Constructing the “World’s Scenic Wonderland”: photomontage in New Zealand illustrated weekly newspapers, 1900-1930

Cathy Tuato’o Ross
ABSTRACT

The term “photomontage” has three syntactic senses, as: (i) the phenomenon, (ii) the practice/process, (iii) the resulting individual image. All three of these meanings are examined in this thesis in relation to the context, construction and content of the pictorial supplements of selected representative New Zealand illustrated weekly newspapers from 1900 to 1930. A photomontage in the third sense is an image that has been constructed or assembled from multiple photographic sources, although it can equally accurately be applied to an image constructed from some combinations of photographic, typographic, drawn and found material. It is a term closely associated with the Berlin Dada; however, while they may have coined the term, they did not invent the genre or its techniques. As Hannah Hoch, one of the key proponents of this group, acknowledged, photomontage was already used “very modestly but quite consciously” in photoreportage (Lavin, Cut with the Kitchen Knife 219). This thesis demonstrates the frequency and prominence of photomontage in photoreportage in the New Zealand illustrated weekly press during the first three decades of the twentieth century.

While a single photograph is a picture on its own, skilful combinations of multiple photographs and other elements have the power to communicate ideas. Through a combination of convention, adaptation and innovation, photomontage provided visual tools for the construction and representation of ideas about New Zealand. Nostalgia for the recent pioneering past and the more distant imagined idyll of pre-colonial times led to the emergence of myths, which were frequently portrayed in photomontage. Photomontage strategies were also used to construct representations of key ideals of contemporary society, with its plans and hopes for a future of continued progress. At a time when New Zealand was itself a nation under construction, the illustrated weekly newspapers provided a forum for the visual construction of the country’s past, present and future, and the promotion of these conceptions of national identity to a large national and international audience.

1 Paraphrasing Cesar Domela Nieuwenhuis (“Photomontage” 1931), a member of De Stijl and later of the Circle of New Advertising Designers.
Taking the view that construction is as important as content in the creation of meaning, a typology of key photomontage strategies is at the centre of this thesis. Following Giedeon’s pronouncement that for the historian “there are no banal things”, formulaic and repetitive formats are taken apart and analysed alongside complex and innovative examples (Giedion 3). The production of photomontages in the weekly newspapers provided an opportunity for design professionals to demonstrate and develop their abilities, and to communicate ideas. A few named individuals are presented, with a focus on their contribution to the visual culture of the time and on the degree of agency with which they operated. To a large extent, however, the published montages were the result of collected and anonymous fragments, and the contributions of anonymous photographers and designers are given equal consideration.
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INTRODUCTION

Maybe illustration will largely take the place of letterpress, and journalistic skill will show itself in transferring at a glance a whole world of news about an event. We know that illustration has been making extraordinary strides in the newspaper enterprise, but hitherto it has been to illustrate the text. The new development may be in the direction of largely superseding the text, as it is known that more forceful and vivid impressions are always conveyed directly to the brain through a glance of the eye, than when they have to go by the round about way of letters and words transformed into thoughts (Auckland Weekly News, 1897, 11).

A wooden canoe fitted with flax sails and crewed by Māori floats in the sky with the Auckland harbour and wharf far below and Mount Eden on the skyline. This untitled photomontage by George Bourne was produced around 1917. I encountered it for the first time in William Main and John B. Turner’s New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present (Main and Turner 32). It caught my imagination immediately and has stayed in my head ever since. I had never seen anything like this before, and it excited me to think that there had been someone making such experimental photographs in New
Zealand at the same time that Dada artists were claiming to invent photomontage in Germany. I began to wonder whether there was a history of photomontage in this country that was not wholly intertwined with photomontage production in Europe in the early decades of the twentieth century.

In order to determine what sort of history this would be, I needed to identify the contexts in which photomontages had been produced and made public in New Zealand. Personal interest directed my investigation towards the mass media, although this is not the only context for which photomontages were constructed. Commercial photographic ephemera such as postcards provide another collection of photomontage material and examples of humorous, inventive and possibly challenging photomontage could also exist in the domestic albums or private archives of individuals. In popular newspapers photomontage was required to function as visual communication, and to a design historian the existence of an identifiable audience or set of consumers is an important condition. The suggestive power of association is a fundamental feature of photomontage, and overt political content is not necessary for the creation and communication of strong or biased messages. While photomontage may have appeared and passed unremarked, unarticulated, in the context of weekly illustrated newspapers it was nevertheless part of a larger visual discourse. In the course of my research I wanted to ascertain whether the applications of photomontage could be stereotypically associated with particular positions, narratives or themes. For example, did photomontage features appear as nostalgic and romantic, or was the technique connected with an impression of newness and an emerging modernity? (B. Taylor 91) Or both? Was photomontage a technique predominantly used for experimental and innovative constructions, or was it also adapted into a visual communication tool that could be conventional and formulaic? Was it authored or anonymous, a result of individual or collective effort? And most importantly, in what ways was photomontage significant in the larger contexts of New Zealand design, visual culture and print culture history?

