

Dressing for the Camera

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MĀORI SUBJECTS AND THE MĀORI PARTY TOUR OF ENGLAND, 1863



ON 15 JULY 1863, Queen Victoria entered her Council Room at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight and was greeted by a party of 13 Māori accompanied by their tour leader and interpreter William Jenkins, and polite conversation ensued. Although she never visited New Zealand, Queen Victoria was omnipresent in Māori lives, and on this occasion the visiting Māori party was afforded the rare opportunity of a face-to-face meeting with the Queen. Paradoxically, while Jenkins's party was being welcomed into Queen Victoria's home, just days earlier the territory of Waikato Māori had been invaded by government forces. Although physically absent, Queen Victoria was nevertheless intimately implicated in the actions taken by colonial officials acting in her name in New Zealand.

While not unique in the broader landscape of indigenous encounters with Queen Victoria, the 1863 visit is noteworthy for the rich trove of material that has survived, consisting of visual images, text and artefacts.¹ In his book on the visit, Brian Mackrell used the words of the protagonists themselves, primarily in the form of their surviving correspondence, to bring attention to the experience that unfolded in spaces where the indigene, whether by choice or under duress, was physically located at the centre of the metropole, rather than in colonial outposts on the periphery.² This article instead examines the representation of the Māori party by paying particular attention to their dress captured in photography throughout the visit. While these photographs demonstrate Māori encounters with this new technology, they also reveal the influx of foreign goods into the Māori world, most prominent amongst these being European dress.³ The active manipulation of dress in constructing identity at home was undoubtedly intensified when Māori were abroad. Such visits and the visual evidence associated with them, bring sartorial practices into sharp focus for more detailed analysis. This article adds to the growing body of work that examines Māori experience abroad by providing a unique counter to the existing, broader New Zealand historical scholarship on the nineteenth century, which has invariably focused on the domestic experience of Māori.⁴ While this article interrogates and acknowledges the constructed nature of the photographic images from one visit, it argues that photographs

viewed in conjunction with written texts in the form of diary entries, newspaper articles and correspondence, can reveal how dress, as an oft-neglected source, can be used as a medium through which to explore colonial encounters. It also seeks to provide a deeper understanding of dress as a site of cross-cultural encounter, negotiation and manipulation.

Looking for the Material: Dress in the Sources

Although they have long been of interest to philosophers and social and cultural theorists, dress and fashion have largely remained ignored by many disciplines or have occupied a marginalized position in others, including history.⁵ With the distinct separation of men's and women's roles into public and private spheres during the nineteenth century, dress and fashion became the distinct purview of women, and as a result were considered largely trivial and inconsequential. This was further compounded in the twentieth century as dress was considered a frivolous topic of study with no real serious purpose or value for understanding history and human behaviours. The ubiquity of dress also often leads to the assumption that it lacks significance, having little to offer the historian. According to Valerie Cumming, it was in the 1980s when the first exploratory period of repositioning the study of dress within a number of theoretical frameworks was undertaken.⁶ As a consequence, in recent decades the multidisciplinary nature of the field has seen women's studies, material culture, film and postcolonial studies all draw on dress, resulting in an efflorescence of scholarship.⁷

Just as there is a multiplicity of disciplines from which to investigate dress there is equally a range of sources available for the historian to draw on.⁸ Written sources have provided commentary on dress of the past, but photography, in particular, has provided tangible evidence of Māori agency in the manipulation of dress. While dress is discernible in this rich visual and written record, as with any material, it is important to note the limitations and problems with the use of such sources when accounting for the dress adaptations of Māori. As Theresa Rowat has claimed: 'The mechanical aspects of photography lead to the perception that it is an objective recorder of nature, a faithful witness of reality.'⁹ However, as numerous scholars have demonstrated, despite the ability of the camera to accurately record what was placed before it, the photographer's or commissioner's intent rather than the sitters themselves often informed the resulting photographs.¹⁰

Despite growing interest in the field overall, there continues to be a lack of in-depth study on dress in ethnic communities and, in particular, on the cross-cultural integration expressed through dress in colonial environments, and New Zealand is no exception.¹¹ To date the acquisition of European clothing

by Māori in the nineteenth century has received little attention from either dress or photography historians.¹² Historical scholarship on photography in New Zealand has tended to focus on the more technical elements of the craft or on the lives and accomplishments of individual photographers.¹³ Attention to Māori in the historiography has concentrated on their depiction by particular photographers, as subjects of the camera, or illustrated Māori participation in New Zealand life.¹⁴ However, there has been little scholarship that addresses Māori engagement with, or reception of, photography.¹⁵ This article moves away from the emphasis on technological and material elements to consider what is depicted in the images. It reveals how previously ignored or neglected aspects such as dress can be drawn upon as significant sources to illuminate the constraints and freedoms at play in the construction of Māori identities abroad.

The first descriptions of Māori dress appeared in the journals and logbooks of early explorers, and it was further described in the diaries and correspondence of early traders, missionaries and settlers. In New Zealand the prevailing Eurocentric idea of the 'savage' doomed to extinction gave rise to the systematic recording and collecting of Māori material culture, including dress, for eventual deposit within the nation's developing museums from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Our current understanding and knowledge of Māori dress is derived largely from early ethnological discourse, which has been based on these existing museum collections.¹⁶ With this in mind, the most obvious source for a study of Māori dress would be the surviving artefacts in museum collections, but these often privilege customary Māori clothing styles such as woven *kākahu* (cloaks), *piupiu* (waist garments) and other small accessories like woven *kete* (baskets). More recent scholarship has continued to focus on artefacts within museum collections, and while there has been some investigation of clothing adaptations by Māori this has invariably been as they relate to more customary clothing types.¹⁷ This bias in former museum collecting practices has resulted in less representative collections of Māori dress across not only social boundaries but clothing types as well. This is true not only for ethnic dress but dress of other social classes within European cultures too.¹⁸ As a result, material evidence of Māori accommodation of European dress is virtually non-existent in New Zealand's museums.¹⁹ However, a weighty visual and written record of Māori consumption of European dress counters the absence of these material examples. As such, the 1863 Māori party tour, in particular its photographic record, provides the historian of dress with a rich set of sources to argue for the significance of sartorial responses, as expressed on Māori bodies, in understanding the complex dynamics of cross-cultural encounter during the nineteenth century.

