Exposing New Guinea
The early photographers, W. G. Lawes and J. W. Lindt

Volume 1

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the following thesis, submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, contains no material that has been previously accepted for an award of any other degree or diploma at a university. To the best of my knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed ..................................................
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the early photographic representation of southeast New Guinea through a close examination of the lives and work of two of the first Europeans to fix the region and its inhabitants on glass plate negatives. It has been acknowledged that the London Missionary Society missionary William G. Lawes and the professional photographer John W. Lindt created images of New Guinea that have become iconic through their repeated reproduction in print media, their global dispersal, and replication by subsequent visitors-with-cameras to the region. However, the immediate circumstances of their photographs’ production have received little attention in the literature. Focussing on the nature of Lawes’s and Lindt’s photographic encounters, traces of which can be read from the images themselves as well as their writings, reveals the significance of the camera as well as the agency of Papuans in shaping the photographic record. The contemporary framings of their New Guinea images are also considered in order to understand fully the different trajectories for the promotion and influence of their photographs, which are now equally widely dispersed in archive collections around the world. In the chapters that follow I reconstitute the histories of Lawes’s and Lindt’s New Guinea photographs in order to better understand their production and circulation. The result of this investigation is a more nuanced visual history that encompasses the specific encounters, networks, technology, and texts that shaped the early photographic record of New Guinea.
CHAPTER ONE

Approaching W. G. Lawes and J. W. Lindt and the photographic representation of New Guinea

In the late nineteenth century, New Guinea – and more specifically the southeast portion of present-day Papua New Guinea – took on a more distinct form in European imaginings through the relatively new technology of the camera (figs. 1.1 & 1.2). Though Europeans had engaged with this region of the world from the early sixteenth century, when Spanish voyagers first sighted the island's coastlines, European footfalls were limited to its shorelines. The arrival of the London Missionary Society (LMS) missionary William George Lawes and his small family in Port Moresby in 1874 marked the beginning of more intense European-Papuan encounters, encounters that could now be captured on glass-plate negatives. It has been acknowledged that Lawes and the professional photographer John W. Lindt created photographs of New Guinea that have become iconic through their repeated reproduction in print media, their global dispersal, and replication by subsequent visitors-with-cameras to the region. However, the immediate circumstances and local contexts of the production of their photographs have received little attention in the literature. Taking my cue from the ‘material turn’ in the humanities, and the ‘visual turn’ that preceded it, in this thesis I examine the grounded encounters that shaped Lawes’s and Lindt’s pictures of New Guinea. Rather than select a few iconic images, the two men’s oeuvres are considered as a whole and alongside each other, a method that allows for more searching questions to be asked regarding the two men’s encounters with the people and the land. Focussing on the nature of Lawes’s and Lindt’s photographic encounters, traces of which can be read from the images themselves as well as their writings, also reveals the roles that local Papuans played in shaping that photographic record.

What further crystallises from a close examination of the visual and textual documents produced by Lawes and Lindt is the different motivations the two men had for photographing New Guinea. Lawes, the pioneer missionary in Port Moresby,
was clearly driven in part by a desire to document the progress of his work amongst the ‘heathen’ population. As the first permanent European ‘settler’ in the region he also believed he could aid the work of anthropologists in the metropolitan centres by photographing the Papuans in his mission district, contributing to the steadily growing corpus of ‘portrait types’ that became a staple of anthropological studies by the late nineteenth century. Lindt, on the other hand, was driven to travel to New Guinea in 1885 as much by his curiosity about the island and its inhabitants as by his keen business sense and artistic aspirations. Lindt wanted to encounter and capture ‘savage’ Papuans and photograph the newest of Britain’s colonial ‘possessions’ in order to increase sales of his images at a time when photographic studios in Australia were beginning to struggle as a result of a financial crisis as well as the increased accessibility of photography to amateurs. Lindt’s images are certainly more accomplished than those of Lawes and he was more adept at advertising his work than the missionary. Despite these differences, both men’s photographs of New Guinea can be found in collections the world over.

My archive story
This thesis originated during a six-day topic-finding trip to Sydney in August 2011.¹ Though I had begun my PhD in the College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University in March of the same year, my original thesis topic, which centred on the visual production of the Hamburg South Seas Expedition (1908–10), had fallen through as a result of the rather tight gate-keeping of the photographic collections of the Hamburg Museum of Ethnology that I needed to access to undertake my project. Having been thrown off-course, it was decided, in consultation with my supervisors, to turn to more accessible archives. I had yet to immerse myself in visual sources (as I had been planning to travel to Germany for

this part of my research) and as the Mitchell Library was a short three-hour bus trip from Canberra, and houses a vast collection of over one million photographs, this institution became the new starting point for my PhD research project – PhD: take two.

Before leaving Canberra I decided to restrict my searches to photographs relating to British New Guinea, which became the Australian Territory of Papua in 1906, as this would guarantee a critical mass of images and textual sources from which to construct my final research project. I was new to Australia, having grown up in Dunedin, New Zealand, and new to the experience of working in a large state archive. My Masters research, which I completed through the history and art history department at the University of Otago in 2009, saw me spending most of my research days looking through the relatively small holding (c.3,500 photographs) of New Hebrides mission photographs in the equally small archive of the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand (PCANZ), situated in a wing of a university residential college, Knox College, in Dunedin. In preparation for my Sydney trip, my supervisor Chris Ballard put me in touch with Jude Philp, another scholar and museum curator at the Macleay Museum in Sydney working on Papua New Guinea (PNG) material; so I had a point of contact to potentially help me navigate my way through the vast PNG/Pacific collections in Sydney.

The first item I called up on my first day at the Mitchell Library was an album of New Guinea photographs by Lawes, compiled by Henry King’s photographic studio in Sydney some time in the late nineteenth century. My notes on the album simply read:

**Sydney research trip, Aug. 7 – Aug. 12 2011**

*Mitchell Library*

Items viewed:

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PXE 720 [photographed whole album] – Lawes album. From Mr H. King Studio, Sydney (catalogue of photos in front cover). ‘New Guinea / Rev Lawes’ on cover of this large album. 1929 written on page one binding. Compilation date/donation date …? Album also contains 9 photographs by Rev Walker near the back and 2 unidentified photographs (according to the catalogue list pasted onto the inside cover of the album) …

More items were called up from the pictures collection, using the search term ‘New Guinea’ in the library’s online catalogue, and brief notes taken down after cursory glances at the photographs that were brought to the reading area by the archives staff:


PX*D110 – Collection of sketches of NSW and Papua by Madeline E. King …

ML MSS Set 461 Item 3 – Photographs of Samarai, Cooktown and Cairns collected by Hon Anthony Musgrave (colonial secretary of British New Guinea) …


A day was also spent with Rebecca Conway, ethnography curator at the Macleay Museum, looking through the large collection of Burns Philp photographs (c.1,700) that the museum had acquired in the mid-1980s; and Jude Philp discussed her research on Lawes’s photographs of ethnographic objects with me (the Macleay Museum has at least 23 of Lawes’s photographs in its university lantern slide teaching collections). The Burns Philp collection contains an eclectic range of subjects, and locations represented in the photographs include the Solomon Islands, Australia, Torres Strait, Java, and German New Guinea. The photographs, which date from the 1880s to the 1960s, have virtually no contextualising information accompanying them, and the formats are also diverse, including postcards, albumen

3 After a discussion with Jude Philp about the Mitchell Library Lawes album I learned that there was some uncertainty about whether Lawes had taken all the photographs attributed to him in the studio catalogue list that is pasted into the front cover of the album, but this only strengthened my initial instinct that more research was needed into Lawes’s photography.
prints, glass plate negatives, and celluloid film prints. The Macleay Museum has around 50,000 photographs relating to Australia and the Pacific region but, as was the case with many museums in the past, the collecting had been haphazard and cataloguing images was anything but thorough. Though a collection worthy of a thesis, the Burns Philp images did not capture my attention to the same extent as the albums of images at the Mitchell Library had. Perhaps it was the imposition of some sort of order in the albums, the inscription of another level of meaning beyond the original capturing of the photographic image that stayed with me.

Lawes became a theme on my Sydney research trip. At the Powerhouse Museum I got to see more of his photographs in the Tyrrell Photographic Collection that is housed there. Around 7,900 glass plate negatives make up this collection of images from the studios of Henry King (1855–1923) and Charles Kerry (1857–1928) who owned two of Sydney’s most successful and important photographic studios in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Tyrrell Collection contains photographs taken in New South Wales and the Pacific and is arranged in broad themes: ‘Sydney and suburbs; south coast; Blue Mountains; transport; rural New South Wales; shipping; caves; sports; Indigenous peoples of Australia and the South Pacific’. The collection made its way to the Powerhouse Museum through the Australian Consolidated Press (ACP), which donated it to the museum in 1985. The ACP, in turn, had acquired the collection of negatives from the Sydney bookseller, James R. Tyrrell, who originally bought and copied the plates from the Kerry & Co. and Henry King photographic studios in Sydney in the 1920s ‘for a proposed floating ethnographic museum moored in Sydney Harbour’, which never eventuated. In the process of transfer from studios to bookshop to the ACP, the glass plate negatives had lost most of their original framing contexts, including the photographers’ names. It was only through my introduction to Lawes’s photographs in the King studio album at the Mitchell Library, and the catalogue list of 281 photographs pasted in its front cover (Appendix 1.1), that I was able to identify several of the copy prints in the folders that the photo librarian, Kathy Hackett, had brought out for me to look at.

5 Ibid; conversation with Geoffrey Barker, former curator of photographs at the Powerhouse Museum (August 2011).
This is my ‘archive story’, or ‘arrival story’, as Nicholas Dirks calls the moment the ‘scientist-scholar sets down upon a shore that beckons with the promise that one can finally engage in the act of discovery’. By the time I returned to Canberra, the rough outlines of a potential PhD project had begun to crystallise: a general investigation of the visual conception of New Guinea around the time of the official proclamation of the British Protectorate in 1884. I wanted to consider what the shift from the pictorial to the photographic era meant for the imaging of New Guinea: how was New Guinea visualised in the pre-photographic era? Was there a rupture in terms of subject matter with the introduction of the new technology? Did paintings and drawings from the period of European settlement in New Guinea frame the region in drastically different ways to the photographs? While photographs from this period undoubtedly outnumber paintings and drawings, these are part of what Leonard Bell describes as the ‘ocean of images’ of the Pacific (a play of words on the Tongan scholar Epeli Hau’ofa’s concept of the Pacific as a ‘sea of islands’ – interconnected and ever-changing), and I wanted to consider them alongside the photographs taken of this region in my thesis.

However, I kept coming back to the albums of photographs by Lawes and Lindt that I had seen in the Mitchell Library, and Lawes’s photographs, in particular. The seeming coherence of the picture of New Guinea presented in these albums instantly appealed. These were also some of the earliest photographs of this region of the world – photographs that would ultimately achieve iconic status through their repeated reproduction in print media in Australia and Europe and their replication by later visitors to New Guinea. As I continued to access archive and museum collections in Australia and around the world (both in person and via the World Wide Web) the wide dispersal of Lawes’s and Lindt’s photographs seemed a telling sign that these two men were pivotal figures in the early imaging of New Guinea. The seeds of what Max Quanchi refers to as the ‘Papuan Gallery’ were in front of me and I began to question whether the historical potential of Lawes’s and Lindt’s photographs had been fully explored.
The two men’s photographs do not present a seamless, unitary conception of the land and its people. The professional photographer Lindt’s series of 124 ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ photographs, 26 of which are pasted into the album held in the Mitchell Library, display technical and artistic mastery of the medium and a clear visual agenda. Lawes’s photographs, of which I have identified around 309 in collections in Australia, New Zealand, England, and Germany, present a more fractured practice and vision of New Guinea (see Appendix 2). This divergence in photographic practice, technical competency, and artistic execution, and the fact that both sets of images were readily subsumed into public imaginings of New Guinea in Australia and Europe, made them particularly compelling subjects for a thesis on the early photographic representation of this region of the world.

My ‘archive story’ came full circle on 6 August 2015, almost four years to the day after my initial encounter with Lawes’s and Lindt’s photographs, during a public lecture at the University of Otago presented by Tony Ballantyne titled ‘Archives, Public Memory, and the Work of History’. Having taken a six-month leave of absence from my PhD programme in order to work on a digitization project at the PCANZ archives I was beginning to question my decision to single out Lawes and Lindt in the early visualisation of New Guinea when Ballantyne’s PowerPoint presentation switched to a slide of a page taken from the papers of Samuel E. Peal that are now held in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand. Peal was a botanist and ethnographer who worked in India’s northeast in the late nineteenth century and who donated his papers to the Polynesian Society. The page that Ballantyne had selected from these papers shows drawings of ‘platform dwellings’ in Asia and the Pacific. The top half of the page is dedicated to the drawings by Peal, and the lower half contains a list of regions and islands beside which Peal had noted the leading ‘authorities’ on the cultures of these places. What immediately stood out to me was a sketch based on a photograph by Lindt at top centre, which is acknowledged in the caption: ‘Australia / Photo by Lindt / Melbourne’ (though Peal gets the location wrong as the photograph on which the

drawing was based comes from Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series). That Lindt’s authorship of the original image was singled out in this manner was remarkable enough. However, on seeing Lawes’s name written down alongside the heading ‘Papua’ in the lower half of the page, my confidence in the importance of these two men in the conception of New Guinea for western audiences was affirmed.

In his book, titled *Photographing Papua: Representation, Colonial Encounters and Imaging in the Public Domain*, Max Quanchi uncovers the relationship between photography and representation and, in particular, the development of an ‘iconographic imperative by which specific photographs attracted universal significance’ in the imaging of New Guinea.\(^\text{11}\) These photographs entered and were replicated in the public domain in Australia and Britain and became what Quanchi calls the ‘Papuan gallery’. Images of cradles, sago making, bamboo aqueducts, tree houses, littoral pile villages, pottery making, belles, dandies and *lakatoi* (canoes), made up this ‘small, much-repeated gallery’ – much-repeated by authors and newspaper editors who were responding to the public’s demand for images of the exotic and the wondrous. It was through these images, so Quanchi argues, that the Australian and British publics came to know Papua.\(^\text{12}\)

The scope and depth of Quanchi’s study is truly impressive and represents countless hours spent in archives, libraries, and private collections going through photographic and print materials. As he writes in his book ‘There is an historical importance in the mass rather than in the single image’ – it is only through an extensive survey of the extant material that patterns begin to emerge.\(^\text{13}\) My work, in part, functions similarly as an act of archival recovery, creating a space wherein the photographic collections of Lawes and Lindt garner significance. While Quanchi is concerned with singling out and tracing the trajectories of those photographs that made it into the Papuan Gallery my interest lies in placing, or re-placing the material images in the historical moment of their production and subsequent circulation. The seeming inevitability of Quanchi’s gallery of iconographic images is here more closely examined. In the chapters that follow I probe the initial moments in the production of this gallery in more detail by analysing the photographs of the two

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\(^\text{11}\) Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, x [emphasis in original].
\(^\text{12}\) Ibid., 239–240.
\(^\text{13}\) Ibid., 240.
men who may be said to have laid the foundations for the photographic imaging of southeast New Guinea.

**Pacific photography in the colonial era**

In broad terms, this thesis contributes to the growing field of scholarship on photography in the Pacific in the colonial era. Quanchi mapped this literature in the 1997 special issue of *Pacific Studies* titled ‘Imaging, Representation, and Photography of the Pacific Islands’. As guest editor, Quanchi noted that ‘Until the release of this *Pacific Studies* collection, a publication devoted solely to the analysis of Pacific photography was lacking’. Amongst the ‘slowly increasing’ output of research on Pacific photography in the late 1990s and early 2000s, was the work of historians and anthropologists such as Leonard Bell, Alison Devine Nordström, Nicholas Thomas, Anne Maxwell, Elizabeth Edwards, Jude Philp, Helen Gardner, Brigitte d’Ozouville, Virginia-Lee Webb, and Quanchi, who turned the lens on photographs as sources that offer up new perspectives on the nature of culture contact and colonialism in the Pacific. For example, in her contribution to the special issue of *Pacific Studies*, Brigitte d’Ozouville examines the significance of a photographic triptych from around 1872 that was pasted into an album with other images relating to Fiji. Instead of reading the photographs in isolation and solely in terms of what they represent, d’Ozouville places them back ‘in the historical era of their production and circulation’, to trace the interrelationship between

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14 As Quanchi notes in the ‘Introduction’ to the special issue, ‘The inclusion of a panel on photography at a major international conference on the histories of the Pacific, the Eleventh Pacific History Association Conference at Hilo, Hawai’i, [in 1996] signalled an awareness that photographs must be put under similar critical processes to those that historians now apply to other sources.’ (Quanchi, ‘Introduction’ to *Pacific Studies*, Special Issue: Imaging, Representation, and Photography of the Pacific Islands, vol. 20, no. 4 (December 1997): 3).

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., 1.

‘anthropology, colonial history, and local Pacific history’ and the place of commercial photography in these intersecting discourses. In so doing, d’Ozouville moves beyond the documentary value of photographs to consider them as historical ‘narratives’ that must be read alongside the textual archive that is still favoured by historians as the primary source for their scholarship. The scholars represented in the special issue and those mentioned above approach photographs with a critical eye, questioning their assumed transparency and seeing them instead as ‘constructed, contested fields of tension.’

Immediately following its invention, in the late 1830s, photography was touted as a means to capture reality and thus preserve the subject being exposed on the negative. Indeed, ‘Possession of a photograph was regularly confounded with possession of its subject’, making photography a supposedly ideal method of accurate, scientific documentation despite its monochromaticity. In 1891, John Thomson, a Scottish photographer, geographer, and Official Instructor in Photography at the Royal Geographical Society, boldly stated: ‘Where truth and all that is abiding are concerned, photography is absolutely trustworthy and the work now being done is a forecast of a future of great usefulness in every branch of science’. From the early 1850s, once photography became more accessible for those working in the field, photographers travelled to the far reaches of empire with cameras in tow in order to record the cultures and lands that colonisers were increasingly coming into contact with. For example, in 1849–51 the French writer and photographer Maxime Du Camp travelled to Egypt and the Near East, making around two hundred negatives of the landscapes and monuments, over a hundred of

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18 d’Ozouville, ‘Reading Photographs in Colonial History’, 51.
19 Quanchi, ‘Introduction’, 3. That there is still much interest and work to be done in this field is attested to by the popularity of panels on the imaging of the Pacific at the biennial Pacific History Association conferences. For the 2016 conference in Guam, Quanchi organised a symposium on the ‘Early History of Photography in the Pacific Islands’, following the lead set by recent symposia in Dunedin and Melbourne on early New Zealand and early Australian photography respectively in which I took part (see Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf, (eds.), Early New Zealand Photography (Dunedin, NZ: Otago University Press, 2011); Anne Maxwell and Josephine Croci, (eds.), Shifting Focus: Colonial Australian Photography 1850–1920 (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2015); Max Quanchi, email correspondence, 16 September 2016).
which were subsequently published in the book of his travels, titled *Égypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie* (1852), ‘one of the earliest and most expensive books illustrated by original photographs’. The new technology eventually displaced the pencil and paintbrush as the preferred method of documentation of scientific discoveries, though much of the content and composition of early documentary photographs drew from conventions established in paintings, drawings, and etchings.

The early photographic mapping of the territories of empire was also enthusiastically applied to the human subjects that peopled them and by the late 1860s anthropometric projects were underway to categorise and photographically record ‘racial types’. The photographic ‘portrait type’, as Jane Lydon observes, became highly sought after by scientists in the mid nineteenth century who subscribed to the comparative method for developing racial taxonomies, as they believed such portraits ‘made an abstract sense of human variation observable and real’. To aid this work, Jones H. Lamprey, Assistant-Secretary of the Ethnological Society of London, invented a grid-screen to be used as a backdrop for the human subjects who were to be photographed and thus measured. In the same year, 1869, the Oxford Professor Thomas Henry Huxley (president of the Ethnological Society) sent out a pamphlet to administrators in the colonies, which included detailed instructions, requesting ‘photographs of specimens of all races of men in all parts of the globe’ to be taken in front of backgrounds like those devised by Lamprey. The British Association for the Advancement of Science also released handbooks, titled *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, to assist professionals and amateurs in the field by outlining the appropriate questions to ask in their enquiries into the cultures they came into contact with. These were produced between 1874 and 1951 and from the first edition included a section on photography that outlined the equipment required and, by 1899, ‘a few hints’ on the ‘class of photographs to take’ that focussed largely on the correct methods of acquiring good portraits of both the ‘type’ and ‘natural’

variety. In Germany too, anthropometric photography was employed to assist in the study of cultural difference. In 1870, the Berlin Society commissioned the photographer Carl Dammann to photograph the African crew of the Sultan of Zanzibar’s boat while it was docked in Hamburg. This led to a more ambitious project commissioned by the Society to document ‘all the living races known to man’, the result of which was Carl and Frederick Dammann’s multi-volume *Ethnological Photographic Gallery of the Various Races of Man*, published in 1876, containing hundreds of anthropometric portraits presented on 50 plates.

These collections of photographs ended up in the storerooms and filing cabinets of ethnographic museums, where they were left largely untouched by scholars until the 1980s. As Nordström notes, ‘they were seen as relics of a proto-science, so crude as to be useless today in terms of ethnographic truth. At worst, they were understood as racist and imperialist trash, indications of the embarrassing roots of a now more correct discipline’. By the 1980s, as a result of the ‘visual turn’ in the humanities, scholars of art history, anthropology, history, and museum studies recognised that these once ‘problematic’ photographs could ‘hold important information about their respective disciplines and our culture as a whole’. As well as scholarly articles that addressed the value of these newly ‘discovered’ visual sources for undertaking historical enquiries, several exhibitions of photographs from ethnographic collections were also staged. For example, the 1995 exhibition of Samoan photographs titled ‘Picturing Paradise: Colonial Photography of Samoa, 1875 to 1925’, toured museums in Oxford, Florida, and New York. This exhibition was curated by Peter Mesenhöller from the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne and Nordström, and brought together around 175 photographs in various formats from collections in Germany, the United States, and the UK. The accompanying catalogue, edited by Casey Blanton, contains essays that take the analysis of the


28 Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 149.

29 Nordström, ‘Persistent Images’, [unpaginated].

30 Ibid.
exhibited images beyond a straightforward outline of colonial photography to consider instead the significance of photography in shaping western perceptions of these Polynesian islands. As James Ryan notes in his review of the exhibition and catalogue: ‘By considering the making, dissemination and uses of photography as dynamic historical processes, these essays, like the exhibition itself, challenge conventional accounts of the history of photography, considering photographs as mutable objects with multiple trajectories and meanings’. 31 Rather than tell a narrative of Samoa as viewed through the photographs, the exhibition and catalogue shifted the viewers’ attention to a particular ‘way of seeing’ that was constructed in the manufacture, exchange, and display of the images in the west. 32 Such engagements with Pacific photography, and colonial photography more generally, are a marked departure from more traditional histories of photography with their focus on technological developments, ‘great artists’, and ‘iconic images.’33

A significant proportion of early Pacific photographs can be found in ethnographic museums and collections around the world, housed alongside (or mixed in amongst, in many cases) photographs from other regions of the globe that European powers were encroaching on during the zenith of the western imperial age. Nordström, in her 1992 survey of several collections of ethnographic photographs, observes that ‘Photographs, along with collections of objects and the written texts of travellers, missionaries and, somewhat later, field researchers, became the stuff that the sciences of the Other were made of – indeed were constructed into the Other itself’.34 As such, the history of early Pacific photography is closely entwined with the history of the discipline of anthropology. This was signalled in Elizabeth Edwards’ edited collection of papers published in 1992, titled *Anthropology and*

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32 Ibid., 113.
34 Nordström, ‘Persistent images’, [unpaginated].
Photography, 1860–1920. Though there is only a minimal focus on Pacific photography in this volume, as Quanchi states, it ‘set parameters for Pacific scholars’ and ‘defined a path for subsequent researchers to follow’. So, for example, d’Ozouville’s research, mentioned above, engages with photographs from Fiji as a means to address the intersecting histories of anthropology, colonialism, and local Pacific history. Nicholas Thomas further deconstructs the field of colonial representations in order to emphasise ‘the differing interests of particular sorts of colonizers’, thus moving ‘away from monolithic notions of colonialism … to examine the … underlying ambiguities and contradictions of colonial projects’ in his work on early twentieth-century evangelical propaganda.

The potential of the missionary visual archive to tell us more about the uses of photography in interrelated colonial projects has been overlooked until recently. Thomas, Richard Eves, Helen Gardner, Paul Jenkins, Christraud Geary, and Kim Greenwell have all approached this particular sub-category of colonial imaging, and have produced critical analyses that seek to uncover the role of missionary photography in encounters in the Pacific, Africa, and British Columbia, as well as on home shores. For example, in the Pacific context, Helen Gardner and Jude Philp investigate the Methodist missionary George Brown’s photographs of New Britain and the ways in which he employed them as a means to establish relations with local people. Brown also published anthropological articles and sent his photographs to anthropological and scientific theorists in Europe, such as the curator of the Florence Museum of Zoology, Henry Giglioli and the Oxford ethnologist Edward B. Tylor.

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38 The importance of the mission visual archive was signalled in the October 2002 issue of the International Bulletin of Missionary Research, which was dedicated to ‘Rediscovering Missionary Photography’ (International Bulletin of Missionary Research 26, No. 4 (October 2002)).
41 Ibid., 185.
Richard Eves addresses the ambiguities inherent in the mission project, which he argues were reconciled in the genre of images called ‘Studies in black and white’. In these images, converted Pacific Islanders were presented to the viewing public back in Australia and in Europe as equals ‘under the skin, though … not equally developed siblings’. In this careful application of nineteenth-century evolutionist thinking, missionaries were able to enforce their position as the civilised ‘adult’ reformers of an errant ‘child race’ while still upholding their belief in the unity of humanity.

Missionaries frequently found themselves entangled in the colonial projects of imperial governments. They were often the first Europeans in territories far from the metropolitan centres of empire and the close nature of their work with local populations meant their photographs were valuable sources for anthropologists. Their familiarity with local cultures and languages also made them invaluable guides and interpreters when imperial governments decided to turn their attention to more direct forms of governance and settlement in these areas. In their contribution in Anthropology and Photography, Martha Macintyre and Maureen MacKenzie note the ‘intimate’ relationship that missionaries were sometimes able to establish in their comparison of the LMS missionary Harold Dauncey’s, the traveller R. W. Williamson’s, and the colonial administrator F. R. Barton’s photographs of Papuan villagers and village life. By considering these men’s photographs side-by-side Macintyre and MacKenzie find that ‘the experiences, the motivations and the social positions of the photographers are intrinsic to the images’. While Williamson’s photographs betray a ‘stranger’s view of the unfamiliar’, in the physical distance from his subjects as well as the subjects’ expressions of discomfort, the naturalism inherent in Dauncey’s views taken in Delena village where he was stationed from 1897 to 1907 shows that he ‘worked within a framework of shared space and shared humanity’.

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42 Eves, “‘Black and white, a significant contrast’”, 742.
43 Ibid.
44 Diane Langmore notes the role of missionaries, who were often the first Europeans in the colonies, as ’crucial actors in colonial history’ (see Diane Langmore, Missionary Lives: Papua, 1874–1914 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), xii).
46 Ibid., 160.
The comparative approach to colonial photographers taken by Macintyre and MacKenzie has also been applied to the Australian photographs of Captain Samuel Sweet and Joseph Brooks, who were members of George W. Goyder’s 1869 Northern Territory Survey Expedition. Kitty Magee contends that Sweet’s and Brooks’ ‘different experiences of life, travel, migration and photography resulted in … diverse images’, one collection of which ultimately ended up being used ‘to fuel an idealised vision of a colony on the brink of conceivable greatness’.\(^\text{47}\) Lawes and Lindt, similar to Sweet and Brooks, photographed New Guinea before any extensive geographical survey or concentrated programme of white settlement had taken place – as with the Northern Territory, it was southeast New Guinea’s ‘remoteness and inaccessibility … that helped delay exploration and settlement until the time when the camera was available to document it’.\(^\text{48}\) By comparing the New Guinea photographs of Lawes and Lindt, in terms of their scope, content, and manner of circulation in Europe and Australia, and also considering the two men’s methods of photographing and the details of their lives and work that we are able to glean from the visual and textual traces they left behind, insight is afforded into the importance of their photographs in the early imaging of this region of the world. Anthropologists who were interested in New Guinea, and Melanesia more broadly, often owned photographs by both Lindt and Lawes.\(^\text{49}\)

Though their photographs are equally widely dispersed in museum and archive collections around the world, Lindt’s carefully constructed vision of New Guinea has come to dominate that of Lawes and other contemporary photographers who travelled to the region. Selected images from Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series were repeatedly reproduced in newspapers, magazines, and books into the twentieth century and subsequent travellers faithfully replicated several of the subjects as well. Undoubtedly, this success was linked to Lindt’s artistic talent and strategic presentation and marketing of his series as well as his connection to Sir Peter Scratchley’s official expedition to New Guinea shortly after it had been declared a British protectorate. Lawes’s photographs, in contrast, entered the public domain and consciousness via more circuitous routes and accompanied by less


\(^{48}\) Ibid.

\(^{49}\) Edwards, Raw Histories, 40.
advertising than Lindt’s series. However, as mentioned above, Lawes’s standing as the earliest European missionary in southeast New Guinea meant he significantly influenced the photographic encounters that Lindt and other travellers had while in his mission district. It may be argued, then, that ultimately it was Lawes who significantly shaped the vision of New Guinea produced by Lindt and other photographers.

A key development in the scholarship on photography in the Pacific has been the consideration of not only the sites in which photographs were taken, but also the ways in which images are employed in the West. The accessibility and immediacy of photography, especially from the late 1880s, meant that photographs, in the form of postcards, and book and newspaper illustrations, were more readily subsumed into political and cultural discourses of their time. With the invention of the half tone printing process in the late 1880s, which allowed for the reproduction of images alongside text in print media, photographs soon became overlaid with meanings beyond those intended at the original point-of-capture of the subject. Quanchi has written extensively on the imaging of Papua in Australia in illustrated newspapers and magazines, and notes that

Pacific researchers have sought to situate the practice of photography in its colonial and postcolonial time frame, but in a relationship that offers deeper understanding of the public reading of photographic images at the time of their taking and their present reading when removed from the context of their production and projection, relabelled, and presented in museums, monographs, galleries, and public displays.

Edwards, in her study of the anthropologist Diamond Jenness’s photographs of the D’Entrecasteaux Islands, taken in 1911–2, extends her analysis beyond ‘the purely evidential’ to consider instead the “provocative contexts”, those broader discourses in which the photographs and photography participate’, as these ‘different contexts, or “performances”, will suggest … different readings of the same set of photographs’. Edwards compares the contact prints that Jenness made of some of his photographs for the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford in 1913 with a personal album of his fieldwork photographs (also held at the Pitt Rivers Museum). In contrast to the

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52 Edwards, Raw Histories, 88.
album, where none of the human subjects were named, the captioning of the contact
prints, Edwards notes, ‘is much more detailed, yet more distanced and less
personal’. 53 The ‘scientific’ series of prints also do not contain images that would
‘threaten the purity of the anthropological object’ – so, for example, photographs of
mission teachers do not appear in the set printed for the Pitt Rivers Museum. 54 As
Edwards argues, ‘these examples are important because they underline the selective
inscription not only in the making of the photographic record but also at its
subsequent reproduction … pointing to a greater complexity of individual motive
and disciplinary intention’. 55 Studies such as this represent a marked departure from
the uncritical use of photographs as ‘editorial gloss’ for books or monographs. 56

The trajectories of Pacific photographs have not only been traced from site of
production to the various sites of dissemination in the west. Several Pacific scholars
have also taken photographs back to the locations in which they were taken. Joshua
Bell, in an article published in yet another collection of writings on Pacific
photography edited by Quanchi, argues that the process of visual repatriation of old
photographs to the Purari Delta in Papua New Guinea enabled ‘narratives that
challenge both our own and our predecessors’ representations’. 57 During fieldwork
undertaken in the Purari Delta in 2001–2 as part of his investigation on ‘the ways
Purari communities have negotiated their identity and history through material
culture’, Bell displayed photographs taken in 1922 by the Australian Territory of
Papua’s assistant government anthropologist Francis E. Williams and found that the
images became ‘prompts for, and the centrepiece of, more complex Pacific
histories’. The male I’ai elders to whom Bell displayed the photographs were
fascinated by the trees in the background of one of the photographs in particular.
Trees constitute ‘one of the most important resources that come from possessing
customary rights to land’, 58 and so the photograph in question was ‘read’ differently
by these men, by the I’ai women, and by scholars outside the region. An important
function of Williams’ photographs for the communities that Bell worked with is one

53 Ibid., 90–92.
54 Ibid., 92.
55 Ibid., 92–93.
57 Joshua Bell, ‘Losing the Forest but Not the Stories in the Trees: Contemporary Understandings of
F. E. Williams’s 1922 Photographs of the Purari Delta’, The Journal of Pacific History 41, no. 2
(September 2006): 205.
58 Ibid., 201.
of renewing and preserving the stories that are embedded in the trees at a time when
logging activities are threatening the forests of the Purari Delta.\textsuperscript{59}

Haidy Geismar and Anita Herle undertook a similar project in their work
with a collection of around two hundred photographs taken by the anthropologist
John Layard during his fieldwork on Malekula, in Vanuatu, 1914–5. However,
unlike Bell, they followed the trajectories of Layard’s photographs ‘from the
moment of their creation, through their circulation within a range of different media
throughout Europe and America, and back to the places from which they
originated’.\textsuperscript{60} While Bell’s work focuses on the different stories that can be read
from the images created by F. E. Williams in a contemporary context, Geismar and
Herle extend their analysis to the nature of the encounters that produced the images
taken by Layard and the various contexts in which they were subsequently used and
reproduced. As they state in their introduction: ‘The book explores the resonance of
photographic images in both the intellectual history of anthropology as a discipline,
and in the social history of anthropology as a cross-cultural enterprise, which
incorporates indigenous agency and agendas into the practice and encounter of
fieldwork’.\textsuperscript{61} In particular, the authors stress the mediating role of photography in the
social relationships established during periods of intensive anthropological fieldwork
and acknowledge local agency in the production of many of the images. Finally,
Geismar also took copies of Layard’s photographs back to Vanuatu where she found
that, as with Williams’ photographs, they ‘proved to be important links between
people and places.’\textsuperscript{62}

\textbf{Material encounters}
As outlined above, work on colonial photography has progressed since the 1980s
from straightforward, content-based analyses to more nuanced and in-depth studies
of the ways in which photography was employed in various interlocking colonial
projects. Photography was an important tool in the colonial toolkit, and was used to
further scientific, ideological, and political agendas both in the colonies and in the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 205.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Haidy Geismar and Anita Herle, \textit{Moving Images: John Layard, Fieldwork, and Photography on
Malekula since 1914} (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010), 3.
\item \textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 42.
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metropolitan centres. An engagement with the multitude of meanings that many images accrued over time and as they travelled out from their locations of production has been the pivotal contribution of scholars to the field of colonial imaging, some of whom are mentioned above. As Allan Sekula states at the beginning of his influential essay, ‘On the Invention of Photographic Meaning’: ‘The meaning of a photograph, like that of any other entity, is inevitably subject to cultural definition’.\(^{63}\) However, while the institutions and individuals that make use of photography, that ‘set [it] to work in specific contexts’,\(^{64}\) in the words of John Tagg, invest the image with meaning, meaning also resides in the material characteristics of the photo-object as well as in the extended moment of its production.

My particular interest in photography in New Guinea is influenced by the ‘material turn’ in anthropology and the ‘visual turn’ or ‘pictorial turn’ that preceded it.\(^{65}\) These ‘turns’ in the humanities heralded a new approach to visual sources such as photographs that recognised their value as objects belonging to a society’s or cultural group’s material culture and their importance as historical source-material alongside written documents in the archive. Traditional histories of photography have tended to take a technological or biographical approach, originating, as most of them do, from the discipline of art history where the artist-photographer takes centre stage. The photographer’s mastery of the apparatus and aspects of the construction of the final ‘masterpiece’ are the focus, and any consideration of the photo-object is placed in the background in favour of an analysis of composition, lighting, subject matter, etc.\(^{66}\) From the 1980s, however, the centrality of image content began to be displaced. In the introduction to his 1989 book, *Reading American Photographs*, Alan Trachtenberg declares: ‘the historical value of photographs includes depiction but goes beyond it.’\(^{67}\)

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\(^{66}\) See, for example, Newhall, *The History of Photography*; Cato, *The Story of the Camera in Australia*; Jones, *J. W. Lindt*; Main and Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present*.

The analysis in the chapters that follow owes much to the work of Elizabeth Edwards. By applying a strategy she calls ‘thinking materially’, Edwards has found that ‘meaning does not reside only in the mutable semiotic structure of images, but in their material forms and in the social function and sensory apprehension of those material forms’. The three-dimensionality of the photo-object is given precedence over image-content in her work. Alongside Edwards, several of the scholars working on Pacific photography mentioned above have also approached photographs with their materiality in mind. Notably, Gardner and Philp, and Geismar and Herle, have placed increased emphasis on the many ways in which photographs were used in cross-cultural encounters, and the texts that were placed alongside or overlaid the images once they travelled out from the points of their production into the public domain in Europe, Australia, and elsewhere in the world.

Martha Sandweiss, in her investigation of how historical photographs can be used to understand the past, argues for the importance of art historical approaches that pay greater attention to the physical form of the photograph: ‘The physical form of the photographic image, prescribed by prevailing technology, determines what can be photographed, how it can be displayed or published, how it can be encountered by others, how it can circulate through public culture’. While historians have traditionally relied on the textual archive, using images merely as illustrations for their narratives, photographs are also primary documents that, as Sandweiss observes, ‘can be encountered both in history and through history’. Understanding a photograph in history requires consideration of the specific historical, cultural, social, and economic circumstances that enabled its production. Once reinserted into this context, the photograph becomes more than a visual record of material fact. It becomes a tool for understanding larger issues about economic ambition and patronage, about the role of the photographs as purveyors of information and creators of myth, about the complicated interplay between photographers and their audiences.

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69 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
While image content certainly informs the meaning of the image and its uses, focusing on the physical form of the photograph allows for a more nuanced reading of the object and the manner in which it conveyed its meaning. For instance, in the context of the late nineteenth century, the medium of the paper print meant that text began to play a more significant role in determining the meaning of images. Earlier photographic technologies such as the daguerreotype and tintype did not allow for text to be so easily incorporated, and once the move to paper had been made, photographers, editors, and publishers, were quick to capitalise on the opportunity to guide the viewers’ reading of the image.

From the moment I encountered Lawes’s and Lindt’s New Guinea photographs in the archives the importance of their material form and presentation in determining their uses and meanings was clear. Lindt’s presentation of his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series, including the numbering and captioning of all 124 of the predominantly half-plate prints as well as his strategically chosen title for the series, which appeared on the cover of the official albums he sold through his studio in Melbourne, stood in contrast to Lawes’s photographs (see Appendix 3). Lindt ensured that the artistic value of his photographs was maintained alongside their usefulness to anthropologists and colonial administrators in his careful composition and expert printing of the negatives he made – these were art works as well as scientific documents. While several of the subjects chosen by Lindt were also photographed by Lawes, Lindt’s visual conception of the land and its people was influenced by his photographic talent as well as his keen business sense. Lindt presented his series of New Guinea photographs in five albums, no doubt to encourage the sale of multiple prints, and he also enlarged seven of the images from the series to display in his studio window, at colonial exhibitions in Melbourne and London, and in photographic society halls in Europe. By taking into account the material nature of the photo-objects that Lindt created – the choice of format and presentation as well as the various texts that frame and overlay the prints – it becomes clear that artistic, commercial, and scientific ambitions converge in his New Guinea work.

Many of Lawes’s negatives show some skill in composition and several also acquired photo numbers and captions once they were deposited in Henry King’s

73 Ibid., 8–9.
studio in Sydney. Yet the missionary’s oeuvre, which was produced over a longer period of time, betrays a more fractured view of New Guinea as a result of the demands of his mission work and his lack of professional photographic training. The biographies of the two men also shape the analysis of their photographic work in this thesis, as their backgrounds and motivations for travelling to New Guinea undoubtedly influenced their different approaches to photographing the region.

While attention is paid to the life trajectories of Lawes and Lindt, I do not propose that their biographies alone determined the pictures they took. Rather, as mentioned above, several influences – personal, professional, scientific, and ideological – converged at the moment of the images’ production and during their subsequent dissemination. Further, by extending the emphasis on materiality to the photographic encounter itself and considering ‘the material practices of photography’, the agency of the photographs’ subjects can begin to be added to the historical record of this particular meeting of cultures. As Lydon has found in her work on the photographs taken at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station in Victoria, Australia, ‘a closer look at the production and consumption of the photographic images … reveals a dynamic and performative relationship between photographer and Aboriginal subject.’

Though it was a tool wielded predominantly by Europeans, the camera opened a space in which indigenous peoples were active agents in cross-cultural encounters in the colonial era. Photography was more than a representational technology that simply mirrored the truth, as claimed by its early proponents, or an ideological weapon tied to the power of the state, as argued in the Foucauldian strain of photography theory. While historians have relied on photographs as illustrations and, since the ‘visual turn’ in the humanities, have used them as access points to the past, helping us to understand Europeans’ perceptions of places and people, what of

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75 Lydon, *Eye Contact*, xiii.
the photographic encounter itself? As Christopher Pinney notes, ‘under the influence of theorists such as [Susan] Sontag and John Tagg, much writing on photography has – in its concern with the ideological effects of picture taking – lost sight of the dialogic space that frequently emerges during the process of picture making’.77 Indeed, it must be remembered that photography in the late nineteenth century was not the quick-fire and often casual pastime it is today, but rather ‘for its first fifty years … photography remained an inherently collaborative medium’. 78 The technological as well as the social aspects of photography are therefore also considered in this thesis in order to better understand the impact of the camera in encounters in New Guinea.

Chapter structure
The chapters in this thesis trace the early photographic representation of southeast New Guinea from its pre-photographic foundations, through Lawes’s and Lindt’s motivations for travelling to the region and documenting it with their cameras, before examining in detail the on-the-ground production of the two men’s photographs and their subsequent dissemination, primarily in Australia. Aside from Quanchi’s book, studies of New Guinea photographs have tended to focus on one photographer or one genre, such as missionary or expedition photography. 79

Photographs of New Guinea were employed to quite different ends in Noel Gash and June Whittaker’s educational sourcebook created on the occasion of New Guinea’s independence. However, the photographs themselves were not the focus and were

instead used as illustrations and evidence to accompany a history of New Guinea gleaned from official documents.  

In this thesis I extend the analysis of early New Guinea photographs to incorporate an overview of the painterly and graphic representations of the region that contribute to the visual strata from which Lawes and Lindt and other photographers drew. Unlike the strata of geological studies, the strata I examine are not the result of a natural process unfolding over several millennia. Instead, they are the outcome of successive developments in technology, the arts, and science from the fifteenth century onwards that made possible the vast expansion of European empires and the rapid accumulation and circulation of knowledge about the newly acquired territories. Though photography’s impact on western culture was dramatic, especially following the invention of the glass plate process that allowed more people to pick up the new medium, pre-existing tropes and visions of the Pacific and other ‘unknown’ or newly ‘discovered’ places shaped the photographic practice of the first men to approach New Guinea with cameras.

The emphasis in Chapter Two is therefore on establishing the artistic and literary underpinnings of late nineteenth century photographic representations of southeast New Guinea. The discussion ranges from European visualisations of ‘new’ or ‘unknown’ territories more generally, to the artistic productions of the HMS Rattlesnake voyage to the region (1846–50). The sketches and paintings executed by several members of the surveying expedition to Australia, the Louisiade Archipelago, and New Guinea constitute the visual stratum closest to that of the ‘photographic age’. Even if Lawes and Lindt did not see the drawings and paintings from the expedition at the time, by examining these representations we can begin to gain a sense of the place of New Guinea in European imaginings in the period or stratum immediately before Lawes and Lindt photographed this land and its people.

Chapter Three introduces Lawes and Lindt in more depth. The two men’s motivations for travelling to the region, their backgrounds or biographies, and the cultural baggage they took with them, such as their preconceived notions of human difference and ‘exotic’ places, shaped the encounters they had on New Guinea soil and also the photographs they took there. Attempting to excavate photographers’ intentions behind certain images can be problematic. As Sandweiss cautions, ‘The

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photographer’s understanding of his own pictures does not necessarily remain fixed’, however,
the historian must be mindful of photographic intent, not because it provides the *only* way of interpreting an image, but because it provides one possible starting point for a more complicated reading of a picture. The photographer’s intent may be fickle, unknowable, beyond the powers of the historian to ascertain … But to the extent that every photograph represents a point of view, in the literal as well as the interpretive sense, it is always worth inquiring what it is.  

But it was not only the Europeans’ visions that were projected onto the glass plate negatives they made. The actions and input of the local Papuans during the meetings that took place in southeast New Guinea also determined the final image committed to the negative.

The material traces of encounters between Europeans and Papuans is the focus of my fourth chapter in which I draw extensively on Edwards’s work on the materiality of photographs and the physicality of photographic encounters. I closely examine the production of Lawes’s and Lindt’s photographs, focussing on photography as both a technological and social process and on the circumstances surrounding the encounters in New Guinea as well as the photographic encounters themselves. This is done through a close reading of Lawes’s and Lindt’s images as well as the texts they wrote – for Lindt, these texts include his studio catalogues and the book of his travels, *Picturesque New Guinea*, while for Lawes the letters and journal entries he wrote for the LMS are examined alongside his photographs. By extending the analysis of these particular encounters beyond the seconds it took to expose the glass plate negatives the dialogic space that existed becomes apparent. As Felix Driver argues, the production of visual representations of people and places such as these must be understood as the outcome of ‘transactions rather than projections’.  

Finally, the trajectories of Lawes’s and Lindt’s photographs are tracked out from the sites of their production in New Guinea to their various framings and sites of display in the West. As Sandweiss argues, ‘It is critical to retain a sense of the

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photograph as a time-bound physical object, produced by a particular technology and circulated in a particular way’. Chapter Five focuses on Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series, beginning with a close examination of the photo-objects themselves and the technological and artistic choices made by Lindt in the printing of the negatives in his studio in Melbourne. As well as format, size, and printing method, my concern is with the texts that Lindt deployed in the marketing and display of his photographic series. In particular, I analyse the use of the word ‘Picturesque’ in the title of Lindt’s series and his book. I argue that this was a conscious referencing and linking of his images to the various Picturesque atlases published in North America and Australia in the 1870s and 1880s that were produced in order to celebrate the colonies’ national identity. In the context of the recent proclamation of southeast New Guinea as a protectorate of the British Empire, and the Australian colonies’ role in administering the territory, Lindt seized the opportunity in 1885/1886 to tap into the nascent nationalism of the time in order to advertise his series and ensure its lasting success. That he was successful in this venture is attested to by the fact that his series and book greatly surpassed in recognition and distribution the official set of proclamation prints made by Augustine Dyer in 1884, only two of which became popular with newspaper editors and authors. I also place Lindt’s New Guinea photographs in the context of his other Pacific Island series, ‘Picturesque New Hebrides’ and ‘Picturesque Fiji’, and his photographic oeuvre as a whole in order to ascertain their significance in his photographic practice.

Chapter Six turns the focus to Lawes’s photographic prints and the ways in which they were presented, displayed, and packaged in Australia and beyond. Unlike Lindt’s New Guinea photographs, the textual framing and dissemination of which was tightly controlled by the professional photographer, Lawes’s New Guinea images entered the public domain via often more circuitous routes. Arguably their most important textual framing occurred in Henry King’s photographic studio in Sydney, where they were given numbers and captions and placed under the headings ‘General’, ‘Missionary’, and ‘Anthropological’ in a catalogue list printed sometime after 1890. Individual images as well as sets were then purchased from King’s studio by the LMS and anthropologists and others, and were deployed towards ends...

84 The two images chosen most frequently for reproduction were the flag-hoisting and a portrait of Koloka, a prominent female leader of one of the tribes in the Gulf region (Quanchi, Photographing Papua, 136).
perhaps not initially intended by the missionary. The same might be said for several of Lindt’s New Guinea photographs but Lawes ultimately had less control over the dissemination of the vast majority of his photographs once King acquired his negatives.

Approaching Lawes’s photographic oeuvre has been somewhat more complicated than analysing Lindt’s as there is still some doubt as to which of the images marketed by King are, in fact, by Lawes. While the majority are almost certainly by Lawes, several of the photographs I have been able to identify from King’s list may be by other photographers, including George Brown and at least one may by Lindt. It was common practice for photographs to be exchanged and adopted for various ends, sometimes far removed from their original contexts and, unlike Lindt, Lawes was not concerned with asserting artistic ownership of the images he produced. A large component of my engagement with Lawes’s photographs has therefore been in the process of identifying his work in the archives I have visited in Australia, New Zealand, the UK, Germany, and in Switzerland. The result of this detective work is a database of Lawes’s photographs (Appendix 2), which I hope will assist any future research on this pioneering missionary’s representations of New Guinea.

What follows is an account of the entire structure of the early visualisation of southeast New Guinea – from precedents, to the making of the earliest photographs, and, finally, their dissemination in the late nineteenth century. I analyse the importance of the camera in this process and the prominence of Lawes and Lindt in influencing subsequent representations. This is a history of photography, as it played out on a new frontier for Europeans; it is not a history of New Guinea. And while I supplied copies of photographs to Jude Philp and Elena Govor who took them back to the villages in which they were taken during their fieldwork in Papua New Guinea in 2014, I did not set out to write an ethnography of repatriation. This is work that remains for future scholars of the New Guinea photographs of Lawes and Lindt.85

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CHAPTER TWO

New Guinea before the lens: European imaginings and images

And children learned a land shaped like a bird,
Impenetrable black. Here savages
Made shrunken heads of corpses, poison darts
Pricked sudden death, no man had crossed their hills.

It fell from Asia, severed from the East;
It was the last Unknown. Only the fringe
Was nervous to the touch of voyagers.
Business and boys looked close and would have come.¹

– Karl Shapiro, ‘New Guinea’ (c.1944)

When William G. Lawes and John W. Lindt arrived in New Guinea in 1874 and 1885 respectively, they came with certain preconceptions about what they would encounter. While these preconceived ideas and images were challenged to varying degrees during the two men’s time in southeast New Guinea, they powerfully shaped their initial encounters and visual framings. This chapter examines early European encounters with and representations of ‘newly discovered’ territories. These early, often imaginative encounters mediated the subsequent physical ‘brush of bodies’ on New Guinea’s shores.² During the golden age of European exploration (from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries), as ever more countries and peoples were sketchily described on maps and in the narratives and reports of the expeditions, imperial ambitions and desire for adventure, profit, and knowledge inspired a succession of explorers, privateers, and scientists to sail to the ‘fifth part of the world’ where the chance of new ‘discoveries’ was still high. Captain James Cook’s second Pacific voyage (1772–5) disproved once and for all the existence of a vast southern continent, but there was still much to find and map in this region of the world. Australia began to take shape on maps over the course of the eighteenth century and fiction slowly gave way to fact in the rendering of its landscapes and peoples. The

tropes for representing the ‘unknown’ Antipodes were therefore gradually transposed onto the large bird-shaped island that lay to Australia’s north. But New Guinea proved particularly resistant to European attempts to map it, and thereby ‘know’ it. The island’s seemingly impenetrable interior thus provided a tantalizing canvas on which to ‘paint’ fantastical creations, such as Captain J. A. Lawson’s ten thousand feet high mountain, huge apes, gigantic trees, and large striped tigers. Exaggeration played a central role in the European imagination when it came to the ‘unknown’ and it was not only gigantic creatures and plants that were posited as inhabiting the interior of New Guinea but also little people. Rumours of ‘pygmies’ in New Guinea were inspired by Malay accounts of the region recorded by Antonio Pigafetta, the chronicler of Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan, and, as Bronwen Douglas notes, are ‘early maker[s] of the infiltration of a metropolitan discourse by local knowledge from the fifth part of the world."

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to track and describe all or even the majority of early imaginings of New Guinea. Therefore, after a brief overview of a selection of European representations of ‘new’ territories encountered throughout the age of empire and the early naming and mapping of New Guinea, I turn in some detail to representations of the island in the period immediately prior to the arrival of Lawes and Lindt. In particular, my focus in this chapter is on the visual productions relating to the New Guinea leg of HMS Rattlesnake’s voyage to Australia, the Louisiade Archipelago, and New Guinea (1846–50). Though the expedition’s overly cautious leader, Captain Owen Stanley, hindered any intense engagement between the crew and the New Guinea mainland and its people, the visual record produced by him, the assistant naturalist Thomas Huxley, and the marine artist Oswald Brierly nevertheless presents detailed scientific and artistic studies of the island and its people. The production of these early images of New Guinea is closely examined in this chapter, as they contribute substantially to the pre-photographic visual stratum

from which Lawes and Lindt later drew in their photographic representations of the land and its people.

**European imaginings and images of the ‘unknown’**

From the fifteenth century successive voyages of discovery, trade, and colonisation departed European ports for the ‘unknown’ regions of the globe. The ‘discovery of America’ by Christopher Columbus in 1492, when he finally made landfall on Guanahani in the Bahamas, stands, as Peter Hulme argues, as ‘the first of the great “discoveries” that form the cornerstones of the conventional narrative of European history’.  

From this point on, America was the ‘New World’ and the European imagination became captivated by tales of gold, cannibals, and ‘savagery’. Columbus’s ‘discovery’ also marked the beginning of the European exploration and colonisation of America, and thus the intensive encounter between white Europeans and the indigenous peoples of the Americas.

However, many of the accounts of these early encounters were filtered through European preconceptions about distant lands and foreign peoples. The imagery in Columbus’s *Journal* reveals the influence of earlier travel accounts and, in particular, the tales of the Orient penned by Marco Polo, as well as Classical Greek texts on the savages and ‘barbarians’ outside Greece’s borders. Columbus initially believed he had reached Asia, and his early writings in the *Journal* reveal these ‘“Oriental” expectations’ in the repeated mentioning of the Grand Khan, his courts, and ships. Hulme investigates this aspect of the Columbus narrative and further carries the analysis across a series of narratives of the ‘first encounter’ between Europeans and native Caribbeans to reveal the centrality in the texts of colonial anxiety about ‘the relationship between European, native and land’. In Hulme’s analysis, the ‘deployment of the language of “savagery”’ and, in particular, the emphasis on the practice of cannibalism, ‘was honed into the sharpest instrument of empire’. Such studies of the discursive practices of colonial discourse, in which the emphasis is placed on certain ‘assumptions, methods of procedure and analysis,

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7 Ibid., 21.
8 Ibid., 26.
9 Ibid., 1.
10 Ibid., 3.
and kinds of writing and imagery’, have influenced my approach to the early visualisation of New Guinea as they foreground the constructed nature of the non-European world for European audiences in the early contact period.\(^\text{11}\) As Hulme writes, ‘large parts of the non-European world were \textit{produced} for Europe’.\(^\text{12}\) So too in John White’s sketches of the Roanoke Indians, their ‘usefulness and industry’ was accentuated by the inclusion of local materials and resources – such as fur, leather, copper, wood, shell – and their military capacity was only ever hinted at in sketches of palisades and weapons.\(^\text{13}\) The message early colonists such as White wanted to convey to audiences back in Europe was one of a land of plenty, populated by friendly ‘natives.’

Stylistic conventions and ‘editorial strategy’ also mediated the views of distant lands that European audiences were introduced to in travel and exploration accounts.\(^\text{14}\) Willem Cornelisz Schouten’s illustrated report of the \textit{Eendracht}’s voyage from the Dutch Republic through the South Pacific, en route to Asia, in 1614–7 was the first to introduce the South Pacific ‘to large numbers of European readers’.\(^\text{15}\) However, when the text was reissued by Johan Theodore de Bry, a copper engraver and publisher from Oppenheim on the Rhine, and his father and brother in 1619, in Volume XI of the \textit{America} series, (part of the de Bry family’s popular collection of illustrated voyages published from 1590 onwards in German and Latin), the accompanying engravings ‘were composed within the stylistic conventions prevailing at the time, as the European readership would expect’.\(^\text{16}\) Three extra

\(^{11}\) See also Stephen Greenblatt and Mary Louise Pratt for studies of textual representations of encounter. Greenblatt unpacks travel narratives as well as judicial and official reports of the early encounters in America from the Middle Ages and the Early modern period, focusing in particular on the experience of the marvellous and its significance in the appropriation of colonial possessions. Pratt’s study investigates travel writing from a number of colonized regions and addresses how the periphery shaped the imperial ‘centre’ by applying the theory of transculturation (Stephen Greenblatt, \textit{Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Mary Louise Pratt, \textit{Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation}, second edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2008)). Lacking in these studies, as Bronwen Douglas notes, is a more thorough consideration of ‘praxis’ or the importance of experience and indigenous agency in shaping the texts produced by colonial agents (see Douglas, ‘Introduction’ to \textit{Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511–1850} (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 28).

\(^{12}\) Hulme, \textit{Colonial Encounters}, 2.

\(^{13}\) John White accompanied five voyages to America from 1584 until 1590, most under the patronage of Sir Walter Raleigh to ‘Virginia’ (now part of North Carolina). Kim Sloan, \textit{A New World: England’s First View of America} (London: The British Museum Press, 2007), 11, 57, 61.


\(^{15}\) Ibid., 78.

\(^{16}\) Ibid., 79.
engravings were added that did not appear in Schouten’s original published manuscript and these present, as Michiel Van Groesen observes, ‘an entirely different view of the Southern Pacific from that of the original iconography’. In the illustration captioned ‘Island of Flies’, Theodore de Bry combined two episodes from Schouten’s account: one in which a swarm of flies covered the crew for days as they sailed by the islands of the Tuamotu archipelago and another incident in which the ship’s crew saved a group of ‘natives’ who had fallen into the sea from their canoes out of fear of the Dutchmen’s firearms. This second event almost certainly occurred a month after the encounter with the flies and near an island that is now part of the Tongan archipelago. As Van Groesen notes, the conflation of these two episodes meant that ‘readers of the De Bry volume were left with the impression that the Tuamotu and Tonga archipelagos, and their respective inhabitants, were to a certain extent interchangeable’. The prominence of the flies in the de Bry engraving also catered to the desire for the exotic that was central to European imaginings of the South Pacific.

In the engravings produced by Theodore de Bry there is a clear intention to elicit ‘amazement and disgust’ and also to stress European dominance over the ‘natives’. For example, in the engraving of the dancing girls on Futuna ‘the uncontrolled movements of the Futunan girls disclosed the same lack of restraint of Europe’s “vulgar” peasantry, and the composition would appear over and over again in subsequent iconographic representations of non-Europeans’ (fig. 2.1). The inclusion of the two Dutch soldiers in the left foreground of the composition further underlines the contrast between the Europeans and the ‘natives’, especially when contrasted to the figure of the Polynesian chief who sits in an ‘ungainly’ fashion, by European standards.

Theodore de Bry’s engravings of episodes from Schouten’s account constructed a view of the South Pacific for audiences which foregrounded pre-existing prejudices. The uncivilised nature of Polynesians was given special emphasis and portraying the exotic, disgusting, and amazing took precedence over geographic or chronological accuracy. Schouten’s, and thereby De Bry’s, narrative ‘was considered the most reliable report on the Southern Pacific circulating in

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17 Ibid., 80.
18 Ibid., 80, 81.
19 Ibid., 85–86.
Europe’ at least until the 1640s – the time of Abel Tasman’s expeditions to the region – and, as such, had a significant impact ‘on Europe’s iconography of the overseas world’. Such exoticised translations were not the only representations of the Pacific available to European audiences at the time who could still access the far less fanciful illustrations in Schouten’s original narrative of the Eendracht’s voyage and, later in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the English privateer William Dampier’s empirical voyage narratives from his circumnavigations of the globe. Crucially, however, these texts and engravings still presented only the coastal regions to audiences – the interiors of most of the Pacific islands visited by these voyagers remained a blank canvas.

