

Otago's Albums

PHOTOGRAPHS, COMMUNITY AND IDENTITY



IN 1879, TANNIE FIDLER OF DUNEDIN wrote to her friend Georgy in Scotland in despair over the recent bad behaviour of her sister Fanny.¹ Fanny had taken to opening Tannie's letters in retaliation for a letter of hers that Tannie had accidentally opened, and against their mother's wishes, Fanny spent her time in the 'society' of a man who had left his wife and two children in England.² She refused to speak to Tannie and acted as if 'the devil had possession of her'. Tannie reported further upsetting conduct to Georgy: 'Another thing Fanny did was to take all her cartes out of my album and as we used to sleep together one night when I went to bed I found the door locked and my night dress out side — All those things are paltry but they hurt me very much coming from Fanny.'³ Fanny's self-imposed exile of her portraits from Tannie's album proved particularly distressing. Why, compared with Fanny's numerous spiteful deeds, did Tannie find the album incident so hurtful? For Tannie and others during the nineteenth century, photograph albums were emotionally charged sites tied to personal identity as well as material embodiments of familial and social connections. Fanny's act was a calculated rejection; by removing her photographs from Tannie's album, she was symbolically removing herself from Tannie's life.

Through an analysis of photograph albums held in Toitū Otago Settlers Museum, this article argues that photographs, albums and album culture in Otago during the late nineteenth century were used to express identity and build and maintain communities (Figure 1). The appearance of the *carte de visite* photograph album in the 1860s coincided with a period of rapid immigration and social change in Otago. The gold rushes that began in 1861 brought thousands of people to the province, particularly from the goldfields of Victoria, Australia. During the 1870s and 1880s, Julius Vogel's assisted immigration programme brought thousands more from Great Britain. An Otago-born population was also emerging. The earlier colonists, who were small in number and from limited areas of England and Scotland, were able to transfer and replicate some of the social connections from home. For Scots, this largely centred on the Presbyterian Kirk.⁴ However, with the growing and diverse population, new colonial identities and connections were forged, and albums played an active role in their construction.



Figure 1: *Carte de visite* album, 1860s.

Source: Album 275, Toitū Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.

Albums, photographs and other forms of material culture are rich sources for historians trying to uncover and understand late-nineteenth-century life. The difficulty has been finding methodological tools for recovering information from them. How can a mute object such as a photograph album be made to speak? In his seminal 1982 essay ‘Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method’, Harvard art historian Jules Prown outlined material culture and a suggested approach. He wrote:

Material culture as a study is based upon the obvious fact that the existence of a man-made object is concrete evidence of the presence of a human intelligence operating at a time of fabrication. The underlying premise is that objects made or modified by man reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of individuals who made, commissioned, purchased, or used them, and by extension the beliefs of the larger society to which they belonged.⁵

Objects, therefore, have the potential to reveal layers of meaning not found in sources such as text, but unpacking that meaning requires creative uses of a variety of methodologies. The material culture approach borrows primarily from art history and archaeology, two disciplines that cannot rely on written sources, but it also cobbles together methodologies from cultural and social history, cultural geography, anthropology, sociology, psychology, folklore and linguistics. Making objects speak begins with objective, close observation and description, then moves into analysis and interpretation. Prown's material culture approach has developed in myriad directions in the years since the publication of his article. In the field of visual culture, for instance, Geoffrey Batchen and Elizabeth Edwards have explored photographs as evidence, arguing for their 'materiality' and role as sensory things that are held and used as well as viewed.⁶ This paper likewise privileges photographs and albums as evidence for illuminating the culture and people of Otago during the nineteenth century. They are used in tandem with written sources, where available.