Assembling the Chiefs

William Jenkins, a Wesleyan lay preacher and native interpreter, had brought the group that visited Queen Victoria in July 1863 together.²⁰ He had conceived of the idea to tour a Māori party through England several years earlier. It was intended that the visit would go some way towards the ‘improvement of the native race’ by opening their eyes to the riches and wonders of Europe.²¹ Upon their return to New Zealand it was anticipated that the Māori party would seek to emulate what they had seen of civilized English society. Jenkins was aware that the fruits of such a trip would provide support to the missionary cause and he hoped ultimately further his own standing within society. To help finance the trip the group would give a series of illustrated lectures on the history of New Zealand and demonstrate Māori manners and customs by performing their traditional songs and dances. Once he had secured financial and moral backing for his project from several of his friends and business associates, Jenkins was able to gather a party together that included Māori drawn from several different tribal groups across the North Island.²² Once assembled the party set off from Auckland on 5 February 1863 in the clipper *Ida Ziegler* bound for England. After nearly three months at sea they arrived at Gravesend, and the Māori party gazed in amazement as they ventured up the Thames to the largest city in the world and the seat of Queen Victoria’s vast empire.²³ Arriving just in time for the London Season, they were lauded by the aristocracy and quickly became the talk of the town.²⁴

One of the first events the party attended was the official unveiling of the memorial to Prince Albert at the Horticultural Gardens in South Kensington. As Jenkins observed on this occasion, ‘scores of the aristocracy — [were] each vying with the other to get a shake of the hand with one of our New Zealand Princes and Princesses’.²⁵ The dress of the Māori party was a particular source of comment. In the newspapers it was reported that: ‘All along the broad walk, most conspicuously, there strolled a party of New Zealand chiefs, tattooed all over, and clothed with what appeared to be coconut matting. ... The matting of the kings might have passed muster, but the painted and engraved faces of the queens contrasted ludicrously with their semi-English costume, including hoops of the latest fashion, to be pleasing to European eyes’.²⁶ The appeal for English audiences was the exotic and foreign nature of the group as highlighted by their Māori clothing, and Jenkins capitalized on this entertainment factor. His attempts to foster a cult of celebrity ensuring a steady stream of invitations to events and meetings, consequently generating further financial support for their travels, were dependent on the construction and active presentation of the noble savage draped in the requisite customary clothing.

First Encounters with Photography

Although there appear to be no surviving photographs of the Māori party at the unveiling of the memorial to Prince Albert, the next day Jenkins did spend at least five hours having the party photographed for the *Illustrated London News*. In this first formal illustration the entire Māori party is depicted almost exclusively in their customary dress of ceremonial cloaks supplemented with heirloom adornments and weaponry. In his diary entry for that day Jenkins registers a sense of growing Māori annoyance as he describes how ‘It was no little trouble to get the Natives to submit to be pulled about in order to group them properly — we, however, succeeded in getting a good number of photographs taken and now the thing is in a fair way to bring us out before the world as important personages.’²⁷ The image eventually appeared as an engraving in the newspaper some weeks later (Figure 1).²⁸



Figure 1: A wood engraving of the Māori party for the *Illustrated London News* with interpreter and guide, William Jenkins. Only one Māori member of the party, Hare Pomare, is depicted in European dress. The remainder are depicted in their customary clothing of cloaks and accompanying weapons.

Source: *Illustrated London News*: Native chiefs from New Zealand. 1863. London; *Illustrated News* 1863. Ref: A-018-001. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

The adoption of European dress by the Māori party would have been a key visual indicator of the trip towards meeting Jenkins's civilizing aspirations. Yet his insistence on the wearing of traditional cloaks for dramatic effect ran counter to these goals and, more importantly, Māori aspirations too. As Reihana, one of the members of the Māori party, remarked, 'In New Zealand I never liked a mat [cloak]; before I knew Jenkins I disliked all sorts of mats for mostly they are many years old; being not much made now, and the things are nasty, they are often filled with vermin'.²⁹ Reihana's comments reveal that Māori party members were prepared to utilize European dress to project a more civilized and progressive image of themselves. Yet, in this illustration the viewer gets only a mere glimpse of European garments under the heavy cloaks of the women and only one of the men in the party, Hare Pomare, is clothed exclusively in European dress. Jenkins stands in profile off to the left side of the group, also in European dress, in stark contrast to the rest of the party.

The customary garments the Māori party members were wearing were from much earlier times, and some varieties, such as the dog skins and kaitaka, are even typically classed as pre-European in style.³⁰ While such clothing had not been completely phased out of the Māori wardrobe, by the middle of the nineteenth century Māori fashions had nevertheless begun to evolve and change. Māori had repurposed European items such as blankets for clothing, and embraced and become increasingly accustomed to wearing more European-style garments on a daily basis. The textual record, in the form of Jenkins's diary and Reihana's earlier comments, combined with general photographic evidence of Māori dress at the time, reveal changing Māori sentiments towards the wearing of customary clothing. Given their location at the centre of the British Empire it is likely that the Māori party wanted to project a worldlier image that could be achieved through the wearing of European dress. It is little wonder then that they objected to being poked and prodded about for at least five hours with perhaps little say in the choice of dress in which they were to be depicted. A further irritation perhaps was having little knowledge as to the use to which the pictures were to be put.

Although Jenkins was not the photographer, in this instance he had a significant hand in how the group was to be visually represented to English society, and he undoubtedly directed the garment choice for photography rather than those depicted.³¹ It is therefore somewhat ironic that Jenkins continued with the rather more exotic image, as evidenced by the photographs, when he had 'visited the Home Country, partly with a view of affording an example to British people of what benefits Christianity and civilisation had conferred upon their race'.³² The use of older customary Māori garments

certainly reflected the attitudes of Jenkins, who despite promoting the trip as having altruistic and civilizing aims, seemed more intent on providing a 'spectacle of Māoriness' that harked back to an era of supposed primordial authenticity.³³ Dressing up the Māori party as exotic curiosities accorded with the prevailing Eurocentric representation of indigenous peoples at the time.³⁴ Jenkins was in essence the stage manager of the group attempting to craft an 'authentic' image of Māori that would appeal to European audiences. Yet, when reconciled against the surviving written and visual archive, this image was at odds with Māori lived experience of dress at this time.

Feted by the Aristocracy

Although English-style dress was preferred, the members of the Māori party nevertheless maintained their customary cloaks as tools for diplomatic exchange. We know from Jenkins's and Reihana's diaries that the party brought several cloaks with them.³⁵ Three days after their visit to the Horticultural Gardens, the party was granted an audience with their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House. The Prince's status as heir to the throne was not lost on the group, and as was customary, members of the Māori party presented him with several important gifts. Paratene, one of the older members, laid his dog skin cloak at the Prince's feet. Following this gesture Reihana and Tere each presented a cloak to the Princess, which Jenkins records as being an ihupuni and kaitaka.³⁶ These particular cloaks were typically reserved for those of high rank and standing, further reinforcing their regard for the Prince. In the tribal context, such exchanges were often undertaken to cement or to reaffirm established allegiances, in effect setting the grounds for reciprocal relations.³⁷ Even when Māori were geographically distant from New Zealand, customary practice continued to operate. The implied symbolism of the cloak as providing a protective mantle, and the gifting of such garments with the desired intent of a reciprocal relationship, demonstrates the ongoing importance of Māori dress during such colonial encounters and the dual sartorial world in which Māori operated.

Following their visit with the Prince, Jenkins received word that His Royal Highness desired to have photographs of the New Zealanders. In his diary entry for 15 June, Jenkins wrote: 'I have therefore appointed tomorrow morning to go to Mr Vernon Heath's Photographic Studio for the purpose.'³⁸ The following day's entry simply notes, 'Photographed today by Heath.'³⁹ In 1863 Vernon Heath was operating a photographic studio from 43 Piccadilly in London.⁴⁰ His connection with the royal family was cemented when Queen Victoria invited Heath to photograph the marriage ceremony of the Prince of

Wales earlier that year, after which he became a firm friend of the latter and his new bride. It is probable that the Prince directed Jenkins to Heath's studio. Heath and Jenkins arranged the party into smaller groups for formal portraits, and as with the earlier images reproduced in the *Illustrated London News*, the party was depicted in the same customary cloaks and weapons (Figure 2).