Tropical regions, such as Central and South America, Africa, and the South Pacific in particular captured the European imagination in the age of exploration, as these areas of the globe provided the starkest contrast to temperate Europe. As Felix Driver and Luciana Martins note,

The contrast between the temperate and the tropical is one of the most enduring themes in the history of global imaginings. Whether represented positively (as in fantasies of the tropical sublime) or negatively (as a pathological space of degeneration), tropicality has frequently served as a foil to temperate nature, to all that is modest, civilised, cultivated.21

The African continent, in particular, provided a ready field for Western fantasies about non-European peoples. In the case of pre-nineteenth-century Africa, as Paul S. Landau writes, ‘an “image-Africa,” paralleling Edward Said’s discursive “Orient” [was] constructed by European travellers … Its accretion of images and figments and blanks either followed the contours of the familiar or detoured into obscenity, exoticism, and incomprehension’.22 Here witchery and fetishism and tales of ‘noble savages’ and the ‘Mountains of the Moon’ were circulated in ‘reports, glimpses, and rumours’ to small audiences in Europe.23 The image of the Pygmy became a prominent fixture before exploration of Africa’s interior had begun, and ‘has its

20 Ibid., 87.
23 Ibid.
origins in classical Greek and medieval European legend’. 24 Chris Ballard notes how, in direct contrast to the gigantic which was evoked in images of vast mountain ranges and great lakes, the miniature was mobilised in myths of Central Africa as it combined ‘the qualities of darkness, interiority and primordiality’. 25 Pygmies’ stature and other physical markers, such as ‘woolly’ and black hair, black or dark skin, and a sunken or flat broad nose, were repeated from one exploration text to the next; though, as Ballard notes, there was considerable ambiguity in the definition of Pygmy stature with heights ranging from five feet four inches to less than four feet. 26

European exploration of the interior of Africa did not begin until the 1850s. Until this point, as mentioned above, ‘it provided a kind of tabula rasa for the European imagination and representation, a place of many fantastic stories and beliefs whose appearance, however, had not yet been tightly fixed’. 27 As the Age of Exploration progressed and European interest shifted from exploration to possession, ever more negative images of Africa and Africans were produced. Stereotypes of the ‘savage, primitive, childlike, apelike, lazy, exotic, sexually attractive or deviant’ black African were widely produced and disseminated in order to ‘endorse various Western activities on the continent’. 28 Lucy Jarosz observes that the dualities light/dark, lost/found, life/death, and civilised/savage, ‘construct, legitimate and represent hegemonic relations of domination between the colonizer and the colonized’. 29 At the height of the slave trade the mythical and exotic view of Africa was challenged as Europeans increasingly encountered people who had been previously featured only as projections of their own desires and social values. ‘Dark’ and ‘Darkest’ Africa became the image most commonly expounded upon. The continent and, in particular, its interior became ‘utterly savage, unenlightened and threatening’, a view that eventually found its fulcrum, as Leila Koivunen argues, in Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness (1899). 30 These images of ‘otherness’ were deployed as markers against which Europeans could observe and strengthen their own identities. By stressing the negative aspects of Africans, Europeans distanced...
themselves from the unfamiliar, the ‘savage’, the threatening.31 This distancing, as Landau notes, led to ‘a science of bodies and races … and became a sourcebook of biological arguments for African inferiority. The “amazing distance” became a chronological gulf: Africans lived in a past era, which had accidentally been mislaid in the present.’32

The age of exploration of Africa’s interior also coincided with advances in printing technology that allowed for the ‘low-cost, high-speed dissemination of printed matter’, which meant that the small audience of educated elite who had access to earlier literary and artistic imaginings of Africa and other newly ‘discovered’ regions was now a mass audience.33 Explorers’ accounts, missionaries’ published material, travellers’ tales of hunting expeditions and adventure were all aimed at the growing middle classes who eagerly consumed these texts: 70,000 copies of David Livingstone’s _Missionary Travels and Adventures_ were sold in 1857, and Henry Morton Stanley’s 1890 edition of _In Darkest Africa_ sold 150,000 copies.34 The first volume of Stanley’s narrative of his mission to Central Africa to rescue a German colonial governor contains ‘two steel engravings, and one hundred and fifty illustrations and maps’,35 and the second volume also boasted ‘One hundred and fifty woodcut illustrations and maps’.36 Amongst these are portraits of the expedition party, the German governor, as well as sultans, chiefs, and other prominent indigenous personalities encountered on their travels. There are also illustrations of the Europeans’ ship and weapons, the indigenous material culture, views of scenery and villages, and episodes from the expedition’s travels, such as the scene of porters and horses crossing a stream near Yambuya and the stand-off between the Europeans and the Mazamboni people.37 ‘Dwarfs’ or Pygmies also make an appearance in Stanley’s two volumes. ‘The Queen of the Dwarfs’, who was captured by members of the expedition party near West Ibwiri, appears in volume

31 Ibid.
33 The art historian William M. Ivins estimated that ‘the number of printed pictures produced during the nineteenth century was considerably greater than the total number of printed pictures produced in the preceding centuries’ (Koivunen, Visualizing Africa, 3).
36 Stanley, _In Darkest Africa_, vol. 2 (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1890), title page.
one while a full-figure portrait of a ‘Dwarf captive at Avitako’ is reproduced alongside a passage in which Stanley writes in excited tone of his encounter with a representative of ‘the oldest types of primeval man’ in volume two (fig. 2.2). Alterity and otherness, in particular, were emphasised and this was translated into graphic form for the armchair traveller in such images as the African Pygmy.

The production of America, Africa, and other new territories for European audiences was not a one-sided affair, however, as encounters with local populations in the colonies left traces in the writings and sketches that were produced of these ‘new’ lands and people. As Douglas notes: ‘Both positive and negative representations of indigenous people took initial shape on the ground, in particular equations of discourse, authorship and located encounter which saw voyagers’ words and pictures colonised by countersigns of indigenous agency – their demeanour, actions and desires’. The nature of the encounter determined the style of portrayal, as, for example, in the case of the encounter between the Admiralty Islanders and various members of Joseph Antoine Bruni d’Entrecasteaux’s crew in the late eighteenth century. Despite stories of the treacherous nature of the Islanders recounted by earlier voyagers to the region, Bruni d’Entrecasteaux was ‘impressed by the behaviour of the men’ who came out to the boats to trade weapons, ornaments, food, and other items for ‘nails, axes or “bits of iron”’. The general ‘relief at indigenous conduct or demeanour’, as Douglas argues, contributed to ‘positive depictions not only of the character of local people but also of their physical appearance’. In contrast, where the European voyagers encountered practices and behaviour that they classed as abhorrent or ‘ferocious’, the textual and visual portraits of the indigenous islanders they produced were far less flattering and more confrontational.

Empirical observation of nature was a key component of voyages of discovery from the fifteenth century. However, these observations were seldom effectively transferred into the medium of art during the early voyages. As

40 Ibid., 178.
41 Ibid., 179.
42 See, for example, the engraving done after Piron’s drawing of a ‘Savage of New Caledonia’ (Douglas, ‘In the Event’, 188–189).
Alexander von Humboldt notes in his essay on landscape painting in Volume II of *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe* (1846–7), ‘These noble regions have hitherto been visited mostly by travellers, whose want of artistical education, and whose differently directed scientific pursuits, afforded few opportunities of their perfecting themselves in landscape painting’. In his seminal work on the art of Cook’s voyages to the Pacific, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, Bernard Smith acknowledges Humboldt’s influence on later travellers to the region as well as learned men in Europe, such as the art critic and philanthropist John Ruskin. The key contribution of Smith’s book, however, is his argument regarding the symbiosis of art and science as a result of Cook’s voyages to the Pacific, in particular due to the efforts of Joseph Banks, the naturalist aboard the *Endeavour*. On this voyage, for the first time in the history of voyages of discovery, trained scientific observers and professional artists were employed to aid in the accurate observation and representation of new discoveries in the fields of botany, geology, zoology, and in the emerging field of ethnology. It was no longer deemed sufficient to rely on the sketching abilities of seamen and, as Smith expertly shows, this close working relationship between trained draughtsmen and scientists on Cook’s voyages contributed to the formulation and representation of a new type of landscape – the typical landscape. There was a shift away from the neo-classical and picturesque in the landscape painting of the voyages due to the combined effects of the sciences of botany, geology, and ethnology in which close observation and attention to detail were paramount. Artists such as William Hodges now sought to depict landscapes whose component parts ‘express the essential qualities of a particular type of geographical environment’. It was this feature of Hodges’s work that most impressed Humboldt and bolstered his assertion that the world was made up of distinctive climatic zones, the most fecund and vital of which was to be found in the tropics. As a result of Cook’s voyages and Humboldt’s theory the tasks of delineating and representing in art the distinctive natural physiognomy of the Pacific

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45 Ibid., 2.
46 Ibid., 199.
became a key concern for scientists and artists aboard the voyages of discovery of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century.  

New Guinea: Early imaginings and images

Though New Guinea featured variously in early Iberian imaginings and fleeting experience, in Dutch voyagers’ reports, the eighteenth-century voyage compendia of Alexander Dalrymple and Charles de Brosses, and subsequently loomed large in the instructions and activities of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century voyagers, it was not richly imaged until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Experiences of New Guinea’s coastlines were fleeting until the mid-nineteenth century, which might be attributed to the reefs, shoals, and bad weather that often prevented safe anchorages but, in the British case, was also likely due to the fraught and brief encounter that Cook had with its inhabitants on his visit to the island in 1770. On landing on a beach in south-western New Guinea, Cook and his crew were fired upon by a group of ‘natives’ and decided to continue their observations from the safety of the Endeavour. Not much was written of the Papuans in the crew’s accounts, aside from noting the supposed resemblance to the New Hollanders and a cursory remark regarding their darts and use of lime powder. As Ballard notes in relation to the development of ‘an Anglophone anthropology of Papuans’, the ‘relative absence of references to New Guinea in the literature of the Cook voyages’ meant it also did not become fixed in British imaginings as a site for fantasies of the exotic or as a

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48 Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, 203.
49 Chris Ballard, ‘Explorers & Co. in Interior New Guinea, 1872–1928’, Brokers and Boundaries: Colonial Exploration in Indigenous Territory, eds. Tiffany Shellam, Maria Nugent, Shino Konishi and Allison Cadzow (Canberra: ANU Press, 2016), 185. Dumont d’Urville’s instructions envisaged a very thorough coastal exploration, and while his survey of the north coast was very detailed he only landed in the far west. (Alexander Dalrymple, An Account of the Discoveries Made in The South Pacifick Ocean, Previous to 1764 (London, 1767); de Brosses’s two-volume Histoire contains Dutch and Spanish voyage accounts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Charles de Brosses, Histoire de Navigation aux Terres Australes (1756)).
50 An earlier, equally fraught encounter occurred at Dootslagers Rivier (Murderers’ River) on the southwest coast of New Guinea in 1623, when the captain of the Arnhem and nine crew members were killed by Papuans. However, Cook’s ‘non-encounter’ was better known (see William Eisler, The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 74–75).
destination for thorough exploration. Cook did not celebrate New Guinea, as he did other Pacific islands, and the only encounter he had while on the island involved violence.

The earliest surviving visual representations of Papuans are three drawings executed or inspired by Diego de Prado y Tovar following the Spanish voyage in 1606 from Espiritu Santo (Vanuatu), to Manila via the south coast of New Guinea and what was later named Torres Strait, under the command of Luís Vaez de Torres (see, for example, fig. 2.3). However, Prado’s drawings were not published or known to scholars until 1907 as a result of ‘obsessive’ Spanish official secrecy. In around 1705 the Dutch artist Cornelis de Bruijn made a drawing of a Papuan man brought to Java in the Dutch East Indies by Jacob Weyland who had led an expedition to New Guinea aboard the Geelvinck. An engraving after the drawing appears in Bruijn’s Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indië (1711), in which de Bruijn also describes the subject of his drawing (fig. 2.4). Several detailed studies of Admiralty Islanders were produced by Piron, the artist aboard d’Entrecasteaux’s voyage to Oceania (1791–4), which were subsequently translated to the medium of engraving by Jacques-Louis Copia. And in the early nineteenth century, Jacques Arago made a number of sketches of canoes and Papuans in Waigeo in 1818, during the Uranie’s voyage of circumnavigation under the command of the French navigator Louis de Freycinet (1817–20). Further French visits to Waigeo, Dorey Bay, and Triton Bay, all in far western New Guinea, between 1823 and 1839 produced a rich, if spatially limited body of visual representations and an anthropological study of ‘the physical constitution of the Papous’. However, no

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52 Ibid.
54 See the English translation, Cornelis de Bruyn, Travels into Muscovy, Persia, and Part of the East-Indies, vol. 2 (London, 1737), 90–1.
56 Arago’s popular illustrated 1822 narrative was translated into English in 1823 (Arago, Narrative of a Voyage Round the World (London: Treuttel and Wurtz, 1823).
systematic, sustained studies of the land and its inhabitants were made until the 1870s.

The Spaniard Iñigo Ortiz de Retes named the island ‘New Guinea’ in 1545. The name was chosen due to the resemblance in either the people who were sighted by the Spanish voyager – their skin colour and hair appearing similar to that of the African people encountered by the Spanish – or the coastlines, which brought to mind those of African Guinea. 58 In general, as Ballard notes, ‘much of the ethnographic imaginary deployed by British and Australian explorers and colonial officials in New Guinea drew its inspiration from the classic narratives and popular imagery of African exploration’. 59 Thus New Guinea was referred to and represented similarly as ‘unknown’, ‘exotic’, and ‘dark’, and its inhabitants were described as ‘Oceanic Negroes’. 60 As noted above, the very name of the island derives from the perceived similarities to African Guinea as recorded by the early Spanish voyagers to the Pacific. Such transpositions or projections of European imaginings or experience onto places yet unknown meant that many of the early representations of New Guinea and its people, both in text and in pictorial art, resemble the ‘Africa’ that was being portrayed for audiences back in Europe.

New Guinea attracted other names as well, inspired by the supposed appearance of its inhabitants. Andrea Corsali, an Italian merchant explorer in the service of the powerful Medici family who sailed to the Indian Ocean aboard a Portuguese vessel in the early sixteenth century, referred to the island as terra de Piccinacoli (‘Land of the little people’) based on the reports of Portuguese and Malukans who had purportedly seen the inhabitants. 61 The western part of the island, and eventually the whole of the island, came to be known to the Portuguese, Spanish,

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59 Ballard, ‘Collecting Pygmies’, 129.
60 Chris Ballard, ‘The Visual Exploration of New Guinea’, in Race to the Snow: Photography and the Exploration of Dutch New Guinea, 1907–1936, eds. Chris Ballard, Steven Vink, and Anton Ploeg (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, KIT Publishers, 2001), 7. Ballard notes that the English privateer William Dampier and the French explorer Louis-Antoine de Bougainville were ‘amongst the many for whom the inhabitants of New Guinea and nearby islands were “Negroes”’ and that ‘from the time of Dampier’s encounters with the inhabitants of New Guinea and the Bismark Archipelago in 1700, Papuans were described simply and almost universally as “black”’ (see Ballard, “Oceanic Negroes”, 162–163).
and Dutch as the Papuan Islands or the land of the Papuas. In his treatise on early voyages of discovery the Portuguese soldier and administrator in the Moluccas (Maluku) in the late 1530s, Antonio Galvao, reported that the name das Papuas was given to the islands lying to the east of Maluku by the Malukans as the people there were ‘black with frizzled hair’. Both these names were subsequently recorded on maps that were made of the region.

The early maps of New Guinea and the surrounding ocean and islands are interesting historical documents, not only for their portrayal of contemporary cartographic knowledge of this region of the world but also for their artistic representations of the Pacific and its inhabitants. Until Cook’s Endeavour voyage, the maps of the region either sketchily outlined the discovered sections of New Guinea’s coastline, leaving the unknown parts as blanks, or, alternatively, the island appeared as a long peninsula that extended out from what is now known as Cape York (though Torres had ‘discovered’ the straits that separate New Guinea from Australia in 1606, as mentioned above, the Spanish did not make this known to the world). Cornelis de Jode’s 1593 map of the Solomon Islands and New Guinea (fig. 2.5) is remarkable for its naming of several islands and locations along the northern coastline of New Guinea, as well as the fantastical representations of sea serpents, flying fish-birds, mermaids, and dragons that populate the ocean and land. Jode’s artistic fancies were not novelties, however, as Jodocus Hondius’s 1589 map of the Pacific Ocean also has sea serpents of various descriptions inhabiting the seas surrounding the various landmasses, including ‘Nova Guinea … Terra de Piccinacoli’. That such artistic flights of fancy were permissible on these documents may seem remarkable. However, in some cases these images were not

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62 This is a simplified summary of a complex history of naming, in particular the use of the word ‘Papua’ and its adoption as a name for the islands. For a more thorough discussion, see Douglas, ‘Terra Australis to Oceania’, 189, 199; Also, for a thorough discussion of indigenous agency in the early encounters between voyagers and the peoples of the islands they encountered, and their influence on the naming and representations of places in the ‘fifth part of the world’ see Douglas, ‘Naming Places: Voyagers, Toponyms, and Local Presence in the Fifth Part of the World, 1500–1700’, Journal of Historical Geography 45 (July 2014): 12–24.
63 Bronwen Douglas outlines the nomenclature applied to several of the islands along New Guinea’s north coast, and notes that many of the names are the result of engagements between the islanders and Spanish voyagers as the latter sought to find a route back to Spain from the Moluccas (See Douglas, ‘Naming Places’, 4–5, 15). The text on New Guinea, in Latin, reads: ‘New Guinea. So named by sailors, because its shores, and the condition of the land, are very similar to Guinea in Africa. Whether it is contiguous with Terra Australis, or whether it is an island, is not known.’ [Translation by Dr Hilary Howes.]
64 Suarez, Early Mapping of the Pacific, 88.
merely artistic fancies, as medieval thinkers had posited that the laws of nature were somehow inverted in the Antipodes and that monsters and other creatures would be found there.\textsuperscript{65}

The idea of antipodal inversion can be traced back to classical antiquity when satirists invoked the antipodes as the world turned upside down in order to criticise the immorality and folly of contemporary society.\textsuperscript{66} As Alfred Hiatt notes, ‘One function of the antipodes had always been to turn the European gaze back upon itself’ and early cartographers frequently filled the ‘empty’ spaces of the Pacific with allegorical and satirical representations that served diverse political and moral ends.\textsuperscript{67} The inverted world, or the world turned upside down, has its corollary in the marginal illustrations of medieval manuscripts. Scenes depicting the natural order turned on its head, such as hares hunting the hunters and women wearing trousers, can be found in the margins of many medieval books, and often there is no direct link between the images and the text on the pages on which they appear. These marginal images did occasionally provide an explanatory gloss for the readers of the texts but their function was primarily as moral lessons – they acted as reminders to the reader of the dangers of a world where hierarchies are not upheld. Such inversions were believed to populate the antipodes – that part of the world that was beyond the known world. The idea of inversion or contrariety in the southern hemisphere held sway in philosophical, artistic, and scientific circles well into the nineteenth century and, as Bernard Smith writes, this was largely due to the fundamental difficulty, on the part of Europeans, in understanding the flora and fauna they were confronted with in the Pacific.\textsuperscript{68}

While the belief in antipodal inversion persisted, the theory that a great southern continent existed in the southern hemisphere was gradually undermined by the late eighteenth century as the lands of the Pacific Ocean were skirted by the ships that set sail from the European continent and from England. Australia, much of its coastline carefully surveyed, began to appear on maps of the region and by the late eighteenth century New Guinea had become the ‘last unknown’ in European

\textsuperscript{65} Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, 51.
\textsuperscript{66} Alfred Hiatt, Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600 (London: The British Library, 2008), 30. My discussion of the origins of the idea of antipodal inversion is necessarily brief here. For more detailed discussions of the mapping of the antipodes from classical antiquity and throughout the medieval period, see Hiatt, Terra Incognita.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., 244.
\textsuperscript{68} Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, 271.
imaginings. The early naming of this large island as well as the images that illustrated early maps of the region betray something of the seductiveness of the ‘unknown’ and ‘exotic’ – themes or tropes that dominate representations of New Guinea well into the twentieth century, and even into the twenty-first, in various manifestations. In summary, although it had been named and parts of its coasts sketchily outlined, no systematic visual engagement with New Guinea or its inhabitants had taken place by the mid-nineteenth century. When contrasted to the richly imagined and imaged realms of Africa and the Southern Pacific presented to European audiences, New Guinea was poorly imagined and even less richly imaged.

From the early 1840s until the 1870s New Guinea’s coastlines were more clearly defined by a series of mapping and surveying voyages, the most important of which were the British voyages of HMS *Fly* (1842–6) and HMS *Rattlesnake* (1846–50). As already mentioned, sections of the island’s coastline had begun to appear on maps in the sixteenth century but these surveys were the result of, as Ballard notes, ‘sporadic landings for water and victuals, or attempts to map routes circumventing the island’. Dumont d’Urville’s expedition of 1826–9 completed a rapid but thorough survey of the north coast of the island after the state of the *Astrolabe* rendered the planned detailed exploration of New Guinea’s coastline impossible. Dumont d’Urville returned to New Guinea on his final voyage of 1837–40, during which he examined the southwest coast (around Triton Bay) and the Torres Strait Islands more thoroughly. However, certain sections of the south coast remained entirely unknown to European explorers, such as the stretch of coastline between

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69 The, relatively speaking, recent ‘discovery’ and penetration of the mainland of New Guinea was capitalised on by the producers of the film, *First Contact*, who chose ‘The Last Unknown’ as the working title for the documentary. A contemporary example is *New Guinea Moon*, a young adult fiction novel by Kate Constable, published by Allen & Unwin in March 2013, which contains several references to the exotic landscape and mysterious local people. A cursory look at the P&O cruises website turns up a description of Papua New Guinea that runs: ‘Mysterious tribal ritual … With pristine white sand beaches, World War II history, lush flora and exotic animals – you must be in Papua New Guinea. Clear waters teem with bright topical fish, idyllic beaches beckon, delicious local fruits are waiting to be picked and that’s just a taste of PNG.’ (P&O Cruises, Papua New Guinea, <https://www.pocruises.com.au/destinations/papua-new-guinea/papua-new-guinea> accessed 27 June 2016.)


Cape Rodney and Fredrik Hendrik Island. In order to address the lacunae in European cartographic knowledge of this region, HMS *Fly* sailed to the Torres Straits, New Guinea, and Java under the command of Captain F. P. Blackwood in 1842, returning to England in 1846. During the New Guinea leg of its voyage, the crew of HMS *Fly* charted the western side of the Gulf of Papua and passed by the mouth of a large river, named the Fly River after the ship that ‘discovered’ it.72 The published diary of the naturalist aboard the ship, Joseph Beete Jukes, contains engravings based on drawings made by Harden S. Melville, who joined the expedition as topographical draughtsman. Only a few of Melville’s drawings made it to print in Jukes’s narrative, however, as the cost of reproducing them as engravings was too expensive.73 In some, a clear concern for rendering the details of the landscape, its flora, and the dwellings they came upon is demonstrated (see, for example, fig. 2.6). In 1849, Melville also published a small album of coloured plates of drawings done during the surveying voyage and later revisited his Pacific adventures in his pot boiler *The Adventures of a Griffin on a Voyage of Discovery: Written by Himself*.74 In the album of coloured sketches, the captions that appear on the adjacent pages further reveal Melville’s attention to detail and careful observations of the people and their material culture encountered during his time aboard the *Fly*. However, only one plate (plate 21) is of a New Guinea subject and was executed after a sketch by Captain Blackwood of dwellings on piles (the exact location is not given in the description).

HMS *Rattlesnake* continued the mapping of the southern coastline of New Guinea begun by HMS *Fly* in 1845. The primary objective of the voyage, as laid out in the British Admiralty’s instructions to the ship’s captain, Owen Stanley, was a thorough hydrographic survey of the Great Barrier Reef and the Torres Strait in order to establish safe passage for expeditions to South and Southeast Asia and the

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trading opportunities presented there. The surveying voyages were successful in their endeavours but are perhaps more noteworthy, in the context of this thesis, for having introduced a better understanding of New Guinea to the Anglophone world, including the Australian colonies. The coastline and hills of New Guinea were also to be sketched as part of the Rattlesnake’s duties, and though the Papuan reputation for treachery haunted the ship’s commander, New Guinea began to assume a more solid form in the drawings and paintings produced during the surveying voyage.76

The art of the HMS Rattlesnake voyage

The Rattlesnake surveying voyage to Australia, the Louisiade Archipelago, and New Guinea in 1846–50 provides a particularly interesting case study of the types of visual representations of New Guinea and its inhabitants being produced in the mid-nineteenth century. This voyage is remarkable for the extensive visual record made by several members of the expedition party in the context of the captain’s reluctance to land in New Guinea. The drawings produced by Thomas Henry Huxley, Owen Stanley, and Oswald Brierly during the four months in the Louisiade Archipelago and the waters off the New Guinea coast betray a common ‘aesthetic attitude to draughtsmanship’. A concern for accuracy in the portrayal of the physical appearance of the people and the land and vegetation is coupled with an understanding of composition that lends many of the drawings ‘considerable charm.’

Thomas Henry Huxley, the assistant naturalist on the Rattlesnake, produced a number of watercolours and made detailed drawings throughout the voyage, including many of marine animals to aid in his study of their structures. He was particularly drawn to the inhabitants of the islands and made several close studies of their appearance and manners both in his diaries and in his sketchbooks. In Figure

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76 Ibid., 8. In the Admiralty’s instructions a note is made of the ‘treacherous disposition of the inhabitants’ and for the crew to ‘constantly’ be on their ‘guard’ against them (MacGillivray, Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake, 3).
77 Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, 278.
78 Ibid., 277.
2.7, the landscape behind the four figures in the foreground of the drawing has been only sketchily outlined; the main emphasis is on the two men and the woman who are standing on the beach. They are inhabitants of the Louisiades and have been rendered in relaxed poses; a young child is seated on the ground in front of the woman and the two men are carrying spears and an ornately carved club. As Rüdiger Joppien has observed, Huxley chose to emphasise the dress and bodily ornamentation of the three adult figures and has done so with considerable accuracy and skill, highlighting several features and ornaments that John MacGillivray, the naturalist aboard the ship, describes in his *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*. In the edited volume of Huxley’s diaries, Julian Huxley notes that the voyage to the archipelago ignited a vigorous enthusiasm in the young naturalist that had been waning until that point. Huxley wrote in his diary nearly every second day and would fill the pages with ‘long, vivid, and detailed accounts of the natives, their houses, canoes, ornaments, language; [with] incidents that befell the landing parties, [and] the occasional “rows” between the white men and the black’. Huxley’s scientific notebook was filled with zoological observations during this time and he made several important discoveries as a result of this intensive period of work. This attention to detail was also evident in his sketching.

In a watercolour representing an outrigger canoe that had come up alongside the *Rattlesnake* in the Louisiade Archipelago, Huxley demonstrates his skill in careful observation in the details of the canoe prow and the various weapons and ornaments that the seven figures on the canoe carry and wear. However, the scene is also lent a dramatic air through Huxley’s obvious skill in composition – the men in the canoe are each represented in a different pose, their arms and bodies overlapping in order to convey a sense of movement and action. This combination of attention to detail and careful composition can also be seen in a watercolour by Huxley held at the Mitchell Library in Sydney. *Natives on the New Guinea Coast* (fig. 2.8), as Bernard Smith notes, clearly demonstrates Huxley’s skill in recording the physical

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appearance of the people and landscape in a composition that is carefully planned and proportioned, and thus pleasing to the eye.\textsuperscript{82}

However, Huxley was not always afforded the luxury of time and space to plan his compositions. During the second of his two visits to Brumer Island, an island off the southeast tip of New Guinea, Huxley was instructed by one of the wives of a man he called ‘the Dandy’ or ‘the Dancing Master’ to sketch her likeness and, in a spirit of cooperation and good will (her husband having just climbed a coconut tree in order to retrieve coconuts for Huxley and his party), he complied with her request.\textsuperscript{83} Here, then, European imaginings were confronted with and constrained by the reality of the on-the-ground encounter. The inhabitants of the island also exerted their agency in other ways, often not sitting still or simply walking away whilst Huxley was attempting to draw them. The ‘Dandy’s’ other wife kept ‘a very respectable distance’ between Huxley and herself while he was trying to sketch her and the young naturalist noted that she made it very difficult for him to put her ‘in proper position.’\textsuperscript{84}

The commander of the \textit{Rattlesnake}, Owen Stanley, was also a skilled draughtsman and sketched throughout the voyage. While in the waters off New Guinea and in the islands of the Louisiade Archipelago, Stanley drew the ships of the expedition at sea in various weather conditions, landscape scenes, and studies of canoes, weapons, and other material culture. As with Huxley’s sketches, there is a high level of attention to detail in several of Stanley’s studies – many of which he also finished with watercolours. In an album of sketches compiled and drawn by Stanley, now held at the Mitchell Library, Stanley covered one page with illustrations of canoe ornaments that he has rendered in some detail (fig. 2.9).\textsuperscript{85} In another sketch from this album, Stanley depicts an inhabitant of Coral Haven paddling a canoe, and lavishes as much attention on the ornaments of the occupant of the canoe as on the canoe prow (fig. 2.10). Many more such examples exist in this album, in which around 16 of the 125 sketches represent New Guinea and Louisiade Archipelago subjects, and they are remarkable for the variety of subjects depicted.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{82} Smith, \textit{European Vision and the South Pacific}, 277.
  \item \textsuperscript{83} Huxley, \textit{T. H. Huxley’s Diary}, 222.
  \item \textsuperscript{84} Ibid.; There was also an instance on Rossel Island where his subject simply ran off (Huxley, \textit{T. H. Huxley’s Diary}, 185).
\end{itemize}
While Huxley’s and Stanley’s drawing styles may differ, their artistic intentions are similar, if not the same. For both, the rendering of botanical, zoological, ethnographic, and topographical detail was paramount, but equally their drawings frequently betray a concern for composition and dramatic effect.

Stanley employed his sketching ability to record life on board the *Rattlesnake* as well as the work of the expedition party on land. For example, in a pencil and watercolour sketch titled ‘Becalmed near the Line – “Hands to Bathe”’, Stanley has depicted the deckhands jumping from the *Rattlesnake*’s decks and riggings into the sea for what must have been a welcome opportunity to bathe more thoroughly (fig. 2.11). Stanley also drew the surveying party at work, illustrating the many instruments and precision work that was required of them to secure accurate readings. Such scenes in the visual record of the *Rattlesnake*’s voyage underline the largely ship-bound and coast-bound view of the islands that the crew of the *Rattlesnake* had while in the region. This was true for most voyagers to New Guinea until the second half of the nineteenth century when, as Ballard notes, there was ‘a broad regional transition from voyager to resident or settler discourses as the principal conduits for knowledge about indigenous Oceanian people.’

Despite the many sketches that the crew produced, the great frustration for the visual historian and the onboard naturalists is that Stanley was overly apprehensive about landing on shore and encountering the inhabitants of the islands throughout the time the *Rattlesnake* was in the region. How much more might have been gleaned from these lost opportunities to encounter, engage with, and record the local people of New Guinea in the early history of European engagement with the mainland? Stanley’s instructions from the Admiralty for this leg of the voyage were, in fact, somewhat vague. He was simply told to ‘explore the safety of the sea intervening’ between the Great Barrier Reef (called ‘Barrier Reefs’ in the official instructions) and the Louisiade Archipelago and New Guinea.

While in the Louisiade Archipelago, Stanley managed to overcome some of his obvious anxiety about meeting the islanders but by the time the *Rattlesnake* sailed for the mainland of New Guinea his resolve was waver ing. Only three landings were made on New Guinea and it seems Stanley himself refused to set foot

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86 Ballard, ““Oceanic Negroes””, 158–159.
on shore; this caused no small irritation amongst members of the expedition party.\textsuperscript{88} Huxley, in particular, made no secret of his contempt for the Captain in the many entries he wrote in his diary at the time, and in a letter to his wife on departing from New Guinea, Dr. Thomson, the ship’s surgeon, wrote: ‘Truly our voyage might have been one of discovery … but this was denied us. The prudence – did it not absolutely amount to fear and cowardice – of the Captain would not allow us to enjoy the advantages that were held out to us. And now we have left this Terra Incognita … without knowing anything more than was known of it before our visit’.\textsuperscript{89} Though from a scientific viewpoint such bleak musings might have been true, the voyage of the \textit{Rattlesnake} brought New Guinea into British view as no previous voyage had done.

Stanley had fulfilled the chief task set for him by the Admiralty while in the Torres Strait and off the coast of southeast New Guinea – namely, the hydrographic survey – but the \textit{Rattlesnake} voyage did not add anything substantial to what was already known about the geography, geology, natural history, and cultures of this region of the world. Given that Stanley avoided setting foot on the mainland of New Guinea, his drawings from this leg of the voyage are largely of subjects from the Louisiade Islands, Torres Strait, and Cape York. His New Guinea pictures are predominantly taxonomic studies of spears and other items that he likely sketched from the safety of the \textit{Rattlesnake} – these items, including weapons, baskets, and headrests had been collected either when canoes would draw up alongside the \textit{Rattlesnake} or on the rare occasions when members of the expedition party went on shore. Few though they may be, Stanley exhibits some skill in his rendering of the form and decoration of these items (see, for example, fig. 2.12).

The one drawing of a New Guinea scene on shore by Stanley in the Mitchell Library album is somewhat of an anomaly (fig. 2.13). In this pencil and watercolour sketch Stanley has represented a fence-like structure, most likely a funeral screen, in a clearing in the bush. While the picture is titled ‘New Guinea’ the structure he has depicted resembles the funerary screens of the Torres Strait, which he also sketched, as did Huxley and Brierly. In his \textit{Narrative} MacGillivray made note of these peculiar structures on Mount Ernest Island in the Torres Strait. After describing one of them

in detail he writes: ‘We saw another of these curious funeral screens – like the first one it was situated in a little glade in the forest, but unlike it the front was covered or thatched with cocoa-nut leaves, and it had a small door-like opening in the centre’. Although Stanley’s drawing is unfinished, it closely resembles this description by MacGillivray – the door-like opening in the centre and the coconut leaf thatching, for example, are clearly represented. Why Stanley gave the picture the title ‘New Guinea’ is unclear (perhaps the Torres Strait Islands were also ‘New Guinea’ for him). If this is indeed a picture of a New Guinea funeral screen, perhaps Stanley was working from a sketch done by either Brierly or Huxley while they had been on shore on the mainland. Yet MacGillivray, who often accompanied the shore parties, makes no mention of such screens other than the above mentioned instance on Mount Ernest.

To aid future safe passage through the straits, the Hydrographer of the British Admiralty had instructed Stanley to produce ‘characteristic views of the coast and hills of New Guinea, as well as of each island [in order to] provide proper marks and bearings for avoiding the dangers’. This task, it seems, was also taken up by Brierly, a marine artist who had been asked to join the expedition by Stanley after the two had met in New South Wales in 1848. Though not trained in topographical or scientific drawing, Brierly drew several landscape and coastal profile views during his time aboard the Rattlesnake that are remarkably accomplished in their execution and detail (see, for example, fig. 2.14). His drawings also display an interest in the close study of the vegetation on the islands and at Cape York, where the Rattlesnake spent some time at the end of 1849 before returning to Sydney, as well as the material culture of the people, and the people themselves.

Oswald Brierly (1817–94) had trained as a marine artist and was highly regarded as a painter of such subjects. He had come to Australia from England in 1841 and stayed on for eight years, acting as manager of Twofold Bay in New South Wales, a whaling station founded in 1843 by Benjamin Boyd, the merchant

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90 MacGillivray, Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake, vol. 2, 38. As far as I can tell, this is likely what Stanley sketched. Though in the early twentieth century, the anthropologist Gunnar Landtman noted the use of screens made of bamboo and coconut leaf in the Horiomu or Taera ceremony held before the onset of the southeast winds by the coastal Kiwai people, the partitions used in this ceremony do not appear to match the screens described by MacGillivray (see David Lawrence, Gunnar Landtman in Papua, 1910 to 1912 (Canberra: ANU Press, 2010), 93–94).

91 MacGillivray, Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake, vol. 1, 8.

adventurer whom Brierly had accompanied to Australia. His decision to join the *Rattlesnake* on the New Guinea leg of its voyage was no doubt inspired by the artists and men of taste and science who had gone before him in undertaking this version of the Grand Tour, such as Joseph Banks and William Hodges. Brierly was even more at leisure to employ his skills as and when he saw fit as he joined the expedition without an official commission. In this respect, there are similarities to the voyage undertaken by the Melbourne-based photographer, John W. Lindt, aboard the SS *Governor Blackall* to what was then British New Guinea in 1885 – both men were driven by their own artistic curiosity, a desire for adventure, and, at least in the case of Lindt, a keen business sense. Indeed, in the case of photographs taken on expeditionary voyages, the ‘photographers often emulated the pictorial grammar of expeditionary artists’, and Lindt was no exception.

The drawings of the *Bramble* (the *Rattlesnake*’s tender) and the *Rattlesnake* are testimony to Brierly’s skill in the marine painting genre. In a chromolithograph of one of his works, printed in 1852, Brierly has depicted the *Bramble* and *Rattlesnake* in rough seas. On a print of this image held at the National Library in Canberra the title reads: ‘H.M.S. Rattlesnake & Bramble tender commanded by Captain Owen Stanley R.N.: finding an entrance through the reefs into the Louisiade Archipelago, S.E. extreme, New Guinea, June 14th, 1849’ (fig. 2.15). The sense of drama conveyed in the work through the treatment of the waves, as well as the precision of the rendering of the *Rattlesnake* in such conditions – its billowing sails and the many mast ropes – clearly display Brierly’s skill in careful observation. The native sea craft of the Louisiade Archipelago and New Guinea also caught the marine artist’s attention and the many drawings of them, in various stages of completion and often with lengthy descriptive notes, again, betray a keen eye and inquisitive mind. Given Stanley’s propensity to hang back beyond the reefs,

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94 Joppien, ‘Sir Oswald Brierly’s *First Arrival of White Men*’, 3.


96 Brierly, H.M.S. Rattlesnake & Bramble tender commanded by Captain Owen Stanley R.N. [picture]: finding an entrance through the reefs into the Louisiade Archipelago, S.E. extreme, New Guinea, June 14th, 1849 / O.W. Brierly; Day & Son Lithographers, London: Ackermann & Co., 1852, lithograph, col.; 25.4 x 35.5 cm, PIC Drawer 6901 #S10988, National Library of Australia, Canberra. The Mitchell Library also holds a copy of this painting ([H.M.S. Rattlesnake and Bramble ... ], 1852 / by Oswald W. Brierly, 1 chromolithograph, 25.5 x 35.4 cm, SV* / Ships / Ratt / 2, ML).
especially in the waters off New Guinea, Brierly and the other crew and expedition members aboard the Rattlesnake frequently experienced the sight of canoes launching from the distant beaches and paddling out in order to trade with the Europeans. As there were few opportunities to sketch the material culture of the islanders or, indeed, the islanders themselves, Brierly, Huxley, and Stanley seized these opportunities to sketch the canoes, their crews, and the artefacts they had on board to trade.

Brierly’s working method as well as his multiple interests are evident in a drawing titled ‘Natives Main Land New Guinea’ now held at the Mitchell Library (fig. 2.16). At the centre of the page Brierly has drawn and rendered in colour a canoe with three figures in it, though only one of them has been completed (the other two remain mere outlines done in pencil). This section of the drawing is the most finished and around it Brierly has sketched and worked out the various components. For example, a more detailed view of the paddle used by the inhabitant at the front of the canoe has been sketched and coloured in at the bottom right of the sheet, and the hairstyle and tattoo of each of the other, unfinished, inhabitants of the canoe have been studied and drawn to the right of the canoe and in the top left-hand corner respectively. The other sketches are of elements of the canoe, two further studies of heads, a lighter pencil sketch showing a man’s groin and the manner in which the penis is tied back, and there is also a small canoe filled with people outlined in pencil to the left of the page, under the tattooed arm. That this is the work of a trained artist may be deduced from the manner in which the two unfinished figures in the canoe have been rendered – the few pencil lines skillfully suggesting the contours and postures of the two bodies.

Brierly also wrote notes beside the various pictorial elements, recording colours, textures, the different parts of the headdress of one of the figures, and also the local name for the canoes. Brierly’s method of working in his sketches was deliberately meticulous, aiding him in the eventual translation of many of the pencil drawings done on the spot into more elaborate and finished watercolours. He even records the date and time of day he executed many of his works. On ‘Natives Main Land New Guinea’, for instance, he writes in the bottom right-hand corner: ‘Sketched at first anchorage of H.M.S Rattlesnake to west of Redscar Point. The

97 Brierly, 24. Natives Main Land New Guinea [with notes], Oswald W.B. Brierly: New Guinea coast and Cape York area during the voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake, ca. 1849–1850, PX*D 82, ML.
Point bearing by Compass S 65 E distant – about 5 ½ miles. September 26 – 1849 between 7.30 + 9.30 am’. While the various elements on this page – the notes, the attention to the details of the canoe that have been worked out on the sheet, the study of the faces and tattoos of the inhabitants – indicate an artist’s work of careful preparation for a finished painting, they also betray an ethnographic curiosity that, as Richard Neville notes, ‘no doubt in part reflects the interests of his companions’ on board the ship.98 It is studies such as this, as well as Brierly’s drawings of the inhabitants of these islands, that led Rüdiger Joppien to conclude that Brierly was ‘one of the most conscientious and informative ethnographic draughtsman of the travelling age.’99

Brierly was one of the few travelling artists of the time to make the Pacific the subject of a history painting in his large watercolour titled *First Arrival of White Men amongst the Islands of the Louisiade Archipelago*, which he completed ten years after his time spent in the Louisiades and New Guinea (fig. 2.17). Before Brierly, William Hodges had created oil paintings of Pacific Island subjects in the history-painting genre for the Admiralty on his return to England and also produced smaller format oils during the voyage of the *Resolution*. While several of the large works created for the Admiralty show Hodges balancing accuracy with classical composition, to make the canvasses appeal to a European audience, in some of the oils he has translated his wash drawings done *in situ* relatively faithfully. As Bernard Smith notes, Hodges’s *Matavai Bay* (1776) ‘carried the direct vision of his South Sea wash drawings onto the walls of the Academy of 1776 … the painting has become a study in Tahitian light’.100 The basic conception of this oil painting also bears some resemblance to Brierly’s watercolour, *First Arrival of White Men*, in that, apart from the two ships in the middle distance, no European presence has been represented in this scene.

99 Joppien, ‘Sir Oswald Brierly’s *First Arrival of White Men*’, 16; Brierly also demonstrated his genuine interest in the indigenous inhabitants of the Torres Strait in his recording of the first-hand accounts of Babara Thompson’s five years spent living with the Kaurareg on Prince of Wales Island (Muralag) after being shipwrecked in 1844 (see David R. Moore, *Islanders and Aboriginals at Cape York: An Ethnographic Reconstruction Based on the 1848–1850 ‘Rattlesnake’ Journals of O. W. Brierly and Information He Obtained from Barbara Thompson* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1979)).
100 Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 69.
The representation of more contemporary events of national significance in the history-painting genre began in the late eighteenth century; however, evidently artists struggled to paint ‘exotic’ subject matter from the Pacific in the same manner.\textsuperscript{101} Style and taste, it seems, at times constrained European imaginings and images of this region of the world. According to Joppien, Brierly was one of few artists who succeeded in representing the Pacific ‘faithfully and yet [making] his pictures compatible with European taste and understanding’.\textsuperscript{102} In \textit{First Arrival of White Men} Brierly chose to represent the scene from the perspective of the Louisiade Archipelago islanders on their canoes and composed the picture largely along horizontal planes, demarcated by the two canoes in the foreground and the line of the horizon in the distance behind them. However, the poses of the inhabitants of the sea crafts and the lines of their paddles and spears guide the eyes of the viewer towards the large ship on the horizon. There are no Europeans represented – the inhabitants of the canoes are the ones driving the action and they imbue the work with the tension that no doubt accompanied this particular meeting of cultures in 1849 (though it was probably not the first such encounter, as claimed by Brierly’s title).\textsuperscript{103} Despite the absence of European human subjects, the perspective Brierly adopted for his composition serves to emphasise the sheer size of the \textit{Rattlesnake} relative to the indigenous canoes, while the outstretched arms of the warrior suggest veneration or at least acknowledgement of the technological prowess of the British. The canoe to the left has only men in it while the one in the foreground, to the right of the image, contains three women and two men. The palm-lined coastline of an island with dwellings on the shore can be seen to the right of the picture and in the far distance the \textit{Bramble} and a mountain can also be made out. There are further canoes, with distinctive oval sails, represented in muted tones to the left, behind the canoe with men in it.

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.; Smith (ed.), \textit{Australian Painting}, 51.
\textsuperscript{102} Joppien, ‘Sir Oswald Brierly’s \textit{First Arrival of White Men}’, 16.
\textsuperscript{103} This was, of course, not the ‘first arrival of white men’ in these islands as Bougainville and Bruni d’Entrecasteaux had visited the Louisiades in 1768 and 1793 respectively (and Bruni d’Entrecasteaux encountered islanders there, though these encounters were fleeting). Furthermore, numerous whalers had also made contact with the people of the Louisiades and other islands of the Pacific prior to the \textit{Rattlesnake}’s voyage (Douglas, ‘In the Event’, 190, mentions Bruni d’Entrecasteaux’s fleeting encounters ‘in islands further north toward New Guinea’ (i.e., the Louisiades); and, on whalers in the region, see Clive Moore, \textit{New Guinea: Crossing Boundaries and History} (Hawai’i: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003), 118; Clive Moore, ‘Roving Mariners: Australian Aboriginal Whalers and Sealers in the Southern Ocean, 1790–1870’, \textit{Australian Journal of Politics and History}, 59, no. 3 (2013): 470–471).
Brierly put his knowledge of the various types of canoes in the Louisiade Archipelago and New Guinea to good use in his composition, and spent some time rendering their detail. As Joppien has already demonstrated in his chapter dedicated to this painting, Brierly made several figurative and compositional studies in preparation for the final work and these were based on the drawings he had done during his time in the Louisiade Archipelago and New Guinea as well as studio sketches of models he did later once back in England (see, for example, fig. 2.18). The canoes in the painting, in particular, betray the artistic license in Brierly’s composition of the piece. The canoes on the far left, in the background of the painting have been identified as wagas by their distinctive sails; they are from the Southern Massim region where the Rattlesnake spent some time in June and July 1849, allowing the artist to make several close studies of them. The canoe in the centre left of the picture, however, is of a style more commonly found in the area around Evans Bay, Cape York, in the Torres Strait, while the canoe nearest the viewer containing a mixed crew of men and women resembles the ones Brierly sketched near Brumer Island off the southeast coast of New Guinea.104 As for the figures in the canoes, the women were worked up from studies done from European models to which Brierly then added the appropriate ‘native’ dress, ornaments, and features (fig. 2.19).105 The finished painting, as Joppien writes, was therefore ‘not a straightforward documentary painting of a historical incident but an ideal reconstruction of apparently several incidents … a synthesis of scenery and places seen about ten years before’.106 As such it has much in common with paintings executed by other colonial artists of the period. For example, in the New Zealand context, Augustus Earle’s The Meeting of the Artist and the Wounded Chief Hongi, Bay of Islands, New Zealand 1827 (c.1833–7), which Leonard Bell describes as ‘a kind of assemblage of bits and pieces, put together at first instance in the interests of a good picture or spectacle – one that would be engaging for British people to look at, that would gratify viewers’ taste for the exotic picturesque and indulge their curiosity about non-British “others” – primary tasks for the traveling artist producing goods for the metropolitan market.’107

105 Ibid., 11.
106 Ibid., 16.
107 Leonard Bell, ‘Augustus Earle’s The Meeting of the Artist and the Wounded Chief Hongi, Bay of Islands, New Zealand 1827 and His Depictions of Other New Zealand Encounters: Contexts and
First Arrival of White Men was Brierly’s only large scale painting from his voyage aboard the Rattlesnake, and despite its hybrid conception – as an amalgam of sketches done in the Louisiades, studies of models done once back in England, and Brierly’s knowledge of other history paintings – the marine artist succeeded in creating a detailed work that conveys the tension that must have accompanied such a meeting of cultures. Though Joppien’s assessment of Brierly as ‘one of the most conscientious and informative ethnographic draughtsmen of the travelling age’ may be fair, it is the combined visual production of the Rattlesnake’s crew members – notably Huxley, Stanley, and Brierly – that serves as precedent for the representations of New Guinea that were to follow.108

In the visual record created during the surveying voyage of the Rattlesnake we see the alliance between art and science that came to characterise the voyages to the Pacific undertaken from the late eighteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century. There was a ‘close artistic and scientific co-operation on board the ship, with all the participants keenly interested in ethnology and the natural sciences’.109 This is evident in the many studies of the coastlines and vegetation, people and material culture of this region executed by Brierly, only a small selection of which have been discussed above. For Brierly this voyage provided a wealth of new and ‘exotic’ subjects to study, an experience he clearly relished if the roughly 445 drawings he executed in his sketchbooks are any indication.110 Though preconceptions of hostile, savage natives threatened to curtail any intense engagement with the southeast coast of New Guinea, the visual record produced during the voyage of the Rattlesnake presents the first sustained picture of the land and its inhabitants, albeit still predominantly from shipboard and the shoreline.


108 While Huxley’s drawings were used to illustrate MacGillivray’s narrative of the voyage, Brierly’s large watercolour was put on display in England in 1860, at the Royal Academy. Whether the painting was commissioned or painted solely for display at the Academy is unclear. Most of Brierly’s drawings from this voyage ended up in Australian collections. However, they were not publicly displayed until his wife mounted an exhibition of his works following his death in 1894 (Joppien, ‘Sir Oswald Brierly’s First Arrival of White Men’, 2).


110 This figure is taken from the series description for records relating to Oswald W.B. Brierly held at the Mitchell Library, accessible via the online catalogue: <http://acmssearch.sl.nsw.gov.au/search/itemDetailPaged.cgi?itemID=423736> accessed 26 March 2016.
From coastlines to the interior: The naturalists in New Guinea

As late as 1873, when Captain John Moresby of HMS *Basilisk* charted the final major unmapped stretch of New Guinea’s coastline, Europe’s engagement with New Guinea had been primarily ship-bound or at least limited to the shorelines.¹¹¹ Karl Shapiro, in his poem ‘New Guinea’ notes that ‘Only the fringe / Was nervous to the touch of voyagers’;¹¹² the interior still remained to be explored. As a result of the relatively blank canvas that the interior of New Guinea presented to cartographers, and the predominantly ship-bound surveyors and scientists into the nineteenth century, it was the ideal location for particularly imaginative flights of fancy. Joseph Beete Jukes, the naturalist on board HMS *Fly*, wrote: ‘New Guinea! The very mention of being taken into the interior regions of New Guinea sounds like being allowed to visit some of the enchanted regions of the *Arabian Nights*, so dim an atmosphere of obscurity rests at present on the wonders it probably conceals’.¹¹³ Such literary musings extended into the late nineteenth century as a result of the reading public’s appetite for exotic adventure tales, spurred on by the slowly increasing output of explorers’ reports of New Guinea and its inhabitants. As Ballard notes, ‘New Guinea began to impinge upon the European imaginary’ only from the middle of the nineteenth century and as late as 1890,¹¹⁴ the explorer and writer Theodore Bevan wrote that the island was an undiscovered paradise: ‘The very name New Guinea conjured up to my eager mind a vision of some garden of Hesperides – or shall we say New Fortunate Islands? – a vague, vast wonderland where, in one form or another, the adventures of the Arthurian age might be eclipsed in this prosaic nineteenth century’.¹¹⁵ Interior New Guinea – the ‘last Unknown’ – presented fertile ground for adventure and fantastical imagery.¹¹⁶

Efforts had been made to permanently settle on the island and penetrate the interior, but until the late nineteenth century these were unsuccessful. In 1793, prior to the Dutch annexation, the English attempted to establish a permanent settlement at Dorey Bay in northwestern New Guinea, but left after just two years. The Dutch

subsequently laid claim to the western half of the island in 1828; however, as Gavin Souter writes, they ‘had done little more; they had established no permanent settlement, and had not even ventured down the wide Mamberamo River which muddied the blue Pacific off the north coast’.\textsuperscript{117} The Dutch settlement of Fort du Bus at Triton Bay, established in 1828, was ultimately unsuccessful and was abandoned in 1836.\textsuperscript{118}

By the mid-nineteenth century European naturalists began to venture beyond the charted coasts of New Guinea and stayed on land for several months at a time undertaking fieldwork. The most influential amongst these was the British naturalist and zoogeographer Alfred Russel Wallace. Wallace’s account of his travels in the Malay Archipelago between 1854 and 1862, in which he writes of his time on New Guinea at Dorey in 1858, ‘provided the first widely read account of the main island of New Guinea to be written on the basis of personal experience’.\textsuperscript{119} It was promptly translated into German and Dutch and explorers soon followed in his wake. Wallace contrasted the Papuans and Malays and argued for a fundamental division between the two ‘races’, linking ‘Papuans to African Negroes as related members of the great “Negro” race’.\textsuperscript{120} This racial division was not novel as the French geographer Conrad Malte-Brun had theorised just such a division as early as 1804 and it was systemised on the basis of extensive regional experience by Dumont d’Urville in 1832.\textsuperscript{121} However, the placement of an ‘ethnological line’ was Wallace’s unique contribution. Alongside the zoogeographic boundary posited by Wallace that separated the Malayan and Papuan fauna an ‘ethnological line’ was drawn between these two ‘races’.\textsuperscript{122} Those who followed Wallace’s example of field observation in New Guinea throughout the 1870s included the Russian ethnologist and biologist Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay, the German anthropologist Adolf Bernhard Meyer (who

\textsuperscript{117} Souter, New Guinea, 6. \\
\textsuperscript{118} Ballard, ‘The Art of Encounter’, 225. \\
\textsuperscript{120} Ballard, “Oceanic Negroes”, 176, 183. \\
\textsuperscript{121} Douglas, Science, Voyages, and Encounters, 7, 15–16, 243–50. \\
\textsuperscript{122} Ballard, “Oceanic Negroes”, 183.
translated Wallace’s text into German), and the Italian naturalist explorers Odoardo Beccari and Luigi Maria D’Albertis.\textsuperscript{123}

After spending 15 months in Astrolabe Bay and trekking into the Finisterre Range behind the northeast coastline of the island in 1871–2, Miklouho-Maclay passed a further four months on the south coast of Dutch New Guinea. During these stays he undertook scientific investigations into many aspects of the land, its climate, wildlife, and indigenous inhabitants, and completed sketches of the people, their villages, and material culture. Miklouho-Maclay returned to the northeast coast in 1876, spending a year there in order to undertake further scientific investigations, and again in 1878 and in 1883, though these last two trips were of shorter duration.\textsuperscript{124} The presence of Dutch and Malay traders and Dutch missionaries in northwest New Guinea made this a more practical and desirable destination for the early naturalists than the still relatively isolated southeast.\textsuperscript{125}

By the late 1870s the situation on the southeast coast of New Guinea had changed, as the missionaries Lawes and James Chalmers as well as the trader Andrew Goldie were then resident in Port Moresby. In 1879 Miklouho-Maclay seized the opportunity to sail on the \textit{Sadie F. Caller}, which was undertaking a trading and trepang-fishing cruise to New Caledonia. The ship’s route would take the Russian to New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, through the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, past New Ireland, the Admiralty Islands, and Trobriand Islands before reaching the southeastern tip of New Guinea.\textsuperscript{126} This itinerary presented Miklouho-Maclay with ample opportunity to undertake his researches into ‘the basic problems of ethnology in this part of the world’,\textsuperscript{127} and in preparation for his trip he bought photographic equipment in Sydney and taught himself how to use it effectively as he believed the technology to be ‘essential for ethnological research’.\textsuperscript{128} By the time the ship reached the southeastern end of New Guinea in early 1880 Miklouho-Maclay was no longer on good terms with the crew and chose to disembark and carry on his travels along the southeast coast with Chalmers aboard.

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., 175; for a thorough discussion of Meyer’s time in New Guinea see Hilary S. Howes, \textit{The Race Question in Oceania: A. B. Meyer and Otto Finsch Between Metropolitan Theory and Field Experience, 1865–1914} (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2013).
\textsuperscript{125} E. M. Webster, \textit{The Moon Man: A Biography of Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay} (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1984), 120.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., 223–224.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., 223.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid., 224, 216.
the mission vessel *Ellengowan*. Several villages were visited along the coast from 20 January to 6 March, providing Miklouho-Maclay with the opportunity to compare the ‘natives’ of this region with those whom he had studied on the northeast coast ‘as well as with other curly-haired, dark-skinned inhabitants of the various groups and archipelagos of Melanesia’. Miklouho-Maclay also took photographs on this trip and he makes further reference to photography during his subsequent visit to the southeast coast in August 1881. However, he ultimately chose to rely on his sketching while in the Port Moresby area as he could ‘get portraits of local natives from Mr. L. [Lawes], who goes in for photography’ and he preferred to sketch women’s tattoos as these could not be copied ‘photographically’ according to Miklouho-Maclay (see, for example, fig. 2.20). Unfortunately, it seems all of Miklouho-Maclay’s negatives from this trip were damaged as a result of their long storage and light getting into the box in which they were kept.

Luigi Maria D’Albertis’s motivation for travelling to New Guinea was primarily the desire for adventure and a ‘fascination with the idea of encountering “primitive” man’. When the opportunity presented itself to accompany the botanist Odoardo Beccari on a collecting trip in the northwest of the island in 1872, he seized it. At the start of his travelogue, published in two volumes, entitled *New

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129 His decision to leave the ship cost Miklouho-Maclay dearly as the materials he had collected up until this stage of the voyage as well as photographs and other belongings went missing following Captain Webber’s death. It seems Miklouho-Maclay had entrusted his goods to the Captain to be delivered to Sydney but following Webber’s death in May 1880 these were not a priority for the crew, with whom the Russian had now fallen out. Miklouho-Maclay’s goods were subsequently lost (see Robert E. Webber, *Yankee Captain Amasa T. Webber 1840–1880* (Rutland, Vermont: Sharp and Company Printers, 2007), 262).


133 It seems many of Miklouho-Maclay’s photographs have not survived due to various mishaps as well as his wife’s wilful burning of much of his ethnographic material upon his death; and they were also never published in his lifetime. The photographs, drawings, papers and notebooks that have survived are held at the Archives of the Russian Geographical Society in Saint Petersburg, though these are all unidentified and undescribed, and many in the collection were not taken by Miklouho-Maclay but were collected on his travels. For example, I have identified five Lawes photographs in this collection (see Appendix 1). (Miklouho-Maclay, *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh* [Collected Works in Six Volumes], vol. 1 (Moscow: Nauka, 1990), 17; Miklouho-Maclay, *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Nauka, 1993), 258–259. [This information comes from sections of the Russian text translated by Elena Govor.]

Guinea: What I Did and What I Saw, D’Albertis muses on the allure of New Guinea, writing that

The idea of journeying to a land of ever verdant primeval forests, a region of perpetual ecstasy – where I should find man the unspoiled son of nature, the free savage in his primitive state, – had taken such possession of my mind, and so fired my imagination, that even the few minutes requisite for the steamer to leave the harbour [at Genova] seemed an eternity.\(^\text{135}\)

The power of the established tropes of luxuriance and the ‘unspoiled man’ of the tropics as a lure for audiences are here clearly demonstrated.

