

From Aide-memoire to Public Memorial

THE 'GORDON COLLECTION' OF PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS RELATING TO THE NEW ZEALAND WARS



ON 28 OCTOBER 2017, New Zealand's inaugural Raa Maumahara National Day of Commemoration was held. This day is dedicated to recognizing, remembering and retelling histories relating to the New Zealand Wars of 1845–1872, which had issues of sovereignty and land at their core and were, as James Belich writes, as 'important to New Zealand as were the Civil Wars to England and the United States'.¹ Just over 100 years ago, in 1916, the Dominion Museum in Wellington purchased the 'Gordon Collection', which holds material of great relevance to the current commitment to better acknowledge past conflicts. Compiled by William Francis Gordon over a lengthy period, the collection consisted of 'portraits, maps, diagrams, &c., relating to the Maori wars of the "sixties"'.² One of its most valuable aspects, as far as the museum director James Allan Thomson was concerned, was a remarkable portrait collection of photographs depicting officers and men who fell in action, New Zealand Victoria Cross holders, New Zealand Cross holders, officers, rebel Hauhau chiefs and associated civilians.

Gordon's collection is one of the most comprehensive photographic records of the New Zealand Wars. Although, as William Main noted, 'some surprisingly good images have come forward from what might have seemed a hopeless photographic situation', compared to international conflicts of a similar nature, such as the Crimean and Abyssinian wars (1853–1856 and 1867–1868) and the American Civil War (1861–1865), the New Zealand Wars were less purposefully documented by photography.³ Within British militarist discourse the gun and the camera were considered equivalent 'weapons within a praxis of colonial power'.⁴ Consequently, the British military incorporated photography into their training for Royal Engineers from the 1850s, recognizing its potential to record scenes accurately, as well as to reproduce maps and plans for circulation. In the American context, photographers such as Mathew B. Brady were quick to recognize the commercial opportunities offered by the war⁵ and capitalized on the market for works picturing peoples and events associated with the battles. In contrast, there is little evidence of a dedicated photographic presence during the New Zealand Wars, and photography does not appear to have been embraced

as a medium to document the progress, atrocities or outcomes of the wars in the same way as those conflicts already cited. In accounts of nineteenth-century war photography, the inherent difficulties of the medium — the scale, complexity and ultimate clumsiness of the equipment required — are often highlighted.⁶ In New Zealand these physical factors were compounded by the very nature of the conflicts: various skirmishes and battles took place in diverse and often remote sites, extending from Wairau to the Bay of Islands, and from Taranaki to the East Cape, often in dense bush, a difficult environment for nineteenth-century photographic technologies.⁷

The most photographed sites were those that could be easily reached by road, and were close to cosmopolitan centres. Consequently, the landscape between Auckland and Tauranga was best documented, primarily through the work of Daniel Beere, Dr William Temple and John Kinder.⁸ None of these men were photographers by trade: Beere was an engineer;⁹ Temple, a doctor; and Kinder, a clergyman.¹⁰ The scenes they photographed were largely of camp life, soldiers at rest and at work breaking rocks in the efforts to build the Great South Road. The main business of photography took place in the centres, where portrait photographers such as Hartley Webster and John Nicol Crombie in Auckland, or William James Harding in Whanganui and George Henry Swan or James Wigglesworth in Wellington, who specialized in *carte-de-visite* portraits, received a steady trade during the 1860s from soldiers and colonists seeking likenesses of themselves and others. Both the field views and portrait photographs were available for purchase. For example, in 1864, J. Varty's on Queen St, Auckland, advertised 34 scenes by Beere that 'have become memorable as the scenes of the conflicts and struggles which have occurred during the present Maori rebellion',¹¹ and in 1866 Webster advertised the availability of 'Likenesses of Officers of the Staff, 65th and other Regiments' as well as views of Tauranga 'showing the Obelisk erected to the memory of the Officers of the 43rd Regiment'.¹² Many soldiers compiled their own collections of photographs from these sources, most likely as souvenirs of their time in New Zealand.¹³ Such collections tended to consist of portraits of soldiers, prominent officials and Māori, as well as views of scenery and military encampments.¹⁴

While colonial photography in New Zealand has received increased attention over the past few decades, publications have largely consisted of monographs about male photographers,¹⁵ thematic studies, most often focusing on Māori portraits,¹⁶ or historical surveys of the medium.¹⁷ Edited collections have provided more focused readings of the material object,¹⁸ and a small number of publications have dealt with the contexts of collecting and exhibiting colonial New Zealand photography.¹⁹ To date the visual legacy of the

New Zealand Wars has not been the subject of extensive examination. In this article I draw attention to one collection of material relating to this historical period: Gordon's collection of photographs.²⁰ Here, I consider Gordon's collection development strategy, which included visiting major battle sites, corresponding with survivors, and taking and copying photographs. By doing so, the nature of photography, its reproducibility, as well as its relationship to 'truth', are unpacked. I investigate the acquisition of Gordon's multifaceted collection by the museum, particularly the role it was intended to play as part of the National Historical Collection. Finally, I explore how photographs took on new significance as they entered Gordon's collection, and were inscribed with historical details and contextual information. In the process, potentially staid studio portraits produced to function as personal aides-memoires were transformed into public memorials referencing a complex period in New Zealand's history.

Gordon's 'Splendid Collection'

No single photographer made it their aim to comprehensively document the soldiers or the action of the various events constituting the New Zealand Wars, but in New Plymouth there was an amateur historian who, from the 1880s through to his death in 1936, acted as collector, archivist and producer of material relating to the wars: William Francis Gordon (1846–1936). Gordon was Australian-born and arrived in Wellington in 1868, moved to Whanganui in 1875, then to New Plymouth, where he resided for the remainder of his life.²¹ He was a talented musician, a public caricaturist and, by day, a draughtsman for the Lands and Survey Department (Figure 1). While it was reported that he was a veteran of the New Zealand Wars, there is no evidence to support this. His most direct connection, as recollected in 1909, was when he was in the band that 'played the volunteers down to the Wellington wharf when they left for Patea, prior to the battle of Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu' in 1868.²² Instead, he became an avid creator and collector of photographs, maps and plans relating to the wars, as well as an active correspondent with various veterans. His collection was compiled over a lengthy period, through visits to the major sites of the wars, a trip to the United Kingdom, taking and copying photographs, making and commissioning drawings, as well as the purchase of material.



Figure 1: Unknown photographer, W.F. Gordon in 1888, hand-coloured *carte-de-visite*, Whanganui.
Source: Whanganui Regional Museum, 1935.59.3.