Figure 2: Members of the touring party, photographed by Vernon Heath, attired in their Māori dress. These portraits were to provide the basis for illustrations of the party that featured in the London press at the time.

Source: Heath, Vernon, 1819?–1895. Hariata Pomare, Kamariera Te Hautakiri Wharepapa, Hare Pomare, in England. Ref: PA2-0848. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Photographers were often able to manipulate the scene through choice of dress, thereby enhancing the romantic appeal of the images. For example, despite wearing European clothing on a day-to-day basis Māori were often

depicted in formal portraiture in customary dress. At other times elaborately woven borders that would have featured at the bottom of Māori cloaks were reversed to appear draped around a subject's neck; this was particularly common for portraiture where the subject was only captured from the waist up.⁴¹ Sometimes these customary garments were not necessarily the personal belongings of the individuals depicted either but were, in fact, studio props.⁴² The use of studio props was not restricted to photographers but was also a common practice amongst some painters who used them in their portraits of Māori, the most notable being Charles Goldie and Gottfried Lindauer. New research on the painting process of the latter has revealed the strong connection commercial photographs of Māori had as a basis for his painted portraits.⁴³ While these artists often utilized customary Māori clothing in a highly romanticized way to portray the sense of a 'dying race', commercial photographers often used clothing to emphasize décolletage, creating highly provocative images that sexualized Māori women in particular and reduced them to mere European commodities to be bought and sold.⁴⁴ Unlike studio photography in New Zealand, where the use of cloaks and customary adornments as props was common, it is highly likely, as the journals and diaries indicate, that the weapons and garments that the Māori party members were wearing in this set of photographs were their own.

Jenkins visited Heath's studio on numerous occasions, presumably to order more photographs in the *carte de visite* format for exchange with persons the party met throughout the trip. A week later he furnished the editors of *Cassells Illustrated Paper* with photographs of the chiefs to be inserted in their paper and made a note of sitting up until 'one o'clock writing an article for the *Illustrated News*.'⁴⁵ The illustrated weeklies were pitched at the mass public, and this, coupled with the growing popularity of the *carte de visite* format, ensured wide circulation of the Māori party image.⁴⁶ The party's arrival in London coincided with the height of the cartomania craze, and Jenkins capitalized on this. Indeed, for the general public often their only experience of indigenous peoples was in these manufactured formats. For the nobility, however, these formats memorialized actual face-to-face encounters with their loyal subjects while simultaneously allowing them to remain at a distance from the harsh realities of Māori lived experience in New Zealand. In his management of the Māori party image, Jenkins only helped to reinforce long-held European ideas of indigenous peoples by locking them into an idealized and romantic past rather than seeing them as the active and progressive agents that their present reality suggested.

As the tour pressed on it was punctuated with photographic moments as the party continued to be feted by English high society. In early July the Earl

of Shaftesbury, his wife the countess, and their son received the party at their London residence. Jenkins wrote in his diary: 'His lordship introduced us all to the Ladies — ordered wine and cakes by way of refreshments — and conversed with the Chiefs for nearly an hour, putting many important questions to them. And, together with the Countess, expressing the deep interest he felt in their welfare and hoped they would obtain much useful information during their stay in England.' Jenkins 'then presented the Countess of Shaftesbury with a set of photographs of our New Zealand party and her Ladyship was pleased to present in return photographs of herself and the Earl to exchange with each of the Chiefs.'⁴⁷ On such occasions, the *carte de visites* began to play an important role as a new material means of currency exchange in addition to the party's ceremonial cloaks and other accoutrements. In fact, as the trip progressed, the Māori party's cache of ceremonial cloaks began to diminish. By the end of the tour they had all been gifted away. While the party used dress as a means of gift exchange, Jenkins used photographs to control not only the construction of the Māori party image but also its circulation and distribution.

Preparing to Meet the Queen

For Jenkins, the audience with the Prince and other nobility ensured that the touring party was 'rising high on the ladder of fame',⁴⁸ but he was keen that they go higher still. 'I must raise you up to a great height to see the Queen', he wrote.⁴⁹ His aspirations, however, were thwarted by a Colonial Office administration that was sceptical of his project. At times the touring party appeared to take on the nature of a live exhibit rather than the philanthropic and friendly diplomatic affair that Jenkins insisted it was. The Colonial Office was also acutely aware of the recent outbreak of war in New Zealand, and the politics of managing a Māori party visit to the Queen made it decidedly uneasy. Not only was the Queen's honour at stake, but her Māori subjects also had to be protected from potential exploitation.⁵⁰ After some persuasion, Jenkins was able to convince the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Duke of Newcastle, to secure an audience with the Queen, which was at last granted.

The visit to Queen Victoria took place on 15 July 1863 at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight. Although no photographic evidence of the visit exists, each party made observations of the meeting that provide insights into their encounter and their perceptions of one another. According to Reihana, upon arriving at Osborne the Duke indicated that the Māori party should dress in their traditional attire in preparation to meet the Queen. Paratene Te Manu described their careful arrangements:

We attired ourselves in our Maori garments, which we had carried with us for the ceremony. We put on our waist-mats and our shoulder capes and our robes and cloaks of the finest woven white flax and some of us had cloaks of pigeon and Kaka parrot and kiwi feathers. We set feathers of the huia and the kotuku (white heron) and the long tailed cuckoo in our hair; and we took in our hands the weapons of the Maori, the spear, the greenstone and whalebone clubs and the hani or taiaha.⁵¹

The Queen's own observations in her diary show a particular interest in the dress of the Māori party as well as their physical characteristics. She recorded that 'they were half in native, half in European dress. The women wore silk petticoats with their strange cloaks of matting, and feathers in their hair. The men also had cloaks, some skins thrown over them, carrying spears and hatchets and feathers stuck in their hair. The greater number of the men were much tattooed, and the women on their mouths. All had fine eyes and beautiful, glossy black hair, but not good features, except three of the men who were tall and good looking.'⁵² Although the party mixed both European and Māori dress, their ceremonial cloaks and accessories would have clearly communicated their status as Māori nobility, on an equal footing with Queen Victoria. Whether this was apparent to her is not known. The Queen's comments indicate that she, too, very much like the English audiences at the Horticultural Gardens, found their mixed styles of dress a novelty.

