was in a context of such attitudes that Lindauer's work was produced and seen among Europeans; that "old-time" Maori culture was monumentalised and romanticised.

In this respect, the relationship of Lindauer's The Time of Kai, the only representation of contemporary Maori life in the Lindauer Gallery, to the other images of the traditional Maori is noteworthy. The treatment of the figures in Time of Kai contrasts radically with that in the other works. While the painting itself is big, the many figures are relatively small and unimposing - and scattered about the picture space, rather than presented monumentally in the front planes of the painting. The simple and clear order and harmony in the organisation of the figures and their relationship to their environment that characterises the other paintings does not prevail in The Time of Kai.

Rather there are disjunctive elements. The figures in the foreground, for instance, look more randomly disposed - simply spread across the picture space with less attention to the rhythms and interlocking curves in the relationships of figures - a feature that is apparent in the monumental pieces. The colour effects in The Time of Kai "upset" order and harmony too. Whereas in the other paintings the palette is subdued, the colour effects harmonised round a limited range of traditionally earth and vegetal tones, in The Time of Kai, bright and "modern" (perhaps "artificial" as against "natural") reds, yellows, blues, whites intrude - most notably in the nondescript European clothes, which contrast with the "classical" drapery in the paintings of traditional activities - a sign of the breakdown of the "old order". The colours in The Time of Kai too have a random, staccato effect, rather than being integrated into an ordered colouristic and tonal scheme. That is, the contemporary Maori, in contrast to the "old-time" Maori, was not monumentalised and romanticised by Lindauer in the Lindauer Gallery. Even if colourful and picturesque (as contemporary Maori life generally was presented in genre painting[86]) they are small, unimposing, nondescript figures engaged in mundane activities - in contrast to the "interesting", exotic and ethnically distinctive activities represented in the other paintings. The figures in The Time of Kai are lesser figures, their appearance and life less impressive, more banal. This contrast in presentation of the "old-time" and contemporary Maori by Lindauer can be related to the distinctions many Europeans drew between the quality of "old-time" Maori life and that of un- or semi-assimilated contemporary Maoris still "clinging" to the remnants of a culture that had been displaced by European progress.

Hutchinson's contribution to the Lindauer Gallery deserves note. He travelled, worked and exhibited in New Zealand in 1900-01. His status as a professional sculptor was such that there was a major exhibition of his sculpture at the A.S.A. in 1901 - comprised mostly of studies of non-European

people (Maori, Hawaiian, Chinese).[87] The Lindauer Gallery, when it opened in 1901, included a set of six reliefs of Maori heads by Hutchinson,[88] whose stated aim was to "hand down to posterity" "records" of the "old-time" Maori, who "like all primitive people who come in contact with white men is rapidly losing his identity".[89] That is, he was concerned, like Lindauer, with "fixing" or creating a past. Hutchinson's speciality was sculpture of racial types who had experienced European colonisation in the 19th century. He had come to New Zealand hoping for a Government commission.[90] It is noteworthy, given his close connections with Partridge, Lindauer (whom he sculpted) and the representation of the "traditional" Maori, that in 1896 he had been commissioned by the Hawaiian Museum Commission to do a series of reliefs of "absolutely pure natives" engaged in traditional activities[91] - perhaps the source of the idea for Partridge and Lindauer's series, which began in 1901.

Given Hutchinson's museum connections, the interest of the Colonial Museum in the work, the attribution of ethnological value to the paintings by his contemporaries, and the fact the works were not shown at Art Society exhibitions, it might be argued that Lindauer's large scale representations of traditional activities should be seen primarily as museum-type tableaux rather than as "high art". I would argue otherwise. The paintings could operate in both ways, though their function as historical art was dominant. There certainly were examples of paintings (large scale) of non-European people, their habitations and traditional activities in ethnological museums. For instance, in the Anthropology section of the Natural History Museum in Vienna, which Lindauer could have been familiar with, there is a series of large scale paintings, produced in the late 19th century, of different ethnic groups showing "typical" dress, architecture, and ornament - including one by a leading Viennese painter Alois Schönn (1826-97), Maori Town in New Zealand.[92] However these paintings were supplements to collections and displays of artefacts and relics of the cultures represented. Lindauer's paintings were

not presented in this way. They stood alone as "pictorial history" - and large scale historical paintings stood at the top of the traditional art hierarchy. Lindauer's historical paintings had "great artistic merit"[93] attributed to them and in respect of them Cowan described Partridge as an "art lover".[94] Even if they were not exhibited at the A.S.A. it is significant that Partridge became a Life member of the A.S.A. after his Lindauer Gallery was opened,[95] and the paintings were eventually placed in the Auckland Art Gallery, which in the 1899-1915 period had built up an impressive collection of historical paintings. That is, Partridge and Lindauer made a central contribution to that prestigious current in the Auckland art world of the day,[96] in which representations of the Maori, Maori history and mythology featured prominently in the creation of an indigenous European culture and in the "advance" of culture (in the sense of the "fine arts"). Lindauer's paintings then were a component in that quest for a distinctively New Zealand imagery, by which a New Zealand "school" of art would be established, and which would assist the "fixing" of a European New Zealand identity.

With the Lindauer Gallery Lindauer and Partridge were constructing a Museum of the past; contributing, that is, to that sense of the past necessary for national and cultural identity for Europeans in New Zealand. In relation to this Lindauer's Czech background may not have been without effect. Concern with the creation of images expressing a sense of national identity was a major force in Czech art from the mid 19th into the 20th century.[97] In particular it is possible that the work of a leading Czech painter and nationalist, Joseph Manes (1820-71), may have been a source of inspiration for the formulation and appearance of the Lindauer series. Manes' genre and history paintings are characterised by nationalistic themes; a romanticisation of the Czech people and their "heroic" past. Of particular note in relation to Lindauer's paintings of traditional Maori activities is Manes' famous cycle of twelve paintings - one for each month - for the Prague Town Hall Clock in 1865-66.

These paintings too depict traditional activities - peasants at work and leisure according to the seasons - ploughing, haymaking, threshing, sowing, grapepicking, woodcutting, etc.[98] Like Lindauer, Manes rendered costumes and artefacts in detail, and concentrated his likewise strongly contoured figures in the foregrounds of the images. However, allowing for the parallels, there is a major contrast between the Lindauer and the Manes series. Manes' circular medallions are small - all 425mm - that is, quite without the Puvis-like monumental scale of Lindauer's paintings. Manes' figures are more solidly modelled too, fuller bodied, more Nazarene-like, and manifest greater variety and complexity in movements, gestures and interrelationships within each image. Space is not so flattened out in Manes' work either. Indeed in the exterior scenes his peasants are set against vast plains which sweep panoramically back to distant mid-level, flat horizons - in contrast to Lindauer's in which readings into depth either are closed off or landscape backdrops are tipped up with high, hilly horizon lines. Nevertheless, despite their formal differences, Lindauer and Manes' work have sufficient elements in common to make credible aspects of Czech nationalism as an inspirational source for Lindauer on the "other side of the world".

It is not clear whether Hinemoa (Fig. 167), the only painting with a subject derived from Maori legend that Lindauer produced for Partridge, was exhibited publicly at his Queen Street Gallery. It was not part of the 1915 gift to the Auckland Art Gallery, and did not enter the Art Gallery collection until 1931. Nevertheless Hinemoa is very much an art gallery or museum painting, in that fundamental to its appearance and meanings are its relationships to the "high art" of museums.[99] The large scale of the painting, the models and prototypes to which it can be related would have validated it as a worthy "high art" piece, at a time in Auckland, when that was a sought after commodity. Like Lindauer's paintings of traditional activities Hinemoa provides an exemplification of the process by which aspects of Maori culture

and history were absorbed into European culture; shaped to European tastes and requirements.

Hinemoa features a semi-nude, attractive, curvaceous young woman, unmistakably Maori in physiognomy, semi-reclining across the foreground. She is accompanied by a number of distinctively Maori artefacts - dress, pendant, gourds - amidst foliage, with an expanse of water beyond. Such a presentation allows several readings. Generally Hinemoa can be related to a common nude type in late 19th-early 20th century Salon, Academy, or "official" art in Britain and Europe. There are numerous examples of similarly beautiful nude or semi-nude females, supine or reclining, often equipped with literary, historical and biblical titles, posed for the display of breasts and limbs, eyes averted, "soft" in expression with slightly open mouths, seemingly passive and submissive in demeanour. More specifically Hinemoa can be related to one of the most popular sub-categories of the nude in the 19th-early 20th century art - the Bather, of which such well known and influential artists as Ingres, Baudry, Gleyre, Chassériau, Cabanel, Courbet, Millet, Corot, Puvis de Chavannes, Lefebvre, Leighton and Etty had all produced notable examples.[100] Hinemoa manifests primary ingredients of a standard Bather type - a single nude female (though in some cases spied upon by males), located in the foreground plane, occupying about a third to a half of picture space, close to water (stream, lake, pond, sea), amidst foliage.[101]

It has been argued that the typical reclining nude in 19th-early 20th century European art was "offered as frankly desirable, overtly sexual ... for voyeuristic enjoyment".[102] It has been claimed too that the primary stress was on the evocation of sensuality and the display of flesh, and that if the painting had a literary, historical or mythological title the narrative element was either slight, a mere pretext, or allowed a primary reading in terms of some sort of sexual interaction between male and female.[103] The nude female body is displayed in Hinemoa, though that display is relatively restrained, the

body language and look of the figure much less overtly sexual than the standard nude of this sort. Nevertheless it is possible in the New Zealand context, in which oil paintings of nudes were rare, that the work could have had a voyeuristic function. However the functions, status and meanings of female nudes in 19th-early 20th century European art were not necessarily as one dimensional as some critics and writers would have us believe. To view paintings only in terms of their possible sexual or scopophiliac correlatives[104] can result in a simplistic reductionism, that overlooks equally or more important dimensions of meaning and reference.[105] That would be so with Lindauer's Hinemoa. It would be inadequate, ahistorical to view it just as a reclining nude, sub-category Bather, existing primarily as an object of desire for the purposes of voyeurism, for which the legendary reference and the Maori identity of the figure are mere "dress" - at best adding a touch of novelty and exoticism to what is a hackneyed type. Rather Hinemoa "embodies" a number of themes and preoccupations besides or beyond the voyeuristic or erotic.

In the discussion of Chevalier's Hinemoa I noted the popularity of the Hinemoa and Tutanekai legend among Europeans in New Zealand. By the early 20th century numerous versions of the legend had appeared in various media and at various levels on the conventional art hierarchical scale; high to low. The politician and writer, William Pember Reeves, in New Zealand, 1908, wrote:[106]

> The legend of Hinemoa and Tutanekai is sure of a warm corner in all New Zealand hearts. How many versions of it are to be found in print I do not dare to guess. For two New Zealand Prime Ministers have told the tale well ....

In 1906 W. F. Currie and A. E. Alexander, editors of New Zealand Verse, noted that there had been at least twelve published poems inspired by the legend.[107] For instance, published since 1880 one could cite: E. M.'s illustrated book Hinemoa: A Poem, 1887, W. R. Wills' Sir George Grey's The Legend of Hinemoa in his God's Splendid Son and Other Poems, 1890; Roslyn's The Legend of Hinemoa in

his Te Huia's Homeland and Other Poems, 1893; Arthur Henry Adams lyrics for Alfred Hills' Hinemoa: A Maori Legend. For Soli, Chorus and Orchestra, that was first performed to great acclaim at the Wellington Industrial Festival, 18 November, 1896;[108] John Liddell Kelly's two sonnets, Tutanekai and His Wooing and Wedding, in Heather and Fern: Songs of Scotland and Maoriland, 1902, and Rathmal Wilson's Hinemoa and Tutanekai: A Maori Legend, 1905 and 1907. There had been musical renderings of the legend before Hill's. Alice Rowley's Hinemoa: Morceau pour piano. Descriptive of the Legend (as recorded by Sir George Grey), which includes a summary of the narrative, was published at Grey's expense in 1889.[109]

Prose versions in the same period appeared in such collections of Maori myth and folklore as Fairy Tales and Folklore of New Zealand and the South Seas, 1891, by Edward Tregear, who was to become Secretary and Editor of the Journal of the Polynesian Society; Maori Tales and Legends, 1896, by Kate McCosh Clark; Maori Lore: Traditions of the Maori People, 1904, by J. Izett; Te Tohunga, 1907, by Wilhelm Dittmer; and Maori Fairy Tales, 1913, by Edith Howes. Hinemoa's Swim from the latter had been published previously in the literary and cultural periodical, Red Funnel, December 1906. The legend was co-opted too to help sell New Zealand and the Maori in tourist publications and travelogues. For instance, the major guide, Baeyertz' Guide to New Zealand: The Scenic Paradise of the World, 1902, devoted five out of the 118 pages of text to the legend - the only one included. And in McMurran's From New York to New Zealand; or the New Century Trip, 1904, (introduced by Sir Robert Stout, then Chief Justice of New Zealand), there is a lengthy account of the legend, in which the protagonists are compared to Hero and Leander of Antique legend. It too was the only Maori legend included.[110]

A number of the poetic and prose versions are accompanied by illustrations. For instance, the thirteen illustrations by G. S.[111] in E. M.'s Hinemoa: A Poem include seven of Hinemoa alone, nude or semi-nude, either in or

by the water, before or after her swim, and three of Hinemoa and Tutanekai. In one of the sketches of Hinemoa (Fig. 168) the pose and location of the figure are almost identical to Lindauer's Hinemoa - though in contrast to the Lindauer, which presents Hinemoa before her swim, G. S.' sketch represents her after her swim; the gourds still in the water alluding to that. Another of G. S.' sketches represents the same episode, with Hinemoa half seated, propped up by her left arm, her right raised to her shoulder. The pose and episode depicted by Barraud in his unpublished sketch (c.1852) of Hinemoa (Fig. 31) anticipate Lindauer's too. Rather than Lindauer necessarily drawing on these works, though, all three artists were making use of a common stock of models and prototypes. Robert Atkinson, whose work, including a Maori portrait, had been exhibited at the Royal Academy,[112] provided two pictures of Hinemoa for Kate McCosh Clark's Maori Tales and Legends. One (Fig. 169) features a standing, nude Hinemoa casting off her cloak before her swim. Four sketches, three of Hinemoa (Fig. 170), by Robert Hawcridge, Head of the Art School in Dunedin, illustrate Edith Howes Hinemoa's Swim in the Red Funnel, and there are two depictions (Fig. 196) of Hinemoa in Dittmer's Te Tohunga.