Gordon first approached Thomson, Director of the Dominion Museum, on 14 June 1915, offering him a variety of items for sale. At first glance it appeared an eclectic collection, including pieces of the first pyramid, scoria from Vesuvius, sand from a Serapeum near Memphis and a piece of Nelson's *Victory*. But interspersed amongst this rather random selection of curios were more tantalizing objects, suggesting a collector with more specific concerns: 'Pieces of shells etc. from Huirangi Battlefield. D^o & bayonets etc. from Rangiriri.... Tracings which I am having mounted of Earthworks at Rangiriri, Te Ngutu o te Manu & others', and possibly the most macabre item 'a piece of the willow tree on which the Rev^d Mr Volkner was hanged at Opotiki'.²³ Thomson, however, was most interested in Gordon's photographs of officers and men who served in the New Zealand Wars.²⁴ In his letter of offer, Gordon informed Thomson of his intention 'to write the Premier offering for sale my

splendid collection of photos of officers & men who served in the N.Z. Wars because I think they ought to be put on permanent record in some such place as the Dominion Museum or Art Gallery'.²⁵ After describing the contents in more detail, Gordon advised that 'before I offer this entire collection to any of the Mayors of the Chief cities — I will give you the first refusal'.²⁶ Thomson took the bait, commenting, 'Your collection of photographs is one that should certainly be with our historical records, and the purchase of these will be recommended to the Hon. Minister of Internal Affairs'.²⁷

Such a collection met Thomson's acquisition priorities as third director of the museum. The first director, James Hector, had focused on natural history; the second, Augustus Hamilton, had built the ethnographic collections.²⁸ Thomson wanted to establish an 'historical collection relating to the early history of New Zealand',²⁹ based on a widely felt concern that the past was 'vanishing in an uncanny way'.³⁰ This concern gave rise to a number of historical endeavours throughout the colony designed to capture the memories and experiences of those who had participated in New Zealand's colonial history.³¹ In this climate the New Zealand Wars received renewed attention. While the period from 1872 to 1902 was characterized by Chris McLean and Jock Phillips as one of 'amnesia',³² Gordon's collecting project was one of several enterprises that sought to recover those histories in the early twentieth century, especially as commemorative dates began to be noted. For example, James McDonald had staged an exhibition of Horatio Gordon Robley's sketches in the lecture hall of the Dominion Museum in 1914, timed to coincide with the jubilee of the events they depicted during the New Zealand Wars.³³ The fact that the acquisition of Gordon's collection was being negotiated in the midst of World War I is also worth noting. For Thomson, Gordon's collection offered a prototype for collecting material relating to the Great War. This connection was made clear in 1917, when the Dominion Museum began to accumulate material that would form a National War Portrait Collection.³⁴ A newspaper appeal for exhibits stated: 'Standing out strongly in the objects of the promoters is a desire to, as it were, link up the heroes of the past — pioneer and Maori War fighters — with their descendents, direct and indirect, who have been and are playing such a prominent part in the world war of today'.³⁵

In spite of its topicality and Thomson's ready enthusiasm to support the acquisition of Gordon's collection, negotiations dragged on into late 1915. Thomson viewed the collection in New Plymouth but the Minister of Internal Affairs, Sir Francis Dillon Bell, wanted Gordon to send the collection to Wellington for inspection. Gordon 'demurred, without offering any very valid reason',³⁶ leading John Hislop, Under-Secretary for the Department of

Internal Affairs, to comment, 'Mr Gordon is a very old man and extremely difficult to move and there is a fear that if the Department continues to press him to send the collection down he may eventually withdraw his offer'.³⁷ Finally, in December 1915, funds were approved and the Gordon collection was acquired by the museum for £100.³⁸

When Gordon's collection of photographs was accessioned into the collections in 1916, it consisted of eight framed arrangements of *carte-de-visites* depicting soldiers involved in the New Zealand Wars. These included: one framed picture 'In Memoriam'; one framed Picture N.Z Cross Winners; one framed Picture V.C. Winners; one framed picture 65th Reg/Group; and four framed pictures of Groups of Officers.³⁹ Over time the collection grew as Gordon made further donations. For example, in March 1916, he sent 75 more photographs, comprising various battle sites, 18 photographs of 'notorious Hauhaus' and about 33 photographs of Māori, as well as of notable colonists and colonial politicians.⁴⁰ In 1924, Gordon gifted further items, including two sheets of mounted photographs depicting officers who had served in the wars.⁴¹ Today, there are 660 photographs attached to the accession lot for Gordon's collection held by Te Papa. To make sense of this collection, I return to its origins.

Gordon: Collector, Archivist, Photographer, Artist

Gordon was not, as noted, a veteran of the New Zealand Wars. Instead, he established his authority and built his collection through intensive research, including field visits to the major battle sites, as well as making contact with survivors both through correspondence and in person. As he himself wrote, 'I need hardly say that the photos especially were not secured without many long tramps and some personal expense'.⁴² It is difficult to pinpoint when he began his collection in earnest, but it is clear that he used a number of different strategies to source material. In the first instance, he was able to acquire photographs directly from photographic firms, such as Hartley Webster in Auckland, William James Harding in Whanganui and George Henry Swan or James Wrigglesworth in Wellington. Gordon possibly began his collection shortly after his arrival in the colony, for following the battle at Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu in 1868, the *Wellington Independent* noted that 'Mr Wrigglesworth has on view an exceedingly good *carte-de-visite* of the late Major Von Tempsky'.⁴³ Indeed, Main claims that James Wrigglesworth was 'unable to cope with the demand' for portraits of the dashing Prussian soldier, artist, musician and adventurer (Figure 2).⁴⁴



Figure 2: Hartley Webster, Major von Tempsky, 1866–68.
 Copy photograph and annotation by W.F. Gordon, circa 1900. Purchased 1916.
Source: Te Papa, (O.013575/01).

By the early twentieth century Gordon was actively soliciting photographs from those who had served, or from their relatives. Gordon's location in New Plymouth, Taranaki, in one of the districts most impacted by the wars, was advantageous for this exercise, as it enabled him to be in direct contact with key figures who had been engaged in the conflicts. Many photographs in his collection were exchanged in person and were, as he claimed, 'autograph photos given to me by the officers'.⁴⁵ Major William Bazire Messenger's photograph is, for example, signed 'Yours very truly'.⁴⁶ Messenger was a key player in the Taranaki conflicts and retired to New Plymouth in 1903, where he would have met Gordon. It is also likely that Gordon was acquainted with Lieutenant Colonel Maillard Noake, a former British Army officer who commanded the Rangitikei, Patea and Wanganui Military Districts in the 1860s and 1870s. Noake resided in Whanganui until 1890. His dashing

photograph, in which he boasts a striking aquiline profile, and wears his New Zealand War Medal, is signed 'Yrs Faithfully, M. Noake' (Figure 3). Other collection opportunities arose when 'reunions' of veterans were held. Gordon was an invited guest to the first commemorative dinner held on the anniversary of the battle at Waireka on 28 March 1897.⁴⁷ A group photograph of the veteran volunteers was taken by William Collis on this occasion, but other photographic portraits of individuals may also have been made at this time. For example, Gordon claims authorship of the photograph of Captain Francis Mace that may have been taken on this or a subsequent anniversary. Mace has autographed the subtly hand-coloured photograph, in which he wears his New Zealand Cross and New Zealand War Medals.⁴⁸



Figure 3: Unknown photographer, Lieutenant Colonel W. Noake, N.Z.M. circa 1870.

Copy photograph with annotation by W.F. Gordon, circa 1900. Purchased 1916.

Source: Te Papa, (O.013439).