Album Culture

Although commonly referred to as family albums (a term that suggests shared authorship among family members), photograph albums were usually compiled by a single person and represent a form of visual autobiography meant to be viewed by others. Andrea Kunard argues that albums were vehicles for expression and a 'means by which people communicated an understanding of their personal circumstances within larger social constructs'. She adds that albums 'operated as an imagined space in which the assembler negotiated their desired identity with the codes of behavior that defined larger social, professional and familial spheres'.⁷ In her study of women's albums, Anne Higonnet finds that they were a form of self-definition and a means 'to learn and to perform an identity' and became 'microcosmic versions of their social networks'.⁸ Elizabeth Siegel shows how albums were a popular vehicle for women's self-expression and were sometimes personalized with craft skills such as collage.⁹ Much like today's social media and sites such as Facebook, albums were semi-public spaces where a self-constructed identity was enacted to selected viewers.

A range of people assembled albums during the nineteenth century, but it was predominantly a female activity. Deborah Chambers finds that young adults, particularly young women, assembled albums, and they became a feminine cultural form and a 'visual medium for family genealogy and storytelling'.¹⁰ Likewise, Claire Grey describes women's album-making as a reflection of their role as 'keepers of the past'.¹¹ Patrizia Di Bello and Lindsay

Smith argue that the association of albums with the female domestic sphere of the home during the nineteenth century marked them as a feminine fashion, especially among English aristocratic women.¹² Indeed, women's magazines of the period such as *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Peterson's Magazine* contained articles instructing women on how to compile albums. While photographic albums were a popular studio prop for both men's and women's portraits, an overwhelming number of photographs show women posing with them. But unlike many nineteenth-century activities, this one was not strictly limited to spheres; both men and women assembled, owned, contributed to and viewed albums, although men appear to have assembled them to a lesser degree than women. Chris Brickell's investigation of the albums of Robert Gant in the Wairarapa shows how Gant used photography and albums to express a particular form of masculine identity.¹³

The affordability of photographic portraits and the range of prices for mass-produced albums also meant that members of all economic and social classes could, and did, assemble albums. Dunedin fancy goods merchant Hugh Kirkpatrick & Co offered a selection of 50 albums that sold for as little as 1 shilling.¹⁴ Age was also not a factor, and children, adolescents and adults all engaged with them. Sarah McNair Vosmeier maintains that people in their teens and twenties were among the first to buy albums when they appeared in the 1860s, and putting together an album was part of nineteenth-century youth culture. She describes how, through albums, young people collected circles of friends and created peer networks, giving 'tangible form to an intangible network of affection'.¹⁵

Photograph albums were quickly adopted into everyday life, and an elaborate culture with rules about assembling, organizing and viewing them soon developed. Some albums feature 'introductory cartes' with pithy poems that both educate and reinforce the expectations associated with albums (Figure 2).¹⁶ One of the most commonly found *cartes* instructs:

Yes, this is my album;
 But learn ere you look,
 That all are expected
 To add to my book.
 You are welcome to quiz it;
 The penalty is,
 You add your own portrait
 For others to quiz.

The poem outlines two key elements of album culture: orality and reciprocity.

Photographic portraits were given knowing that they would be interrogated, and having had access to the photographs of others to look at and discuss, the viewer was obligated to add their own. Giving, receiving and viewing photographs built and consolidated networks among those givers, receivers and viewers.



Figure 2: 'Introductory Carte'.

Source: Album 120, Toitū Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.

Martha Langford considers how albums were encountered in social settings. Borrowing from Walter Ong's *Orality and Literacy*, she argues that albums were a form of oral culture meant to be experienced through narration in a communal setting, with photographs serving as mnemonic devices for storytelling. Images were familiar to both the teller and listener and, through that shared familiarity, helped build connections and community.¹⁷ Few albums were annotated by their compilers, and when inscriptions were present, they were usually added by later owners as a means to capture what had once been spoken information. Nineteenth-century writings about album culture confirm Langford's idea of the 'orality' of the album and its role in community-building. An article from the French newsmagazine *Le Monde Illustré* in 1860 commented:

In the evenings they amuse themselves by fitting the cards into their albums and discussing the great question of the moment: whether names should be written under the portraits or not. The partisans of anonymity argue as follows: if the name is there, the amateur has nothing to do but turn the pages, whereas the absence of a name gives rise to speculation, interrogation, discussion, contradiction, interpellation ... so that the two or so who can look at the album at any one time are joined by ten or twenty others as the names that are mentioned become topics of general conversation. This precious boon for the hostess disappears if the name is written under each portrait.¹⁸

The act of viewing an album became a socially acceptable activity for men and women to engage in together. The semi-public milieu of the parlour in which others were nearby meant that couples could enjoy close proximity and limited physical contact. Joseph Solomon's painting *A Conversation Piece* (1884) depicts a man and woman enjoying the intimacy of viewing an album in an upper middle-class English drawing room (Figure 3). The woman, possibly the album's owner and narrator, reclines informally with the album on her lap and regards her male companion, who is examining a *carte de visite*. The act of viewing the photograph loose from the album and revealing any private inscriptions written on the back heightens their level of intimacy. The presence of others in the room, however, ensures that this closeness is respectable.



Figure 3: Joseph Solomon, *A Conversation Piece*, 1884.

Source: The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Culture Service, Leighton House Museum, London.

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While there is a growing body of scholarship on photography in New Zealand, relatively little has been written on photograph albums or album culture.¹⁹ No doubt the dearth of contemporary written information about them in diaries, letters, newspapers and other text sources has limited their accessibility to researchers. There are, however, some notable exceptions. Looking at albums as gendered spaces and sites for self-expression has been the focus of current research. Sandy Callister has explored Victorian women's use of albums and photography in New Zealand to portray feminine culture.²⁰ Chris Brickell's work considers both male and female uses. In Robert Gant's photographs and albums from the 1890s, Brickell found homoerotic meanings and expression, and in the early-twentieth-century album of Nola Pratt he discovered challenges to pre-war social expectations for young women.²¹ Angela Wanhalla investigates self-expression in William Speer's nineteenth-century scrapbook album, arguing that he used photographs and other items he collected to demonstrate his learning, travel experience and social networks.²² Antje Lübcke looks at snapshot albums compiled by New Zealand Presbyterian missionaries in the early twentieth century and their ability to promote mission work through visual narration.²³

An examination of 56 photograph albums holding 4804 photographs from the collection of Toitū Otago Settlers Museum offers insight into nineteenth-century album culture in Otago.²⁴ Almost 93% of photographs in Otago's albums are studio portraits of people identified as family and friends. These photographs demonstrate that, overwhelmingly, Otago's album owners filled their volumes with individuals they associated with on a personal level. The album compiled by English immigrant Jane Spratt offers an example of the web of connections that could be spun within the covers.²⁵ Jane's Knox Church Sunday school class in Dunedin gifted the empty album to her on 18 August 1885 as a token of their affection. The inscription, written on a loose piece of paper, was inserted in the first opening in the album and serves as its introduction. On 22 September, a month after receiving the album, she married John Ford. As a married woman, Jane probably gave up her Sunday school teaching, and the album served the additional role of farewell present from her pupils. Inscriptions in several other albums indicate that they were popular farewell gifts. A.S. Paterson, the Vice President of the Dunedin Young Men's Christian Association, received an album upon his leaving for England in 1876, and in 1881, Miss Dow was given an album by her students when she departed the Ngapara Public School in North Otago.²⁶

Many of the photographs Jane placed in her album have inscriptions beneath them, courtesy of her daughters, who annotated the album before

gifting it to Toitū in 1959. However, when the album was in Jane's possession, there would have been no information written on the pages, and viewers would have been reliant on her narrative. From her daughters' inscriptions, many portraits can be identified as Jane's family and friends. Family members make up at least 37% of the photographs and include her parents, brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, cousins, in-laws, and of course her two daughters, Margaret and Jane. It is likely that there are more photographs of her family that have not been identified. The first quarter of the album is dominated by Spratt and Ford photographs, and family members continue to reappear throughout the remaining pages. By placing her family at the beginning of the album, Jane expressed their importance to her. Jane is in several of the photographs with other family members, but there are also seven portraits of Jane by herself. One page features four photographs of her, making a strong association of the album with her personal identity (Figure 4).