George Bourne was not an early New Zealand “art star” waiting to be discovered, but a photographer who was a full-time member of the Auckland Weekly News staff for twenty years (1902-1922). While the flax-winged flying machine montage appears as an isolated example when published in a glossy photographic anthology in 1993, at the time of its
making Bourne’s constructed and straight photographs were being reproduced in the
pictorial supplements of the *Auckland Weekly News* week after week.² Leafing through
these supplements, it became clear to me that Bourne’s montage work was appropriate to
its context, as photomontage did not appear as a novelty, but was a recognised and
popular form of visual communication. Bourne’s contributions were in keeping with or
were developments of the established modes of layout and representation. In fact,
photomontages were not only a feature of the *Auckland Weekly News*; they were made for
and published by all the large illustrated weekly newspapers in New Zealand from almost
the first years in which they had photomechanical printing capabilities. These newspaper
enterprises used and developed photomontage as a key means of visual communication
over the first three decades of the twentieth century. During this period representations of
New Zealand as the “world’s scenic wonderland” were constructed from combinations of
photographic, graphic and textual elements again and again and again.

Newspaper historian Ross Harvey makes particular mention of the New Zealand weeklies
as warranting study and consideration. “No serious research has been carried out into the
contents of these or into their influence, for example as a factor promoting social
cohesion” (Harvey “Newspapers” 130). Social cohesion is one of the many possible
outcomes of the consumption of mass media by an increasingly connected public. This
thesis addresses the research gap Harvey has identified by examining newspaper-published
photomontages to establish the material process of their construction and the
concomitant construction of meaning. I argue that construction is as important as subject
matter in the creation and communication of meaning. This analysis draws upon source
material from a representative selection of popular illustrated weekly newspapers
produced in New Zealand in the period 1900-1930: *The New Zealand Graphic and Weekly
Zealand Free Lance*. All had large readerships that could be described as national rather
than strictly regional, with most of the newspapers also achieving some degree of
international circulation. All of the selected newspapers had, or quickly instituted, glossy
pictorial supplements, and developed their photo-mechanical printing capabilities over
the thirty-year period under consideration.

² In photography the term “straight” is used to describe unmanipulated photographs in sharp
focus, thus giving a sense of the direct transcription of the world.
This thesis is particularly focused on the design strategies that have been inherited, adapted and developed by staff at the newspapers, to suit the mass media context in which they were produced. The design theorist and critic Ellen Lupton has noted a dearth of critical attention paid to the pervasive medium of photography, in particular to photography as a central and essential component of graphic design. She observes that “photography, like typography, is technically, historically and aesthetically wedded to graphic design. Yet, unlike type, photography is rarely accorded attention as one of graphic design’s primary resources” (Lupton and Miller 121). This is an accurate reflection of the development of a New Zealand graphic design history, in which photography remains largely unacknowledged. As a researcher and practitioner, I have been astonished and delighted by both the quantity and the quality of photomontage in the weekly newspapers.

**Photomontage**

The term “photomontage” was coined by members of the Berlin Dada group around 1916 and is derived from the French, *montage*, and its German equivalent, *montieren* (meaning “to assemble”) (Ades 12). It is important not to confuse the naming of photomontage with the “invention” or “discovery” of the technique, although this is a myth perpetuated by a majority of art, photography and design texts. In its current usage the term “photomontage” refers to images that have been constructed or assembled from multiple photographic sources, although it can also be applied to images constructed from combinations of photographic, typographic, drawn and found material. This latter broader definition best describes the visual material that this thesis focuses on.