Other photographs were sent to Gordon by veterans. These contributions were regularly noted in the *Taranaki Herald*, with whom Gordon seemed to have a good working relationship, acting both to publicize his collecting efforts while also possibly serving to elicit further donations.⁴⁹ For example, in 1902 Gordon wrote a letter to the editor about Captain Angus Smith, who had recently died at Ōpōtiki, correcting the fact the captain was not only a veteran of the Crimean wars, but also the New Zealand Wars, and consequently deserved ‘more than a passing notice’. He also noted that he had received a photo from the captain for his ‘collection of old soldiers’ and that he had ‘placed it on view at Mr Avery’s [a local shop] for those interested’.⁵⁰ A number of other contributions to Gordon’s collection were reported in 1903. In August, it was noted that Gordon had received a letter and an ‘excellent photo’ from Major-General J.H. Roche.⁵¹ Roche was a member of the 18th Royal Irish Regiment, one of the last imperial troops that served at Taranaki. In his letter, which was quoted from, he fondly remembered the ‘kindness and hospitality’ of the New Plymouth residents.⁵² Some correspondents used their communication with Gordon to convey a personal message, such as Lieutenant-Colonel W.E. Brown, who asked ‘to be remembered to all those who belonged to his regiment’.⁵³

Gordon typically captioned the photographs in his own hand, so as to identify the individual, and to indicate their regiment and whether they were recipients of the New Zealand War Medal, or the New Zealand Cross. But Gordon used an interesting strategy to authenticate and personalize his collection: when he received a letter accompanying a contribution, he cut out the subject’s valediction and pasted it onto the front of the corresponding photograph, thereby transforming the individual’s sign-off into an authenticating signature.⁵⁴ Gordon took the responsibility of captioning the photographs seriously. For example, after he sent his collection to the museum, he wrote to Thomson: ‘In the frame that has the glass broken I find I forgot to name Dr. Wadsworth 70th. I have stuck the name on the glass so as to enable you to place its position when fresh glass is being put in’.⁵⁵ Unfortunately the label is now attached to the letter in which Gordon made this request and there is no individual photograph currently catalogued in Te Papa’s collections as Dr Wadsworth, suggesting that Wadsworth’s identity may have been lost in the institutional archives.

Materials arising from the exchanges Gordon had with veterans, such as the letters, lend historical weight to his enterprise, and became valuable records that were later acquired by the museum. These letters also reveal details about his collecting practices. For instance, Gordon often requested historical information from those he contacted, as well as occasionally seeking to verify the identities of portraits.⁵⁶ Having been asked to verify whether one sitter was Henare Kapa Te Ahururu, George Preece replied in

March 1903 that it was not him, and concluded, ‘I return photo, I know mans [sic] face but cannot place him’.⁵⁷ Similarly, Edward Thomas Brooke wrote from London with information about the conflict at Rangiriri, but regretted, ‘I send you back the photos. I am sorry I can’t put names to more than two of them. I know the faces of some of the others but cannot name them.’⁵⁸ George Clampitt, writing from the Veteran’s home in Auckland, regretted that he had ‘no photo of myself, or I should have been much pleased to have sent it’.⁵⁹

Some photographs were sent from further afield. Colonel C.M. Churchill expressed relief that his photograph had arrived safely from Wimborne, in Dorset, England, being rather afraid it had become lost.⁶⁰ Other photographs were not so fortunate in their postal adventures. In 1900 Gordon received a glass plate positive of William Odgers, the first recipient of the Victoria Cross during the New Zealand Wars.⁶¹ It was sent to him by Captain Gassiot, and is apparently the only photograph ever taken of Odgers, made in Queen Street shortly after the battle at Waireka.⁶² It was at this battle that Odgers’s ‘conspicuous gallantry ... having been the first to enter it [the pa] under a heavy fire, and having assisted in hauling down the enemy’s colours’ was noted.⁶³ Unfortunately, as the newspaper reported, the glass positive ‘came to hand through the post broken into pieces but fortunately the head and shoulder region was still intact’.⁶⁴ Gordon photographed the surviving features and framed Odgers’s bust in a drawn golden braid set upon the background of a Union Jack flag, the flag pole just legible on the left-hand side. The result is a remarkable work of art; one that simultaneously celebrates the British imperial forces, whilst referencing the purportedly heroic act for which Odgers was awarded the Victoria Cross (Figure 4).



Figure 4: W.F. Gordon, Wm. Odgers, V.C. H.M.S. *Niger*, hand-coloured photograph, pen and ink. Purchased 1916.

Source: Te Papa, (O.013443/01).

This also raises another aspect of Gordon's role in building his collection. While he was, on the one hand, a collector, archivist and amateur historian, he was also a photographer and artist. In this example he had both re-photographed Odgers's portrait, and also designed a setting for it. It is clear that Gordon regularly copied the photographs he acquired for his collection, as a number of duplicates are present in the Gordon collection today. Some contributors were aware of this, such as Peter Loftus of the 57th Regiment, who wrote, 'I send you those photos you asked for. When done kindly return'.⁶⁵ Two versions of the same studio portrait, as well as the corresponding glass plate negative of Loftus in Te Papa's collection, confirm that Gordon reproduced the photograph and printed multiple versions.⁶⁶ One version is poorly exposed, and Gordon's efforts at 'touching up' the photograph can be seen, particularly in the sitter's eyes, which have crude black dots applied.

Unfortunately, Gordon's role as reproductive photographer was not understood by Thomson when he concluded negotiations to purchase Gordon's collection. In December 1915 Gordon casually noted in a letter to Thomson: 'I have offered some duplicate photos & negs to our local Museum that is in "posse" & hope soon will be in "use"'.⁶⁷ It seems Thomson did not register this comment, for in September 1917 he wrote to Gordon: 'I have heard a rumour that you are offering to another museum duplicates of the collection of photographs etc. you sold to us. I hope this is not correct'.⁶⁸ Gordon replied that the rumour was

quite correct & I am rather pleased you have brought the matter up. It is this way; I have over 100 negs. from which, that many of the photographs you had from me were printed. People here who know that thought they would make an offer for them ... to take prints from & frame. It never occurred to me that you would object, as I have an idea that when you called I asked if you wanted the negs & you said no.... The question is Do you want the negs.? If you do they shall not be sold here. If not I would not feel inclined to destroy them.⁶⁹

To this, Thomson advised that any sale to another museum would 'naturally lessen the value of the collection you sold to us', and informed Gordon that if he should carry out his intention Thomson should 'consider myself relieved of any obligation to keep your collection as the "Gordon Collection"'.⁷⁰ Communication from this point was decidedly cold. Thomson was not inclined to recommend purchasing the negatives, particularly as the government was in a period of reduced expenditure, but also because it 'will not add in any way to the historical material we obtained when we purchased your collection'.⁷¹ Gordon dismissed Thomson's evaluation, pointing out that

if the government wished, at any point, to publish material relating to the New Zealand Wars, it would possess the negatives, which would ‘obviate the necessity of copying those in frames, always a difficult process’.⁷² Finally, Thomson negotiated the purchase of the negatives for £5.⁷³ What Thomson apparently failed to recognize was that ownership of the negatives granted the museum capacity to regulate the reproduction of the photographs, thereby controlling the circulation of the portraits and increasing the status of the collection as something ‘unique’ within the museum.⁷⁴

Gordon had asserted his understanding of the reproductive potential of photography early in his career. In this regard, he was a cultural entrepreneur, having regularly photographed and copyrighted his artworks and made the reproductions available for sale from the 1870s. He also used these reproductions to circulate his work to a variety of institutions and individuals around the globe in an attempt to establish cultural networks.⁷⁵ Consequently, in his exchange with Thomson, he seemed one step ahead at every point, and it was inevitable that Thomson would eventually capitulate. Gordon’s photographic practice was not, though, just reproductive. In his role as surveyor for the Department of Lands and Survey, he had visited and drawn maps of many locations in the Taranaki region.⁷⁶ He had also travelled around the North Island visiting sites associated with the wars and came to consider himself an expert on these places and their histories. He wrote to Wellington librarian Herbert Baillie:

I have walked all over those battlefields, Koheroa, Orakau, Gate Pa, Rangiriri and had relics from each, which are in some museum. When at Kihikihi and going to look at Orakau the man that drove me there I soon booted out. He did not know as much about the locality, fight, as I did myself. Such guides are not worth the proverbial dam. No final ‘n’ to this word if you please.⁷⁷