Figure 4: *Cartes de visite* of Jane Spratt from her photograph album.
Source: Album 2, Toitū Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.

Of the remaining photographs in Jane's album, several have been identified as associates of hers through her time as a teacher. In 1883, she worked at George Street School, and her album contains photographs of the daughter of the school's headmaster, David Alexander McNicoll, and her fellow teachers Miss M.I. Fraser and Miss Thomson.²⁷ Jane also included portraits of Dr John Hislop, the secretary and inspector for the Otago Education Board and leading figure for education in the province, and two portraits of the 'Hislop boys'. Five portraits of the family of Alexander Stewart, headmaster of Union Street School, demonstrate further teaching associations. There are an additional 21 portraits of young women identified with the title 'Miss', many of whom are likely to have been teachers with whom she had worked. Jane clearly considered friendship a component of her album and added an embroidered bookmark with a poem titled 'To a Friend'.

The inscriptions by Jane's daughters offer a degree of information not found in most albums, but unidentified photographs still hold clues about connections and community networks. When photographs are removed from the album page, previously hidden details are revealed. Sometimes photographs were inscribed by the sitter on the back, often with a name and a date. A photograph from Jane's album offers the name 'Mary Gibson' and the date '3/2/79' (Figure 5).



Figure 5: *Carte de visite* (front and back) from Jane Spratt's photograph album showing an inscription and studio information.

Source: Album 2, Toitū Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.

Unfortunately, inscription was a rare practice. Almost all photographs, however, have studio branding that includes their names and locations, giving them a geographical context. From the albums in Toitū's collection, nearly 3000 photographs of family and friends were examined for studio locations. Seven geographic regions were identified: Otago (including Southland), New Zealand outside of the Otago/Southland region, Ireland and Great Britain (England, Scotland and Wales), Australia, North America (USA and Canada), Germanic states (today's nations of Germany, Switzerland and Austria) and 'other areas' (Malta, India, Jersey, France, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Peru, Fiji, Hong Kong and South Africa).²⁸ Otago studios make up 68% of these photographs. They are found in all the albums examined and are the majority of photographs in most of them. The second highest percentage, but at only 13%, is Ireland and Great Britain. In a region populated by a large number of immigrants, it is surprising that Otago's albums do not contain a greater number of images of those loved ones left behind. Instead, these albums indicate that photographs were primarily exchanged and shared within the local community.²⁹

In addition to photographs of family and friends, albums often contained images of famous or notable people. They made up a small percentage of the overall number of photographs in Otago's albums, but nearly half of the albums surveyed hold at least one, indicating a desire to move the album beyond a demonstration of personal connections. A page of Jane's album is devoted to images of a man identified by the inscription as the actor 'Mr Charles Monteith in various make-ups' (Figure 6). Three of the photographs, taken in the studio of T. Andrew's Napier Portrait Rooms, depict Monteith in character, and the fourth one is a conventional studio portrait from Rutherford & Co in Dunedin. Monteith was a minor actor and performed on the stage in Hawke's Bay during the 1880s, often taking on humorous roles such as Mrs Puffy in *The Streets of New York* and Lavender Roseleaf in *Turn Him Out*.³⁰ Images of the locally famous such as Monteith as well as international celebrities were available to purchase from photography studios, stationers and print shops. Dunedin's Burton Brothers studio stocked 'The newest portraits of the Queen' and portraits of Prince Albert 'in Scottish, Naval, and Private dress', while Dunedin publishers Reith and Wilkie advertised that they had received celebrity photographs and listed 42 personages, including Charles Darwin, Sir David Brewster, Abraham Lincoln, the Tsar of Russia and the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh.³¹



Figure 6: Page of *cartes de visite* of Charles Monteith from Jane Spratt's photograph album.
Source: Album 2, Toitū Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.