D’Albertis was very much a gentleman scientist and before leaving Genova had been trained as a naturalist by Beccari and Giacomo Doria (founder of the Natural History Museum in Genova). He was particularly drawn to the fauna of the Pacific region – an interest fuelled by Wallace’s published reports on the native birds of paradise that the Italian hoped to find (and shoot) during his travels on the island.\(^\text{136}\) Beccari and D’Albertis arrived off the northwestern tip of New Guinea in April 1872 and set up camp on a small island near the coast, using it as a base for their regular inland excursions on the mainland. They made contact with the local inhabitants along the Ramoi River and D’Albertis records bartering with them, using tobacco to obtain carved headrests. The Italians then travelled along the coast to Andai, where they stayed with a Dutch missionary and his wife. From here they trekked into the Arfak Mountains and visited yet more villages, collecting ethnographic material and hunting along the way.\(^\text{137}\) The two Italians still only tentatively probed the land beyond the fringes of the island and the visual record from this expedition is relatively sparse. They had a camera with them and D’Albertis took advantage of his extended stay in Andai, due to illness, to set up a field studio and photograph the local people, whom he found were reluctant to pose and would not stay still for him and his camera (fig. 2.21).\(^\text{138}\)


\(^{138}\) Ibid., 169; D’Albertis, New Guinea, vol. 1, 141–142. The photographs that have survived from Andai suggest a single day of photography, as all the images consist of different individuals or groups posed in front of the same large tree.
The three Fly River expeditions undertaken in 1875 and 1877–8 distinguished D’Albertis as the European who had penetrated the farthest into New Guinea’s interior. He first joined the LMS missionary Samuel MacFarlane’s expedition that set out from Somerset at the end of November 1875 but it was his second expedition aboard the steam-launch *Neva*, which he led, that brought him fame – D’Albertis and his crew voyaged some 933km into New Guinea’s ‘unexplored’ interior. However, as Ballard notes, the expedition party largely remained ship-bound apart from ‘the occasional forays to the river’s banks for wood, collection and hunting’, and they only travelled ‘to the farthest point deemed either navigable or wise, before returning [to the coast]’.139 D’Albertis’s accounts of this expedition, as well as the subsequent voyage he undertook, appear in volume two of his published travel account which is illustrated with a series of engravings.140 The engravings are of a range of subjects with the material culture of the Papuans as well as Papuan skulls featuring prominently (see, for example, fig. 2.22). They function more as illustrations and no indication is given in D’Albertis’s text that either drawing or, indeed, photographing were an integral part of his method of observation. In one instance he writes that a sketch of Baratu clubs from the Fly River region ‘will be of more value than any description’ in showing the ‘capacity of these savages for carving and in working in very hard stone’.141 Though photography and exploration seemingly ‘went together’, as Paul Carter notes, ‘travellers were slow to avail themselves of the new technology’, not only due to practical reasons of having to carry the equipment with them but also because ‘Exploration, a process of spatial speculation, was precisely what photography could not visualise … Photography focuses on the fruit of travel; exploration writing describes travelling itself’.142 Though no photographs from D’Albertis’s Fly River expeditions have come to light, there is a reference to them in the second volume of his narrative: ‘a mere glance at the photographs of the Kiwai skulls, and then at those of the interior of New Guinea, is better than any description, and brings out vividly the great

differences between the three types'.

Despite this passing note on the usefulness of photographs to scientific enquiries, the Italian preferred literary exegesis on the land and its people.

Wallace not only inspired naturalists and other explorers to follow in his footsteps, but also heralded ‘a new round of fictional adventure writing’. The imaginative license employed by writers in their narratives of exploration of interior New Guinea is probably exemplified best in Captain Lawson’s *Wanderings in the Interior of New Guinea*, published in 1875. In his account of a trek across the island at its widest point, Captain Lawson encounters and describes sights and creatures that would not have seemed out of place on several of the early maps of the Antipodes discussed in the first section of this chapter – giant striped tigers, a bison-like ox, apes that appeared almost human. Lawson’s observations were amateurish, particularly when it came to describing the human inhabitants of the island. He writes of ‘repulsive-looking men’ who were ‘exceedingly short’ and had ‘a lithe, monkeyish manner’ (perhaps to counterbalance his human-like apes). Yet, many reviews of the book evinced the contemporary lacuna in metropolitan knowledge of New Guinea’s interior. Henry James wrote that the ‘manner of narration seemed most plausible’ even if ‘many of his stories bordered closely upon the marvelous’. Readers were skeptical of Lawson’s claims but what his account makes clear is that when it came to representing New Guinea the boundaries between fact and fiction were often somewhat permeable, even as late as the 1870s. Lawson (who was most likely Captain Robert Henry Armit, a former lieutenant in the Royal Navy) even fought to maintain his façade when the veracity of his account came under fire from Moresby and others in the newspapers of the day.

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147 Ballard, ‘The Art of Encounter’, 244.
As the response to Lawson’s book makes clear, these travelogues were consumed by a wide audience including scientists, explorers, and ethnologists who also sought to make their mark on the ‘discovery’ of New Guinea’s interior. D’Albertis had read Lawson’s fictional account and aimed to disprove some of the more outrageous of his images of the land, its flora, fauna, and its people on his three expeditions up the Fly River between 1875 and 1878. Though he managed to procure a large number of specimens and collected what he could of the material culture of the indigenous inhabitants whenever he chanced upon one of their villages, (more often than not by dubious means), D’Albertis was later damned with ‘faint praise’, by Wallace, who wrote of the Italian that he had ‘all the best qualities of an explorer – enthusiasm, boldness, and resource, a deep love of nature, great humanity, and an amount of sympathy with savages’ but that ‘To the character of a scientific traveller he makes no claim, and those who expect to find any sound generalizations from the results of his observations will in all probability be disappointed.’

Yet D’Albertis’s influence on European perceptions of New Guinea was significant. His rambunctious personality and his grandstanding meant that he achieved an impressive media profile in Australia. His ‘discovery’ of a new Bird of Paradise was reported in several papers and D’Albertis also sent letters to editors and large excerpts from his travel journals to the newspapers in Australia. Part two of his published journal entries in the *Sydney Mail* was accompanied by engravings of the Arfak people he encountered on his travels with Beccari, (almost certainly copied from the photographs D’Albertis took in Andai). Despite these occasional graphic

Robert’s brother, William Edington Armit, then a policeman stationed in Queensland (Lawes, letter to R. W. Thompson, 21 September 1883, mfm M93, LMS Papua letters 1882–1885, National Library of Australia, Canberra.)

D’Albertis writes: ‘Although I had thrown aside with contempt the book relating Captain Lawson’s travels across New Guinea, still I actually had perused it; and it will not be wondered at then that when I came to converse with the people who had actually beheld the huge birds, and seen the tracks of buffaloes … my unbelief was staggered, and in my heart I begged Captain Lawson’s pardon for having doubted his veracity.’ (D’Albertis, *New Guinea*, vol. 2, 2–3).


glimpses of the island in newspapers and travelogues and the powerful word imagery created by naturalists, anthropologists, and explorers such as D’Albertis, Miklouho-Maclay, and others, there was still remarkably little visualisation of Papuan lives or landscapes, especially of the southeast of the island, by the time Lawes arrived in Port Moresby in 1874.

**Conclusion**

I have traced, in broad strokes, the early visualisation of new territories by Europeans and, in particular, early (or pre-photographic) visual conceptions of New Guinea. What crystalizes from this analysis is New Guinea’s late arrival in the ‘visual-scape’ of European imaginings and the paucity of pre-photographic visualisations in contrast to other areas being explored in the late nineteenth century. Though several voyages of discovery had skirted sections of the island’s coastline and, in the nineteenth century, dedicated surveying expeditions saw to it that the remaining blanks in its outline were filled in, New Guinea was not systematically visualised until late in the nineteenth century. The voyage of the *Rattlesnake* in the mid nineteenth century marks a moment of rupture in the visualisation of New Guinea as for the first time detailed ethnographic studies were produced. However, the visual record of this voyage was heavily constrained by the nature of the engagements with the land and its people, which were limited to the liminal spaces of the beach and coastal waters, and only a small selection of the drawings produced by Huxley were widely disseminated in MacGillivray’s account of the voyage.

It was on the eve of European settlement, and via the relatively new technology of photography, that New Guinea became fixed in European imaginings. As already mentioned, D’Albertis had a camera with him on at least one of his expeditions, (though not, it seems, on his Fly River voyages), and Miklouho-Maclay photographed while on the southeast coast. Early photographic technology was also brought to New Guinea, in the form of daguerreotypes made by crew members of HMS *Challenger* (1873–6) on its exploratory voyage around the world. However, this photographic visualisation was surprisingly slender by comparison with other regions of the world such as in parts of Africa and the Americas. The *Challenger* images were also not widely disseminated until they were reproduced as etchings and ‘permanent phototypes’ (photogravure prints) in the scientific report of the
expedition printed in 1885, almost ten years after the conclusion of the voyage, and they were of the same lineage as the drawings produced during the *Rattlesnake* voyage. It was into this visual virtual *terra nullius* that Lawes and Lindt then stepped.

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CHAPTER THREE

Bringing New Guinea into focus: W. G. Lawes and J. W. Lindt in New Guinea

Writers have found in [New Guinea] a field for the exercise of a most exuberant tropical imagination. A sort of glamour has rested over this island with the golden name.¹

– William George Lawes (May 1879)

While the pen and paintbrush allowed the imagination free rein on page and canvas, especially when it came to representing the unexplored interior of the island, with the arrival of William G. Lawes and his camera in southeast New Guinea these fancies were gradually overlaid with a new stock of images. Having outlined early European visual conceptions of New Guinea in Chapter Two, this chapter introduces the historical conditions for Lawes’s and John W. Lindt’s photography and traces the two men’s specific backgrounds, including their paths to photography. As the attention is now on these specific historical actors, there is a concomitant geographic shift of focus to the southeast section of the island, which became British New Guinea in November 1884 following the proclamation of a protectorate over the territory by Britain.² Both Lawes and Lindt drew on the visual and textual images produced by those who went before them to distant corners of the British and other empires, but their individual backgrounds and experiences also significantly shaped how they set about photographing New Guinea. Understanding the historical moment in which Lawes and Lindt engaged with New Guinea and its inhabitants and the particular perspectives they brought to bear on them is therefore the first step in analysing their visual productions.

² Germany declared a protectorate over the northeastern section of the island in 1884 and the final frontier between the British and German sections was negotiated in 1885. These two protectorates became colonies in 1888 and 1899 respectively (see Clive Moore, *New Guinea: Crossing Boundaries and History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003), 149).
William G. Lawes: Pioneer missionary of New Guinea

Lawes was born at Aldermaston in Berkshire on 1 July 1839 to Richard Lawes, a tailor, and Mary (née Pickover). His parents were both devout Christians, but it was on hearing William Gill, a missionary working in Rarotonga, and Isaiah (a Rarotongan convert) preach at Broad Street Chapel in Reading that Lawes’s desire to join in the evangelising work being done overseas was fully awakened. According to Joseph King, Lawes’s biographer, ‘Upon a heart already almost persuaded, the appearance and appeal of a Christian Polynesian produced a powerful effect’.³ Within two years of hearing Gill speak Lawes had completed his training at Bedford College, married Fanny Wickham and was en route to take up his first posting as missionary for the London Missionary Society (LMS) on Niue or ‘Savage Island’, as it was also called. He served there from 1861 to 1872, tending the ground that had been prepared for him by Samoan teachers who, ‘without the supervision of a resident white missionary started a system of education, established orderly church work, and translated portions of Scriptures’.⁴ Lawes was joined by his brother Frank E. Lawes after six and a half years and they carried on the work together with only a small break when Lawes and Fanny visited Samoa in May 1870.⁵ During his time on Niue Lawes fostered industrial work on the island, which meant that upon his departure ‘the entire population was decently, and in some cases grandly, clothed’, seven traders were resident, imports were at around £8000, and exports at around £7000.⁶ Lawes had even taught himself carpentry in order to train the islanders in the use of the saw, plane, and chisel, and recorded that ‘all the people on the island did a share of the work’ when it came to building the mission house. A report written at the time described Niue ‘as the most industrious island in the Pacific’, to which Lawes proudly responded: ‘it is probably correct. One day a week in my young men’s school was given to carpentry and such like.’⁷

In January 1872 the Laweses left Niue on furlough to England. They sailed via Sydney and were joined on board by Samuel McFarlane and his wife. McFarlane was on his way to England to consult with the LMS directors after settling the first group of ‘native teachers’ in the Torres Straits with A. W. Murray and, as King

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³ King, W. G. Lawes, 9.
⁴ Ibid., 25.
⁵ Ibid., 42.
⁶ Ibid., 40.
⁷ Ibid.
writes, this ‘must often have been a subject of conversation between the two missionaries’ during the voyage. At this time, the Board of the LMS was debating the future of the New Guinea mission. After the attempts to place teachers at Manumanu in Redscar Bay failed, due to the prevalence of malaria, Port Moresby was suggested as a more suitable headquarters for a mainland mission on the southeast coast. Lawes was subsequently asked to join the New Guinea mission staff, a position he accepted. This, then, was the beginning of three decades of work in New Guinea.

Lawes arrived at Port Moresby with his heavily pregnant wife and son Charley aboard the mission vessel John Williams on 21 November 1874. Captain Moresby had charted the harbour only three years earlier on his voyage along the southeast coast and around the eastern end of the island. Also on board the ship was Ruatoka, a Rarotongan pastor who has been singled out and praised for his service to the work of evangelisation in many narratives of the mission in New Guinea. The LMS, the first missionary body to send missionaries to eastern New Guinea, supported the practice of settling teachers or pastors from other islands in the Pacific that were already host to European missionaries as this had proven successful in mission fields such as Niue. When McFarlane and Murray were charged with opening the New Guinea field for mission work in 1871, they settled eight teachers from Lifu and Mare in the Loyalty Islands at stations in the Torres Straits, off the coast of New Guinea, and a further six were later stationed at Manumanu on the mainland.

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8 Ibid., 66.
9 Ibid.
11 See, for example, Northcott, Guinea Gold, 31; G. Lindsay Lockley, From Darkness to Light: The London Missionary Society in Papua, 1872–1972 (Port Moresby: The United Church in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, 1972), 14; Joseph King, Ten Decades: The Australasian Centenary History of the London Missionary Society (London: London Missionary Society; Melbourne: George Robertson and Co., 1895), 172. Ruatoka’s portrait was also one of the few portraits of Polynesian teachers to be repeatedly reproduced in the public domain in England and Australia and was used for a lantern slide in a set the LMS compiled (see Max Quanchi, ‘The Invisibility of Gospel Ploughmen: The Imaging of South Sea Pastors in Papua’, Pacific Studies 20, no. 4 (1997): 78–79). Another teacher singled out for praise and held up as an example of a model convert and pastor of the church to congregations back home was Piri, who was stationed in Boera (see Fruits of Toil in the London Missionary Society, second series (London: LMS, 1877), 54; Silvester Horne, The Story of the London Missionary Society, 1795–1895 (London: LMS, 1894), 405).
12 King, W. G. Lawes, 50; King, Ten Decades, 162; Horne, The Story of the London Missionary Society, 400. The teachers are all named in Lockley, From Darkness to Light, 5.
The strategy of settling Islander teachers in New Guinea was motivated by economic factors as much as by evangelical zeal. The LMS could not afford to employ as many European missionaries as were necessary to carry out the work of evangelising New Guinea, especially in the 1880s and 1890s when the Society experienced a financial crisis. The example presented by recently converted Pacific Island pastors or teachers undoubtedly also contributed to the decision to settle these men and their wives on New Guinea. Indeed, Max Quanchi observes that the ‘pastor was the dominating presence in the early Papuan mission field’. However, not all were singled out and praised in the manner that Ruatoka was and the exact number of Islander men and women who served in New Guinea is still unknown. As an indication of numbers, by 1888 some 201 Pacific Islanders (including teachers’ wives) had been brought to New Guinea and the Torres Strait.

The LMS directors employed European men who were ideally suited to begin the work in New Guinea. McFarlane, Lawes, and James Chalmers, who arrived in Port Moresby in 1877, each ‘had a long Polynesian training in mission work before going to New Guinea’. These three ‘pioneers’ were able to effectively lead the band of Islander teachers as they understood their languages and knew their island homes. McFarlane had served for the LMS on Lifu, in the Loyalty Islands, Lawes on Niue, and Chalmers in Rarotonga for ten years each before they began work in New Guinea. McFarlane initially based the New Guinea mission headquarters at Cape York, owing to the better climate, but eventually moved to Murray Island, where he established the first training institution for Papuan converts in 1876. More so than with teachers from other islands in the Pacific, the ‘missionaries knew that no one

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13 Diane Langmore, Missionary Lives: Papua, 1874–1914 (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1989), 187; Lawes makes numerous pleas for more missionaries to be sent to New Guinea, and by May 1885 his requests take an urgent tone. Lawes writes: ‘You must … send two men for the East end – one is no use.’ (Lawes, letter to R. W. Thompson (LMS Secretary), 8 May 1885, mfm M93 LMS Papua letters 1882–1885, National Library of Australia [NLA]) [emphasis in original].
15 Numbers taken from a footnote in Steve Mullins, Martin Bellamy and Clive Moore, (eds.), ‘Andrew Goldie in New Guinea 1875–1879: Memoire of a Natural History Collector,’ Memoirs of the Queensland Museum/Culture 6, (18 December 2012): 123, note 279. However, the editors also note the depressing statistic of 103 deaths among this number as a result of disease and attacks by local Papuans such as the Kalo massacre in 1881. Further, while the pioneer group of Lifu and Mare teachers are all named in histories of the mission and the LMS, later arrivals were not always singled out by name (see Lockley, From Darkness to Light, 5).
16 King, Ten Decades, 171.
could tell a Papuan about the Christian way better than another Papuan’. With Lawes’s arrival at Port Moresby the mission was divided into a western and an eastern branch – McFarlane leading the former and Lawes the latter – which allowed for easier oversight of the teachers placed in outstations along the coast and on the islands of the Torres Straits.

**Challenges of the New Guinea mission field**

His long service on Niue meant that Lawes was accustomed to the nature of the work required of him and was acquainted with several Polynesian languages. He had trained teachers on Niue, several of whom were placed in villages along New Guinea’s southeast coast to assist him in the work of spreading the Gospel. But New Guinea presented new challenges for the missionary. The prevalence of malaria meant sickness was a constant hindrance to the progress of his evangelising. In a letter to the LMS secretary dated 15 September 1875, Lawes begins by writing that ‘sickness and death seem to have been our only theme since we have been here and this letter must be a continuation of it’. In the letter Lawes reports on the death of Isaako, a Niuean teacher he had brought out to New Guinea, and writes that of the six Rarotongans who arrived with him in November 1874 only one was still alive and that nine teachers, in total, had died that year. He blames the ‘unhealthy coast’ and states that there is ‘fever and ague everywhere’. In Lawes’s diary entries for July and August 1876, illness and deaths are reported on an almost daily basis, including references to his infant son Percy’s rapidly deteriorating health as well as his own frequent bouts of fever. The Motu people, too, suffered from the disease; but in July 1875 a measles epidemic, brought to Port Moresby by teachers who had returned to the mission field after convalescing in Australia, killed many of the local

18 Lockley, *From Darkness to Light*, 17.
20 Diane Langmore notes that Lawes and other missionaries did not know the cause of malaria but they were familiar with the use of quinine. According to Langmore, Lawes took 15 grains daily and he sometimes suffered bad side effects as a result. While not knowing its causes, Lawes published a paper on the nature of the illness in the *Australasian Medical Gazette* of 1887 (see Langmore, *Missionary Lives*, 96).
21 Lawes, letter to Joseph Mullens (LMS secretary), 15 September 1875, mfm M91 LMS Papua Letters 1872–1876, NLA.
22 Ibid.
Motu and was spread along the coast and into the interior of New Guinea by individuals who visited Port Moresby.\textsuperscript{23}

The effects of malaria were clearly extremely debilitating, physically as well as psychologically. Lawes writes in his journal entry for 22 July 1876: ‘I had a return of the violent pain in my head last night’,\textsuperscript{24} and in a letter to Joseph Mullens, the LMS secretary in London, he reports that he ‘suffered a great deal from fever, 18 attacks since the beginning of May [1876]’.\textsuperscript{25} In September 1875, the wood that had been cut to build the mission chapel in Port Moresby was covered in ‘creepers’ as the Laweses and local teachers did not have the ‘heart to do anything, even if we had physical strength’.\textsuperscript{26} After only half a year on the island, Lawes concluded that a long residence in Port Moresby was not possible: ‘Six months is more trying than 6 years on Niue’.\textsuperscript{27} When Percy died on 25 August 1876, Lawes’s resolve to quit the ‘unhealthy’ Port Moresby mission station was further strengthened.\textsuperscript{28}

Despite the prevalence of disease and Lawes’s numerous requests for ‘medical men’, the LMS only sent two medically trained missionaries out to New Guinea – William Young Turner, in 1876, and Thomas Ridgley, in 1882.\textsuperscript{29} Ridgley, who had informed the LMS directors that he did not wish to be sent to New Guinea, left after only a number of months and Turner, who was stationed in Port Moresby, lost his wife to malaria and also promptly left the mission field the same year as his arrival. The theme of sickness and death continue to pervade Lawes’s correspondence and journal entries in later years, though the LMS had started

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{23} Ibid.
\bibitem{24} Lawes, diary entry, 22 July 1876, \textit{New Guinea Journal, 1876–1884 [microform]}, mfm G 27500, Mitchell Library microfilm reel no. CY292, NLA. (Original held by the State Library of New South Wales at ML A387–A389.)
\bibitem{25} Lawes, letter to Mullens, 15 September 1875, mfm M91, NLA.
\bibitem{26} Lawes, letter to Mullens, 10 September 1876, mfm M91, NLA.
\bibitem{27} Lawes, letter to Mullens, 5 July 1876, mfm M91, NLA. Only three days later, Lawes writes another letter to Mullens in which he claims that the sickness in Port Moresby is worse than in the previous year and that he and Fanny fear they will lose Percy. Lawes is adamant that they cannot remain in Port Moresby another year, ‘we cannot live here’, and that, after a break, he would like to return to some other part of New Guinea though where, exactly, he does not know as he has not yet visited a place on the coast free from disease (Lawes, letter to Mullens, 8 July 1876, mfm M91, NLA.)
\bibitem{28} Lawes, letter to Mullens, 10 September 1876, mfm M91, NLA. Several deaths in his mission district are reported by Lawes in this letter and he writes to Mullens ‘You will not be surprised after reading the above to learn that we have decided to leave this in any case by the “JW” [mission boat]’. Fanny left Port Moresby at the end of 1876, but Lawes stayed on to help station more teachers along the coast and to ensure Chalmers settled into the work in Port Moresby.
\bibitem{29} Lawes, Letter to Mullens, 8 February 1875, mfm M91, NLA; Lawes, Letter to Mullens, 8 March 1875, mfm M91, NLA; See also Langmore, ‘Biographical Register’, in \textit{Missionary Lives}, 287, 288.
\end{thebibliography}
training their missionaries in basic medical procedures. When Watson Sharpe, sent out in 1885, succumbed to malaria Lawes reported:

I cannot tell you how sad and depressed we feel … All our hopes are dashed. It seems as if we were never to have help. I can’t ask you to send any more young men now. I can’t take any responsibility for bringing out young men to die here. I don’t believe God asks for all this sacrifice of life … I can only sit down in silent bewilderment.

Lawes wrote that they had few resources for treating ‘fever cases’ and that there was no ‘healthy place’ along the coast to which they can retreat in order to recover. By this stage Lawes conceded that, though still fever-plagued, Port Moresby was one of the healthiest stations along the coast. He further drew comparison to the mission in Central Africa and confronted the LMS directly: ‘It seems to me, we have made a mistake somewhere – Are you sure of your ground in sending men to die in the centre of Africa?’ Lawes questioned in particular sending young, healthy men out to these regions and asked whether more seasoned missionaries, from other overseas fields might take up the call to assist in places such as Africa and New Guinea. Despair and desperation taint this particularly poignant letter to Ralph W. Thompson, the LMS secretary at the time, which Lawes ends by informing him of the death of a local chief, Boevagi, who had been a close friend of the missionaries. The final lines, a reflection of the missionary’s state of mind: ‘This is a sorrowful letter and you may think it desponding. I am very sad, and very much perplexed in mind.’

New Guinea’s climate proved perilous to outsiders for several reasons. The long wet season and strong trade winds made travelling to the scattered outstations treacherous at times, and droughts in the Port Moresby area strained relations between the teachers and the Papuans whose plantations provided them with food – the Papuans would not part with their produce until payment in the form of tobacco, beads or some other item was made. Lawes wrote to Mullens in January 1875, after only a month in Port Moresby, explaining that ‘the people will not give the teachers a scrap of food without payment, neither will they do a stroke of work to help them’. And just one month later, Lawes observed that the teachers who had been placed in villages along the coast ‘are entirely dependent on us for food … food is

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30 See Lawes, letter to Mullens, 8 February 1875, mfm M91, NLA; Lawes, letter to Mullens, 8 March 1875, mfm M91, NLA; Lawes, letter to Ralph W. Thompson (LMS secretary), 16 May 1888, mfm M94 LMS Papua letters 1886–1889, NLA.
31 Lawes, letter to Thompson, 5 April 1886, mfm M94, NLA.
32 Lawes, letter to Mullens, 10 January 1875, mfm M91, NLA.
more or less scarce all along the coast. Nowhere is it plentiful and the contrast between the South Sea Islands and this land is as great as can be’. Before they could establish their own gardens, then, the missionaries were dependent on the infrequent visits of the mission vessel *Ellengowan* to transport their letters and bring supplies for the mission and its workers. When in October 1875 the *Ellengowan* had not visited Port Moresby in over six weeks, the Laweses found themselves in anxious times and had to ration out their own supplies of rice and flour in order to sustain the 18 teachers in their employ. This state of affairs – the prevalence of malaria and the harsh conditions for establishing plantations – underpinned Lawes’s long-held conviction that widespread European settlement was impossible on New Guinea. In a paper published in *The Australian Medical Gazette* in 1887 he declared ‘New Guinea is entirely unfitted to be the home of the Anglo-Saxon’.

Language provided another barrier to the smooth running of mission work in New Guinea as it was impossible for Lawes to become proficient in all of the languages spoken by the tribes on the southeast coast. In 1880 Lawes counted 25 different dialects or languages along the 300 miles of coast he had explored from Yule Island to China Straits, and he therefore relied on local interpreters in the villages where Motu was not spoken, though he also collected vocabularies of other language groups when he could. Lawes chose to learn Motu as this was the primary language spoken in the Port Moresby district as well as a trade lingua franca used widely along the south coast, but even this he could not speak fluently upon his arrival. The first months in New Guinea were therefore spent battling illness, building a house and store, as well as learning the local language – the singing and reading components of the services were initially delivered in Rarotongan, the language spoken by the resident teacher. By July 1875, Lawes could report only a small congregation consisting of ‘two or three adults and some half dozen children to talk to’ but he had translated four hymns into Motu as well as the first two chapters in the Gospel of Mark, with the help of the teachers, meaning that the whole service

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33 Lawes, letter to Mullens, 8 February 1875, mfm M91, NLA.
34 Lawes, letter to Mullens, 15 September 1875, mfm M91, NLA.
36 For example, from the Koitapu, another of the language groups from coastal region near Port Moresby (Lawes, ‘Ethnological Notes on the Motu, Koitapu and Koiai Tribes of New Guinea’, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 8 (1879): 372).
was now in the Motu language.\(^{38}\) While the LMS directors preferred the teaching of the Gospel and general education of Papuans be undertaken in English, Lawes maintained throughout his career that teaching English in New Guinea was an ‘impossibility’ as a result of the great diversity of languages.\(^{39}\)

Progress in the early years of the mission was slow and when potential converts came to the mission station to hear the missionary or teacher preach, Lawes could not be certain of their motivations as he often found they expected rewards for their curiosity.\(^{40}\) In a letter to Mullens written on 10 January 1875, Lawes repudiates the positive reports of the mission at Port Moresby written by Murray, who was stationed at Somerset on Cape York, and published in the October 1874 issue of the LMS’s periodical, the *Chronicle*.\(^{41}\) According to Murray, on a visit to the station prior to Lawes’s arrival he observed large numbers attending services led by the teachers at Port Moresby and the Sabbath was being observed by the Motu people there – claims Lawes asserted were ‘calculated to mislead and give false impressions’.\(^{42}\) Lawes, in contrast, reported that ‘work has never been given up on the Sabbath’ and that large attendances at the early meetings were due to ‘the novelty of the thing’ – once the Papuans realised they would not be rewarded for their presence with food or tobacco they stopped coming.\(^{43}\) Lawes therefore found there was much groundwork to be done before the ‘real’ work of the mission could begin, and his sobering accounts of the state of the New Guinea field as well as his criticism of the location of the headquarters at Cape York, strained relations between him, McFarlane, and the LMS directors early on during his time in Port Moresby.\(^{44}\)

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\(^{38}\) In a letter to Mullens, Lawes writes that three months were spent carpentering and building in early 1875 (Lawes, letter to Mullens, 5 July 1875, mfm M91, NLA).

\(^{39}\) Lawes, letter to Thompson, 30 September 1888, mfm M94, NLA.

\(^{40}\) See, for example, Lawes, letter to Mullens, 5 July 1875, mfm M91, NLA.


\(^{42}\) Lawes, letter to Mullens, 10 January 1875, mfm M91, NLA.

\(^{43}\) Ibid.; Lawes, letter to Mullens, 5 July 1875, mfm M91, NLA.

\(^{44}\) See Langmore, *Missionary Lives*, 189–191; Clive Moore and Steve Mullins note that the issue of the location of the headquarters of the New Guinea mission was only resolved by dividing the mission into the two divisions and that the relationship between Lawes and Chalmers at Port Moresby and McFarlane in Torres Strait was ‘so difficult that the New Guinea Mission Committee, which the three men comprised, was dysfunctional’ (Mullins, Bellamy and Moore, (eds.), ‘Andrew Goldie in New Guinea’, 108).
Propagating the New Guinea mission

The LMS directors’ desire to present a positive picture of the progress of work in their overseas fields is hardly surprising given their reliance on home support for the funding of missions. Expectations based on the Society’s work in other parts of the Pacific, where indigenous populations were fairly swiftly converted to Christianity, also played their part in the easy acceptance of positive news from New Guinea, such as presented by Murray. Indeed, there was little reason for the directors in London to question early reports of success due to their reliance on local missionaries to relay the progress of work. However, this did not stop them from carefully selecting the reports they would publish and share. Certainly, by the 1880s, when the LMS found itself in serious financial distress, the directors censored ‘those who attempted a more sober estimate’ of the mission’s successes in order to present a more ‘glowing picture.’

The costs associated with the New Guinea mission field were considerable for the time as the many outstations were widely dispersed and the missionaries relied on boats to carry out their work. Lawes spent several months of the year travelling to outstations, preparing the ground for new teachers and bringing supplies to the teachers already stationed in villages along the coast. By March 1875, only four months after arriving in Port Moresby, he was overseeing 90 villages along 200 miles of coast. Boats feature prominently in the letters and reports written by missionaries in New Guinea, as not only did they allow the men and women to carry out their work but they also provided a vital link to home through the letters and reading materials they transported. When Miss Baxter of Dundee gave £2000 ‘for the purchase and outfit of a small steamer [the Ellengowan]’ after hearing McFarlane’s description of the new field in a lecture during his visit to England in 1872, she secured herself a permanent place in narratives of the New Guinea mission.

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45 Langmore, Missionary Lives, 187.
46 Lawes, letter to Mullens, 8 March 1875, mfm M91, NLA.
47 C. Silvester Horne, The Story of the London Missionary Society, 1795–1895 (London: London Missionary Society, 1894), 401). Miss Baxter also partly subsidised Lawes’s salary and left money to the missionary upon her death (Lawes, letter to Thompson, 14 May 1886, mfm M94, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 25 & 27 May 1889, mfm M94, NLA). Despite this generosity on the part of Miss Baxter, Lawes frequently complained about the Ellengowan, writing that the vessel was too small and slow and it was often in need of repairs. Lawes suggested a steamer was required for the work in New Guinea and to ferry letters and missionaries between Port Moresby and Sydney more speedily (see Lawes, letter to Thompson, 12 February 1884, mfm M93, NLA; Lawes, letter to Mullens,
The work of propagating the New Guinea mission was centralised in London, a vast distance from the overseas field, which meant the LMS relied on its staff and procedures to operate effectively. As Robert A. Bickers and David Arnold note, the ‘well-organised structures of metropolitan missionary societies’ were vital in ensuring the flow of funds and personnel to the overseas mission fields and the reciprocal ‘mass of material – private letters, reports, photographs, drawings, objects – to the metropolitan centre’. 48 These letters, reports, photographs, drawings, and objects were used to help advertise the work being done in overseas mission fields and to raise funds through their reproduction in church periodicals, pamphlets, books, and missionary biographies, and display in lectures and exhibitions in the metropolitan centres.49 The level of order, procedure, and routine required to oversee such a vast amount of material is demonstrated in the meticulously numbered, dated, and itemised leaflets attached to each letter and report the missions secretary received (fig. 3.1). Photographic prints and negatives were also grouped by district and negatives were stamped with ‘the country, subject matter, the lecture in which the image appeared and the set and negative numbers … This meant individual prints could be quickly located for lectures, re-making into lantern slides, enlargements for display and exhibitions, or printing in the Chronicle and the many books the LMS published’.50 As Anna Johnston observes, the British Empire was “‘a paper empire”, characterised by vast information-gathering and publication made possible by nineteenth-century print technologies”; 51 the LMS, one arm of the imperial governing body, was no exception.

8 March 1875, mfm M91, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 16 September 1882, mfm M93 LMS Papua letters 1882–1885, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 7 October 1882, mfm M93, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 18 August 1886, mfm M94, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 20 November 1886, mfm M94, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 19 & 22 January 1887, mfm M94, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 15 October 1887, mfm M94, NLA). The LMS finally purchased the schooner Harrier in 1888, after some persuading by Lawes (see Lawes, letter to Thompson, 24 April 1888, mfm M94, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 5 July 1888, mfm M94, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 22 November 1889, mfm M94, NLA).

49 The LMS did not publish photographs in its periodical, the Chronicle, until 1889 (when printing technology allowed the easy printing of photographs in text) but it had reproduced etchings based on photographs prior to this (Max Quanchi, Photographing Papua: Representation, Colonial Encounters and Imaging in the Public Domain (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 153.)
50 Quanchi, Photographing Papua, 24.
As with many missionaries, Lawes came to photography through the particular demands of overseas mission work. As Virginia-Lee Webb notes:

Photography was a great diversion for missionaries. It not only provided them with a way to visualize and legitimize their work, but it also provided a break from their arduous daily routine, helped alleviate the extreme isolation that missionaries felt and the stress of daily survival. The medium enabled them to produce documents which could be used to justify their work to congregations at home.52

The isolation felt by the early missionaries in New Guinea was only worsened by the long delays in receiving news from home, as letters took up to three months to reach Port Moresby. Visual images and, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, photographs played a critical part in the imaging of overseas missions in European and colonial centres. The camera also held ‘enormous symbolic appeal for missionaries’ as it functioned based ‘on the power of light.’53

Though I have found no direct instructions from the LMS to Lawes to send photographs, after his arrival on New Guinea in 1874, it did not take long for the missionary to start photographing his new home and the indigenous inhabitants of the Port Moresby mission district. He occasionally wrote about his photography in his early journals and letters to the LMS, and first mentions using his camera on 21 January 1876, when he visited the village of Boera.54 However, we know that Lawes took photographs earlier than this due to the dates included in the captions for several of his photographs in a catalogue list compiled by Henry King, a professional photographer in Sydney who sold Lawes’s New Guinea views through his studio, mentioned in Chapter One. Indeed, Lawes had been photographing since at least 1870, while stationed on Niue, and had grappled with photographic technology and chemicals in order to ensure he produced good quality prints. In a letter to his sister written from Niue, Lawes writes: ‘What do you think of our likeness … I have tried

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54 Lawes, diary entry, 21 January 1876, mfm G 27500, NLA; see also, Lawes, letter to Mullens, 3 & 26 January 1876, mfm M91, NLA (at the end of this letter Lawes writes: ‘I have sent a few more photographs which I hope you will appreciate’).
with Frank’s [brother’s] camera since our return but without success. I fancy it is the fault of the camera or chemicals. 55

Subsequently, in a letter sent to the LMS secretary, Joseph Mullens, on 6 October 1870, Lawes requested a raft of photographic supplies along with the usual list of foodstuffs, tools, and clothing. These supplies consisted of a long list of photographic chemicals, including negative and positive collodion, as well as ‘2 dippers … 2 med size Porcelain trays with wells for fixing, 1 plate box to hold 50 stereoscopic plates … black varnish … 1 Silver Bath meter … 1 pneumatic plate holder … 1 stereoscope’ and 216 glass plate negatives of various sizes. He also ordered a copy of the seventh edition of A Manual of Photographic Chemistry, by T. Frederick Hardwich, and ‘1 Zoetrope or Wheel of Life’ – a pre-cinema optical device for creating moving pictures. 56 Such a list certainly betrays a keen interest in photography and Lawes’s background, growing up with a father who owned a draper’s business, likely meant he had a good knowledge of chemicals and dyes. However, singling him out as somehow uniquely talented or noteworthy as a photographer would be misleading as his photographs are not generally technically accomplished nor did he have an eye for the visually arresting to the same degree as Lindt.

The subjects most frequently selected by missionaries to send to their mission organisations, or that the organisations selected and purchased, included images of the houses and churches they built in the foreign landscapes, portraits of ‘heathen’ and Christian indigenous inhabitants as well as the faithful ‘native teachers’ the missions employed. In the case of island missions, the mission photographic archive also contains many photographs of the dinghies, ships, and steamers that conveyed the missionaries between islands and along the coasts as these were often paid for by congregations or benefactors of the missions back home, such as in the case of Miss

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55 Lawes, letter to Joyce Lawes (sister), 3 October 1870, Press-copy letterbook, Niue Island, 1868–1870, [microfilm] CY Reel 448 (A386), Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (ML); Lawes, letter to Mullens, 6 October 1870, CY Reel 448 (A386), ML.
Baxter and the *Ellengowan*, mentioned above. These subjects are all represented in a magic lantern slide set produced by the LMS consisting of 63 slides accompanied by 27 pages of notes on ‘Life and Work in New Guinea’ written by Lawes. These notes and lantern slides, that included images photographed by Lawes, were then presented around the country by missionaries on deputation, meaning that the missionaries themselves were brought into the web of church promotional and fundraising work.\(^57\) These official visits, however, proved a strain on finances and Lawes frequently mentions the ‘Inadequacy of [his] stipend to meet reasonable and legitimate expenses’.\(^58\) He even threatened to leave the mission on two occasions in 1884 and 1886 following disputes over expenses accrued during visits to the colonies in Australia.\(^59\)

Lawes’s extant photographs betray the same mission concerns in their subjects. Indeed, if we take the album of his photographs held at the Mitchell Library in Sydney as representative of his photographic oeuvre, then it can be said that Lawes primarily aimed his camera at the Papuans in and around his mission district.\(^60\) The album was compiled to serve as a display album for King’s photographic studio sometime in the 1890s; it contains 158 photographic prints of which 147 are attributed to Lawes (there are nine photographs by Frederick W. Walker in the album as well as two unattributed photographs).\(^61\) There is also a catalogue list of the approximately 281 Lawes photographs available for sale through King’s studio pasted into the inside cover of the album, and this list is divided into subject categories – ‘General’, ‘Missionary’, and ‘Anthropological’. The

\(^{57}\) Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 150.

\(^{58}\) Lawes, letter to Thompson, 14 May 1886, mfm M94, NLA.

\(^{59}\) Lawes, letter to Thompson, 12 February 1884, mfm M93, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 14 May 1886, mfm M94, NLA (here the ‘threat’ is somewhat more subtle as, after an extended criticism of the LMS’s ‘mean and unjust’ handling of his accounts, Lawes writes: ‘I have no wish to leave New Guinea, but …’).

\(^{60}\) As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, there are several collections of Lawes’s photographs in Australia, the UK, New Zealand, Germany, and most likely elsewhere in the world. The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London has the largest collection that I have seen thus far, though it contains many duplicate prints and there are also images I have not yet confidently identified as being by Lawes (see Appendix 1 and 2). The number of subjects I have identified (not counting duplicate prints) at SOAS are equal to the number of prints held in the Mitchell Library. The collection of Lawes photographs at SOAS belongs to the CWM/LMS archive that is made up of correspondence and images sent to the LMS by its missionaries in the field. The LMS purchased several Lawes photographs through King’s studio. The album held at the Mitchell Library may therefore be taken as representative of Lawes’s photographic output (at least, those photographs he took for public consumption).

‘Missionary’ section is made up entirely of portraits and photographs of mission buildings, the only exception being an image of a collection of spears, shields, and other indigenous weapons and objects given to the LMS missionaries at the May 1890 missions meeting in Port Moresby, which were sold to raise funds for the mission.

The photographs Lawes took of mission buildings frequently feature groups of islanders and other European missionaries posed in them or standing by as casual ‘extras’ (see, for example, fig. 3.2). While clothed Papuans represented the moral and religious rebirth of the people, the mission house and church at Port Moresby and teachers’ houses and churches in the outstations signified the physical encroachment of civilisation and Christianity on the landscape (see, figs. 3.3–3.5). Aside from the mission house at Port Moresby and the college that was built at Vatorata in 1894, the mission buildings Lawes photographed are hybrid constructions consisting of European and local elements. The missionary not only photographed these buildings to serve the demands and interests of the LMS but also as a personal document of the progress of the mission work being done on the southeast coast.

As mentioned above, missionaries’ photographs were frequently put to use in the service of the Church and were often taken with this function in mind. They were sent back to the mission organisations to be reproduced in periodicals and as postcards and lantern slides as well as mounted on boards for display at meetings in order to aid the fundraising and evangelical effort. Contrasting Christian and ‘heathen’, ‘civilised’ and ‘savage’ was particularly popular in the visual component of mission propaganda as such juxtapositions were visually striking and it was easy to read their implicit message. The ubiquitous before-and-after narrative of mission propaganda found its visual expression here and these images were repeatedly put to use in the various forms of information dissemination by the church to tell the story of successful transformations in both spiritual and material terms. Lawes was...

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62 Quanchi writes ‘Achievements in opening new regions were represented ... by photographs of new churches, schools and housing’ (Quanchi, Photographing Papua, 150). Terry Barringer also notes ‘among Protestants, mission stations conventionally appear as pinpoints of light in the heathen darkness’ (Terry Barringer, ‘From Beyond Alpine Snows to Homes of the East – A Journey through Missionary Periodicals: The Missionary Periodicals Database Project,’ International Bulletin of Missionary Research 26, No. 4 (October 2002): 170).

63 For discussions on this particular characteristic of missionary propaganda, also referred to as the narrative of conversion or transformation, see, for example, Nicholas Thomas, Colonialism’s Culture:
attuned to the public imaging of missions and clearly aimed his camera at certain subjects with the demands of the mission society in mind. He took many photographs of Christian and ‘heathen’ Papuans, and a portrait of Harieta, the Lawes’s maid, seated behind a sewing machine is an example of the manner in which the virtues of conversion and the meeting of cultures were photographically represented by Lawes (fig. 3.6). It may also have been the case that the particular sewing machine in this photograph was purchased with funds collected from home congregations. As the first European resident in southeast New Guinea, Lawes no doubt attracted attention as a missionary ‘celebrity’. Much as tabloid papers today display photographs of movie stars’ houses, Lawes too supplied the LMS with shots of the dwellings he and other missionaries lived in as well as portraits of the Society’s workers (see figs. 3.7 & 3.8).

Lawes and the Papuans: Preconceptions and early encounters

Lawes was a pragmatic man and recognised early on that simply ‘standing up with an open Bible in his hand preaching’ was not the manner in which to win the Motu people for Christ.64 After 14 months he reported that the Motu were still indifferent to the Christian message he preached.65 On visiting their villages Lawes observed that ‘all we can do often on a first visit is to let the natives handle us, feel us, give them a little present, and come away … It is thus, red beads, strips of cloth, and hoop-iron become evangelising agents of far greater power than Bibles and tracts in an unknown tongue’.66 This was a common experience among pioneer missionaries, as Diane Langmore observes:

The first generation of missionaries in Papua showed some of the characteristics of [Max] Weber’s “charismatic” leader in their relations with the Papuans … Their authority was derived from their person, not their status. There was at first little structure in the missionaries’ interactions with the Papuans, reward was by booty … and roles and activities were fluid and ever changing.67

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64 King, W. G. Lawes, 143.
65 Langmore, Missionary Lives, 139.
66 Lawes, quoted in King, W. G. Lawes, 143.
67 Langmore, Missionary Lives, 205.
In one instance, in Hula village in Hood Bay, Lawes submitted to being anointed by one of the chiefs in order to ensure peace and friendship. He recounts the ceremony as a necessary, if at first unwanted, experience:

my host took the shell, in order to pour the contents over me. I declined the honour. I saw he looked disappointed and surprised. I was told this was a sign of friendship and peace … I soon gave my friend to understand that I was willing to be anointed as much as he liked in the interests of peace. I took off my shirt, and a shout – of admiration possibly – followed on their seeing my white skin. I received the oil and it trickled down in streams as I sat in his house, and partook of his hospitality. I should be willing – and I am sure you would – to be anointed for the sake of peace in every heathen village in New Guinea.68

This excerpt from a speech given by Lawes at the annual meeting of the LMS at Exeter Hall in London in May 1879 gives important insight into the adaptability required of early missionaries in foreign fields. However, on-the-ground improvisations clearly cost the missionary some peace of mind as Lawes could not be certain how he would be judged by the Society’s members as a result of such actions. 69 The fact that Lawes implores his listeners to empathise with his compliance with local traditions near the end of the excerpt and his use of the term ‘heathen’, with its particular religious connotations, seems to indicate that he felt some justification for his actions was required. In recounting this same episode in a letter printed in the Australian Town and Country Journal in January 1878, Lawes does not seek to justify his actions but moves on to explain in a somewhat more light-hearted manner that ‘After being thoroughly greased outside, I was at liberty to sit down and repeat the operation internally; for the yams, taro, &c., which had been cooked, were reeking with cocoanut oil!!’70 Lawes was clearly adept at tailoring the reports of his mission work to the needs and prejudices of his various audiences. The success of such acts of compliance with local customs is evidenced in the reputation that Lawes and James Chalmers, who arrived in New Guinea in 1877, won as ‘the

68 Lawes, speech at Exeter Hall, May 1879, quoted in King, W. G. Lawes, 146–147.
69 In the ‘General Instructions for Missionaries’ the LMS clearly states that their representatives in the field ‘be the Christian gentleman’ and not sink ‘into careless and slovenly habits of dress and home life’, which may explain Lawes’s particular angst regarding what congregations in England might think of his preaching in ‘white trousers and check flannel shirt’ (Lawes, diary entry, 22 February 1876, mfm G 27500, NLA; ‘Selections from General Regulations for the Guidance of English Missionaries of the Society as Revised by the Directors, 1892’, reproduced in Patricia Prendergast, ‘A History of the London Missionary Society in British New Guinea’ (PhD Thesis, University of Hawai‘i, 1968), Appendix 1, 458).
men who bring and make peace’. Lawes proudly reported that he and Chalmers were never molested in any of the villages they visited in the early years of the mission, despite the fact that many of the places they travelled to had never been visited by white men.

Lawes’s ad hoc approach to evangelisation won him several friends and allies in the Port Moresby district. Boevagi, the previously mentioned local chief, remained a close friend of the mission and a portrait of him served as a frontispiece to Chalmers’ book, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, published in 1887. Lawes took several photographs of the chief, one of which shows him with various items associated with indigenous warfare, while in another he appears in ‘full dress’ (see fig. 3.9). In his book, Chalmers also dedicated seven pages to Kena or ‘Granny’, as the missionaries called her, and Lawes mentions her in his journal entries. ‘Granny’ was a widow from Hanuabada in Port Moresby who early on in the mission, before Lawes and his family arrived, campaigned for the Polynesian teachers stationed at Manumanu to move to her village. According to Chalmers she would visit the six teachers and their wives, who had been placed at Manumanu by McFarlane and Gill in 1872, and exclaim: ‘You are in the wrong place. Come to Hanuabada, the largest of all the villages on this part of the coast’. However, before the teachers could visit her home they all succumbed to malaria. When Murray finally placed teachers at Hanuabada in 1873, Kena ‘soon appeared on the scene, and claimed peculiar friendship’ with them. This friendship was then extended to Lawes and his family when Kena took it upon herself to fetch wood and water for the new arrivals. She often accompanied Lawes and Fanny on their visits to the outstations along the southeast coast and on their inland treks to the villages in the Koiari district. Her contact with the Europeans and the establishment of close relations with them gave Granny access to the Lawes’s private quarters, and Chalmers writes that she often stole from them when the opportunity presented itself. While the missionaries saw

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71 Lawes, speech presented at Exeter Hall, quoted in King, *W. G. Lawes*, 147.
72 Ibid.
74 Lawes, diary entry, 26 July 1882, mfm G 27500, NLA.
76 Ibid., 254.
77 Ibid., 255. Interestingly, I have not read of Kena’s thieving in Lawes’s letters or diary entries, though he does characterise Papuans as liars and thieves in one of his ethnological papers and again
this as a moral failing on the local woman’s part, for Kena this was most likely understood as a natural part of the bond that had been formed between them – the local rules governing possessions, property, and friendship being different from European understandings of the same.\footnote{As James Clifford notes, in Melanesia objects are not accumulated to serve as private goods but are meant to be given away, to be redistributed (James Clifford, ‘Objects and Selves – An Afterword’, in Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture, ed. George W. Stocking (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 238).}

Despite this, the Laweses described Kena as their ‘factotum’ and she was introduced to Lindt in 1885 as Fanny’s ‘Prime Minister, without whose valuable aid and assistance the good lady would not manage to get on very well.’\footnote{John W. Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), 31; Lawes, diary entry, 26 July 1882, mfm G 27500, NLA. For more on the transformative nature of relations between Europeans and Papuans see, Joshua A. Bell, “Expressions of kindly feeling”: The London Missionary Society Collections from the Papuan Gulf’, in Melanesia: Art and Encounter, edited by L. Bolton, N. Thomas, L. Bonshek and J. Adams, 57–63 (London: British Museum Press, 2013). As Bell notes: ‘Material culture was integral to engagements between LMS missionaries and local people, and influenced each party’s perceptions of the other’s performances’ (Bell, 57–58).}

Though Lawes and his family developed close friendships with several of the Motu people in the Port Moresby mission district, these relationships were inflected by a humanitarian paternalism common amongst colonial agents of this period. As Langmore observes, ‘The dominant group, the missionaries, exercised a benevolent despotism over their subordinates, the Papuans, whom they saw as inferior, childish, immature, and irresponsible’.\footnote{Langmore, Missionary Lives, 127.} It is little surprising that missionaries were seen as the ‘vanguards of Empire’,\footnote{Greenwell, ‘Picturing “Civilization”’, 6.} as government officials adopted a similar position later in the colonial era. Indeed, Lawes was referred to as the ‘first ruler of British New Guinea’ by Sir William MacGregor,\footnote{Sir William MacGregor, quoted in Northcott, Guinea Gold, 40.} who was appointed administrator of British New Guinea in 1887. Shortly after New Guinea had been declared a protectorate of the British Empire in 1884, Lawes implored a group of listeners in Melbourne: ‘I ask you to accept them as fellow-subjects and fellow men. Don’t talk about them as “niggers” or “black-fellows” but … let them be treated as men, weak, ignorant and childish, but still members of the human family, and they will grow up into a vigorous manhood’.\footnote{King, W. G. Lawes, 232–233.} Lawes’s belief that Papuans could be raised from their degraded state to the level of civilisation attained in European nations, is also here
evident and was shared by many missionaries who, as ‘Believers in the unity of humankind … were therefore believers in the modifiability of human nature.’

Missionaries largely adhered to the doctrine of monogenism, which posited that all human beings descended from one couple (Adam and Eve) and that any differences between ‘races’ were a result of external, environmental factors rather than innate physical characteristics, as theorised by polygenists. Monogenism, ultimately confirmed by evolutionist thinking therefore allowed missionaries, as self-appointed exemplars of the top rung of the evolutionary ladder, to assume the role of saviours and ‘raise’ the Papuans from their lowly place amongst the child races. As Richard Eves writes, in relation to Methodist missionaries working in the Pacific, ‘they reinscribed the rhetoric of humanism within racialized and parental hierarchies, and applied their pedagogic regimes towards reforming the Pacific Islanders’. In 1879, Lawes proudly declared: ‘Christianity is the true civilizer, and wherever it comes in contact with heathenism and barbarism the work of civilization begins.’

Missionaries arrived with little understanding of or tolerance for the complexities of local indigenous cultures, but the experience of living and working amongst these peoples soon challenged their prejudices and preconceptions. While Lawes despaired that the moral condition of the people ‘is deplorably low’ and was shocked, in particular, by ‘the heathen mavaru’ (a traditional Motu dance), he denied the commonly held view that Papuans were lazy and praised their ‘good intellectual capacity’ and the strong familial bonds apparent in the tribes of his district. When he visited the village of Kerepunu in April 1876, Lawes found that his ‘respect for the stone period was considerably increased’ on viewing a beautifully crafted hatchet, and he was further impressed by the neatly ordered ‘streets’ and gardens in which he spied flowers growing – something he had ‘never before seen in any native

86 Eves, “Black and white, a significant contrast”, 742.
87 Quoted in King, *W. G. Lawes*, 139.
plantation either in the South Seas or New Guinea’. Indeed, as more white men
came to New Guinea’s shores, first as a result of the short-lived Laloki River gold
rush in 1878 and then following the proclamation of 1884 and, finally, annexation of
the territory by Britain in 1888, Lawes’s assessment of his fellow countrymen was
negatively affected as he witnessed the calibre of settler arriving and feared the
effect they might have on Papuans. In his 1893 annual report for Port Moresby
Lawes concludes: ‘the influence of white men resident here is not helpful either to
civilization or Christianity.’

In the early years, Lawes noted his observations about the Motu and other
tribes in his mission district in letters to the LMS and in his diary entries but by 1879
at least, it seems that Lawes was engaging with ethnological theories of the time.
The LMS missionaries sent out to the Pacific in the late nineteenth century did not
receive training in ethnological methods or theory. However, as Langmore observes,
‘some found, when in the field, that intellectual curiosity or contact with practicing
anthropologists guided them toward [anthropological theory]’. In 1879, Lawes
published his first ethnological paper – a companion piece to a paper presented to the
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland by Turner in 1878 on the Motu.
In Lawes’s paper, ‘Ethnological Notes on the Motu, Koitapu and Koiari Tribes of
New Guinea’, he cites John Lubbock’s work, _Origin of Civilisation_, published in
1870, as well as Alfred Russel Wallace’s division of the races in the region into the
Malays and the Papuans, and mentions ‘Dr. Rolleston’s’ collection of skulls at
Oxford, demonstrating that he had read their theories and shown some interest in
collections of Papuan artefacts back in England.

Lawes hosted several scientific travellers at the mission station in Port
Moresby, such as the Russian anthropologist Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay and
Octavius C. Stone, a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and would often

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89 Lawes, diary entry, 5 April 1876, mfm G 27500, NLA.
90 Lawes, ‘Annual Report of Port Moresby District British New Guinea for 1893’, 10 January 1894,
mfm M12, NLA.
91 Langmore, _Missionary Lives_, 111.
92 Lawes, ‘Ethnological Notes on the Motu, Koitapu and Koiari Tribes of New Guinea’, _Journal of the
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland_ 8 (1879): 374, 376. George Rolleston (1829–81),
a protégé of Thomas Henry Huxley, was Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at the University of
Oxford; his extensive global collection of human skulls was held by the Oxford University Museum of
Natural History (I thank Bronwen Douglas for supplying me with this background information. For
more on Rolleston, see E. B. Tylor, ‘Life of George Rolleston’, in _Scientific Papers and Addresses by
accompany them on their treks. The missionary further endeavoured to remain familiar with current literature, and requested that the LMS send him the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* on a more regular basis. However, it was difficult to keep up to date with his reading once stationed in the islands due to the demands of mission work and Lawes’s reliance on the LMS and home audiences to supply the mission with reading materials. In June 1883, Lawes writes: ‘honestly I have not seen a new book for more than two years with the solitary exception of Dr Mellor’s memorial vol thoughtfully sent by Miss Dawson of Lancaster’. In his speech presented at Exeter Hall in 1879 Lawes declared ‘religiously all is a blank’ in New Guinea, which suggests he had not read E. B. Tylor’s influential study, *Primitive Culture*, published in 1871, that challenged the limited understanding of what constituted religion. Unlike George Brown, a Methodist missionary who worked in the islands for many years, Lawes did not keep up correspondence with prominent anthropologists, but rather read ethnological texts selectively when they were available to him and focussed instead on translating the New Testament and other religious texts into the Motu language. While such work made him an ‘expert linguist’, as Webb argues, his interest in the Papuan people came from a curiosity stimulated once he was in the field as well as his paternalistic missionary outlook rather than any concentrated anthropological study.

This is not to say that Lawes was not invested in the work being done on New Guinea and its people. He was wary of Stone’s ethnographic notes even before they were published, writing to the LMS secretary:

> Look out for anything that may be published in *Times* or elsewhere by a Mr Stone. He has been here and lately has shown himself to be a mean, little, man. He is an FRGS [Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society] would like to be thought a great man but he possesses none of the elements of greatness.

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93 Octavius C. Stone spent three months in New Guinea in late 1875 and accompanied Lawes and McFarlane on two separate inland expeditions (Lawes, letter to Mullens, 8 July 1876, mfm M91, NLA; Lawes, letter to Mullens, 3 & 26 January 1876, mfm M91, NLA).
94 Lawes, letter to Mr Whitehouse, 21 June 1883, mfm M93, NLA.
95 Ibid.
97 Though I do not believe Lawes actively sought out and maintained contact with anthropologists and other scientists, it appears that such men corresponded with the missionary. For example, Lawes makes reference to a letter Giglioli sent him in which he writes of ‘having seen the large collection of skulls made by Signor D’Albertis in his voyage up the Fly River’ (Lawes, ‘Notes on New Guinea and Its Inhabitants’, 606).
Please send me anything that may be published about this place or our journey inland.  

Lawes further accused Stone of plagiarism as he had pencilled his ethnographic notes ‘descriptive of this place, the different tribes, their cultures etc.’ while he was staying with Lawes in Port Moresby and did not acknowledge it. Lawes was also dismissive of Captain Lawson’s *Wanderings in the Interior of New Guinea*, noting in his letter to Mullens in which he outlined his visit to the interior with Stone: ‘We met with no such wonders as Capt Lawson describes and had no such adventures’. He made reference to the book, again, in his 1880 paper: ‘Captain Lawson speaks of a tiger … but until further evidence is forthcoming the said animal must be consigned to Captain Lawson’s menagerie’. As was frequently the case with missionaries in the outposts of empires, Lawes assumed the role of local authority and fact checker for travelling gentlemen scientists.