As well as collecting relics, Gordon made photographs of the sites he encountered. In 1898, the *Taranaki Herald* reported that ‘Gordon has in his spare time photographed most of the places of interest in connection with the war in this district’.⁷⁸ By doing so, Gordon created relationships between the historical portraits he collected and the photographs he made. For example, a photograph he included in the ‘officers group’ was of Mrs Gordon, ‘taken on the historic spot where W^m Odgers of H.M.S. Niger won the first V.C. in N.Z.’ (Figure 5).⁷⁹ The female figure, clad in Victorian dress and holding a parasol, makes an uncanny appearance in this landscape, which is so loaded with historical resonance. The presence of the woman could be read as ‘domesticating’ the landscape, so recently witness to conflict and bloodshed.⁸⁰

In another, a veteran, Mr Milmoe, stands on the site of the Turuturumokai Redoubt near Hāwera, where ‘Captain Ross and nine men were killed and five wounded’.⁸¹ Gordon’s caption asserts that Milmoe is, with his umbrella, ‘Pointing to the spot where Capt. Ross fell’.⁸² The battle at Turuturumokai was a resounding colonist defeat, yet was described in James Cowan’s seminal history of the New Zealand Wars as the “‘Rorke’s” drift of Taranaki’”. Milmoe and others were written into history as heroic figures who ‘held the fort successfully against Titokowaru’s Hauhau warriors’.⁸³ Consequently, while these photographs register sites of conflict, and of loss, within Gordon’s collection they are a body of material that supported the dominant ideology underpinning the emerging historiography of the New Zealand Wars; one which, as Belich puts it, carried an ‘expectation of British victory’.⁸⁴



Figure 5: W.F. Gordon [Mrs Gordon on site of the Kaipopo Pa], black and white photograph, circa 1900. Purchased 1916.

Source: Te Papa, (O.013442).

Wahine Toa

From our contemporary perspective, an interesting aspect of Gordon’s research, and one which opens up the potential for alternative histories, lies in his relationship with two remarkable wahine toa: Lucy Takiora Lord⁸⁵ and Heni Te Kiri Karamu, also known as Heni Pore or Jane Foley.⁸⁶ Both women fought alongside the British, although Heni Pore and her whānau initially supported the King movement. Lucy and her first husband, Te Mahuki,

acted as guides and interpreters for von Tempsky in the 1860s. The Turnbull Library holds a manuscript by Gordon based on Lord's letters, in which she recounts many of the incidents from that period.⁸⁷ However, the photograph collected by Gordon pictures not the wahine toa, but an elegant woman in full Victorian dress, complete with headpiece, gazing into the distance (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Unknown photographer, Lucy Lord, Interpreter and Guide to the Forces, circa 1860. Copy glass plate negative by W.F. Gordon circa 1900. Purchased 1916.

Source: Te Papa, (B.010370).

Heni Pore similarly exchanged letters with Gordon from the 1890s through to the 1910s on the meaning of Māori words, carvings, various personalities, the events she was involved with at Gate Pā, as well as details of the three flags she made whilst fighting with Ngāti Koheriki under the chief Wi Koka. Close reading of these letters alongside the representations of Heni Pore and the flags sheds new light on Gordon's photographic process. Gordon's retouching and hand-colouring has already mentioned, but until now, the manipulation of the oft-reproduced photograph in Te Papa's collection of Heni Pore has not been noticed (Figure 8).

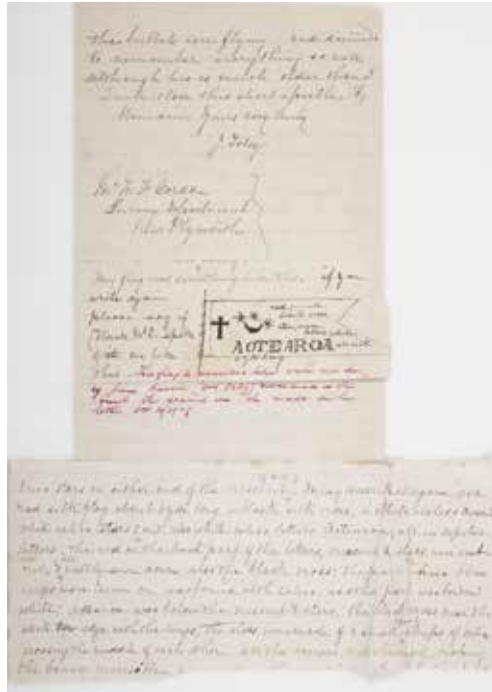


Figure 7: Jane Foley to W.F. Gordon, hand-written letter with diagram of flag, 2 September 1899.

Source: Te Papa Archives: CA162/1/10/4.

In one of her letters to Gordon, Heni Pore described one of the flags she made, and provided a diagram (Figure 7):

a red silk flag about 6 yds long, a black silk cross, a white calico crescent white calico starts 2 or 3. also white calico letters Aotearoa, all in capital letters, the red on the back part of the letters, crescent & stars, were cut out, & all neatly sewn down, also the black cross; The part where 6 brass rings were sewn on, was bound with calico, no other part was bordered white; Aotearoa was below the crescent & stars, the black cross near the white edge with the rings, the stars were made of 3 small equal strips of calico crossing the middle of each other, all the designs cut through, making the banner reversible.⁸⁸

On close scrutiny, it is apparent that Gordon drew the flag in the photograph based on her illustration and description. He then superimposed his drawing of the flag over a person standing next to Pore — the shadow of his or her

figure can be seen at the base of the flag, and a left elbow protrudes subtly on the right. When enlarged, the ‘drawn’ nature of the flag becomes evident: the stars and crescent are not stitched but are defined by somewhat crude lines made in pencil and wash. Gordon and Pore must have exchanged photographs, and she was aware of his alterations — in one letter she notes that she refused to sit for Mr Griffiths, who dealt in Māori photographs and ‘did not give him the photo with the flag’.⁸⁹ Remarkably, Gordon’s nineteenth-century photo-shopping has evaded discovery for over 100 years. This attests to an historical tendency to ‘read’ a photograph as an objective bearer of ‘truth’, based on the ‘apparent absence of a consciousness mediating between the object and its representation’.⁹⁰



Figure 8: Unknown photographer, Jane Foley, who gave water to wounded in the Gate Pa, circa 1890s.

Copy photograph with annotation by W. F. Gordon, circa 1900. Purchased 1916.

Source: Te Papa, (O.013106).

My conclusion that Gordon drew the flag is confirmed by his and Pore's correspondence which documents that the flag depicted in the photograph no longer existed. Henri Pore often mused upon the possible fate of her flags, and was delighted when, in 1903, Gordon sent an image of another flag she had made — the Aotearoa flag now held in Auckland Museum.⁹¹ She exclaimed, 'You have found my flag! That is my flag that Mrs Jackson has'.⁹² In 1909 Henri Pore visited Mrs Jackson, who held the flag in her possession before gifting it to the Auckland City Library in 1913. The meeting was an emotional one, as Henri Pore describes: 'I wept over my flag when I saw it, handled it, as it brought back recollections of old times, and hard times, and dear parted friends'.⁹³

'In Memorium'