The popularity of photographic portraits was due, in part, to celebrity images. The desire to see, own and emulate these types of photographs unleashed the desire for *cartes de visite* in the early 1860s. As print and visual media grew, access to information, gossip and images of famous people increased, fuelling a desire to see and know more about them. The realism of the camera, combined with the ubiquity of celebrity photographs, promoted feelings of familiarity. Such photographs enabled Victorians to engage with public figures with a degree of intimacy not possible through lithographs and engravings.³² John Plunkett notes that looking at celebrity images provided 'a strange and new experience of figures who were nevertheless wholly familiar'.³³ In some instances, celebrity images offered a degree of social equality — anyone could have their photograph taken like a celebrity. Elizabeth McCauley maintains that these photographs were a reflection of participatory democracy. Modern citizens were expected to keep up with

current events, which included the activities of celebrities.³⁴ Through their extensive circulation, celebrity images also generated a collective experience and sense of belonging to an imagined community. Benedict Anderson raised the concepts of real and imagined communities in his investigation of the formation of nationalism. He described it as a cultural artefact and socio-cultural concept: 'An imagined political community ... imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'.³⁵ This argument about community and identity built on perceived shared bonds among strangers can be applied to other self-aware groups such as album-keepers.

Disdéri of Paris and Mayall of London were key figures in popularizing celebrity *cartes*, fuelling the craze for photographic portraits for everyone.³⁶ Both studios photographed and published images of the French and British royal families. *Cartes de visite* of royalty and other celebrities were profitable, and in the trade at the time they were referred to as 'sure cards' because of their high demand, which could often outstrip supply.³⁷ In France in 1861, approximately 800 different celebrity images were offered by Paris photographers, and by February 1866, Disdéri advertised a stock of 65,000 portraits of celebrities, providing the mainstay of his studio and others.³⁸ In England, Marion & Co was the major wholesale supply point for celebrity photographs, and in 1862 they claimed that they dealt with 50,000 every month.³⁹ In the week after Prince Albert's death, 70,000 of his *cartes de visite* were ordered from them.⁴⁰ In the United States in 1863, Anthony & Co produced up to 3600 celebrity photographs daily and had 4000 subjects available.⁴¹

Although Otago's albums contain portraits of British celebrities such as the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) and his wife Princess Alexandra of Denmark, local notables were more popular. The image of the Reverend Dr Donald McNaughton Stuart appears ten times in the albums surveyed, more often than any other individual.⁴² In a second album she compiled, Jane placed a photograph of him at the beginning (Figure 7). Stuart was minister for the Knox Presbyterian Church congregation in Dunedin and was a well-known and well-liked leader in the Otago colony, due in part to his educational and charitable activities. A newspaper report after his death in 1894 expressed the public's affection for him, writing that he was the 'most conspicuous figure in Otago' who was laid to rest 'amid the lamentations of an entire community which loved him as he also loved it'.⁴³ At Stuart's memorial service, the Reverend J. Chisholm remarked on his popularity, observing that 'His name is a household word among us — it is linked by

bridal or baptism to many a fireside'. Chisholm further reflected on Stuart's outreach to the wider Otago community: 'He stood in every pulpit of our order from the Waitaki to the Bluff, and there are reminiscences of some hearty words spoken or some timely service ungrudgingly rendered in every congregation'.⁴⁴ Dunedin mayor Henry Smith Fish ordered the afternoon of the funeral a 'close holiday' in order for the citizens of Dunedin to attend.⁴⁵ The turnout was overwhelming. An estimated 6000 to 7000 people followed the mile-long cortège, and an additional 15,000 gathered along George and Princes streets to witness the procession.⁴⁶



Figure 7: Reverend Dr Donald McNaughton Stuart from Jane Spratt's second photograph album.