A number of artists, besides Lindauer, had painted or were to paint Hinemoa in the period. For instance, the amateur artist, W. Harvie's You Are the Water that I Thirsted for, which depicted Tutanekai discovering Hinemoa after her swim, was a prize picture in the New Zealand Graphic Sketching Competition in 1894. This competition was for a picture of "New Zealand Life, Scenery and Character", the choice of subject unlimited "saving that it must be characteristic of New Zealand".[113] Steele's depiction of the moon-lit meeting of Hinemoa and Tutanekai, A Maori Love Idyll (Fig. 171), "specially executed for the New Zealand Graphic",[114] was reproduced in that magazine on 5 March 1904. Horace Moore-Jones' Hinemoa Accepting the Mat of Tutanekai (location unknown) was exhibited at the Otago Society of Arts in 1908,[115] and C. F. Goldie's Hinemoa, The Belle of the Kainga (Auckland Institute and Museum),

simply a Maori girl in standard bust portrait format, which, except for the title there would be no reason to identify as Hinemoa, was exhibited at the A.S.A. in 1913.

In short the tale of Hinemoa and Tutanekai was probably the Maori legend best known among Europeans in New Zealand. It became the New Zealand romance: "New Zealand's most famous Love Story".[116] (For the mechanics of the Legend's co-option to the genre of romance see Chapter IV.) In 1906 Currie and Alexander described "the life and history of the Maori, his long tales of peace and war, lovers and heroes, not less than his quaint and beautiful myths" as "a treasure trove that belongs to the New Zealand poet by right of soil".[117] As the list of examples shows, the Hinemoa legend was subject to one of the most concerted minings by writers generally - a prime demonstration of Grey's claim that the "softer outlines" (of Maori tradition and culture), when they related to the "gentler passions", afforded rich material for representation in art and verse.

In this context Lindauer's Hinemoa could operate as a narrative painting, for which the legendary reference is essential. Far from disguising a primarily voyeuristic function with a perhaps obscure literary title or reference, Lindauer was representing a narrative that was central to European culture in New Zealand.[118] In the discussion of Chevalier's Hinemoa the fundamental differences between the Arawa legend and European versions are noted and these are pertinent to any reading of Lindauer's painting too. In contrast, though, to Chevalier's depiction of the scene and activity, Lindauer paid close attention to narrative details. Lindauer represented an easily identifiable episode from the legend - Hinemoa before her night-time swim across the lake to reach Tutanekai, union with whom was forbidden. For those who could read the cues, both separation and barriers, and Hinemoa's response to her predicament are suggested. She has her hand cupped to her ear, listening to the music of Tutanekai, his call or signal. The gourds that

helped keep her afloat are prominent. They allude both to the swim, by which Hinemoa resolved the problem of separation from her lover, and to the difficulties of that swim.[119] The figure of Hinemoa as posed can be read as not simply supine, but as about to move. She is half-raised, her attention having been aroused in the direction of the land mass across the water, to which her right elbow points. Hinemoa, seen in terms of the narrative then, is not the standard passive, "powerless" figure on display for male pleasure, but a figure about to assert her independence, to take action. She participates in the standard characterisation of Hinemoa in European writing - as a heroine of romance - the beautiful girl, separated from her lover, who overcame obstacles to consummate her love. Given the popularity, the common currency of the legend among Europeans, the painting told a recognisable story. Indeed Lindauer represented a crucial or "pregnant" moment in the narrative - one of the basic requirements of narrative painting. The moment depicted is one on which the narrative hinges; one which allows the viewer to construct a "before" and "after".

In a cultural milieu in which Hinemoa had been Europeanised, divorced from her role and status in Arawa legend, fitted by writers to the model of the romance heroine, and compared with mythological figures, such as Venus, Hero and the naiads, it was hardly surprising that Lindauer's representation contained elements that echoed or allowed allusions to a variety of mythological and romance characters from European art. European representations of Hinemoa stress her beauty and her nudity in various crucial episodes - her swim, its prelude and aftermath, and her meeting with Tutanekai, for instance. In the examination of Chevalier's Hinemoa I noted that the association of the female nude and water has its source in the Venus of Antiquity emerging from the sea. Most of the many Edwardian and Victorian depictions of nude women by the water, whether titled nymphs, nereids, biblical Susanna, Eve or Innocence, or simply Bather, echo the image of Venus.

Certainly the beautiful, semi-nude Hinemoa, as posed by Lindauer, brings to mind innumerable reclining Venus figures of European art - embodiments of the most beautiful and the most sensual. In that Hinemoa was invested with similar qualities[120] the adoption of the pose was apt. Amusingly in the Christchurch periodical The Sketcher, 1907, the note that "Mr Johannes Andersen suggests that our artists should paint the old time Maori myths and legends after the manner English artists have treated those of the Greeks" is accompanied by a cartoon of an artist working on a large canvas titled Hinemoa's Bath,[121] featuring a full standing nude by water in a pose reminiscent of Ingres' The Source (1856, Louvre) or Leighton's The Bath of Psyche (1890, Tate), both, of course, modelled on the Antique Venus.

Hinemoa's pose or variants of the pose are found in representations of other mythological figures too[122] and in types of imagery to which European renderings of Hinemoa can be thematically related. For instance, Lindauer's Hinemoa, located in a luxuriant natural environment, recalls a standard figure in pictorial arcadian fantasies. There is, for example, a similarly posed figure prominent in a painting once attributed to Poussin, Love Conquers All (Cleveland Museum of Art)[123] - a subtitle, perhaps, for the European versions of the Hinemoa and Tutanekai legend. And Giorgione's Concert Pastorale (1510-14, Louvre), a work in which, as in the Hinemoa legend, flute music played a central part, features such a figure, while a more contemporaneous work, Leighton's The Idyll (1880-3, Private Collection), has a handsome male playing a flute and two females, one bare-breasted and raised up on one arm, by the water. In the Chevalier section I noted that Hinemoa and her kin of the European imagination generally had an arcadian flavour. They inhabit an exotic and romantic never-never land of "happy islanders" and "laughing loveliness" - a place where nudity connotes lack of inhibition, free sensuality, the free "natural" life. Such an environment belongs to the idyllic "Polynesia" that Europeans had fantasised about since the 18th century voyages of exploration -

despite the known and recorded actualities of European-Polynesian contact that did not support the myth.[124] Interestingly, in so far as Lindauer's Maori paintings of traditional activities for Partridge represented one side - arcadian, pastoral and romantic - of a dualistic view of New Zealand Antiquity, there is a painting by Puvis de Chavannes, called A Vision of Antiquity (1887-90, Museum of Art, Pittsburgh). This includes a prominent female figure, semi-reclining, semi-nude, propped up on one arm, the other up to her head, like Lindauer's Hinemoa.

More specifically, Lindauer's Hinemoa can be related, without necessarily being identical, to sculptures and paintings from Antiquity to the 19th century featuring or including Ariadne. Ariadne figures are frequently posed reclining, propped up on one arm, the other raised up to the side of the head, as in Lindauer's Hinemoa. This is so, for instance, in the well-known Roman reconstruction of the Hellenistic sculpture in the Vatican, which was identified as Ariadne in the 19th century[125] - though the figure, unlike Lindauer's, has her head thrown back and is asleep. Closer to Lindauer, both chronologically and compositionally, are Ariadnes by the late 18th century French artist, Vigée le Brun and such 19th century artists as Vanderlyn, Leighton and Watts.[126] All similarly posed, they are, like Lindauer's, alone, inhabiting a foreground, amidst foliage, with a view across water to land beyond the gulf suggesting the separations both Hinemoa and Ariadne experienced. Not all these solitary Ariadnes are asleep or with their heads thrown back. Vigée Le Brun's and Watts', for instance, confront their dilemma wide awake, their heads in much the same position as Lindauer's Hinemoa.[127]

The parallel of Hinemoa and the Ariadne type was apt too - not just because Ariadne, the "mortal Aphrodite",[128] was an embodiment of perfect female beauty, but also in terms of the operation of Hinemoa as a narrative painting, and in terms of Hinemoa's place in European culture. Though originally a goddess,[129] Ariadne was seen primarily as a heroine in love encounters -

encounters that were "unconventional" and intense, and characterised by difficulties, separation and ultimate "bliss" achieved "after adversity"[130] - all elements stressed in European versions of Hinemoa and Tutanekai. Though the fortunes of the Ariadne of Antique myth are not clearcut or consistent from one version to another, the most popular version had a happy resolution after Ariadne's abandonment by or separation from Theseus, with whom she had been in love, on the island of Naxos - namely her discovery by Dionysus, love and marriage. That is, the tale of Ariadne, like that of Hinemoa, represented love transcendant; the acme of romance: "She is the perfect image of the beauty, which when it is touched by its lover, gives life immortality".[131] Lindauer's Hinemoa can be seen as an Antipodean variant. She is depicted as one separated from love, but aroused, not asleep or just waiting, stirring to life and action in response to the call of love - a response which unites her with Tutanekai. Thus Love Conquers All, just as it did, for instance, in Titian's rendering of the meeting of Bacchus (Dionysus) and Ariadne (1520-22, National Gallery, London).

A further link between Hinemoa and Ariadne is the centrality of water and all that that connotes in the narratives of both. Ariadne was the "woman of the sea", "at home" near "seas or lakes and in places rich with water".[132] Hinemoa swims across Lake Rotorua in quest of love and Tutanekai finds Hinemoa as a result of sending his servant to look for water. (Note, in this respect W. Harvie's title to his depiction of the meeting of the two lovers, "You (Hinemoa) are the water I thirsted for".) So given the role Hinemoa played in European culture in New Zealand as heroine of romance, the Ariadne figure offered a most suitable model or at least figure to allude to. The image, structured in a way that brings to mind a well-known figure in European culture, exploited the emotional resonance and the dramatic charge of that figure in the interests of European culture in New Zealand.

Equipped with such prestigious forbears in European culture, her

appearance and meaning then enmeshed in European preoccupations, narrative types, and artistic models and conventions, Lindauer's Hinemoa, like Chevalier's, had little to do with the role and status of the Hinemoa of Arawa legend. Her puhi status, for instance, was immaterial to her operation as a heroine of romance, while as a "nude", with a central display of beautiful breasts, she was alien to traditional Maori culture, in which the concept "nudity" did not exist, and breasts were simply breasts, rather than erotic fetishes.