Henri Pore's strong emotional reaction to her flag is a reminder that Gordon's photographs offered a palpable means to stimulate remembrance of peoples and events past. This is due to their paradoxical ability to capture a fleeting moment for eternity. As Roland Barthes writes, every photograph pictures something 'that-has-been',⁹⁴ and is therefore, according to Geoffrey Batchen, 'a chilling reminder of mortality'.⁹⁵ The ability of photographs to transform from 'aides-memoire' to 'memento mori' was capitalized on by portrait photographers from the 1850s.⁹⁶ The New Zealand Wars offered up a prime context for the proliferation of photographs intended to function in this way. For example, the battle at Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu in September 1868, a defining moment in Titokowaru's war, and a 'disastrous affair' for colonial forces,⁹⁷ gave rise to the circulation of images of the soldiers. As already noted, celebrity *cartes de visites* of von Tempsky were highly desirable mementoes, and within two weeks of the conflict, the *Wellington Independent* recommended that 'those who wish a memento of the officers who died ... will now have an opportunity of procuring one.... Messrs Richards and Batt, photographers, have published *cartes-de-visite* of Captain Buck and Lieutenant Hastings, which can now be obtained by the public. In both cases the portraits are excellent'.⁹⁸

These photographs could only function as such for as long as those who collected them remembered the events with which the subjects were associated. The photographs themselves were often unremarkable portraits, apparently unrelated to the New Zealand Wars or any specific occasion, and were most likely taken as private photographs intended for family use. Their potential to shift from private aides-memoires into something that would serve the needs of collective memory-making relied upon knowledge of the subject or their fate. Consequently, Gordon's collecting project is important historically for the connecting of name, and fate, to face. What is most poignant about these portraits is their capacity to take on fresh meanings through the act of

being accessioned into Gordon's collection. As is oft-cited in relation to the photograph, its capacity to stand in for something or someone lost, based on the sense that it has literally touched the thing or person that is now absent or exists no more, grants the photograph its fetishistic power.

In Gordon's collection, the photographs once collected together under the heading 'In Memorium' are the most compelling and evocative. Here, the captions are crucial, for without them the photographs would read differently. Take, for example, the photograph of Lieutenant Hastings, one of the portraits referred to above, which Gordon may have purchased in 1868. Hastings was clearly photographed in a studio and cuts a dapper figure with top hat and cane at the ready (Figure 9). There is no evidence in this image of his activities during the wars, but the blunt annotation 'Lt. Hastings Killed Te Ngutuote Manu [Te Ngutu-o-te-manu]' changes our reading of the image. These images, inscribed as they are with historical details, or with overlaid contextual information, take on new significance as part of Gordon's collection. As Alan Trachtenberg describes, captions such as those attached by Gordon to the *cartes de visites* 'transform scenes of war into sacred memories, into monuments'.⁹⁹



Figure 9: Unknown photographer, Lt. Hastings killed Te NgutuoteManu 7.9.68, circa 1860. Copy photograph with annotation by W.F. Gordon, circa 1900. Purchased 1916.

Source: Te Papa, (O.013157/01).

Other photographs, taken outside the context of the New Zealand Wars and presented as part of Gordon's collection, carry additional sentimental weight due to the nature of the image. For example, the photograph of 'Mr J. D. Hewett, Murdered by Hauhaus Feb^y 1865' was obviously taken several years earlier. In it Hewett is captured in an endearingly casual pose, dressed in lay clothes and holding his child, who clutches a blanket and doll, on his lap (Figure 10). James Hewett was a provincial councillor for Whanganui who was killed in a Hauhau raid on his farm. He left behind a widow and four children. Here, the photograph's emotional punch lies in the fact that the child lives, while the father who tenderly holds him or her, is now dead. The year before a similar fate befell Captain Lloyd, yet there are fewer clues offered in explanation of the related photograph in Gordon's collection, which is simply titled 'Mrs Lloyd and her children'. Newspapers reveal that Mrs Lloyd was the unfortunate widow of Captain Lloyd, killed by Pai Mārire warriors during an ambush in April 1864 at Te Ahu Ahu near Ōākura in Taranaki. Lloyd's head was preserved and reportedly taken around the North Island to aid Pai Mārire recruitment. An excerpt from a private letter, published in the *Nelson Examiner*, reported that 'Poor Mrs Lloyd, widow of Captain Lloyd, has gone raving mad, and the doctors do not think she will recover. She has two little children'.¹⁰⁰ Such photographs bring the world beyond the battlefield into the picture and remind viewers of the impact of the wars on colonial life. Yet, in keeping with Gordon's imperial perspective, the comparative impact on Māori is not acknowledged. Absent from Gordon's collection in the Dominion Museum, but present in the album he collated titled *Some Soldiers of the Queen Who Fought in the Maori Wars and Other Notable Persons Associated Therewith*, now in the collection of Puke Ariki, is a page of photographs titled 'Some Notorious Hauhaus', many of which bear the chilling caption 'Got life'.¹⁰¹



Figure 10: Unknown photographer, Mr J.D. Hewett murdered by Hauhaus Feb'y 1865.
 Copy photograph and annotation by W.F. Gordon, circa 1902. Purchased 1916.
Source: Te Papa, (O.013166).

The Legacy of the ‘Gordon Collection’

The Puke Ariki album hints at the archival impulse that informed Gordon’s collection. When it was acquired by the museum, the photographs were grouped according to regiment, decoration or fate, and were mounted and labelled in framed sets.¹⁰² At some point in the museum’s history, they were removed from their frames, cut into individual photographs and catalogued alphabetically, erasing any distinction between the original purchased collection and the duplicates later gifted. Gordon’s organizing strategy has also been lost, and making sense of the collection today is a complex task. The current state of the collection registers the changing institutional priorities over time.

As noted, when it was acquired in 1916, Gordon’s collection was highly relevant to Thomson’s strategic priorities to build a historical collection. The material was topical, coinciding with commemorative occasions and an understanding that the New Zealand Wars were becoming crucial to the ‘myth of New Zealand’s race relations and colonists’ quest to identify a history for themselves in their new home’.¹⁰³ As the ‘dark days of the New Zealand wars

... receded into distant memory' the events that constituted them could be remembered in heroic and chivalrous terms.¹⁰⁴ Gordon's collecting project was one of several enterprises that sought to recover and commemorate those histories. Along with other historical projects, such as the research being undertaken by the journalist and amateur historian James Cowan, who would later publish the first comprehensive history of the New Zealand Wars, a craze for monument-building swept the country.¹⁰⁵ At least 20 statues to the New Zealand Wars were erected between 1907 and 1918.¹⁰⁶ Gordon was secretary of the Marsland Hill Memorial Committee, established in 1906 to seek support and subscriptions towards a monument to the memory of imperial and colonial soldiers who fell in the New Zealand Wars. The monument was unveiled in 1909. As well as reflecting a new sense of engagement with New Zealand's colonial past, this spate of memorial-building was inspired by a renewed spirit of imperialism, ignited by New Zealand's participation in the Boer War, and, by 1914, the Great War.¹⁰⁷ In light of this climate, the original presentation of Gordon's collection can be understood as a set of memorial panels, where photographs of individuals, largely intended for personal consumption, came to function collectively as public memorials dedicated to remembering those involved in the conflicts of the past.