Source: Album 6, Toitū Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.

Not all local celebrities in Otago's albums were added because they were pillars of the community. Photographers found that images of infamous personalities were just as popular and therefore profitable. Photographs of criminals, their victims and individuals associated with other sensational

events made for good storytelling in albums. Irish immigrant Bridget Barrett added the ‘Taieri Fasting Girl’ to her album (Figure 8).⁴⁷ In June 1870, the news broke that a young woman named Wilhelmina Ross of Maungatua, near Dunedin, had been bedridden for 18 weeks and in a trance for three.⁴⁸ She had been eating little and not speaking. This report followed only four months after the death in London of Sarah Jacob, the ‘Welsh Fasting Girl’, and comparisons were made.⁴⁹ For months, New Zealand newspapers reported extensively on Wilhelmina’s unchanged condition. The following year, in September 1871, the Burton Brothers studio visited her parents’ farm and photographed the girl in her bed. Newspapers described the image as a good likeness despite the difficult conditions for photography in her small, poorly lit room.⁵⁰ One article went into further detail, stating that ‘The face is that of a handsome girl resting on a pillow. There is no appearance of wasting, but, on the contrary, one might imagine she was very plump; and, from the quiet look of repose, content, cheerful, and happy.’ The report went on to say that ‘we have no doubt these photographs will be added to every album’.⁵¹ A man who visited Wilhelmina concurred, commenting that he saw exactly what he had expected because he had already seen the photograph displayed in the Burton studio’s window.⁵²



Figure 8: Wilhelmina Ross, the Taieri Fasting Girl, from Bridget Barrett’s photograph album.
Source: Album 287, Toitū Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.

In her research on nineteenth-century Australian photography, Anne Marie Willis found that images of home-grown identities 'provided the means for constructing the reputations of famous and infamous Australians'.⁵³ The same can be said for Otago. Photographs of local identities built a sense of identity and shared community. The settlement could come together around a beloved minister and claim its own fasting girl. Through displaying these images in an album, viewers could discuss local connections and events, sharing both knowledge and gossip and further contributing to a sense of a real community.

Photographs in Otago's albums were not limited to portraits of people; although small in number, images of landscapes, animals, monuments, ships and artwork appear in half of the albums surveyed. These images offered visual variety and broke up the monotony of studio portraits that dominated most albums. To her album, Jane added three *cartes de visite* of early Dunedin views, one of her family's home on Cumberland Street and one of the ship *City of Dunedin*. Like celebrity photographs, these images offered album compilers the opportunity to move beyond the personal networks demonstrated by photographs of family and friends and to build and communicate fuller personal identities. Without Jane's narration, the meaning of these photographs for her can only be speculated. Her family immigrated to Dunedin from England when she was five, and the photographs of the city could simply be a visual statement of her connection with her new home. The photograph of the Spratt house is a clear embodiment of home, and the presence of a woman identified as Mrs S.P. Spratt (possibly Jane's mother) on the veranda heightens that association and adds a sentimental aspect.⁵⁴

Conclusion

Jane Spratt and other album compilers in Otago flocked to professional studios to have their photographs taken, purchased albums and filled them with portraits of friends and family. To add additional meaning and interest, they supplemented these photographs with celebrity and non-portrait images. A closer examination of Otago's albums reveals a resemblance to and an awareness of overseas album practice, demonstrating that the province was not culturally isolated. Through systematically analysing the content of these albums with a material culture approach, however, differences become apparent. Otago's residents used portraits taken by local studios of local people and celebrities to express a colonial present and new identity. Through their albums, they showed who they were, their social connections and personal networks, and where they were placed within the Otago community.

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NOTES

1 Tannie's full name was Margaret Ann and Fannie's was Frances Louisa. Their father, William, was the licensee of the Auld Scotland Hotel located on Stuart Street near the law courts in Dunedin.