The audience provided the Māori party access to the Queen unfettered by Colonial Office administrators. Despite some members of the party indicating their lack of support for the Māori King, they nevertheless took advantage of this royal audience to strongly signal their own ongoing grievances and sought to hold Queen Victoria to account for the actions of her settler subjects back in New Zealand. In reply Queen Victoria assured the chiefs of her interest in their welfare and her concern at the war having broken out.⁵³ As during their audience with the Prince, the party presented the Queen with several of their cloaks to reaffirm their loyalty. The purpose of the exchange was not lost on the Queen, for she noted how 'several of the men undid their mantles spreading them at my feet, and some did the same with their arms, as a symbol of allegiances'.⁵⁴ During the visit the Queen was attended by three of her children, the Royal Princesses Helena and Beatrice, and Prince Leopold. Prior to the conclusion of the visit Jenkins noted that 'The Princesses took the ladies into their private apartments and presented them with their photographs and the Queen sent by her lady in waiting several groups of the royal family to each of the three ladies — and commanded me to forward to her Majesty photographic groups of the entire party under his [sic] charge and further requested that each New Zealander would leave her Majesty an Autograph.'⁵⁵

Queen Victoria and Photography

The Queen was also adept at manipulating her own image and understood that her role was becoming increasingly symbolic. Through photography she was able to carefully craft her private and public image to great effect, and as the medium evolved, so too did her image. She embraced photography, and the invention of the *carte de visite* allowed the general public to own a photographic portrait of her. In fact, Queen Victoria was the first British monarch to have her reign fully recorded on camera, ensuring that her image became truly global.⁵⁶ As historian Sandy Callister notes: 'Such huge quantities of photographs, priced to be accessible to a broad public, helped to democratise and familiarise royal figures.'⁵⁷ Queen Victoria also capitalized on this more affordable and popular format to articulate her vision for her growing empire predicated on family values. She used photography to carefully frame an image of herself as a devoted wife and loving mother, not only within the confines of her own private family but as 'Mother' to all those nations under her protective mantle, New Zealand included. The opportunity for Queen Victoria to further promote these family values presented itself at the conclusion of the royal audience when she realized that one of the women in the party, Hariata Pomare, was with child. The Queen expressed a wish to be the child's godmother, and at her expense Hariata and her husband Hare left Jenkins's party to stay with Elizabeth Colenso in Tottenham.⁵⁸

Three months later, on 26 October 1863, Hariata gave birth to a son who was duly named Albert Victor in memory of the Queen's beloved late husband. Three photographs exist of the Pomares during this time, and although in each they wear the same dress, it is likely that all three were taken on different days, in different places and by three different photographers. At the Queen's request the baby Albert was baptised on 3 December at St Paul's Tottenham. Although the photographer is unidentified, it is likely that a surviving photograph depicting the Pomare family alongside Elizabeth Colenso and her daughter Frances Colenso was taken outside the church that day.⁵⁹ Styled as a formal portrait, the first photograph shows Hare standing to the left wearing a close-fitting dark frock coat and trousers. Hariata is seated beside him holding baby Albert on her lap, dressed in a christening gown and bonnet. Elizabeth Colenso is seated next to Hariata, and behind her stands her daughter, Frances. All three women are wearing capes and skirts with hoops underneath, creating the distinctive voluminous silhouette typical of the period. In stark contrast to the photographs taken while the Pomares were under Jenkins's care, this single image provides no clue as to the cultural origin of the couple. The traditional cloaks, greenstone jewellery and accompanying weapons that were a feature of earlier photographs were

discarded in favour of simple European dress. In appearance, the Māori couple were now almost indistinguishable from their English counterparts.

The day after the baptism the Queen requested that the Pomare family and Elizabeth Colenso visit her at Windsor Castle to allow her to see her new godson. Elizabeth Colenso wrote in her diary that during the visit the Queen had commanded William Bambridge, her personal photographer, to take a likeness of Hare Pomare.⁶⁰ Bambridge was responsible for private commissions and the printing and organization of the Queen's vast photographic collection.⁶¹ The second formal portrait shows 'the tall, handsome New Zealand Chief, Pomare,'⁶² as Queen Victoria described him in her diary, dressed in the same frock coat and trousers. Within a few days of the sitting the image of Hare would appear in the Queen's Royal Albums.

The third and best-known image of the Pomare family is one that was likely taken by John Edwin Mayall in his Regent Street studio. Mayall had made a name for himself by being the first photographer to produce *carte de visites* of the royal family 'sanctioned for publication', thus starting the collecting craze for royal portraiture.⁶³ In the portraits captured by Mayall, Hare and Hariata are again, as in the first photograph, dressed entirely in European fashion (Figure 3). Hare wears the same coat and trousers and Hariata the same voluminous skirt and cape. She has her hair arranged in a similar fashion, parted in the middle and swept up at the back into a snood. The baby Albert sits on her lap wearing the same christening gown, covered with a cape with a distinctive embroidered edge, and a bonnet. The Pomares were the ideal couple to promote family values, and it is not insignificant that Queen Victoria chose to single them out to fashion after her own image. The young family were an obvious delight to the Queen, and it appears that the young Hare had captured the Queen's heart with his dashing looks. In the photograph Hariata is seated with the baby Albert in her lap being supported from behind by Hare, who looks lovingly down at the child. This touching photograph appears very much in the manner of the Queen's own commissioned portraits with her family before her husband's untimely death. The portraits were reproduced in the *carte de visite* format, and Hare received four-dozen of these to distribute among relatives on their return home.⁶⁴ Knowing full well the visiting card's mobility, the Queen in effect could promote and convey moral values centred on the family to her indigenous subjects across her empire.⁶⁵ Whether she had a hand in the selection of dress for the image is unclear, but European clothes were nevertheless a further way to promote the merits of civilization. In this instance, Hare was now in control of how the images were to be distributed once back home in New Zealand.



Figure 3: Albert Victor Pomare, godson of Queen Victoria, with his parents Hare and Hariata Pomare, photographed in their European dress by John Mayall of Regent Street, London.
Source: Mayall, John Jabez (London) fl 1810-1901: Hare Pomare and child Victor Albert Pomare. Ref: PA2-1130. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Like the reworking of the earlier photographs of the Māori party for inclusion in the illustrated weeklies, this specific photograph of the Pomare family formed the inspiration for the now famous William Strutt painting of the young couple with their baby (Figure 4).⁶⁶ Strutt, who had spent some time in New Zealand, was permitted by Elizabeth Colenso to sketch Hare.⁶⁷ She records having given the artist several of Mayall's *cartes* of the couple, which would have served as important reference material for the painting, in combination with the sketches of Hare in person.⁶⁸ The resulting rotundo painting depicted the couple in an almost identical pose to that in the original photograph,

although in this instance rather than depicting them in their English dress, Strutt portrayed them in their traditional cloaks and accoutrements such as feathers in the hair and sharks' teeth and greenstone earrings. The baby Albert is draped in a white sheet-like garment, and the family appears elevated to Holy Family status.⁶⁹ Standing behind the young couple is Hare's uncle, the government-friendly chief Patuone. His rank and stature are made evident by the ceremonial dog skin cloak draped across his shoulders and the taiaha (fighting staff) he wields in his hand. Elizabeth Colenso noted that the artist 'has a beautiful photograph of Patuone' which was no doubt used to include him in the painting despite Patuone not having visited England.⁷⁰ The snow-capped mountains and the palisade posts indicating a traditional village off in the distance, alongside foreground native flora and fauna, all help to reinforce as art historian Leonard Bell notes, 'the place far from culture and civilisation where the natives had come from'.⁷¹ Despite their Māori dress adding an exotic flavour to the picture, the image belies the family's most recent experience of English life.



Figure 4: The Pomare family, with Hare's uncle, the well-known chief Patuone, painted by William Strutt. The photographic portrait of the family taken by John Mayall and a further existing photograph taken of Patuone by John Nichol Crombie probably formed the inspiration for this painting.