Lawes was very much a ‘missionary data collector’ – observing and recording as well as collecting botanical specimens and indigenous material culture rather than positing theories of his own. His many photographs of the Papuan people and their material culture are an extension of his written observations and collecting practices. The most striking feature of the Mitchell Library King studio album is the large section near the back containing ‘studio’ portraits of types, teachers, and converts. Lawes’s studio consisted of a white sheet hung or held up behind the seated and standing subjects posed in groups, pairs, and on their own. In total there are 84 studio portraits – by far the largest category of images in this album (they make up 57 percent of the 147 photographs by Lawes in King’s album). There are 61 portraits that can be classified as ethnographic in the album. Such ‘portrait

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99 Lawes, letter to Mullens, 3 & 26 January 1876, mfm M91, NLA.
100 Lawes, letter to Mullens, 8 July 1876, mfm M91, NLA.
101 Lawes, letter to Mullens, 3 & 26 January 1876, mfm M91, NLA.
104 Lawes mentions his collecting in his diary entries and letters. For example, in July 1877 in Pasili village, Lawes was brought an echidna and writes that he had skinned and eaten one that he had been given recently. ‘it is a new species. The first I obtained I gave to the museum in Sydney and these two I shall send to Oxford’ (Lawes, diary entry, 28 July 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA). In early 1879 Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay also notes meeting Lawes and a native Papuan (Mea) in Sydney, and that Lawes had brought with him ‘objects of natural science’ that he had collected in New Guinea (Miklouho-Maclay, *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh* [Collected Works in Six Volumes], vol. 2 (Moscow: Nauka, 1993), 329 [text translated by Elena Govor].
types” … made an abstract sense of human variation observable and real’, as Jane Lydon notes, and they were widely sought after by scientists such as Wallace, Luigi Maria D’Albertis, and Enrico Gigliolo (whom Lawes also makes reference to in a paper he wrote in 1880 on ‘New Guinea and Its Inhabitants’). Lawes was the first permanent European settler in New Guinea, and as such he likely saw himself as uniquely situated to assist in scientific endeavours by providing European anthropologists with the visual data needed to develop their theories. Lawes approached the task of producing anthropological portraits not as part of a systematic project but as an adjunct to his photographic practice while in New Guinea that was no doubt influenced by the illustrations he had seen in newspapers and anthropological articles, and also the discussions he had with scientists who visited him in Port Moresby. His portraits satisfied Miklouho-Maclay who noted in his diaries: ‘since I can get portraits of local natives from Mr. L., who goes in for photography, I preferred to copy women’s tattoos which cannot be done photographically.’

Lawes also arranged indigenous artefacts in his makeshift studio and the composition of these photographs often bear a striking resemblance to drawings executed during earlier scientific voyages (see, for example, figs. 3.10 & 3.11). This genre of imaging – the ethnographic object still-life – is linked to the eighteenth century ‘urge to collect curiosities’ that ‘was transformed … into a photographic practice’ in the nineteenth century. Lawes was probably the first European to photograph works of art from the region and collected many examples of the material culture of the Papuans during his time in Port Moresby. Taking photographs of these objects was in all likelihood an act of ‘salvage’, as Lawes had witnessed first-hand the effects of the introduction of European technology and commodities into indigenous societies in Australia and Polynesia. Similar motivations influenced George Brown’s collecting and photographing of Pacific

106 Miklouho-Maclay, Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomyakh [Collected Works in Six Volumes], vol. 2, 327.
107 Quanchi, Photographing Papua, 105.
artefacts and natural history specimens during his years as general secretary of the Australasian Methodist Overseas Mission. While Brown rarely recorded his collecting practices, there is evidence to suggest that he photographed objects in Port Moresby in 1890 when he visited New Guinea on a tour of the Pacific. Photographs displaying the material culture of ‘dark races’ proved popular and became, themselves, curiosities to be collected by men and women in Australia, England, and elsewhere. This goes some way to explaining why Lawes photographed assemblages of objects that had been collected by others who visited New Guinea and why such photographs were displayed in the magic lantern lectures that missionaries presented in the Australian colonies and in England.

Scientific curiosity alone did not drive missionaries’ collecting and photographing of local artefacts in the mission field. Helen Gardner and Richard Eves have observed that Brown collected material culture as part of the promotional and fundraising work he undertook for the Methodist church. Exhibiting the objects and photographs in missionary exhibitions and in magic lantern lectures in Australia and England added to the appeal of these events for audiences keen to see ‘curiosities’ from ‘exotic’ lands. However, the missionaries had to ensure that the messages conveyed in these images were not wholly negative. As Eves, Nicholas Thomas, and others have noted, focussing on negative representations of ‘savagery’ and ‘heathenism’ alone did not serve the missionary enterprise, as it gave the impression that the work in foreign fields was ultimately pointless. This is why, when it came to photographing material culture, the objects were frequently presented as random assemblages against neutral backdrops, removed from their original contexts. Lawes photographed some objects in ‘use’, such as in the portraits of Boevagi mentioned above and his photograph of the young men holding the Maiva shields that had been collected by Robert Bruce, a shipbuilder for the LMS

110 For example, there is a photograph of spears, bowls, and other objects taken against a woven mat, most likely outside the mission house, and a photograph of ornaments arranged on a house wall, both from an album now held at the Mitchell Library in Sydney (Album of Papua New Guinea / Rev. George Brown, ca. 1890–1905, nos. 118 & 119, PXA 925, ML).
111 Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 105.
who lived on Mer in the Torres Strait (figs. 3.12 & 3.13). However, such images are rare in Lawes’s extant photographs and they are also highly staged. The three men holding the shields are most likely LMS youth or mission staff and the photograph was clearly taken in the grounds of the Port Moresby mission station, as evidenced by the fence and backdrop in the photograph. Here, then, is an example of Lawes being employed to act as photographer for his mission colleague ‘who was assembling a representative collection of objects from New Guinea and Torres Strait with the intention of bringing it back to Scotland.’

The artistic or technological prowess evident in the construction of certain objects was commented on by several missionaries but more often than not the transformation of the ‘heathens’ into ‘civilised’ Christian subjects was signalled by their abandonment of such objects. A collection made at the May meeting of missionaries, native teachers, and converts in Port Moresby in 1890, which Brown also attended, was photographed by Lawes and included spears, shields and drums, as well as domestic items such as pots, bowls, and nets (fig. 3.14). The artefacts fetched £20 for the mission upon their sale, though who purchased them is not known. The spears, in particular, were a welcome haul for the missionaries as they symbolised both ‘the bloodthirsty savagery of the potential converts’, while also illustrating the mission’s success in pacifying the ‘natives.’

Documenting the land and its people for ethnographic study, and presenting the success of the mission for fundraising and promotional work as well as for personal record appear to be key motivations for Lawes’s photography. His photographs of valued and, importantly, named mission workers and local friends as well as the images that include members of his family also betray a personal agenda. David Maxwell notes in his paper on missionary representations of the Luba of the

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115 A print of the photograph is held in the Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand (PAColl-4310-1, Crawford, R J, f1 1961, photographs of Samoa and New Guinea, acc no. ½-106678). A caption, written on the reverse of the photograph in ink, states: ‘This collection of curios given because the people had no money realised £20’. This collection of artefacts was also reproduced as an engraving in the February 1891 issue of the LMS Chronicle, though the objects are arranged slightly differently than in Lawes’s photograph (perhaps the engraving was done after a photograph by another of the missionaries present at the meeting, such as George Brown) (see ‘May Meeting at Port Moresby’, Chronicle, February 1891, 46, mp 2150, NLA).

116 Eves, ‘Commentary: Missionary or Collector?’, 52.
southeast Belgian Congo that ‘photographs taken by missionaries can show a far more complex attitude towards their subjects than the simple oppositions that evangelical prose usually allowed’. 117 And Quanchi draws attention to the ‘competing personal, religious, fund-raising and ethnographic motivations’ evident in missionary photography.118 The subjects Lawes chose to photograph make it clear that the demands of mission work were not always paramount when he pointed his camera and ‘shot’ – he was, therefore, a typical missionary photographer.

John W. Lindt in Australia

Johannes Wilhelm Lindt travelled to Australia from Germany in 1862 at the age of 17.119 A romantic, middle-class, educated youth, he had run away to sea and worked his passage to Australia aboard a Dutch ship. After a time spent travelling in Victoria and New South Wales, tuning and repairing pianos, Lindt settled in Grafton on the Clarence River, where he took up work as an apprentice for the expatriate German artist and photographer Conrad Wagner in his photographic studio. Lindt received his photographic training with Wagner and on taking over the running of the studio in 1870 made his living producing carte-de-visite portraits and photographing subjects as diverse as horses and cattle, landscape views, and the local architecture – the typical fare of the colonial photographer in Australia (fig. 3.15).120 Lindt also regularly undertook fieldtrips, lugging the cumbersome and fragile photographic equipment (including a portable darkroom) with him to visit outlying hamlets. The local Gumbainggar and Bundjalung people were captured by Lindt on glass-plate negatives on these trips and in around 1873–4 he produced his famous series of around 60 tableaux portraits titled Australian Aboriginals that ‘gained him lasting fame as an ethnographic photographer’ (figs. 3.16 & 3.17).121

118 Quanchi, Photographing Papua, 149.
119 Lindt became a naturalised British subject in 1869 (see Lindt, letters to NSW Chief Secretary’s Office, Miscellaneous papers, 1870–1949 May 12, Box 2399/1(a) & 1(b), MS 11906, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne).
120 As Helen Ennis notes, colonisation is ‘the primary contextualizing factor’ of early photography in Australia (Helen Ennis, ‘Other Histories: Photography and Australia’, Journal of Art Historiography, no. 4 (June 2011): 11).
The national and international recognition which the *Australian Aboriginals* portfolio received was a result of the photographs’ content as much as Lindt’s entrepreneurial approach. As Ken Orchard observes, ‘Lindt produced photographs with one eye firmly focused on the burgeoning national and international markets for such productions’.122 Lindt wrote a press release once the portraits were completed, which was published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* in November 1874, and by early December of the same year the portraits were available for viewing in W. Henderson’s Stationary Depot in Sydney, as advertised in the *Sydney Morning Herald*.123 The photographs were bound in ‘handsome cloth covers, and embossed with gilt lettering … and Lindt is reported to have “quitted nearly 100 copies, and supplied his Excellency and most of the leading people of Sydney with a copy”’, by mid-January 1875.124 Lindt sent copies of the folio to the *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* and presented further copies to museums throughout Australia.125 Their subjects were subsequently framed by anthropologists as exemplars of a dying race.126 Yet the portraits are clearly the work of a studio photographer as can be seen in the use of the painted studio backdrop, the careful positioning of the subjects, and the props that surround them. Nevertheless, or perhaps because of the aestheticized presentation of their subjects, Lindt’s *Australian Aboriginals* are ‘arguably the most widely distributed images of Aboriginal subjects in the second half of the nineteenth century.’127

The popularity of Lindt’s studio portraits of the local Aboriginal people of the Grafton area is not surprising, given the contemporary scientific fascination with photographic ‘types’. Just as Lawes’s portraits of Papuans taken in his makeshift studio in Port Moresby were sought after by anthropologists, so too Lindt’s *Australian Aboriginals* portfolio was eagerly collected and redistributed. As Orchard writes, in the 1870s ‘global interest in the production and consumption of images of indigenous peoples of the world had reached its zenith’ and large-scale projects

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127 Orchard, ‘J. W. Lindt’s *Australian Aboriginals*’, 164.
‘employing photography as the chief recording instrument’ were underway. 128 Though Lindt’s tableaux portraits of Gumbainggar and Bundjalung men, women, and children do not adhere to the strict instructions outlined by Huxley, which included positioning the subjects before a grid and removing all extraneous detail and accoutrements, they were valued by members of the scientific community and the general viewing public who believed ‘they illustrate … the mode of life of the natives, who are fast disappearing.’ 129

Lindt won several medals for his photographs in international exhibitions and following this success he moved to Melbourne in 1876 with his wife Anna (née Wagner – the daughter of Lindt’s former employer). He opened his own studio on Collins Street in 1877, where he continued to sell his Clarence River portraits and views but also added to his catalogue by photographing the city that was now his home (figs. 3.18 & 3.19). 130 He had also intended to create portraits of the Aboriginal people at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station near Melbourne similar to his Australian Aboriginals series, and wrote a letter to the chief secretary of the station in 1879 to offer his services. However, as Lydon notes, ‘he was rejected on the grounds that there were no available funds’. 131 Despite such setbacks, Lindt had no difficulty establishing himself in the city. Melbourne was experiencing a boom as a result of the gold rush in Victoria and there was much work to be had for a professional photographer as citizens of the wealthy town sought to immortalise themselves in studio portraits or to purchase views of the grand city. Jack Cato notes that Lindt ‘soon became known as “the rich man’s photographer”, and set about recording all the opulence which expressed their sense of pride in personal achievement’. 132 In the period between 1877 and 1890, around 178 photographic studios operated in an area bordered by Spencer Street, Victoria Street, and Flinders Street in the centre of the city. 133 Some of these studios only operated for a year or so, but the residents of the booming gold-rush town clearly had no shortage of

128 Ibid., 166.
130 Lindt worked for Batcheldor and Company on first arriving in Melbourne (Jones, J. W. Lindt, 3–6).
131 Lydon, Eye Contact, 151.
photographers, view and portrait sellers, and photo-equipment suppliers from which to choose. Lindt quickly made a name for himself photographing famous musicians and prominent figures in the world of politics and science, and his ‘dignified, forceful and domineering’ character as well as his talent for publicising his work led to his becoming known as ‘the Great Lindt.’

However, by the early 1880s Lindt had grave concerns for the fate of the prestige and financial wellbeing of the professional photographer following the introduction of gelatin dry-plates to the mass market in the late 1870s. His assistant at the time noted that Lindt ‘was convinced that in the future photography would be “far too easy” … Even more important – there would be more competition and much less profit’. In a letter written to the _Argus_ in 1888, Lindt confesses that ‘Times with photographers are not the best at present, and competition is keen’. Lindt therefore made sure to distinguish himself where and how he could and realised that gaining a monopoly on what he saw as the best in new photo-technology was one way in which to do just that. Ever-ready to seize an opportunity and move with the times and technology, he had begun making plans to shift the focus of his business in Melbourne to the importation of photographic equipment. Lindt had received his first shipment of gelatin dry plates in March 1880, and wasted no time in experimenting with and perfecting the process, taking advantage of its greater portability on excursions to Lorne on the coast and into the Victorian countryside. By the time he left for New Guinea, Lindt had mastered the process and could put all he had learnt to the test in a tropical climate. I would argue, then, that a key motivation for Lindt’s travels to New Guinea in 1885, as well as to the New Hebrides and Fiji, was to accumulate as many and as great a variety of views and portraits as possible in order to distinguish himself and his work from other photographers and photographic studios of the time.

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135 The first dry plates arrived in Australia in 1880 (Keast Burke, ‘The Great Lindt’, _Australasian Photo-Review_, July 1952, 400).
136 Krutli quoted in Jones, _J. W. Lindt_, 8; see also, Interview with Krutli, Item 2, Keast Burke’s file of material on J. W. Lindt, ca. 1947, A2383, ML.
138 Ibid., 10.
139 Jones, _J. W. Lindt_, 8.
In early 1885 when, as Lindt writes, ‘rumours of annexation [of southeast New Guinea] became rife’, Lawes visited Melbourne while on deputation in the country and the two men discussed Lindt’s dream of visiting the Pacific island that he had first sighted in 1868, on his return voyage from a visit to Europe.\(^\text{140}\) It seems little further encouragement was needed in order for Lindt to set about turning his dream into reality. He persuaded an influential friend and client, Sir Frederick Sargood, to introduce him to Sir Peter Scratchley, the first Special Commissioner of British New Guinea. Lindt convinced the Special Commissioner to allow him to join his expedition to New Guinea as its official photographer, and even secured darkroom facilities on board SS Governor Blackall for developing his glass-plate negatives.\(^\text{141}\) The practice of employing professional photographers on official expeditions was not commonplace at the time and only the year previous Augustine Dyer had been commissioned by the New South Wales Government Printing Office to photograph the official proclamation of the Protectorate in New Guinea.\(^\text{142}\) Scratchley no doubt had seen the large albums that were produced from this expedition, which also contained the official narrative of the Australian Squadron’s activities, and would not have thought to engage the services of another professional photographer for his visit to the territory. However, Lindt’s reputation as a talented photographer of landscapes and cityscapes as well as his celebrated series of tableaux portraits of Australian Aboriginal subjects likely influenced his decision to allow the photographer to join the expedition.

**Preconceptions of New Guinea**

Lindt’s photographic project in New Guinea was therefore a self-imposed task and it would seem his image of the land and its people was conceived and elaborated before leaving Australian shores. Given that he only had a set amount of time in New Guinea, Lindt almost certainly had in mind a catalogue of views and subjects he wanted to capture. Lindt also planned to write a book of his travels, which was

\(^{140}\) Lindt, *Picturesque New Guinea*, viii, ix.

\(^{141}\) Jones, *J. W. Lindt*, 11.

published in 1887 under the title *Picturesque New Guinea*. The book gives important insight into Lindt’s views of New Guinea and his influences for undertaking his travels there. His conceptions of New Guinea were primarily based on his encounters with Lawes and Luigi Maria D’Albertis, as well as the reports of the island printed in the newspapers of the day. Lindt first met D’Albertis in Grafton in 1873, when the Italian spent time there visiting James Wilcox, a natural history collector from the *Rattlesnake* voyage who settled in Australia.143 D’Albertis had travelled to Australia in February 1873 to recuperate, after contracting malaria during his explorations in northwest New Guinea with the botanist Odoardo Beccari.144 In Grafton, D’Albertis recruited Clarence Wilcox, James Wilcox’s son, as a specimen collector for his planned expedition up the Fly River in New Guinea to be undertaken the following year.145 D’Albertis also made contact with Lindt and commissioned portraits of the local Aboriginal people; these were almost certainly some of the tableaux portraits mentioned above.146 Lindt met D’Albertis once more, in Melbourne in 1878, after the Italian had undertaken his three expeditions on the Fly River, and he writes in the preface to his book, *Picturesque New Guinea*, that D’Albertis’s ‘personal reminiscences, and subsequently the reading of his interesting work, powerfully awakened my desire again for a trip to New Guinea’.147 He goes on to write that ‘amongst the explorers of New Guinea preeminence must be given to Signor D’Albertis.’148

How good a role model for exploration in New Guinea Lindt had found in the Italian is questionable. In Gavin Souter’s words, ‘The arrival of this lusty, bearded, aria-singing Italian in central New Guinea had all the surprise and

146 Orchard, ‘J. W. Lindt’s *Australian Aboriginals* (1873–74)’, 166. This was also reported in the *Grafton Observer* on 9 August 1873: ‘Of these [Australian Aboriginals] Signor D’Albertis has elected to make a class of natural curiosities, to be transferred in shadows to the classic land of Italy’ (extract quoted in Lindt, *A Few Results of Modern Photography* (1883), 21). Lindt’s portraits were taken back to Italy by D’Albertis and there is evidence to suggest that D’Albertis also took photographs of his own while in Grafton (Jane Lydon, email correspondence, 19 September 2014).
148 Ibid., 3.
flamboyance … of a fireworks display’. Souter is here alluding to D’Albertis’s penchant for pyrotechnics on the Fly River, which D’Albertis himself writes a lyrical description of in the second volume of *New Guinea: What I Did And What I Saw*:

> There is no better place for fireworks than a river between two forests. The shower of fire and rockets, reflected in the water, seemed magnified, and shone marvellously, set off by the dark hue of the vegetation … Amidst the smoke and light of the strange fires, we gesticulated and shouted like madmen.

The engineer on the expedition, Lawrence Hargrave, had quite a different view of the Italian’s methods, writing in his notebook on 18 July 1876: ‘I don’t like this bullying the natives. I think it will make it very dangerous for any white people who may come here afterwards’. Hargrave is here referring in particular to D’Albertis’ use of his firearm and explosives to scare and subdue the local people if they stole from him or did not submit to his requests. As Elisabetta Gnecchi-Ruscone notes, the Papuans of the Fly River whom D’Albertis met on his three expeditions became more aggressive ‘with each subsequent passage of [D’Albertis’s] steamer’. His method of collecting was remarkably insensitive and unethical. When the expedition party found a village empty of its inhabitants, D’Albertis would simply enter dwellings, including ceremonial huts, and take what he pleased, including human remains. Or if there were occupants, he seldom requested permission before entering their personal and sacred spaces. As Gnecchi-Ruscone observes, such unethical collecting practices belie ‘D’Albertis’ conception of Papuans as inherently savage, almost on a par to the wild animal species he had set out to collect as a naturalist’. But to the outside world, and to a man such as Lindt who, similar to D’Albertis, was drawn to New Guinea ‘by a yearning for adventure’ and the desire to collect

149 Gavin Souter, *New Guinea: The Last Unknown* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1963), 30. (See also pages 27–28 for a description of D’Albertis’s methods of dealing with his Papuan neighbours on Yule Island during an earlier trip to New Guinea. In Souter’s words, ‘D’Albertis’s time … seems to have been divided between collecting insects and terrorizing the islanders.’)


153 Ibid.
artefacts and document ‘primitive man’ in his natural setting,\textsuperscript{154} the Italian presented a fitting role model. Lindt was so impressed by the Italian explorer-scientist that he had planned to visit him on his trip to Europe in 1886, but the plans fell through when Lindt found himself in a legal battle over the unauthorised printing of some of his New Guinea photographs in a book by Chalmers.\textsuperscript{155} In a letter written by Lindt to D’Albertis in February 1889, which accompanied a copy of Picturesque New Guinea, the photographer again writes of his admiration for the Italian and confesses: ‘Your two volumes on New Guinea are always handy on my bookshelves and I have read them through and enjoyed your ardour and enthusiasm and imagine every time I read them again – some day I will see this man again.’\textsuperscript{156}

As Anne Maxwell observes, ‘a close look at the narrative of Picturesque New Guinea suggests that, far from approaching the place and its people with an innocent eye, Lindt went there loaded down by a raft of prejudices, many of which derived from his reading of popular travel accounts and diaries of British explorers in Africa’.\textsuperscript{157} Lindt, like many armchair travellers of the time, read the official reports of expeditions and articles printed in newspapers and in the proceedings of organisations such as the Royal Geographical Society, as well as travel accounts written by explorers. Aside from D’Albertis’s books, he no doubt read the reports of the Russian scientist Miklouho-Maclay’s travels in New Guinea that were printed in papers such as the Sydney Morning Herald and the Argus of Melbourne.\textsuperscript{158} Livingstone’s African journals and various accounts of his travels were also

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\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., 167.
\textsuperscript{155} Lindt, letter to D’Albertis, 23 February 1889, ‘D’Albertis Luigi Maria. N. 23 Fotografie (Nova Guinea – Australia – 1872–77) Indigeni, Castello D’Albertis, Museo delle Culture del Mondo, Genoa, Italy. (I thank Jane Lydon for her permission to cite from her transcription of this letter [Jane Lydon, email correspondence, 19 September 2014]).
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
published and readily available from the late 1850s. One American publisher released an edition of Livingstone’s travels and discoveries minus ‘a considerable amount of scientific matter and minor details’ in order to ensure the book appealed to as wide an audience as possible. In a similar fashion to Livingstone’s and Thomas Heazle Parke’s assessment of Africans, Lindt ‘attributed the poor physical condition of the New Guineans to their innate laziness and ignorance’. While D’Albertis’s writings can be singled out as one of the stronger influences on Lindt’s imaginings of New Guinea and its inhabitants, these African texts were also crucial in shaping the cultural imagination of late nineteenth-century European Australians, including Lindt.

The ‘glamour’ associated with New Guinea and the comparisons that had been made with Africa’s ‘dark’ interior and ‘savage’ inhabitants influenced Lindt’s visions of what awaited him. As he writes in the preface to his book: ‘I conceived an ardent desire to become personally acquainted with those mysterious shores of Papua and their savage inhabitants … weird indeed were the tales that circulated among the crew concerning the land whose towering mountain ranges were dimly visible on our northern horizon’. It is clear from this passage that Lindt actively exploited ‘the aura of intrigue surrounding New Guinea’ because he knew this would attract a large audience for his book and photographs, a point I return to in Chapter Five. However, Lindt was well-read and sought out and maintained relationships with botanists and other scientists throughout his life. Such an ad hoc accumulation of information on New Guinea did not deter Lindt from offering his services to Scratchley, and in his letter to D’Albertis he admitted that ‘I greatly feel my want of knowledge in botany geology and Natural History but no man can be expected to be versed in every branch of science and many things I could not describe, I could photograph’. In a similar fashion to Lawes, Lindt believed his photographs could

160 *Livingstone’s Travels and Researches in South Africa*, vi.
163 Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions*, 150.
164 For example, D’Albertis and the expatriate German botanist Baron Ferdinand von Mueller whom Lindt photographed in his Melbourne studio (Jones, *J. W. Lindt*, 31).
165 Lindt, letter to D’Albertis, 23 February 1889, D’Albertis Luigi Maria, N. 23 Fotografie, Castello D’Albertis, Museo delle Culture del Mondo.
supply the visual data that was needed for the scientific study of New Guinea and its inhabitants.

**Lindt and Sir Peter Scratchley’s official expedition to New Guinea**

Lindt arrived in Port Moresby at the end of August 1885 and remained in New Guinea for six weeks. He was originally meant to stay for the full three months of the official expedition, but his wife took ill and he returned early to Melbourne. In contrast to Lawes’s photographic oeuvre, Lindt’s work in New Guinea is representative of a subsequent moment in the photographic engagement with the region. Though Lawes also engaged with and was instrumental in the establishment of colonial rule in south east New Guinea, his photography was not driven by concerns of settlement and administration in New Guinea to the same degree as Lindt’s photographic practice.

As mentioned above, though he eventually conceded that some form of foreign administration was necessary to protect Papuans and safeguard their lands Lawes remained wary of European influence on Papuans. He did not support European settlement and was highly sceptical of Australia’s ability to govern the region, especially given the colonies’ track record with their own indigenous populations. In a letter to the LMS secretary dated four days after H. M. Chester, Deputy Commissioner in Darnley and Murray Islands in the Torres Straits, had annexed the southern half of the island for the Queensland Government on 3 April 1883, Lawes writes: ‘Nowhere in the world have aborigines been so basely and cruelly treated as in Queensland – the half has never been told, and are the natives of New Guinea to be handed over to their tender mercies?’ When a ‘Mr Cameron’, a land speculator from England who arrived shortly after Chester’s annexation, illegally purchased 15,000 acres in the Kabadi district from a ‘petty chief’ who had no right to sell the land, Lawes was further incensed and wrote to Thompson: ‘I need

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166 Langmore notes that ‘the missionaries’ introduction of Western civilization foreshadowed the coming of British rule … There is no doubt that once Lawes and Chalmers became convinced of the necessity for foreign intervention, they lobbied energetically and effectively to have Britain assume the responsibility’ (Langmore, *Missionary Lives*, 214).


168 Lawes, letter to W. Whitehouse, 7 April 1883, mfm M93, NLA.
not point out to you the injustice of such transactions nor the evil it must bring upon
the people.’

As early as 1843, New Guinea colonisation companies were being formed in Australia and England, in order to take advantage of the supposed ‘untapped’ potential of the land for settlement, cultivation, and trade. Notably, Robert Henry Armit (the probable author of Captain Lawson’s *Wanderings in the Interior of New Guinea*) was honorary secretary of the New Guinea Colonising Association, which was formed in 1875 but failed to win the Secretary of State Lord Carnavon’s approval for its proposed enterprise. When it was finally decided that the territory would officially become a British protectorate, after the Colonial Office condemned Queensland’s illegal annexation, Lawes declared: ‘Almost anything … will be better than leaving the people and their lands at the mercy of lawless men and mad adventurers’. Therefore, while he recorded Hugh Romilly’s premature flag-raising, before the arrival of the Royal Navy’s Australian Squadron and Commodore Erskine in 1884, and photographed the government buildings in Port Moresby, Lawes did not approach his photographic task with an eye towards European encroachment on New Guinea soil.

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169 Lawes, letter to Thompson, 21 September 1883, mfm M93, NLA.

170 Clive Moore notes that in 1843 an attempt was made to form a private Australian colony in east New Guinea (see Moore, *New Guinea*, 136).


172 Lawes, letter to R. W. Thompson, 30 October 1884, mfm M93, NLA.

173 Romilly was Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific who was sent to Port Moresby by the British for the official flag-raising and proclamation of the protectorate over the territory. However, he raised the flag prematurely on 23 October 1884 and, in his own words, ‘made an ass’ of himself (Souter, *New Guinea*, 62).
Lindt arrived in New Guinea fresh from Victoria and the lively debates there surrounding the annexation of the region that were published in the newspapers and presented at well-attended public lectures. The campaign for the annexation of New Guinea stirred ‘feelings of common interests and shared responsibility’ in Australia and already in the mid-1870s citizens were filling up public halls to capacity ‘to demonstrate a strong public opinion … in favour of annexation of New Guinea’. White settler Australians feared the outcome if the eastern half of New Guinea were to be given over to the Germans and many also believed that the island could be ‘productive of wealth’ if the right policies were adopted that would allow more land to be opened up for sale. In May 1875, the Queensland Times reported on the abundance of gold, that ‘if well looked for … will there be found in astonishing quantities’. Such predictions no doubt spurred on the various New Guinea colonisation companies mentioned above. Clive Moore and Steve Mullins note that it had long been supposed that gold could be found in New Guinea. Owen Stanley of the Rattlesnake reported finding grains at Redscar Bay in 1848 and John Moresby of HMS Basilisk found gold in Port Moresby and at Moresby Island in 1873. For some, New Guinea also presented an opportunity for the Australian colonies to prove their independence from Britain. Not all Australians shared this view, however. The unhealthy climate, and the failed gold rush of 1878, led some to conclude that ‘the so-long-talked-of El Dorado, New Guinea’, was nothing but ‘an absurd craze.'

175 May 1888 (newspaper unknown), Clippings attached to file with title ‘Mr. Theo. Bevan’, unpaginated, Files of newscuttings compiled for official use c.1883–1909, British New Guinea, A 3680, ML.
Given the public interest in the annexation of New Guinea, it is little surprising that on 3 February 1885 Melbourne’s Town Hall was ‘crowded to excess’ when Lawes presented a lecture on ‘New Guinea: Its People and their Customs’, at the end of which he ‘said a few words regarding the protectorate over New Guinea’. It is highly likely that Lindt was amongst the large crowd that came out to hear the missionary speak and this was possibly the occasion on which the two men met and spoke of Lindt’s desire to visit the large island. By this time Lawes was resigned to the inevitability of foreign rule in New Guinea and, as Langmore notes, ‘lobbied energetically and effectively to have Britain assume the responsibility’. In his speech he implored ‘every Englishman … to maintain the honour of the Queen by seeing that the provisions of the contract [the proclamation of the protectorate] were carried out in their integrity’, and further implored the crowd to ensure that Scratchley ‘be made to feel that he had the moral support of the whole of the colonies’. It was perhaps with this entreaty in mind that Lindt sought out the help of his friend Sir Frederick Sargood.

The circumstances of Scratchley’s commission in New Guinea were less than ideal as a result of a weak and financially strained British Government. On his arrival in Australia in January 1885, Scratchley first had to contend with the colonies’ discontent at the Imperial Government’s mismanagement of the negotiations to secure the entire eastern half of the island as well as the uncertainty regarding the manner and cost of administering the Protectorate. The Brisbane Courier reported on Scratchley’s visit on 13 January 1885 and claimed that ‘Not only has the protectorate we desired not been established, but we were told that these colonies are to find the whole cost of the little that is done, and our Governments are to have no control whatever over the expenditure’. The colonies had already agreed to supply £15,000 per annum and, ultimately, this sum was agreed upon by the Imperial Government which also agreed to provide £18,000 for its share. The strained relations with the colonies were further tested by the fact that Scratchley’s official

180 Langmore, Missionary Lives, 214.
instructions were limited to dealing with the question of the colonies’ financial contributions, protecting the Papuans from exploitative Europeans, and ensuring that transactions involving the sale of land were sanctioned and registered by him. No systematic exploration of the island’s interior was to take place and no instructions were given to investigate the possibility of raising a local revenue or to prohibit wars between tribes, which left the Australian colonies far from assured that the Protectorate would deliver a viable field of investment and colonial enterprise. Settlement was also not permitted at this stage, which made the Queensland Government question whether Great Britain truly meant to hold onto its recently acquired possession.

While in New Guinea, Lindt was dependent on the official expedition party as well as the missionaries in Port Moresby and his travels were dictated by the itinerary of Scratchley’s tour of the territory. His encounters and impression of the land and its people were therefore heavily mediated. Scratchley spent his time in New Guinea selecting a location for Government House, settling land disputes as well as disputes between tribes, and investigating the murders of European settlers. Much of the business of the official expedition was conducted on board ship and in a few select villages on the southeast coast of the island. Lindt was given the opportunity to undertake a trek up the Laloki River to the Koiai village of Sadara Makara while Scratchley remained on the coast. He writes that he was put in charge of the party, while Mr Hunter, who had previously led expedition parties in New Guinea, acted as guide. Following his return to Port Moresby Lindt accompanied the Special Commissioner to Redscar Bay and to villages in the Kabade District before sailing along the southeast coast to China Straits, stopping off at Hood Bay, South Cape, Dinner Island, and multiple islands in the China Straits.

**Imagining ‘Picturesque New Guinea’**

It was with the eye of an artist and a keen business sense that Lindt set about ‘capturing’ New Guinea on glass-plate negatives. Keast Burke notes that it was Lindt’s ‘self-imposed task … eventually to provide the British people with a

185 Ibid.
magnificent panorama of life and conditions in this, the newest of Britain’s protectorates.\textsuperscript{187} The subjects that appealed to Lindt, or at least those he selected for his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series, are diverse. They range from posed group portraits of ‘native teachers’ to more relaxed shots of expedition parties – though these are only seemingly relaxed as the exposure times in early photography meant the subjects often had to remain motionless for long periods depending on the light conditions (see, for example, figs. 3.20 & 3.21). Lindt also photographed the local landscapes and flora, including views of scrub, bush tracks, coconut groves, bays, beaches, and rivers, as well as the campsites of the expedition parties, village scenes and dwellings, material culture, preserved birds of paradise, ritual structures, boats associated with the expedition and the mission, and the local sea craft (see, for example, figs. 3.22–3.27). While many of the subjects Lindt photographed were in all likelihood dictated by the requirements of the official expedition, it is certainly an impressive list and shows Lindt’s versatility in the field.

Aside from fulfilling the photographer’s aesthetic and commercial requirements, Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series was intended to serve the purposes of the political and scientific expedition of which he was a part. In the opening lines of the preface to his book Lindt writes of his disappointment that, in the past, exploring expeditions had not chosen their artists and photographers with as much care as they selected their scientific staff, which acted to underscore the importance, at least in Lindt’s mind, of his accompanying the 1885 expedition:

For years past, when perusing the account of exploring expeditions setting out for some country comparatively unknown, I always noticed with a pang of disappointment that, however carefully the scientific staff was chosen, it was, as a rule, considered sufficient to supply one of the members with a mahogany camera, lens, and chemicals to take pictures, the dealer furnishing these articles generally initiating the purchaser for a couple or three hours’ time into the secrets and tricks of the ‘dark art’, or when funds were limited to purchase instruments, it was taken for granted that enough talent existed among the members to make rough sketches, which would afterwards be ‘worked up’ for the purpose of illustrating perhaps a very important report.\textsuperscript{188}

Lindt goes on: ‘Sir Samuel Baker remarks … that a photographer should accompany every exploring expedition’ and laments that, as far as he knows, only the HMS Challenger expedition had fulfilled this brief during its three-and-a-half year voyage.

\textsuperscript{187} Burke, ‘The Great Lindt’, 402.
\textsuperscript{188} Lindt, \textit{Picturesque New Guinea}, vii.
around the world in 1872–76. Sir Peter Scratchley’s 1885 expedition was therefore an ideal opportunity for Lindt to rectify this perceived oversight.

Lindt took great care and time in choosing his locations and subjects, and composing them in such a way as to increase the appeal of the overall image. Herman Carl Krutli, Lindt’s studio assistant from 1879 to 1885, believed that the secret to Lindt’s success lay in this careful planning of his pictures: Lindt would pick the scene he wanted to photograph, determine the type of light best suited to taking the picture (for example, bright or overcast day), and then choose the time of day in which to expose the view. No effort was spared by Lindt in his quest to obtain the best views for his camera. On their visit to Fernshaw, Lindt’s travelling companion, known simply as ‘V.V.’, wrote with some exasperation how ‘in the search for subjects for his pictures … [Lindt] would dive into the bottom of a broken gully, or climb the top of an antiquated tire-blackened fern bole’, going ‘where none but a photographer or a lunatic would want to go’. In New Guinea, Lindt had to contend with the constraints placed on him by the itinerary of the official expedition, which meant that he could not always photograph when and where he wanted. But when the opportunity presented itself to scout out suitable scenes for his camera, Lindt set about the task with great determination and concentration. After a shooting excursion with Captain Lake he even remarked that he had no ‘time and patience’ for such pursuits as taxidermy and botanical collecting on top of his photography, though he did amass a large collection of spears, clubs, and other objects.

Though Lindt had to contend with several constraints on his photography while in New Guinea, his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series does not represent a drastic departure in style from his earlier work. As Virginia-Lee Webb observes, ‘Lindt’s exterior views were greatly influenced by his studio compositions. When

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189 Ibid. Little is known of the identity of the photographers aboard HMS Challenger. The photographs were also not published until 1885 when selected plates were reproduced in the official reports of the expedition (James R. Ryan, Photography and Exploration (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2013), 34; Report on the Scientific Results of the Voyage of H.M.S. Challenger During the Years 1873–76, Prepared under the superintendence of the late Sir C. Wyville Thomson and now of John Murray, released in 50 vols. ([Edinburgh?): Printed for H.M.S.O., 1880–1895). <http://www.19thcenturyscience.org/HMSC/HMSC-INDEX/index-illustrated.htm> accessed 30 March 2016.)


191 ‘V.V.’ in Lindt, A Few Results of Modern Photography (Melbourne: Welch & Whitelaw, 1883), 9.

192 Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea, 63.
working outdoors, Lindt arranged his subjects within the spatial restrictions that a studio then imposed. For example, people … were arranged in ensembles”. Such pictorial devices were also conventions of the picturesque and were employed by artists and photographers to aestheticize or artistically enhance what nature presented to them as raw material. The picturesque ‘was part of the equipment of settlement’ in the Australian colonies and influenced many of the early representations of the land and its people. The careful composition of landscapes and scenes was intended to render the foreign places, with which Europeans were increasingly coming into contact, knowable and familiar to audiences trained in this particular way of seeing. As Anne-Marie Willis observes, such ‘picturesque devices provided a framework for making sense of an alien environment, either by seeking out the familiar or reframing the unfamiliar’. Lindt was therefore continuing ‘a lengthy tradition of topographical illustration and touring “in search of the Picturesque”’, which was pioneered by William Gilpin in the late eighteenth century. Indeed, his motto had long been ‘Truth – but truth in a pleasant form’, and this was certainly borne out in the way he framed several of the New Guinea photographs: carefully positioned figures that lead the eye into the landscape, trees framing views, and cascading rivers. Lindt also employed these devices in his earlier work in Australia. For example, an image from the New Guinea series entitled ‘The Haunt of the Alligator, Laloki River’ (fig. 3.28) closely resembles a photograph by Lindt taken near the mission station at Lake Tyers in Victoria (fig. 3.29).

197 Gilpin’s Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, contains descriptions of tours he had undertaken through parts of Britain that were deemed particularly picturesque as well as instructions on how to compose landscapes in drawings and paintings (William Gilpin, Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, made in the Year 1772, on general parts of England, particularly the mountains and lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland (London: Printed for R. Blamire, Strand, 1788).
Lindt’s excursions to the rainforests around Healesville, northeast of Melbourne, in the early 1880s further shaped his approach to photographing the landscapes he encountered in southeast New Guinea. Shar Jones writes of Lindt’s ‘joyful and energetic reaction to the landscape’, and V.V. notes how on one of these trips,

It was impossible to avoid noting the preoccupied manner, the anxious glance and the somewhat crumpled appearance of ‘the artist’ as we neared that bower of bliss. That he had been alternately elevated by the wildest hopes and depressed by the vaguest fears was borne home to all of us when we saw his meeting with the syren who had entranced him on the upward trip. But their souls evidently blended, and together with his beloved camera they roamed the ferny dells.

Catherine de Lorenzo and Deborah van der Plaat posit that ‘the intersection of art, poetry, gardening, and photography at ‘The Hermitage’, a ‘Pleasure and Health Resort’ Lindt built in Blacks’ Spur after the Melbourne boom years subsided in 1894, can be attributed to Lindt’s understanding of [Humboldt’s] Cosmos: A Sketch of the Physical Description of the Universe’. However, I would argue that the influence of Humboldtian ideas about the ‘luxuriance of [tropical] vegetation’ and the importance of the study of exotic flora in order to ‘awaken the imagination of the “common man” and stimulate his ability to aesthetically engage with the natural world’ may already have been manifest in Lindt’s New Guinea pictures. For example, in his photographs of tropical scrub and mangroves the viewers’ eyes are not lead into the vistas but rather are left to ‘roam’ the surface of the images and take in the textures and shapes of leaves and branches.

Conclusion
Lindt had mastered the art of photography to a higher degree than the LMS missionary and was clearly influenced by the artistic tradition of the picturesque.

201 This is taken from an advertising poster written by Lindt in the National Library Ephemera Collection (‘Lindt, J. W.: photography related ephemera material collected by the National Library of Australia’, 1 folder of miscellaneous pieces, Bib ID 3821171, NLA).
203 de Lorenzo and van der Plaat, ‘More Than Meets the Eye’, [unpaginated].
Lawes was more concerned with documenting the work of the mission and the people amongst whom he worked and lived. These differences aside, both men believed their photographs could provide important visual data for anthropologists in the European centres. Their lenses, and gazes, therefore fixed on certain subjects more than others. As Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins observe, ‘all photographs tell stories about looking’, about ‘the viewing choices made by the photographer’, and in several instances these choices were also influenced by the actions, ‘the invitations or exclusions’, of the human subjects of the camera’s/photographer’s gaze.\footnote{Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins, ‘The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes: The Example of National Geographic’, in The Photography Reader, ed. Liz Wells (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 354, 355.} Lindt was convinced he had succeeded in capturing scenes straight from ‘savage real life’ during his time in New Guinea.\footnote{Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea, 44.} However, the ‘reality’ committed to the glass-plate negatives was mediated through the European photographer’s perspective and preconceptions, and enhanced through the developing and printing processes employed in Lindt’s studio and the framing devices used in the subsequent display and reproduction of the images, which is the subject of the following chapters. The visual archive, like all archives, is partial. But this archive can also be read against the grain and alongside the textual archive to uncover the agency of local actors.\footnote{Bronwen Douglas has long advocated for such an approach and borrowed the metaphor of ‘reading against the grain’ from feminist anthropology and the postcolonial histories and critiques she encountered during her time teaching at La Trobe University in the early 1990s. Douglas argues that ‘traces of actions inscribed in contemporary texts provide crucial, if often drastically distorted images of past indigenous worlds’ (see Bronwen Douglas, Across the Great Divide: Journeys in History and Anthropology (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), 4, 18.).}
CHAPTER FOUR

Exposing New Guinea: W. G. Lawes’s and J. W. Lindt’s photographic encounters

The natives are very much interested in the photographs & I had no difficulty in getting subjects today except the girls & they were bashful but I got two or three.1

– William George Lawes (10 August 1877)

William G. Lawes’s arrival in Port Moresby with his small family in 1874 heralded a period of intense interaction between Europeans and Papuans in this region. Explorers, traders, whalers, and other beachcombers had landed on the eastern half of the mainland prior to this, but their presence had been transient and they primarily sought food, water, rest, and whatever else the land and its people could offer by way of respite from their work and often perilous voyages.2 The mystery surrounding the interior of the island and fear of hostile, cannibal tribes prevented some from venturing on land, including Owen Stanley who, as discussed in Chapter Two, refused to set foot on the New Guinea mainland and only permitted three brief landings by his crew and the scientists on board the ship in order to carry out their measurements and collect the requisite ‘curiosities’ and specimens for their cabinets. So when Lawes settled amongst the Motu people with the objective of winning their souls for Christ, the earlier ‘brush of bodies’3 became a more close-knit affair, and those on both sides of the encounter had to adapt to a new set of circumstances. In southeast New Guinea, as in central Africa and elsewhere in the world where Europeans and their technology were coming into increasing contact with indigenous cultures, the camera recorded many of these encounters and it also significantly influenced them – a fact that has been left largely unexamined.

1 William G. Lawes, diary entry, 10 August 1877, New Guinea Journal, 1876–1884 [microform], mfm G 27500, Mitchell Library microfilm reel no. CY292, National Library of Australia, Canberra (NLA). (Original held by the State Library of New South Wales at ML A387–A389.)
3 This is how Margaret Jolly and Serge Tcherkézoff refer to the early period of contact in Oceania (Margaret Jolly and Serge Tcherkézoff, ‘Oceanic Encounters: A Prelude’, Oceanic Encounters: Exchange, Desire, Violence (Canberra: ANU Press, 2009), 3).
The intricacies of encounters between photographers and their subjects need to be examined more closely, especially in the colonial context, as it has too often been taken for granted that only the photographer was endowed with agency and thus responsible for the resulting image in the photographic encounter. European photographers who travelled to the newly acquired territories of empire relied on local carriers and interpreters to assist them in their work; and when it came to photographing the indigenous peoples of these lands, the photographic encounter was shaped to varying degrees by their willingness to be photographed. Felix Driver and Lowri Jones, writing on the role of local intermediaries in international exploration, assert that ‘exploration was a joint project of work’ and a ‘shared experience’.

I argue that the practice of photographing foreign lands and indigenous peoples was similarly dependent on local expertise and participation for its success.

It is perhaps surprising, as Max Quanchi observes, that ‘historians have overlooked the significance of the camera in the cultural baggage Europeans carried with them to the frontier’. As this chapter will demonstrate, this particular item packed by Lindt and Lawes significantly shaped many of their encounters in New Guinea. I examine the contexts in which Lawes and Lindt exposed New Guinea on glass plate negatives, taking into account the constraints of early photographic technology as well as the challenges presented by the local environment and the precise circumstances of encounter. In particular, I am interested in how Papuans influenced the nature of their photographic encounters with Lawes and Lindt and thereby both consciously and inadvertently shaped the visual conception of their land, as well as the mediating role Lawes played between them and visitors to British New Guinea. Lawes acted as a ‘local’ in several of these encounters, providing access to places and people. While my analysis relies primarily on the visual and textual documents created by Lawes and Lindt, by critically examining these materials and considering the concomitant conditions that shaped these particular encounters, a more nuanced picture emerges that allows for the uncovering of indigenous people’s agency. It is important to account for the fact that the cameras that were used and the associated materials and chemicals needed for photography in


the late nineteenth century meant that setting up a shot and developing a photograph were neither simple nor quick tasks. Further, the camera’s physical presence in the space between photographer and subject also often significantly influenced the interactions that took place. Focussing on photography as a technological, cultural, and social process gives insight into the nature of the negotiations that took place and the relationships that were formed around the photograph’s creation.

The camera in the nineteenth century

The first cameras evolved directly from the camera obscura, a dark room with a small hole in one side through which the scene outside the room was projected, albeit inverted, onto the opposite wall or a screen in the room. The discovery of this phenomenon was soon adapted by artists in pursuit of perspectively correct, ‘naturalistic’ images so that by 1685 small, portable camera obscura fitted with rotatable lenses and mirrors had been invented.6 These portable camera obscura provided the blueprint for early cameras that were little more than a wooden box ‘at one end of which is fixed a piece of ground glass, and at the other a convex or magnifying-glass, mounted in a sliding tube to regulate the focus’.7 T. Frederick Hardwich, whose popular and exhaustive Manual of Photographic Chemistry Lawes had ordered through the LMS while on Niue, described the early camera as, ‘in its essential nature … an extremely simple instrument. It consists merely of a dark chamber, having an aperture in front in which a Lens is inserted’.8 A simple design but, as the Belgian chemist and physicist Désiré van Monckhoven noted in 1863, ‘these two apparatuses [the box and the lens], to be rendered suitable for the various purposes of photography, must of necessity require more special and complicated construction’.9 Such ‘special’ and ‘complicated’ construction by the 1860s included the addition of sliding boxes or bellows within the main wooden box, a wooden

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6 It appears that knowledge of this optical phenomenon can be traced back to Aristotle, while the camera obscura’s use as an aid to artists may go back to Giovanni Battista della Porta, an Italian scholar living in Naples from around the mid-sixteenth to early-seventeenth centuries (see Helmut Gernsheim, A Concise History of Photography (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 3.)
9 Van Monckhoven, A Popular Treatise on Photography, 38.
frame containing ground glass used to view and compose the shot before exposing the negative, a board attached to the bottom of the camera in order that the wooden boxes might be adjusted to various lengths to focus the view, different-sized frames for holding the negatives, and tripods for studio and outdoor photography; then, of course, there were the lenses.

Two types of lenses were predominantly used for photography in the nineteenth century: the single or view lens and the double or compound lens. The single lens was recommended for use when photographing landscapes and architectural views due to the longer exposure times needed to capture detail, while the double or compound lens was recommended when making portraits (the images produced were often less sharp but exposure times were much shorter). Both consisted of a thick compound lens (two lenses cemented together) mounted in a brass tube. However, the double lens had two further lenses at the back as well as a double tube (one tube over the other) that was used for fine-tuning the focus of the picture. In both lenses the interior of the brass tubes had a matt black coating in order to prevent light reflecting inside the lens. The amount of light entering the lenses, and therefore the exposure time, was controlled by the use of a diaphragm or stop placed in front of the lens. These were often made of cardboard and had a hole in the middle of varying size depending on the light conditions and chosen subject. They were mostly used with the single lens as the multiple lenses in the double lens compensated for the use of a stop in most instances. Larger group portraits were the exception as the stop ensured that all subjects, right out to the edges of the portrait, were in focus, but this also increased the exposure time needed.

Exposure times varied greatly depending on a number of factors, most notably the light conditions and the subject to be photographed, which, in turn, determined the type of lens used. Monckhoven’s treatise on photography (written in the age of the collodion glass-plate negative) highlights some of the decisions nineteenth-century photographers faced in choosing their lenses:

Now, is it not easy to expose for as long a time as may be required for a view, landscape, flowers, or inanimate objects, so as to obtain, what ought to be the chief aim, extremely fine detail in the picture? In most cases, therefore, although rapidity can be gained by enlarging the stop, results will

11 Van Monckhoven, A Popular Treatise on Photography, 43–46; see also, Gernsheim, A Concise History of Photography, 18–23.
show it had better be avoided. With the single lens just mentioned, a view, illuminated with the sun, can be easily obtained in twenty to thirty seconds, and if there be any persons in the view, they will without doubt be copied. If, with the same single lens, an endeavour be made to take a portrait of a person placed in the shade, it will require from three to five minutes. Is it possible to remain so long without moving? Certainly not. Now the double lens will allow such a portrait to be taken in ten seconds; and although it gives a picture not quite so sharp as the single lens, it nevertheless is greatly preferable and would in reality produce a sharper picture, for with the single lens no one could remain perfectly immovable during a sufficient time.12

The times required for exposures in 1863, quoted by van Monckhoven above – ten seconds for a portrait taken with a compound lens and 20 to 30 seconds for a landscape using a single lens – were certainly long but could be reduced to as little as one second in ideal conditions.13 While the light illuminating the subject and entering the lens could, to a certain extent, be controlled by the photographer through the layout of the studio, the time of day chosen for photographing a landscape or architectural view, and the use of stops and different lenses, it was successful experimentation with negatives that led to shorter exposure times and sharper images.

In the second half of the nineteenth century several photographers had sought to reduce the time involved and also to make photography practicable, and portable, for the travelling enthusiast. This meant experimenting with the process of sensitising the surface of the negatives or supports on which the photographic subjects were to be recorded. Following the era of the daguerreotype, tintype, and other processes that produced un-reproducible positives on metal plates or sensitised papers, collodion glass-plate processes were the most popular from the mid-1850s until the early 1880s.14 The calotype or talbotype process invented by William Henry Fox Talbot in 1840, around the same time Daguerre developed his process for producing images on a silvered copper plate, did allow for multiple prints to be made from the waxed or oiled paper negative, but the images produced were never as clear as the daguerreotypes. As Shar Jones writes, ‘Collodion plates combined the fine

12 Van Monckhoven, A Popular Treatise on Photography, 46.
detail of daguerreotypes with the facility for multiple printing offered by calotypes.\textsuperscript{15} However, the collodion process was more complex than the earlier methods and required a vast quantity of equipment, chemicals, and the knowledge of how to prepare them.

The wet collodion process, invented in 1851 by the sculptor Frederick Scott Archer, was particularly complicated and also dangerous, and required that the practitioner have an understanding of chemical emulsions and their application.\textsuperscript{16} In the wet-plate process bromide and iodide salts were added to collodion (guncotton dissolved in alcohol and ether) before applying the emulsion to a cleaned glass plate in an even layer. The plate was then sensitised in a silver nitrate bath just before exposure and put into the camera while still moist in order to ensure the sensitivity of the collodion layer did not deteriorate. Following exposure, the plate was removed from its holder in the camera in a darkroom or tent and was developed by pouring either pyrogallol or ferrous sulfate mixed with acetic acid over its surface. The image was then fixed on the plate in a bath of sodium thiosulfate or potassium cyanide before being washed. At this stage the plate could be immersed in other solutions in order to further enhance the negative image. Once dried the plate was usually coated with a layer of varnish and was then ready for printing (most often on albumen paper). While initially photographers had to mix their own collodion this was soon available for sale pre-mixed.\textsuperscript{17} In terms of exposure times, as noted by van Monckhoven, for moderate-sized plates this ranged from 10 seconds to one and a half minutes for outdoor and architectural photographs.

As wet plates had to be carefully prepared immediately before and developed immediately after exposure, this made the process both labour-intensive and awkward for the photographer working in the field. As well as the apparatus itself, chemicals and water had to be transported along with a darkroom tent or caravan.

\textsuperscript{15} Shar Jones, J. W. Lindt: Master Photographer (South Yarra, Victoria: Currey O’Neil Ross Pty Ltd, 1985), 2.
\textsuperscript{16} The invention of the process is credited to Archer; however, several others were responsible for the discovery of collodion as a photographic agent (see Helmut Gernsheim, The Rise of Photography 1850–1880: The Age of Collodion (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 11–14).
Martha Sandweiss in her study of photography in the American West writes that a ‘wet-plate photographer of the late 1850s travelled with a cumbersome and daunting load of supplies that tested the will of all but the most committed adventurers … As much as one hundred and twenty pounds might be the typical load for a wet-plate landscape photographer’. The production of a single landscape negative was estimated to take around three and a half hours ‘from the time the equipment was unpacked until it was repacked.’

The extraordinary array of photographic paraphernalia and the incredible effort and time involved in taking a photograph became the subject of numerous sketches in photography handbooks and magazines. For example, the title page of Photographic Pleasures published in 1855 is illustrated with a caricature of the outdoor photographer weighed down by a giant plate camera and tripod. To complete the scene a smiling and relentless sun shines down on him (fig. 4.1). A less satirical illustration of photographic equipment required for work in the field using wet-plates appears in Gaston Tissandier’s A History and Handbook of Photography in 1875. In the engraving ‘Photography and Exploration’ the photographer is shown with his head under the cloth that covers the back of the plate camera (fig. 4.2). A young assistant stands behind him by the darkroom tent whose interior is displayed to the viewer through the device of the drawn back curtain ‘doorway’. Here one sees the trays and bottles of chemicals and water needed to prepare and develop wet collodion plates. Considering the distances that in some instances needed to be covered and the raft of other supplies required during exploratory expeditions, not to mention the often unpredictable terrain and weather, the early travelling photographer had to contend with multiple hurdles in order to get his plates from camera to paper print. In the tropical regions of the world, such as New Guinea, these obstacles were particularly trying, a point I shall return to when I discuss New Guinea’s impact on photography below.

The introduction, in 1855, of the dry-plate process was therefore a welcome development for the photographer in the field. Similar to the wet collodion process, the glass plate was covered with collodion emulsion and then sensitised in a silver nitrate bath and washed. However, after this stage the photographer poured a preservation solution made of gelatin, albumen, honey, sugar, syrup, or oxymel over

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18 Sandweiss, Print the Legend, 127.
19 Richard Huyda’s estimate, cited in Sandweiss, Print the Legend, 127.
the plate. The plate was then allowed to dry and could be stored away for several months before exposing. Though dry plates were advertised as ‘instantaneous’, as Alan Davies notes, ‘truly short exposures had not yet been attained’. Dry collodion was also not as sensitive as wet collodion, which meant that the wet-plate negative remained the negative of choice for many outdoor photographers.

The gelatin dry-plate process, which Lindt used during his visit to New Guinea, finally released the photographer from preparing collodion-coated glass plates. It was invented in 1871 by the Englishman Richard Leach Maddox who had undertaken experiments with gelatin as a replacement for collodion. The exposure times were initially much slower than the wet plate process but by 1878 were down to less than one second in good light conditions. While the emulsion used to coat the glass plates could be prepared by hand, by 1878 four British firms were commercially manufacturing prepared gelatin dry plates. The manufactured plates came ready to use and had a long shelf-life, and with developers now also being made commercially this meant that photography was finally well within reach of the amateur enthusiast.

The above is only a brief outline of some of the mechanics and chemistry involved in early photography. As the technology was picked up by artists and other practitioners in the years following its invention in 1839, emulsions, lighting effects, lenses, and developing agents were experimented with in order to achieve the best results in the shortest possible time. Photographers also began experimenting with different aesthetic effects through the manipulation of these chemical and mechanical processes, most notably the pictorialists who in the late nineteenth century sought to move away from ‘realistic’ images and instead produced works in which the image was manipulated (mainly during the developing process).

Photographic societies, dedicated to the study and practice of photography, were also being established from the early 1850s and were exhibiting work as early as 1852. While most photographic innovations originated outside Australia, as Helen Innes

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observes, ‘the effects of successive and … dizzying technological developments [in Australia] mirror the situation worldwide.’

In its early days, photography was an expensive and time-consuming pastime, which meant that it remained the domain of the wealthier classes in Europe, North America, and the colonies. For example, to acquire a complete kit for making and developing daguerreotypes, one of the earliest photographic processes, a labourer would need to part with ‘the princely sum of around 300 francs, the equivalent of one hundred days’ work’. The invention of the collodion process which, in contrast to the earlier photographic processes, allowed for multiple copies to be printed on paper, made photography a more profitable venture for the studios of the day; and with the arrival of the smaller-format carte-de-visite in the mid-1850s, ‘photographic portraits [were made available] to a much broader section of society’, thus transforming photography into a mass medium. By the 1850s cameras and photographic prints became ubiquitous objects in the metropolitan centres, and with the invention of the collodion process cameras were taken out into the countryside and even onto the battlefield, to record the many facets of modern life and natural scenery. The presumed ‘objectivity’ of the medium – the image being the result of a mechanical process as opposed to the product of an artist’s imagination – also meant photography quickly ‘established itself as a medium for recording facts in a constantly expanding number of areas of human activity: industrial, judicial, scientific’. Within the first two decades of its invention, the camera had become an invaluable tool of state and empire.

Photography’s impact in New Guinea
The encounters between Lawes and Lindt and Papuans of southeast New Guinea were shaped to varying degrees by the instruments through which Lawes and Lindt peered in order to fix the land and its inhabitants onto glass-plate negatives. I argue that the camera is a historical actor insofar as this new technology spread rapidly

25 Helen Ennis writes: ‘no major photographic technologies have either been invented or manufactured in Australia’ (Helen Ennis, Photography and Australia (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 7).
29 Bajac, The Invention of Photography, 71.
across the colonised parts of the globe following its invention, recording and influencing colonial encounters. Men (or, indeed women) perched on stools or seated on the ground with charcoal or pencils and paper, working away at sketches, certainly caught the attention of indigenous populations, and the camera did much the same. Indeed, the early encounters between Lawes and Papuans of the Port Moresby mission district were significantly shaped by the curiosity and caution that the presence of the camera inspired.