Thomson valued Gordon's collection highly and had promised during negotiations over its acquisition that 'All will, however, as you stipulate, be marked with a printed label "Gordon Collection" and will be kept together as far as possible'.¹⁰⁸ However, following the exhibition of Gordon's collection in 1916, Thomson said he would 'contrive to find room to show the portraits and pictures in the general galleries, but with our old unsuitable building it will be a difficult task to put them in any prominent place'.¹⁰⁹ He also acknowledged the need to separate reference collections from exhibition material, writing that some material in the collection was of 'great interest to historians, but not to the general public'.¹¹⁰ As a result, a significant portion of Gordon's collection was catalogued with other historical papers in the museum, much of which was transferred to the Turnbull Library in 1921.¹¹¹

Gordon was concerned about the legacy of his collection. In 1929 he wrote to the Museum Director requesting copies of photographs in the New Zealand Cross frame and continued, 'You of course are aware that I have photod [sic] most of the old battles scenes in this & other districts & I feel concerned that if I don't put information about these places on permanent record that I know of no one else who can or will'.¹¹² Gordon was right to be concerned. There was a relative lack of public awareness concerning the New Zealand Wars for some 60 years, from Cowan's 1922 text until the publication of Belich's revisionist history in 1986.¹¹³ Within the museum,

Gordon's collection has been largely invisible, and it is only now, one 100 years on, that its complexity and richness is being reappraised. Some may maintain that 'There is a reason why so many of the signposts to old battle sites are weathered and overgrown; why lichen has been allowed to obliterate the names of those who fell. Sleeping ghosts, like sleeping dogs, should never be needlessly awakened.'¹¹⁴ But for many there is an overwhelming recognition that their 'ghosts have never slept', and that feigning forgetfulness 'is a privilege afforded the victor'.¹¹⁵ As Vincent O'Malley writes, 'moving confidently into the future requires a robust understanding of where we have come from and been ... a mature nation needs to own its history, warts and all'.¹¹⁶ The initiation of a commemorative day in 2017 was an important step towards increasing public awareness of the New Zealand Wars. Gordon did not advocate forgetting, and while his collection may privilege a Pākehā perspective, his photographs have the ability to act as a lens through which the past can be offered up to be both remembered and reinterpreted.

REBECCA RICE

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

NOTES

1 James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1986, p.15.

2 The New Zealand Wars have been referred to in many ways. Europeans originally referred to them as the 'Maori wars', echoing the British penchant for naming wars after their enemies.

3 William Main, 'Photographic reportage of the New Zealand Wars', *History of Photography*, 5, 2 (April 1981), p.105. Little evaluation of photography and the New Zealand Wars has been made since Main's article. One notable exception is Ruth Harvey, 'Eyes on History: Pictorial Representations of the Taranaki Wars', in Kelvin Day, ed., *Contested Ground | Te Whenua I Tohea: The Taranaki Wars 1860–1881*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2010, pp.149–77.

4 See James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1997, p.75.

5 See, for example, Jeff L. Rosenheim, *Photography and the American Civil War*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2013, and Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*, Smithsonian American Art Museum in association with Yale University Press, New York, 2012.

6 See, for example, Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History — Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*, The Noonday Press, New York, 1989, p.72.

7 While myriad texts have been produced accounting for various aspects of the New Zealand Wars, the most enduring and influential are undoubtedly James Cowan's masterful *The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period*, vol. I. [1922], vol. II [1923], Government Printer, Wellington, 1983, and James Belich's revisionist *The New Zealand Wars*. More recently, Vincent O'Malley has published a comprehensive account of the history and impact of the Waikato campaign. See Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800–2000*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2016.

8 Shaun Higgins has identified Montagu Higginson as another photographer active at this time, and possibly alongside Beere, Temple and Kinder. See 'Brother in glass: Montagu Higginson and the photographers of the Waikato War', *Records of the Auckland Museum*, 48 (2012), pp.5–28.

9 Beere moved to New Zealand in 1863. He was a trained engineer and photographer who worked for the Auckland Provincial Council and later for the Public Works Department <http://canterburyphotography.blogspot.co.nz/2014/11/beere.html> (accessed 1 August 2017). See also John Sullivan, 'Daniel Manders Beere', *Photo-Forum Supplement* (Winter 1980), p.9.

10 The Reverend John Kinder is better known as a painter, but may have learnt photography from Hartley Webster, the Auckland-based photographer, and he is known to have collected views by Beere, with whom his work shared an affinity. Kinder's photography has received attention, most comprehensively in Ron Brownson, *John Kinder's New Zealand*, Random House New Zealand and Auckland Art Gallery, Auckland, 2004.

11 These included views from Auckland to Meremere and Rangiriri. Advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 30 May 1864, p.6.

12 Advertisements, *New Zealand Herald*, 26 January 1866, p.7.

13 See Higgins for a discussion of several albums and collections compiled by photographers and soldiers after the wars.

14 A good example of such an album is that compiled by Lt C.J. Urquhart of the 65th Regiment which holds photographs by Temple, Crombie and Kinder. Urquhart Album, c. 1861, PA1-q-250, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), Wellington.

15 For example, Brownson, *Kinder's New Zealand*; Ken Hall, *George Valentine: A Nineteenth-century Photographer in New Zealand*, Craig Potton Publishing, Nelson, 2004;

Hardwicke Knight, *Burton Brothers: Photographers*, John McIndoe, Dunedin, 1980; Christine Whybrew, 'The Burton Brothers studio: commerce in photography and the marketing of New Zealand, 1866–1898', PhD Thesis, University of Otago, 2010; Lissa Mitchell, 'Promotional landscapes: D.L. Mundy's "Photographic experiences in New Zealand"', *Tuhinga*, 20 (2009), pp.67–80.

16 William Main, *Maori in Focus*, Millwood Press, Wellington, 1976; Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow, *Out of Time: Maori and the Photographer 1860–1940*, John Leech Gallery, Auckland, 2006; Michael Graham-Stewart, *Negative Kept: Maori and the carte-de-visite*, John Leech Gallery, Auckland, 2013.

17 Hardwicke Knight, *Photography in New Zealand: A social and technical history*, John McIndoe, Dunedin, 1971; William Main and John B. Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present*, Photoforum, Auckland, 1993; David Eggleton, *Into the Light: A History of New Zealand Photography*, Craig Potton, Nelson, 2006; Athol McCredie, *New Zealand Photography Collected*, Te Papa Press, Wellington, 2015.

18 The following edited publications include a number of short-form essays focusing on individual photographs as material object: Annabel Cooper, Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla, eds, *The Lives of Colonial Objects*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2015, and Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf, eds, *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2011.

19 Athol McCredie, 'Collecting Photographs: The development of Te Papa's historical photography collection', *Tuhinga*, 20 (2009), pp.41–66; Rebecca Rice, 'The art of photography at nineteenth-century international exhibitions', *New Zealand Journal of Photography*, 63 (2007), pp.8–12.

20 Elsewhere, I've written about the drawings of flags included as part of Gordon's collection 'Hauhau and other rebel flags: histories of exchange, acculturation and appropriation in nineteenth-century New Zealand', *The Journal of New Zealand Art History*, 23 (2002), pp.43–54, and a remarkable illuminated manuscript *Te Inoi a te Ariki (The Lord's Prayer in Maori)*, 'Unanswered prayers: the failure of W.F. Gordon's self-promotion', in Cooper, Paterson and Wanhalla, pp.158–63.

21 Gordon was a shipping reporter and copy reader for the *Wellington Independent* before joining the Telegraph Department in 1873. In 1875 he was transferred to Whanganui. For accounts of Gordon's movements, see Roger Blackley, *Stray Leaves: Colonial Trompe L'oeil Drawings*, Adam Art Gallery and Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2001, and Maurice Norton, 'William Gordon: Artist Extraordinaire', *New Zealand Memories*, April/May, 65 (2007), pp.10–15.

22 'The Taranaki Veterans: Annual Reunion', *Taranaki Daily News*, 19 March 1909, p.3.

23 W.F. Gordon to The Director, Dominion Museum, 8 June 1914, in 'WF Gordon, New Plymouth — collection curios and photographs, offered for sale; 1914–1933', MU1/6/1, Te Papa Archives, Wellington (TPA).