“Composite photography” was a commonly used term by contemporary practitioners in early twentieth-century descriptions of photographs created from multiple sources, but has not been adopted in this thesis, because it also included combination printing and generally referenced single-image constructions.³

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³ Combination printing is a process of producing a single image from multiple negatives. The resulting image may appear unmanipulated. A regular and accepted application of this process involved printing the foreground from one negative in combination with the sky from another negative, in order to achieve correct exposures of both. The process also lent itself to fabrication, with the English pictorialist photographers Oscar Rejlander and Henry Peach Robinson being most commonly associated with the technique. There are very few examples of this kind of
According to Joan Schwartz and James Ryan, making photographs, designing with photographs and reproducing photographs in the newspapers “helped to construct imaginative geographies, shape collective memory, define cultural difference and sustain power relations based on gender, race, class and colonialism” (Schwartz and Ryan 18). Their conclusion is reiterated by Harvey, who considers that the uniformity of the news service in New Zealand and the lack of other news or information services at the time meant that “newspapers played a role in establishing the national identity” (Harvey "Newspapers" 129). Power relations between Pakeha and Māori in particular, along with relations between colony/Dominion and the imperial centre in Britain, as defined by the content and forms of visual representations, are examined throughout the thesis. Jane Stafford and Mark Williams’ descriptions and analysis of the “Maoriland” period in New Zealand literature have been adapted and applied to the photomontage under consideration in this thesis. Maoriland cultural production is marked by the appropriation of the places, mythologies and objects of the indigenous population in order for the colonising peoples to construct an identity and history for themselves that would differentiate them from their British ancestors and also from colonists elsewhere. The romantic revisioning and nostalgic representations of Māori, identified in literary texts by Stafford and Williams and in photomontaged images in this thesis, meant that the “Pakeha world would extend its dominion over the present, imprisoning Māori within an imagined past” (Stafford and Williams, Maoriland 268). Concurrently, Maoriland cultural production was tasked with the creation of a narrative of New Zealand as a modern society in the process of construction. The resulting vocabulary and set of visual conventions proved well suited to the tasks of promotion, particularly for purposes of advertising the country in the name of tourism. Due to its multifaceted nature, I argue that the medium of photomontage was ideally suited to the task of representing the apparently contradictory ideals of progress and nostalgia.

The early decades of the twentieth century, roughly sixty years since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and the establishment of New Zealand as a colony of the British Empire, were a critical period for the construction of real and imagined combination printing in the New Zealand weekly illustrated newspapers, with those sighted coming from Hemus Studios.
communities, “common” knowledge and public memory, and for the development of notions of New Zealand identities and nationhood. That this period coincided with the availability of technological means for the mass production and circulation of photographic images meant that New Zealand as a place and as an idea was encountered and consumed by many, both nationally and internationally, in the pages of the newspapers’ pictorial supplements. For the above reasons, Schwartz and Ryan argue that photographs “merit closer interrogation as primary sources in mainstream research agendas, not simply for what they are about, but more importantly, for why they were created, how they functioned and what they were expected to do” (18). We cannot reasonably expect to ascertain with certainty the original intentions of the designers or of the press companies, so this thesis instead explains how they were created and in what ways they functioned.

Context is a factor of primary importance. Chapter 1, “New Zealand as a society in print construction,” investigates the geographical, historical, social and cultural contexts in which photomontage was practiced and explains why photomontage was such an appropriate and effective medium for the task of representing the country, its myths and its peoples. The chapter includes an historical overview of the period, to allow readers not familiar with this period of New Zealand history to recognise the distances between situation and representation. This is necessary as the visual information communicated through the montages, while biased, was nevertheless consistent and persuasive. The overview traces the sometimes reluctant development of New Zealand from a colony to an independent nation, highlights the importance of the extractive, agricultural and progress industries, and details the changing population and the issues surrounding the growth of an identifiable race of Pakeha New Zealanders. While fulfilling their stated role of reporting on or illustrating current news and events, the photomontages published in the illustrated weekly newspapers simultaneously functioned to create and repeatedly recycle ideas and ideals of New Zealand.

Chapter 1 locates the newspaper photomontages in a continuum of propaganda, that started with the colonial propaganda designed to lure immigrants to New Zealand, presented to settlers as a visual record of themselves and was continued by tourism promotion. Propaganda is defined by John M. MacKenzie as “the transmission of ideas
and values from one person, or groups of persons, to another, with the specific intention of influencing the recipients’ attitudes in such a way that the interests of its authors will be enhanced” (MacKenzie 3). While at the beginning of the twentieth century the understood meaning of propaganda was close to that of publicity, by the 1920s it had begun to attract negative connotations such as bias and brainwashing (Jobling and Crowley 108). Where the term “propaganda” has been used in this thesis, it has been in relation to overtly promotional photographic material, and accompanying texts, and does not necessarily imply state involvement or control.