Lawes and Lindt both used glass plate cameras and while Lindt had an assistant in New Guinea, Lawes likely made do with the help of his wife, James Chalmers, or a native teacher or mission worker, on the occasions that they were available, but otherwise photographed ‘alone’. In two portraits of ‘a chief’ (most likely Boevagi) taken in front of the mission house verandah that are held at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, Fanny Lawes and a maid (possibly Harieta) can be seen holding a sheet up behind the man who stands holding a club and wearing a Musikaka (a mouth ornament worn in battle) (fig. 4.3). We know more of the equipment that Lindt used in New Guinea due to the sales catalogue he compiled in 1888 in which he makes special mention of the lenses employed for his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series. Six lenses in total were taken on the expedition by Lindt, including a ‘No. 2 Medium Euryscope’ that he used for many of his ‘groups of New Guinea natives’. Besides the No. 2 Medium Euryscope and a No. 3 Rapid Euryscope ‘with Edwards’ Drop Shutter for instantaneous work’, he took with him four Wide Angle Euryscope lenses (Nos. 1-4) – ‘used for outdoor work of every description, also for interiors’ – that all fitted the flange of his whole-plate camera, thereby giving Lindt ‘a wonderful facility of securing almost any kind of subject’. Lawes, on the other hand, did not document which lenses he used but he had both a glass plate camera and stereo camera. Following its invention in 1847, the stereo camera was widely adopted ‘for its high quality and ease of use’. It did not replace the larger glass-plate cameras entirely but was frequently purchased as an additional

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30 Mr Bubb, Lindt’s assistant, is seldom mentioned in Lindt’s narrative but his name does appear once (Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), 69).
32 Ibid.
34 Barker, ‘Refracted Vision’, 46.
camera by the travelling photographer.\textsuperscript{35} Given that Lawes’s and Lindt’s cameras measured at least six inches by eight inches (in height and width), in order to accommodate the whole glass-plates they both used, acquiring a more portable alternative for longer inland or coastal expeditions would have been practical for the missionary. Yet stereo cameras are still conspicuous objects – and possibly even more so than the ordinary glass-plate cameras due to the two lenses that protrude from the front of the casing like a set of eyes.

As for the types of negatives the two men used, while Lawes used the collodion process, Lindt, as mentioned above, had gelatin dry-plates with him in 1885. Due to the luxury of having a darkroom aboard the SS \textit{Governor Blackall}, this meant that on inland treks safe storage of the exposed negatives until the coast was regained was Lindt’s primary concern. However, Lindt did not have the equipment or comforts of his Melbourne studio on hand and had to make do with whatever makeshift facilities he could rig up in order to change and store away the exposed plates for transportation. On one occasion, in a Koiari village inland from Port Moresby, Lindt had to steal away to the hut that was his accommodation for the night and use a lamp covered in red cloth, all the while hoping there would be no interruptions by the curious ‘natives’.\textsuperscript{36} In the end, Lindt averaged between two and three exposures per day during his time in New Guinea – though, admittedly, this was as much to do with his professional working method and artistic sensitivities as any restrictions placed on him by the bulkiness and cumbersomeness of his photographic equipment.

Lawes used the collodion process in his photography, and it appears he used the pre-mixed emulsion for coating the glass plates. In his letter to Joseph Mullens, on 6 October 1870, in which Lawes ordered an extensive array of photographic chemicals and accessories, he requested two pounds each of negative and positive collodion as well as 216 glass plate negatives of various sizes (including stereo plates).\textsuperscript{37} While it is difficult to ascertain the exact process used for the negatives from the printed image, I would argue that Lawes used both the wet and dry collodion processes and possibly even obtained gelatin dry-plates from Lindt when he visited Melbourne in early 1885. The two men certainly met and exchanged

\textsuperscript{35} Indeed, Barker notes that ‘This arrangement was standard on official geographic expeditions opening up the western United States’ (Barker, ‘Refracted Vision’, 47).

\textsuperscript{36} Lindt, \textit{Picturesque New Guinea}, 43.

\textsuperscript{37} Lawes, letter to Mullens, 6 October 1870, CY Reel 448 (A386), ML.
pleasantries and it may be assumed that Lawes seized the opportunity to replenish his supply of plates and chemicals.\footnote{Lindt, \textit{Picturesque New Guinea}, ix.} It is further likely that on his intermittent trips to the colonies in Australia, Lawes re-stocked his supply of chemicals and plates. At the very least it can be assumed that until 1885 Lawes prepared his own glass negatives, whether they were wet or dry collodion plates. This cumbersome process may account for the large number of photographs in Lawes’s oeuvre taken in the Port Moresby area and surrounds, and we know from his diary entries that he printed his photographs at the mission station.\footnote{Lawes, diary entry, 15 November 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA.} Far from the point-and-shoot photography of today, then, early practitioners, aside from preparing their negatives as the case may be, had to carefully plan their compositions and make a series of decisions about lighting, lenses, stops, and the positioning of the camera.

Critical reflections on the material form of the early camera and its impact in colonial encounters have drawn attention to its cumbersomeness for outdoor photographers and its equation with disease, colonial guns, and European aggression in ‘first’ encounters.\footnote{See, for example, Rosalind C. Morris (ed.), ‘Introduction’ to \textit{Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia} (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 1; James R. Ryan, \textit{Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualisation of the British Empire} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 143–144; Sandweiss, \textit{Print the Legend}, 223; Thomas Theye (ed.), \textit{Der Geraubte Schatten: Eine Weltreise Im Spiegel Der Ethnographischen Photographie} (Munich: C. J. Bucher Verlag, 1989).} As Christraud Geary observes, Europeans too were at first cautious of the camera and the images it produced, citing the famous example of the French writer, Honoré Balzac, ‘who believed that each photograph would remove a layer of the photographic subject’s skin’.\footnote{Christraud Geary, \textit{In and Out of Focus: Images from Central Africa 1885–1960} (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2002), 121, endnote 1.} Early encounters in the Port Moresby mission district were occasionally shaped by an element of fear, as some Papuans believed the camera was an object imbued with deadly or harmful powers. In January 1876, while visiting the village of Boera that only six months previous had been affected by a measles epidemic brought to Port Moresby by returning teachers, Lawes found he was able to take photographs of the teacher’s house and the village unhindered but on attempting to take some of the people ‘they were afraid that it would cause their death!’\footnote{Lawes, diary entry, 12 January 1876, mfm G 27500, NLA; the measles epidemic was referred to in the previous chapter and occurred in July 1875 (see Lawes, letter to Joseph Mullens (LMS secretary), 15 September 1875, mfm M91 LMS Papua Letters 1872–1876, NLA).} This early encounter between Lawes and the people of
Boera influenced his approach to photographing and he subsequently changed his method of working. In a journal entry written on 9 August 1877, Lawes notes:

I want to get some [views] of the natives but must disarm their suspicion first or they will think as the natives at Boera that the camera is a disease-making machine. I have shown them those I have printed of Anuapata and the natives and they are greatly taken with them.43

The next day Lawes notes that he had no trouble getting subjects ‘except the girls & they were bashful but I got two or three’.44 To what extent this is Lawes projecting his experience at Boera onto the Papuans in question is unclear, but this is an interesting episode as it highlights the different responses that cameras and photographs could elicit and also illustrates the way in which Lawes consciously modified his interactions with Papuans as a result of earlier reactions to the camera.

Unlike Lawes’s infrequent references to the apparatus he used to record New Guinea and its inhabitants, the camera ‘looms large’ in Lindt’s recounting of several of the encounters he had while visiting the region in late 1885. The sections of the book of his travels, Picturesque New Guinea (1887), in which Lindt narrates the details of his photographic encounters allow easy access to the nuances of these particular meetings of men, women, children, and technology in a way that Lawes’s edited, transcribed letters and diary entries for the LMS cannot. Lindt’s description of his photograph of an assemblage of chiefs from the villages of Garia and Saroa who had been invited on board the Governor Blackall to receive gifts in exchange for ceasing aggressions against the village of Gaile is a further example of the nuances of early photographic encounters and the central role the camera played in them (fig. 4.4).45 The creation of the image is referred to directly by Lindt in his book and he writes that these men presented ‘perhaps the most curious human group ever assembled on the deck of a steamer, the chiefs making no objection, although none of them had ever seen a camera before, and they probably supposed the proceeding to be some mystical rite preliminary to the negotiations’.46 Whether the claim that the chiefs had never seen a camera is true or not, Lindt’s interpretation of their reaction provides an example of the cultural meanings attached to the camera in the nineteenth century. As Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins write: ‘From an early

43 Lawes, diary entry, 9 August 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA.
44 Lawes, diary entry, 10 August 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA.
45 Gaile is also referred to as Kaile in some instances by Lawes and others at the time but I have chosen the more common spelling here.
46 Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea, 62.
point in the history of photography: its users recognized that the camera was a form of power’.47 This is conveyed in the very language used to speak of the photographic act: to ‘capture’ or ‘shoot’ are common metaphors still used today. Europeans also saw the apparatus as evidence of their superiority. Michael Adas argues that many European thinkers stressed ‘the centrality of scientific and technological accomplishments as proof of the superiority of Europeans over non-Western peoples’.48 For Lindt, his possession and mastery of the camera might have underscored his elevated status; whereas for the Papuan chiefs the camera, in all likelihood, represented yet another curious element of the encounter.

It is certainly a fascinating image, as the assemblage of chiefs do not appear at all interested in Chalmers and G. Seymour Fort, Sir Peter Scratchley’s private secretary, who are at the table behind them arranging the gifts of tomahawks, tobacco, and handkerchiefs that will be distributed if the negotiations are concluded satisfactorily; and Chalmers and Fort, in turn, do not look towards the photographer.49 The composition of the subjects in the photograph’s frame resembles other ‘ships’ photographs’ wherein ‘the “natives” are seated on the deck in an organised group, wearing various exotic modes of attire … surrounded by British, or French, or German, or American sailors, or labour recruiters or curious tourists’.50 In her analysis of two Samoan photographs taken on a British gunboat, Elizabeth Edwards writes that such images ‘are framed by the technical mastery embodied in the ship and the technical mastery of the photographic frame’. The ship also functioned as a ‘space of containment’ for this particular encounter and, as Edwards argues, ‘it was a deeply cultured space’. For the European subjects ‘the ship becomes a microcosm of their authority’ while for the Papuan chiefs, as for the Samoan subjects Edwards discusses, the ship was ‘the site to which they [had] been removed’ in order to enter into negotiations with Sir Peter Scratchley’s representatives. The camera was positioned at the intersection of these ‘different cultural spaces’ and ‘the act of photographing endowed the event with a permanence and theatricality that

49 Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea, 63.
echoes, at an abstract level, the performance of the event itself.\textsuperscript{51} It is not known if Lindt directed the two Europeans or the Papuan chiefs to assume their positions for the picture; but what is clear is that the camera’s presence – whether ignored or intently examined – played a central role in this encounter and that the photographer had to collaborate with the subjects to ensure the success of the final image.

Negotiations between European photographers and the Papuans of southeast New Guinea were frequently dictated by the camera technology: for example, the need to sit or stand still due to the longer exposures times in low-light conditions. Hence in several of Lawes’s photographs the subjects are blurred, such as in his image of Hanuabada pottery-makers (fig. 4.5). The missionary was unable to get the figures on the left of the image, in the foreground, to stand still while the plate was being exposed. Lindt, the professional photographer, was also not immune to this aspect of photography. In a photograph taken in the village of Maopa the figures to the extreme right of the image are blurred due to having moved while the plate was being exposed (fig. 4.6).\textsuperscript{52} That the photographic encounter in New Guinea in the late nineteenth century was often not a spontaneous or natural encounter is therefore frequently evidenced by the positioning of the human subjects in the photographs. In several of Lawes’s and Lindt’s images containing large groups of Papuans the subjects are seated, which was supposedly the pose in which they were less likely to move and thereby ruin the shot – it might have been the case that Lindt instructed the Garia and Soaroa chiefs to sit for the photograph discussed above. Thus the regimenting of Papuan bodies, which takes its most extreme form in the anthropometric and type portraits done by several visitors to the region, was often dictated by the demands and impact of the technology in situ rather than solely by current trends in anthropological portraiture.

Additionally, these ‘lined-up’ Papuans may represent the audiences that ‘naturally’ gathered to watch the photographers at work. Frederick Dally, a photographer who travelled to Vancouver Island and Nootka Island in 1866, noted the phenomenon of the quickly gathered crowd in his diary: ‘when I put my head under the focussing cloth of the camera to my surprise on withdrawing it, I found myself surrounded by about twenty of the natives squatting on the ground watching

\textsuperscript{51} Edwards, \textit{Raw Histories}, 113, 118, 121.

\textsuperscript{52} Lindt spells the name of the village ‘Moapa’ in his narrative and in the image caption.
my movement’.

And in Lichtenau, Greenland, Moravian missionaries noted when preparing to photograph children at play that ‘at the moment when Bro. Schärf built up his photographic apparatus, the noisy play stopped and in amazement they arranged themselves in front of it. Thus they appeared in the photograph’. The presence of the camera, it can be argued, turned the Europeans into ‘curiosities’, as they set about unpacking and setting up their equipment, and entered into negotiations to secure subjects.

**New Guinea’s impact on photography**

While the camera’s impact in encounters left traces in the photographs produced by Lawes and Lindt, topographic and environmental factors also tested the cameras and constrained early photographic encounters in this region of the world that, as Max Quanchi notes, ‘were limited to the coast and the few routes the administration, prospectors and missions had opened towards inland districts’. Transporting photographic equipment in southeast New Guinea in the late nineteenth century was not an easy task. In 1884, Lawes wrote to the LMS secretary outlining his recent travels placing teachers in villages, and quotes a seasoned explorer on the New Guinea landscape: ‘Signor D’Albertis says in his book, “it is easier to ascend the highest peaks of the European Alps with an alpenstock than to cross an ordinary hill in New Guinea”’. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there was little or no infrastructure when Lawes arrived in New Guinea and boats were the main form of transportation. Given the costs associated with early photography and the meagre income of missionaries, Lawes would not have taken the expensive camera equipment with him on all his visits to the outstations along the coast. In November 1876, he writes: ‘I want to take the teachers left at Port Moresby to Hood Point & Bay & also if my health permits go to Teste Island with the teachers about next February or whenever we can get a vessel. Going alone I should want little encumbrance in the way of luggage. I could go with a portmanteau & live as the

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53 Quoted in Carol J. Williams, *Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3.
56 Lawes, letter to Thompson, 16 June 1884, mfm M93 LMS Papua letters 1882–1885, NLA.
teachers do’.\textsuperscript{57} It is unlikely that he envisaged taking his camera, plates, and developing equipment with him in his portmanteau. Though relatively robust objects, early cameras still had to be transported and handled with care. Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay notes how on his visit to Andra Island in Manus in August 1879, ‘Intending to take on shore my camera I needed somebody, who would understand that some European things are very fragile and they should be handled with care’.\textsuperscript{58} If the wooden case broke or the black matt coating inside the lenses was somehow scratched, the resulting images would bear the traces of this damage (see, for example, fig. 4.7). Cracked glass plates were another problem the early photographers in New Guinea had to contend with as these had to be transported over uneven terrain and from boat to dinghy to shore and back.

When and where a camera could be set up was also influenced by climatic factors. Rain, torrential at certain times of the year in the humid tropics, put a stop to all photography and visitors to New Guinea often timed their expeditions in order to avoid the wet season, which runs from approximately December through to March.\textsuperscript{59} The strong trade winds also had to be contended with. In Ukaukana village, Lindt found ‘the wind … too high for photographing’ but in Port Moresby, only days later, would not let himself be deterred from constructing ‘a temporary studio of framework covered with calico for the purpose of making photographic studies of native heads’. \textsuperscript{60} To his dismay, the studio ‘was blown to pieces, and some conception of the force of the wind may be formed from the fact of my being bodily carried away some twelve feet with a screen which I had seized with the intention of saving it’. Lindt rather comically sums up this failed photographic enterprise, noting ‘as work was out of the question under these conditions I was forced to put my mortification in my pipe and smoke it’. \textsuperscript{61} His attempts to capture the lakatoi (large Motu trading canoes) in Port Moresby harbour were more successful; however Lindt still notes the ‘high winds’ that made his task more difficult (fig. 4.8).\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{57} Lawes, diary entry, 23 November 1876, mfm G 27500, NLA.
\textsuperscript{58} Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay, \textit{Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh} [Collected Works in Six Volumes], vol. 2 (Moscow: Nauka, 1993), 258–259 [text translated by Elena and Raphael Govor].
\textsuperscript{60} Lindt, \textit{Picturesque New Guinea}, 51, 55–56.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 47.
Lindt makes frequent references to the intensity of the sunlight and preferred photographing in the early morning, describing the daytime sunlight as ‘oppressive’ and ‘broiling’ on one occasion.\textsuperscript{63} Indeed, Lindt had purchased a pair of sunglasses in Melbourne before his departure for just such conditions and recorded the impression left by the spectacles on the inhabitants of one of the villages he visited:

My dark goggles produced a sort of terrified amazement among the women and girls, and when I took them off curiosity overcame fear, and they expressed their wonder and surprise without stint. I put them on one of our carrier boys to show that they were transferable, and he indicated by signs that he understood perfectly well that they served to guard the eyes from the glare of the sun.\textsuperscript{64}

The fact that the morning hours were better suited to photography, due to the relative cool and favourable light conditions, meant that getting certain subjects for their photographs might have, on occasion, proven difficult for Lawes and Lindt. And the seasons, too, influenced the subjects of their photographs: for example, at the times of year when gardens needed to be attended to and villages were therefore emptied of most of their male occupants. Then, when it was time to trade the harvested crops and other items in neighbouring villages, the villages were emptied of most of their female occupants. The Koiari (a tribe that lived in villages inland from Port Moresby) also habitually abandoned their villages when they had exhausted nearby garden sites.\textsuperscript{65} It seems Lawes got around these difficulties by going out to the gardens to secure his subjects on several occasions; and from the backgrounds of several of his photographs we also know that he did a lot of his photographing in Port Moresby, at the mission station, taking advantage of the occasions when people from inland tribes or from villages along the coast, travelled to Port Moresby to trade. For example, in April 1882, when six Motumotu canoes were in Port Moresby trading sago for hatchets and armlets, Lawes notes in his diary that he ‘got some very fair photographs of some of the people.’\textsuperscript{66}

The heat of the tropics made photography in New Guinea particularly trying at times. Both Lawes and Lindt mention the heat and humidity in their writings, though not specifically in connection with their photography. As late as 1921 Frank

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., 68, 69.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., 74.
\textsuperscript{66} Lawes, diary entry, 1 April 1882, mfm G 27500, NLA.
Deaville Walker applauded missionaries working in such places who sent photographs back to the missionary societies as ‘the exhaustion of photographic work, often in the full blaze of the sun, is terrific’. Walker, editor of the Methodist periodicals *Foreign Field* and *Kingdom Overseas*, travelled to the Methodist Missionary Society’s overseas fields between 1920 and 1937 taking photographs and writing articles. He therefore had first-hand experience of the rigours of photographing in tropical climes. Aside from the physical discomfort of the heat and humidity, there was the crippling physical, mental, and emotional toll of the illnesses that flourished in the tropical climate to contend with, on which I elaborated in the previous chapter.

Heat and humidity also wreaked havoc with photographic equipment, causing the leather components of cameras to become mouldy, metal parts to rust, and emulsions to peel from the glass plates. Hardwich dedicated several pages in his *Manual of Photographic Chemistry* to ‘Photography in Hot Climates’, outlining the correct method of preparing and applying the chemicals and emulsions to glass plates and photographic papers as well the appropriate cameras and equipment for humid and hot climes.

In selecting a Camera for a tropical climate, strength and thorough seasoning of the wood are of the first importance. Teak wood is preferable to mahogany, being less liable to be attacked by the white ants. It should be brass bound, and the dovetail joints secured by screws. The sliding adjustments, which move within each other, must be very accurately constructed, so as to work very easily, for as tropical climates are generally at some seasons of the year very moist, the slides during those seasons are liable to jam and become immovable. Special care, also, should be taken with the dark frames, to prevent the rays of the vertical sun from penetrating at the top when the slide is being drawn up to expose the plate.

In the 1892 edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* a tin-plate camera is described as ‘desirable, as it cannot be broken or cracked by heat’, and by 1899 A. C. Haddon, in the same section of the manual for anthropologists and amateurs in the field, notes that ‘For all hot damp climates it is essential that the camera be made of

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well seasoned wood and brass bound’. The damp and wet conditions were also not ideal for the storage of negatives (both developed and undeveloped) and ‘impure’ water could cause emulsions to peel and, later, film to blister. Storing the various chemicals required for early photography was fraught with potential problems in the tropics; as Hardwich notes, ‘the Collodion itself often undergoes some sort of decomposition, which renders it thin and limpid like water, and causes a white precipitate to collect in the bottom of the bottle’. The ‘wildlife’ too made the photographer’s task difficult. Not only did mosquitoes and flies make photographing uncomfortable but cockroaches and other insects would ravage the leather components of cameras, such as the bellows. Frank Hurley found, to his despair, that cockroaches had made a meal of the gelatin on his negatives during his visits to southeast New Guinea in the early 1920s.

Lindt’s photographic practice was further constrained by his position as photographer aboard an official expedition to the newly ‘acquired’ territory. He was given the freedom to select his subjects but certain restrictions were placed on him due to the official nature of the expedition. He was tied to the expedition’s itinerary and when and where he could photograph depended on the availability of transport and congenial relations with the ‘natives’. On one occasion Sir Peter Scratchley and Captain Clayton expressly forbade Lindt to land on Moresby Island due to the poor relations with the islanders; this was much to Lindt’s chagrin as he could see ‘several beautiful spots just fit for the camera’ from the deck of the ship. Capturing New Guinea on glass plate negatives was, therefore, a logistically and technically fraught undertaking at times, and while many Europeans with cameras who travelled to this region believed that they had secured photographs ‘from savage real life’, this was seldom the case.

70 Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 40.
72 Ibid., 483.
73 Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 40; Lawes notes how on one occasion ‘sandflies, fleas, & mosquitoes were so attentive that I could write but little’ (Lawes, diary entry, 3 February 1877, mfmg G 27500, NLA).
75 Ibid., 44.
Local agency in the making of the photographic record

Lawes’s and Lindt’s backgrounds, as traced in the previous chapter, are important for understanding their photographic encounters in New Guinea for the two men’s life-trajectories significantly shaped how the encounters between them and the Papuans played out on the ground. Lawes, a missionary dedicated to converting the Papuans to Christianity, had previous experience of living and working in the Pacific; he lived in Port Moresby for the majority of his time in New Guinea and made regular trips to villages along the coast and inland from the mission station.\footnote{Lawes moved to Vatorata in 1894 after establishing the Vatorata Training College there.} Within the first two years he was well-known and trusted by the Papuans of his mission district, even if conversions were not plentiful, and he also supplied tobacco as well as other coveted goods to the villagers in exchange for services, land, and food for the South Sea Island teachers the mission employed. In his extant journal entries, which cover the years 1876–84, Lawes does not mention the Papuans ever being hostile towards him or his family (though whether this is something he would note in his transcription of his diary for the LMS is, of course, a point to consider). Lawes was not a professional photographer and he busied himself photographing New Guinea as and when the opportunity arose, dictated largely by the demands and time-constraints of his mission work as well as his meagre income. Throughout Lawes’s letters to the LMS there are numerous references to the insufficient stipend he received and it is doubtful that he had enough expendable income to fully indulge in photography. It seems that Lawes did not order any further photographic supplies through the LMS after October 1870, but this is not to say that he did not acquire them elsewhere. As already mentioned, Lawes likely re-stocked his supply of plates and chemicals out of his own pocket while on deputation in Australia or during his visits to England. Needless to say, photographing was not Lawes’s priority during his many years in New Guinea but he was an important intermediary in many encounters between Europeans and Papuans that were photographically documented in the late nineteenth century.

Lindt, in contrast to Lawes, was a professional photographer and he arrived in Port Moresby at the end of August 1885 with around four hundred gelatin dry-plate negatives and a clear visual agenda.\footnote{J. W. Lindt, \textit{Picturesque New Guinea}, 17.} He was a voluntary member of an official expedition sent to the region to establish a permanent base for the
administration of the newly declared Protectorate and to maintain good relations with the indigenous population. This set of circumstances contributed to what was a much more defined and concentrated programme of photographing New Guinea and its people: Lindt wanted to furnish the Australian and European public with a comprehensive catalogue of New Guinea views and to earn prestige and profits. He set about doing this by choosing a wide variety of subjects and photographing them in a style that appealed to his market. Lindt’s ‘New Guinea’ was therefore conceived in outline before leaving Australian shores. Along with his preconceptions of what New Guinea must be like, based on his reading and encounters with Luigi Maria D’Albertis and Lawes, Lindt’s limited time in New Guinea meant that he likely had in mind specific views and subjects he wanted to capture.

This is not to say that their images of New Guinea were somehow preordained by their particular biographies. However, while Lawes and Lindt left behind an archive of texts and images from which their perceptions and motivations may be inferred, such an archive does not exist for the other side of this cross-cultural encounter to the same degree. Islander and Papuan teachers who worked for the LMS occasionally wrote letters to the organisation, and several travelled to Australia and England where they were presented to curious audiences as evidence of the civilising effects of the Christian presence in the Pacific and to aid the perpetual mission fundraising effort. As early as February 1876 Lawes reports that one of the Niuean teachers, Yalima, and his wife had been in Sydney. But how they and the Papuans of south east New Guinea might have perceived the encounters with European photographers must be inferred from the writings and images produced by Lawes and Lindt and others at the time as well as an understanding of the surrounding contexts.

In approaching the question of how Papuans might have perceived the photographic encounters with Lawes and Lindt, I draw on Felix Driver who suggests in his essay on views and visions of the tropical world that the process of imaging 78 As Doug Munro and Andrew Thornley write, letters, reports, and autobiographical accounts written by Islander missionaries in the Pacific ‘will never begin to rival in bulk or diversity the European archival and published material, with all its faults’, but some material does exist and still more may be ‘unexpectedly located’ (see Doug Munro and Andrew Thornley, ‘Retrieving the Pastors: Questions of Representation and Voice’, in The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific, ed. Doug Munro and Andrew Thornley (Suva, Fiji: Pacific Theological College and The Institute of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific, 1996), 7).

79 Lawes, diary entry, 5 February 1876, mfm G 27500, NLA.
places such as New Guinea might best be conceived of ‘in terms of transactions rather than projections’. While Driver analyses sketches, approaching the photographic encounter as a ‘transaction’ or an exchange in which all parties are invested to varying degrees opens the way for understanding the process of the individual photograph’s production as ‘negotiated in various ways’. This can lead to the uncovering of indigenous agency in the photographic encounter and encounters more generally. In New Guinea in the late nineteenth century the camera and the images it produced opened up an ‘extended space … as a contact zone where a multitude of ideas, artefacts and people circulated’. Mary Louise Pratt’s concept of the ‘contact zone’ is particularly helpful in analysing Lawes’s and Lindt’s photography as it expands the notion of transactions in the context of visualising the tropics put forward by Driver; she writes:

The term ‘contact’ foregrounds the interactive, improvisational dimensions of imperial encounters so easily ignored or suppressed by accounts of conquest and domination told from the invader’s perspective. A ‘contact’ perspective emphasizes how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations between colonizer and colonized … not in terms of separateness, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, and often within radically asymmetrical relations of power.

In the context of my discussion, this understanding of encounters as complex, multi-faceted interactions provides the framework for an examination of indigenous agency in the creation of the visual record of southeast New Guinea in the late nineteenth century. Photographs, the ‘little narratives’ in history, as Elizabeth Edwards writes, ‘are constituted by and are constitutive of the “grand”, or at least “larger”, narratives’, and may therefore reveal both the specific circumstances and experiences that led to their making as well as elucidate the nuances of colonial encounters more generally.

As outlined above, early photography was a mechanical, chemical, social, and cultural process. Unlike most photography today, taking a photograph in the late

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81 Ibid.
nineteenth century was not a simple or quick undertaking. More often than not, the cameras used were large and cumbersome objects. As Susan Sontag writes: ‘Picture-taking is an event in itself’, 85 and when Lawes, Lindt, and others photographed southeast New Guinea it was, in fact, more a case of making photographs than taking them. The word ‘taking’ implies little effort on the photographer’s part other than exposing the negative. Though Sontag’s use of the phrase ‘picture-taking’ might be the result of this particular colloquialism’s pervasiveness in the English language, I disagree with Michael Taussig’s more conscious and dismissive assessment of photography as ‘a taking’ as opposed to the drawing’s encompassing of time in its ‘making’; or, rather, I would suggest an amendment to this claim to afford the creation of the photo-object the same ‘generous … two-way movement’ which Taussig assigns drawing.86

A close examination of Lawes’s and Lindt’s photographs as well as the texts they wrote reveals that the Papuans in this region were frequently willing participants in the photographic encounter. Lawes reported that the local people of his district were ‘very much interested in the photographs’, and that chiefs would approach him to have their portraits taken; 87 suggesting that, as Christraud Geary observes in relation to the imaging of Central Africa, ‘rulers increasingly presented themselves to the cameras in the way they wanted to be seen … [and] exploited the photographic occasion for their own purposes’. 88 Lawes’s portrait of the Port Moresby chief Boevagi ‘in full dress’ (see fig. 3.9) might be one example from New Guinea of an indigenous leader’s consciously dressing and posing for the occasion – his steady gaze towards the camera indicates a subject who is fully self-possessed and in control of the encounter. On one occasion in 1877, during a visit to the village of Kerepuna, Lawes wrote in his diary: ‘Took a few photographs today of houses and some of the natives yesterday and today. The people are anxious to be taken, but many of them can’t remember to sit still, will turn around to speak to someone when the plate is half exposed and so on’ 89 (see fig. 4.9). The experience of being photographed was a curiosity to the people of Kerepuna, it seems, and by

87 Lawes, diary entry, 10 August 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA; Lawes, diary entry, 13 August 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA.
88 Geary, In and Out of Focus, 83.
89 Lawes, diary entry, 27 November 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA.
acquiescing to their requests Lawes was engaging in a transaction similar to those of George Brown in New Britain in 1875–80. Brown, as Helen Gardner and Jude Philp note, ‘used the making of a photograph to form relationships with local people and not simply for the purpose of later display or record’. Lawes also took photographs back to the villages in which they were taken, though I have yet to find any evidence that he gifted these to their subjects in a similar manner to Brown. In his diary entry dated 15 November 1877, Lawes writes: ‘The natives are excited about the photographs I took when I was here last. I have brought copies with me which I printed at Port Moresby & as I produce each one the natives shout with delight and surprise calling out the names as they recognize their friends on paper’. Similar to Brown’s practice on New Britain, displaying photographs might have been an ‘expected element’ of Lawes’s visits and doubtless aided the missionary in securing subjects on subsequent visits.

European photographers depended on Papuan cooperation in the photographic encounter in a more practical sense as well. Lindt, who discusses his photography in more detail than Lawes, introduces the sections in *Picturesque New Guinea* where he writes about his photographic sojourns in the villages of southeast New Guinea in a casual manner – he always ‘sallies’ forth to photograph – but he clearly relied on carriers, interpreters, and assistants in order to carry and set up his bulky, heavy equipment and to get subjects to pose for his camera. What is interesting in Lindt’s book is that he frequently mentions the aid he received and also photographed these helpers. In a campsite scene photographed by Lindt on his first inland trek, at Badeba Creek, the Papuan carriers/guides/interpreters can be seen resting alongside the two European explorers in the image (fig. 4.10). There are also several images by Lindt in which the same guide has been placed in the shot, either to serve as a pictorial device, such as in Figure 4.11 where the man posed seated on the rock draws the viewers’ eyes into the view beyond, or simply as another body to populate the scene (see fig. 4.12). These carriers, guides, and helpers were not

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91 Lawes, diary entry, 13 August 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA; Lawes, diary entry, 9 August 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA; Lawes, diary entry, 10 August 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA; Lawes, diary entry, 15 November 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA.
92 Lawes, diary entry, 15 November 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA.
always local or, indeed, Papuan. The explorer H. O. Forbes employed Malay servants and Amboinese hunters for his inland expeditions while in New Guinea and Lindt writes that Forbes spoke to him ‘very highly of these dusky retainers as being faithful and affectionate’. Lindt then notes: ‘This testimony I am able to corroborate from my own experience; I have found both the Malays and the Sundanese as servants industrious and obedient’.

Despite the omission of names, the mere mentioning of this help received from Papuans, Malays, and others and Lindt’s photographing of these men is remarkable, as local help was seldom acknowledged in early travelogues in order to magnify the heroism and bravery of the male European ‘hero-explorer’.

What is clear from Lindt’s narrative in *Picturesque New Guinea* is that when these helpers were not present, the exchanges and encounters with the local villagers were often awkward and drawn out. In many cases the European expedition members had to resort to gestures and mime in order to acquire information from the locals and to get their cooperation in posing for Lindt’s camera. On Heath Island, Lindt recounts in detail how he and Mr. Smart (a conchologist) were reduced to acting out a cannibal feast, with Mr. Smart as the main course, in order to ascertain whether some ‘flagged places’ they came across were associated with cannibalism.

In another instance, in Kamali village, Lindt writes that he decided to stay on longer than the other expedition members, due to it being ‘more attractive than the village we had just quitted’, and while he at first had misgivings about getting sitters for his camera, to Lindt’s astonishment all the inhabitants eventually turned out, and he writes that this was ‘evidently with the object of being photographed’ (fig. 4.13). Similar to Lawes’s experience in Kerepunu in 1877 where, except for a few ‘bashful’ girls, he had no difficulty in getting subjects to pose for his camera, what this episode in Kamali village makes clear is that the Papuans of the southeast coast were often willing participants in the photographic encounter.

Yet even with the help of interpreters, Lindt found it difficult to photograph in some villages. In Maopa, for instance, Lindt wanted to photograph a ceremonial structure in the centre of the village that had ornamented human skulls hanging from

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98 Ibid., 65–66.
99 Lawes, diary entry, 10 August 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA.
it. However, due to the strong wind blowing that day he was concerned the skulls would be reduced to blurred traces on the negative. Lindt writes that he offered ‘almost any price (in tobacco) to induce the natives to go up and steady the skulls while the picture was being taken’, but he was ultimately unable to convince them and was reluctantly ‘compelled to trust to the pen, unaided by the camera’. In Kapa Kapa, where Lindt met a couple in mourning for their three children, he found it took ‘a good deal of persuasion’ by their interpreter to get them to pose in a group portrait for him. What the encounters, or failed encounters, in Maopa and Kapa Kapa make clear is that the Papuans Lindt wanted to photograph sometimes refused to participate. As mentioned above, Lawes too found that some Papuans ran away from him and his camera, particularly in the early years of his time in New Guinea. Paradoxically, then, it is the absence of certain scenes in the photographic record that speaks volumes in terms of indigenous agency in many early encounters. Jane Lydon, too, has noted this aspect of the colonial visual archive in her work on the photographic representation of Aboriginal people at Coranderrk Station in Victoria in the late nineteenth century. When the French photographer Désiré Charnay visited Coranderrk in 1879, he found that the Aboriginal inhabitants would not simply submit to his plan for taking anthropometric portraits of them. They demanded ever-increasing sums to pose for him, starting at five shillings and working their way up to twenty, before the Frenchman refused to pay them anymore and ceased photographing.

The tactless incidents in Maopa and Kapa Kapa aside, Lindt was aware of etiquette and clearly had been briefed on how to behave in certain situations in order to ensure the goodwill of the Papuans – this, of course, being due to the fact he was connected with an official expedition sent out to New Guinea to establish and maintain good relations with the indigenous islanders. On one occasion, Lindt writes that he would never enter a dwelling without first obtaining the owner’s permission, it being ‘absolutely necessary to observe a certain amount of etiquette to avoid giving offense’. In another display of his adherence to local customs and rules of etiquette, Lindt participated in a local ceremony in Sadara Makara, a Koiari village.

100 Lindt, *Picturesque New Guinea*, 75.
101 Ibid., 60–61.
inland from Port Moresby. After shaking hands with one of the chiefs, Lohio-bada, Lindt was invited to exchange names with him and was thereby given the name Misi Lolo (meaning ‘maker of pictures’ in the Koiari language). This display of goodwill and willingness to participate in local traditions no doubt helped Lindt obtain subjects for his photographs the following day, when he ‘sallied’ into the village with his camera. He writes:

The native population, men, women, and children, gathered round Misi Lolo with a childlike curiosity to watch my proceedings, and readily obeyed all instructions. They stood in groups, took the proper attitudes, and even posed picturesquely, as conscious that they were being immortalized in picture.

Aside from the fact Lindt had been introduced to the Koiari people the previous day as ‘an artist who had come to take pictures of the village’, and also that he had come to their island in the company of the ‘Great White Chief’ (as Sir Peter Scratchley was introduced to many Papuans), the performance for Lindt’s camera in Sadara Makara village was also likely prompted by the fact that Lindt’s expedition party had with it tobacco and tomahawks for trading and payment (see fig. 4.14). For many Papuans, as already mentioned, being party to the ‘performance of [the photograph’s] creation’ was a curiosity and sitters frequently benefitted in material terms. For example, as Gardner and Philp observe, the subjects of Brown’s photographs were often paid with trade goods in order to sit still before the missionary’s camera. Tobacco was widely used as an item of trade in the Pacific and it is known that Lawes was a major importer to New Guinea. As early as January 1876, Lawes notes in his journal that he purchased a piece of land behind the mission house ‘for a hatchet, shirt, a yard of turkey red [cloth], a knife, some beads and tobacco’. And in her biography of James Chalmers, Diane Langmore notes that Chalmers ‘never doubted that it was the wealth he brought that ensured his acceptance’ in the villages he visited on his numerous inland treks. Lawes and

104 Ibid., 40.
105 Ibid., 44.
106 Ibid., 40.
108 Ibid., 178.
110 Lawes, diary entry, 17 January 1876, mfm G 27500, NLA.
111 Diane Langmore, Tamate—A King: James Chalmers in New Guinea, 1877–1901 (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1974), 19. On one particular occasion Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay writes that Makane, a girl whose tattoo he had sketched on his previous visit to New Guinea, ran towards
Chalmers were therefore important intermediaries for Lindt’s encounters with the Papuans of southeast New Guinea, even when they were not physically present.

**Missionary as mediator**

The mediating presence of Lawes likely contributed to the ‘easy’ and automatic performance of the photographic encounter by the Papuans of southeast New Guinea, such as witnessed by Lindt in the village of Sadara Makara. In his memoir of his time spent living and working in New Guinea, the natural history collector and Port Moresby trader Andrew Goldie recounts that Lawes’s name was ‘sufficient as a passport’. By simply shouting ‘Misi Lao’ (as Lawes was called by the Papuans) the guides who accompanied Lawes on his regular tours of the territory surrounding Port Moresby would warn their ‘countrymen of the arrival of Mr Lawes and thus the intelligence was carried from mountain to mountain’. Lawes himself wrote in 1876 that his ‘name is known far and wide’. Though Lawes did not accompany the expedition to Sadara Makara, the Koiari people knew what was expected of them in front of the camera as a result of his earlier visits and readily assumed the poses Lindt suggested – what Lindt had witnessed, then, was a ‘scripted’ performance. As early as 1881 the Papuans of the Port Moresby district, in particular, were used to Europeans in their land and were unfazed by the camera’s presence. Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay notes in his diary that he could walk between groups of ‘natives’, ‘who had seen Europeans so often that the appearance of the latter does not distract them from their occupations’. Such experiences were common along the southeast coast of New Guinea where Papuans had had increasing contact with Europeans, their ships and cameras, since the mid 1870s.

The mission station in Port Moresby was the primary port of call for many European visitors who came to New Guinea. In the early years of the mission Lawes played host to the occasional exploration party led by gentlemen scientists and travellers such as Octavius Stone, but by the late 1870s the number of arrivals had
dramatically increased. This was a result of the short-lived gold rush on the Laloki River in 1878 and the increasing interest aroused in Australia around the question of annexation. In 1883 the Age and Argus newspapers dispatched journalists to report on the state of the land and its people following the ultimately unsanctioned annexation by Queensland of the eastern half of the island.116 Lawes was an important intermediary for these men, as well as for the collectors, ethnographers, and botanists who visited Port Moresby, as he knew the land and its people, and could speak the Motu language. However, he did not approve of the new ‘breed’ of explorer to land on New Guinea shores in 1883. In a letter to the LMS secretary Lawes does not hide his contempt and writes,

We have two parties of white men here at present representing two Melbourne papers, the ‘Argus’ and ‘Age’. They are here for exploration or rather perhaps to make interesting letters for their papers – one we know, descriptive of country, was written and sent before they arrived here, or had even set a foot on New Guinea.117

Lawes placed great importance on maintaining friendly relations with the Papuans he encountered and he reprimanded all those who felt compelled to act otherwise. In two separate letters to Mullens, the LMS secretary, Lawes condemned Stone’s character, labelling him ‘mean and ungentlemanly’.118 Sir Peter Scratchley, sent to New Guinea in 1885 to establish good relations with the Papuans, was therefore a welcome guest, and the presence of the professional photographer in the expedition party gave Lawes the opportunity to act as guide and indulge in photography himself. Lawes was not the only European to play host to the Special Commissioner and the expedition party during their time in New Guinea. Chalmers also acted as host, guide, and interpreter for the expedition on its voyage to Redscar Bay and then southward along the coast.

The photographic encounter between Lawes and Lindt resulted in a number of duplicates (or very similar subjects from slightly different angles) in the two men’s photographic oeuvres that tell us something of the motivations for their photography. For example, they both photographed H. O. Forbes’s expedition party setting out on an inland trek and the lakatoi in the harbour of Port Moresby (figs.

117 Lawes, letter to W. Whitehouse, 23 July 1883, mfm M93 LMS Papua Letters 1882–1885, NLA.
118 Lawes, letter to Mullens, 8 July 1876, mfm M91 LMS Papua Letters 1872–1876, NLA.
4.15–4.18). In Lindt’s *lakatoi* photograph, Lawes can be seen in the foreground of the image composing or exposing a photograph of a large *lakatoi* with another man assisting him or looking on (fig. 4.16), while in the photograph of Forbes’s expedition party he is standing to the right of the image with three other European men (fig. 4.18). It is not difficult to imagine that Lawes enjoyed discussing the work of the expedition party as well as Lindt’s work on these occasions, and he did not let the opportunity to photograph alongside the professional photographer pass him by. Virginia-Lee Webb has termed this phenomenon the ‘tourist effect’, which occurs when individuals in a group gather or line up to photograph the same scene, event, or monument, for example – a common experience among travellers today. Both Lawes and Lindt took several photographs of the local Motu ‘water carriers’ in Port Moresby, and when Brown visited Port Moresby in 1890 it seems Lawes took him to photograph these women as well (figs. 4.19–4.23). Perhaps Brown wanted to capture his own version of the subject made famous by Lindt five years earlier. In all these photographic encounters, Lawes emerges as the intermediary, facilitating the visualisation of New Guinea by the men-with-cameras who travelled there.

Lawes’s position as missionary in Port Moresby and his close engagement with Papuans in his mission district meant he acquired ‘local’ status in the eyes of visiting Europeans; a status he likely also acquired in the eyes of many Papuans over the years he lived and worked in New Guinea. That he was able to get so many people to pose for his camera in his makeshift studio at the mission station is certainly testimony to the reputation that he and Chalmers won for ending conflicts between warring tribes (see figs 4.24 & 4.25). Lawes took many such portraits and, as mentioned above, Lindt had also intended to take ‘head shots’ while in Port Moresby before the wind confounded his efforts. These portraits pose the most complex and interesting set of questions, as they encapsulate the seeming distance in many photographic encounters in cross-cultural contexts. Anthropometric or type

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119 Johnson and Seton, “‘Fields of Vision’”, 166.
portraits are, as Elizabeth Edwards writes, entangled ‘in the micro-politics of colonial power’ and have become ‘signature images’ that stand for ‘the essential relations between anthropology and photography, to the extent that their own historicity has become curiously obscured’.\textsuperscript{124} They produce a sense of unease in most viewers today – an unease stimulated by our knowledge of the ultimate uses to which such photographs were put. However, the minds of the subjects, their motivations, thoughts and feelings are less clear. How did the portraits’ subjects perceive these particular encounters with Lawes? They were seated against a white-sheet backdrop outside the mission house in Port Moresby, instructed to turn one way, then the other, and to hold still, the camera almost ‘pinning’ them to the spot. While for those who were used to Lawes and his camera this might have seemed an extension of his \textit{in situ} photography in their villages, what of those who came from villages further afield, where there was no mission station or teacher? Did they enjoy the experience or feel pressured into it? Such questions are difficult or, indeed, impossible to answer, but they are important questions if we want to begin approaching the nuances of such photographic encounters.

In these images we see predominantly Motu men, women, ‘Girls’ and ‘Boys’, including chiefs of the villages in Port Moresby, but other tribes and villages from along the southeast coast and inland are also represented, such as Gosoro, Kabadi, Koiari, Gaile, and Koitapu. Lawes also photographed Lifuan and Marean teachers in this setting. The subjects are positioned alone or in pairs or small groups in front of a white sheet backdrop – some are standing, but most are seated – and many have been photographed front-on as well as in side profile, which signals that Lawes at least had some idea of the guidelines for anthropometric photography. As the one element that Lawes had limited control over, the subjects’ facial expressions may offer one path to accessing their experiences of these encounters with the missionary in his makeshift studio. However, attempting to read a photographic subject’s inner state in their eyes and body language is an exercise fraught with problems. The passage of time and cultural and geographical divides mean that what may appear as ‘fear’ to us today could also be read as ‘unease’, ‘respect’, ‘uncertainty’, ‘tiredness’. The ‘obvious hermeneutic instability’ of such an endeavour is evidenced in Charles Darwin’s \textit{The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals}, published in 1872.

\textsuperscript{124} Edwards, \textit{Raw Histories}, 131.
for which he employed actors to simulate different mental states and then photographed them.\textsuperscript{125} When an image meant to portray astonishment was shown to 15 people they read it instead as terror, agony, or great suffering.\textsuperscript{126} For all that an attempt was made to control and, in some instances, contort the sitters’/actors’ miens, what was read from the images depended on the particular viewer’s interpretation of what they saw. Hence, the response of many viewers today to read images such as Lawes’s type portraits as exploitative anthropometric ‘mug shots’ remains in part a projection of the European photographer’s perceptions of the ‘other’. Lawes’s portraits certainly lend themselves to such a reading, particularly in their arrangement in the Mitchell Library King album and accompanying catalogue. In the King album these portraits are mostly grouped together near the end of the album, with portraits of ‘native teachers’ and converts interspersed among them, while in the accompanying catalogue list the majority are included under the ‘Anthropological’ heading.

It is almost certain that the subjects were not always coerced into posing for Lawes’s camera and that, for the most part, it was a performance they were willing to partake in. At the very least, it must be acknowledged that the frontal portrait constitutes ‘a collaboration between subject and photographer’.\textsuperscript{127} Lawes certainly controlled the production of these images to a higher degree than the photographs he took in the villages. However, if we return to the moment of their production and take into account the surrounding contexts, further narratives and meanings emerge. Lawes’s photographs of the Lifuan and Marean teachers, his portraits of Harieta at her sewing machine, and the images of ‘Granny’ unsettle any reductive reading of his type portraits as simply exploitative and ethnocentric.

The three portraits of Harieta, who it seems was a house girl or maid for the Lawes family from Suau,\textsuperscript{128} betray the multiple motivations behind Lawes’s staging of some of these portraits as well as the nature of the encounter between photographer and subject. The portraits include a frontal view, a profile, and in


\textsuperscript{127}Lutz and Collins, ‘The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes’, 359.

\textsuperscript{128}Quanchi, \textit{Photographing Papua}, 151.
another she is seated behind a sewing machine, one hand on the wheel, her whole figure almost in view (figs. 4.26 & 3.6). As mentioned in Chapter Three, the sewing machine image was probably intended to document, in fitting fashion, a valued member of the Laweses household and the mission as well as to portray the ‘civilised’ Islander. Or perhaps it was made to record the arrival of the machine that would ease the work of the mission wives in New Guinea. It might have been the case that a member of the public in Australia, England, or New Zealand supplied the sewing machine or the funds to purchase it and a print of the portrait was sent as an acknowledgment of the gift. That Lawes documented frontal and profile views of Harieta as well, in a style that appears to increase the distance between photographer and subject – separated, as it were, by the conventions of anthropological portraiture – may then, rather, indicate the more personal nature of the relationship between Harieta and Lawes. Harieta was a photographic model ‘close at hand’ for the missionary and that she would willingly sit for him seems a plausible assumption. If we accept that portraits such as these are the result of collaboration between the photographer and subject rather than necessarily coercion, new readings of the subjects’ postures, gestures, and facial expressions become possible – readings that illuminate the nature of the specific photographic encounter. So, for example, we might see ‘self-consciousness’, ‘concentration’, or ‘interest’ in Harieta’s expression and posture as she poses for Lawes in these portraits.

Lawes’s photographs of ‘Granny’ further unsettle any reductive reading of his type-style portraits as simply exploitative and ethnocentric. As mentioned in the previous chapter, ‘Granny’ (or Kena) was a valued and loved member of the Lawes’s household. The portraits Lawes took of her include a frontal and profile view, but there is another image in the King album in the Mitchell Library that may also be a portrait of her (figs. 4.27 & 4.28). In this photograph a woman who closely resembles Kena is shown standing in front of the white-sheet backdrop wearing a traditional mourning vest. Here again, then, is an instance where Lawes might have asked a mission employee to model for him and it is doubtful that the photographic encounter was one defined by distance, exploitation, or unease. This is not to say that all such photographic encounters were premised on mutual respect and the equal participation of photographer and subject, but it is important to acknowledge the two-sided, collaborative nature of the encounter even in these seemingly tightly regimented compositions.
As the Papuans became used to the camera and its operators and began to anticipate the role they would be playing in front of the camera and the outcome of the act (so, the production of their likeness on the glass-plate and paper), their experience of the photographic encounter changed and may have been akin to what Roland Barthes described in *Camera Lucida*:

> very often (too often, to my taste) I have been photographed and knew it. Now, once I feel myself observed by the lens, everything changes: I constitute myself in the process of ‘posing’, I instantaneously make another body for myself, I transform myself in advance into an image. [And] This transformation is an active one.129

This is a compelling image and one that may be read into the experience of many Papuans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century who figured out the poses they needed to strike – the other bodies into which they had actively to transform. And the bodies they learned to transform into, as mentioned above, were based on their earlier experiences with Lawes and his cameras and the men with cameras whom the missionary brought to their villages. This self-regimentation was not only the result of repeated exposure to cameras but also of the general disciplining of Papuan bodies through the work of the LMS and other missionaries in this region. As Wayne Fife observes: ‘The proper body for a [Papuan] to inhabit, at least if he or she wanted to become involved with mission life, was to be that of a relatively pliable worker; someone who did not mind taking direction from those who assumed themselves to be their social superiors’.130 Indeed, well after Lawes’s time in New Guinea, in the early 1920s, Frank Hurley complained bitterly that the people of New Guinea (called Papua by this time) all lined up and assumed rigid poses as soon as he got his camera out, which meant that he had to ‘stage manage’ his subjects in order to capture ‘Papuan customs and dances.’131

**Conclusion**

That the local Papuans frequently determined the nature of the photographic encounter is evidenced in certain episodes in Lawes’s diary entries and in Lindt’s

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131 Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 43.
book, as well as in photographs the two men took. While Lindt might have framed his narrative in such a way as to place himself centre stage as the explorer-artist-photographer – ‘sallying forth’ to photograph the people and exotic landscapes of New Guinea – he nevertheless notes the vital assistance given to him by Papuan guides and interpreters, as well as European interpreters, Polynesian teachers working for the LMS, and traders with knowledge of the local people and their culture. Lawes, in particular, may be said to have directly influenced several of Lindt’s encounters and by placing the photographic outputs of these two men side by side, more searching questions can be asked about the nature of each man’s encounters with the Papuans of southeast New Guinea. Finally, focussing on photography as a technological and social process allows a space to be opened up in which the local people can be seen to act in and impact on this particular form of exchange. Once the camera had been safely and carefully transported to the villages (by the photographers themselves or the carriers they employed), the production of a successful photographic portrait or view rested upon a number of factors that were out of the photographer’s control. What becomes clear is that the photographic encounter was not, and seldom is, one-sided.
CHAPTER FIVE

Fixing New Guinea in the colonial imagination: J. W. Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ in Australia and Europe

Who does not know Lindt’s New Guinea studies? Will they ever be forgotten? Will they ever be surpassed?¹

– Blamire Young (27 February 1909)

Clifford Geertz notes the importance of analysing art ‘within the other modes of social activity’ that surround it in order to understand the art object’s ‘cultural significance’ in its local setting.² Similarly, a photograph cannot be understood solely through its image-content. Though iconographic analysis yields some information about the intended uses of photographs, a focus on the form and the various texts that frame the images provides access to their actual uses and the meanings that were attached to them. Having analysed the tropes that were established by Europeans to represent places such as New Guinea, as well as the on-the-ground experiences that shaped the making of Lawes’s and Lindt’s photographs, in this chapter I turn to the contexts in which Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ images were read and acquired meaning in Australia, England, and Europe.

While the content of Lindt’s photographs was influenced by pre-photographic artistic traditions and earlier representations of ‘exotic’, ‘unknown’ places as well as the various negotiations and conditions that shaped photographic encounters, their original meanings were determined by their use. Lindt’s images of New Guinea, or rather a selection of his New Guinea subjects, came to dominate representations of the region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.³ Max Quanchi notes, in particular, the popularity of Lindt’s tree house, Motu water carrier, and lakatoi images, which were published in various formats and replicated by visitors to New Guinea soon after Lindt released his series (figs. 5.1, 5.2 & 4.8). In this chapter I build on Quanchi’s work and investigate in detail the processes by

which Lindt’s images achieved iconic status, beginning with the decisions Lindt made in his studio in Melbourne in late 1885 and early 1886 regarding scale, medium, sequencing, display, entitling, and captioning. How did these decisions influence the meanings and popularity of his New Guinea pictures? And what might such a focus on the materiality of photographic objects at the point of production tell us about Lindt’s photographic practice?

Despite the fact that Lawes was photographing in southeast New Guinea several years before Lindt travelled there, Lindt’s New Guinea photographs are discussed before those of Lawes as they were seen by a wider audience in Australia and Europe and were disseminated earlier than the majority of Lawes’s photographs. Further, Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series was more influential in shaping the Australian and European public’s idea of New Guinea due to his presentation of the images in a variety of formats and settings, as well as the framing and semantic ‘loading’ of the photographs by the texts that surround them. In contrast to Lawes, Lindt sought to control tightly the readings and therefore the meanings of his photographs, beginning with the decisions he made in his studio regarding scale and presentation, through to the captions and title he chose for his series.

The immediate historical and cultural contexts of the reception of Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series is the subject of this chapter and, therefore, my analysis shifts from the point of ‘capture’ and making of the photographic image, which was the focus of the previous chapter, to Australia and, to a lesser extent, Europe and the immediate packaging and dissemination of Lindt’s photographic series. Lindt’s intentions regarding the various public functions of his images are considered, as well as the ways in which they were received and understood by audiences at the time. After outlining the processes employed by Lindt in his studio in order to develop and print his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series, I illustrate the many meanings that were ‘written into’ and read from Lindt’s photographs by undertaking a close study of one of his images from the series: ‘Motu water carrier, Port Moresby’. I then turn to a consideration of the scientific, artistic, and nationalistic aspirations embedded in Lindt’s marketing and display of this series. Finally, I consider ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ in the context of Lindt’s subsequent Pacific Island series ‘Picturesque New Hebrides’ (1890) and ‘Picturesque Fiji’ (1892).
‘Picturesque New Guinea’ in the photographer’s studio

The image of New Guinea that Lindt produced was not only the result of photographic encounters on the southeast coast of the large Pacific island but also the result of a series of decisions made upon his return to his studio in Melbourne. Lindt’s New Guinea series and the photographic series he produced on his subsequent trips to the New Hebrides and Fiji have received virtually no sustained critical attention. Peter Quartermaine has argued for the potential of the ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ photographs ‘to inform readings of Australian art’ and also to act as conduits through which the ‘nation may confront with fresh awareness aspects of its past’.

While such readings gesture towards the broader significance of Lindt’s New Guinea photographs, Quartermaine analyses the series exclusively in terms of image content and does not discuss Lindt’s New Hebrides or Fiji photographs, presumably because they were assumed to be much the same as his New Guinea work or not relevant to a narrative of the forging of Australian national identity. While Lindt’s New Guinea photographs certainly form ‘part … of the history of empire’, reducing his Pacific Island work to imperial propaganda or a looking glass onto the past obscures their significance as ‘products of commercial endeavour’. Lindt was a professional photographer first and foremost, and relied on the sale of his photographs and photographic equipment for his livelihood.

Lindt produced at least 127 prints from the known 128 exposed glass-plate negatives from his trip to New Guinea, including views taken en route aboard SS Governor Blackall and HMS Dart. This is remarkable given the fragile nature of

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5 Ibid.
7 Lindt writes: ‘my negatives, numbering about 128, I took for safety sake with me to Melbourne by rail’ (J. W. Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1887), 94). This figure includes the 124 images he sold under the title ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ (four of which are subjects taken in Brisbane and Cooktown in Queensland en route) as well as four further photographs: a group portrait of Sir Peter Scratchley, his staff and friends on board S.S. Governor Blackall before setting out for New Guinea; a view Lindt took on board the HMS Dart on his return to Australia from New Guinea; an object still-life of ‘Paddles, Native Ornaments, and Implements from the neighbourhood of Dinner Island and China Straits’; and a photograph of Sir Peter Scratchley’s coffin on board the Governor Blackall once his body was returned to Australia (so, not included in the 127 New Guinea views in my count). All of these Lindt reproduced in Picturesque New Guinea along with a self-portrait and portraits of notable personalities associated with New Guinea, including Luigi
glass-plate negatives as well as the conditions under which Lindt was sometimes pressed to work in New Guinea. Humidity, heat, the strong trade winds, river crossings, mountain ascents, language, and cultural barriers were all factors that had to be overcome or negotiated by Lindt in order to secure his views of the land and its people. As discussed in the previous chapter, the photographer could not control all variables in the photographic encounter, but Lindt did determine whether a scene or subject would be exposed on the glass plate, or whether the plate would make it to print once it was developed.

Lindt developed his New Guinea negatives himself, some of which had been exposed up to three months prior to his return to Melbourne. His assistant at the time noted the ‘incessant labour and care’ that was required in the developing and printing processes and, as Shar Jones observes, ‘Lindt himself developed every plate, using separate processes to develop, darken, fix and finally protect each image’. The care taken at this stage in the process meant that Lindt could be assured each print made from the negative was of a high quality, with no spots or other imperfections marring the image. In his 1888 publication, *A Few Notes on Modern Photography*, which was both a manual for developing negatives as well as a catalogue of photographs and photographic chemicals and equipment that could be purchased through his studio, Lindt outlines the processes he used for developing gelatin plates in great detail. For his New Guinea photographs, Lindt used pyrogallic developers – ‘Edwards’ pyro developer made into stock solution with glycerine and alcohol’, and a combination of two solutions that he mixed himself, one from ‘Schering’s pure pyrogallic acid and ten ounces of distilled or pure rain water’, and the other a mixture of potassium bromide grains, water, and ‘the strongest liquor ammonia’. The potassium bromide solution was particularly efficient for developing over-exposed plates, but had to be applied at exactly the right moment in the developing process. Here, as Lindt notes, ‘experience is the only guide, and where a novice would fail miserably, an experienced operator would often obtain a good result’. As for under-exposed negatives, Lindt writes that these could also be saved or


10 Ibid., 43.
improved upon by ‘quickly’ applying the bromide solution, but when ‘much under-
exposed’ would only result in ‘hard negatives’ which should be rejected.11 Lindt’s
success in producing 127 pristine negatives from the 128 exposures he made while in
New Guinea is testimony to his knowledge, talent, and skill.