24 While the more eclectic offerings made by Gordon may suggest a curio-driven approach, his commitment to collecting material relating to the wars over a prolonged period emphasizes his dedication to this collection. The material he wished to be acknowledged as constituting the 'Gordon Collection' was the New Zealand Wars collection, not the miscellaneous material gifted in association with it.

25 Gordon to Director, 8 June 1914, MU1/6/1, TPA.

26 Gordon to Director, 8 June 1914, MU1/6/1, TPA.

27 James Allan Thomson to Gordon, 16 June 1914, MU1/6/1, TPA.

28 On the history of collecting in the Colonial Museum, see Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Maori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display*, Te Papa Press, Wellington, 2007, and Rebecca Rice, 'The state collections of colonial New Zealand art: intertwined histories of collecting and display', PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2010.

29 Minutes of meeting, 28 January 1916, 'BSA: New Zealand Historical Collection', MU1/20/1, TPA.

30 Chris Hilliard, 'James Cowan and the Frontiers of New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 31, 2 (1997), p.220.

31 Both the colonial and ethnological endeavours were based on a belief that those with knowledge were 'dying out'. This is borne out equally by the establishment of the Polynesian Society in 1892, and the proliferation of early settler societies. See Fiona Hamilton, 'Pakeha History: Negotiating Pakeha Collective Memory in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 1 (2002), pp.66–81.

32 Chris McLean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, GP Books, Wellington, 1990.

33 *Evening Post*, 18 July 1914, p.5.

34 Discussions regarding the possibility of establishing a National War Museum surfaced in 1917. The collections that were accumulated were held by the Dominion Museum and were later transferred to Archives New Zealand: <http://warart.archives.govt.nz/whatiswarart> (accessed 17 January 2018). See also Kirstie Ross on the efforts to build a collection relating to the Great War initiated in 1917 at the Dominion Museum: "'More than books can tell": Museums, Artefacts and the History of the Great War', in Katie Pickles, Lyndon Fraser, Marguerite Hill, Sarah Murray and Greg Ryan, eds, *History Making a Difference: New Approaches from Aotearoa*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2017, pp. 224–48.

35 *Evening Post*, 10 March 1917, MU 91/1, TPA.

36 Thomson, 'Memorandum for the Hon. Minister of Internal Affairs re Historical Collection of Mr W. F. Gordon', 18 November 1915, MU 14/1/10, TPA.

37 Thomas William Hislop to Hon. Mr Russell, 17 December 1915, MU 14/1/10, TPA.

38 Hislop, 'Memorandum for Dr. Thomson, Dominion Museum', 21 December 1915, MU 14/1/10, TPA.

39 The list of works acquired by the museum in 1916 was attached to a letter from Gordon to Thomson, 20 January 1915, MU1/6/1, TPA.

40 Gordon to Thomson, 24 March 1916, MU1/6/1, TPA.

41 Director to Gordon, 1 April 1924, MU1/6/1, TPA.

42 Gordon to Thomson, 20 January 1916, MU1/6/1, TPA.

43 'Local and General News', *Wellington Independent*, 22 September 1868, p.2.

44 Main, 'Photographic reportage', p.112. For a biography of von Tempsky, see N.A.C. McMillan, 'Tempsky, Gustavus Ferdinand von', from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara — the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t90/tempsky-gustavus-ferdinand-von> (accessed 28 March 2017).

45 Gordon to Thomson, 10 June 1914, MU1/6/1, TPA.

46 Unknown photographer, *Major W. B. Messenger, N.Z.M.*, circa 1900, black and white photograph. Purchased 1916 (O.013396), Te Papa.

47 'The Battle of Waireka: celebration of anniversary', *Taranaki Herald*, 30 March 1860, p.2.

48 W.F. Gordon, *Captain F. Mace N.Z.C.* circa 1895, hand-coloured black and white photograph. Purchased 1916 (O.013187), Te Papa.

49 In the first decades of the twentieth century, Gordon regularly published articles in the *Taranaki Herald* recounting stories of various battles, as well as biographies of New Zealand Victoria Cross recipients. In 1929, Gordon informed the Director of the museum he was writing a number of articles and would send copies to the government for filing. Presumably these are the articles collated in the Alexander Turnbull Library as 'Battle sites in Taranaki, correspondence and newspaper articles', 1892–1929, MS-Papers-0324, a collection that was donated by the Dominion Museum in September 1968.

50 W.F. Gordon, Letter to the Editor, *Taranaki Herald*, 7 April 1902, p.3. Thomas Avery's was a local shop, advertised as bookseller, stationer and importer of fancy goods, established in New Plymouth in 1874.

51 *Taranaki Herald*, 20 August 1903, p.4.

52 *Taranaki Herald*, 20 August 1903, p.4.

53 'Personal Notes', *Taranaki Herald*, 5 January 1903, p.5.

54 Examples from Te Papa's Gordon Collection include: Lieutenant Colonel Brown, 57th, circa 1880 (O.011990); William Shawcross, (O.013512); Capt. A. Smith, N.Z.C., circa 1860, (O.013486).

55 Gordon to Thomson, 29 January 1916, MU1/6/1, TPA.

56 Gordon's strategy is similar to that carried out by James Cowan in the early twentieth century. According to Chris Hilliard, Cowan collected stories that were published as newspaper articles and later recycled in books. See Hilliard, 'James Cowan and the Frontiers of New Zealand History', p.221.

57 George Preece to Gordon, 7 March 1903, CA162/1/6, TPA.

58 Edward Thomas Brooke to Gordon, 25 November (about 1900), CA162/13/4, TPA.

59 George Clampitt to Gordon, 4 September 1905, CA162/1/11/2, TPA.

60 Charles Morant Churchill to W.F. Gordon, 3 January 1904, CA162/1/12/2, TPA. Churchill's photograph is registered as O.011953, Te Papa.

61 Most likely an ambrotype — a popular process for portraits in New Zealand in the mid-1850s. Ambrotypes were made on glass plates that had been coated with collodion, then dipped into silver nitrate to make a light-sensitive surface.

62 'Battle of Waireka', *Taranaki Herald*, 28 March 1933, CA162/1/4/6, TPA.

63 *London Gazette*, cited in Denis Fairfax, 'Odgers, William', from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Te Ara — the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1o3/odgers-william> (accessed 27 March 2017). The battle at Waireka is described by James Belich as a 'classic example of a paper victory', one in which the details were grossly exaggerated. While it was reported that 80–150 Māori were killed in the storming of the pā, it is more likely to have been one, and the settlers believed to require rescue were actually safe from any danger. See Belich, *New Zealand Wars*, pp.84–88.

64 Fairfax, 'Odgers, William'.

65 Peter Loftus to Gordon, 9 July 1899, CA162/1/11/4, TPA.

66 Two copy photographs by Gordon after unknown photographer, *Peter Loftus, late 57th Regiment and Colonial Forces*, circa 1899, Te Papa (O.013181/01 & O.013181/02). Gordon, W.F., *Peter Loftus, late of 57th regiment*, circa 1899, glass plate negative, Te Papa (A.000104).