It has been noted that in New Zealand in the early 20th century it was rare for European artists and photographers to represent European women nude, though there were numerous photographs readily available in postcards, newspapers and periodicals of nude Polynesian girls. For instance, Alfred Burton's A Samoan Venus, available since 1885,[133] and reproduced in the literary periodical The Triad, 1 April 1901, or a photo titled Native Belle, reproduced in the New Zealand Graphic, 6 July 1907, present bare-breasted girls by the water against leafy backdrops in almost identical poses to Lindauer's Hinemoa. In a context in which it was acceptable for a painter or a photographer to present members of subordinated ethnic groups nude, but not expose females "of his own kind",[134] it may be reasonable to see the representation of a nude Maori woman as a form of symbolic possession by artists, photographers and their audiences - members of the dominating European culture.[135] I have suggested that while Lindauer's Hinemoa may have had a voyeuristic function to view the painting just as a form of possession of a Maori girl by European artist and audience would be simplistic.[136] The work can be regarded as an aspect of a more far reaching form of possession. Rather than just an image in which the personhood of a Maori woman was reduced to commodity status to be "consumed", Lindauer's Hinemoa can be viewed as part of that appropriation of Maori history, mythology and culture by the dominant European culture in New Zealand. As a nude, as a romance heroine and as an art

museum piece, the character from Arawa legend, her Maoriness indicated by skin colour, physiognomy, dress and ornament, was thoroughly assimilated into European culture.[137]

Lindauer had produced an earlier work, which, according to the catalogue of the New Zealand Industrial Exhibition in 1885, was "intended to represent the 'historical' Hinemoa, the Maiden of Rotorua (whose story has been prettily told by Sir George Grey, Mr Domett and others)".[138] This was The Laughing Girl (Fig. 172), painted in 1885 for Walter Buller, Judge of the Maori Land Court, and, besides Partridge, Lindauer's major patron. The Laughing Girl shows a bare-breasted young Maori girl, three quarter length, holding a large gourd, which echoes the softly rounded rhythms of her body.[139] She smiles directly at the viewer, her head tilted to the right somewhat coyly - a gesture which can signify submissiveness, the recognition of the authority and superior power of the one to whom it is directed.[140] Placed in the front plane the girl occupies much of the picture space, with the surrounds and background given over to a neutral expanse of sky, with a few vestiges of foliage. Except perhaps for the gourds, which play a prominent part in the legend and in other paintings and illustrations of Hinemoa,[141] there is nothing in the picture that either would necessarily identify the figure as the legendary heroine or that has narrative connotations. (Indeed when the painting was exhibited at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition in London 1886 it was not described as a representation of Hinemoa.)[142]

In the New Zealand context the use of the legendary reference conformed to that common 19th and early 20th century practice of "clothing" oil paintings of comely, beautiful girls with literary, mythological and biblical references. Besides functioning as a nude, The Laughing Girl furnishes another example of that popular 19th century type - the exotic belle - which evoked a mythical world, sensual, "warm", "free", close to nature and often remote from Europe or at least from "cooler" Central and Northern Europe. A notable sub-group of the

exotic belle was made up of women, usually Oriental or Mediterranean, sometimes semi-nude, posed similarly to The Laughing Girl, carrying or holding bowls, water jars or fruits[143] - gourds of course are both containers and associated with fruit. Interestingly there are striking parallels between Lindauer's painting and the first oil painting of a single semi-nude female embodying the arcadian allure of Polynesia - John Webber's Poedooa, Daughter of Oree, Chief of Ulietea (c.1780, National Maritime Museum). She is similarly frontally posed, three quarter length, smiling and gazing directly at the viewer, hair flowing free (a sign of unrestrained sensuality) - a descendant of Venus - as one would expect of an inhabitant of New Cythera.

The Laughing Girl was also presented as a portrait of an actual person at the 1885 and 1886 exhibitions, at which she appeared with a group of other Lindauer Maori paintings, almost exclusively portraits, from Buller's collection.[144] She was identified as: "... a lifelike portrait of Meri Nereaha, the daughter of the well-known chieftain in the Forty Mile Bush".[145] In fact The Laughing Girl presented an idealisation of Meri Nereaha - as comparison with a photograph (Fig. 173) by Lindauer of the same girl, semi-nude, similarly posed, clutching an undecorated gourd, readily indicates. In the painting the shapes of Meri Nereaha's body are smoothed out, refined more in accordance with conventional European conceptions of female beauty. Most notably her breasts, heavyish and drooping in the photograph, are uplifted, reduced in size, moulded into the conventionally firm and ideal orb shape. Her face too was altered and "improved" - for instance, the flesh of the cheeks and below the eyes firmed up, the jaw and the lip lines rendered neater, less thick. The expressions of the Meri Nereahas of painting and photograph contrast radically. An unsmiling girl, looking uncomfortable, ill at ease and exposed, was transformed in the painting into a welcoming, smiling figure, ready to please those for whom she appears. She too, like the Arawa Hinemoa, became a romantic fiction.

It is perhaps not uncoincidental that among Europeans in New Zealand in the late 19th-early 20th centuries the term "a Hinemoa" could designate a Maori woman of atypical beauty. For instance, a caption to a photograph of a "Wahine" in Glimpses of New Zealand: Beautiful Britain of the South Seas, 1896, reads:[146]

> It has been frequently observed that, while possessing the massiveness characteristic of their racial type, Maori women are in appearance, usually inferior to men, though here and there attractive women of fine proportions may be seen. As things go in Maoridom our subject would be quite a Hinemoa.

The group of Lindauer Maori portraits, mainly of chiefs who had "featured prominently in recent Maori history",[147] which The Laughing Girl was exhibited with, were classified in the 1885 exhibition catalogue as "faithful portraiture of a dying race"[148] - that is, a category of people who belonged more to the past, and could thus be romanticised, than to the present and future. They represented an idea, rather than actuality - just as Meri Nereaha had been made into something she was not. The 1886 Indian and Colonial Exhibition was basically a celebration of the "vast wealth and extent of the British Empire".[149] With its enormous array of products, artefacts, human and animal specimens from the colonies, the exhibition "augured well for the unity of the Empire", so it was claimed in the I.L.N.[150] The Laughing Girl, whether seen as a docile and acquiescent object for possession by European owner and viewer, or as an exotic ideal, safely removed, like her companions, from present actualities, imaged a harmony, calm and order that would have fitted comfortably into the grand Imperial scheme, the dream of unity. Interestingly the painting's owner, Buller, was one of the New Zealand commissioners at the exhibition and helped set up the New Zealand court. He was subsequently knighted for these services, so becoming the first New Zealand-born Knight.[151]

Lindauer's paintings for Partridge were not the only large scale representations either of traditional Maori activities, artefacts and appearances, or of aspects of Maori life, whether contemporary or passing, that

he produced.[152] Two, The Maori at Home (Fig. 174) and The Last of the Tohungas (Wanganui Regional Museum), were also painted for Buller, whose collection of Lindauer' Maori paintings was seen too as a form of "pictorial history".[153] Buller also had an enormous collection of Maori artefacts, which were gifted to the Dominion Museum in c.1912.[154] The Maori at Home, 1885, is big. It portrays a famous chief, Harawira Mahikai and his wife. It could operate in several other ways - as, for instance, a depiction of a traditional activity, an aspect of marae protocol - the challenge to a visitor before the meeting house; or as a record of traditional Maori artefacts, given the backdrop of carving, painted panels, gourds, besides the costumes. (Lindauer's paintings for Buller could also function as representations of the Judge's collection, since often the artefacts included in portraits belonged to Buller.[155]) The combination of Harawira Mahikai and the marae welcome had historical connotations too. Harawira had been a signatory of the Treaty of Waitangi, by which certain tribes recognised and accepted the supreme sovereignty of Queen Victoria.[156] The chief, mild and unaggressive-looking, is posed face to face with the viewer - meeting, greeting, welcoming him or her (by implication European). The positioning of the taiaha, head downward, signifies his peaceable intentions.

This monumental decorative piece with its allusion to a central event in the history of Maori-European relations was in the group of twelve Lindauer paintings of the Maori - the others were all single figures - exhibited at the New Zealand Industrial Exhibition and at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. However sympathetic Lindauer's portrayal of the "old-time" Maori might appear, the London exhibition catalogue spelt out clearly how "old-time" Maori life and culture stood in relation to the European. Pre-European settlement Maoris were characterised as "cannibals ... almost wholly ignorant of the mechanical arts, practising a rude kind of agriculture, devoid of religious belief ... and addicted to savage inter-tribal warfare" - and pre-European settlement New

Zealand "known only to the civilised world for the dangers of its coast and the ferocity of its inhabitants".[157] Civilisation, it was claimed, came with missionaries and colonisation. Hawawira Mahikai could be monumentalised as one, who in the eyes of Europeans accepted this development - a "good" Maori. But, perhaps more cogently, what the combination of seemingly positive visual presentation and negative catalogue description epitomises again is that dual vision of the traditional Maori to which, I have argued, Lindauer's, and most, if not all, European historical representations in this period of the Maori can be related.

Another of Lindauer's representations of a traditional activity cum historical portrait can be read in this way too. That is The Last of the Tohungas (undated but before 1895) which depicts, like Tohunga under Tapu, a tohunga being fed by a female - in this case a young woman, not a girl. Though the painting in terms of the activity depicted anticipated Tohunga under Tapu, the tohunga was a different person - according to Cowan the notorious Te Ao-Katoa, a "priest of dread repute ... a Hau Hau leader",[158] which for Europeans was then synonymous with barbarity and savagery. This painting could be seen then as the representation of a bizarre practice of a barbaric people.

Yet Lindauer concentrated on the romantic-picturesque-exotic side of the coin. As exotics the Maori existed primarily for European delectation. In Lindauer's historical representations there is little sense of dynamism in the activities or the figures. They reveal no emotion, no personality. "Frozen" in poses, in tableaux, his Maoris can come across as adjuncts in a decorative display - to be viewed under the (controlling) gaze of Europeans and all that that implies in terms of possession or the will to possess. An overt "demonstration" of this in Lindauer's oeuvre is his huge Three Maori Girls and a Boy sitting on a large carved canoe by a lake (Fig. 175), 1899. No activity is depicted. Passive, inert figures, deferential in look, paddles, dress, greenstone ornament, elaborately detailed carving all have equal weight or

value. Objects on display for the pleasure of Europeans, these figures belong to that construct of the paternalistically inclined among European proprietors - "Our Maoris".[159]

CHAPTER VII

WILHELM DITTMER

Dittmer (1868-1909) lived in New Zealand from 1898 to mid 1905, having studied, painted and worked as a graphic artist in Hamburg, Munich, Dusseldorf and Paris in the late 1880s and 1890s.[1] Though he was in New Zealand for only seven years, he had intended to return and settle - in letters from Germany he described himself as "New Zealand by heart" and "homesick" for New Zealand.[2] So he was more than just a visitor to the country or a travelling artist who happened to touch down for a short while. Yet, like Lindauer, Dittmer was not very active in the local art societies. Though a member of the A.S.A. from 1899 to 1901 and the New Zealand Academy of Arts from 1902-04, his exhibits were scant - three in Auckland and one in Wellington - and none of these a Maori subject.[3] He exhibited too at the Third Annual Exhibition of the Wanganui Society of Arts and Crafts in November 1903 - two oil paintings of Maori subjects, an untitled portrait and untitled black and white sketches.[4]

Dittmer's work has been almost totally overlooked in the histories of New Zealand art,[5] and few of his paintings have been exhibited in public art galleries in New Zealand. Except for Te Tohunga his work remains largely unknown and unseen. Yet Dittmer was neither a marginal nor little-known artist in the 1899-1907 period. He did illustrative work for the New Zealand Graphic (the major illustrated weekly). He had a one-man exhibition of paintings and drawings at the McGregor Wright Gallery in Wellington in 1904, about which the Evening Post commented:[6]

> The exhibition of Mr Dittmer's paintings and sketches ... should not be overlooked by anyone interested either in art or Maori life and mythology. The portraits of natives are life-like and full of character ... the black and white work representing subjects in Maori mythology ... weird and wonderful conceptions, reminding some of the compositions of Blake.

Several chromolithographic versions of his paintings of the Maori were

published,[7] and he produced two books, Reflections: Sketches on the Wanganui River, c.1904, and Te Tohunga: The Ancient Legends and Traditions of the Maoris, 1907 - both primarily vehicles for his drawings of the Maori, past and contemporary. Dittmer was well connected - for example, with the Governor, Lord Ranfurly, and Countess Ranfurly, herself an exhibiting artist active in art society circles. Dittmer executed portraits of both of them, and his New Zealand Graphic sketches of their social and political activities suggest that he was almost the "court" artist during 1902-03.[8] Te Tohunga was dedicated to the Countess, "a true friend to Artists and their Art in New Zealand". His portrait of Sir John Logan Campbell, 1902,[9] then the Mayor of Auckland, and the role of Sir Joseph Ward, then Prime Minister, in the publication of Te Tohunga, point to his patronage in high places too. Dittmer was also a close friend of Augustus Hamilton. In the Preface of Te Tohunga he acknowledged Hamilton's contribution:[10]

> The encouragement and help I received from him, the benefit of his wide knowledge and love of art and all things Maori, and his true friendship gave confidence to my wavering hopes of representing graphically the imaginings of a people so alien and so distant from the European mind.