Before the plate made it to print the image sometimes needed retouching due
to imperfections that could result from the over-exposure of the negative. In the self-
aggrandising preface to _A Few Notes on Modern Photography_, Lindt writes that
‘Excessive retouching may gratify the vanity, or satisfy an uneducated taste; but … I
have always paid the greatest attention to the production of negatives as nearly as
possible perfect in expression, lighting, and pose’.12 Some of his New Guinea
negatives were retouched but Lindt believed that the high quality of the original plate
showed the retoucher’s work ‘to the greatest advantage’.13 Given the exposure times
and lighting conditions in New Guinea, the sky frequently appeared a blank on the
resulting images. Catherine Elizabeth Cousens, the retoucher who worked in Lindt’s
studio, therefore spent most of her time drawing in clouds on the negatives in order
to enhance the appearance of the view.14 The retouching techniques employed in
Lindt’s studio, and in most photographic studios in the late nineteenth century,
involved etching directly onto the plate as well as applying India ink to the negative
or print with a brush or pen, to enhance outlines or details that may have become
washed out due to movement or light conditions.15

Once the negatives had been developed and retouched, if necessary, contact
prints were made from them as well as larger-format prints for display purposes.
Albumen paper was the most common paper used for printing photographs in the
nineteenth century and it appears Lindt worked exclusively in this medium for the
production of his prints.16 As the paper was thin and fragile the photographic print

11 Ibid., 42.
12 Ibid., 5.
13 Ibid.
14 Catherine Cousens was an expert retoucher. Lindt married her in 1889, after his first wife died on
Jones, _J. W. Lindt_, 13.)
15 Virginia-Lee Webb, ‘Manipulated Images: European Photographs of Pacific Peoples’, in
_Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism_, eds. Elazar Barkan
16 I have not found evidence that Lindt used carbon processes for printing; it appears he preferred to
outsource the production of the autotypes that illustrate his book as well as the large display prints
— these being done by the Autotype Company in London (see, R. J. Barcham, letter to K. Burke, 2 July
was often pasted onto a card mount – a task Lindt entrusted to his assistant, Carl Herman Krutli. Lindt imported the paper from Trapp & Münch’s of Germany. It arrived in his studio in large sheets which were then sensitised in a solution of silver nitrate for around three to six minutes before being allowed to dry without exposure to light. The paper was subsequently fumed with ammonia and dried once more. It was then cut to the size of the glass-plate being used, placed in a frame and put in direct contact with the negative; the paper and negative were then exposed to light until the desired tone was achieved. The printer would have to closely monitor this process to ensure the image did not become too dark. Following this procedure, the paper was removed from the frame, washed in water to remove the silver, toned in a solution of chloride of gold, washed again, and finally fixed in a solution of sodium thiosulphate (or ‘hypo’).

Decisions regarding the size of the prints were also made once Lindt returned to Melbourne, and he gives us some idea of the photographs’ intended uses. His 1888 catalogue lists 124 ‘standard size’ (6 x 8 inches [15.2 x 20.3cm]) subjects available for sale through his studio as well as ‘A Set of 7 Characteristic Subjects’ on ‘48 x 36 in. [121.9 x 91.4cm] Plates, for Libraries, Museums and Halls’. These large display-sized prints of Lindt’s ‘Motu Water Carrier’ (no. 2), ‘Koiari Chiefs’ (no. 32), Koiari ‘Tree House’ (no. 34), ‘The Chief’s House’ in Tupuselei (no. 59), ‘Ka Kalo Creek’ (no. 66), a ‘Village scene at Kalo’ (no. 74), and an image of ‘Mourners and Dead-house at Kalo’ (no. 75) could be purchased as a set for £30 or ‘framed in oak complete, £50’, putting them well beyond the reach of the average worker in the Australian colonies at the time. Lindt entrusted their production to the Autotype...

17 Interview with Krutli, Item 2, Keast Burke’s File of Material on J. W. Lindt, ca. 1947, A2383, ML.
19 R. J. Barcham, letter to K. Burke, 2 July 1947, Item 3, A2383, ML.
20 Ibid.
21 Lindt, A Few Notes on Modern Photography, 7–8. This sum (£50) would be the equivalent of the annual wage of the average working class person. Complete sets of the display-sized New Guinea pictures are held at the Mitchell Library and at Museum Victoria, in Melbourne (New Guinea photographs, 1885–1886 / J.W. Lindt, ML 611, 7 photographs each 46 x 34 in., ML; DC 21491, off-site storage repository, Museum Victoria. The Mitchell Library versions have been removed from their original frames. Museum Victoria has eight New Guinea pictures of this size in total, all framed, including two prints of ‘Ka Kalo Creek, Kapa Kapa’, one of which is in a more ornate frame). A complete set would also appear to exist in the collections of the Queensland Museum, as Quanchi writes: ‘Until the 1960s the [Queensland] Museum ... regularly displayed the 132 by 100 centimetre
Company in London, who also produced the 50 plates for his book *Picturesque New Guinea* (1887).\(^{22}\) Though not listed in his 1888 catalogue, Lindt also made c.22 x 18 inch (c.55.9 x 45.7cm) prints of some of his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ photographs.\(^{23}\) The prints were produced using a solar camera with a long mirror arranged so the sun would shine on it through the lens and plate negative onto the albumen paper; it sometimes took half an hour to get a print using this process. Krutli observed that many of these medium-sized prints ended up in the window of Lindt’s shop on Collins Street where they were clearly meant to draw passing pedestrians into the studio.\(^{24}\)

Lindt was adept at such acts of self-promotion and knew the visual impact a window-display of larger-format photographs would have. Indeed, these larger prints made by Lindt in his Melbourne studio are testimony to his immense skill as an outdoor photographer as well as his meticulous work developing the glass plate negatives in his darkroom; the clarity of the pictures and the detail is striking. Six prints of this size were shown by Lindt at the International Exhibition in Melbourne in 1888, alongside six of his portraits, and upon receiving a Second Class award, the photographer promptly wrote a letter to the *Argus* protesting this slight on his work:

> Times with photographers are not the best at present, and competition is keen, but I firmly believe that all photographers who are acquainted with my work will be astonished on reading the insult gratuitously offered me, and were their opinion asked, I believe there would not be one among them who would not endorse my protest.\(^{25}\)

Around three weeks later the technical and artistic merit of his work was recognised by the judges at the Melbourne exhibition who awarded Lindt a first class

\(^{22}\) In discussion with Alan Davies, former Curator of Photographs at the Mitchell Library in Sydney, it emerged that the likely reason that Lindt outsourced the production of his large exhibition-sized prints to the London Autotype Company, despite the availability of autotype printing in selected studios in Melbourne, is that he wanted to ensure the best results possible for his work (Alan Davies and Peter Stanbury (eds.), *The Mechanical Eye in Australia: Photography 1841–1900* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985), 114).

\(^{23}\) New Guinea prints of around this size can be found in London, in the British Museum (OC/L6/1–7), and in Cologne, Germany, in the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum (RJM) (accession numbers 23255, 23256, 23258, 23259, 23261). The RJM also has a selection of five of Lindt’s New Hebrides pictures and six Fiji images printed in this format in its photographic collections (accession numbers 23257, 23260, 23262–23270).

\(^{24}\) Interview with Krutli, Item 2, A2383, ML.

medal for his photographs – the *Argus* and the *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* reported: ‘The photographs exhibited by J. W. Lindt were found in every respect deserving of a First Award ... From a technical point of view, the above-mentioned pictures may be considered the best in the exhibition’.26 Lindt knew and rather boldly asserted his worth on this occasion and it is hard to dispute the technical accomplishment of his New Guinea series. Years later, Lindt’s New Guinea photographs were still receiving praise in the Australian press. In 1909 the artist William Blamire Young wrote: ‘Who does not know Lindt’s New Guinea studies? Will they ever be forgotten? Will they ever be surpassed? The sustained excellence of the series is phenomenal.’27

As with his New Guinea pictures, Lindt printed his subsequent New Hebrides and Fiji series on albumen paper and had a selection of images from the New Hebrides series enlarged to 48 x 36 inches (121.9 x 91.4cm) for display purposes.28 The autotype enlargements of his New Hebrides photographs were put on display at the International Exhibition of Artistic Photography in Vienna in 1891 and were reportedly ‘favourably received’ before being sent to Lindt in Melbourne.29 Like his New Guinea display-size autotypes, these were printed in London where Lindt believed he would get the best results using this relatively new process, and he subsequently became the sole agent for the London Autotype Company in Australia.30 Lindt had styled himself as an artist-photographer since the 1870s and wrote that his travels through the islands of the New Hebrides were ‘for artistic and literary purposes’.31 Importantly, as with his New Guinea photographs, Lindt recognised that the value and success of his New Hebrides and Fiji photographs lay in their artistic and technical execution as much as in their content.

28 Six of the New Hebrides prints, all framed, are held at Museum Victoria in Melbourne (DC 21491, Museum Victoria).
**Reading Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ photographs**

Alongside the technical and artistic accomplishment of the series, Lindt’s careful packaging and framing of his New Guinea work through the texts he deployed significantly shaped its reception. The viewer is made to read his images rather than simply to look at them. Lindt had always been adept at harnessing the press to market his photographs, and nineteenth-century consumers of photography were certainly accustomed to the use of captions and advertising text in sales catalogues, as well as the photographer’s studio stamp frequently found on the images. As Ken Orchard observes, Lindt had explored ‘the narrative possibilities of still photography’ from early in his career, placing carefully posed figures in landscape settings, and choosing titles that guided the viewer to the image’s intended meaning. In ‘A Likely Place (auriferous) (Shea’s Lucky Corner)’ (1870–3), the solitary figure of the gold miner is hunched over a pan that is obscured from view by the rocks on which he kneels; a walking stick lies at his feet. The river and forest that dominate the scene behind the man, the ‘frontier spaces of nature’, are here depicted as ‘a benign realm – tamed and non-threatening, easily accessible, a space for leisurely pursuits – rather than as remote or hazardous’. The title of the image, ‘A Likely Place’, enforces the message implicit in Lindt’s composition – it is ‘fundamental to its intended meaning’, as it draws the European viewer/reader in to partake in the promise of the wealth and beauty to be found in the pristine Australian landscape. One contemporary reviewer of the photograph wrote that ‘if such things as fairies and sprites existed in reality, spots like the one our artist has brought before our eyes would be their favourite haunts.’

This taming of the Australian bush through its photographic representation as a benign idyll is also represented in the image and title combination of Lindt’s ‘Sylvan Solitude (Tower Hill Creek)’, another photograph from his series titled *Characteristic Australian Forest Scenery* (1875), which Lindt was commissioned to produce for the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876 (fig. 5.3). Lindt’s poetic

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33 Ibid., 90.

34 Ibid., 94.

title for this photograph of yet another solitary male figure in a forest setting, this
time at rest on the rocks by a creek, ties the image, as Orchard argues, to the German
Romantic ideal of *Waldeseinsamkeit* (‘woodland or forest solitude’).\(^{36}\) The artistic
motif and philosophical notion of ‘all-encompassing immersion in nature’, famously
expounded by Alexander von Humboldt in *Cosmos*, proved popular in the first half
of the nineteenth century, and it was believed that, by contemplating paintings and
other representations of nature, ‘spiritual and emotional responses’ could be
triggered in the viewer.\(^{37}\) As Orchard observes, it may be assumed that Lindt was
exposed to such artistic trends and philosophical notions as part of the education he
received in Germany as well as the artworks he had access to in his home town of
Frankfurt am Main. Frankfurt’s Städel Museum housed many works by nineteenth
century German Romantic landscape painters such as Caspar David Friedrich, Karl
Friedrich Lessing, and Joseph Anton Koch that Lindt would almost certainly have
seen prior to departing Germany in 1862. For these artists the encounter between
man and nature and the importance of the sentimental in its depiction defined their
approach to painting.\(^{38}\) Further, the young Lindt would undoubtedly have read the
lyrical and emotionally intense *Sturm und Drang* poetry of Johan Wolfgang von
Goethe – ‘Frankfurt’s most famous son.’\(^{39}\)

Having spent his formative years in Frankfurt, acquiring an appreciation for
narrative landscape art and the poetic offerings of the *Sturm und Drang* poets, Lindt
was then taken up in the German expatriate community in Grafton, under Conrad
Wagner’s ‘wing’, where this particular education no doubt continued. Wagner had
arrived in Grafton from Offenbach in Germany (near Frankfurt) in March 1856, and
was referred to as ‘our local Raphael’ by the residents of the small New South Wales
town.\(^{40}\) That Lindt should choose to work in a lyrical and narrative style once he
took up photography seems almost inevitable. He was clearly ‘adept at employing
visual conventions and referencing exemplars from his European heritage’,\(^ {41}\) but it is

\(^{36}\) Orchard, ‘J. W. Lindt’s “Characteristic Australian Forest Scenery” (1875)’, 94–95.
\(^{37}\) Ibid., 95; Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, vol.
\(^{38}\) Ulrich Finke, *German Painting from Romanticism to Expressionism* (London: Thames and Hudson,
1974), 13–14
\(^{39}\) Orchard, ‘J. W. Lindt’s “Characteristic Australian Forest Scenery” (1875)’, 95.
\(^{40}\) Jones, *J. W. Lindt*, 3.
\(^{41}\) Orchard, ‘J. W. Lindt’s “Characteristic Australian Forest Scenery” (1875)’, 94.
the title that ultimately gives ‘Sylvan Solitude’ its meaning – extending the narrative beyond the scene towards considerations of man in the presence of nature.

The narrative and expressive element of Lindt’s photography continued throughout most of his career. A similar thread may be traced in his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series. However, Lindt chose the popular literary genre of the travelogue over that of the Romantic poem as the primary vehicle for the marketing of his images, as this aligned more closely with the contemporary cultural milieu of the Australian colonies. Accounts of travel and exploration written by adventurers, newspaper correspondents, scientists, ships’ captains, missionaries, and other colonial globetrotters proliferated in the late nineteenth century, in book format and in the newspapers of the day. On opening the weekly papers in the mid-1880s, Australians could read about ‘Gumsucker’s’ travels ‘abroad’ in the Australian colonies or a recounting of Henry Johnston and Henry Morton Stanley’s travels in the Congo.42 The armchair traveller was well catered for in the colonies and Lindt knew that this was a market he could tap into with his tales of travel in New Guinea. Lindt kept written notes during the expedition to New Guinea in which he recorded the circumstances surrounding the production of several of the photographs and he wrote these up in more detail for the text of his book *Picturesque New Guinea*.43 Once back in Melbourne, he also made heavy use of captions, ensuring that his photographs were seldom left ‘unexplained’. Victor Burgin writes, ‘We rarely see a photograph in use which is not accompanied by writing’,44 and this was certainly the case for Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series.

A narrative thread is already implicit in the arrangement of Lindt’s New Guinea photographs in a numbered sequence in the catalogue and in the five albums.45 By arranging the New Guinea series in this manner and distributing and

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selling it through his studio, Lindt ensured that individual prints were seldom seen or understood as isolated images. Lindt was not the only professional photographer to market his photographs in albums or in serial form; indeed, it was common practice in photographic studios of the time. The Burton Brothers studio of Dunedin, New Zealand, consistently promoted its photographs taken in New Zealand and the Pacific Islands in series and this was also common practice among photographers working in the American West. Lindt’s arrangement of the photographs in roughly chronological order enabled the viewer of his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ albums and reader of the captioned list to obtain a sense of the journey undertaken by Lindt in New Guinea (Appendix 3). This was, of course, an economic measure, encouraging the purchase of multiple prints – Lindt advertised individual, standard sized prints for ‘2s. 6d’, while a ‘Complete Set of 120 Subjects, Mounted in Five Albums’ could be purchased for £15.47.

Customers could purchase whichever images they wanted and display them how they chose, but the captions ensured that the narrative was expanded ‘beyond the visual information’; more specifically, they directed the reader/viewer towards a particular meaning or message in the photograph. As Roland Barthes writes, the use of text as anchorage ‘has a function of elucidation, but this elucidation is selective’. So, for example, image number 57 in Lindt’s series is captioned ‘Remains of Heathen Temple, Tupuselei’ to indicate that the structure in the photograph is no longer in use (fig. 5.4). The image caters to the European taste for the sublime and monumental, while the implicit message is that ‘civilised’ or Christian practices, introduced by the European missionaries in southeast New Guinea, have rendered ‘savage’ customs obsolete. Mary Price writes of the


47 Lindt, A Few Notes on Modern Photography, 8. This suggests that Lindt did not include the Cooktown and Brisbane images, of which there are four in total in the catalogue of 124 ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ views, in his ‘complete set’ marketed for the public.


relationship between text and image as well, declaring: ‘It is the act of describing that enables the act of seeing’.50 While the captions for his New Guinea series may not be as lyrical or poetic as those attached to his earlier Characteristic Australian Forest Scenery pictures, Lindt maintained his control over the meaning of his images through such descriptive tags. In order to illustrate the systematic manner in which Lindt sought to produce specific meanings in his New Guinea pictures, in the following section I undertake a close analysis of a single photograph from the series.

Case study: The multiple meanings of ‘Motu water carrier, Port Moresby’

The captions and text for Lindt’s photographs were not chosen arbitrarily but were consciously deployed by the photographer in an attempt to direct the reading and thereby the use of his images. ‘Motu water carrier, Port Moresby’ is one of the most widely reproduced of his New Guinea photographs and was one of 50 images from the series published in Lindt’s book, where it served as the frontispiece (fig. 5.5). It was also one of the seven subjects chosen by Lindt to be enlarged by the Autotype Company in London and framed for display, and was subsequently replicated by visitors to Port Moresby, including George Brown (as discussed in the previous chapter) and, in the 1920s, Frank Hurley (fig. 7.15). Image content, captions, and text taken together serve as a good example of the close relationship between text and image in Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series. In the analysis that follows I closely examine Lindt’s ‘Motu water carrier’ in its multiple manifestations – as a contact print in the official set of albums, as the frontispiece to Lindt’s book, and as a large exhibition print – in order to demonstrate the manner in which Lindt used text to ‘activate the associated narrative and agenda’.51

The photograph is of a young Motu woman from one of the Port Moresby villages. She stands on a path in the foreground of the image, framed by two trees and with bushes and grass behind her. She holds a large pot on her right shoulder with her right arm; water has spilled from the pot and runs down her front. A grass skirt is the only item of clothing she wears and she also wears a necklace made of shells. Burgin argues that the uncaptioned image ‘is invaded by language when it is looked at: in memory, in association, snatches of words and images continually

51 Whybrew, “Reading” Photographs: Burton Brothers and the Photographic Narrative’, 85.
intermingle and exchange one for the other; what significant elements the subject recognises “in” the photograph are inescapably supplemented from elsewhere’.52 Sometimes these external elements or associations were consciously embedded in the image by the photographer.

‘Motu water carrier’, taken on its own, may be read as an archetypal ‘Island Belle’ picture – a genre of colonial representations where the exposed breasts of the usually adolescent female subjects are the central focus. Depictions of this kind can be found in drawings and sketches done by expedition crew members before the invention of the camera, and Oswald Brierly made such studies on his travels aboard the HMS Rattlesnake (see, fig. 2.19). These images were then replicated by the men-with-cameras who travelled to the Pacific in the latter decades of the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century. Captain Francis R. Barton, a colonial administrator based in Port Moresby in 1904–7, who had ‘a passion for photography as an art form’, took several photographs of local Motu women that are highly staged and present the women as ‘exotic maidens secluded in an idyllic setting’.53 Quanchi has observed that photographs of partially clothed Papuan women outnumber images of any other subject in the period that his book covers (1880–1930), and these were often taken and distributed under the pretence of pseudo-scientific observations of the people who were their subjects.54 Frequently, the women needed to be coerced into posing for such images, especially in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century when Christian messages regarding decency and proper dress had permeated most traditional cultures in the Pacific. Alfred Burton, on his photographic tour of the Pacific in 1884, found the women of Tonga were not amenable to his suggestions they remove their blouses for the camera, whereas in Fiji and Samoa he was still able to persuade some to pose in this manner.55

The water-carrier pose was one of the conventional belle poses employed by photographers, alongside the reclining maiden, the Madonna, the gamine or the coquette.56 While it might be argued that the Motu woman’s gaze in Lindt’s photograph, which meets the camera’s lens and the viewer’s gaze, ‘short circuits’

54 Quanchi, Photographing Papua, 64.
56 Quanchi, Photographing Papua, 66.
any possibility of voyeurism, as Christian Metz observes the direct gaze may also be read as a sign of consent.\textsuperscript{57} Ultimately, as John Tagg writes, she is still ‘subjected to an unreturnable gaze’ that was well acquainted with the implicit connotations of the ‘Island Belle’ genre of images.\textsuperscript{58} Here, then, several texts or discourses surrounding femininity and womanhood have already been activated by Lindt’s image at the point of its production. In Barthes’ deconstruction of the ‘imposition of second meaning on the photographic message proper’, and thus beyond the photograph’s indexical relationship to its referent, he notes that there are various connotation procedures that are ‘realized at the different levels of the production of the photograph’.\textsuperscript{59} In the case of Lindt’s ‘Motu water carrier’, the choice of subject, framing, and pose connotes innocence and sexual availability. Indeed, as Linda Nochlin observes, in Western art of the nineteenth century the female body was most often represented and read in terms of ‘submission, passivity, and availability’.\textsuperscript{60} Similar to Barton’s images of the young Motu women that, as Martha Macintyre and Maureen MacKenzie argue, ‘conjure exotic sexuality’, Lindt too imported ‘particular conventions of female representation from the Western aesthetic tradition’ to capture ‘his’ water carrier on glass-plate negative.\textsuperscript{61} He evidently knew there was a market for such images in Australia and Europe and took several more such ‘belle’ images on his subsequent trip to Fiji (see, for example, fig. 5.6).

The exotic, sexualised female body was not the only artistic convention that Lindt drew on in his ‘Motu water carrier’ photograph. The motif of the water carrier dates back to at least Classical antiquity. In the Hellenistic age, the story of the water carriers endlessly emptying their jars of water into a pierced vessel in the ground belonged to a set of ‘frustration myths’ centred on the ‘notion that in the afterlife [sinners] continue to go through the motions of life while others do not’.\textsuperscript{62} Like Sisyphus and his boulder and Tantalus and the elusive fruit, the water carriers were

\textsuperscript{58} John Tagg, The Burden of Representation (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 64.
\textsuperscript{61} Macintyre and MacKenzie, ‘Focal Length as an Analogue of Cultural Distance’, 162.
doomed to repeat their futile task. However, unlike Sisyphus and Tantalus, the water carriers were nameless and were not connected with a specific crime, which led to their interpretation as symbols both of punishment and purification. In the post-Hellenic age, as Eva Keuls argues, the motif of ‘toil as catharsis’ was ubiquitous and it found expression in representations of water carriers on Roman funerary monuments.63 According to Keuls, these women, who in the Roman Imperial age came to be identified with the Danaids – the 50 daughters of Danaus who were punished for murdering their husbands on their wedding night – ‘are saved because of their diligent humble service’.64 The leaking vessel as an ‘instrument of catharsis’ continued to find expression in the medieval period in the legend of a sinful knight whose tears of frustration, after being condemned to fill a leaking barrel, absolved him of his crimes and his futile task.65 On seeing the Motu women collecting water in their pots, the image of the Classical water carriers likely came to Lindt’s mind and he seized the opportunity to stage a Papuan version of the scene. The composition of the image is a success and the viewer is free to make the connections that Lindt triggered with his choice of caption. For many, the link between the purification of sinners through toil and the civilising project of the Christian presence in New Guinea would have been clear.

Lindt’s inspiration for the composition of ‘Motu water carrier’ might also have come from painters such as William Etty and Francisco Goya, who created famous images of water carriers (figs. 5.7 & 5.8). In their paintings the sexual availability of the female subjects is foregrounded through the positioning of their bodies as well as the markers of social class that Goya incorporates in his version. The scantily dressed female figure in Etty’s rendition, completed in 1812, dominates the visual field of the painting. She is depicted in profile, her face is turned to meet the viewer’s gaze, and the vase she balances on her head contains the same hues the artist has used to represent her pale skin. The viewer is invited to observe and appreciate her body – a body that becomes associated with the vessel she carries through the artist’s use of colour. Similar to the water carriers of Classical antiquity,

63 Ibid., 169.
64 Keuls, The Water Carriers in Hades, 169. The Danaids were the fifty daughters of Danaus who were made to marry the sons of Aegyptus, the king of Egypt and Danaus’s brother. Danaus ordered his daughters to kill their husbands on their wedding nights, which all but one did, and they were subsequently condemned to spend eternity carrying water in pierced bowls.
who were also viewed as personifications of wells and springs, and hence as fertility figures or symbols of nature, in Etty’s painting the woman’s body is presented as fertile by virtue of its identification with the vase.\footnote{Keuls, \textit{The Water Carriers in Hades}, 20.} In Goya’s version, the female subject stands facing the viewer and she clearly belongs to the lower classes due to the clothes she wears. While she stands confidently, with a wide stance, her availability to the mostly male upper class viewers of the time was without question. In this context, the jug that she balances on her hip also functions as a symbol of her fecundity, further guiding the viewer to read the image as one depicting a sexually available female subject. In his positioning of the bare-breasted pot-carrying Motu woman in the centre of his photograph, Lindt ensured that his ‘Motu water carrier’ was ‘invaded’ with messages about the sexual availability of its female subject even before the addition of captions.

However, the water jug also traditionally symbolised purity and therefore carried biblical associations of the Virgin Mary as the pure vessel that bore Christ into the world.\footnote{Sarah Jane Boss, \textit{Empress and Handmaid: On Nature and Gender in the Cult of the Virgin Mary} (London and New York: Cassell, 2000), 30–31.} Given the context of Lindt’s water carrier photograph, the old order juxtaposed with the new seems a fitting biblical allusion to highlight in a series of photographs taken during an expedition to a newly acquired, still to be fully Christianised or ‘civilised’ land. Lindt, a well-educated Christian and polymath, was no doubt conversant with such biblical and Classical associations as well as earlier representations of water carriers.

The definitive inscription of these particular meanings onto the image occurred after Lindt returned to Melbourne. In an album he compiled soon after arriving back in the country from New Guinea, Lindt captioned his Motu water carrier photograph by hand: ‘Motu Girl, Port Moresby’.\footnote{Album of photographs of New Guinea / J. W. Lindt, 1885, H2009.46/1–12, Pictures Collection, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.} The album was a gift for Captain Lake, with whom he travelled back to Australia on receiving word that his wife had been taken ill, and bears an inscription inside the front cover with the date: ‘December 1885’. Lindt therefore compiled the album almost immediately upon his return. Indeed, he had not yet embossed the albums for his New Guinea series and consequently pasted the photographs for Lake into an album bearing the title of one of his earlier series: ‘Australian Scenery’. Lindt’s choice of caption for his
photograph of the Motu woman in Lake’s album is merely descriptive: it serves ‘as point of departure, something minimal and non-interfering’. The water carrier, with its artistic associations, is not mentioned and there is also no image number written beside the caption. It was only upon completing this gift that Lindt set about naming, numbering, and captioning his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series in more detail.

At the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition in 1888, where Lindt exhibited 60 of his prints as well as artefacts he had collected in New Guinea, the caption changed once more to reflect the particular context in which his photographs were displayed. In the catalogue for the exhibition, for which Lindt was the official photographer as well as being conferred the honour of Commissioner for New Guinea Exhibits, the caption for the image reads ‘Motu Woman Carrying Water; Port Moresby. No. 2’ and it appears under the heading ‘Motu Natives, With Pottery’. Here again, as in Lake’s album, Lindt has chosen a more descriptive as opposed to narrative title for the portrait. In the context of an exhibition aimed at advertising the natural and cultural ‘commodities’ and potential industries of the colonies, Lindt tailored his caption to suit, while still linking the image to its narrative framings in the inclusion of its number from his original ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ catalogue.

In the context of Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ project as a whole ‘Motu Water Carrier’ was selected by Lindt at some point in late 1885 or early 1886 to serve as an emblem for his series. In Lake’s album the portrait was pasted in as the final image but by the time Lindt compiled his official set of albums the photograph appears second, after a view of Elevala Island taken from the mission house in Port Moresby. Lindt also chose the image to serve as the frontispiece to his book and enlarged and framed it for exhibition purposes. Quanchi has found that ‘belle’ images served as frontispieces for many books published between 1880 and 1930. Their appeal was likely due to the multiple meanings that could be read out of the image and the fine balance that was struck between them – innocence and sexual availability were mediated by a scientific detachment through an identification of the Motu woman as an anthropological ‘specimen’.

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71 Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 80.
The aesthetic appeal of the composition of Lindt’s ‘Motu water carrier’ also made it an ideal frontispiece to his book. The framing of the female figure by the two trees and the neutral backdrop ensure a focus on the mid-ground of the image and the human subject. This framing device was enhanced through the cropping of the original image for the reproduction in his book; and Lindt cropped the image even further for the large exhibition print he had made in London by the Autotype Company (figs. 5.5 & 5.9). This ‘zooming in’ on the female subject and the addition of painterly clouds in the sky behind her give the impression that the scene has been recorded in the photographer’s studio. Lindt’s hand is therefore evident in almost every aspect of the construction of the image.

This reading of the photograph as Lindt’s artistic creation is enforced through the addition of the artist-photographer’s signature, applied in red paint, in the bottom right-hand corner of the display-size version held in the Mitchell Library in Sydney (fig. 5.10). Lindt applied his signature in this manner to most of the large-format versions of his seven selected New Guinea subjects, complete sets of which are held at the Mitchell Library and Museum Victoria, in Melbourne. Similar to the painter’s signature on a completed canvas or, indeed, a strategic quotation of the famous French photographer Nadar’s scarlet signature emblazoned across the façade of his palatial glass-fronted studio in Paris, Lindt hereby asserts the artistic value as

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72 All seven of the autotype enlargements of Lindt’s New Guinea pictures held at the Mitchell Library have his signature added in red paint – some over his studio stamp and some painted free-hand, with ‘Melbourne’ alongside (ML 611, ML). Five of the eight exhibition-size prints of Lindt’s New Guinea photographs held in Museum Victoria also have this distinctive red-paint signature on them and all are framed with plaques holding the title and ‘New Guinea’ on the lower frame of seven of them. This method of framing, with the copper plaque attached, recalls the method of displaying paintings in this period. The six New Hebrides display-sized prints at the museum are in the same frames with plaques as the seven New Guinea prints mentioned above. However, none has a red signature on it (DC 21491, Museum Victoria). The National Gallery of Victoria, in Melbourne (NGV), has a selection of four New Hebrides and seven Fiji subjects printed in the ‘medium’ format by Lindt (c.30 x 60cm or 60 x 30cm). Of these prints ten have a caption, Lindt’s name, and the year written on them in red paint (six of the Fiji subjects and all of the New Hebrides prints). However, the script does not match Lindt’s hand on the New Guinea exhibition-sized prints and on some of the prints the date that is noted down is incorrect. I therefore doubt that Lindt applied these particular signatures and captions (‘Fire ordeal, Bega Island, Fiji’, 1892, PH1-1972; ‘Potters at work, Fiji’, 1892, PH66-1975; ‘Tahitian chestnut tree, Tavua, Viti Levu, Fiji’, 1892, PH65-1975; ‘Levuka Creek at early morn, Fiji’, 1892, PH64-1975; ‘Fiji, native house, Yaqona bushes at the Foundation’, 1892, PH63-1975; ‘Walking over the red hot stones, Bega Island, Fiji’, 1892, PH327-1975; ‘Governor Thurston’s canoe party, Wainimala River, Fiji’, 1892, PH2-1972; ‘Banyan Tree, Santo Island, New Hebrides’, 1890, PH70-1975; ‘Lilipa Village, Protection Island, New Hebrides Islands’, 1890, PH69-1975; ‘Banyan tree, Santo, New Hebrides’, 1890, PH68-1975; ‘Burumba Village, Epi Island, New Hebrides group’, 1890, PH67-1975, NGV).

well as his aesthetic ownership of the work.74 This ownership was put to the test soon after Lindt arrived in London in 1887, when the Religious Tract Society pirated 30 of his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ images and reproduced them as engravings in James Chalmers’ book, *Pioneering in New Guinea*.75 Lindt spent three weeks while in London negotiating acceptable terms under which the Religious Tract Society could proceed with the printing of the book, sacrificing a long dreamed-for visit to Italy to visit his explorer-idol Luigi Maria D’Albertis. The terms finally agreed upon were a £100 royalty for the first edition of 1,000 books and a further £100 if a second edition were to be printed. On top of this the Society paid all legal expenses involved in the dispute and inserted a paragraph dictated by Lindt into the preface of 400 of the books already printed (this involved cutting the pages out of their bindings!).76

Lindt’s ‘Motu water carrier’ was amongst the images the Religious Tract Society illegally reproduced, though in its rendering in Chalmers’ book it has lost some of the textual overlay discussed above (fig. 5.11). It was initially the frontispiece to Chalmers’ book before Lindt took the Society to court, when it was moved into the text of the book. The female subject no longer stands out from the scenery and she is not ‘alone’ – two girls with water pots can be seen walking away on the path behind her. The tree on the left of Lindt’s photograph has also been replaced with what look like two Mediterranean palms that are more Biblical in their visual reference. Finally, the caption, ‘A Port Moresby Girl’, no longer provides the direct cognitive link to the artistic and literary traditions of the water carriers. In Chalmers’ book, the image functions as mere illustration.

Lindt followed his credo ‘Truth – but truth in a pleasant form’ to the letter and presented his ‘Motu water carrier’ to the late nineteenth century viewer as a picturesque, innocent, and ready-to-be-transformed new subject of the British

74 Lindt had also obtained copyright registration of at least 34 of his New Guinea photographs, including ‘Motu water carrier’, through the Victorian Patents Office in January 1886. These prints now form part of the Victorian Patents Office Copyright Collection in the State Library of Victoria (see <http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?fn=search&ct=search&initialSearch=true&mode=Basic&tab=default_tab&index=1&dum=true&srt=rank&vid=MAIN&frbg=&vl%28freeText%29=Lindt+VPOCC> accessed 12 July 2016).


76 Lindt, letter to D’Albertis, 23 February 1889, ‘D’Albertis Luigi Maria. N. 23 Fotografie (Nova Guinea – Australia – 1872–77) Indigeni, Castello D’Albertis, Museo delle Culture del Mondo, Genoa, Italy. (Letter sighted and transcribed by Jane Lydon, email correspondence, 19 September 2014.)
Empire. It could be argued that, when faced with yet another indigenous culture that might ‘disappear’ as a result of contact with European culture (as was the current theory in Australia regarding the Australian Aboriginals’ fate), Lindt chose his ‘Motu water carrier’ as emblem for his series because its aesthetic appeal distanced the viewer from this potential ‘reality’. Anne Maxwell, in her reading of Lindt’s *Australian Aboriginals* portraits, observes that by ‘converting the spectacle of the Aborigines’ displacement into an object of beauty, Lindt ensured that their distress was kept at arm’s length’. Perhaps the same strategy was employed by Lindt in his presentation and framing of ‘Motu water carrier’. This conscious and careful placement, packaging, and framing of ‘Motu water carrier, Port Moresby’ guided the late nineteenth-century viewer to read the image and its female subject as emblem, artwork, sexual and possessable object, and as an ethnographic curiosity.

Science, art, and Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series

James R. Ryan observes that ‘pictorial practice on expeditions had long embraced the fields of art and science’, which meant that the resulting sketches and paintings ‘have often been mobile culturally as well as physically, drifting between the fields of art and science as they are circulated and displayed in different settings’. William Hodges’s drawings and sketches from Cook’s second voyage to the Pacific (1772–5) were reproduced as engravings in the official account of the expedition, thereby linking them to its scientific aims. Hodges’s official objective was to witness and faithfully transcribe the visual phenomena encountered during the voyage – a task at which he excelled, for example, in his careful rendering of the effects of light on landscapes. However, the Admiralty also commissioned him to complete large canvasses based on these studies upon his return. Back in England and with a view to becoming a member of the Royal Academy, Hodges executed these works in the neo-classical style that was popular at the time while still striving for scientific
accuracy in the depiction of the human inhabitants and flora of the islands.\textsuperscript{81} Several of these canvasses were displayed at the Royal Academy in 1776 and 1777, and though they were criticised for their ‘ragged mode of colouring’ – Hodges’s solution to the problem of representing tropical light – this transposition from ship’s deck to gallery wall highlights the close relationship between art and science in expeditionary art.\textsuperscript{82} Oswald Brierly, too, in his studies of the indigenous populations he encountered while on the Rattlesnake, struck a balance in his compositions between close observation and overall aesthetic appeal, as discussed in Chapter Two.

Similarly, Lindt’s New Guinea photographs found their place in photographic society exhibitions as well as in the private collections of individual anthropologists and the collections of ethnological museums. This was due not only to the subjects that Lindt chose to record and the manner in which he framed and composed his images, as discussed above in relation to ‘Motu water carrier’, but also to his targeted promotion of his work. Lindt clearly had his prospective audience in mind when he captioned and promoted his New Guinea series but he also consistently followed a personal and professional agenda of gaining recognition as one of the pre-eminent artist-photographers of his time. The quote he chose for his specially designed mounts for the 1888 Centennial Exhibition in Melbourne illustrates this point: ‘Home’s chief adornment And life’s fairest grace is Art and therefore Give it honoured place. On chemistry and optics, All does not depend; Art must with these, In triple union blend.’\textsuperscript{83}

Lindt had grand ambitions for his New Guinea photographs and wanted to ensure that his technical ability and artistry would not go unrecognised. As a result of the success of his New Guinea work, Lindt was made Honourable Commissioner for New Guinea Exhibits at the Centennial Exhibition in Melbourne and was elected to the fellowship of the Victorian branch of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (RGSA), ‘In recognition of the importance of Picturesque New Guinea’.\textsuperscript{84} He quickly capitalised on this publicity and in A Few Notes on Modern Photography Lindt included a full-page advertisement for his display of photographs in the New Guinea pavilion at the Centennial Exhibition in Melbourne that read:

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 62–63.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 75–76.
\textsuperscript{83} Jones, J. W. Lindt, 9–10.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 13–14.
J. W. Lindt Begs to draw your attention to his Works in the Pavilion attached to the Victorian Art Gallery. J. W. L. claims for his Exhibit that it displays a wider range of subjects, and greater variety than the work of any other Photographer in Australasia, while in artistic conception and technical excellence it is second to none.\(^{85}\)

The commissioners of the 1889 Paris Exposition subsequently purchased a complete set of the seven large New Guinea views.\(^{86}\)

Aside from his ‘self-congratulatory advertising’,\(^{87}\) Lindt sought to increase the value of his New Guinea images by linking them to scientific ends. This is evidenced in Lindt’s naming of the sites and villages he visited in the captions to the photographs. Indeed, Quanchi writes that this is a notable characteristic of both Lindt’s and Lawes’s New Guinea photographs as few photographers of the time recorded the locations in which their images were taken in such detail. Lindt identified more than half of the villages he visited by name in the narrative of *Picturesque New Guinea*, and 112 of his New Guinea photographs are located geographically in the catalogue either by the name of the village in which they were taken or the district.\(^{88}\) In several instances Lindt went to some effort to locate his photographs as accurately as possible, adding references to nearby villages or geographical features, as in his caption for image number 28 in the series: ‘Conglomerate Rocks, Laloki Rapids, near Mount Vetura’. He also noted the point from which his photograph of the ‘Cloudy Mountains’ was taken: ‘Cloudy Mountains, from Bertha Lagoon, S. Cape.’

Lindt named topographical features such as rivers, mountains, passes, and bays, which is not only useful when reading the images but also gives a good picture of the distances he travelled during the expedition. This taxonomic approach to labelling the images anchors them to the land, to New Guinea, and made Lindt’s photographs ‘useful’ objects to ethnologists and geographers in Britain, Australia, and elsewhere. It is this multivalence that makes Lindt’s images so powerful and influential. In the paragraph Lindt dictated to the publishers of Chalmers’ book, he stressed both the artistic accomplishment of his series, ‘reproduced by the Autotype Company in the finest style of modern art’, as well as the ‘great ethnological

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\(^{85}\) Lindt, *A Few Notes on Modern Photography*, [unpaginated, inside front cover].
\(^{86}\) Lindt, letter to D’Albertis, 23 February 1889, D’Albertis Luigi Maria, N. 23 Fotografie, Castello D’Albertis, Museo delle Culture del Mondo.
\(^{87}\) Jones, J. W. Lindt, 10.
\(^{88}\) Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 118.
interest’ his photographs would arouse. The intrinsic scientific value of the series was also consistently emphasised alongside its artistic merit in newspaper reviews of the day, which likely contributed to the wide dispersal of Lindt’s New Guinea photographs in ethnographic museums around the world.

Though Lindt’s New Guinea images were informed by an amateur scientific interest in the land and its inhabitants, what is striking in *Picturesque New Guinea* is the relative lack of ethnographic detail or information sought by Lindt during the trip, to the extent that he turned to the LMS missionary Chalmers for chapters on the Papuans of the southeast coast and their customs. One particularly noteworthy instance in his narrative occurs when Lindt is writing about an encounter in a Koiari village where Hunter (the expedition’s leader) was asked by one of the chiefs to fire his gun in order to scare away ‘the devil’. Lindt simply writes that they greeted this request with laughter, the shot was fired, and then: ‘this incident set us off talking again, this time about the superstitions of the Papuan race, Hunter having no end of anecdotes to narrate upon this very interesting topic’. That is the extent of the retelling of this event; Lindt does not enter into any detail as to the ‘superstitions’ of Papuans and the attention is instead focused on the other travellers: ‘Sleep at last claimed its empire, and the camp was silent’. In this privileging of his own experience, Lindt epitomised the gentleman traveller of the day. While his Pacific Island photographs were lauded for their ethnographic interest in the papers of the day, that this was not the primary motivation behind Lindt’s voyages in the Pacific is attested to by the fact that he gave up an opportunity to travel to the relatively less-known Solomon Islands in 1891 due to the unsatisfactory condition of the ‘miserable overloaded trading scow’ that promised nothing but ‘misery and constant danger’ for the four months that he was to spend travelling in the Solomons group.

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92 Ibid., 38.
Lindt does, in places, make assessments of the relative ‘advancement’ or physical state of Papuans, in one instance declaring the inhabitants of the Port Moresby villages to be,

an indolent and filthy race, many of them being disfigured by ugly sores on their faces and bodies – the effects of bad and insufficient food, combined with carelessness of the primary laws of health. This foul disease is, however, not contagious; if it were so, the whole race would speedily perish of scorbatic and scrofulous epidemics.94

As already noted in Chapter Three, such assessments of the Papuans he encountered are evidence that Lindt arrived in New Guinea ‘loaded down by a raft of prejudices’ that he acquired from the published diaries and travel accounts of British explorers in Africa and elsewhere.95 Lindt clearly modelled his account of his travels in New Guinea on the popular travelogue genre, and possibly chose this format upon reading D’Albertis’ two volumes on his travels in New Guinea.96 In other places in Picturesque New Guinea Lindt does enter into more detail, for example where he writes about the Motu pottery industry and trade,97 but this is not a common thread in the narrative in which Lindt is more focussed on recounting the excitement and novelties of his travels in New Guinea.

In his photography, too, while Lindt pursued the broad scientific ends of representing another culture and the environment in which they live, he chose not to photograph the often elaborate tattoos of the women he encountered during the trip, as these would need to be ‘picked out with black or some colour, a proceeding too tedious to perform even if they should be willing to submit to it’.98 This air of insouciance, and thus inattention to ethnographic detail, characterises much of the narrative in Picturesque New Guinea and, again, illustrates Lindt’s modelling of his ‘tour’ and its documentation on travelogues written by gentlemen explorers of the period. It was a formula that worked. As Jack Cato observed in an article printed in 

94 Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea, 28.
95 Maxwell, Colonial Photography and Exhibitions, 151.
96 In his letter to D’Albertis, written in February 1889, Lindt expresses his admiration for the Italian explorer-botanist, and notes: ‘Your two volumes on New Guinea are always handy on my bookshelves and I have read them through and enjoyed your ardour and enthusiasm and imagine every time I read them again – some day I will see this man again’ (Lindt, letter to D’Albertis, 23 February 1889, D’Albertis Luigi Maria, N. 23 Fotografie, Castello D’Albertis, Museo delle Culture del Mondo).
97 Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea, 29.
the Age in 1961: ‘At date of publication [Picturesque New Guinea] was the best illustrated travel book ever produced, and it brought him world applause’. 99 Lindt subsequently took a copy with him to the New Hebrides as a reference or sales catalogue to display to the colonial administrators and expatriates he would encounter on his travels. 100

Lindt knew his market as well as his own capabilities as a photographer and in the context of the recent proclamation of the Protectorate in New Guinea, public interest in the series and accompanying book was virtually guaranteed. However, due to the financial depression at the time, this interest did not translate into much profit. The publishers Longmans, Green, and Co. of London purchased enough copies of Picturesque New Guinea to cover the cost of printing, and presented Lindt with 150 copies to sell or give away as he pleased. By 1889 Lindt had made £120 from sales of the book. 101 But in a letter to the well-known pictorialist photographer, Harold Cazneaux, written in 1924, Lindt admits: ‘I cannot boast of much financial success. Still I am content to feel that professionally I have kept up my end of the stick’. 102 For Lindt, the measure of his success was the extent to which he upheld his commitment to producing work ‘for art’s sake more than for money’, 103 but this did not stop him tying his New Guinea photographs to scientific concerns when it came to the textual framework he deployed in the late 1880s.

The picturesque: Nationalistic and artistic aspirations

The political and financial uncertainty surrounding the New Guinea protectorate in the mid-1880s influenced the manner in which Lindt framed and marketed his New Guinea pictures once back in Australia. In particular, Lindt’s use of the term ‘picturesque’ in the title of the series and his book was an attempt to capitalise on the large-scale centennial-year project undertaken throughout the 1880s in Sydney – the Picturesque Atlas of Australasia – and to link his series to the nationalistic rhetoric it

99 Jack Cato, ‘The Great Lindt: His Camera Recorded Early New Guinea’, Age, 23 September 1961, 18 (a copy of this article is held at the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Presbyterian Church of Australia, Board of Ecumenical Mission and Relations – further records, 1848–1974, MLMSS 1893 1 (16)).

100 This was reported by the missionary James Lyall in his letter to the South Australian Register, 4 August 1890, 6. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article47283314> accessed 20 April 2016.

101 Lindt, letter to D’Albertis, 23 February 1889, D’Albertis Luigi Maria, N. 23 Fotografie, Castello D’Albertis, Museo delle Culture del Mondo.

102 Lindt, transcript of letter to Harold Cazneaux, 24 May 1924, Item 1, A2383 Keast Burke’s File of Material on J. W. Lindt, ca. 1947, ML.

103 Ibid.
inspired. While the Australian public was divided on the matter of celebrating the arrival of the first convict ships in Port Jackson in 1788, the makers of the *Picturesque Atlas* saw an opportunity to capitalise on the nascent nationalism aroused by the debates. Recognising that the process of colonial federation was underway, albeit haltingly, the men behind the *Picturesque Atlas* seized the opportunity to advertise the project as ‘a genuinely “national” undertaking, enacting in its pages a federation that was proving elusive in the world of colonial politics’. Though based in Sydney, contributors to the project were sourced from across the country; and in October 1885 the Picturesque Atlas Publishing Company chose to stage an exhibition of drawings that had been completed for the *Atlas* at Julian Ashton’s studio in Collins Street East in Melbourne. Julian Ashton, a successful illustrator who had supplied work for journals and newspapers in England and Melbourne, moved to Sydney in 1883 in order to work on the *Picturesque Atlas*, and travelled throughout Australia producing drawings of points of interest for the project. Lindt also contributed to the *Atlas*. Three of his tableaux portraits of Australian Aboriginals featured in the publication, though as engravings with the originals attributed to him in the accompanying captions.

Australia’s *Picturesque Atlas* was not the first publication of its kind. Indeed, as Erika Esau notes, the industry began in North America in the 1870s and the ‘pivotal production in the series’ was *Picturesque America*, published in 1872. Skilled engravers, working in wood and steel, produced pictures of ‘waterfalls, craggy rocks and treacherous coastlines’ alongside city scenes that focussed on ‘quaintly intimate, well-ordered streets and avenues with stately, substantial

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104 According to Tony Hughes-D’Aeth, ‘The Australian centenary of 1888 was a vexed event. It was not just that the people of the Australian colonies were unsure about how to celebrate the occasion, but that there was, according to Maya Tucker, considerable “confusion amongst the public as to what was actually being celebrated on 26 January”’ (Tony Hughes-D’Aeth, *Paper Nation: The Story of the Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 14).


106 Ibid., 24.


buildings’. Such images in *Picturesque America* were intended as celebrations of national identity, encouraging ‘a positive self-image of the United States’. In a similar fashion, the emerging pressures of Australian nationalism in the late nineteenth century led the producers of the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* to promote the beauty and value of the country’s scenery. Initially, the plan had been to produce a work celebrating notable men in Australia. To this end, Silas Lyon Moffett had been sent out to Australia by the publishers of *Picturesque Canada* in order to garner support for such a book. However, when enough interest could not be secured for the original project, Moffett broadened the scope of the publication to encompass ‘the discovery, settlement, and development of Australia’. The conceptual ambitions of the *Picturesque Atlas* were matched by the financial investment in the project, whose makers spared no cost when it came to hiring personnel and purchasing the best machinery, paper, and ink available. The whole work was estimated to cost around £150,000 and such extravagance soon became the subject of newspaper articles that reported the escalating costs of the *Atlas*, which ultimately meant the average Australian worker could not afford the monthly issues let alone the subscription fee. As Tony Hughes-D’Aeth observes ‘At ten guineas it would have taken a stockman two or three months to earn the amount of the subscription, and the situation was little better for other workers.’

The *Picturesque Atlas* failed financially and subscribers were left waiting for their monthly instalments. In July 1891, the Picturesque Atlas Company took one of its subscribers, Francis Lockie, to court over his failure to pay for the issues he had ordered. Yet, the hype surrounding the project, which had been stirred up by the Company’s public grandstanding throughout the 1880s, and the high quality of the illustrated volumes when they finally were printed and distributed, meant the

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Australian public now associated the picturesque with such publications, and expected ‘generously illustrated pages exhibiting high artistic quality and the most modern reproduction techniques’. Cassell & Co., a successful British publishing house also seized the historic moment of Australia’s centenary to produce and publish Cassell’s *Picturesque Australasia* (1887–9). The company had recently opened an office in Australia and had already published similar volumes devoted to America, Canada, and the Mediterranean. This project was not as audacious as the *Picturesque Atlas* but, ultimately, was also a financial failure for Cassell & Co.

It was in this context that Lindt undertook his trips to New Guinea, the New Hebrides, and Fiji, and that he published his illustrated book *Picturesque New Guinea*. The Australian public, already saturated in picturesque publications, was here given another offering; but, importantly, its high-quality photographic illustrations and its subject-matter set *Picturesque New Guinea* apart from most other picturesque publications available to readers in Australia at the time. The *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* and Cassell’s *Picturesque Atlas* both had sections on the Pacific Islands and Cassell’s *Atlas* reproduced several of Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ photographs as etchings in its New Guinea section, including an amalgam of his ‘Motu water carrier’ and a view of Kerepunu village (fig. 5.12). But the primary focus was on the Australian colonies. It might be the case, then, that Lindt took the opportunity to ‘insert’ his book into this perceived gap as a timely and accomplished contribution to the celebration of ‘Australia’s own imperialist adventures in New Guinea and the Pacific.’

Lindt’s book further stood apart from most *Picturesque* offerings of the day because of the large number of photographs reproduced in its pages. The makers of the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* wanted to depict a particular brand of beauty as

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120 E. E. Morris, (ed.), *Cassell’s Picturesque Australasia*, vol. 1 (London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne: Cassell & Company Ltd, 1887), 216. Lindt’s ‘Remains of Heathen Temple’ at Tupuselei (no. 57) appears on page 205 as well as an etching of a treehouse based on no. 33 in Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ catalogue, and his ‘Street in Marine Village of Tupuselei’ (no. 58) is reproduced on page 213. The ‘Native Dwellings at Port Moresby’ on page 200 of Cassell’s *Atlas* is also possibly an amalgam of Lindt’s or Lawes’s Hanuabada scenes and Lindt’s images of Motu women carrying water pots on their shoulders.
well as the dynamism of the capital cities of the colonies and believed that photography could not serve these ends. They therefore ‘sought to define [the *Atlas*] in terms of Art and … in opposition to photography’,122 despite the fact that photographs were used as sources for some of its illustrations. The editors insisted that ‘Photography has been the slightest possible assistance’ in the preparation of the *Atlas*, claiming that photography ‘promises in no appreciable degree ever to aid the artist in his portrayal of the beautiful in nature’.123 Photographs were viewed solely as an aid to the preparation of the engravings that adorned nearly every page of the *Picturesque Atlas*’s numerous issues.

Aside from the fact that the technology available for reproducing photographs in texts in the mid-1880s was not of sufficient quality for the requirements of the makers of the *Picturesque Atlas*, they also firmly believed that photographs could not convey the dynamism and beauty of the cities and landscapes of the Australian colonies in the same manner as an artist’s sketch.124 The key difference was the artist’s ability to discern the particular aspect of the view or subject he wished to draw out or emphasise in his sketch or drawing. Here, then, photography’s ability to accurately transcribe the portion of the world before its lens onto the glass-plate was viewed as a weakness. Given that the *Picturesque Atlas* was conceived at a time when wet-plate photography was still the dominant mode of photography in the field, it is not surprising that such a view predominated. As outlined in the previous chapter, wet-plate photography precluded spontaneous, on-the-spot views, and often a sense of depth or perspective was lost in the resulting print on the basis of the long exposures times that left skies devoid of clouds and objects in the distance out of focus. Even in the case of architectural views, the desire to give some evidence of the grandeur of the buildings in the colonies’ capitals could not be met via the medium of the wet-plate, or indeed the collodion dry-plate, as the human figures going about their business on the streets below, who would impress this sense of proportion upon the viewer, were rendered a blur.

From early in his career as a photographer, as already noted, Lindt repeatedly asserted the art of his trade; the oak frames with copper plaques and the application

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of his signature in red paint on the large autotype reproductions of his photographs further enforced this message. It seems highly plausible, then, that he took exception to such public denunciations of photography made by the producers of the *Picturesque Atlas* at the time. Indeed, this may be one reason why he was credited as the photographer of the original work upon which the engravings in the *Atlas* were based. By ensuring his name was recorded under the three engravings of Australian Aboriginal subjects, in the caption ‘from a photograph by J. Lindt’, he retained aesthetic ownership of the images and insisted on the value of photography. The *Picturesque Atlas* Publishing Company also benefitted through its acknowledgment of the prestige of its contributor in this instance.\(^{125}\) It was certainly not common practice, as many other photographers whose work was used as the basis for illustrations in the *Picturesque Atlas* were not recognised in this manner. Lindt’s portraits were famous and recognisable to an international audience, which meant that even without the caption it is highly likely that the original image could be identified by viewers.

In the context of this debate on the artistic value of photography and its application to the depiction of the picturesque and beautiful, Lindt’s book and series of photographs challenged the assumptions of the *Picturesque Atlas*’s producers. Of course, by 1885 Lindt was using gelatin dry-plates, which allowed for greater freedom in the field and faster exposure times, but it was the manner in which he packaged his images as much as their composition that amplified their artistic value. While in the *Picturesque Atlas* the engravings were mostly surrounded by the text on the page, Lindt’s autotype reproductions in the text of *Picturesque New Guinea* stand out as unique objects on their own pages. This layout in the book was necessitated by the photographic printing processes available in 1887 that still could not reproduce high-quality images and text on the same page. It would take another year before the half-tone printing process facilitated this development, thus allowing for the mass production of images in print media. But Lindt clearly wanted his images to stand on their own as artworks. In aligning his New Guinea work with the picturesque publications of the day, Lindt not only saw an opportunity to profit from the hype and press coverage surrounding the *Picturesque Atlas* but once again seized

\(^{125}\) Ibid., 185.
the moment to prove the artistic value of photography as at the very least equal to and worthy of the same praise as the engraver’s art.

Lindt took up the challenge offered by the producers of the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* to assert that his photographs were artworks deserving of praise and honour alongside the best engravings the *Atlas* could display. As Hughes-D’Aeth observes, ‘Lindt produced a publication that celebrated the picturesque possibilities of direct photographic illustration in books’. While Lindt’s book was not as impressive in terms of its size (the *Picturesque Atlas* was a large and luxurious publication, ultimately bound in three heavy volumes), the quality of the autotype illustrations is superb and its more affordable price of 42 shillings put it within reach of a wider audience in the 1880s. Though sales figures for *Picturesque New Guinea* have not been found, the popularity of his photographic work is evidenced by the large number of people who attended Lindt’s illustrated lectures. On 19 December 1890, for instance, approximately three hundred people filled the assembly hall on Collins Street in Melbourne to watch and listen to Lindt’s lantern slide lecture on his trip to the New Hebrides. The title of the talk, ‘An Artist’s Wanderings Through the New Hebrides’, again, drew attention to its presenter the artist-photographer and gave the attendees some idea that what was being offered for their visual consumption was not only scientific subject-matter.

By the late nineteenth century the picturesque, which in its original conception in picturesque travel publications was defined as a mode of perceiving and experiencing the environment, was reconfigured into a generic label that ‘became a way of defining cities, nations and regions’. In the many ‘Picturesque’ publications issued by major publishing houses, such as the *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, Cassell’s *Picturesque Australasia* (1887–9), *Picturesque Burma* (1897), and *Picturesque India* (1898), the European public was presented with a great variety of natural and human wonders all gathered under the appellation ‘picturesque’. Taking into consideration Lindt’s meticulous naming and location of the places in which his photographs were taken, by further attaching the

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127 Lindt, *A Few Notes on Modern Photography*, 15. The *Picturesque Atlas* sold for 5 shillings per monthly issue, but this was only after the ten guinea subscription fee had been paid (Hughes-D’Aeth, *Paper Nation*, 22).
‘picturesque’ label to his images and book he sought to render the unfamiliar familiar to the audiences back home and also ensured his book would appeal to an international/European audience. Alan Trachtenberg, writing on the photographs taken during the surveys of the American West, observes that, ‘The name lays claim to the view. By the same token, a photographic view attaches a possessable image to a place name. A named view is one that has been seen, known, and thereby already possessed’. The ‘picturesque’ in the title of Lindt’s book and series similarly serves an acquisitory function that ties in with the colonial ambitions of the expedition of which he was a part. Lindt writes in Picturesque New Guinea, that Scratchley intended ‘to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the country before framing any regulations for the settlement of whites within the territory’. Naming specific locations in his images might therefore indicate that Lindt sought to provide a visual roadmap or settler’s prospectus to accompany Scratchley’s official report. However, as Scratchley died before any such report was written, it remains unclear whether Lindt’s photographs were intended to serve this function.

‘Picturesque New Hebrides’ and ‘Picturesque Fiji’

On Lindt’s subsequent trips to the New Hebrides (1890) and Fiji (1892), both of which were funded by the Victorian branch of the R GSA, a similar set of imperial and ethnographic imperatives appear to have guided his photography and the manner in which he marketed his series once back in Australia. While Lindt was unable to publish books for these two expeditions, due to financial constraints as a result of the economic crisis of the late 1880s and 1890s, the illustrated lectures he presented in Melbourne give insight into the particular historical contexts that shaped the framing of his three Pacific sojourns.

Some aspects of Lindt’s photographic practice remained constant: he photographed a wide range of subjects in the New Hebrides and Fiji, including general views of village life, and captured the local landscapes and flora (for example, see figs. 5.13–5.16). He also produced highly staged portraits of the

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131 Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea, 10.
132 Lindt’s New Hebrides series has proved the hardest to track down in its entirety. Complete sets of ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ albums are held in archives in Melbourne, London, and Cambridge, and the four Fiji albums are held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney (ML Q988.8 7A1–7A4). In contrast, the
indigenous inhabitants, similar to his ‘Motu water carrier’ (see figs. 5.6, 5.17 & 5.18). Despite his longer stays in the New Hebrides and Fiji, (his New Guinea trip having been cut short by his wife’s sudden illness), Lindt marketed roughly the same number of prints in each series. 133 118 Fiji subjects were available for sale through his studio and were also available for purchase through the Fiji Times office in Suva in an effort to raise funds for the planned publication of Picturesque Fiji (see Appendix 4). 134 While I have yet to find a complete set of albums and catalogue of his New Hebrides series, as these exist for his later Fiji series it is likely that all three Pacific Island series were presented in this manner.