The creation and publication of visual propaganda and publicity were intentional functions of the newspapers, with recognition of these aims expressed in the form of congratulatory reviews: “Undoubtedly one of the most effective ways of advertising New Zealand abroad is by means of the illustrated newspapers, especially the Christmas numbers of the great weeklies” (“Auckland Weekly’s Christmas Number”, 1). Newspapers operated as instruments of colonial power, and, as Allan Sekula stated, “the photograph stands at the service of the class that controls the press” (Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning" 461). The illustrated press was controlled by Pakeha New Zealanders and communicated its messages to imagined Pakeha and European readerships, although it now appears that the actual readership was not so racially delimited (McRae 28).

By 1900 the dominant weekly newspapers were full of half-tone photographs. Chapter 2, “Producing weekly entertainment for thousands of homes: the development of technological capabilities and social needs,” examines the simultaneous developments of means and desire for the fast and voluminous production of photographic imagery. The New Zealand newspaper industry played a significant role in the development of print culture in the recently established colony, as this industry was quick to adopt, adapt and experiment with state-of-the-art photographic and printing technologies. The reception of photographs was affected by the increasingly available and fast-changing photographic production and photo-mechanical reproduction technologies around the turn of the century. As a result, photographs underwent a significant shift from physical object to part of the media environment. Victor Burgin has argued that newspaper photographs, by being received as an environment, often “pass unremarked” (Burgin 20). By this he means
that newspapers and the photographs contained within them were ephemeral, being quickly and repeatedly replaced by those in the next week’s issue. Nevertheless, the collective effect on the reader was influential and lingering. Chapter 2 also addresses the evolving roles of those engaged in visual communication design roles, as well as issues around anonymity and authorship. The emergence of design professionals is identified in this period, to be more fully examined by means of a comparative case study.

Two central factors that resulted in the production of intelligently designed photomontages were the emergence of graphic professionals in the employ of newspaper enterprises and a public that was increasingly literate in reading the visual. The development, recognition and repetition of photographic conventions, photomontage formats and design strategies were also key factors. Chapter 3, “Grammar of Construction,” identifies significant visual strategies employed in photomontage design and analyses their use and communicative potential. Change and evolution of the formats and strategies over the thirty-year period are also considered, although no pattern of continuous improvement or refinement was observed. The role of design decisions and actions in the creation and control of meaning in the weekly newspapers’ pictorial supplements was significant. I argue that serious consideration be given to both the formulaic and the innovative applications of photomontage. Formats as familiar as juxtaposition, in which two photographs are joined by proximity or by being appended a single title, are analysed in depth and shown to be highly effective means of communicating ideas.

While Chapter 3 argues that construction is as important as content in the creation and communication of meaning, Chapter 4 “Page after page of ‘God’s Own Country’,” focuses on identifying the themes that were repeatedly presented in photomontages. In some of the weekly pictorial supplements, it seems that no subject was safe from scissors and paste in the workroom. However, when thirty years’ worth of issues are viewed en masse, it is evident that there were a number of key themes for which photomontage was the preferred method of visual communication. Max Quanchi suggests that the pictorial supplements “offered visual shortcuts to knowledge” in that they “provided evidence to support long-held or newly adopted opinions, beliefs and attitudes” (Quanchi, ”The Power of Pictures” 38). This suggestion is confirmed by a contemporary review, which
goes so far as to identify the opinion the photographs are intended to change.

As there are a considerable few still outside of these islands who have a confused idea that we are not quite white, with a good deal of the unredeemed aboriginal about us, a Press Christmas number might open the eyes of the benighted of that class. The number will delight young and old in other lands across the sea ("The Weekly Press Christmas Number", Grey River Argus 5).

The montaging of increasingly conventional photographic elements, with fragments from other cultural forms such as poetry, served to bind contemporary Pakeha experience to established narratives, thus creating a sense of timelessness. Retrospectively, these themes can be read as essentially mythological, but at the time it appears that they were conceived and received as informational.

The viewer and reader of photomontage features could learn about the land as scenic and bountiful, Māori as subdued and picturesque, and Pakeha New Zealanders as healthy, adaptable, fruitful and blessed with quantities of leisure time. Industry and war were the other significant topics. Repetition was an important way of keeping those visions always in the public arena and memory. Newspapers consistently returned to these promotional and informational themes, which were reinforced by the common practice of recycling photographs, formats, and accompanying titles. Established photographic conventions from domestic and commercial studio practices were adopted and adapted by the newspapers to create a sense of familiarity and, at the same time, to reinforce a common visual vocabulary. Repetition and recycling aided in the creation of stereotypes, a process of normalising that frequently resulted in reader acceptance rather than questioning.