From the material at hand - both visual and verbal - Dittmer emerges as a more complex character in his representation of and his professed attitude to the Maori than most other European artists of the time. Though his paintings in many respects conform to prevailing norms in the representation of the Maori, in some instances he bucked the stereotypes and introduced what in a New Zealand art context were more novel elements. As with the other European artists his Maori representations were rooted in European formal and iconographic conventions, but he also stands out as the only European artist concerned with the representation of the Maori, whose style (in Te Tohunga) was notably affected by his study of Maori art; who made use of Maori art and design elements in the formulation of his style. This aspect of Dittmer's work raises the possibility of a romantic primitivist dimension to his work and

career. It might suggest that he entertained the belief that primitive art and culture had qualities not found in or superior to contemporary European art and culture, and from which Europeans could learn and benefit.[11] It has been claimed that Dittmer initially came to New Zealand because he was attracted to the primitive; and that he lived among the "natives" for two years.[12]

His precise movements in New Zealand are difficult to trace. Comments in letters, the work he exhibited and did for the New Zealand Graphic suggest that he was based in Auckland from 1899-1901 and then Wellington from 1902-04, with a period in Wanganui in 1903 and a trip to the centre of the North Island via the Wanganui River during the first half of that year. He is also reported to have lived in Taupo for a time.[13] There are no depictions of the Maori in his illustrative or exhibited work before 1903, though that does not exclude the possibility either of earlier Maori work or of a prolonged stay in a Maori community. What is noteworthy is a prefatory comment in Te Tohunga which casts some doubt on Thieme-Becker's claim that he came to New Zealand in quest of the primitive: "Of Maori art I had never heard" (before being in New Zealand amongst the Maori) and that "art ... at first ... disgusted me".[14] However while in New Zealand he developed an interest in and admiration for Maori art and traditional culture. That is, Dittmer's attitudes changed; his experiences as a traveller among alien people radically altered him, so he claimed. In the introductory section of Te Tohunga (written in Europe), in which he expressed a nostalgia for the "wisdom", the greatness, and the simple, natural life of traditional Maoridom, and an implicit regret that as a result of European contact traditional Maori culture was dying, Dittmer certainly presented himself in that stock 19th century role of the Romantic Voyager.[15] He pictured himself as one who had extraordinary adventures and experiences, and who had had access to a style of life, beliefs and values remote (physically and psychically) from European culture and society, and denied to most Europeans. The tone of the prose of Te Tohunga is one of awed wonder throughout - "What

remarkable experiences I, Dittmer, have had". Remarks to Hamilton (whom he called Tohunga) after his arrival in London in December 1905 attest to a New Zealand-acquired romance with the wilderness: "Do not care much for Europe up to now. London is grand - but it is small compared with bush or Tongariro".[16] It might seem that what we have here is a New Zealand-spawned Gauguinesque character - if so, unique among European artists in New Zealand.

However, even if Dittmer was changed and his art affected by his Maori experiences, I suggest that the romantic and primitivising sentiments expressed in Te Tohunga were ultimately an affectation - that Dittmer was basically play-acting, presenting a largely fictitious persona geared to the tastes of European audiences, the promotion of his career and his financial self-interest. Unlike Gauguin, Dittmer did not have an adversary relationship with his own culture and society (a prime ingredient of authentic primitivism). There is no evidence of any dissent in an ideological or social sense on his part.[17] I have noted his connections with well-placed and powerful people in New Zealand, and a number of his paintings and his other illustrated book, Reflections: Sketches on the Wanganui River, in text and image, indicate clearly a view of New Zealand and the Maori that conforms to standard European colonialist-imperialist structures of thought and feeling, rather than to the Gauguinesque.

Reflections is a travelogue - and a casebook of stereotypes as they appeared in the visual and literary representations of the day - beautiful young women, "quaint" children, older people "silent as monuments", the "brave warrior" of old,[18] the notion that warfare was the prime characteristic of the Maori past. The forty or so illustrations in Reflections include riverscapes, views of Maori villages (often with signs of European presence and control like churches), genre studies (e.g. Maori women weaving, two girls rubbing noses), portraits of local leaders (all in Maori dress except for two - Major Kemp and Take Take),[19] Maori belles, and renderings of Maori carvings and design work,

often in the forms of decorative headings or borders to scenic "shots" and portraits. One illustration, p. 24, is entitled Art (a standard Maori belle and carving) and Nature (a bush scene). There are two drawings of Maori girls in canoes on the river, that connote the romantic and the idyllic, and two of European travellers seated round a campfire deep in the bush - a sign of adventure in the wilderness, pioneering or frontiersman activity.[20] Reflections presents a "Maoriland" in which the scenery is "grand and beautiful", " a veritable scenic paradise",[21] and the Maori people "friendly" and "merry", and their villages "calm" and "picturesque", where "many lazy yet happy hours flit past".[22] The representation of people and places fits the Tourist discourse. Both are sights to be seen, existing primarily for the use and pleasure of Europeans. In Dittmer's account of his trip from the European town of Wanganui to Pipiriki, "the heart of Maoriland", Maoris such as Major Kemp, who had supported the Europeans during the Hau Hau disturbances of the 1860s, are singled out for special praise, and the present "industry of the Pakeha" contrasted with the existence of the contemporary semi- or unassimilated Maori, living a life of "simplicity" and "laziness" amidst "souvenirs of his own former "greatness"[23] - implying a contrast between the progress of the more "advanced" European settlers and the inactivity and relative decline of traditional Maoridom, however picturesque and exotic it may be. That can be linked to that stereotype of the contemporary Maori as leading an easy, lazy, happy-go-lucky life unconcerned with work. The special praise of Kemp and the Europeanised Maori conforms too to the common European view that the Maori could "better" himself by adopting the more "advanced" European style of life.

That is, the manner in which Dittmer represented the Maori and Maori culture was geared to the purpose and function of the commodity he was producing. The picturesque travelogue and the romantic lament and celebration of traditional Maori life and culture - both of which commanded a ready market

in New Zealand - rather than representing contradictory views were part of the same package, in which the Maori provided the raw material to be manipulated or directed according to varying European tastes and requirements. The Maori as a picturesque, exotic or decorative sight or object had a long lineage in illustrated books and paintings, while what seems like a romantic primitivising presentation, in the case of Te Tohunga, was relatively new - perhaps suggesting how rapidly Gauguinesque romanticism was being assimilated into mainstream European bourgeois culture.

I have located thirteen paintings by Dittmer of the Maori and four others possibly by him in New Zealand collections.[24] One, Revenged (Fig. 147), has already been discussed. In the other paintings, with the exception of Cronies (Private Collection, Wellington) which has two figures, single figures are portrayed in Maori dress, accompanied by such attributes of "Maoriness" as greenstone ornaments, weapons, carvings and moko. These figures are presented in conventional portrait formats - either bust size, or half or three quarter length, centrally placed in the front plane, occupying much of the picture space. Yet only a few of the paintings operate as portraits in the sense of being representations of specified, named individuals. Only one, Take Take, of Wanganui (N.M.) is titled simply with the name of a person; a Wanganui chief well-known in the 1890s-1900s. Otherwise, even if the paintings are modelled on actual people or photographs of actual people, they operate primarily as representations of "typical specimens" (e.g. A Maori Chief - Fig. 176) and characteristic types (e.g. An Old-time Leader - Fig. 177) of old Maoridom, and/or as vehicles for the expression of a variety of attitudes and feelings, mostly stereotypical, about the Maori and their place, both in the past and in the present (e.g. Memories of a Century - Fig. 178), and/or as anecdotal pieces (e.g. The Alarm, Private Collection, Christchurch). Given these functions the paintings can be related to the concern with "pictorial history" featuring the Maori, that was such a primary characteristic of late 19th-early 20th century

art production and consumption in New Zealand.

As with Goldie and Lindauer's portraiture, Dittmer's paintings "have a story to tell"[25] - the content of the stories being determined less by the actualities of Maori history and experience, and more, or primarily, by European views of Maoridom, and/or by prototypes in European historical and anecdotal portraiture.

An investigation of Dittmer's only other extant painting, besides Take Take, which includes in the title the name of an individual and well-known contemporary Maori figure, demonstrates this clearly. The name Te Heu Heu Tukino appears as the sub-title of a painting, the main title of which is Mana (Fig. 179). Mana for the Maori, is a quality of personality embodying authority, high esteem, charisma, social, political and emotional strength, dignity and wisdom. The historical Te Heu Heu Tukino (1865-1921), paramount chief from 1888 to 1921 of a large and powerful Central North Island tribe, the Ngati Tuwharetoa, certainly would have had mana in the eyes of his people.[26] Te Heu Heu was a nationally, not just locally, prominent political figure, particularly in the negotiations and debates between Maori and European over the supervision of the sale and use of Maori land. He was an advocate of Maori self-government in the 1890s and early 1900s. As a leader in movements that sought to prevent the further alienation of Maori land, he was highly suspicious of Pakeha and Government intentions, being doubtful that any Pakeha politician would ever promote measures favourable to the Maori over land issues.[27]

There is nothing in Dittmer's representation that suggests these central aspects of Te Heu Heu Tukino's life and personality. In contrast to an energetic and politically active personality, and at variance with the title, Mana, with its connotations of strength, authority and forthrightedness, Dittmer presented a melancholic figure, eyes vacant and downcast, slumped in posture - an embodiment of inertia, passivity, submission, lack of strength - a

"clotheshanger" for a splendid cloak, a prop among a display of detailed and ornate artefacts, which almost crowd out the "lifeless" figure. The implication could be that he too was an antique relic, a curiosity, a remnant of a primitive culture that had passed away or was about to vanish into the past.

It has been noted that in the early 20th century, despite evidence to the contrary, the belief that the Maori as a distinct ethnic and cultural group would either die out literally or through assimilation into the dominant European culture was widespread and persistent among Europeans. Archdeacon Walsh's assertion in 1907 was typical: "The Maori has lost heart and abandoned hope. It is sick unto death, and is already potentially dead".[28] That the New Zealand Herald in 1907 too could comment casually on the few "last specimens" of a "vanishing national entity" suggests what a popular commonplace the notion of the vanishing Maori was.[29] It was one of the most prominent stereotypes about the Maori held by Europeans.

From 1900 C. F. Goldie, most notably among European artists, gave pictorial expression to, indeed monumentalised this view in numerous paintings.[30] As late as 1914 the Auckland Star could claim that Goldie's Maori portraits "deal with the race whose memory will be kept green by this clever work long after the last Maori has slid down the gnarled roots of the pohutukawa which grows on Te Reinga at the edge of the underworld".[31] Dittmer undoubtedly would have been familiar with Goldie's work, either first hand or via reproduction. For example, Goldie's Patara te Tuhi: An Old Warrior (Fig. 180) is presented in much the same manner as Dittmer's Mana: Te Heu Heu Tukino. So too is Goldie's The Last of the Chivalrous Days (Fig. 181), a portrait of a notable Waikato elder, Te Aho-o-te-Rangi - an eminent Maori leader, positioned off frontal to semi-profile, half to three quarter length (though seated while Te Heu Heu stands), slumped inertly, sombre in expression, seemingly unseeing and unhearing, eyes downcast amidst an immaculately rendered array of ornate

carvings and fine dress. Te Heu Heu Tukino, Patara te Tuhi, and Te Aho-o-te-Rangi, distinct individuals, in this situation could be interchangeable; as all of them wait for the end. They are masks of a type, created by the Pakeha, rather than the product of characteristics of contemporary Maori life as it was actually being lived. In particular, in respect of Te Heu Heu Tukino, his known activities and personality, Dittmer's portrayal amounted to an extreme misrepresentation of the man (even if it gave "reality" to a widespread European view of the Maori condition) - just as Goldie's depiction of Patara te Tuhi gave no indication of the liveliness, wit and shrewdness, for which this leading Maori activist in the anti-Government Kingite movement and one-time editor of a political journal, Te Hokioi, had been well-known.[32]

While not necessarily seeing these paintings as conscious political statements by the artists, one could give a political reading to these representations of leading Maori political figures, in so far as men of great mana among their people, men who had been actively critical of European schemes for their land and people, were presented as immobile, dejected, more objects than persons, hardly capable of action or opposition, their mana (despite Dittmer's title) unrecognised, reduced to a crude stereotype. Stereotypes often develop about subordinated or suppressed social and ethnic groups which are the cause of problems for the dominant group in a society or country (as Te Heu Heu Tukino and his supporters were). In misrepresenting, concealing or denying the actual attributes, conditions and behaviour of the subordinate ethnic group, or of the individual representing it, by presenting what is false (or only partially true) as true (or the whole picture) stereotypes can take on an ideological significance. They can help to confirm the legitimacy (in the eyes of the dominant group) of the position of the subordinate group.[33] Thus Dittmer's Te Heu Heu Tukino, the figure recognisably the contemporary Ngati Tuwharetoa chief (if photographs provide a reliable record of physical

appearances), with qualities imposed on him which concealed or denied his actual qualities, could stand as a symbol of European dominance, or the desire to control and defuse their Maori critics. Dittmer's Te Heu Heu could be regarded as a representation of what many Europeans wanted the Maori to be like - passively accepting the Pakeha scenario for their land and people. The enthusiastic response to Goldie's paintings of the same type, the financially successful career Goldie made out of selling this image to Europeans certainly suggest the strength of this orientation among Europeans.

Whether or not one accepts such a reading, what is certain is that, despite Dittmer's meticulous attention to the physiognomic actualities of Te Heu Heu Tukino, the primary features of his personality and public self are submerged, his individuality nullified by Dittmer's packaging of him as a commonplace European stereotype. The recognisable face and head of the person Te Heu Heu Tukino, with his distinctive ears and chin shape (slightly pointed), moustache and moko-less bullet-shaped head was transformed into a mask. A mask is closed. It points to one dominant interpretation, whereas the face is open - made up of "innumerable contributing variables" it allows a diversity of interpretations.[34] Dittmer's Te Heu Heu Tukino demonstrates that striking "likeness" to the model, in the sense of scrupulously "accurate" rendering of the facial features and the physical characteristics of the subject, buttressed by close attention to dress and other objects, which identify the status and/or social and ethnic group of the subject, do not mean that a representation of a named person is "realistic" in a social and psychological sense. Indeed this sort of surface "realism", which also characterises Goldie's Maori portraits, could be seen primarily as a device to give credibility to what is otherwise a fiction; to render the false "true"; to naturalise the ideological.