2 The man was Henry Vincent Haddock. He filed for divorce from his English wife, Eleanor, in 1883 on the grounds that she had remarried illegally and was committing adultery. Eleanor appears to have died before the divorce was granted, and Henry married Fanny in 1885.

3 Tannie Fidler to Georgy, January 1879, Fidler Letters, AG-305, Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (TOSM), Dunedin. *Cartes de visite* are small photographs mounted on card usually measuring 65mm x 100mm. In the late 1870s, cabinet cards measuring 110mm x 165mm were introduced. *Cartes de visite* and cabinet cards remained the dominant photographic format until snapshot photography was introduced in the late 1880s.

4 Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago*, John McIndoe, Dunedin, 1984, p.39.

5 Jules Prown, 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 17, 1 (1982), pp.1–2.

6 Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Resemblance*, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 2004; Elizabeth Edwards, 'Objects of Affect: Photography Beyond the Image', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41 (2012), pp.221–34.

7 Andrea Kunard, 'Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-Century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album', *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 4, 3 (2006), p.240.

8 Anne Higonnet, 'Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe', in Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, eds, *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1992, p.179.

9 Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2010, p.139.

10 Deborah Chambers, 'Family as Place: Family Photograph Albums and the Domestication of Public and Private Space', in Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, eds, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, I B Taurus, London, 2003, p.97.

11 Claire Grey, 'Theories of Relativity', in Jo Spence and Patricia Holland, eds, *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*, Virago, London, 1991, p.107.

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

13 Chris Brickell, *Manly Affections: The Photographs of Robert Gant, 1885–1915*, Genre Books, Dunedin, 2012; Chris Brickell, 'Visualizing Homoeroticism: The Photographs of Robert Gant, 1887–1892', *Visual Anthropology*, 23, 2 (2010), pp.136–57.

14 *Otago Daily Times* (ODT), 21 December 1864, p.1.

15 Sarah McNair Vosmeier, 'Picturing Love and Friendship: Photograph Albums and Networks of Affection in the 1860s', in Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott and Patricia P. Buckler, eds, *The Scrapbook in American Life*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2006, p.210–11.

16 Robin and Carol Wichard use the term 'introductory carte' to describe these instructional poems, although they do not necessarily appear at the beginning of an album. Robin and Carol Wichard, *Victorian Cartes-de Visite*, Shire, Princes Risborough, 1999, p.76.

17 Martha Langford, 'Speaking the Album: An Application of the Oral-Photographic Framework', in Annette Kuhn and Kirsten Emiko McAllister, eds, *Locating Memory: Photographic Acts*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2006, pp.223–44. See also Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, 2001.

18 From *Le Monde Illustré*, 1860, quoted in Anna Dahlgren, 'Dated Photographs: The Personal Photo Album as Visual and Textual Medium', *Photography & Culture*, 3, 2 (2010), pp.187–8.

19 Major works on New Zealand photography include Hardwicke Knight, *Burton Brothers: Photographers*, John McIndoe, Dunedin, 1980; Hardwicke Knight, *The Photography of John Richard Morris: An Appreciation of his Contribution to New Zealand Portrait and View Photography in the Nineteenth Century*, H. Knight, Dunedin, 1995; Hardwicke Knight, *Joseph Weaver Allen, Photographer*, H. Knight, Dunedin, 1997; William Main and John B. Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present*, PhotoForum Inc with the assistance of Agfa, Auckland, 1993; David Eggleton, *Into the Light: A History of New Zealand Photography*, Craig Potton, Nelson, 2006; Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow, *Crombie to Burton: Early New Zealand Photography*, John Leech Gallery, Auckland, 2006; Christine Whybrew, 'The Burton Brothers Studio: Commerce in Photography and the Marketing of New Zealand, 1866–1898', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2010; Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf, eds, *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays*, Dunedin, 2011; Jill Haley, 'The Colonial Family Album: Photography and Identity in Otago, 1848–1890', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2017.