The fifth and final chapter, “Adaptable professionals,” comprises two case studies of full-time staff members who made significant contributions to the appearance of photomontage in their respective newspapers. This chapter acknowledges that most of the contributors to newspaper photomontage construction were, and will probably remain anonymous, as was the convention in commercial newspapers. Nevertheless, there were some attributions in the form of signatures and credits. Excavating and reconstructing the work of an individual monteur not only provides information about the course of that person’s career but also offers insights into working environments and methods. P. R. Presants, who worked for around ten years at the Weekly Press, and George Bourne, who worked for two decades at the Auckland Weekly News, both contributed to the
development of visual communication in New Zealand. It is largely thanks to surviving family members of Presants and Bourne, who have gifted collections of printed ephemera, photographic negatives and personal narratives to museum and library collections, that this research gap has been able to be breached.

Presants and Bourne represent the diversity of visual communicators engaged in photomontage construction. Presants trained under the South Kensington system and then through an apprenticeship as a chromolithographer. He incorporated photographic elements into his practice, thus combining the modern illustrative technology of photography with a stone lithographic printing technology that was in decline. While technically excellent, his constructions were conventional, predominantly repeating and adopting nostalgic themes of romantic pre-colonial Māori. Bourne, on the other hand, was a photographer who appeared excited by the possibilities of new technology, not only for making and reproducing images, but for experiencing place. In particular, Bourne was engaged with the development of modern forms of transport, both real and imaginary. He was the first person to take photographs of Auckland from the air and, concurrently, the inventor of photomontaged contraptions for others to vicariously experience the wonders of flight.

While photomontages continued to be constructed and published after 1930, their frequency declined and there were noticeably fewer examples of experimental or innovative applications. One conclusion that could be made was that photomontage had stopped looking modern. Like any technology or style, photomontage soon became dated. New technologies and methods were found and applied to represent an increasingly industrialised society. Simultaneously, newspaper enterprises had to adapt their products to a changing environment as they were forced to compete with other communication media, such as radio. Improvements in road and rail infrastructure meant that subscriptions to daily rather than weekly newspapers became an option for a much larger number of New Zealanders by 1930. Production speed and cost-effectiveness were real factors in determining the nature and the appearance of the publications. As a consequence of these considerations the formats of the reduced number of weekly newspapers in print after 1930 became visually clearer, with an almost total removal of ornamentation and a preference for single, large photographs printed to the page margins.
Nevertheless, the conventions and formulas developed in the pages of the illustrated weekly newspapers became part of the visual rhetoric of tourist promotion that continues to be used and remains recognisable in our contemporary visual environment. This thesis will argue that photomontage was undoubtedly an important means of visual communication in weekly newspapers and was principally employed in the construction of New Zealand as the “world’s scenic wonderland”.
CHAPTER 1.

New Zealand as a society in print construction.

The peopling of Pakeha New Zealand and its cultural construction, the growth of a New Zealand image in people’s minds, were two interlocked processes (Belich, Making Peoples 279).

To write the kind of history that the photomontages in the weeklies could illustrate would be to write New Zealand history as a narrative of development and progress, coupled with a heavy dose of romanticism and nostalgia. The pictorial supplements, taken together with the newspapers’ editorial and literary contributions, play a far more powerful role than reportage. They are instrumental in constructing an idea of New Zealand, its past, present and future, for a national and an international audience.

The illustrations in the weekly newspapers construct a picture of New Zealand as a natural wonderland, full of opportunity. Politics was rarely addressed directly in the pictorial sections of the weeklies, with the subject being generally confined to the texts of the daily newspapers. However, the visual material was suggestive of political issues and even contradicted established positions. This is evident, for example, in representations of the land. It appears blessed, despite the fact that land was a major cause of concern and unease on the parts of colonial settlers and indigenous Māori. In relation to Pakeha New Zealanders, the land is presented as fertile and accessible, a source of wealth and pride, and a site of leisure. For Māori, who were still being dispossessed of their lands and were unable to achieve satisfactory legal redress for past and current grievances and confiscations, their connection to the land is pictured as natural, spiritual and unthreatened. The disparity between expressions of political or social concern and visual representations of those same issues can also be illustrated by the treatment of Māori in the weekly newspapers. The historian Alan Ward has noted that in Pakeha settler society the enduring cultural traditions of Māori were “widely denigrated,” with Māori culture considered “at best … as a hindrance to Māori participation in the new order; at worst as depraved and obscene” (Ward 305). In the pictorial supplements, these same traditions and customs are represented as an increasing source of Pakeha fascination.
As with any history, there are multiple texts and perspectives on nineteenth and twentieth century New Zealand. Design history, to which this thesis contributes, needs to consider many approaches in order to understand the various contexts that caused, influenced and were affected by the design being investigated. Victor Margolin calls for histories of design to be situated within larger social histories, urging design historians to “bring what they have learned about design into a closer relation with the research that historians in other fields are doing” (Margolin 96). This chapter examines the historical, geographical, social and cultural contexts in which the newspapers were produced and consumed, with a particular focus on the emergence of a distinct (Pakeha) New Zealand national identity. It situates the photomontage materials in a continuum of colonial propaganda and argues for its influence on the formation of, and as a form of, public memory. The structure of photomontage will be compared with the basic process of memory function, with an emphasis on the relationship between the moments of repetition and recollection.