It is noteworthy here that Dittmer's Te Heu Heu Tukino in his exotic dress (in all the photos of him that I have seen he wears European dress) achieved much wider and more popular circulation than was possible for most single oil

paintings. A chromolithographic version of the painting was published by the Weekly Press in Christchurch in 1905, and the representation is still in public circulation today in the medium of the postcard - available both in Tourist and Museum shops. Commerical use of the Maori head, which some Maoris expressed their opposition to,[35] can be seen too as a form of appropriation and domination of the Maori by Europeans, since such use inevitably reduced the mana of the person represented.[36]

Given the view of the painting that I have presented the title Mana might seem incongruous. However the title does not amount to a serious recognition of and testimony to the actual mana (as understood by the Maori) of Te Heu Heu Tukino. Rather Mana, the title, is just another exotic attribute, like the cloak, carving and mere, of the type; part of the romantic and sentimental ennoblement of the "old-time" Maori and which in no way diminished the force of the stereotype. It has already been noted that Europeans could hold together both the notions of contemporary degeneracy and past nobility in their appraisals of the Maori and Maori culture.

There are two other paintings by Dittmer of elderly, slumped, melancholic Maoris, with carvings, cloaks, weaponry and ornaments in attendance - relics of a bygone age: An Old Time Leader (Fig. 177), his "distant" gaze typically averted downward, and Memories of a Century (Fig. 178), in which, unusually for this type, the female figure's gaze is directed at the viewer, though it is equally distant or lifeless. Both paintings suggest a Goldie-esque inspirational source or model - in particular Memories, which is close in several fundamental respects to a Goldie work, Darby and Joan (1903, Private Collection), which was much acclaimed at the time. That too features a melancholy old lady seated in front of a whare, with the prominent Maori carving hovering over her shoulder, though, unlike Dittmer, Goldie presented his figure in profile, in European dress, eyes averted, hand to chin and equipped with a pipe. Perhaps not uncoincidently Darby and Joan, reproduced in

a double page spread in the New Zealand Graphic, 2 May 1903, was gifted to the Countess of Ranfurly, with whom Dittmer had close contact.

Not that Goldie necessarily created or invented this pictorial type, though it became associated primarily with him, almost his artistic property. Photographs were an important source for early 20th century painters of the Maori, and there were precedent photographic images of elderly Maori ladies posed seated in front of whares - in a manner and with titles which either stated explicitly or implied the persistent European preoccupation with the passing of the Maori. For instance, J. R. Mann's Age and Decay was reproduced in Sharland's New Zealand Photographer, 7 May 1902, accompanied by a description of contemporary pa life, in which the notion of its decadence was implicit.[37] That is, Goldie and Dittmer took a type of image that already had currency in popular or low art imagery and by reproducing it in oil painting on a much larger scale than periodical illustration elevated it into the realm of "high art". In so doing they expanded the range of reference of the image too. For as "art" these images of elderly Maoris dwelling on the past, lost in dreams or memory were not limited in meaning to a certain view of the Maori condition.

Dittmer's Memories and An Old Time Chief (and Goldie's The Last of the Chivalrous Days, Darby and Joan and like works) can also be seen as antipodean versions of an image type that was very popular in late 19th-early 20th century British and European art - images of picturesque old people, which invoked a nostalgia for the passing of the old ways and memories of the past. There are innumerable examples of the type. Frank Bramley was a notable exponent (e.g. Through the Mist of Passed Years, Royal Academy Exhibition 1897), even if his characters are not necessarily melancholy. If that gap needs filling one can cite, for example, W. Henshall's Alone (1897, Royal Academy Exhibition), which depicts a sad old lady slumped in a chair in front of a cottage, head in her hand. Goldie himself exhibited a version of the type at the A.S.A. in 1900 -

Of Making of Many Books There is No End, and Much Study a Weariness to the Flesh (Sarjeant Gallery) - a gloomy European old man, head down, slumped. That is, like much of the historical painting featuring the Maori (including Dittmer's Revenged), these paintings by Dittmer had a double function. They could operate as vehicles for a European view of the Maori and as conventional anecdotal pieces, for which the Maori identity of the figure was incidental, interchangeable with an elderly rustic (e.g. Stanhope Forbes, The Woodman, 1905, Royal Academy Exhibition), or an old sailor (e.g. Herkomer, The Old Boatman, in the A.C.A.G. at the time), or some other aging party (e.g. van der Velden, Old Jack, 1893, Dunedin Public Art Gallery).

While Goldie (with Lindauer and Steele the most celebrated and prolific painter of the Maori in the first decade of the 20th century) was no doubt a prime inspirational source for these three Dittmer works, this was not the case with Dittmer's other paintings of the Maori. Goldie's range was narrow. The same or similar poses, expressions, titles and models recur time and time again. The possible ways of representing the Maori were numerous. Goldie concentrated on very few. His enormous output of Maori paintings was dominated by portrayals of late-middle aged to elderly figures, either bust or half length format, alone, both in European and Maori dress - the figures primarily vehicles for Goldie's preoccupations with age, the past, memory and dreams and the passing of the Maori. Downward looks or closed or averted eyes predominate among his figures. When the look is directed at the viewer the eyes seem a little out of focus or difficult to fix. There is rarely any eye contact between the depicted figure and the viewer. Goldie's figures are generally characterised by passivity, dejection, somnolence, melancholy, dreaminess, though there are the occasional images of jocularity and jokiness. For instance, of the forty-four paintings of the Maori produced between 1900-06, listed in Taylor and Glen's catalogue of Goldie's painting, thirty have their eyes averted or closed, and either have their heads lowered or look sleepy,

while the eyes of eight others, presented more frontally, are out of focus or semi-closed. They also look melancholy and/or disconnected. None of them, including the few middle aged or younger figures, look alert or capable of action. Of the remaining six from this period, all of whom make eye contact, two, looking extremely paranoid, are titled Suspicion and are overtly negative presentations of the Maori, one features an elderly man as a figure of fun, another offers the cute little child stereotype, while a fifth features the famous public "personality", the guide, Sophie.[38] The other work, Tamehana (1900, A.C.A.G.) - Goldie's only extant portrait of a mature male looking animated, lively and intelligent - more of an individual rather than a type - was one of his first exhibited paintings of the Maori. It is atypical of his work. He quickly jettisoned this mode of presentation in favour of the stereotypical views. Indeed as his career progressed Goldie's focus narrowed even more. For example, from 1907 to 1922 of the 110 Maori paintings listed in Taylor and Glen 108 fit the stereotypical relic of the past, waiting for the end, while the remaining two are favoured stereotypes also - a sleepy, passive young boy, and an alluring young maiden, a belle.[39]

In contrast, though his output was relatively much smaller, the range of modes of presentation amongst his work suggest that Dittmer was not committed to just one dominant view of the Maori or way of presenting the Maori, but rather visualised a number of "takes" on the Maori, as if he was trying out the various possibilities of the Maori as a subject for painting. There are two small paintings by Dittmer in which Maori chiefs are presented in a standard 19th century formal portrait manner - bust format, semi-profile or head turned to the left, with a serious-bland look or expression, which reveals little or nothing of the individual temperament or character of the subject, set against a blank background. There are quite a number of paintings of the Maori by contemporaries of Dittmer (e.g. Steele, Laishley, Ryan, Stuart) which fit this formula.[40] It was Lindauer, though, who produced the most paintings of this

kind. Dittmer's unnamed A Maori Chief (Fig. 176), moustached, sixtyish, white haired and lean faced, looks very like Lindauer's Te Hira te Kawau (Fig. 182), likewise clutching a taiaha in his right hand. However these close parallels do not necessarily indicate that Lindauer was Dittmer's only or primary visual source. There were many photographs of Maori chiefs presented in the same manner. Lindauer's practice of using photographs as models was common among European artists. Dittmer was no exception. For example, there is a photograph in the 1902 Christmas Supplement of the New Zealand Graphic, titled A Wanganui Chief, which also looks very like Dittmer's Maori chief - as if his painting was an amalgam of the Lindauer and the photograph. Dittmer's other painting of this type, Take Take, is a transposition into paint of a photograph of the man that appeared in the same Christmas supplement in an article devoted to Wanganui.

Dittmer's two other paintings of Maori males, On Guard (Fig. 183) and Maori Man Holding a Hoeroa (Fig. 184), both feature a half to three quarter length mature, full bearded, stern faced figure holding a weapon, "confronting" an off-canvas adversary. Their dress places them as "old-time" Maoris. These images of strong warrior types who would "brook no nonsense" have landscape backdrops. In contrast to Goldie's inert, passive types these might seem positive images of Maoridom. But that was not necessarily so. One of the primary stereotypes personified the "old-time" Maori as a "fearless fighter",[41] a classification that had both positive and negative connotations. It could suggest the Maori warriors' "heroism" and "courage", among the qualities that marked the Maori as the best of the "inferior" races in the Victorian-Edwardian racial hierarchy. But it could also signify that negative view of the "old-time" Maori people as dominated by an inclination to violence for its own sake, the Maori as barbarian. That this reductionism was a factor in the apprehension of Dittmer's paintings is indicated by the Evening Post's comment that Revenged was a "powerful study of the old warlike days".[42]

A number of artists had portrayed armed warriors "ready for action" before Dittmer. For instance, the Italian artist, G. P. Nerli's The Savage Chief (1897, location unknown), has a full standing figure, bare to the waist like Dittmer's, in combat pose, tongue sticking out, fist clenched, brandishing a mere. Dittmer could have seen this work in Auckland.[43] And Lindauer's Taraia Ngakuti te Tamahuia (Fig. 185) has, according to the Auckland Star, "one of the wildest cannibal warriors known in New Zealand history ... a truculent savage"[44] appropriately waving a tomahawk in a strike position. Even if relatively rare in painting among the plethora of Goldie-esque types, Lindauer-like formal portrayals, belles, young mothers and babies, and pretty children, numerous published photographs and post-cards of single, rugged, powerful-looking Maori males bearing arms testify to the popularity of the type among Europeans. There were plenty of models for Dittmer - for instance, to note just two examples by leading photographers: Alfred Burton's Te Hau Hau (1885, N.M.) is three quarter length, frontally posed, cloaked, equipped with a taiaha like the On Guard figure, though he does not make eye contact with the viewer. But Josiah Martin's full bearded Rameka te Amai (1900, published in the Weekly News, June 1902) directly confronts the viewer, presenting his taiaha in the form of a challenge.[45]

Dittmer's handling of paint, particularly in the drapery passages, was much looser, sketchier than Goldie, Lindauer and Steele's, but these paintings by him otherwise reveal no really distinct "authorial" voice in the New Zealand art context. However major, though not all, features of four other extant paintings by Dittmer do not fit the prevailing norms so readily. These paintings - two of mature women between thirty-five and fifty and two of younger women - are less stereotypical within the context of early 20th century New Zealand art and culture.

First the paintings featuring mature women: Cronies (Private Collection, Wellington)[46] and The Keeper of Pahikaure (Fig. 186). Though the Maori dress

and accompanying artefacts (carvings, mere, ornament) are commonly-found decorative and exotic ingredients in paintings of Maori women, the combination of pose, direction of gaze, expression, the amount of the body included in these works is unusual for paintings and photographs of the period. Dittmer's women are waist length, squarely upright and frontally disposed, eyes directed at the viewer, expressions firm and self-possessed, potentially active rather than passive looking. (The slight touch of wistfulness in their eyes does not diminish the basic strength of their presence.) One does not find paintings of mature Maori women with this combination of features in the work of Goldie and Lindauer. Goldie, as noted, concentrated on older people, with passivity, melancholy and dreaminess the staple ingredients in terms of mood, personality of the subject - not alertness, forcefulness, a sense of active presence. With one exception the few middle aged and mature women he depicted fit the schema too. The exception was a 1905 portrait of Sophia (Private Collection), the famous Whakarewarewa guide. She is shown against a blank background, frontally, gaze direct, with a firm though somewhat bland expression, but the portrait is small, bust size and oval shaped, without the overall sense of strength and active presence, which in the Dittmers is enhanced by the more full bodied and upright pose. Lindauer's output was more varied in terms of the age and appearance of his female subjects. His images of more mature women in Maori dress (i.e. women in the c.thirty-five-fifty age range) do not manifest the staple Goldie-esque ingredients, but they too can be distinguished from Dittmer's. For instance, Lindauer's Huria Matenga, Pare Watene, Raiha Reretu (all in the A.C.A.G.) are presented breast length against a blank ground. The women do make eye contact, but the quality of the contact with the viewer (presumed to be European - all were painted for Partridge) is determined by their friendly and inviting smiles - an "openness" which can imply deference and/or desire for acceptance.[47] They are conventionally good looking and clad in splendid clothing. That might seem to amount to a positive presentation,

but they can be seen primarily as fine "specimens" of the "noblest race the British nation has come into contact with"[48] - that patronising evaluation of the Maori that was a fundamental aspect of the Partridge's Lindauer Gallery presentation. In contrast Dittmer's women do not smile. They are serious, grave. Their looks are "closed", in no way deferential or inviting.[49] Again more of the body is included in Dittmer's images (they have greater weight), and there is a greater stress on the upright pose, accentuated by the pronounced vertical thrust of carvings to one side of the figures.