Scientific and artistic aspirations are again balanced in Lindt’s marketing of the two later Pacific Island series. In his ‘blurb’ for his ‘Picturesque Fiji’ series for the Fiji Times Lindt states:

The object of my visit to your Group has been to secure by means of Camera and Pen an absolutely correct record of the characteristics still existing … I have succeeded to collect a large amount of reliable information and a number of Sun pictures, which, combined in the shape of an illustrated work, will convey to the world a more accurate description of the people, the resources, and the present state of the colony, than any other form of

NGA has one album of a selection of 24 of Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Hebrides’ photographs, and five New Hebrides photographs are contained in a large album that also contains subjects from India by other photographers in the collections of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the Mitchell Library (J. W. Lindt, Untitled bound leather album, assembled c.1891, 84.1485.1–24, NGA, Canberra; Presbyterian Church of Australia, Board of Ecumenical Mission and Relations – further records, 1848–1974, MLMSS 1893/Items 1–4, Box 1, ML). The Royal Geographical Society in London lists 54 New Hebrides photographs by Lindt in its online catalogue (RGS Koha catalogue <https://rgs.koha-pfts.co.uk/cgi-bin/koha/opac-search.pl?id=kw&q=New%20Hebrides&op=%20%20and%20%20&id=au%2Cwrdl&q=Lindt> accessed 10 July 2016). The Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford also has three New Hebrides prints by Lindt (Pacific photograph collection, 1998.245.17–19), Tatiana Antsoopova and Ewan Maidment write that ‘several albums of his New Hebrides photographs [are] to be found in the Presbyterian Mission Archives at the Mitchell Library MSS 1893’. However, I did not find these when I looked through this collection in June 2014 (Tatiana Antsoopova and Ewan Maidment, ‘Pacific Focus; Bringing Knowledge about Photographic Collections in Australia to Pacific Communities’, in Hunting the Collectors: Pacific Collections in Australian Museums, Art Galleries and Archives, eds. Max Quanchi and Susan Cochrane (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 399, note 17).


133 On the catalogue and order form for the series that Lindt produced for the Fiji Times he writes: ‘Let it be bourne in mind that to the people of Fiji I have to look for sufficient support to cover the first outlay of the production of the work [Picturesque Fiji], while for profit, if any, I am content to trust to the interest Great Britain and the English-speaking race in general will take in it’ (Catalogue and order form found in front cover of two albums containing ‘Picturesque Fiji’ photographs in Methodist Church of Australasia, Department of Overseas Missions records, 1855–1953, MOM 309 & MOM 310, ML.)
publication. Visiting your country simply as an observer and an artist, I have endeavoured to describe what I saw from the impartial standpoint of an experienced traveller and an ardent lover of what is beautiful and attractive in nature.\textsuperscript{135}

For the New Hebrides, too, Lindt insisted that artistic and literary intentions motivated his trip and he continued to stress the artistic merit of his work.\textsuperscript{136} In 1891 he entered the large-format autotypes of his New Hebrides images into the photographic exhibition in Vienna where, according to the author of ‘Art Notes’ in the \textit{Argus} in July 1891, ‘they were so favourably received … [and] are certainly entitled to be regarded as works of art.’\textsuperscript{137}

In a lecture presented to the RGSA in Melbourne in 1890 Lindt’s recounting of his sixteen-week tour through the New Hebrides is presented in a similar style to the narrative of \textit{Picturesque New Guinea}.\textsuperscript{138} However, in another lecture presented to the RGSA in 1893 on his New Hebrides trip, a more clearly defined colonial and commercial agenda is apparent. Lindt chose as his topic ‘The Resources and Capabilities of the New Hebrides’, and he spoke at length about the cultivation of coffee in the islands including tips on ‘How to choose land’, ‘How to purchase it’, ‘How to settle on it’, and ‘How to procure labor’.\textsuperscript{139} Unlike the more conventional travel narrative presented in his New Guinea lecture for the RGSA, titled ‘Reminiscences of Travel in British New Guinea’,\textsuperscript{140} in his 1893 New Hebrides talk Lindt systematically addressed the question of British/Australian settlement in the islands and the commercial prospects for Australians.

While British administration was still being established in southeast New Guinea in the late 1880s and white settlement was actively discouraged, the New Hebrides were by this stage informally ‘ruled’ by an Anglo-French naval administration. The joint Naval Commission in the New Hebrides, which had been

\textsuperscript{135} Methodist Church of Australasia, Department of Overseas Missions records, 1855–1953, MOM 309 & MOM 310, large albums of Fiji photographs, ML.
\textsuperscript{139} Lindt, ‘The Resources and Capabilities of the New Hebrides’, 32–40.
\textsuperscript{140} Lindt, ‘Reminiscences of Travel in British New Guinea’, 124–129.
established in 1887 by the French and British governments to protect ‘the persons and property of French and British subjects’, proved ineffectual from the start and ‘small capitalists’ took advantage of the power vacuum in order to purchase land for plantations.\footnote{W. P. Morrell, \textit{Britain in the Pacific Islands} (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 203, 349–353. Home Rule agitation in Ireland at the time and the Australian financial crisis meant that many in Australia were concerned that the French would get a ‘jump’ on the British in the New Hebrides (Lindt, ‘France and the New Hebrides’, letter to the editor, \textit{Argus}, 30 August 1893, 10. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8685803> accessed 19 October 2014).} By 1893 this had led to conflicts between the resident British missionaries and the Compagnie Calédonienne in particular, which, as W. P. Morrell writes, claimed to have purchased ‘nearly two million acres of land … its aim was to make the New Hebrides another Fiji, with the plantations in French hands’.\footnote{Morrell, \textit{Britain in the Pacific Islands}, 352.} With the added threat of an increased French convict population that would be recruited to work on these plantations, many Australian colonialists, including Lindt, added their voices to the debate surrounding the ‘New Hebrides question’.\footnote{Lindt, ‘French Land-grabbing in the New Hebrides Islands’, letter to the editor, \textit{Argus}, 19 February 1891, 7. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8476700> accessed 19 October 2014; Lindt, ‘France and the New Hebrides’, letter to the editor, \textit{Argus}, 30 August 1893, 10 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8685803> accessed 19 October 2014; Lindt, ‘France and the New Hebrides’, letter to the editor, \textit{Argus}, 2 September 1893, 10 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8687123> accessed 19 October 2014; see also Roger C. Thompson, \textit{Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: The Expansionist Era 1820–1920} (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1980), 132–157, 141.} His manuscript for \textit{Picturesque New Hebrides}, no copy of which has yet been found, purportedly described the resources and capabilities of the New Hebrides as well as ‘the anomalous positions of the British planter and trader under the … joint Anglo-French naval administration’.\footnote{Lindt, ‘France and the New Hebrides’, 34, 40.} In this context, Lindt’s lecture presented to the RGSA in 1893 in which he claims there is still ‘a great quantity of good land available on all the islands’, and the lantern slides ‘illustrating coffee culture in all its stages’ that he used as illustrations, might be read as advertisements for Anglo-Australian settlement (see, for example, fig. 5.19).\footnote{Lindt, ‘The Resources and Capabilities of the New Hebrides’, 34, 40.}

The New Hebrides and Fiji series received some attention in the press but were more frequently commented on in the context of debates circulating around labour trafficking and French land claims in the New Hebrides, and the ethnographic interest of the fire-walking ceremony Lindt photographed in Fiji. In September and October 1897 several newspapers in Australia printed an article on the ‘Savage
Show Sensation’ that Lindt witnessed on Beqa Island in the Fiji group. Lindt presented his lecture on ‘The Fire Ordeal at Beqa, Fiji Islands’ to the RGSA in 1893, and when the Society reproduced his speech in their Transactions they included four photographs of the ceremony as well as a portrait of the local chief, Jonacani Dabea, and an image of the ‘Maqiti or presentation of food’ that formed part of the proceedings on Beqa. Though Lindt also recorded the establishment of European settlement and rule in his photographs of the magistrate’s house, Suva town, the official reading of the governor’s address, and the sugar mills at Nausori and Raki Raki, the Beqa fire-walking ordeal became the point of focus in his lecture and in the newspaper reports of his travels. The Australian public wanted stories of ‘savagery’ and exotic customs it seems and in an article in the Melbourne-based Table Talk magazine, Lindt’s Fiji travels and photographic series are introduced in a manner that emphasises the still-savage state of the islands despite European colonisation:

Most Victorians believe that Fiji has become as civilised and uninteresting as a Northern Queensland township … As a matter of fact, Fiji bears very few marks of commonplace colonisation.

The newspaper articles on the ‘Fire Méké’ witnessed and photographed by Lindt do not report the fact that the ceremony was staged on the request of the governor, as it ‘had not taken place for some years’, preferring instead to comment on the ‘mystery’ surrounding the ritual that ‘cannot be explained by scientists.’

Lindt, too, exploited the entertainment and ethnographic value of the Beqa fire-walking ceremony. The air of insouciance that characterises much of Lindt’s narrative in Picturesque New Guinea is again present in his retelling of the performance of the Fire Méké. Lindt refers to the ordeal as a ‘quaint ceremony’ and later adds: ‘the scene was weird indeed, and it did not require a great stretch of the


imagination to fancy oneself back in the days of savagery and cannibalism’. Despite this somewhat casual tone, Lindt clearly endeavoured to undertake a close study of the event, no doubt to satisfy the members of the RGSA who, after all, were the patrons of his visit. Lindt’s lengthy description of the proceedings and his attempts to photograph all stages of the ceremony, despite the difficulty of securing ‘camera reminiscences’ under the smoky and crowded conditions, are evidence of the attention he paid to details that would be of interest to anthropologists. Ever the gentleman scientist, Lindt offers his ‘humble explanation’ as to how the ‘natives’ survive the impressive feet of walking across the hot rocks and ends his lecture with the disclaimer: ‘In conclusion, permit me to say that I do not offer the above explanation dogmatically, or as an absolute incontestable truth, but simply as the outcome of my observation during the long intervals between taking my camera sketches’ (figs. 5.20 & 5.21).

After moving to the Blacks’ Spur, in the hills northeast of Melbourne, in 1894, Lindt continued to display his Pacific Island photographs with an accompanying narrative. He gave lantern-slide lectures in the evenings in the studio-museum at ‘The Hermitage’, entertaining visitors with tales from the islands as they looked at his photographs as well as the island ‘curios’ displayed on the walls. Aside from the surrounding forests and his New Guinea style tree house viewing platforms, this purpose-built studio was the key attraction of the resort: ‘At one end of this room was a stage and any night or every night Lindt would project lantern slides and lecture to the guests. Here on the walls hung the curios and weapons brought back from New Guinea and the other islands which he had visited’. Members of the RGSA visited the resort in 1895 to conduct one of their meetings and were entertained by the retelling of Lindt’s ‘dangerous explorations’ in New Guinea, the New Hebrides, and Fiji, which were read to them by ‘a gentleman whose enunciation of German afforded a “humorous relief” to the necessarily serious nature of the business’. This ‘performance’ was followed by a lantern slide show of Pacific Island

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152 Ibid., 55.
153 Ibid., 57–58.
154 Keast Burke, ‘The Great Lindt’, The Australasian Photo-Review, July 1952, 491. Lindt sold his collection of weapons, implements, and ‘curios’ in 1914 in order to make further improvements to the buildings and facilities at The Hermitage (Lindt, A Tale About a Wayside Inn (Melbourne: D. W. Paterson, 1920), 5). These were purchased by Hans A. Schlösser, a German Lieutenant who travelled to Australia before the First World War, and around 467 objects were then subsequently donated to the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne.
photographs presented by Lindt himself, and the evening concluded with Lindt singing and playing the cello for the visiting party.\textsuperscript{155} This spectacle put on by Lindt at The Hermitage was likely in equal parts for the benefit of the members of the RGSA, his patrons, as well as the business he could drum up through its reporting in the newspapers in Melbourne. Cato’s assessment of Lindt’s ‘publicity personality’ is fitting, as the photographer clearly knew how to attract public attention.\textsuperscript{156} In later years Lindt was to shift to a more pictorialist style in his photography, which seems a natural progression given his insistence on the value of photography as an art form throughout his career.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series was a resounding success for the photographer. Newspaper reviews were unanimous in their praise of his artistry and skill in choosing his subjects, he was made special commissioner of the New Guinea display in the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition in 1888, and was awarded a medal for his photographs. The Victorian branch of the RGSA made him a member and helped fund his subsequent trips to the New Hebrides and Fiji, in 1890 and 1892 respectively. Improvements in camera and printing technology and Lindt’s proficiency in mastering them ensured his images were technically accomplished and that they reached a wide audience. In particular, the reproduction of 50 of the New Guinea pictures in his book \textit{Picturesque New Guinea}, together with the display of a small selection – enlarged and framed – in colonial exhibition halls in London in 1886, in Melbourne in 1888, and in photographic exhibitions ensured a wider viewing public than the official set of Proclamation photographs taken by Augustine Dyer in 1884 which were distributed to the Queen and a select group of European and Australian notables and colonial institutions.\textsuperscript{157}

\textsuperscript{157} Though five hundred copies of the official proclamation album were produced by the NSW government printing office, these were presented selectively to Queen Victoria, the Royal Colonial Institute, the Royal Geographical Society, and other prominent individuals (Quanchi, \textit{Photographing Papua}, 135–136; Gael Newton, \textit{Shades of Light: Photography and Australia 1839–1988} (Sydney: William Collins Pty Ltd, in association with the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, 1988), 58). Lindt also presented his New Guinea series to the Queen, and this was reported in the newspapers.
Lindt was an opportunistic businessman and from early in his career had asserted his prowess in the art of photography and, by extension, the status of his photographs as artworks. It is this consistent vision in his photographic practice and the strategic advertising of his work that guaranteed his photographs’ popularity. Upon his return to Melbourne from New Guinea, he wasted no time in publicising his work and saw to it that his photographs came to dominate perceptions of the land and its people. James Ryan’s assessment of Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ project as ‘a classic piece of colonial advertising’ and Anne Maxwell’s argument that Lindt ‘reflected and reaffirmed an imperial world view’ in his photographs are valid arguments when the visual evidence in Lindt’s images, as well as certain of the texts that frame them, are examined.\textsuperscript{158} Lindt embodied many of the characteristics of the imperial agent and gentleman \textit{flaneur}: surveying, capturing, and collecting views and objects to take back to home audiences. A close examination of the manner in which Lindt produced his New Guinea series and the decisions that he made in framing his images reveals that he strategically deployed text to serve specific ends. Alongside the captions and advertising text for his New Guinea series, which he also used for his earlier series of photographs, Lindt employed the literary genre of the travelogue to present and promote his photographs to the viewing public and he capitalised on the picturesque book industry and the nascent nationalism that it aroused in the Australian colonies. It was this extraordinary multivalence that ensured the lasting popularity and success of his New Guinea photographs.

CHAPTER SIX

In print: Mission, anthropological, and other framings of W. G. Lawes’s New Guinea photographs

Paramount above everything in his mind was the duty to evangelize.¹

– Joseph King (1909)

While it is relatively easy to trace the various framings and trajectories of Lindt’s New Guinea photographs and to situate his work within the broader context of cultural and political debates in Australia at the time, Lawes’s photographic practice was not as straightforward. Lawes was not a professional photographer and did not comment as extensively on his processes for developing, fixing, and printing his photographs. He did not see his role primarily as ‘photographer of New Guinea’ and was not, like Lindt, concerned with the social status of the photographer or his art. Lawes was a missionary first and foremost, and while he did copyright 14 of his images on a visit to London in 1891, the fact that he did not rely solely on the sale of his photographs for his livelihood meant that their dissemination in Australia and Europe was less systematic and accompanied by less conscious self-promotion than for Lindt’s series.

The individual artwork or print was paramount for Lindt – its execution on site in New Guinea and the subsequent developing, retouching, printing, and framing demanded an artist’s skill as well as a businessman’s talent for marketing. The texts that frame his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series were, for the most part, chosen and written by Lindt, and in the case of his large exhibition prints, his hand – the artist’s hand – is unmistakeably tied to the images through the application of the thick red-paint signature. Lindt carefully managed the marketing of his photographs in order to ensure recognition of his aesthetic and commercial ownership of the images. Lawes’s photographic practice, in contrast, was more fractured and he relinquished control of the majority of his photographs when they entered the public domain.

In the case of Lawes’s New Guinea photographs the analysis must broaden out to encompass a wider range of intermediaries in the framing and dissemination process. In terms of similarities, the two men’s New Guinea photographs were co-opted to serve anthropological and colonial ends, and accompanying texts and other framing devices were accordingly selected to amplify messages associated with the perceived state of Papuan people and their cultures as well as the establishment of colonial rule. Indeed, these messages were frequently intertwined. Where the analysis in this chapter diverges is in the consideration of Lawes’s photographs in the context of mission imaging more generally. While as a category of representation, mission photography does overlap with the concerns of anthropological and official imaging in the colonial context, it also has ambitions and concerns peculiar to the mission project.

Max Quanchi has traced the trajectories of a selection of Lawes’s New Guinea photographs into the public domain up to 1930. While I touch on the reproduction of Lawes’s photographs in missionary periodicals and newspapers in the early twentieth century, the discussion that follows is concerned primarily with the early packaging and dissemination of his photographs in the late nineteenth century. This early phase in the life of the photographs determined the mode of their contemporary consumption and shapes modern encounters with the photographs in the archives. Following Paul Jenkins’s argument, that ‘work on any photographer is most adequate and persuasive if all his photographs are available for study, and if they can all be fully documented’, in the first section of this chapter I outline the process of identifying Lawes’s photographs in the archives, one outcome of which is a catalogue raisonné in the form of a database (see Appendix 2). While the scope of this project, along with the historical circumstances and the cultural and political factors surrounding the constitution of archives, do not allow for a complete reconstruction of Lawes’s oeuvre, tracking his photographs in archives in five countries has helped to answer certain questions regarding the uses to which his images were put.

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Encountering Lawes’s New Guinea photographs in the archives

The value in compiling a catalogue and trying to locate all or as many as possible of Lawes’s New Guinea photographs lies in what this might tell us about Lawes’s photographic practice. Christraud Geary argues that ‘Only if the record of one photographer’s oeuvre is more or less complete can we detect the distinctness of his photographic style, the emphasis of his photographic activity, and his bias within the given framework’. Was Lawes’s photography typical of missionary photography more generally? Were there certain themes or subjects he preferred? Did his style change over time or according to the subjects he photographed? These questions can only be answered if we have all, or as many as possible, of his photographs to hand.

Defining the extent and scope of Lawes’s collection of images is more complicated than is the case with Lindt’s series. This is due to the particular historical circumstances that led to the creation of each man’s New Guinea oeuvre. Lindt’s series was numbered, captioned, listed, and compiled in albums almost immediately after the photographs were taken, and complete sets of the albums are held in at least three collections in Australia and the UK. The images were all taken over a six-week period, and given Lindt’s self-promotion and strategic marketing of the set, remained closely associated with the photographer. Individual images from the series were reproduced without his permission in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries and prints, once purchased by anthropologists or others, often ended up in collections unattributed to him. However, Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ photographs are easy to identify given the existence of complete sets of the albums in collections with the accompanying catalogue, as well as the inclusion of captions on later prints of the series.

Lawes’s New Guinea photographs, on the other hand, were taken over a 31 year period, between his arrival in Port Moresby in 1874 and his retirement from the

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5 This was the fate of eight ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ prints held at the Völkerkunde Museum in Basel, Switzerland, which I was able to identify in June 2013 on my visit to the museum’s photographic archives.
6 Lindt’s New Guinea prints held at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford have the captions transcribed onto the print/negative and have been re-numbered. Lindt likely did this upon his move away from Melbourne to the Blacks Spur (1998.245. 845/I.7–14, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford [PRM]).

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mission field in 1906. As already mentioned in Chapters Three and Four, Lawes did not have a large income nor did he have much leisure time, and he therefore photographed as and when the opportunity arose. Unlike Lindt, Lawes did not conceive and execute a carefully defined photographic project, and it was also not until the early 1890s that Lawes’s New Guinea photographs became available for purchase through Henry King’s photographic studio in Sydney.

Lawes had sent solitary images to the LMS in London and newspaper editors prior to 1890, and scientist travellers such as Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay and Baron Anatole von Hügel had also acquired photographs directly from Lawes. A set of photographs by Lawes taken in villages in the Port Moresby mission district was donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford by von Hügel, who had travelled to the Pacific in 1874–8 to collect natural history specimens. Von Hügel did not reach New Guinea, however, and these particular photographs are not included in the King studio set, which suggests von Hügel acquired them from Lawes himself, (they are almost certainly by Lawes as his son Charley appears in two of them). One of the images containing Charley Lawes along with seven other photographs by Lawes are also in the collections of the Russian Geographical Society in Saint Petersburg as part of the Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay collection. There are captions written in pencil on the reverse of these prints that closely match Lawes’s handwriting, suggesting that he gave these photographs to Miklouho-Maclay on one of his visits to Port Moresby in the early 1880s.

King’s acquisition of 281 of Lawes’s negatives marks a crucial stage in the attribution of particular meanings to the images, and also in their global circulation. His fame (King’s was one of the most successful photographic studios in Sydney at the time) and marketing of the photographs ensured they reached a wider audience. It is not known exactly when he acquired Lawes’s negatives or under what circumstances. It was most likely on either one or several of the occasions that

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7 However, it seems that most of Lawes’s photographs were taken between around 1874 and 1890 (at least, these are the images that made it into the public domain and institutions).
8 1998.164.9a & b; 1998.190.6a–i, ‘General New Guinea’, PRM.
10 Print numbers 6-3-5/5, 6-3-25/6, 6-3-5/8, 6-3-5/19, 6-3-5/[unnumbered print], 6-3-5/6, 6-3-5/[unnumbered print], 6-3-25/4, Archives of the Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg. (I thank Elena Govor for showing me the scanned copies that she has of these images and for the informative discussions with her regarding Miklouho-Maclay’s time in southeast New Guinea.)
Lawes travelled to Sydney between 1880, when King opened his photographic studio, and around 1890, given that none of the photographs in King’s catalogue list of Lawes’s negatives is dated after 1890.\(^{11}\) There is also a date-range written in pencil at the top of the catalogue pasted into the front of King’s album of Lawes’s photographs held at the Mitchell Library – ‘1874–1890’ – possibly added by King (Appendix 1.1).

While Lawes might have deposited his negatives with King in batches over several years, during multiple visits to Sydney – this would explain the odd, non-sequential numbering of the images in King’s list – I would argue that the missionary deposited the majority, if not all of the negatives during a single visit.\(^{12}\) From his diary entries and letters we know that Lawes was in Sydney in early 1881, before his return to New Guinea after a three-year absence, and in early 1885 he travelled to Australia with his wife Fanny as Commodore Erskine’s guest following the proclamation of the Protectorate in New Guinea.\(^{13}\) In mid 1888 Lawes again spent time in Sydney to oversee the alterations to and fitting out of the new mission vessel *Harrier* as well as to undertake deputation work in the colonies.\(^{14}\) He returned to Sydney in December 1890 before sailing to England in order to publish his Motu translation of the New Testament (during which time he also registered 14 of his New Guinea photographs at the Copyright Registry in London), and transited through Sydney in mid 1892 *en route* to New Zealand to undertake more deputation work. Finally, in early 1893 Lawes spent around two months in the city before his return to New Guinea in March 1893.\(^{15}\) There were, therefore, several opportunities


\(^{12}\) It is likely that the photographic encounters between Lawes, Lindt, and George Brown were what stimulated the missionary to deposit his photographs with King (Brown and Lindt also sold photographs through King’s studio). Or perhaps Lindt or Brown spurred on King to acquire the missionary pioneer’s work for his studio.

\(^{13}\) Lawes, diary entry, 17 March 1881, New Guinea Journal, 1876–1884, [microform] mfm G 27500, Mitchell Library microfilm reel no. CY292, National Library of Australia (NLA); Lawes, letter to R. W. Thompson, 8 May 1885, mfm M93 LMS Papua letters 1882–1885, NLA.

\(^{14}\) See, Lawes, letter to Thompson, 16 May 1888, mfm M94 LMS Papua letters 1886–1889, NLA.

\(^{15}\) Lawes, letter to Thompson, 26 December 1890, mfm M95 LMS Papua letters 1890–1892, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 9 February 1891, mfm M95, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 15 June 1892, mfm M95, NLA; Lawes, letter to Thompson, 10 September 1892, mfm M95, NLA; Lawes, letter
for Lawes to meet King and deposit his negatives with the photographer in the period between 1880 and 1893. However, I have not found any advertisements for or catalogues of Lawes’s photographs by King other than the 1890/1891 catalogue list. Further, given that Lawes and his wife planned an absence of longer duration in the early 1890s, and the fact that Lawes had photographs with him to have copyrighted in England, it seems almost certain that he deposited his negatives with King in 1890 or 1891 when he passed through Sydney.16

The Lawes photographs that I have been able to identify are contact prints and lantern slides and I have not found evidence that any were enlarged or put on display in colonial exhibitions as Lindt’s were.17 There is one image that I have seen reproduced as a postcard – number 237 on King’s list; a portrait of two Motu women with the caption ‘Motu Girls, Port Moresby’ and ‘Vatorata, B. New Guinea’ written in the style of a letterhead at the top right of the landscape-format card. This card was sent by Lawes to the LMS in one of his regular letters, in May 1904.18

Lindt’s and Lawes’s New Guinea photographs are equally widely dispersed in archives around the world. As mentioned above, the Mitchell Library in Sydney has an album containing 147 photographs by Lawes compiled by King in the early 1890s, which also contains the catalogue list of the 281 Lawes photographs available for sale through King’s studio pasted inside the front cover. The Powerhouse Museum has at least 96 Lawes photographs and negatives as part of the Tyrrell Collection,19 and there are 23 lantern slides of Lawes images in the Macleay

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16 This date (1890) for the deposit of Lawes’s photographs with King is also supported by the captions for some of the photographs that date to 1890 (i.e., number 30 on King’s list has the caption ‘Present native church with May meeting congregation’ and this photograph was almost certainly taken at the 1890 May Meeting in Port Moresby). Further, the odd numbering of Lawes’s prints could be due to the fact that Lawes’s negatives made up only part of a larger collection (for example, of New Guinea/Pacific Island photos generally) that King sold through his studio.

17 Geoffrey Barker writes that ‘Copies of negatives taken in New Guinea by the Reverend W. G. Lawes were acquired by King to make prints for the New South Wales Court at the World’s Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893’. However, aside from the Maiva shields photograph, mentioned above, I have found no further evidence of this (Geoffrey Barker, ‘Refracted Vision: Nineteenth-Century Photography in the Pacific’, (MA Thesis, University of Sydney, 2010), 140).

18 Lawes, letter to Thompson, 11 May 1904, mfm M100, LMS Papua Letters 1903–1904, NLA.

19 This number includes some duplicates as well as images that are almost certainly by Lawes but that I have been unable to match up with captions and numbers in King’s list. It appears the Powerhouse Museum has some of Lawes’s original glass-plate negatives. The situation is somewhat
Museum at the University of Sydney, including two duplicates, as well as a further seven that are likely by Lawes.\textsuperscript{20} In addition to the various Australian holdings, the Council for World Mission/London Missionary Society Archive (CWM/LMS), held at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London, contains a large number of Lawes’s photographs in albums, mounted on cards, and loose in files. An estimate puts the number of Lawes prints held at that institution at 263. However, this figure includes many duplicates in albums or loose in files as well as some images that look to be by Lawes but might have been taken by George Brown, who visited British New Guinea in 1890 and also sold photographs through King’s studio in Sydney.\textsuperscript{21}

Other UK holdings include the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, which has 31 prints of Lawes’s photographs purchased from King’s studio by the anthropologist Edward B. Tylor, and at least 115 photographs by Lawes are in the collections of the British Museum in London. Smaller holdings of Lawes photographs exist at the National Archives in Kew, London, which has prints of the 14 photographs Lawes had copyrighted in 1891. In January 2014 I was able to identify 11 Lawes photographs in the R. J. Crawford collection at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand.\textsuperscript{22} The Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne has 43 Lawes prints in its collections that I was also able to identify using King’s list, while the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University has two or potentially three of Lawes’s photographs, including the image entitled ‘Young Men with Maiva Shields’ in King’s list, copy-prints of which can also be found in

\textsuperscript{20} Macleay Museum, Anthropology Department teaching collection, HP99.1; Geology Department teaching collection, HP90.28; Melbourne Ward collection, HP87.1.
\textsuperscript{21} The University of Southern California Library has digitized 130 of the Lawes prints held at SOAS and these are available to be viewed online at <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu>.
\textsuperscript{22} PAColl-4310-1, Crawford, R J, f1 1961: photographs of Samoa and New Guinea. These Lawes photographs were probably collected by A. E. Hunt. Hunt was a missionary stationed at Port Moresby 1895–1902. When he retired in 1902 he worked as a minister in Timaru and Wellington, in New Zealand.
the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the Field Museum in Chicago.\textsuperscript{23} Finally, I recently identified seven, possibly eight, Lawes prints in a selection of photographs from the Miklouho-Maclay collection at the Russian Geographical Society Archives, as mentioned above. No doubt, there are many more Lawes photographs in collections that have yet to be identified.\textsuperscript{24}

To date I have identified 234 of the 281 photographs that King sold through his studio in Sydney, but gaps still remain and some attributions may be proven incorrect by subsequent researchers working with Lawes’s photographs (Appendix 2). The reason for this, as already stated, is that Lawes did not put his name to his photographs in the same way that Lindt did – excepting the 14 photographs he registered in London. Also, as Geary observes in relation to holdings of African photographs in Europe: ‘photographic collections [in museums] were often neglected, being considered of marginal importance’ to the objects collected for display and study.\textsuperscript{25} Photographs frequently found their way into museum and other collections via circuitous routes. They were not always deposited by the photographers themselves and records were seldom kept on the provenance of pictures as they were for objects. While King inscribed numbers on several of the negatives he sold through his studio, often the prints have faded over time, making it difficult to see them, some might have been cropped, and there are instances where images by other photographers have the same numbers on them. For example, there are duplicate numbers on some of the New Guinea images taken by George Brown, many of which were also sold through King’s studio and therefore have the same style of numbering as Lawes’s prints.\textsuperscript{26} Further, there are photographs by Lawes (or most likely by Lawes) in archives that were not sold through King’s studio, and do not have negative numbers on them, making it difficult to assert with any confidence the total number of photographs Lawes took while in New Guinea, though my rough estimate would put the total at around three hundred.


\textsuperscript{24} For example, the Australian Museum in Sydney may also have Lawes photographs in its George Brown photograph collection.

\textsuperscript{25} Geary, ‘Photographs as Materials for African History’, 90.

\textsuperscript{26} See catalogue list, ‘List of Views in New Guinea, Samoa, Tonga and Fiji’, ML MSS4465 H6049, mfm CY Reel 4856, item 3, ML.
Tracking down all of Lawes’s New Guinea photographs is therefore a difficult task. Even when a physical print can be matched with a number or caption on King’s list, this does not necessarily vouch for Lawes’s ‘authorship’. For example, a photograph of Elevala Island and Port Moresby harbour taken from the mission house grounds, three copies of which are held at SOAS in the CWM/LMS collection, may be a Lindt image (fig. 6.1). Two of the copies are in albums that contain Lawes photographs (one of which has a King Studio sticker in the front cover) while the third is in a file containing loose New Guinea photographs (predominantly by Lawes) pasted onto board mounts. None of the prints has a negative number on it. In two instances the image has been captioned: ‘View from Mission House’ (with ‘Port Moresby’ added in one instance), while in one of the albums the captions reads: ‘Island of Elevara & Port Moresby Heads’. The photograph could therefore be number 355 on King’s list, entitled: ‘View from Mission House Verandah’. One explanation for the alternative caption is that the album’s compiler (or the person who captioned the photographs) simply described the scene depicted, not knowing the vantage point from which it was taken, or perhaps they found the description on King’s list too generic.

Having matched the photograph with a caption on King’s list, and given that three prints of the image are to be found in the LMS collections at SOAS, the identification of the photograph as one of Lawes’s appears straightforward. However, this photograph was taken from the exact location as the photograph titled: ‘Elevala Island, Port Moresby, from Mission House’ in Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series and contains the same five human subjects (fig. 6.2). The only difference is that two of the women are facing in a different direction. This is not an instance of cameras having been set up side by side – the angles from which the two views were taken are identical (note the branches of the tree at the left edge of the print as well as the shadow of the bush on the white picket gate in each version). I would argue that one of these prints is ‘the “second shot” that well-trained

27 CWM/LMS/Papua New Guinea/Photographs/Box 1, file 1/9, SOAS; CWM/LMS/Papua New Guinea/Photographs/Box 3, file 4, SOAS; CWM/LMS/Papua New Guinea/Photographs/Box 8, file 10B, SOAS. I can confidently identify all except two of the photographs in File 10B as being by Lawes (or at least marketed by King as being taken by Lawes). There are four photographs in the Box 3, File 4 album I have been unable to match with images in King’s catalogue, and nine in the Box 1, File 1 album.
photographers took as a matter of course’, 28 and that they were both taken by Lindt, one of the plates probably being given to Lawes as a gift or form of payment for the missionary’s hospitality during the photographer’s stay in Port Moresby. The poses of the women in the ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ version of the scene are certainly more effective than those in the SOAS version, further suggesting that Lindt could have parted with this inferior glass-plate negative in New Guinea. The LMS also purchased a selection of Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ photographs that now form part of the CWM/LMS archive at SOAS. These 44 prints are pasted onto pages that appear to have been taken from an album, with Lindt’s captions and ‘(Copyright)’ written in ink on the card. 29 They do not, however, include the scene taken from the mission house verandah, perhaps because the LMS had already purchased the Lawes/King version.

Focussing on the material photo-objects and tracing them to their source not only leads to successful attributions but also gives access to the multiple uses of photographs at the time of their production. In the case of the Lawes/Lindt photograph discussed above, the glass-plate negative became an object of exchange, a gift imbued with significance based on the particular circumstances that led to its production. Lindt’s image was subsequently subsumed into Lawes’s collection and his visual conception of New Guinea and passed onto King in the early 1890s with the other negatives he transported to Sydney. The circulation of photographs in this manner was common practice in the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Professional photographic studios often had no qualms about marketing others’ images as their own, and the proprietors of studios in Australia frequently employed photographers to travel and take photographs for them. For example, John Paine of Sydney trained two petty officers aboard the HMS Espiegle in the use of the camera in order to document the 1884 proclamation of the British Protectorate over southeast New Guinea. 30

29 CWM/LMS/Papua New Guinea/Photographs/Box 5, Files 6A & 6B, SOAS.
As well as highlighting the scope of Lawes’s New Guinea photography, compiling the database of Lawes’s New Guinea photographs also revealed the collecting practices of anthropologists, museums, and mission societies. The Lawes photographs that found their way into the collections of the British Museum, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne, Germany, and the Macleay Museum in Sydney reveal the particular biases of the original collectors and the institutions in selecting images. In all four instances photographs with anthropological subject matter comprise the majority of the Lawes images in the collections – 89.5 percent, 97 percent, 93 percent, and 90 percent respectively. The 31 Lawes photographs held at the Pitt Rivers Museum were acquired by Edward B. Tylor, a lecturer in anthropology at Oxford University who was appointed to work with the artefact collections at the museum in 1884. 31 The Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum collection of Lawes photographs came from Georg Küppers-Loosen, a German ethnologist who visited Australia, ‘spending a holiday in Sydney’, in 1909.32 Küppers-Loosen, it seems, took the opportunity to visit King’s studio while in Sydney and had access to the album of Lawes’s photographs. Of the 43 Lawes photographs I have been able to identify in the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum’s collections, only one is not a copy of a print in the Mitchell Library King album.33 That ethnographic subjects should dominate the holdings of Lawes photographs at these institutions is little surprising and the captions on King’s list made it a simple task to select the preferred subjects for their collections.

While it can be expected that ethnographic subjects dominate the photograph collections of these museums, one of the most significant finds during my time in European archives was the underrepresentation of mission subjects in all of the collections (see Table 2, below). While the CWM/LMS photograph collection at SOAS has the largest number of images of converts, ‘native’ and ‘South Sea’

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31 Though Tylor was hired to fulfil this role, ultimately it was Henry Balfour who assumed the task of ensuring the typological arrangement of objects was retained. This task was a specified condition in the Pitt Rivers Museum’s Deed of Gift of 1884, as was the appointment of a lecturer to work with the collection (Christopher Morton, ‘Photography and the Comparative Method: The Construction of an Anthropological Archive’, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 18 (2012): 375).
33 ‘Dubu, or sacred platform, at Rigo’, no. 9864, Küppers-Loosen Schenkung, Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne (no. 72 on King’s ‘List of New Guinea Photographs by Rev. W. G, Lawes’).
teachers, ethnographic subjects still dominate. It seems that while mission concerns might have led Lawes to photograph certain subjects, mission organisations did not always prefer or reproduce these images in their publications and other forms of propaganda.

**Lawes’s New Guinea photographs in King’s studio, Sydney**

King’s acquisition of a selection of Lawes’s negatives marks a pivotal stage in the framing and wider dissemination of the missionary’s images of New Guinea. The King studio was one of two major photographic studios operating in Sydney in the late nineteenth century – the other was Kerry & Co., which was run by the professional photographer Charles Kerry. Virginia-Lee Webb notes that the strategic location of King’s studio on George Street as well as King’s ‘well-planned marketing’ ensured Lawes’s photographs achieved local visibility in Australia as well as ‘a wide geographical distribution’. At this stage the photographs also received their most enduring textual framings through the addition of captions and the sequencing and grouping in subject categories. King’s ‘List of New Guinea Photographs by Rev. W. G. Lawes’ is a valuable resource and it shaped my encounters with Lawes’s photographs in the archives. Even if a print has not been identified, the descriptive captions or titles at least describe the subject matter of the 281 photographs attributed to Lawes that were available for sale through King’s studio.

While there are questions regarding the provenance of some of the images, such as the potential Lindt negative and the Brown prints mentioned above, King’s list nevertheless presents the most complete catalogue of Lawes’s photographs. As such, it provides important insight into Lawes’s imaging of New Guinea to about 1890. The division of Lawes’s photographs into three sections or categories (‘General’, ‘Missionary’, and ‘Anthropological’), with roughly the same number of photographs in each, suggests that, when selecting the negatives for King, Lawes made sure a wide range of subjects was represented. King’s was a professional

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studio and Lawes, like Lindt, no doubt wanted to ensure that his ‘views’ sold.35 Yet, on closer examination, many of the images in the ‘General’ category could just as easily be classified as ethnographic, in that their main focus is the architecture and material culture of the Papuans Lawes encountered and worked amongst as well as portraits of local people taken in a style that mirrored the ‘type’ photographs in the ‘Anthropological’ section. There are 76 photographs that I have been able to identify in the ‘General’ category which could be placed into the ‘Anthropological’ section of King’s list, and two further images in the ‘Missionary’ section in which the content of the photograph may be classified as ethnographic. Conversely, there are 26 portraits of converts and teachers in the ‘Anthropological’ category.36

If the subjects of Lawes photographs sold through King’s studio are counted, irrespective of the section in which they were placed on King’s list, this presents a different picture of the distribution of subjects between the three categories (see Table 1). Anthropological subject matter dominates in Lawes’s extant photographs, followed by images with a clear mission agenda with only around six percent categorised as ‘general’. In all the archives I have visited ethnographic subjects outnumber missionary and general views, such as coastal and landscape shots, when image content is more closely examined (see Table 2).

Table 1: Classification of Lawes’s photographs in King’s catalogue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King’s list categories/sections</th>
<th>Number of photographs listed in each category</th>
<th>Number of photographs in each category based on image content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>94 (34%)</td>
<td>18 (6.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>88 (31%)</td>
<td>112 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological</td>
<td>99 (35%)</td>
<td>151 (53.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35 There is possible evidence that Lawes received some kind of royalty for the prints King sold on a copy of King’s catalogue held in the Pitt Rivers Museum. At the top of this version of the catalogue, E. B. Tylor, it seems, noted the prints he purchased and his payment for them in pencil: ‘30 sent cheque £2.5.0 to Rev. W. G. Lawes’ (see Appendix 1.2; 1998.164.1–14, ‘Dwellings’ [list pasted on reverse side of board], PRM). Though, as Jude Philp has conjectured, Tylor might have noted the recipient of the order wrong (Jude Philp, email correspondence, 15 July 2014).

36 The criteria for classifying these images are based on the captions as well as the clothing worn by the subject. Shirts, trousers, and dresses were worn by students and teachers as well as converts as an outward symbol of their conversion.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories/Sections (From King’s list)</th>
<th>Number of photographs based on King’s list sections</th>
<th>Number of photographs based on image content</th>
<th>Total number of subjects (Not including duplicate prints)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>School of Oriental and African Studies, London (CWM/LMS collection)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>47.5%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mitchell Library, Sydney</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>49.5%</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>British Museum, London</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>64.5%</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Powerhouse Museum, Sydney</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne, Germany</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, UK</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Macleay Museum, Sydney</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>National Archives, Kew, London</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropological</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The division of the 281 photographs into three sections on King’s list was clearly not based on any systematic approach to image-content classification. For instance, a narrow understanding of what constituted an ethnographic subject apparently led Lawes or King to restrict images in the ‘Anthropological’ section largely to the ‘type’ portraits that Lawes took in his makeshift studio at the mission house in Port Moresby. Photographs of the local dwellings, villages, canoes, ‘still-lives’ of shields, spears, belts, ornaments, etc., as well as pot-making, gardening, and other indigenous activities that were of interest to ethnologists and anthropologists in the late nineteenth century were therefore relegated to the somewhat amorphous ‘General’ section in King’s list.

Lawes most likely supplied King with a list of descriptions or captions for his negatives that the professional photographer then transcribed onto the list. Pencil captions that appear to be in Lawes’s hand are on the reverse of most of the prints he gave to Miklouho-Maclay, and given his meticulous checking of reports on New Guinea written by travellers and anthropologists such as Octavius Stone, Lawes almost certainly presented King with descriptions for his negatives. On the version of the list pasted into the front cover of the album held in the Mitchell Library in Sydney, which I would argue was a display album in King’s studio, four captions or photographs have been added in ink. These were possibly photographs that King acquired after the list was printed. At the least, it seems that Lawes was not on hand to provide more detailed descriptions. Whether Lawes was responsible for the three section headings on the catalogue list is unclear, though I have yet to find another list produced by King’s studio that divides photographs into these categories. King’s catalogue of a set of Pacific Island photographs, probably taken by George Brown, places the photographs into sections based on geographical location.37

Like Lindt’s captions for his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series, the captions on King’s list of Lawes’s photographs are predominantly indexical, noting the

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37 This is the list amongst the Kerry & Co. documents that James R. Tyrrell acquired in 1929 held at the Mitchell Library in Sydney (‘List of Views in New Guinea, Samoa, Tonga and Fiji’, ML MSS4465 H6049, mfm CY Reel 4856, item 3, ML). Quanchi identified this list as part of the Lawes photograph catalogue compiled by King. Written at the top of the list, which is printed in the same style as the list of Lawes’s negatives, is: ‘Dr Lawes and Kings negative 1890 —’ and also, more faint, ‘Kerry’. The New Guinea photographs listed here match the numbers written beside and, occasionally, on the photographs in the Mitchell Library Brown album (‘Album of Papua New Guinea’, Rev. George Brown, ca. 1890–1905, PXA 925, ML). As Brown also visited Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji, it is highly likely that this is a catalogue of his photographs.
subject of the image and also where it was taken in several instances. The naming of
the specific villages and districts of southeast New Guinea in which the photographs
by Lindt and Lawes were taken has been commented on by Quanchi, as this was not
common practice for photographers visiting the Pacific in this period: ‘Apart from
three or four villages [on the southeast coast of New Guinea] consistently
photographed and named, village photographs tended to be anonymous. The
diversity of settlement, architecture, social organization and local history was
ignored’. In 70 percent of the 281 photographs listed by King, Lawes noted the
name of the person, or their tribe, the name or district location of the village
represented, the river or harbour photographed, or the origin of the artefacts
displayed for the camera. However, such detail was not applied consistently to the
captions for Lawes’s photographs in King’s list. There are many instances where
location or tribal identity is not written down, most notably for the series of object
still-lives in the ‘General’ category, a section of which reads:

145 Shields
146 Shields
148 Set of Native Jewellery
150 Stone Clubs
151 Trophy of Curios
152 Stone Clubs
153 Pottery
156 Earrings

One explanation for this lack of detail may be that the items photographed were
collected in several regions or villages and including all the locations would have
made the captions too long. While Lawes was not always the collector of the objects,
he could almost certainly have accurately identified most if not all the objects in the
photographs, but for the purposes of King’s studio and an audience largely interested
in the generic ‘exotic’, ‘Trophy of curios’, or similar sufficed as a description.
Another print, of a Motu girl sitting under a tree with a pot at her side is titled:
‘Water Carrier (girl) at well’ (fig. 6.3). Here, again, the image has been framed with

38 Quanchi, Photographing Papua, 117.
39 For example, Jude Philp informed me that the mask third from left in ‘Masks from Motumotu’ (no.
157) is in the British Museum registered as OC,+2486, donated by A. P. Goodwin, 1885; while
‘Western masks’ (see Appendix 2, ‘Extras: possible Lawes photographs’) is likely to be B6185 in the
Australian Museum collections, donated by the LMS boat captain H. Liljeblad in 1885 (pers. comm. J.
Philp, August 2014, July 2016).
the intended audience in mind – an audience that likely knew of Lindt’s famous ‘Motu Water Carrier’ which had been exhibited in London and Melbourne and served as the frontispiece to *Picturesque New Guinea*.

While attention was given to ensuring that a range of subjects was available for the customer to choose from, the quality of Lawes’s photographs was not always of a high standard. These images were still sold through King’s studio as the subjects photographed were clearly deemed of enough interest and value to excuse the technical failings – Lawes’s photographs were, after all, amongst the first to be taken of New Guinea and its indigenous inhabitants. Further, King was able to remedy some of the faults in Lawes’s negatives through retouching and during the printing process, albeit only to a certain degree. For example, in Lawes’s photograph of five Motu women titled ‘Women tattooed’, the woman to the left of the lined-up group has had part of her face retouched on the negative. In a lantern slide of this same subject in the Anthropology Teaching Collection, housed at the Macleay Museum, the blemish on the original negative is still visible (figs. 6.4 & 6.5).

Although Lawes photographed several subjects similar to those in Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series, the missionary often lacked the eye for, or technical knowledge of, what made an image visually arresting. This is not to say that Lawes produced only mediocre prints – they would not have circulated as widely in the public domain had this been the case. Given that Lawes had taught himself to photograph and developed his plates himself in Port Moresby at the mission station, the results were often aesthetically pleasing, as, for example, his study of two men taken in Kerepunu (fig. 6.6), and the view he took of the watery main ‘street’ of Gaile (fig. 6.7). But, as I argue in this chapter, the value or meaning of an image was more often determined by the texts that surrounded the photograph and the contexts in which it was reproduced or displayed. In her book on the photographic frontier in the Pacific Northwest, Carol Williams writes that ‘written anecdotes, or captions … directed the meaning of the photograph’, but this adjoining text also ‘possessed the capacity to misrepresent’.40 It is the various discursive claims made on behalf of Lawes’s New Guinea photographs that I turn to in more detail now.

40 Carol Williams, *Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 84, 28.
The categorisation of Lawes’s photographs in King’s catalogue forms the framework for the remainder of the discussion in this chapter. The three categories echo the triad of colonial, missionary, and anthropological discourses that influenced missionary photographic practices and largely framed how Lawes’s photographs were read and understood in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. While, as outlined above, an analysis of image content leads to a different distribution of photographs between the three categories (Table 1), it is the textual overlay and contexts in which the photographs were displayed that are the focus here.

‘General’ framings of Lawes’s photographs
The King studio list is the most comprehensive catalogue of Lawes’s photographs that many potential buyers of the images had access to, especially in Britain and Europe. While those who visited King’s studio in Sydney could view the 147 photographs that King had pasted into the display album, this was not the case for overseas clients. The categorisation and organisation of the images (whether by King or Lawes) as well as the captions on King’s list therefore significantly shaped the early reception and dissemination of the photographs.

The first 94 photographs are listed under ‘General’ and while one might expect to find subjects that do not fit into the two other sections on King’s list, as already mentioned, many of the photographs here can be categorised as ethnographic. Indeed, when the ethnographic subjects are not counted this leaves only 18 photographs that cannot be categorised as either ‘Missionary’ or ‘Anthropological’. These include landscape or coastal views, buildings associated with the colonial administration (post 1884), two photographs of the Rouna Falls, three ‘picnic’ scenes (which I have yet to find in the archives), naturalist H. O. Forbes’s expedition party preparing to set out from Hanuabada (taken in 1885), and a photograph of administrator Hugh Hastings Romilly hoisting the British flag in the pre-emptive proclamation of the protectorate in November 1884 (fig. 6.8). The framing of so many ethnographic subjects as general views on King’s list was based

41 If King acquired the negatives by the time of the 1893 Columbian World’s Fair in Chicago, he might have displayed a selection of prints there. While it is known that King displayed his Australian Aboriginal portraits at the exposition, I have yet to find any indication that Lawes’s photographs were also on display.
on a narrow understanding of what constituted an ethnographic subject but also had a narrative underpinning, in that the photographs included in this section functioned as an introduction to New Guinea – the land, its people, and their material culture.

Similar to the New Guinea photograph albums that Quanchi discusses, the ‘opening’ of Lawes’s collection of New Guinea views sets the scene, geographically situating the mission for the viewer. The first five photographs on King’s list are views of the harbour at Port Moresby, and the local villages of Hanuabada and Elevala, followed by more village images and shots of Papuan tree houses. King’s album of Lawes’s photographs at the Mitchell Library also opens with photographs selected from the ‘General’ section, as do the two extant albums of Lawes photographs held at SOAS as part of the CWM/LMS collection. This proved to be a popular trope for introducing foreign places to European audiences. In the notes for the opening two slides of the Australasian Wesleyan Missionary Society’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ lantern-slide set, the speaker presented first ‘a view taken from the verandah of Rev. W. G. Lawes’ house at Port Moresby’, before showing ‘a view of the Mission Station and premises, taken from the small Island which was shown in the first picture’. George Brown took many of the photographs in this set during his visit to New Guinea in 1890, though it is not noted in the accompanying booklet which ones were by him. It is likely that the first slide in the set is the Lindt/Lawes photograph discussed above, as King had acquired Lawes’s negatives by the time the Wesleyan Missionary Society compiled their slide-set. Even if it is not a Lawes photograph, the text and images presented in this slideshow formed part of the steady stream of information about New Guinea that shaped the reception of Lawes’s images in Australia and abroad.

The audiences for the Wesleyan Missionary Society’s lantern slide show that Brown presented in several localities over the course of a six-week lecture tour in

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44 The booklet simply states: ‘The Views comprised in this set – Nos. 1 to 51 – were many of them taken by the General Secretary on his first visit’ (Australasian Wesleyan Missionary Society, *Picturesque New Guinea*, 5).
South Australia in 1894, would have heard and read much on New Guinea. Articles on New Guinea, its exploration by gold prospectors, scientists, and adventurers, reports of the proclamation of the protectorate and subsequent annexation in 1888, as well as illustrations of the land, its people and their material culture, were frequently printed in the pages of popular newspapers and illustrated magazines such as the *Argus*, *Age*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Illustrated Sydney News*, *South Australian Register*, *North Queensland Register*, as well as the *Australian Town and Country Journal*. In the notes for the first two slides, Lawes and James Chalmers are introduced, the government ‘township’ in Port Moresby is pointed out in the distance of the first slide, the various buildings that comprise the mission station are listed, the barren state of the country surrounding Port Moresby is mentioned, and Port Moresby’s importance as the point of departure for ‘the earliest expeditions for the exploration of New Guinea’ is noted. The inclusion of references to the mission station and government buildings assured the viewers that ‘civilisation’ was making inroads in this foreign land that now ‘belonged’ to the British Empire and whose administration costs were being met by the Australian colonies, before the audience was shown an image of ‘three New Guinea young men’ with cockatoo feathers in their hair, symbolising that they ‘have killed a man’.

This method of introducing unknown, foreign places to audiences in Australia and Europe by displaying coastal and landscape views and village scenes was replicated in the images chosen by newspaper editors in Australia. The *Australasian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil*, an illustrated monthly magazine published by the proprietors of the *Argus*, included an engraving of the harbour of Port Moresby with Elevala Island in its August 1876 edition (fig. 6.9). The title for the picture states that it comes ‘from a photograph’, a photograph almost certainly taken by Lawes (possibly fig. 6.10). In January 1878, the *Australian Town and Country Journal* included two engravings depicting the mission station viewed from the harbour and a view of ‘Elevala Island and Village, Port Moresby’ in a piece

49 The only other Europeans in Port Moresby at this time were Dr Turner and his wife and I have yet to find photographs taken by Turner in the archives.
reporting the discovery of gold by the Port Moresby trader and naturalist Andrew Goldie (fig. 6.11).50 These sketches and engravings presented a land that appeared both ‘exotic’, through the inclusion of Papuans in canoes and standing amongst palm trees, while at the same time rendering it ordered and familiar. In particular, the tidily fenced-in gardens in the engraving of the mission station and the neatly gabled and symmetrical houses of Elevala village, served to enforce a certain level of familiarity for European readers. On a purely technical level, such scenes were likely also the easiest or were visually the most effective for translation into the medium of ink and engraving for newspaper illustrations.

These views of New Guinea were in stark contrast to the sentiments expressed in Goldie’s diary entries, which, along with a letter from Lawes, formed the basis of the article in the Australian Town and Country Journal where these two engravings appeared. Both Lawes and Goldie note the unhealthy climate in New Guinea and warn ‘that there should be no rush of Europeans at present’, given the difficulties of traversing the terrain and the uncertainty regarding the extent of the gold to be found once there.51 Further, Lawes warns that because of a severe drought ‘help cannot be obtained from the natives’ in the Port Moresby area that year, as they had barely enough food to subsist themselves.52 Both Lawes and Chalmers actively discouraged white settlement in New Guinea, fearing the adverse effects that Europeans of the ‘wrong’ calibre or social background might have on the local populations and their culture. Diane Langmore writes that while both men approved ‘some degree of imperial control’ they did not see this as ‘synonymous with colonization’.53

The illustrations that supplemented published material on New Guinea, as Quanchi argues, ‘did not always match the viewpoint or ideology of the author’s

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accompanying text’. In another letter printed in the same edition of the *Australian Town and Country Journal*, published under the title ‘Notes on New Guinea, by the Rev. W. G. Lawes’, the missionary urges that ‘so far as I know New Guinea, the long-cherished idea that it is a land flowing with milk and honey, rich in all that civilised nations value, is an erroneous one’. Lawes’s statement was likely prompted by claims made in articles printed in the mid-1870s about the ‘terraqueous paradise … [open] for commerce’ that awaited white explorers in New Guinea. In contrast to such paradisiacal imaginings, Lawes mentions the barren soil in the Port Moresby area on several occasions in his letters to the editors of Australia’s papers, and even states that the ‘natives have literally no article of commercial value for sale’. Indeed, in many of the letters by visitors to and residents of New Guinea published between 1876 and the mid 1890s the unhealthy climate and limited potential for commercial endeavours on the island is stressed, or at least alluded to by the authors. While sketches and engravings of serene coastal vistas and ordered ‘native’ villages portrayed a welcoming image of New Guinea, then, the texts frequently presented a different set of circumstances.

The disjunction between text and image in illustrated newspapers in the late nineteenth century was often intensified by their placement on separate pages. In many instances, the visual or design appeal of pages of engravings uninterrupted by text led to this layout as the technological hurdle of reproducing text and engravings on the same page had been overcome in the first half of the nineteenth century. The *Illustrated Australian News* printed a short piece on Port Moresby on page 22 of its issue of 1 August 1891, and placed the engravings that related to the text on page four. Readers were directed to the accompanying article in the caption for the

pictures – ‘(see page 22.)’ is written beside it (fig. 6.12). The implicit message is that text and image are two separate entities, serving different functions for the readers. This is supported by the fact that the subjects of the engravings printed in the Illustrated Australian News in August 1891, which were based on several of Lawes’s photographs, were not all Port Moresby subjects. The village depicted on the lower left-hand side is Kerepunu and is based on photograph number 16 on King’s list of Lawes’s photographs, titled ‘Village Street, Kerepunu’ (fig. 6.16). There are also instances where images were printed with no contextualising text anywhere in the issue. For example, in February 1898 the North Queensland Register printed a photograph of ‘A New Guinea Warrior’ on a page amongst ‘Late Cables’ from London reporting items of news from around the world, none of which related to New Guinea or the photograph.

Editors included photographs and engravings of New Guinea subjects in the pages of Australian and English newspapers to serve as illustrations and entertainment. They aided the ‘learning-by-looking’ that Quanchi discusses and helped to boost sales figures, especially in the 1880s when debates surrounding the governance and ‘ownership’ of New Guinea were at their height in Australia. This was also the period of the ‘Scramble for Africa’ led by Britain and France, therefore news stories and images relating to colonies or potential colonies would undoubtedly have caught the eye of many readers. As Quanchi writes, ‘text and photographs offered several pathways to know Papua’. By the mid 1880s, at a time when literacy rates in Australia were on the rise, there were around 50 daily newspapers being printed. That newspapers such as the Age achieved a circulation of 38,000 copies by 1879 clearly demonstrates that the public eagerly consumed this form of print media.

As the earliest European resident of Port Moresby, Lawes was a valuable source of information on southeast New Guinea and supplied photographs prior to

62 Quanchi, Photographing Papua, 207.
the ‘opening up’ of the country precipitated by the 1878 gold rush and Queensland’s ultimately unsuccessful annexation in April 1883. In the early 1880s several of Lawes’s photographs were reproduced as engravings in full-page montages with the heading ‘Sketches in New Guinea’ (figs. 6.13 & 6.14).64 These full-page spreads dedicated to New Guinea were published in the *Australasian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil* and the *Illustrated Australian News* in June and July 1883, only two to three months after Chester’s unsanctioned annexation. The photographs chosen for the engravings in the June edition of the *Australasian Sketcher* include the photograph captioned ‘Three Port Moresby Belles’ on King’s list as well as the village scene in Kerepunu discussed above (number 16 on King’s list), a ‘Group from Kabadi’ posed in front of one of the mission buildings (number 96), and a portrait of a ‘Young Man, New Guinea’ (possibly based on number 223 on King’s list – a named Koitapu boy, Maiako) (figs. 6.15–6.18). There are views of the village at Port Moresby and the view from the mission grounds across to Elevala Island that might also have been based on photographs taken by Lawes.

While the subjects have been translated relatively faithfully from the photographic originals, the captions for the reproduced photographs are vague and generalising. The ‘Group from Kabadi’ are described as ‘A Party of Natives’ and Hanuabada becomes merely a ‘Native Village, Port Moresby’. King’s (or Lawes’s) caption for the three Motu women has been embellished, however, with the addition of the detail that they are ‘Dressed for a Ball’. Two of the women are, indeed, wearing large shell necklaces that were highly valued by the Motu, but there is no reason to assume that these women were dressed for any particular event. The ‘event’ may simply have been the act of posing for Lawes and his camera.