20 Sandy Callister, *The Victorian Album, the Feminine and the Personal*, Adam Art Gallery, Victoria University of Wellington, 8 October to 13 November 2011.

21 Brickell, *Manly Affections*; Brickell, 'Visualizing Homoeroticism'; Brickell, "'Badness Personified": Nola Pratt's Photograph Album', in Annabel Cooper, Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla, eds, *The Lives of Colonial Objects*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2015, pp.262–7.

22 Angela Wanhalla, 'William Speer's Album: A Scrapbook of Colonial Travel', in Cooper, Paterson and Wanhalla, eds, pp.104–108.

23 Antje Lübcke, 'From Glass Plate to Album: New Hebrides Mission Photographs in the Album of Reverend William Veitch Milne', in Wanhalla and Wolf, eds, pp.128–38; Antje Lübcke, 'Two New Hebrides Mission Photograph Albums: An Object-Story of Story-Objects', *The Journal of Pacific History*, 47, 2 (2012), pp.187–209.

24 Each album has provenance such as an inscription or donor information linking it to an Otago family.

25 Album 2, TOSM. Jane immigrated to Dunedin with her parents on the ship *England* in 1865 at age five.

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

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

28 These categories were based on geographic proximity (e.g. England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland combined as one area) and finding a statistically significant number of photographs from that area (e.g. more than 1%). Locations whose numbers were low (below 1%) have been combined together into a seventh category called 'other areas'.

29 Seven percent of the photographs in these albums had no studio information and are not included in these statistics.

30 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 11 September 1880, p.2; 12 January 1884, p.2.

31 ODT, 7 December 1867, p.6; 10 October 1874, p.4.

- 32 Miles Orvell, *American Photography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, pp.28–29. Celebrity here is defined as someone who is celebrated, famous or well known. Nineteenth-century celebrities included, but were not limited to, royalty, statesmen, clergy, military leaders, theatrical figures, writers, physicians and lawyers as well as infamous individuals such as criminals and victims of crime.
- 33 John Plunkett, 'Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the Carte de Visite', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 8 (2003), p.57.
- 34 Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1985, pp.56–57.
- 35 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London, 2006, p.6.
- 36 Other notable celebrity photographers include the Nadar studio in France and Charles Deforest Fredericks and Napoleon Sarony in the United States.
- 37 ODT, 22 April 1862, p.5.
- 38 McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait*, p.61; Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography, 1850–1880: The Age of Collodion*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1988, p.192.
- 39 John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, p.153.
- 40 ODT, 22 April 1862, p.5.
- 41 Vicki Goldberg, *The Power of Photography: How Photographs Changed our Lives*, Abbeville Press, New York, 1991, p.105; Michael Pritchard, 'Edward Anthony and Henry Tiebout', in John Hannavy, ed., *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, Routledge, New York, 2008, p.50.
- 42 Albums 6, 8, 64, 101, 118, 136, 139, 142, 253 and 275, TOSM.
- 43 *Otago Witness* (OW), 17 May 1894, p.28.
- 44 ODT, 21 May 1894, p.3.
- 45 ODT, 16 May 1894, p.3.
- 46 OW, 17 May 1894, p.28.
- 47 Album 287, TOSM.
- 48 *Timaru Herald*, 25 June 1870, p.2.
- 49 *The Evening Star* (Dunedin), 24 February 1870, p.2.
- 50 ODT, 29 September 1871, p.2; *Bruce Herald*, 4 October 1871, p.6.
- 51 *North Otago Times*, 6 October 1871, p.2.
- 52 ODT, 25 September 1872, p.3.
- 53 Anne Marie Willis, *Picturing Australia: A History of Photography*, Angus and Robertson, North Ryde, 1988, p.47.
- 54 The *City of Dunedin* was a passenger ship that transported passengers from Clyde to Dunedin. Neither Jane's nor her husband's families immigrated on that ship, and the significance of that photograph to Jane is lost.