It ought to be noted that Lindauer did produce portraits of Maori women whose faces are graver and more forceful looking - for instance, from Partridge's collection: Te Rangi Pikinga (A.C.A.G.), Rangi Topeora (Fig. 187), Mere Kura te Kati (A.C.A.G.). These women, however, are considerably older-looking than Dittmer's mature women, their eyes are usually slightly out of focus, eyelids somewhat hooded, and their faces notable for the creases and sags in the skin. That is, there is still the stress on age and aging, and all that that implied in the contemporary context of attitudes about the Maori. In contrast, The Keeper of Pahikaure, for instance, fuller bodied and more erect in bearing, has a relatively unwrinkled, firm-fleshed, high cheekboned face. She is seated, as if above the viewer, in, that is, a "dominant" position (a viewpoint, a characterisation, not found in Lindauer's Maori paintings). It is a mode of presentation more in the manner of a portrait of a European dignitary, a person of financial or political power.[50] Besides differing from the reigning stereotypes in the representation of Maori women, only very few Maori men had been represented in this manner in oil paintings either.[51] It was a mode of portraiture generally reserved for Europeans. It might be inferred from this that Dittmer's painting amounted to an expression of admiration and respect for the Maori, that it constituted an attempt to visualise actual qualities of an individual he had encountered. That might have been so, though certain features of the painting suggest that Dittmer's

characterisation of the Maori woman was still geared primarily to the requirements of narrative or anecdote, to the imaging of a common type in 19th-early 20th century European art.

Though the model for the figure was Te Rerehau Kahotea, the wife of Te Heu Heu Tukino (of Mana), she was not identified in the title of the painting.[52] The title, the Keeper of Pahikaure, refers to the possession of a famous, magical and much-fought-over mere, that was believed to invest its possessors with additional power and mana. The mere was held by the Ngati Tuwharetoa.[53] Thus the image of strength and self possession, and the aptness of a portrait format normally reserved for powerful European political, military and financial figures. The adoption of this mode could have also served to familiarise, to accommodate, to render merely exotic and colourful what otherwise would have been a bizarre and alien aspect of Maori culture - this primitive belief in the magical properties of inanimate objects.

The upright, handsome and imposing appearance of the female figure, a figure who serves as an embodiment of magical, superhuman powers, also owes something, even if in a dilute and moderate form, to the convention of the strong, powerful woman held in awe, even feared - one of the leading characters in the Symbolist repertoire. For instance, Franz Stuck, a leading Symbolist painter in Munich, whose work Dittmer must have been familiar with, specialised in this type. His Pallas Athene (1898, Private Collection), for example, features a firm-jawed, high cheek-boned woman, head held high, frontally presented, cool gaze directed straight at the viewer, holding attributes of power and strength[54] - all standard ingredients of the type. Whether or not such an allusion (understated rather than pronounced) would have been recognised in New Zealand, a possible Symbolist dimension emerges more clearly if the painting is coupled with Mana, featuring Te Rerehau Kahotea's husband. Mana, despite the title, is a visualisation of loss of strength; The Keeper of Pahikaure, via anecdotal reference and mode of presentation, is an image of the

powerful. Such a coupling could bring to mind that commonplace Symbolist preoccupation and polarity - the male vanquished, the female triumphant.

That Dittmer was attuned to Symbolist types is clearly demonstrated by Revenged - that depiction of a haughty, powerful and handsome young woman, semi-naked, long hair floating free, presiding over a decapitated male head - a Maori femme fatale. Dittmer's two other oil paintings of young Maori women (Figs 188 and 189) also manifest elements that connect them to Symbolist types. Both paintings present the woman from the breasts up. One is profile, the other semi-profile. In contrast to Dittmer's other Maori paintings, there is relatively little attention to Maori artefacts, little stress on decorative bric-a-brac. There are no carvings. The backgrounds are blank. One woman holds a tewhatewha, the other wears a tiki. That is all. The concentration is on the head, neck and face. Both women have long cascades of hair, impressively columnar necks, hard, well defined facial features. Their mouths are firm, jaw lines powerful, eyes alive and fiery. Their noses are prominent and aquiline, their chins jut forward "proudly". Their bearing is upright and erect, and though their eyes do not confront the viewer, their heads are held high and their gazes are directed upwards - features that signify unashamedness, superiority, disdain,[55] in keeping with their regal expressions. They are embodiments of pride, strength, high class.

There are numerous examples of female figures in Symbolist painting and book illustration with these same features and qualities - images in which the rendering of facial feature and expression, the disposition of torso and head signify strength, pride, defiance and arrogance. In particular, in light of Dittmer's Germanic background, these features characterise many of the paintings of single, young-mature female figures, whether portraits of his wife or depictions of exotic and historical characters, which Franz von Stuck produced in quantity in the 1890s. Stucks' Cleopatra (1896, Landesmuseum, Oldenbourg), for example, is bust format, torso in profile with the head tilted

up and round to a near frontal position, as in Dittmer's Maori Girl with Taiaha (Fig. 188) - erect in bearing, with a concentration on the expanse of neck, the imposing jaw and nose, and the cool, piercing eyes, the figure set against a blank background. She is an embodiment of sensual pull (by implication extending to seductiveness) and force (extending to threat) that Symbolist artists so often perceived in or projected onto their women.

Dittmer's paintings of young Maori women were departures from the stereotypical and conventional in the New Zealand art context. Representations of young Maori women in late 19th-early 20th century New Zealand painting and photography are dominated by two (stereo)types. First, there is the charming and idealised young mother with a baby or sweet little child (often on her back), usually half length (i.e. the mother) and smiling, her heard tilted, even if slightly, downward, and her gaze either level or directed down too. Among the leading exponents of the type were Lindauer, Ellen von Meyern and Frances Hodgkins.[56] For instance, Lindauer produced more than thirty versions of Anna Rupene and Child (Fig. 190) (the image of Maori womanhood for which he was/is best-known), which suggests that this idealised view of the young Maori female struck a very strong chord among European viewers and buyers. Second, there was the belle - either in Maori or European dress, softly pretty, mouth often slightly open, either smiling invitingly or coyly, or with her head tilted to one side, a flirtatious look in her eye, or if unsmiling, looking vulnerable, meek or bashful. Again the head and eye direction are either level or downward. Frances Hodgkins was a specialist, (Fig. 191), though von Meyern and Robert Proctor, for example, also produced notable examples too.[57] These figures do not have the erectness, the uprightness of pose and bearing that characterises Dittmer's young women. On the contrary many of the belles display a lowering or canting gesture of some sort - either a tilt and drop of the head to one side or a dropped shoulder. Canting gestures, whether biological or learnt, signify deference or submission - in effect symbolising

the recognition of inferior status and a willingness therefore to prostrate oneself before the person to whom the gesture is made.[58] In the case of paintings and photographs of Maori girls this "person" was the European audience.

Of course there were some portrayals of young Maori women by other European artists that do not simply fit these basic stereotypes. There are occasional paintings by Fristrom, Frances Hodgkins and Lindauer, for instance, in which the women do not look so ingratiating, passive or vulnerable - paintings in which it might seem that the artist was more concerned with realising a sense of an individual rather than with presenting a type, or specimen or an object to be symbolically possessed.[59] However with the Fristroms and Hodgkins decorative concerns remain dominant. Nor do they manifest the Symbolist-connected elements that characterise the Dittmers. Lindauer's Portrait of an Unknown Girl (Fig. 192), an unusual work in his oeuvre, perhaps comes closest to an unadorned, relatively non-decorative representation of an assertive-looking, self possessed person, but it still operates primarily within the confines of a formal portrait type.

Whether or not Dittmer saw strength of character and physiognomy in actual Maori women, his paintings however should not be seen as representations of contemporary actualities. For one their dress places them as non contemporary. They are primarily dramatic or anecdotal constructs. Second his representations of young Maori women in other media indicate that this type did not represent his view of contemporary Maori womanhood. For instance, his book illustrations and poetry show that he too frequently subscribed to the more conventional and stereotypical views of young Maori women and their "reality" for Europeans. In Te Tohunga, p. 15, for instance, there is a poi dancer - bare-breasted, smiling sweetly, one arm raised up behind her head in a pose of display and offering, which could have come straight from a tourist postcard, and there is also a full page illustration (Fig. 193) of a semi-nude girl

standing in a canoe, with a come-hither look, skirt sliding off her hips, arms up in a gesture of "surrender". Reflections : Sketches on the Wanganui River has its complement of belles too.[60] Dittmer also produced poetic representations of Maori girls, which, even if "comic" exemplify his distance from Maori actualities and the extent to which he too could conform to the commonplace types:[61]

> Pakeha! say! Don't you think I look sweet
> With my sash so gay and my bonny feet?
> Herr Hugger declared I'm a heavenly treat and fit for study of Venus.
> I've huia feathers to deck my hair
> and a kiwi mat and her tikis rare
> and Herr Hugger affirms I'm the Queen of the Fair
> And only his Art can screen on ...

And:[62]

> ... and he came across the Water
> to portray the dusky Daughters
> In the isles of the Feather and the Fern
> ... and he found a merry maiden
> with her love-lips azure laden
> Hey for the Hapu Belle
> ... Raven tresses nobly flowing
> Teeth agleam and Eyes aglowing
> He! for the Eden fig ....

Dittmer then represented Maori females (and Maori figures generally) in various ways as the roles and the occasion demanded. Even if his paintings of young Maori women did not conform to the prevailing stereotypes, they nevertheless can be related to images of women in European culture. They can exemplify the assertive and domineering side of that dual vision of women, opposing the submissive and passive, which the stereotypical Maori belle exemplifies.

It is not clear how many of Dittmer's surviving oil paintings were exhibited at the McGregor Wright Gallery in 1904. Documentation about the show is scant to non-existent,[63] and the Evening Post review notes the titles of only two works: Revenged and Haere-ra (sic): The Maori Farewell (location unknown). In that review it was noted:[64]

> Special interest attaches to the black and white work representing subjects of Maori mythology, intended, we understand, for illustration to

a work by the author, to be brought out by a London publisher. The drawings remain unlocated. One assumes they formed the basis for the illustrations in Dittmer's Te Tohunga - his major and best known representation of Maori culture, history and people. Johannes Andersen in his Maori Life in Ao-tea claimed that "the new world of Maori myth and tradition and story has, so far as art and poetry and are concerned, been practically untouched".[65] This, as the investigations of Maori historical paintings and representations of Hinemoa and Tutanekai show, was not in fact the case, even if the number of depictions of history and myth remained relatively small. Andersen must have felt that what had been done amounted only to a beginning, a scratching of the surface. He described Maori myth and legend as a "mine of wealth", the "quarrying" of which, besides supplying "the artist in New Zealand with ample rough material", would "enrich" "the world's art".[66] In these respects, Te Tohunga, published the same year as Maori Life in Ao-tea, would surely have pleased Anderson. It was the most ambitious and comprehensive appropriation of Maori myth and legend by and for Europeans in the period.

Te Tohunga includes twenty-eight full page illustrations to sixty-six pages of text, and these sixty-six pages are interspersed with a further thirty-two illustrations ranging from thumbnail to three-quarter page size.[67] Dittmer also wrote the text. Te Tohunga, the first illustrated book of Maori mythology,[68] was recognised as an ambitious and important undertaking. For example, in 1906 the Otago Witness had reported its imminent publication:[69]

> The illustrations are remarkable for their fantastic originality and beautiful line work .... Judging from proof specimens to hand, it will be the most interesting and artistic publication regarding Maori lore that has yet issued from the press.

And the I.L.N. in 1907 enthused over "this most fascinating of recent publications":[70]

> Folklore becomes a living thing, when we get an artist of such extraordinary power as Mr Dittmer depicting with such extraordinary sympathy ... the mythic history of a primaeval nation.

Though the book was published in London after Dittmer had left New Zealand, the potential of a New Zealand market was the essential prerequisite for its publication. The book was primarily directed at a New Zealand audience. In 1906 Dittmer had written from Germany to Augustus Hamilton that unless he (Dittmer) could find a guarantee for at least two hundred sales in New Zealand, English publishers would not be interested in producing a book as large and expensive as he planned. The publishers did not believe there was a sufficient market in Britain alone for an illustrated book on Maori lore "at a guinea".[71] In fact only the agreement of the New Zealand Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, to promote the book in New Zealand enabled the publication of Te Tohunga to proceed. Ward, impressed with the book, ordered two hundred copies on behalf of the Government.[72] Given the recognition, status and patronage that Te Tohunga was accorded, the book can be seen as a major event in European New Zealand culture of the period. And Dittmer's treatment of the Maori material, the manner in which he incorporated Maori myth and traditional culture into a European aesthetic and cultural framework provides one of the most striking exemplifications of the factors and relationships involved in the representation of Maori myth and history by a European artist.