Source: William Strutt, Hare Pomare and his wife Hariata, oil on canvas, 1863. Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia; NK5651.

The surviving visual evidence, in the form of photographs, drawings and paintings, reveals that the representation of those Māori individuals on the tour was never static. It was constantly in flux depending on the intent of those being captured or those doing the capturing, and invariably it was the latter. For Jenkins the photographs taken of the Māori party needed to appeal to English audiences, and in that regard it was the exotic, as expressed through customary Māori clothing, that he brought to the fore. In a similar vein, Strutt's use of the Mayall photographs as the basis for his works meant that the European clothing that the couple were depicted in needed to be reconfigured as Māori dress for the subsequent painting to conform to the prevailing romantic tropes that the artist knew would appeal to European audiences.

What is hard to ascertain is the agency that the young couple had to determine the fashioning of their own image. While the Bambridge photos commissioned by the Queen show Hare in European dress, whether this was at her direction or the photographer's is not known. Given his recent experience of English life, and as one of the younger members of the party, it could be supposed that the choice of dress was entirely at Hare's own discretion as he sought to fashion an image of himself modelled on an English gentleman. The couple's wearing of European dress as evidenced in the Mayall photographs could equally have been at their own discretion. In which case, as evidence of the adoption of European dress by Māori, the resulting photographs would have been ideal to promote the effects of their stay in England and the successful realization of the civilizing aims that Jenkins had for the trip. Yet, it is ironic that these photographs of the couple portrayed in European dress were captured while they were under the care of Elizabeth Colenso rather than Jenkins.

The Māori Party on Tour

While the Pomares resided with Elizabeth Colenso, Jenkins worked tirelessly behind the scenes in order to keep up with the expenses of the trip, arranging meetings and visits in London and in the surrounding countryside for the remainder of the party. Around August he made preparations for the party members to travel to Bristol, and by the first week of September they had arrived with all due ceremony being offered to the party by the mayor and mayoress. They stayed in Bristol for several weeks making organized appearances at places of worship, schools and town halls, as well as visits to other notable sites such as the Zoological Gardens and overnight stays in the town of Bath to take the waters.

It appears that Jenkins worked behind the scenes with local newspapers and photographers at many of the places he and the party visited.⁷² In part

this was to help advertise their lectures to generate publicity and ensure good attendances, which would go some way towards defraying the mounting costs of their constant travels and upkeep. The local newspapers reported on the many thousands turning out to see the party. The *Western Daily Press* reported that, 'Their cartes de visite were also eagerly bought up, the purchasers being principally young ladies'.⁷³ Later, however, Wharepapa explained in a letter to Miss Selwyn that: 'They (Jenkins and his backers) thought the money would flow like water when people saw the Māori. But it was far from correct. I am cautious.... this our Englishman adopts two plans. He sells our photographs. We were tempted to have our portraits taken for this. It was done thus: "The Prince of Wales wishes to have your photographs taken." This was done in all the towns to which we came: "The chief man of this town wishes to have your photographs." All the time he did it for sale.'⁷⁴ Clearly sales of the chiefs' photographs were being used to offset the costs of the tour as Jenkins fell into greater financial difficulty the longer it continued. As Wharepapa's statement reveals, while the Māori party members were probably happy to be photographed at the request of the Prince, the commercial sale of their photographs irked them and added salt to the already festering wound that had opened up with Jenkins.⁷⁵

Despite initial Māori ambivalence towards photography, their reception to it differed from Europeans. For Māori, photographs were not only a realistic rendering of themselves, they also captured that person's mauri or life force.⁷⁶ In material form, then, photographs themselves were revered for their inherent mana. Photographs were honoured in much the same way as ancestral carvings, as links to past ancestors, but also as the literal embodiment of that ancestor on earth.⁷⁷ It is therefore easy to see why members of the party saw Jenkins's exploitative approach to their photographic images for commercial gain as disrespectful and abhorrent.

Jenkins understood the European fascination with the idea of the noble savage, yet it would be fair to say that the Māori party members were probably indifferent to the images produced of them in their traditional clothing. If the party had been depicted in European dress it is likely that the popularity of such images amongst English consumers would not have been so great. However, a further set of *carte de visites* of the party in European dress was captured by local photographer John Beattie while they were in Bristol. Beattie was known to be active in the area from around 1858, and was listed in the 1861 census as an artistic photographer.⁷⁸ Unlike the previous *cartes* produced by Vernon Heath in London, these formal portraits depict the men in the party wearing what had been described as their 'English

travelling dress', comprising a 'neat suit of broad cloth' with 'caps with gold lace border.'⁷⁹ Posed in pairs with one man seated and the other standing, the portraits provide a stark contrast to the earlier *cartes*. There is no hint of the party's Māori origin visible in their dress, with the exception of the few who were tattooed. With their trousers, waistcoats, frock coats and bow ties, neatly trimmed beards and tidy hair, the men cut a dashing picture of civilized gentility.

The adoption of European dress by individuals in the Māori party, such as Reihana and Hare, was indicative of their active positioning of themselves as a modern and cultured people. The surviving historical record, whether visual or text-based, shows that the group was photographed in a variety of clothing styles, from a mix of customary Māori and European dress, to wholly English dress showing the extent of acculturation that had already occurred. However, it is clear that when the party members were being photographed, visiting with important persons or undertaking their illustrated lectures, it was their customary dress that came to the fore, where possible. The camera has recorded this constant tension that shifted between displays of noble savagery and civility and modernity. Jenkins sought to portray those on the tour as existing in a static and romanticized past, as 'authentic natives' at a time when Māori were becoming dominated by a European population that had already wrought significant material and cultural change, most visibly expressed in the day-to-day dress worn by Māori during the nineteenth century. The photographs bear witness to this dual world in which the individuals in the Māori party found themselves.

Although photography has been available to capture the effect of colonization on Māori, its popularity has been determined by more traditional portrayals typically expressed through the use of customary Māori dress.⁸⁰ The act of selecting dress and the constraints and liberties in that process have been essential factors for interpretation of these events. It is only through reconciling the available sources against one another that the constructed nature of this imagery is revealed. In this particular case the documentary evidence provides insights into Māori opinions regarding their representation that often ran counter to the desired image sought by Jenkins and others that forms part of the surviving visual record. Photographs reveal the same selectivity and conventions of thought, ideals and prejudices that are found in any other archival resource, and the same close scrutiny must be applied to photographs as to other manuscript material. The objectives of the painter, photographer or subject are often not apparent to the viewer, and this must be kept in mind, for 'the producer's intent or the reason behind

the production of the image, affects what he leaves in, what he takes out, and how he treats what he leaves in.⁸¹ For the Māori party this constructed narrative was incongruous with their contemporaneous lived experience, and as we have seen ‘the photograph didn’t so much tell a lie as hardly ever told the truth.’⁸²

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NOTES

1 For further scholarship on indigenous interactions with Queen Victoria see, for example, Neil Parsons, *King Khama, Emperor Joe, and the Great White Queen: Victorian Britain through African Eyes*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1998; Neil Parsons, "'No Longer Rare Birds in London": Zulu, Ndebele, Gza, and Swazi Envoys to England, 1882–1894', in Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, ed., *Black Victorians/Black Victoriana*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 2003, pp.110–44; Ruth Phillips, 'Dress and address: First Nations self-fashioning and the 1860 royal tour of Canada', in Susan Kulcher and Graeme Were, eds, *The Art of Clothing: A Pacific Experience*, Routledge, London, 2005, pp.135–53; Catherine E. Anderson, 'A Zulu King in Victorian London: Race, royalty and imperialist aesthetics in later nineteenth-century Britain', *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation*, 23, 3 (2008), pp.299–319. More recent scholarship includes Sarah Carter and Maria Nugent, eds, *Mistress of Everything: Queen Victoria in Indigenous Worlds*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2016; Charles Reed, *Royal Tourists, Colonial Subjects and the Making of a British World, 1860–1911*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2016.