67 Gordon to Thomson, 28 December 1915, MU1/6/1, TPA.

68 Thomson to Gordon, 26 September 1917, MU1/6/1, TPA.

69 Gordon to Thomson, 28 September 1917, MU1/6/1, TPA.

70 Thomson to Gordon, 3 October 1917, MU1/6/1, TPA.

71 Thomson to Gordon, 16 October 1917, MU1/6/1, TPA.

72 Gordon to Thomson, 18 October 1917, MU1/6/1, TPA.

73 Thomson, 'Memorandum for the Minister of Internal Affairs re Historical Collections: Offer of Mr W. F. Gordon', 24 October 1917, MU1/6/1, TPA. According to the list supplied by Gordon at the time of purchase, 231 negatives were sent to the museum, in 24 boxes of varying sizes. Gordon to Thomson, 5 December 1917, MU1/5, TPA. There are currently 190 negatives attached to the Gordon accession lot. The connection of some negatives to Gordon has been lost over time. For example, a glass-plate negative of the Moutoa flag, A.000325, included in box 14 on Gordon's list, is not currently linked to the accession lot for the Gordon Collection.

74 It is, however, worth noting that the fact that Gordon's collection consists largely of copy photographs, not vintage prints, means its value lies in its status as a collected archive, not in a connoisseurial evaluation of each print.

- 75 For more information about Gordon's 'networking', see Rice, 'Unanswered prayers'.
- 76 Many of these are archived in the map collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library.
- 77 Gordon to Herbert Baillie, 15 August 1923, Baillie Collection, MS-Papers-0013-1, ATL.
- 78 *Taranaki Herald*, 12 July 1898, p.2.
- 79 Gordon to Thomson, 24 March 1916, MU1/6/1, TPA.
- 80 I am grateful to an anonymous reader for this reading of the photograph.
- 81 *Taranaki Herald*, 12 July 1898, p.2.
- 82 Gordon, *Lt. L Milmo*, circa 1890, gelatin silver print, Te Papa (O.013402).
- 83 James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Volume II: The Hauhau Wars (1864–72)*, R.E. Owen, Wellington, 1956, p.187.
- 84 Belich, *New Zealand Wars*, p.312.
- 85 Born in Kororareka, in 1843, Lucy Lord was the daughter of William Lord and Kotiro Hinerangi. She was half-sister to Tepaea (Guide Sophie) and Topeora and was also known as Takiora, Takihora, Bloody Mary, Lucy Grey, Lucy Dalton and Lucy D'Alton. See Mary Donald, 'Lord, Lucy Takiora', from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/119/lord-lucy-takiora> (accessed 28 March 2017).
- 86 Heni Pore famously took water to a dying soldier following the battle at Gate Pā. See Steven Oliver, 'Te Kiri Karamu, Heni', from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t43/te-kiri-karamu-heni> (accessed 28 March 2017).
- 87 Gordon, 'Notes taken during the troublous times 1868 by Lucy Lord, Mrs D'Alton of Hastings Rd near Normanby', 1918, MS-0857, ATL.
- 88 Heni Pore to Gordon, 2 September 1899, CA162/1/10/4, TPA.
- 89 Heni Pore to Gordon, 28 February 1902, CA162/1/10/4, TPA.
- 90 Bernd Hüppauf, 'Modernism and the Photographic Representation of War and Destruction', in Leslie Devereaux and Roger Hillman, eds, *Fields of Vision: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology, and Photography*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1995, p.95.
- 91 This flag is that illustrated by Gordon and which formed part of his collection of drawings of flags from the New Zealand Wars. See Rebecca Rice, Entry for W.F. Gordon, in William McAloon, ed., *Art at Te Papa*, Te Papa Press, Wellington, 2009, and Rice, 'Hauhau and other rebel flags'.
- 92 Heni Pore to Gordon, 5 January 1903, CA162/1/10/4, TPA.
- 93 Heni Pore to Gordon, 31 October 1909, CA162/1/10/4, TPA.
- 94 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Hill and Wang, New York, 1981, p.77.
- 95 Geoffrey Batchen, 'Ectoplasm: Photography in the Digital Age', in Carol Squiers, ed., *Over Exposed: Essays on Contemporary Photography*, The New Press, New York, 2000, p.11.
- 96 Batchen, 'Ectoplasm'. See also Sandy Callister, 'Picturing Loss: Family, photographs, and the Great War', *The Round Table*, 96, 393 (2007), pp.663–78.
- 97 For an account of the complex series of events that constitute Titokowaru's war, see James Belich, *I Shall Not Die: Titokowaru's War 1868–1869*, Bridget Williams Books, 2010 (1989).
- 98 'Local and General News', *Wellington Independent*, 22 September 1868, p.2.
- 99 Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, p.99.
- 100 'Taranaki', *Nelson Examiner*, 12 April 1864, p.6.
- 101 Gordon and unknown photographers, *Some Soldiers of the Queen Who Fought in the Maori Wars and Other Notable Persons Associated Therewith*, circa 1900, PHO2011-1997, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

102 The Alexander Turnbull Library holds an example of how Gordon's collection was originally mounted. See 'Officers of the 65th Regiment', PAColl-1951-1-01. This practice of collecting portrait photographs of historical figures and mounting them was not unique to Gordon. For example, in 1898 the Otago Early Settlers' Association commissioned Wrigglesworth and Binns to create a composite image of the early settlers and their descendants. See Jill Haley, "'Treasure up the records of the fathers": Photographing Otago's Early Settlers', in Wanhalla and Wolf, pp.104–109.

103 Kynan Gentry, *History, heritage and colonialism: Historical consciousness, Britishness, and cultural identity in New Zealand, 1870–1940*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2015, p.94.

104 Vincent O'Malley, "'Recording the Incident with a Monument": The Waikato War in Historical Memory', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 19 (2015), p.79.

105 On Cowan's research and writing process, see Hilliard, 'James Cowan and the Frontiers of New Zealand History', pp.219–33. In contrast to Cowan, Gordon did not take the next step of collating the histories he collected into publications. On the one instance he did, producing a history of the Pai Marire religion in 1917, the document was dismissed by Elsdon Best as 'a slovenly manuscript, confused, badly arranged' that relied too heavily on untrustworthy newspaper data and misspelled many names. Annotation by Best on William Gordon, 'Sketch of the Pai Marire religion' 1917, Manuscript, qMS-0858, ATL.

106 Gentry, *History, heritage and colonialism*, p.99.

107 The work of Edith Statham and the Victoria League exemplifies the spirit of patriotism that attention to monuments and graves represented. See McLean and Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, pp.31–38.

108 *Evening Post*, 10 March 1917, MU 91/1, TPA.

109 Thomson to Gordon, 10 April 1916, MU1/6/1, TPA.

110 Thomson to Gordon, 10 April 1916, MU1/6/1, TPA.

111 For details of this transfer, see Rebecca Rice, 'Policing the boundaries: establishing the scope of New Zealand's cultural collections in the 1930s', *Archifacts: Journal of the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand* (July 2014), pp.38–56.

112 Gordon to Director, 5 February 1929, MU1/6/1, TPA. Presumably Gordon was aware of Cowan's work on the New Zealand Wars. Curiously, Gordon was in communication with many of his contemporaries, such as Herbert Baillie, Horace Fildes, William Colenso and others, but not Cowan.

113 Although the period did receive attention in other media, through film, such as *Utū*, 1983 and the television series *The Governor*, 1977.

114 Chris Trotter, 'Sleeping ghosts don't need to be woken', *The Press*, 22 August 2016. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/83410106/chris-trotter-sleeping-ghosts-dont-need-to-be-woken> (accessed 6 April 2017).

115 Graham Cameron, 'Our ghosts have never slept: a response to Chris Trotter on the New Zealand Wars', August 2016. <https://firstwetakemanhattan.org/2016/08/25/our-ghosts-have-never-slept-a-response-to-chris-trotter-on-the-nz-wars/> (accessed 6 April 2017).

116 O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand*, p.13.