One of Dittmer's primary intentions in illustrating Maori mythology was to give pictorial form to the "sacred wisdom"[73] of the Maori. He hoped to represent the "imaginings of a people so alien to and so distant from the European mind".[74] Some contemporary critics felt that he had succeeded. For instance, the Otago Witness described the "spirit of the legends as carried out in the line drawings" as "quite unique".[75] S. P. Smith, editor of the Journal of the Polynesian Society, wrote of the illustrations in Te Tohunga: "... drawn, we imagine, to carry out so far as may be, the Maori idea of the manner in which their traditions should be illustrated".[76] Dr. Hocken wrote of Dittmer's rendering of the legends: "Many are retold, and it has been sought to give them pictorial interpretation by means of weird, fantastic

illustrations".[77] The Evening Post had commented on the sketches of Maori mythology exhibited in 1904:[78]

> ... how much transmutation the old myths have undergone in passing through the brain of the artist may be a matter of debate among the experts; at any rate there is no loss of the mystic element, nor loss of dignity; and we suspect that any native, learned in ancestral lore, would recognise at sight, such subjects as 'Rangi and Papa' and 'The Creation of the Stars'.

The book as a whole was presented as a record, a testimony of an allegedly dying culture. (The last illustration in the book features a skull on a Maori mat - The End - the death of the traditional Maori.) In the Introduction Dittmer wrote in his typically melodramatic fashion:[79]

> Little is known of the sacred wisdom of the Maoris. The dread of the old God is still living in the hearts of the Maoris, but the last hour is come for them as they now bend their tattoed heads over the fire and murmur regretfully of the Great Past.

He also "quoted" an old Tohunga, with whom he claimed close friendship:[80]

> Take with you the wisdom of the old people, my wanderer, the wisdom which will soon be forgotten among my children, who follow now the ways of the Pakeha.

Dittmer's claim that the tales were "orally collected", that the "wisdom" came straight from the mouths of authentic "old-timers" was most likely a fictional device designed to enhance the dramatic effect of the book. In fact, even if he had experience of traditional Maori culture, his sources were those European writers to whom he acknowledged a debt in the preface: "Sir George Grey's Polynesian Mythology and Rev. R. Taylor's Te Ika a Maui, as well as to Mr. John White, Mr. E. Schirren, and Hamilton's Maori Art".[81] Presumably Dittmer was referring to White's The Ancient History of the Maori, and to Schirren's Die Wandersagen der Neuseelander und der Maui-Mythos, Riga, 1856.

Not everyone was either convinced that Dittmer had realised his intention to give "pictorial form" to the "wisdom" of the Maori or as impressed with the book as Sir Joseph Ward had been. For instance, a Mr. W. H. S. Roberts wrote to the Otago Witness:[82]

> Sir, An expensive book titled Te Tohunga has been issued from the London press .... It purports to contain "the Ancient Legends and traditions of

> the Maori", and is profusely illustrated with quaint and imaginary pictures which hardly convey correct ideas of Maori art. I have only read one legend in the book, but it is such a perversion of the true legend, that I do not wish to chance the risk of reading more errors.

The legend Mr. Roberts referred to was Dittmer's version of the "Death of Maui".[83] The Editor of the Journal of the Polynesian Society also noted the error in Dittmer's rendition:[84]

> The error consists in showing Maui as entering Hine-nui-te-po (emblematical of death) by her mouth. This is contrary to all Maori and other island traditions. Maui attempted to enter Hine-nui-te-po by the way that mankind is born. To depart from this is to destroy the inner meaning of the tradition.

Dittmer's accounts of Maori legends and traditions are not very reliable in an ethnological sense. For instance, his habit of describing Maori males as "braves"[85] ran the risk of relocating Te Tohunga in North America, while his treatment of the Hinemoa and Tutanekai legend was one of the most truncated European versions. He distilled a "pure" romance essence: a couple in love, their love frustrated, and their struggles against adversity before Love Conquers All. Elements that were fundamental to the Arawa narrative, such as the genealogies and the significance of Hinemoa's puhi status and Tutanekai's as a lower born son, were totally ignored. That is, despite his professed admiration and respect for Maori legend, Dittmer transformed the material to suit European tastes and requirements. (Further comment later on the licence he took with Maori myth.) It ought to be noted, though, that Dittmer himself had reservations about the text of Te Tohunga. He wrote:[86]

> As to the text of the book 'twere better that another had written it. More serious treatises have been published by those with greater opportunities to hear and more art to reproduce the legends from the mouths of the old folk now dead and gone ... even though my pencil may not have done its work amiss, I have grave doubts of the work of my pen.

Indeed Te Tohunga was primarily a vehicle for the publication of his drawings. Dittmer had written to Hamilton that his drawings of Maori mythology were much admired in Germany and England:[87]

> But, and this is the bitter pill, everybody says: 'Dit, these are beautiful drawings, but why do you do such mad things, for nobody will

> understand them and consequently will not be interested as much in the drawing merit; do European things and leave the Maori alone'.

Dittmer was suggesting here that from a European point of view his Te Tohunga drawings represented something new and original in terms of subject. Furthermore in the Preface of Te Tohunga he wrote of expressing "new ideas with the help of new forms" [88] - thus implying that in a formal sense too his work was innovative in a European art context.

But were Dittmer's illustrations so unique and original in theme and treatment? (Fig. 193) In particular could the subjects of the drawings really have been "too strange for English and German heads to be bothered about", as Dittmer claimed.[89] In fact, even if the work was strikingly new, unusual and modern in a provincial New Zealand art context, it fitted quite comfortably into certain major currents in European art from c.1890 to 1914. Although the specific Maori myths were obviously native to New Zealand, the manner of representation, the general themes chosen and the motivating ideas were closely related to Primitivist, Art Nouveau or Jugendstijl, and Symbolist stylistic types, and thematic and philosophical preoccupations.

Contrary to what Dittmer suggested in his letters to Hamilton, interest in and knowledge of art and cultures considered primitive was far from unusual in the European art world in the first decade of the 20th century. Dittmer's comments about Maori art and culture can be related to that current in European culture that found the cultures of exotic peoples in distant places (Africa, Asia, and Oceania) stimulating, and often more "truthful", "pure" and closer to spiritual essences than mainstream European civilisation of the industrial age.

For instance, Delacroix had been inspired by a trip to Morocco in 1832 to paint a series of works embodying, so he hoped, the vitality, the irrepressible and honest emotion, even if violent, and the grace and beauty, that he believed characterised Moroccan life and society. He considered the Moroccans "closer to nature in a thousand ways"[90] than Europeans. His "unspoilt, sublime

children of nature"[91] are echoed in Dittmer's identical description of the Maori as "children of Nature" in the introduction to Te Tohunga.[92] Dittmer's "respect" for the "sacred wisdom" of the Tohunga, and the reputed closeness of ancient Maori life and culture to the divine, in contrast to his "little knowledge",[93] paralleled the common romantic primitivist idea that the religion, mythology and day to day life of primitive cultures enjoyed a direct access to spiritual essences that was impossible in modern European society. This was, for example, the basic motivation for Gauguin's quest from 1891 to 1903 for the "mysterious centre of the universe"[94] in exotic Tahiti and the Marquesas, in reaction to the spiritual malnutrition he experienced in civilised, materialistic Europe.

I have argued that by the early 20th century the romanticisation of the primitive had been absorbed into mainstream European culture, and that Dittmer's romantic primitivism amounted to an affectation; just another kind of dress to wear. The qualities he ascribed to traditional Maori life were not necessarily ones which he either sincerely admired or in fact subscribed to. Rather their inclusion would have enhanced the high-coloured drama of the book and, as a commodity for sale, its potential market value.

Preoccupation with mystery, mysticism and exoticism in general was characteristic of Symbolist art in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. Guy Michaud has written that fundamental to European Symbolism of this period was "the return to fabulous settings, primitive legends, and ancient traditions of folklore" in "a deliberate effort towards deeper truths, a surer awareness of hidden realities".[95] Thus, for example, Gustave Moreau's exoticism, his multiple allusions to diverse religions and mythologies, European and non-European,[96] the Belgian Jean Delville's extravagant and histrionic illustrations of pre-Christian Germanic myth,[97] or Burne-Jones' images of Celtic mythology and Arthurian legend. Moreover, perverse, bizarre and irrational situations and states of mind were standard features in Symbolist

art and book illustration. Beside the work of well known artists like Redon, Klinger, and Carlos Schwabe,[98] for instance, Dittmer's Te Tohunga illustrations were tame fare. In this context Dittmer's protestation that "the subjects of his drawings were too strange for English and German heads to bother with" does not ring true - though, of course, he may have met the wrong people.

However Dittmer's drawings would have been strikingly new, unusual, modern in a provincial New Zealand art context - "weird and fantastic" for Hocken, for example. Nothing quite like Dittmer presentation of the Maori had appeared before. European collections of Maori mythology and folklore generally had not included illustrations. An exception was Kate McCosh Clark's Maori Tales and Legends: Collected and Retold, 1896, with eighteen illustrations by Robert Atkinson in a 168 page text. Atkinson's stylistic mode was more conventionally naturalistic and illusionistic - very different from Dittmer's - though there is one Te Tohunga illustration, Tane and the Trees (Fig. 194), which in terms of image - the disposition of the primary narrative elements in the picture space - echoes Atkinson's Tane's First Tree Planting, p. 18. Both present a nude male, back view, in the foreground to one side (left in Atkinson, right in Dittmer), arms held up to a tree, with another half dozen trees with carved faces on them occupying much of the fore to midground, almost spanning the picture from top to bottom. Also one of Atkinson's illustrations, Hinemoa (Fig. 169), has a decorative border made up of Maori art and design elements, including the koru motif, a variant of which features prominently in Dittmer's illustrations. Perhaps the germ of the idea to use the koru motif derived from Atkinson, though Dittmer could have arrived at it quite independently.

Another artist, the Dunedin-based Robert Hawcridge made a more elaborate use than Atkinson of the koru motif in the decorative border to his illustrations of Edith Howes' Maoriland Fairy Tales, in the periodical, The Red Funnel, from July to December 1906, (Fig. 170). Comprised of curvilinear elements derived not only from the koru, but also from Maori carving and native

foliage, they too showed the artist's familiarity with Art Nouveau decoration and design. These were published after Dittmer left New Zealand, but he could have been familiar with them, given his continued contact with New Zealand. Indeed there is a Te Tohunga illustration, Tane, God of the Trees (Fig. 195), which suggests that Dittmer did know Hawcridge's work, since it echoes the latter's small Rangi Lifts his Arms (Red Funnel, July 1906, p. 547).[99] Both feature two disembodied heads with hair spreading out in fantastic rays, one above the other, which is lying face upward. Even if Atkinson and Hawcridge did provide Dittmer with some precedent images, design elements and ideas, the scale and quantity of Dittmer's work, the primacy of illustration over text, and formal and iconographic features of the images otherwise resulted in a work that was without compare in a New Zealand art and book illustration context.

There were other Te Tohunga illustrations too, which in terms of subject and presentation of the figure, derived from earlier New Zealand images of the Maori. For instance, the portrait of the famous mid 19th century Ngati Tuwharetoa chief, Te Heu Heu (Plate 26), is derived from Angas' portrait of the same man in T.N.Z.I. (Plate 56), while Dittmer's A Tohunga (Plate 10) is based on a drawing by Henry Williams, Tohitapu, a famous tohunga (1832, Auckland Institute and Museum). But the prime inspirational sources, the dominant formal and iconographic models for Dittmer are to be found in contemporary European art.

Consider the echoes of Symbolist types among the Te Tohunga illustrations. Dittmer's Hinemoa, for instance, is equipped with qualities more in keeping with a seductress or love goddess of Symbolist art and literature. Hinemoa's father, according to Dittmer, "knew the power and danger of such beauty".[100] In the accompanying full page illustration of Hinemoa (Fig. 196) the sexual component and intimations of entrancement are pronounced. Dittmer presented Hinemoa full standing, frontally nude, "dressed in her long flowing hair"[101] - a tantalising vision of an emergent Venus, which two male arms, extending up

from the bottom of the image, either strive towards or are flung out in wonderment at.[102]

The illustration Hine-nui-te-po (Fig. 197)[103] refers to the Maori Goddess of Night and Death, but the manner in which she is represented does not derive from Maori mythology as recorded by Grey, Taylor and White, the writers whom Dittmer acknowledged as sources. For instance, Grey wrote of Hine-nui-te-po:[104]

> What you see yonder shining so brightly red are her eyes, and her teeth are as sharp and hard as pieces of volcanic glass; her body is like that of a man, and as for the pupils of her eyes, they are jasper, and her mouth is like that of a barracouta.