2 Brian Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria: An Illustrated History of the Māori Tour of England, 1863*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1985.

3 In the context of this article I use the definition of dress developed by J.B. Eicher and M. Roach-Higgins 'as an assemblage of body modifications and/or supplements displayed by a person in communicating with other human beings': J.B. Eicher and M. Roach-Higgins, 'Definition and classification of dress: Implications for analysis of gender roles', in R. Barnes and J.B. Eicher, eds, *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning*, Berg, Oxford, 1992, p.15.

4 See, for example, Helen Hogan, *Bravo, New Zealand: Two Māori in Vienna 1859–1860*, Clerestory Press, Christchurch, 2003; Vincent O'Malley, *Haerenga: Early Māori Journeys Across the Globe*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2015; Alison Jones and Kuni Kaa Jenkins, *Tuati: A Traveller in Two Worlds*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2017. Recent international scholarship on indigenous mobility includes: Kate Fullagar, *The Savage Visit: New World People and Popular Imperial Culture in Britain, 1710–1795*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2012; Jane Carey and Jane Lydon, eds, *Indigenous Networks: Mobility, Connections and Exchange*, Routledge, New York, 2014; Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2016.

5 See, for instance, Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus: The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh*, George Bell and Sons, London, 1898; Thorstein Veblen (1899), *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*, Introduction by Robert Lekachman, Penguin Books, New York, 1994; Roland Barthes, *The Language of Fashion*, Translated by Andy Stafford, Edited by Andy Stafford and Michael Carter, Power Institute for Art and Visual Culture, Sydney, 2006; Kim K.P. Johnson, Susan J. Torntore, and Joanne B. Eicher, eds, *Fashion Foundations: Early Writings on Fashion and Dress*, Berg, London, 2003; Agnes Rocamora and Anneke Smelik, eds, *Thinking Through Fashion: A Guide to Key Theorists*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2015. See also Valerie Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History*, Berg, London, 2004; Lou Taylor, *Establishing Dress History*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2004.

6 Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History*, p.33.

7 John Styles, 'Dress in History: Reflections on a Contested Terrain', *Fashion Theory*, 2, 4 (1998), pp.383–90; Lou Taylor, 'Doing the Laundry? A Reassessment of Object-based Dress History', *Fashion Theory*, 2, 4 (1998), pp.337–58.

8 Bronwyn Dalley has argued for photographs as a source for exploring social history, notably dress and appearance. Bronwyn Dalley, 'Chance Residues: photographs and social history', in Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney, eds, *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2006, pp.169–89.

9 Theresa Rowat, 'Photographic Archival Sources for Costume Research', *Material History Review*, 34 (1991), p.39.

10 Lily Koltun 'Seeing is Believing?: A Critique of Archival Visual Sources for Material Culture Research', *Material Culture Review*, 8 (1979), p.61; Christina Johnson, "'Each Button, Button-Hole, and Every Fold": Dress in the American Daguerreotype Portrait', *Dress*, 31 (2004), p.32.

11 Suzanne Baizerman, Joanne B. Eicher and Catherine Cerny, 'Eurocentrism in the Study of Dress', *Dress: The Journal of the Costume Society of America*, 20 (1993), pp.19–32. Margaret Maynard, *Dress and Globalisation*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2004; Abby Lillethun, Linda Welters, Joanne B. Eicher, 'CSA Forum: (Re) Defining Fashion', *Dress: The Journal of the Costume Society of America*, 38 (2012), pp.75–97. On the nature of dress in cross-cultural and colonial environments see Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchieffed Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2012; Steve Buckridge, *The Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica, 1760–1890*, University of the West Indies Press, Kingston, 2004.

12 General surveys of New Zealand dress have tended to ignore or deal only briefly with the subject of Māori dress. See, for instance, the work of Alison Drummond and L.R. Drummond, *At Home in New Zealand: an illustrated history of everyday things before 1865*, B & J Paul, Auckland, 1867; Eve Ebbett, *In True Colonial Fashion: A Lively Look at What New Zealanders Wore*, Reed, Wellington, 1977; Richard Wolfe, *The Way We Wore: the clothes New Zealanders have loved*, Penguin, Auckland, 2001. Recent New Zealand historical scholarship in the area of dress history includes Bronwyn Labrum, Fiona McKergow and Stephanie Gibson, eds, *Looking Flash: Clothing in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2007. This publication featured two chapters directly related to Māori dress, although once again the focus was on more customary clothing types or pre-contact clothing styles. See Patricia Te Arapo Wallace, 'He Whatu Ariki, He Kura, He Waero: Chiefly Threads, Red and White'; and Awhina Tamarapa, 'Weaving a Journey: The Story of a Unique Cloak'. An exception in this same publication is an essay by David Butts on a hybrid Māori woven waistcoat in the collection of the Hawke's Bay Art Gallery and Museum (MTG Hawke's Bay), 'Every Garment Tells a Story: Exploring Public Collections'. Māori adoption of European clothing is addressed by S.M. Mead, *Traditional Maori Clothing: A Study of Technological and Functional Change*, Reed, Wellington, 1969 and Jennifer Queree, 'Māori and European Dress: Cultural Exchanges in New Zealand', in Joanne B. Eicher, ed., *Berg Encyclopaedia of World Dress and Fashion*, Volume 7, Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands, Berg, Oxford, 2015, pp.260–6.

13 See, for instance, the extensive scholarship by Hardwicke Knight, including *Photography in New Zealand: A Social and Technical History*, J. McIndoe, Dunedin, 1971. Also William Main and John B. Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present: Nga Whakaahua o Aotearoa Mai i 1840 ki Naianei*, Photoforum, Auckland, 1993.

14 Michael King, *Māori: A Photographic and Social History*, Reed, Auckland, 1983; William Main, *Māori in Focus: A selection of photographs of the Māori from 1850–1914*, Millwood Press, Wellington, 1976; Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow, *Out of Time: Māori and the Photographer 1860–1940*, The Ngawini Cooper Trust Collection, John Leech Gallery, Auckland, 2006.