This rather peculiar framing of the portrait of the three Motu women, which stands out from the others in the montage due to its placement and the scale of the three human figures, is linked to the genre of colonial images that focus on the naked body of the ‘native’ woman. As noted in the previous chapter, ‘belle’ images are ubiquitous in the European imaging of the Pacific and many scholars have written on the ‘sexual intention’ of the photographers and viewers in making and consuming

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these photographs. However, such images must also be understood in the sitters’ cultural context. In late nineteenth-century New Guinea, customary dress practices meant that most female and male Pauans were naked to a degree. Further, as Quanchi notes, the use of the word ‘belle’ in the title or caption also ‘did not necessarily impute sexual intention’. The London Missionary Society, for example, often used this term in its captions for clothed women as well.

The naked female body was not automatically sexualised through the act of being photographed. Rather, the erotic element was frequently staged or emphasised through the positioning of the women’s bodies in the frame as well as their posture and, finally, the caption, which prompted the viewer to read the image/bodies as sexualised and available. The popularity of this genre of images may be one reason why the editor of the Australasian Sketcher chose to reproduce Lawes’s three Motu women or, rather, it may be what prompted him to add the caption.

The composition of Lawes’s original photograph and the engraving certainly do not adhere to more ‘traditional’ belle images such as the colonial administrator F. R. Barton’s photograph of a Motu woman paddling a canoe or, indeed, Lindt’s ‘Motu water carrier’ (figs. 6.19 & 5.2). The three women in Lawes’s image are bare-breasted but they are lined up in front of a plain sheet hung from the mission house verandah or one of its walls (in the original photograph), facing the camera front-on, their poses and facial expressions conveying rather a sense of unease, awkwardness, or even boredom. The artist who transferred Lawes’s photograph to the wooden engraver’s block did not take licence to render the female subjects in more alluring poses, nor did he embellish the scene with an ‘exotic’ backdrop or props.

While most of Lawes’s photographs do not betray an eye for the visually arresting, their content and the accompanying captions show an amateur scientific interest at work. He had the advantage of being known by the people in his mission district and was ready with his camera when people from other districts came to Port Moresby for trade and supplies. There is evidence that Lawes directed his subjects to pose in certain positions, such as in the four versions of the Motu women with water

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66 Quanchi, Photographing Papua, 71.
pots that he took near Port Moresby (figs. 4.19, 4.20, 6.3 & 6.20), and he might have instructed the local people or, indeed, asked them to ‘dress up’ for the camera – or perhaps the villagers came prepared for Lawes’s camera, such as the ‘Group from Kabadi’, who are wearing their ‘finery’ for this informal portrait (fig. 6.17). Ultimately, however, this information did not make it to print, and the group are presented to the readership of the illustrated newspaper as a generic ‘party of natives.’

Queensland’s failed attempt at annexing the south eastern part of the island for Britain in 1883 gave newspaper editors a chance to present New Guinea subjects to their readers in such full-page spreads. It was a calculated response to the public interest piqued by the event. However, as the captions for the engravings reproduced in the *Australasian Sketcher* show, the editors were not always concerned with presenting a detailed account or image of the land and its people. This may, of course, reflect the manner in which they acquired the photographs. Perhaps they were taken from the newspapers’ collection of stock images acquired years earlier or, if they were sent or given to the editors by someone other than Lawes, detailed descriptions might not have been available.67

Even when the illustrations in newspapers were directly referred to in the articles that sometimes accompanied them, texts did not expand significantly on the information offered to the readers in the images and their captions. The ‘Sketches in New Guinea’ printed in the 11 July 1883 edition of the *Illustrated Australian News*, discussed above, were accompanied by a short article printed on a separate page in the magazine. The text gives the reader a brief commentary on the situation in New Guinea, achieved through the thorough work of the missionaries, as well as the potential of the land to contribute to the ‘commercial progress of Australia’ once white settlers arrive, which the author claims is inevitable.68 The failed annexation of the region by Queensland is also commented on, and the author points out the portraits of Chalmers and Lawes as well as Mr Chester, the police magistrate on Thursday Island commissioned by the Queensland government to hoist the flag in Port Moresby. The captain of the mission schooner *Ellengowan*, who is depicted

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67 While I have found evidence that Lawes sent photographs to the LMS in London in the letters he wrote to the mission organisation, I have yet to find any reference to photographs in the letters by Lawes printed in the newspapers in Australia.

alongside Chalmers and Chester in the middle of the montage, is then singled out, but the ‘Rarotongan teacher and his wife’ at the top of the page are left unmentioned. The Papuan subjects, several of whom are based on Lawes’s photographs, are not identified in the article and instead are introduced as ‘types’ who ‘indicate’ that the Papuans ‘are of a higher order than the Australian aboriginal’. The text amplifies the message already implicit in the juxtaposition of the training college, the teachers, the Port Moresby ‘belle’ (clearly a convert based on her dress), and missionaries with the ‘types’, ‘dandy’, and the ‘trophy’ of the human skull. The island’s inhabitants are presented as ‘savage’ yet ‘civilisable’, ready to welcome white settlers as fellow British subjects.

The textual packaging of Lawes’s photographs in newspapers and illustrated magazines in the 1870s and early 1880s, through the use of captions, published letters by the missionary and others, and articles on the land and its people, was a significant process by which his images acquired meaning. However, these were not the only ‘texts’ that framed his New Guinea pictures. The transfer of the original photograph to the medium of engraving also shaped the public’s reception and interpretation of it. The art of engraving has a long and prestigious history and it allowed newspaper editors to erase or enhance details according to their needs and to juxtapose images in such visual narratives. Though it appears Lawes’s photographs were mostly faithfully reproduced, new narratives were constructed through their placement alongside other images in ‘Sketches in New Guinea’. A cursory glance at the montage in the Illustrated Australian News on 11 July 1883 allowed the viewer/reader to interpret the message in the assortment of portraits, the view of the training college, the skull ‘trophy’, as well as the decorative embellishments of palm trees and local dwellings that connected the separate elements. James Ryan observes that photographs were never seen on their own, rather they were ‘seen and read in a complex interplay with other symbolic codes’. While various texts placed near the engravings were consciously used to animate meaning for viewers of Lawes’s photographs in the newspapers, other ‘symbolic codes’ such as maps, paintings, and sketches also framed them.

69 The drawing of the teachers seems to be based on Lawes’s photograph of ‘Iakoba and Wife’, no. 106 on King’s catalogue list (see Appendix 2).
Maps of New Guinea published in the pages of Australia’s daily and weekly newspapers in the mid-1880s presented the public with the partitioned island – the Dutch, German, and English ‘portions’ clearly marked – and gave them a sense of the British territorial holding and, by extension, what ‘belonged’ or should belong to Australia (see, for example, fig. 6.21). These political maps contained few details regarding the geography of the island and local names of villages but no doubt satisfied the audience’s curiosity and encouraged a closer association with the potential new colony. The inclusion of Cape York Peninsula on most of the maps at this time served to underscore this, presenting the close proximity of the island to Australia’s northern coast. One newspaper even likened New Guinea to Tasmania stating: ‘The south-eastern colonies of Australia would be ill content if Tasmania were under any other than the British flag, and New Guinea is nearer to Australia than is Tasmania’. Lawes’s photographs, when reproduced in these same papers and wherever they were encountered at this time, were therefore a vital part of the political and cultural project of teaching and learning about New Guinea. This project underpinned the distillation of New Guinea’s visualisation to a small set or ‘gallery’ of subjects consisting of ‘cradles, sago making, bamboo aqueducts, tree houses, [marine] villages, belles, dandies and lakatoi’. Indeed, the wide distribution of prints of Lawes’s view of Gaile village (number 17 on King’s list), his ‘Girls at well’ (number 56), the lakatoi at full sail (number 128), a treehouse in Seme (number 24), and infant ‘cradle’ images (numbers 65 and 289) is testimony to the popularity of these key images and their hold in the European imagination (see Appendix 2).

Lawes’s New Guinea photographs also entered the public domain in the form of advertisements for products such as Pears soap and ‘Liebig’s Extract of Meat’. Liebig’s beef bouillon was one of the earliest brand-name products, and the London-based multinational company was also ‘one of the first to engage intensively in modern forms of advertising’ in the early 1870s. One of its most successful forms

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73 Quanchi, Photographing Papua, x.
of advertising was the collectible chromolithographed trading card. The company started producing these in 1875 and initially decorated the cards with allegorical representations of countries as well as romanticised childhood vignettes.\textsuperscript{75} In the 1880s, when the popularity of commercial colonial exhibitions was at its height, the company began to offer views of foreign lands and peoples on its trading cards. New Guinea was one of the subjects chosen for this series that was printed for distribution in England, Italy, Germany, and France (fig. 6.22).\textsuperscript{76} The scene of pottery-makers in Port Moresby at the top of the card was copied from a photograph or perhaps two photographs by Lawes (numbers 352 and 58 on King’s list), and the customer could read a short description of Papuan women and their ‘chores’ on the reverse. Whether the Liebig Company acquired these photographs from King’s studio or whether Lawes sent them directly to London is unknown but they were probably not taken with this end-use in mind. However, the missionary apparently did direct his camera at a subject with the explicit purpose of sending the image to the Pears’ soap company.

Lawes took a series of photographs of a Papuan woman washing her infant with a bar of Pears’ soap conspicuously placed in the scene (figs. 6.23–6.25). One of the versions was copyrighted by Lawes in July 1891 in London, and he might have deposited it with the soap company at this time (fig. 6.23). While I have yet to find this image in a Pears’ soap advertisement, its existence in Lawes’s oeuvre suggests that, like Lindt, the missionary consciously controlled the framing of at least some of his images for commercial ends. Again, the meanings attached to the photograph might have diverged from what was originally intended by Lawes once it was purchased from King’s studio but, as with the addition of captions, the text imposed on the image, or rather the text within the image (the ‘Pears’ visible on the bar of soap), directs the reading of the photograph. The Pears’ soap company, under the directorship of Thomas J. Barratt, inaugurated ‘a new era of advertising’ in the mid nineteenth century through such audacious gimmicks as importing 250,000 French centime pieces into Britain and putting them into circulation with ‘Pears’ stamped on them as well as mass reproducing posters of Sir John Everett Millais’ painting

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 185.
Bubbles with a bar of the company’s soap inserted in it.\textsuperscript{77} Soap, as David Ciarlo writes, ‘sat at the intersection of the domestic and the imperial’ as many of its ingredients, such as palm and coconut oil, were imported from the colonies.\textsuperscript{78}

One of the reasons that Lawes’s ‘Pears’ photograph might not have made it to print is that it did not adhere to the typical format preferred by the company for its advertisements. Anne McClintock notes that there were four ‘fetishes’ that recurred ‘ritualistically in soap advertising: soap itself, white clothing … mirrors, and monkeys’.\textsuperscript{79} While Lawes included the bar of soap in a prominent position in his photograph, for the image to carry the message the company wanted a starker contrast needed to be made between the ‘clean’ and the ‘unclean’ – a dichotomy typically represented in Pears’ advertisements by the juxtaposition of the white child and the black child.\textsuperscript{80} This device was employed in order to convey the narrative of imperial progress and was particularly vividly mobilised in an advertisement for Pears in the 1880s (fig. 6.26). In this poster the visual field has been divided in two with the top frame showing a white child washing a black child who is sitting in a bathtub. In the lower frame the black boy is out of the bathtub and is being shown his now white body in a mirror being held up for him by the white boy: ‘the white child is thereby figured as the agent of history’. The advertisement allows ‘imperial progress’ to be ‘consumed at a glance as domestic spectacle’.\textsuperscript{81} Lawes’s photograph subverts this carefully crafted power dynamic favoured by Pears’ as the agent of progress or ‘cleanliness’ presented in his image is the bare-breasted Papuan woman.

\textbf{Mission texts and propaganda}

Mission societies the world over employed photography to further their aims and garner support.\textsuperscript{82} As Robert Bickers and Rosemary Seton note in regard to their work on the mission archive, ‘missionary societies were voluntary, philanthropic bodies

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{78} Ciarlo, \textit{Advertising Empire}, 112.
\bibitem{79} McClintock, ‘Soft-soaping Empire’, 511.
\bibitem{80} Ibid.
\bibitem{81} Ibid., 512.
\end{thebibliography}
that used all the tools of the market and of newly developing forms of mass media’. Mission society secretaries and the editors of mission periodicals collected photographs and texts written by missionaries in the field to ‘generate support in prayer, money and recruits’, and framed the photographs specifically to serve these ends or simply inserted them as visual gloss while the text conveyed the desired message. The photographs held in the CWM/LMS archive at SOAS are united by this ‘one primary purpose’. Samantha Johnson and Rosemary Seton write that the photographs in the collection ‘were carefully collated by personnel at the London headquarters as a resource for publications, first as a basis for engravings, and from 1890 directly as photographic reproductions’. Many of the photographs pasted into albums or onto numbered boards have pencil lines and editorial notes beside them indicating how they are to be cropped, and several ended up published in the pages of the LMS’s periodical, the *Chronicle of the London Missionary Society (Chronicle)*, where they were mostly accompanied by articles consisting of edited letters written by missionaries in the field.

Though never lavishly illustrated, in 1890 the monthly magazine reached a circulation of 680,000 copies throughout Britain and the colonies. The first photograph by Lawes to appear in the periodical, as an engraving, is a view of ‘Anuapata’ (Hanuabada) village near the mission station in Port Moresby (figs. 6.27 & 6.28). It appeared in the July 1878 issue and is accompanied by a one-page article written by Lawes describing the village and surrounds. He notes that the name of the village ‘signifies “The Great Land”’ and then goes on to describe its dwellings and geographical situation. He mentions the pigs and dogs that roam around the ‘public street’ where children also play and the women sit and make pottery, and where ‘at night the young men and maidens have music and dancing’. The overall picture that Lawes paints in his short narrative is that of a tropical idyll, and readers were

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83 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
given free rein to people the virtually empty village depicted in the engraving with whatever assortment or type of ‘natives’ their imagination could conjure. Though printed in the pages of a missionary periodical the image and text do not convey an expressly ‘missionary’ agenda. It is important to acknowledge that even within the context of mission work and its promotion, multiple and overlapping texts frame the reproduced images.

Mission societies mobilised images of its overseas fields to ends that were unique to its particular colonial project. The LMS was one of the first mission societies to publish illustrated pamphlets. Recognising the power of images to further their own ends, the society began publishing Missionary Sketches in 1818 and consistently included engravings of Indian, African, and Pacific Island ‘idols’ and temples, alongside portraits of converts and ordered views of mission station grounds and churches – hence the many ethnographic photographs in the mission archive. The editors could only control the reader’s interpretation of the images to a certain degree, however. The images of idols and temples from foreign lands no doubt were consumed primarily for their ethnographic curiosity, as were the stories that were printed alongside them explaining the rituals of the culture from which they originate. But editors employed specific narrative devices to ensure that the message they wanted to convey was not lost. By juxtaposing the ‘old’ with the ‘new’ – ‘heathen’ with ‘Christian’, ‘dark’ with ‘light’ – the reader could not fail to interpret the images as representations of the success and importance of the Christian message in these lands.

The narrative trope of conversion – most vividly portrayed in the before-and-after sequence – in particular determined much of the textual overlay applied to missionaries’ images. This was represented most often in the physical transformation of unclothed ‘savages’ into clothed and ‘civilised’ Christians, and such images feature prominently in periodicals, missionary biographies, and lantern slide lectures. Nicholas Thomas refers to it as ‘the master caption’ of mission discourse. Images of clothed men, women, and children lined up for the camera or posed in single portraits that documented their conversion are found throughout the mission archive, because these were what home church subscriptions ‘produced’. Such photographs

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displayed the results of the fund raising efforts of home congregations, assuring them the mission was a success. Lawes took many such portraits while in New Guinea and also sold them through King’s studio in Sydney (see, for example, fig. 6.29). Group portraits and single portraits of mission teachers, students, converts, and mission workers make up 63.6 percent of the photographs in the ‘Missionary’ section in King’s list. These far outnumber portraits of the European missionaries as well as mission buildings and churches, of which there are only three and 22 images respectively.

‘Native’ Christians and churches, as well as images of the boats the missionaries relied on in order to carry out their work in New Guinea (of which there are three in the ‘Missionary’ section), were photographed for their fundraising potential as well as for the documentation of mission work. For example, in February 1882 Lawes’s photographs of the first ‘native’ church at Port Moresby, the first mission house, and the house of the Rarotongan teacher, Piri, at Boera were reproduced as engravings in the *Chronicle* (fig. 6.30). Only five months later, his photograph of the second native church at Port Moresby was presented to the readers of the *Chronicle* (fig. 6.31). Such pictures signified the breaking of new ground and the planting of the Christian ‘seed’, while images of the first converts stood for the reaping of that harvest.

Portraits of the ‘first Christians’ in a mission district were particularly important and found pride of place in mission publications back ‘home’, where they were most often framed by texts that extolled the perseverance of the European and South Sea Island teachers. In his early letters to the LMS and in his diary entries, Lawes often spoke of the slow progress of work in Port Moresby. In his speech presented at Exeter Hall in London on 15 May 1879 Lawes began by declaring that he had no ‘story of triumph to tell, no shout of victory in which to ask you to join. I have to tell of a new fortress, to which we have laid siege in the name of Christ and His Church’. Such proclamations conjured the spectre of heathenism and ensured that the congregations in Britain, Australia, and elsewhere would continue to offer their financial support and prayer to the work that was being carried out in New

91 *Chronicle*, July 1882, 228. Mp 2150, 5, NLA.
Guinea. Missionaries had to balance their success stories with tales of the persistence of indigenous rituals and superstitions and this practice was mirrored in the images and texts that filled the pages of mission periodicals. In 1894 a portrait of ‘Heathen raw material’ (Lawes’s photograph of two Koitapu chiefs) was juxtaposed with a portrait of ‘A Christian teacher and his wife’ in the *Chronicle* (fig. 6.32).93

These particular representations in the mission society’s monthly magazine are also conspicuous for the absent texts: the names of the sitters. While Lawes does not name the two ‘heathen’ men in the first portrait, in his caption on King’s list he at least notes that they are Koitapu chiefs and he does name Ruatoka as the ‘Christian teacher’ in the second. The wife of Ruatoka is left unnamed in both instances. This is a common feature in the imaging of New Guinea and Quanchi argues that the practice of captioning portraits of South Sea Island and Papuan teachers in this manner was a ‘reflection of the power European missionaries exerted over [them]’.94 However, it was the editor’s and not Lawes’s omission in the case of the portrait of Ruatoka and his wife.

As well as supplying the LMS with photographs and letters for use in its propagation of the mission work in its overseas fields, Lawes used photographs in his work in New Guinea. Lawes understood the power of pictures and their usefulness in missionary work, as he regularly produced his magic lantern slide-projector at gatherings during his visits to villages in the Port Moresby mission district. In one instance, he reports to the LMS secretary that the people of Gaile ‘begged’ him to bring his magic lantern and promised ‘there would be no more fighting, but everybody would come to church’.95 Though the exact images Lawes displayed on these occasions is unknown, we know that he had slides made of some of his Niue photographs and it is therefore likely that he also had them made from his New Guinea negatives on one of his visits to Sydney.96

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93 The engravings were based on no. 221 and no. 340 on King’s list respectively. (*Chronicle*, September 1894. Mp 2150, 6, The Chronicle of the London Missionary Society, London, 1891, 1892–1902, NLA.)


95 Lawes, letter to Thompson, 25 September 1882, mfm M93, NLA.

96 The reference to twelve of his Niue photographs being made into coloured slides is in a letter to Mr Mr Robinson written from Reading, (Lawes, letter to Mr Robinson, 22 February 1873, CWM/LMS/Home/Incoming Correspondence/Box 12, Folder 10, SOAS). Though the references are not numerous, Lawes mentions displaying lantern slides in the letter to the LMS secretary, mentioned above, as well as in his diary in the entry for 2 January 1882: ‘In the evening I exhibited
This method of employing photographs and other images in the mission field is a well-documented phenomenon and missionaries were quick to harness and capitalise on the possibilities for conversion through the use of this technology based on the power of light. It is therefore frustrating that Lawes does not write in more detail of how his photographs were received by the Papuans of his mission district. The scant references to be found in his letters and diaries mention that ‘The pictures that excited the most interest are the natives and native scenery’, while, on showing the people of Kerepunu the photographs he had taken of them on a previous visit, Lawes writes that the ‘natives shout with delight and surprise calling out the names as they recognise their friends on paper’. Certainly in the early years of his time in New Guinea, when Lawes was still learning the local languages, photographs, illustrated publications, and lantern slides would have been invaluable in the forging of relationships with his prospective congregations.

Lantern-slide lectures were also a popular form of presenting the work of overseas missionaries to home audiences and were advertised in the secular press. Especially in the 1880s and 1890s, when the LMS experienced a serious financial crisis, missionaries found that much of their time on furlough was spent lecturing and exhibiting views in order to raise funds for the continuation of their work and for the boats and buildings they needed to carry out their Christian mission. During his deputation tours of Australia, New Zealand, and England, Lawes exhibited views and portraits to audiences eager to see the island and its peoples as much as they were interested in hearing of the LMS’s work in New Guinea. And as the ‘pioneer missionary’ of New Guinea (at least from an Australian perspective), Lawes drew large numbers to his lectures. Around 2,500 people crowded into the church in the Magic Lantern. The church was packed. The pictures showed pretty well although the Sciopticon is small for such a large building. The pictures that excited the most interest are the natives & native scenery (Lawes, diary entry, 2 January 1882, mfm G 27500, NLA).

98 Lawes, diary entry, 2 January 1882, mfm G 27500, NLA.
99 Lawes, diary entry, 15 November 1877, mfm G 27500, NLA.
Sydney where he gave his speech on ‘Ten years at Port Moresby’ on 11 December 1884, which the editor of the *Chronicle* noted was ‘racy, pointed and full of that love for men begotten of love for Christ which ever characterises the true missionary’.102

In the 1890s, the LMS began advertising lantern-slide sets illustrating its various overseas mission fields that could be borrowed, for a small fee, along with a copy of notes ‘for the guidance of a lecturer’.103 ‘Life and Work in New Guinea’ was one of the sets on offer and included 60 slides, the notes for which were written by Lawes.104 Though I have not seen the notes, Quanchi writes that the set was arranged in three parts, beginning with the geographic situating of the mission before moving on to show ethnographic subjects and then, finally, mission material.105 This sequence, after introducing New Guinea to the audience, adhered to the before-and-after narrative that was preferred by missionaries and mission societies – presenting the Papuans in their pre-Christian ‘savage’ state before moving on to representations of the transformed Papuan body.

Essential to representations of Papuans in mission propaganda was their potential for conversion. This meant that although the before-and-after sequence called for a negative representation of native savagery to provide the contrast for the saved soul after the arrival of Christianity, the ‘before’ image could never be entirely negative. Kim Greenwell, in her study of missionary narratives in nineteenth century British Columbia, refers to this particular conception of the pre-Christian ‘native’ body as the ‘savable savage’.106 Lawes was sure to stress ‘that the cannibals had been much misrepresented’ and that they were not ‘as bad as they had been painted’ in a lecture given at St. Andrew’s Church Hall in Dunedin, New Zealand, in October 1892.107 The necessity of sustaining negative and positive representations in careful balance meant that missionary discourse was unstable at its core; as Catherine Hall

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102 *Chronicle*, March 1885, 85. Mp 2150, 5, NLA.
103 Advertisement reproduced in Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 151.
105 Ibid.
writes: ‘there is never a single clear-cut utterance’. In his analysis of the genre of missionary photographs called ‘Studies in black and white’, Richard Eves locates this ambivalence in missionary discourse in the ‘complex interplay between two contradictory principles: on the one hand, a Christian humanism, articulating a vision of commonality and equality, and on the other, paternalism, articulating a vision of superiority and inequality’. Eves argues that the ‘Studies in black and white’, in which ‘white’ Europeans are pictured in close proximity to ‘black’ non-European subjects were one way in which missionaries ‘reconciled these seemingly incompatible ideas.’

Few such subjects exist in Lawes’s extant oeuvre of photographs. The photograph captioned ‘Mrs. Lawes’ Orphans’ on King’s list is the closest that Lawes came to capturing a ‘study in black and white’ (fig. 6.33). In the photograph Fanny is pictured crouching in front of the wall of one of the mission buildings (possibly the ‘native’ church, due to the reed wall covering), surrounded by nine girls all wearing white ‘Mother Hubbard’ style dresses. The image is not captioned ‘study in black and white’ but the close proximity of the European woman to the Papuan children subverts ‘the separatist colonial practice, which deemed that relationships between them should be characterized by separateness and restraint’. Although Fanny is staring out of the frame of the photograph – a pose adopted by many European missionaries when pictured with ‘their’ indigenous teachers and converts, perhaps in order to signify their separate and higher status in the mission hierarchy – she has placed herself at the same level as her charges.

While this close positioning of bodies suggests a common bond, such images, as well as portraits containing European and Papuan subjects closer in age, also perpetuate an understanding of Papuans as children or younger brothers and sisters in the hierarchical and familial order constructed in the mission field. As Nicholas Thomas argues, ‘infantilization is a crucial feature of missionary culture’, and Lawes even referred to New Guinea as ‘the youngest child … of the London

108 Catherine Hall, White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History (New York: Routledge, 1992), 214.
110 Ibid., 726.
111 Ibid., 733.
Missionary Society’ in his speech at Exeter Hall in 1879. By describing and imaging Papuans as members of a family, Lawes and other missionaries could ‘reconcile common humanity and hierarchy’ in a manner that appeared ‘natural and intelligible’. In the context of the theoretically unequal paternalistic power dynamic of the mission, the metaphor infuses the act of photographing ‘first Christians’ and ‘native teachers’ with further significance.

**Anthropological framings**

The narrative of conversion framed many of the photographs that were displayed by missionaries and reproduced in the pages of mission societies’ publications. However, there was also an overwhelming focus on ethnography in the photographs that missionaries took and in the texts that accompany them. Beginning in 1889, the editor of the *Chronicle* frequently reproduced ethnographic images in its articles. In the collection of New Guinea photographs by Lawes at SOAS, these subjects make up over 50 percent of the prints selected by the mission society to form part of its stock of images. Indeed, as Quanchi observes, ‘the majority of so-called mission publications are closer in style to travel literature, popular science or ethnography than to expositions on liturgy, faith, evangelism, teaching and prayer’.

The Australasian Wesleyan Missionary Society, in its ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ lantern slide set discussed earlier, chose to arrange its images geographically by village and island, beginning with Port Moresby and ending with a ‘Scene on Goodenough Island’. Though some of the descriptions of the images offered in the notes are decidedly vague, such as ‘Two New Guinea girls’ (that may very well be a photograph by Lawes) or ‘Group of natives on Ferguson Island’, the author frequently goes into more detail regarding the cultural practices as well as the material culture of the Papuans depicted. For an image of a woman making a clay pot at Hanuabada, the notes explain that this is a scene that can be witnessed most days in the village and that women spend nine months out of the year making pottery that is then traded for sago and other articles of food during the annual trading

113 Thomas, ‘Colonial Conversions’, 387.
115 Ibid., 148–149.
voyages to the Gulf of Papua. The names of several villages are also noted and comparisons are drawn between the styles of dwelling in each.\footnote{Ibid., 6–8, 10.}

There was a close relationship between governmental, missionary, and anthropological discourses in the late nineteenth century – a cross-fertilisation of ideas and tropes that were subsequently tailored to the specific needs of the particular colonial project in question. Missionaries read anthropological texts to prepare themselves for their encounters in the field, and books and pamphlets were written by ethnographers expressly to guide missionaries and other travellers in the collection of useful data for their studies. This was the motivation behind the British Science Association’s \textit{Notes and Queries on Anthropology}, first published in 1874 and updated in six editions, the last of which was published in 1951. The first edition was subtitled \textit{For Use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilised Countries} and was compiled by a group of ethnographers, including E. B. Tylor, for the express purpose of ensuring that visitors to these regions of the world engaged in ‘detailed and careful observation’ in order to provide the data that ‘armchair anthropologists’ in Britain needed to formulate their theories on the origins and stages of mankind.\footnote{George W. Stocking, \textit{After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888–1951} (London: Athlone Press, 1996), 15.}

The unique position of missionaries, who were often the first Europeans to enter these ‘unknown’, ‘primitive’ lands, made them extremely useful to scientists in Britain and Europe. However, they could only be effective observers if their monotheistic ethnocentrism was tempered to some degree. As George W. Stocking writes, this was crucial because only then could they ‘recognize animistic religion where otherwise they might simply have reported some form of degenerate “devil worship”, or even that their particular “savage” group had no religion at all’.\footnote{Ibid.} This two-way relationship between ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ was pivotal in the formulation of theories regarding human evolution, both physical and cultural, and it shaped missionaries’ photographic practice as soon as the camera was recognised as a ‘vital tool in the transmission of data’.\footnote{Christopher Pinney, \textit{Photography and Anthropology} (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 15.}

\footnote{Ibid.}
that ‘it is very useful to take some paper upon which prints can be made on the spot for presentation to the natives.’

Around 72 per cent of Lawes’s photographs available through King’s studio could be classified as ethnographic in some sense, and the majority of these are the ‘type’ portraits that Lawes took in his makeshift studio in Port Moresby (see, for example, fig. 4.24). As mentioned in Chapter Three, on the colonial ‘periphery’, and as the first permanent European settler in New Guinea, Lawes saw himself as uniquely situated to assist in the scientific endeavours of his time and expressed his ‘willingness and pleasure to contribute in any way … to the interests of science’. In 1894 Alfred C. Haddon promoted Lawes’s photographs to other anthropologists in Decorative Art of British New Guinea:

The Rev. W. G. Lawes, of Port Moresby, has taken a large number of most excellent photographs illustrating Papuan ethnology, and he has generously deposited the negatives with Mr. H. King, Georgesstreet, Sydney N. S. Wales, in order that anthropologists might have the opportunity of purchasing authentic photographs.

Lawes was probably the first to photograph works of art from the region in the field and collected many examples of the material culture of the Papuans of the southeast coast during his time in Port Moresby. He also published articles in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, the Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as the German illustrated magazine Globus, in which he described the land – its flora, fauna, and climate – as well as the physique of the ‘natives’, their customs, occupations, ‘moral condition’, and the dwellings and canoes they built.

121 Notes and Queries on Anthropology, compiled by The British Association for the Advancement of Science (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1892), 235.
123 A. C. Haddon, The Decorative Art of British New Guinea: A Study in Papuan Ethnography (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1894), 275 (quoted in Elizabeth Edwards, Raw Histories (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), 41). Haddon also took such head shots during his time in Port Moresby in 1898 (see, for example, P.1856.ACH1–P.1859.ACH1, Alfred Cort Haddon, Torres Strait Island Expedition, Mounted Haddon Collection, Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge).
Aside from his ethnographic notes on Papuans in his mission district, Lawes’s differentiation of one location and village from the next in the captions for many of his photographs ensured that his images were of greater value to anthropologists working on this region. Lindt also geographically situated many of his subjects in his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series, which tied in with his task of meticulously documenting his journey for the official record of Sir Peter Scratchley’s expedition. Lawes named 18 individual villages and almost half of the prints on King’s list are identified by district or region (though most are Motu subjects). Further, in 85 of the 159 portraits available for sale through King’s studio, Lawes named the person or people who sat before his camera. Seventy-one individuals in total are identified by name by Lawes, of whom 16 are women. In contrast, Lindt does not name any of his human subjects save H. O. Forbes in his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ photographs.

In the late nineteenth century, image content was privileged over physical form or the motivations of its producer – what a photograph was of was all that was important to many collectors and institutions. Even when museum curators noted the name of the photographer, photographs were grouped and presented according to the typological mode of display employed in many ethnographic museums into the twentieth century. At the Pitt Rivers Museum, for example, when Henry Balfour set about organising the institution’s large photograph collection in 1931–2, images he had collected for the museum over the many years he had been its curator were grouped and mounted on boards based solely on what they depicted.126 The groupings or categories chosen by Balfour included: ‘Transport’, ‘Dwellings’, ‘Agriculture’, ‘Magic and Religion’, ‘Games’, ‘Art and Archaeology’, ‘Deformation’, and ‘Misc.’. The rationale behind arranging the photographs in this manner was in line with the cultural comparative method popular in the discipline of anthropology at the time, which influenced the original arrangement of objects in the museum by type. On one set of display boards titled ‘Baby-carriers’ in the ‘Misc.’ category, Kayan, Navacho, Yolngu, Kulu, Māori, Fijian, and Papuan mothers carrying their infants in different fashions are placed side by side, with often no comment on the specific circumstances of the images’ production, location, date or, indeed, the photographer’s identity (see, for example, fig. 6.34). This form of

arrangement, as Christopher Morton argues, ‘served the notion of a cultural and technological (and thereby mental) hierarchy from primitive to civilized.’

The imposition of institutional meaning upon photographs in this manner constitutes another layer of textual overlay that shapes the reading of Lawes’s New Guinea images. It determines how the photographs are encountered in the archives and was the starting point for my engagement with Lawes’s representation of southeast New Guinea in the late nineteenth century. In the context of the Pitt Rivers Museum in the early 1930s, Lawes’s images became educational tools and were understood simply as illustrations of Papuan material culture and culture in general – whether or not all Papuan mothers carried their infants in *bilums* (or ‘cradles’) of the type depicted in Lawes’s photographs.

A notable exception in Balfour’s arrangement and description of the photographs is his treatment of the prints of Lawes’s photographs purchased by Tylor through Henry King’s studio. Balfour noted their provenance and a copy of King’s catalogue of Lawes’s New Guinea photographs is pasted onto the back of one of the boards with the images selected by Tylor marked off (Appendix 1.2). The photographs themselves have neatly written captions either beside or below them that read: ‘Rev. W. G. Lawes phot.’ or ‘Rev. W. G. Lawes phot. E. B. Tylor coll.’. This would seem to suggest that when the photographer was known, Balfour made the decision to record this information with the images, which is noteworthy given the haphazard documentation and storage of photographs in museums in the past. And, of course, as the first European resident of British New Guinea, Lawes’s name was also a marker of ethnographic authenticity for the images.

**Conclusion**

By placing the New Guinea photographs of Lindt and Lawes side by side not only is the different nature of each man’s encounters with the Papuans of southeast New Guinea revealed, which was the subject of Chapter Four, but the differences in the subsequent dissemination of their images and the various meanings attached to them depending on how they were framed and used are also made clear. While Lindt tightly controlled the production and textual framing of his photographs upon his

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127 Ibid., 370.
return to Melbourne in order to tap into the nationalistic currents of the time, this was not the case for Lawes’s photographic practice. Several of Lawes’s photographs entered into the public domain in Australia and Europe unattributed and scattered, put to use as mere illustrations and to furnish audiences with a visual guide to New Guinea and its people. Where texts do appear alongside engravings of his photographs in periodicals and newspapers of the 1880s and 1890s, these were frequently generic captions. According to Lawes’s biographer, Joseph King, ‘He was first and last an evangelist. Preaching, or writing, or translating, or teaching native converts the simplest of industrial arts, he sought by all these means to make men disciples of Jesus Christ’. In the hagiographical tradition, from which most missionary biographies spring, such proclamations are hardly surprising; King, commissioned by Lawes’s family to write the story of his life in the service of the LMS, would hardly have chosen a different register in which to present his narrative. However, Lawes’s photographic practice was certainly more fractured as a result of his responsibilities as a missionary of the LMS, and the routes by which his images entered Australia and Europe were, as a result, more circuitous and frequently anonymous – no red paint signatures or studio signs were placed in shot or on the negatives and prints. Lawes’s New Guinea photographs, more than Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series, were easily and readily subsumed into the vast pool of colonial imaging in the late nineteenth century.

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128 King, W. G. Lawes, 314.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Framing views: The legacy of W. G. Lawes and J. W. Lindt in the visualisation of New Guinea

When what is now recognized as the capital of Papua first became known to the outside world, it made history with marvellous rapidity. Its discovery by Captain Moresby, its occupation by Polynesian teachers, and the arrival of George Lawes as a permanent resident, followed each other in quick succession.¹

– Joseph King (1909)

Port Moresby and the villages on its shores rapidly found a place in European and Australian imaginings of New Guinea in the late nineteenth century. As I have argued in this thesis, it was the arrival of the camera in William George Lawes’s baggage in 1874 which fixed southeast New Guinea in European and Australian imaginings. Unlike parts of Africa and the Americas, which had been richly visualised in ink, charcoal, and paint by the mid nineteenth century, southeast New Guinea – Karl Shapiro’s ‘last Unknown’ – was introduced to the Western world largely through the relatively new medium of photography. Such circumstances give the visual historian a unique opportunity to study photographic encounters on a ‘new frontier’. Max Quanchi has singled out Lawes and, in particular, J. W. Lindt in his account of the genesis of the ‘Papuan gallery’ – that ‘core collection of standard images’ which came to symbolise New Guinea.² Their photographs of lakatoi, treehouses, village scenes, and Papuans (in particular Lindt’s ‘Motu water carrier’), widely disseminated in the public domain, were then replicated by subsequent visitors to New Guinea, and can now be found in museum, library, geographical society, and art gallery archive collections around the world. While both Lawes and Lindt were significant in establishing a grammar for subsequent visualisations of the

region, Lawes’s key contribution to shaping the ‘New Guinea’ transmitted to audiences in Australia, Great Britain, and in continental Europe must be acknowledged.

What has crystallised through this study is the extent to which Lawes influenced not only Lindt’s encounters and photography in New Guinea but also the imaging of the land and its inhabitants well into the twentieth century. Lawes was the first European to engage intensely with Papuans over a sustained period. His mission station in Port Moresby was the primary port-of-call for travellers to the region and his knowledge of the languages and cultures of the Papuans in his mission district made him an invaluable guide and interpreter. ‘Misi Lao’ and, from 1877, James Chalmers (or ‘Tamate’) established networks and acted as local intermediaries in the increasing encounters taking place on New Guinea’s southeast coast and in the hinterlands of Port Moresby and thereby significantly shaped the photographic record of the land and its people. Yet, it must be noted that the ‘New Guinea’ presented to audiences in the photographs of Lawes and Lindt still portrayed only a small portion of the region, restricted as they were to coastal villages and those within trekking distance of the coast that ‘shared the combination of easy access by ship, a reputation for being safe’ and that ‘housed unusual constructions’ such as tree and spire houses. Not until the 1930s and the prospecting expedition of the Leahy brothers would the Central New Guinea Highlands – the last ‘last Unknown’ of this region of the world – be documented photographically and on film.

A close examination of Lawes’s extant photographs reveals the complex nature of the relationships between him and the local people, such as his portraits of Kena and the local chiefs, many of whom became friends of the missionaries. Lawes used his position to portray certain Papuans as valued members of the mission and household as well as subjects for the study of racial and cultural difference by scientists in the metropolitan centres. Indeed, he was not unusual in this respect as missionaries the world over – often the first to enter into and settle in regions that were being ‘discovered’ by Europeans – employed photography not only to aid the mission project but also to assist the ‘science of mankind’. The large number of

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3 Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 119.
Lawes’s prints with ethnographic content in both museum and mission collections around the world is testimony to the popularity of this particular genre of images as well as the perceived reliability of Lawes’s representations as a result of his being the first to photographically document southeast New Guinea and its people.

Lindt, too, saw his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ images as helpful tools for scientists studying New Guinea and its inhabitants but his photographic sojourn coincided with another important phase in New Guinea’s history – the transition from ‘frontier’ to British protectorate. Though they overlapped in time, Lawes’s photographs may be said to belong to the ‘pioneer’ stage of New Guinea’s exploration and visualisation while Lindt’s represent the beginning of the subsequent ‘colonial’ phase. Lindt was unusually adept at situating his images within multiple discourses through their carefully selected and composed subjects as well as his subsequent marketing of the series in Australia and abroad. Tapping into debates about New Guinea’s position in relation to the Australian colonies and its potential as a colony of the British Empire as well as the contemporary phenomenon of *Picturesque* atlases, Lindt ensured the success of his ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ images and his book. He also insisted upon the photographs’ importance as works of art at a time when the professional photographer’s trade and livelihood were threatened by the increasing availability of photography to amateurs.

In contrast to Lindt’s strategic marketing and obvious ownership of his photographs, the New Guinea photographs of Lawes pose several problems for the visual historian. In order to fully engage with Lawes’s photographic practice, I first had to come to terms with its extent; the end result of which is the database of his photographs based on Henry King’s catalogue list that is an appendix to this thesis. It was in undertaking this unexpectedly large and time-consuming project that I came to fully appreciate the importance of Lawes in southeast New Guinea’s early photographic visualisation. One difficulty in working with Lawes’s photographs is the uncertainty that still surrounds many of the images, as his authorship is not always obvious, as in the case of the supposed Lindt image of the view from the mission house verandah (fig. 6.1) and the many object still-lives that could be by George Brown, whose photographs were also sold through Henry King’s and, later, Charles Kerry’s photographic studios. The mass convergence of New Guinea images in Australia, England, and Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the many different meanings attributed to them once they were published and
disseminated in the public domain, as written about by Quanchi,\textsuperscript{5} as well as the fate of many photographs once in museum and archive collections has made the task of recovering Lawes’s photographs more complex. Questions of photographic intent are therefore problematic if images are analysed in isolation, hence my quest to determine the extent of Lawes’s photographic oeuvre. That photographs by others were incorporated within Lawes’s corpus is an interesting finding in itself as it shows how photo-objects were used as a form of currency or item of exchange between colonial agents. The database is far from complete and I invite future researchers to add to the work I have started.

Uncovering an image’s authorship and the photographer’s intent comprises only one element of the investigation into the photographic representation of New Guinea in the late nineteenth century. A significant part of my research, and the subject of Chapter Four, has been the investigation of the camera’s impact in encounters. Heeding Quanchi’s advice that ‘historians need to acknowledge the camera became a common and entangled object in the clearings and beaches of coastal Papua’,\textsuperscript{6} I find that focussing on the materiality and physicality of early photographic encounters has revealed the complex nature of these particular meetings of Europeans, Papuans, and camera technology. Importantly, decentring the ‘colonial gaze’ and approaching the photographs as the products of ‘transactions rather than projections’,\textsuperscript{7} opens a space in which Indigenous people can be seen to act. A close consideration of the significance of Papuans, the land, and climate in the early photographic documentation of New Guinea is a key contribution to the literature on New Guinea’s visualisation.

As the region was gradually brought under tighter administrative control, the photographs produced of southeast New Guinea began to reflect the changing state of affairs. By the 1910s, when British New Guinea had become the Territory of Papua under the administrative control of Australia, attempts ‘to boost European development’ motivated the Australian Government’s Home and Territories Department to encourage the Papuan administration ‘to supply photographs “principally on development”’,\textsuperscript{8} in order to entice potential investors and settlers to

\textsuperscript{5} Quanchi, \textit{Photographing Papua}.
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., 44.
\textsuperscript{8} Quanchi, \textit{Photographing Papua}, 51.
the colony. In the mid-1890s the familiar photographs of ‘types, village leaders, ornaments … clay pots and scenic views’ published in the *British New Guinea Annual Report* ‘reflected contemporary ethnographic interest’ in the new colonial territory.9 By the first decade of the twentieth century these images were increasingly supplemented by views of ‘mining, [rubber and coconut] plantations and government projects.’10

Though Lawes’s photography was influenced to a certain degree by the demands of the LMS and the need to further the mission, overall his photographic practice is more fractured and diffuse as a result of the absence of a centralised administration in New Guinea in the early years of his residence in Port Moresby. Lindt was guided in part by the official circumstances of Sir Peter Scratchley’s expedition, but he was also less restricted in terms of his photography as a result of the particular historical moment in which he engaged with New Guinea and its inhabitants. Lawes and Lindt and the other men-with-cameras who travelled to the island before the late 1880s were presented with a relatively blank slate in terms of the visualisation of the region. This ‘blank slate’ soon bore the outlines of an image of New Guinea heavily influenced by the local relationships and networks established by Lawes and, later, Andrew Goldie and James Chalmers – the earliest European settlers in southeast New Guinea.

While administrative and economic concerns began to influence the manner in which New Guinea was visually presented to audiences in the official reports and newspapers produced in the Territory of Papua,11 the region continued to attract the attention of anthropologists and photographers eager to study and to secure images of ‘men of nature’,12 ‘savages’, and Stone Age people. As Joshua Bell notes, ‘in 1914 the Territory of Papua was widely considered as one of the last vestiges of

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9 Ibid., 48–50.
10 Ibid., 51; Joshua A. Bell, ‘“For Scientific Purposes a Stand Camera is Essential”: Salvaging Photographic Histories in Papua’, in *Photography, Anthropology and History: Expanding the Frame*, eds. Christopher A. Morton and Elizabeth Edwards, 143–69 (Farnham, Surrey, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 152.
humanity’s disappearing Stone Age’, 13 which motivated anthropologists and photographers to travel there in order to ‘salvage’ the last remaining traces. Lindt’s quest to depict ‘savage real life’ was replicated by the Australian photographer Frank Hurley in the early 1920s and the National Geographic magazine overwhelmingly presented New Guinea as ‘an area of violence, taboo, and danger/adventure’ and ‘a land out of time, the Stone Age area par excellence’ in its printed photographs and articles well into the twentieth century. 14 Hurley’s New Guinea book, Pearls and Savages (1924), and the films he produced from his travels catered to the taste for the exotic that also spurred on tourism in the region, heralded by the first ‘New Guinea Excursion Trip’ offered by Burns, Philp, & Company Limited and advertised in the Sydney Morning Herald in February 1884. 15 As Robert Dixon observes, Hurley ‘marketed himself as the very model of a modern adventurer equipped with all the “wonderful instruments” of modernity’, 16 and he found in New Guinea/Papua no shortage of ‘extraordinary scenes and customs’ which he filmed and photographed exhaustively in order that the ‘eyes of the world will be opened’. 17 Similar to Lindt in his narrative, Hurley consciously crafted himself ‘as an adventurer-cameraman’ 18 – a formula that worked, as his book achieved international success.

The importance of the camera to ethnographic study was widely accepted by the early twentieth century. The British anthropologist Alfred C. Haddon travelled to New Guinea several times from the late nineteenth century and in 1914 his daughter Kathleen Rishbeth accompanied him on a three month surveying trip along the

13 Bell, ‘Salvaging Photographic Histories in Papua’, 152.
18 Dixon and Lee (eds.), The Diaries of Frank Hurley 1912–1941, xviii.
southern coast as official photographer and zoologist in her own right. Kathleen
produced over 250 photographs documenting ‘the distribution of material forms and
rituals’ to assist her father’s researches into the migrations of peoples in this region
of the world.19 Her corpus of images is significant not only because it remains ‘one
of the most systematic extant bodies of work made by a woman in this period’ but
also because it further illustrates the impact of ‘bodily comportment in the field’ and
the ‘integral part’ it played in the production of images of the region.20 Rishbeth
found that in order to secure candid and true-to-life shots of Papuans she often had to
hide her ‘vest-pocket Kodak’ out of sight to ensure the subjects did not run away or
stiffen their pose for the camera.21

In the New Guinea context, it was not until 1915–8 that photographs became
more pivotal in the scholarly texts produced on the various cultures of the region. In
this period Bronislaw Malinowski undertook intensive fieldwork in the Trobriand
Islands and committed himself to employing photography as a key research tool.
Though he admitted to a degree of helplessness when it came to mastering the
technology, with a copy of Haddon’s guide to photography from the third edition of
Notes and Queries on Anthropology (1899) to hand, he amassed a collection of
images that betray ‘his visual awareness and his emphasis on observation and
detail’.22 Malinowski produced a series of images of a Masawa canoe sail in the
process of being made and also photographed the many elements of indigenous
mortuary rites (figs. 7.1–7.4). A notable absence from the subjects Malinowski
photographed are anthropometric portraits and object still-lives. Haddon too
‘favoured a “naturalistic” style of photography’ that captured the social context of
people, cultural practices, and objects.23 Far from the earlier comparative approach
to studying cultural difference, for which anthropometric portraits were produced en

19 Bell, ‘Salvaging Photographic Histories in Papua’, 146.
20 Joshua Bell notes that Rishbeth was not the first woman to take photographs in New
Guinea/Papua. Beatrice Grimshaw (1871–1953), journalist and Port Moresby resident, and Alice
Middleton Holmes, wife of the LMS missionary J. H. Holmes, ‘are the earliest and best-documented
female photographers of Papua’ (Bell, ‘Salvaging Photographic Histories in Papua’, 147, 145). When I
visited the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in June 2013 to research Lindt’s
‘Picturesque New Guinea’ albums I had the privilege of assisting the manager of the photographic
collections, Jocelyn Dudding, in digitising a selection of the large collection of Haddon’s and
Rishbeth’s New Guinea photographs.
21 Bell, ‘Salvaging Photographic Histories in Papua’, 143.
22 Michael W. Young, Malinowski’s Kiriwina: Fieldwork Photography 1915–1918 (Chicago and
23 Ibid., 4.
masse by colonial agents such as Lawes who were not always trained in scientific methods, Haddon, Malinowski and their contemporaries privileged close observation in the field and employed the camera as a form of visual note-taking. In the publications Malinowski produced from his fieldwork, photographs feature prominently and “maximal symbiosis” is achieved ‘between written description and visual representation … by means of scrupulous cross-referencing between text and caption.’

Following in the footsteps of Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay and Malinowski, the government anthropologist Francis E. Williams undertook a period of concentrated study in the 1920s, spending five years of his nineteen-year term in Papua living in various villages. He ‘completed major studies of seven distinct and widely separated cultures … and made shorter studies of at least a dozen other societies’. The photographs he produced are testimony to the intensity and rigour of his fieldwork and are important anthropological documents (see, for example, figs. 7.5 & 7.6). In particular, Williams committed himself to promoting ‘the renewal and preservation of indigenous ceremonial life’ and used his fieldwork, publications, drawings, and photography as means to convey ‘the intrinsic significance, merit and interest of Papuan culture’. However, Malinowski and Williams were confronted with the ‘problem’ of European presence during their ethnographic fieldwork. Though both men’s extant photographs contain subjects that present the European presence in Papua, they overwhelmingly turned their cameras on Papuans, their villages, customs, and material culture. This further underlines the unique situation in which Lawes found himself in the mid-1870s in Port Moresby, and it is interesting to note that he photographed less frequently as more Europeans (and cameras) arrived in New Guinea.

Colonial administrators continued to produce anthropometric portraits and ethnographic images, and missionaries such as Henry M. Dauncey also documented

24 Ibid., 5.
27 Ibid., 16.
the cultural practices and material culture of the people they worked among. Francis R. Barton (government secretary, resident magistrate, and then administrator of the Territory, 1899–1907) and Guy Manning (private secretary to Lieutenant-governor George Ruthyen Le Hunte, c.1902–14) took type portraits of Papuans similar to those produced by Lawes in his makeshift studio, and Barton took great pains to document the tattoos of the women, using a mixture of soot and oil to trace the patterns on the skin so that they stood out on the prints. Manning photographed Barton in the process of applying his tattoo-paint to the face of a young woman seated on the ground between Barton’s legs, and he and Barton replicated many New Guinea subjects that had been captured by Lawes and Lindt (see, for example, figs. 7.7–7.14). Young Papuan women, in the form of semi-clad ‘belles’, appear in many of Barton’s and Manning’s and also Hurley’s New Guinea photographs. The popularity of this genre of images did not wane. A large portion of Barton’s and Manning’s photographs contain bare-breasted women and Manning referred to these images as his ‘harem series’, while over one third of Hurley’s New Guinea photographs feature ‘belles’, including his re-creation of Lindt’s famous ‘water carrier’ image (fig. 7.15).

Hurley’s water carrier, though clearly based on Lindt’s famous 1885 portrait, presents the Motu woman in a more staged and intimate manner. Her body, from the hips up, dominates the frame. Her nakedness is accentuated as her bare torso takes up the majority of the visual field. While Lindt photographed the women he found collecting fresh water from the well near Hanuabada, Hurley’s female subject was selected and adorned for the purposes of this portrait. As Jim Specht and John Fields note, ‘it is unlikely that she would wear so many shell valuables for an everyday task’. Though Lindt’s portrait appears staged, and he certainly directed his female subject to assume the desired pose for his image, placing it alongside Hurley’s

28 Dauncey was stationed at Delena and produced a rich body of images during his time in New Guinea (1888–1928), many of which he published in his book *Papuan Pictures*, which was written for younger readers, and several were also used by Joseph King to illustrate his biography of Lawes (H. M. Dauncey, *Papuan Pictures* (London: London Missionary Society, 1913).
30 The negative of this image is held in the Mitchell Library in Sydney and dates to around 1899–1907, when Barton was in New Guinea (ON 3, box 28, no. 333, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales. The image is also reproduced in Wright, ‘Supple Bodies’, 150).
31 Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 64.
version reveals the extent to which later images of Papuans were contrived for
specific audiences. In contrast, Lindt’s image of the woman carrying the water pot,
with all its textual framing, lends itself to more varied readings, as outlined in
Chapter Five.

Though the early photographs of New Guinea are the focus of this thesis,
photography did not completely replace drawing and painting as a means of
representing the land and its people. The camera was not always the most reliable
medium, such as was the case with Barton’s representation of the tattoos noted
above, and Miklouho-Maclay decided to trust pen and paper to capture the patterns
on Motu women’s skin.\textsuperscript{33} Williams, too, often preferred to sketch the intricate
designs and patterns on Papuan objects.\textsuperscript{34} However, photographs soon dominated
publications and they powerfully shaped European perceptions of New Guinea and
its inhabitants.\textsuperscript{35} With the introduction of halftone printing processes in the late
1880s, which allowed for the easy reproduction of photographs alongside text in
publications, photographs became ubiquitous in the imaging of New Guinea/Papua
in Australia, England, and Europe. As Leila Koivunen writes in relation to the
imaging of Central Africa: ‘Pictures had the power to reach and touch people. Far-
away places, which had previously been accessible to only a handful of people,
could now be seen and examined in almost every home.’\textsuperscript{36}

The next step in the study of Lawes’s and Lindt’s photographs, a process
initiated by Jude Philp and Elena Govor in 2014, is to take the images back to the
villages and locations in which they were taken and to engage with Papuan
visualisations and understandings of the past that was captured by Lawes and Lindt
on glass-plate negatives (fig. 7.16). The opportunity presented to awaken stories of
people, places, and practices through the display of old photographs has been
explored by scholars such as Joshua Bell, and Haidy Geismar and Anita Herle. As
noted in the introduction to this thesis, Williams’s photographs have been used by
the anthropologist Bell to re-engage with contemporary I’ai communities and to

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{33} Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay, \textit{Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh} [Collected Works in Six Volumes],
vol. 2, 327. [Text translated by Elena Govor.]
\textsuperscript{34} Young and Clark, \textit{An Anthropologist in Papua}, 59.
\textsuperscript{35} Quanchi, \textit{Photographing Papua}, 3.
\textsuperscript{36} Leila Koivunen, \textit{Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts} (New York and
\end{footnotesize}
document aspects of their heritage and traditions.\(^{37}\) In the case of John Layard’s photographs of Vanuatu, Geismar and Herle note that they provide important links between people and places.\(^{38}\) Taken from the hands of the historian or anthropologist and placed back in the physical space of their production, early photographs of New Guinea may offer new perspectives on the past and present the opportunity to reinvigorate abandoned cultural practices. On a personal note, seeing an image by Lawes of Kiniopi, a Kerepunu chief, being held up for the camera by his descendant in 2014 gives the photograph a resonance beyond what is possible to evoke in the pages of a thesis.

The extent to which Lawes and Lindt, their cameras, and the images they produced shaped the visualisation of this region of the world has been mapped in the previous chapters and for the first time an attempt has been made to track the entirety of Lawes’s photographic output. The two men photographed New Guinea under unique circumstances – before the arrival of an official colonial administration that sought to control the region’s photographic representation. Free of the structures and strictures that constrained later photographers, Lawes and Lindt were able to frame New Guinea however they chose. Lawes, the ‘pioneer’ missionary of Port Moresby and first European resident of southeast New Guinea approached the task from a ‘local’ viewpoint. Aside from his type portraits, the missionary’s photographs are not staged to the same degree as later photographers’, which made them valuable objects for anthropologists in the metropolitan centres. In contrast, Lindt, the marketer \textit{par excellence}, produced images that could be inserted into multiple contemporary discourses, such as the debates surrounding annexation, ethnographic interest in the region, and the question of photography’s status as art. Though not as artistically accomplished as Lindt, Lawes’s New Guinea photographs were eagerly collected and circulated as a result of his perceived standing as arbiter of authenticity. While Lindt’s consistent artistic vision, expert control of the dissemination of his \textit{‘Picturesque New Guinea’} series, and his strategy of multivalence ensured the widest


circulation possible for his New Guinea pictures. Lindt’s ultimate success in this venture is signalled by the prices that his photographs and reproductions of his book now attract. 39

Lawes and Lindt captured my attention from the time of my first visit to the Mitchell Library in late 2011, and their formative contribution to the subsequent picturing of New Guinea crystallised as a result of my work in the archives. At its core, this thesis functions as an act of archival recovery, uncovering the significance of Lawes and Lindt in the early visualisation of southeast New Guinea. Their photographic collections have thus acquired historical significance, especially in the case of the many New Guinea images by Lawes that I was able to identify for curators and archivists in archives in Wellington, Cologne, and Sydney through the process of compiling my Lawes photograph database. Though ‘marginalized historically because [many] never entered the public domain’, 40 the value in reconstructing Lawes’s extant photographic oeuvre is the insight this gives into his photographic practice and thus the structure of the earliest photographic visualisation of southeast New Guinea.

The task of mapping the relationship between two photographers requires that we track their complete oeuvres. In undertaking this task, the wider colonial networks in which their images circulated also crystallise. The global dispersal of Lawes’s and Lindt’s New Guinea photographs and their coexistence in ethnographic museum collections are evidence that their representations of New Guinea were considered of equal value in the study of Papuans and their culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – this was despite the differences in the two men’s photographic practice. Though Lawes was the first to systematically photograph southeast New Guinea, contemporary framings of their images ultimately ensured that Lindt’s ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ series found a wider

39 A high quality hard-cover facsimile of Picturesque New Guinea printed in 1980 is currently for sale on amazon.uk for £340.75 (around $590AUD), and, at an auction in Melbourne in late 2012, two ‘Picturesque New Guinea’ albums valued at $60,000–$80,000AUD sold for around $93,000AUD. The two albums, which I inspected in Melbourne in September 2012, were sold through Sotheby’s Australia. They had come to the auction house via two private collectors in the UK and another in New York, who had purchased the albums through Lucien Goldschmidt Inc. in 1983 (Lindt, Picturesque New Guinea (Port Moresby, PNG: Gordon and Gotch Pty. Ltd., 1980), amazon.uk (<https://www.amazon.co.uk/PICTURESQUE-NEW-GUINEA-SUPPLEMENTARY-Illustrations/dp/0909093202/ref=sr_1_1?m=ABCLBFTVXG859&s=merchant-items&ie=UTF8&qid=1468302960&sr=1-1&keywords=picturesque+new+guinea> accessed 12 July 2016).

40 Quanchi, Photographing Papua, 243.
audience as a result of their artistic composition and technical accomplishment as well as Lindt’s strategic marketing and titling of his photographs and book.

What this study has shown is that pioneer photographers who entered regions that had not been richly visualised brought with them a set of assumptions about the ‘unknown’, ‘exotic’, and ‘savage’ while also pointing their cameras at certain subjects with the demands of domestic audiences in mind. Further, when the photographic and textual archives are considered alongside each other, it is revealed that photography in a pioneering mode found itself responding to the exigencies of a new landscape and the agency of its inhabitants. The result was a novel visual grammar heavily inflected by the nature of the relationships established in the field and the physical presence of the camera. While tracking individual iconic images into the public domain yields insight into the mechanisms of contemporary knowledge production about New Guinea (Quanchi’s ‘learning-by-looking’), my work on the New Guinea oeuvres of Lawes and Lindt uncovers the grounded encounters and relationships that shaped the photographic record of such regions.
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