Dittmer's visualisation of the Goddess is even at variance with his own textual description of her in Te Tohunga, where she is "old", with "greenstone eyes ... teeth as sharp as obsidian, her mouth ... like the mouth of the Baracuta, and the hair of head ... seaweed, her body alone has human form"[105] - a description which is taken almost straight from White's The Ancient History of the Maori.[106]

In marked contrast to the traditional conception of Hine-nui-te-po, Dittmer depicts her young, beautiful, sensuous, seductive, mysterious; the kneeling frontal pose, the nudity, the outspread arms, the play of light and dark across her face and body accentuating these qualities. As such she can be seen as a common character in the Symbolist repertoire, the erotic and dominating femme-fatale.[107] Details like the emphasis on Hine-nui-te-po's hair, almost animate, swirling about her head, enveloping her body and arms, further indicate the Symbolist associations basic to this image. Among Symbolist poets and artists female hair was frequently treated in a fetishistic manner, either with intimations of death, or seduction and carnal sin, or both.[108] And frequently in Symbolist art, as in Dittmer's Hine-nui-te-po, the swirling, curvilinear patterns of hair extended far beyond their owners and coalesced with the surroundings.[109]

Hine-nui-te-po's closed eyes also connect the illustration to Symbolist imagery. The "yeux-clos" motif was used to express various qualities or states of mind. It could signify mystery, impenetrability - and this is the function the motif fulfils in Dittmer's Hine-nui-te-po - or it could signify inward vision and transcendence of the "normal" physical world.[110] This is the function the motif fulfils in Dittmer's Matapo, A Blind Tohunga (Fig. 198).[111] The accompanying text reads:[112]

> Ah these are my words to you my wanderer, the words of old Matapo, the oldest of his people and his eyes are closed and they cannot see you; but they are opened again towards his heart, and what they see your eyes cannot perceive, for upon those who dwell in the womb of night rest his eyes.

A key figure in the Symbolist world was the seer, the possessor of hermetic knowledge, the spiritual "truth" denied common mortals.[113] The Tohunga, who embodied the wisdom of the Gods, belonged to this company. The manner in which Dittmer depicted Old Matapo indicates this. In fundamental respects the old Tohunga parallels the way contemporary European seers had been portrayed; frontally posed, still, a fixed enigmatic expression, concentration on a lighted head shrouded in darkness, eyes lost in shadow or dark against the face.[114]

Frozen, deceptively bland but intense stares such as characterised many figures in Symbolist art are also apparent in Dittmer's illustrations, The Journey (Fig. 199)[115] and Mahuika, The Goddess of Fire (Fig. 200).[116] The Journey shows the first sighting of New Zealand by the Maori after the journey from Hawaiki. Yet there is little in the actual myth that lends itself to Dittmer's treatment. As noted in Chapter V traditional accounts, as recorded by White for instance, tend to be factual and unsensational,[117] whereas Dittmer's presentation is histrionic, even Wagnerian. In particular the dominant female figure, arms dramatically outflung, bare-breasted with jutting jaw, outstretched neck, and heavenward gaze is an Oceanic Sarah Bernhardt. Both Wagner and Bernhardt were primary sources of inspiration for many

Symbolist artists, and The Journey has basic features in common with a number of Symbolist images in which this was apparent.[118]

Indeed the enigmatic lady, fiery and magical, once popularised by famous public figures like Bernhardt soon became a cliché. By 1907 then a character like Dittmer's Mahuika was quite conventional, both formally and thematically. Mahuika, the Maori Goddess of Fire, as presented by Dittmer parallelled Symbolist favourites like the Sphinx - likewise female, magical, dangerous, yet outwitted by a male "hero" (Maui, Oedipus), who eventually overreached himself. Dittmer wrote of the struggle between Maui and Mahuika:[119]

> She (Mahuika) was to be found in her great dwelling place in the lower world, but it was terrible to go near her; and fear entered into the hearts of the people of Hawaiki; for who could go near her in her terrible beauty? Ha, Maui alone, the great hero.

The attributions of "terrible beauty" to Mahuika and "fear" to the people of Hawaiki were Dittmer's inventions, quite different from the Maori myth as recorded by Grey, Taylor and White. Grey describes Mahuika as "old".[120] White writes simply:[121]

> Maui now resolved that he would extinguish the fire of his progenitor Mahu-i Ka (heat that ignited) .... He went and saw his progenitor ... and then said, 'Old woman! Rise where is the fire? I am come for some' .... 'Oh!', said Mahu-i-ka, 'then you are my grandson'.

And Taylor reported that not all Maori traditions regarded Mahuika as a woman.[122] Dittmer's transformation of the myth indicates then the fundamental importance of Symbolist models for Dittmer and the extent to which a Maori myth could be tailored to express European concepts or states of mind.

Like its numerous Symbolist counterparts Dittmer's Mahuika is histrionic in pose and gesture and her hair is accentuated. The solid, well muscled, "academic" body type recalls the work of Stuck again, who, interestingly, had painted at least one nude and "unusual" Sphinx.[123] The importance of his German training in his presentation of Maori legend is further exemplified by the central figure in Dittmer's The First Offering to the Gods (Fig. 201).[124] Features like the accurate and "beautiful" rendering of the anatomy, the

emphasis on line in the definition of the forms, the position of the feet, one in front of the other giving a slight twist to the body, the studied pose apparent in the figure were conventionally "academic".[125]

In some illustrations Dittmer sought to give a sense of "the imaginings of a people so alien to and distant from the European mind" by simply depicting in a conventionally figurative manner what might seem bizarre, extravagant, even pathological behaviour - as, for instance, in A Tangi (Fig. 202), a dramatically lit night scene with two semi-nude female figures with waist length flowing hair, in contorted and "provocative" poses, accompanied by a howling dog and a lifesize piece of statuary before an enormous decapitated male head. As discussed in Chapter V, depictions of pathological behaviour in general and of enticing young females with male heads in particular were staples in the Symbolist diet - with Steele and Dittmer himself executing paintings of this kind in New Zealand.

In most of the Te Tohunga illustrations, however, Dittmer endeavoured to convey a sense of fantastic "imaginings", the sense of the Maori "spirit land",[126] what Andersen called "the weird ... at times lurid strangeness of the Antipodes",[127] not only through choice of subject, but also by such formal means as non-naturalistic, non-illusionistic spatial and patterning effects and relationships of figures to one another, to objects and to their environment. There are plenty of examples of work by Symbolist artists which are similarly characterised - Toorop, Klinger, Elihu Vedder, to name a few.[128] So, for instance, in Dittmer's Maui's Fight with the Sun (Fig. 203), there is a jigsaw-like organisation of simplified and striated shapes of land forms and clouds, ambiguous black spaces, flattened, curvilinear patterned Maori artefacts, and figures, whose widely differing sizes seem "irrational" and arbitrary - a jigsaw pattern which, perhaps paradoxically, also allows a reading of a vast expanse of space - and could have given a sense of the supraterrestrial, the eternal. The overall effect would have been disjunctive

and disorienting to any viewer familiar only with naturalistic and illusionistic modes of visual representation - as most viewers in New Zealand at the time would have been.

The combination, the contrast in many Te Tohunga illustrations (e.g. The First Offering to the Gods) of an Art Nouveau-like stylisation of forms, with particular emphasis on curvilinear accents, in the treatment of the accessories and the setting, and an "academic" treatment of the major figures could produce a curious effect too - appropriately for a European rendering of a Maori legend serving to heighten the sense of "unreality", to place the event physically and psychically beyond "natural", terrestrial time and place. One finds the same sort of admixture of formal elements in the work of artists associated with the Munich and Darmstadt Jugendstijl groups - Peter Behrens, for instance,[129] and in the work of Stuck. It is a feature of Te Tohunga which distinguishes Dittmer's illustrative work too from that of the leading and typical British Art Nouveau illustrators, such as Charles Ricketts and Aubrey Beardslay. In their work the figures are subjected to the same sort of schematisation and simplification as the accessories and the setting.[130]

Dittmer could take patterning effects to the extreme. For example, The Battle of the Giants (Fig. 204) is comprised almost entirely of a whirling interweave of sprays of radiating lines (straight and curving) and abstracted shapes (zig-zag, arrow and flame-like, for instance), with only the occasional radically simplified anatomical fragment - an eye, hand, or face. For the period this was a bold piece of design, which suggest Dittmer's familiarity with the work of the Munich group of proto-abstract designers and illustrators, that included Endell, Obrist, Behrens and Eckermann.[131]

Dittmer's claim that Maori art influenced his drawings (the forms of Maori art allegedly enabling him to express "new ideas") was generally in keeping with the interest in primitive art characteristic of the Gauguinesque current in Symbolism. Certainly, besides the inclusion of many detailed moko designs

and Maori carvings and artefacts in the illustrations, this Maori art connection is evident in Dittmer's repeated use of motifs that are fundamental to Maori art - in particular the curvilinear arrowhead-like motif, which is closely derived from the double koru motif. Drawings by Dittmer indicate that he had studied and experimented with various koru motifs.[132] The double koru-derived motif operates like a leitmotif in Te Tohunga, linking the otherwise more conventionally figurative illustrations, such as The First Offering of the Gods, with the more formally radical works like The Battle of the Giants . (The chevron or zig-zag-like passage in the top left half of this illustration strongly recalls Maori rafter painting patterns.)

However these elements from Maori art and design did not come in to Dittmer's drawing and illustration as "new forms" hitherto unknown in European art. Rather they were adapted to or married with the prime Art Nouveau or Jugendstijl design elements of the work. First; Dittmer transformed the double koru motif by the use to which he put it; by giving the motif an extended "tail", and by organising the koru-derived accents in radiating sprays - both features one does not find in Maori art. Dittmer also combined Maori motifs in ways not found in Maori art - for dramatic and decorative effect. For instance, a small illustration, p. 62, features a Maori carving (or Dittmer's version of one) with a spray of koru-headed arrows flaring from the mouth - ethnologically absurd, though well suited to the tone of the book with its constant stress on the bizarre and fantastic.

Second; the curvilinear double koru-like motif was not unique to Maori art, but very similar to the decorative motifs of a number of well-known Art Nouveau book illustrators in Europe.[133] This similarity between Maori and Art Nouveau design is not surprising. It reflects an attitude central to Art Nouveau theory; an attitude towards decorative motifs that connected Art Nouveau or Jugendstijl manifestations to Symbolist and Primitivist currents in the European art world discussed earlier. For instance the Art Nouveau

theoretician, Henry van der Velde, expounded the idea of a basic ornamental motif upon which all art should be based; a simple underlying form that embodied an essential unity of matter and spirit. That is, the spiral, screw-like and curvilinear motifs derived from animal and plant forms, that were the basic units of Art Nouveau design, were not merely decorative but had a fundamental symbolic intent, constituting a search, so it has been claimed, "in these primitive forms for the 'ornamental fearfulness' of nature. One wanted to seize life at its lowest levels, at its origins".[134] The common use of koru motifs in Maori art and design coincided neatly with these European notions and reinforced the romantic assertion, whether sincerely believed in or for dramatic effect, that primitive cultures cohabited with the essential "truths" of existence. Interestingly a compatriot of Dittmer's, Dr. Max Herz, in a book on New Zealand, had this to say about the koru or "coil" motif in Maori art: "It is found in the art of all prehistoric people .... Is this a recollection of the childhood days of the world?"[135] Dittmer's use of a koru-like motif to interrelate his images was then both apt in illustrations of tales intended to capture the "sacred wisdom" of the "old-time" Maori and readily meaningful on a symbolic level (besides its decorative function) in European culture and consciousness.

The I.L.N. reviewer wrote that Dittmer's illustrations, executed in "the spirit of Maori art", revealed "the mythic history of a primaeval nation".[136] In Europe in the 19th and early 20th centuries interest in the revival of folklore and local myth was often linked with a concern with national identity and the quest for distinctive national culture and imagery. That was so, for instance, in Finland, Norway, Iceland, Germany and Czechoslovakia. I have argued that similar forces were at work in New Zealand. The German Dittmer, when he created Te Tohunga, had come to think of himself as a New Zealander. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the publication of the book was underwritten by the New Zealand Government in the year that New Zealand became a Dominion.

CORRIGENDUM

Since the completion of the text of this thesis a previously unknown watercolour of a Maori scene by Gilfillan turned up for auction, 27 April 1984, at McArthur & Co. in Auckland. (It had formerly been in a private collection in England.) The emergence of the watercolour, Interior of a Pa, on the Wanganui River (Fig. 205), 1847, requires some modification of the discussion in Chapter III of the coloured lithograph after Gilfillan, Interior (Fig. 61), to which it (the watercolour) can be related. The watercolour is very close to the illustration, Interior of a Pa on the Wanganui River (Fig. 62) in Power's Sketches in New Zealand, 1849. In that book the source drawing is attributed to Power himself, rather than to Gilfillan, even though there are two other illustrations in the book after Gilfillan. I cite the illustration, then believed to be after Power, as a source for the landscape and pa setting and the viewpoint in Interior. Power did make drawings after sketches by other artists (see n. 76, Chapter III), and it is possible that the publisher and engraver of the illustrations in Sketches in New Zealand worked from a drawing by Power after Gilfillan, without realising that Gilfillan was the source of the image. Thus the attribution to Power. On the other hand it is also possible, even if less likely, that Gilfillan's watercolour was based on an original sketch by Power.