15 Exceptions to this include more recent scholarship that has begun to investigate the active engagement with photography by Māori, particularly as commissioners. This includes Christine Whybrew's reconsideration of the well-known Barrett daguerreotype by placing it firmly within the realms of a family photograph, 'Family photo or national treasure? Another look at the Barrett sisters' daguerreotype', in Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf, eds, *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2011, pp.21–27. In a recent article, Roger Blackley has commented that Māori patronage of studio

photographers encouraged and significantly altered Māori attitudes towards European portraiture. As commissioners, Māori often played a significant role in the careful construction of their image through their choice of dress in portraiture as well as photography. Roger Blackley, 'Taku āhua i te Rākau Koura: Gottfried Lindauer's Māori Portrait Commissions', in Conal McCarthy and Mark Stocker, eds, *Colonial Gothic to Māori Renaissance: Essays in Memory of Jonathan Mane-Wheoki*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2017, pp.189–203.

16 For instance, Ling Roth, *The Maori Mantle*, Bankfield Museum, Halifax, 1923; Te Rangī Hiroa Sir Peter Buck, *The Evolution of Maori Clothing*, Polynesian Society Memoir, New Plymouth, 1926; Mead, *Traditional Maori Clothing*.

17 In this regard the works of Mick Pendergrast, Assistant Ethnologist at Auckland Museum during the 1980s, have been particularly influential. He was particularly interested in techniques of construction, and his interest spanned weaving not only within New Zealand but across the entire Pacific. Many of his publications have since become essential reference texts for contemporary weavers. Mick Pendergrast, *Feathers and Fibre: A Survey of Traditional and Contemporary Maori Craft*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 1984; Mick Pendergrast, *Te Aho Tapu: The Sacred Thread*, Reed Methuen, Auckland, 1987; Mick Pendergrast, 'The Fibre Arts', in Dorota Starzecka, ed., *Maori Art and Culture*, David Bateman Ltd, Auckland, 1996; Mick Pendergrast, *Kakahu: Maori Cloaks*, David Bateman and Auckland Museum, Auckland, 1997. These publications have been complemented by more recent publishing activity from Māori weavers and curators that has included commentary on some more contemporary woven forms. See, for instance, Erenora Puketapu-Hetet, *Maori Weaving*, Pitman Publishing, Auckland, 1989; Diggeress Te Kanawa, *Weaving a Kakahu*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1992; Megan Tamati-Quennell, *Pu Manawa: a celebration of whatu, raranga and taniko*, Museum of New Zealand, Wellington, 1993; Miriama Evans and Ranui Ngarimu, *The Eternal Thread, Te Aho Mutunga Kore: The Art of Maori Weaving*, Huia, Wellington, 2005; Awhina, Tamarapa, *Whatu Kakahu: Maori Cloaks*, Te Papa Press, Wellington, 2011.

18 For a discussion of collecting practices and representation see Rachel Worth, 'Rural Labouring Dress, 1850–1900: Some Problems of Representation', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, 3, 3 (1999), pp.323–42.

19 To qualify this, what is meant here are garments of European manufacture or European styles of dress worn by Māori. Further examples here would include more hybrid garments that are based on European garment styles but incorporate some elements of Māori technique or indigenous materials, such as woven New Zealand flax waistcoats. This does not include those garments of Māori manufacture such as muka (New Zealand flax fibre) cloaks that have incorporated introduced fibres such as wool and or other manufactured fabrics. There are numerous examples of these types of garments in museum collections; however, they would largely be considered customary in style. A further complication for the dress historian is the lack of surviving garments due to the organic and ephemeral nature of such textiles; often times, clothes simply wore out.

20 Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.17.

21 Letter from Major Richmond to Sir George Grey, 17 October 1862, cited in Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.19.

22 Tribal groups represented in the party included: Ngāpuhi, Taranaki, Tūhourangi, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Whanaunga.

23 Translation of the Diary of Reihana Taukawau on the trip to England under Toku Tikena (Jenkins). The party of Maoris who went to England in 1863. Typescript in the papers of Eunice Elizabeth Mewis Chambers (nee Jenkins), Auckland War Memorial Museum, MS 1069. Transcribed by Dawn Chambers, <http://www.nzpictures.co.nz/1863maorichiefstour.htm> (accessed 14 January 2012), p.2. Reihana maintained a journal in te reo Māori, and although parts were probably completed in retrospect, it nevertheless provides an insight into some of the party's overall impressions of the country and those it encountered.

24 The English and New Zealand press extensively covered the visit at the time. Subsequent articles appeared in New Zealand newspapers over the years in relation to the visit and especially the fate of some of the Māori travellers. In more recent times Brian Mackrell's book-length coverage has been supplemented with articles in academic and local history journals. See Mandy Treagus, 'Spectacles of Empire: Māori Tours in England in 1863 and 1911', in Kate Darian Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, Kiera Lindsey and Stuart McIntyre, eds, *Exploring the British World: Identity, Cultural Production, Institutions*, RMIT Press, Melbourne, 2004, pp.748–64; Mandy Treagus, 'Agents or Objects? Māori performances in Britain', in Sue Thomas, ed., *Victorian Traffic: Identity, Exchange, Performance*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, 2008, pp.124–42; Michael Graham-Stewart in association with John Gow, *Negative Kept: Maori and the carte de visite*, John Leech Gallery, Auckland, 2011; Warren Limbrick, 'A Right Royal Riddle', *Journal of Parnell Heritage Inc.*, 2, (December 2012), pp.8–12; Chanel Clarke, 'Maori Encounters with "Wikitoria" in 1863 and Albert Victor Pomare, her Maori godchild', in Carter and Nugent, eds, *Mistress of Everything*, pp.150–65.

25 10 June 1863, Diary of William Jenkins, 18 May 1863 to 6 February 1864, p.4, combined transcript taken from two different typescripts held privately, transcribed by Dawn Chambers, <http://www.nzpictures.co.nz/diaryjenkinswilliam1863.pdf> (accessed 30 April 2014).

26 'The Prince Consort Memorial Fete', *The Spectator*, 13 June 1863, p.10. <http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/13th-june-1863/10/the-prince-consort-memorial-fete> (accessed 11 September 2017).

27 Jenkins, 'Diary', p.4.

28 'Native Chiefs from New Zealand', *Illustrated London News*, 18 July 1863, p.74.

29 Mackrell, *Haruru Wikitoria*, p.53. Mat was the commonly used term for what is today known as a cloak or covering for the body rather than a floor mat.

30 Dog skin cloaks (kahu kurī) were made from the skins and hair of the Polynesian dog, which gradually died out in New Zealand. They were descended from the dogs brought to New Zealand from Polynesia on the ancestral canoes of the Māori people in the thirteenth century A.D. They were small, longhaired dogs about the size of a border collie. Some were black, some white, and others a combination with patches or spots. Considered a prestigious garment, the kahu kurī was usually worn only by those of high status.

31 For a discussion on this matter see Johnson, "'Each Button, Button-Hole, and Every Fold'", p.32.

32 *Otago Witness*, 3 January 1906, p.23.

33 Ruth Phillips, 'Making Sense Out/Of the Visual: Aboriginal Presentations and Representation in Nineteenth Century Canada', *Art History*, 27, 4 (2004), p.602.

34 See, for instance, Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840–1914*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1992; Judy Annear, ed., *Portraits of Oceania*, The Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, 1997; Matiu Baker, 'Photography in New Zealand: The Visual Representation of Māori in the Nineteenth Century', in Wulf Kopke and Bernd Schmelz, *A Glimpse into Paradise: Historical Photographs of Polynesia*, Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, 2014, pp.126–43.

35 Jenkins, 'Diary', p.10; Reihana Taukawau, *Journal*, 1863–1883, MS-1069, Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, p.14.

36 Jenkins, 'Diary', p.5. An ihupuni is a particular type of dog skin cloak and a kaitaka is a highly prized cloak made of flax fibre with a tāniko (finger woven) ornamental border. Both varieties were considered prestigious cloaks.

37 See Clarke, 'Maori Encounters with "Wikitoria"', p.150.

38 Jenkins, 'Diary', p.6.

39 Jenkins, 'Diary', p.6.

40 <http://www.photolondon.org.uk/pages/details.asp?pid=3664> (accessed 29 February 2017).

41 Jocelyne Dudding, 'Persistent images: Māori photographs in English museum collections', in Wanhalla and Wolf, eds, *Early New Photography*, p.33; Pendergrast 'The fibre Arts', p.12.

42 Graham-Stewart, *Negative Kept*, p.186.

43 See Ngahiraka Mason and Zara Stanhope, eds, *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand: The Māori Portraits*, Auckland University Press and Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, Auckland, 2016; Udo Kittelmann and Britta Schmitz, eds, *Gottfried Lindauer: Die Māori Portraits*, Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, Köln, 2014; Roger Blackley, *Goldie*, David Bateman Ltd, Auckland, 1997.

44 For a discussion on this see Ann Stephen, ed., *Pirating the Pacific: Images of Travel, Trade and Tourism*, Powerhouse Publishing, Sydney, 1993; Michael Hayes, 'Capture: the politics of Alfred Burton's photography', in Annear, ed., *Portraits of Oceania*, p.31. Sarah Peti Sian Hudson, 'Other Identities: portrayals from the past and what remains in the present', Masters of Fine Arts, Massey University, 2010; Mandy Treagus, 'From Whakarewarewa to Oxford: Makereti Papakura and the Politics of Indigenous Self-Representation', *Australian Humanities Review*, 52, May (2012), pp.35–56.

45 Jenkins, 'Diary', pp.6–7.

46 For discussion of the profusion of *carte de visite* images of Māori during the 1860s and 1870s see Baker, p.130.

47 Jenkins, 'Diary', p.12.

48 Jenkins, 'Diary', p.3.

49 Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.36.

50 Clarke, 'Maori Encounters with "Wikitoria"', p.153.

51 Paratene Te Manu described the visit many years later to journalist and historian James Cowan. Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.55.

52 Queen Victoria's Journal, Wednesday 15 July 1863. (Principal Royal Residence) Osborne House. Princess Beatrice's copies, Volume 52, pp.254–8. Royal Archives and the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. <http://qvj.chadwyck.com/marketing/terms.jsp> (accessed 15 June 2012).

53 Queen Victoria's Journal, p.256.

54 Queen Victoria's Journal, p.256.

55 Jenkins, 'Diary', p.18.

56 A. Lyden, *A Royal Passion: Queen Victoria and Photography*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2014, p.vii.

57 <https://www.thebigidea.nz/connect/media-releases/2011/sep/92435-the-victorian-album-part-4-of-in-camera> (accessed 4 March 2017).

58 Janet E. Murray, 'Colenso, Elizabeth', first published in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, 1990. *Te Ara — the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c22/colenso-elizabeth> (accessed 30 April 2014).

59 See Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.79. On the reverse of a further surviving *carte de visite* of Hare Pomare held in the collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library is a photographer's logo: 'Photographed by W.J. & H. Hunnings, Tottenham'. It is possible that this was the photographer who took the group shot outside of the church. W.J. & H. Hunnings, *Portrait of Hare Pomare in England 1864*, *carte de visite* albumen print, 1864, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, PA2-0924, <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23196594> (accessed 14 March 2017).

60 Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.82.

61 Lyden, p.115.

62 Queen Victoria's Journal, Osborne: 4 December 1863.

63 Lyden, *A Royal Passion*, p.107.

64 Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.82.

65 Clarke, 'Maori Encounters with "Wikitoria"', p.158.

66 William Strutt, 'Hare Pomare and his wife Hariata', Rex Nan Kivell Collection, NK5651, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

67 These sketches are held at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (William Strutt, Pomare, a young New Zealand chief, London 1863. Reference number: E-452-f-009-1).

68 Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.82.

69 Leonard Bell, 'The Making of a Portrait: William Strutt's *Hare Pomare and Family, 1863–1864*', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, 6 (1978), pp.31–39.

70 Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.82. This photograph is likely to be the one attributed to John Nicol Crombie, who was active in New Zealand from 1855 to 1862 and again from 1864 to 1872. A copy of this print is held in the Alexander Turnbull Library with the following inscription on the reverse in the hand of William Strutt: 'Pomare's uncle, Patuone. This man, whose photo I have, was brother of the loyal and faithful chief Tamati Waka, uncle to Pomare, who as soon as he saw my portrait immediately recognised the features and rubbed noses with it at Tottenham. Dec. 1863. Mr Hare Pomare & Mrs Pomare. Her Christian name was Hariata Tutapuaita.' Crombie, John Nicol, 1827–1878. Attributed works: Patuone. Brother of the loyal and faithful chief Tamati Waka, uncle of Pomare, who as soon as he saw my portrait immediately recognised the feature and rubbed noses with it at Tottenham. [Between 1855 and 1862]. Strutt, William 1825–1915: A collection of drawings in water colour ink and pencil illustrative of the scenery and early life of settlers and Maoris of New Zealand. 1855–1863. 1st series. Ref: E-452-f-003-2. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

71 Bell, 'The Making of a Portrait', p.32.

72 Jenkins, 'Diary', p.34.

73 As cited in the *Daily Southern Cross*, 17 December 1863, p.5.

74 Wharepapa to Miss Selwyn, 29 January 1864, Elizabeth Colenso Papers, MS 1070, Alexander Turnbull Library, as cited in Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.73.

75 The relationship between Jenkins and the Māori party gradually deteriorated throughout the trip as the party were subjected to an arduous series of lectures and meetings, for which payment was promised but was either erratic or not forthcoming. The length of the tour and time away from families in New Zealand were also sources of frustration, and the miserable English weather did not help and began to take its toll. For a summary of these causes see, for example, the entry by Stephen Oliver 'Pomare, Hare and Pomare, Hariata', first published in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, 1990, and *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1p21/pomare-hare>.

76 King, *Māori: A Photographic and Social History*, p.2.

77 Alan Marchant, 'Maori People as Photographic Subjects', *Curator*, 39, 4 (December 1996), p.240; Arapata Hakiwai, 'The Meaning of Ancestral Photographs in Māori Culture', in Kopke and Schmelz, *A Glimpse into Paradise*, p.145.

78 <http://brisray.com/bristol/bphoto.htm> (accessed 3 March 2017).

79 Mackrell, *Hariru Wikitoria*, p.104.

80 For a discussion on this see Hudson, 'Other Identities'.

81 Koltun, 'Seeing is Believing?', p.59.

82 Peter Wells, 'Created Memories: William Colenso and the Daguerreotype', *Art New Zealand*, 140 (2012), pp.83–87.