Herbert Simon reminds us that design is an activity of change and is “concerned with how things ought to be” (Simon 114). For Pakeha, change was a constant factor in people’s lives from their point of arrival or birth in the country. Society, therefore, was necessarily forward-looking. As Sinclair observes, “the very act of migration was future-oriented” (Sinclair, A Destiny Apart 69). Of the many, and varied, accounts of the first few decades of the 20th century in New Zealand, the version communicated in the images and texts of the illustrated weekly newspapers was a decidedly positive one. New Zealand was presented as being full of possibility, a country on its way to (triumphantly) becoming a modern nation.

The weekly newspapers, full of texts and images, would seem a logical archive in which to search for signs of emerging New Zealand nationhood. However, while there are many clues as to the construction of New Zealand, the construction of the country as a nation is not so easy to identify or date. Benedict Anderson provides a useful definition of nation, as being an “imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson 6). A nation is necessarily limited by having boundaries, beyond which other distinct nations lie. However, it is Anderson’s use of the word “community”, as an essential factor in the imagination of a nation, which is important in the consideration of whether, and when, New Zealand actually became a nation. Anderson
states that “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (7). The development of an abiding sense of community and comradeship in New Zealand was a slow and sometimes intentional process that continued over the first half of the twentieth century. For many early settlers, first and second generation Pakeha New Zealanders, the community to which they imagined they belonged transcended the boundaries of nation, as it continued to include the people, the politics and the culture of Britain.

It is easy to underestimate the continuing importance of Britain in the minds and lives of Pakeha in the early twentieth century and, instead, to concentrate on New Zealand as an increasingly independent nation. While the outcomes of national identity and political independence were eventually achieved, they were neither universally intended nor desired. For newspapers, as part of an international communication circuit, the connection between “home” and “Home” was especially significant. Erik Olssen identifies two main paradigms in the writing of New Zealand history (Olssen 54). In the first, New Zealand is considered part of the British Empire. In this version of history, associated with Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the New Zealand Company, colonisation was seen as inevitable “and, if British, benign” (55). The apparently unified aim of those emigrating here was to create, in the wilderness, a country more English than England, bringing “culture and civilisation, an antidote to colonial vulgarity and crudeness” (55). Two articles published in the Christmas Numbers of the Auckland Weekly News, in 1901 and 1924 respectively, are exemplary of this paradigm. These articles give some idea of the place New Zealand was both making itself and imagined making for itself. The article published in 1901 observed:

The rise of New Zealand has been phenomenal ... And there is no reason why this wonderful progress should not continue until the new and fairer Britain of the South outstrips the Motherland in trade and commerce, in wealth and in population ("The Growth of New Zealand. A Land of Progress and Promise." 1).

The attitude expressed in this article is competitive in its ambition for the country, with Britain providing the terms for comparison and achievement. While this ambition is less rampant twenty-three years later, the underlying hope that New Zealand will, and should, rise to international greatness and importance is retained nevertheless:
Whilst the world remains sane and the British Empire united, New Zealand must, and will, rapidly improve its status among the nations. It can absorb millions of people, and has every facility for becoming to the Southern Hemisphere what the Motherland has become in the northern world ("New Zealand’s Flocks and Herds. Scope for Immense Expansion. Sporting and Holiday Attractions." 40).

Becoming a better Britain in the Southern Hemisphere was not the only path by which New Zealand was seen to be able to achieve progress and fulfil promise. Olssen identifies a second paradigm that considers New Zealand as a separate nation, an adventuresome and democratic society. In this view, associated with William Pember Reeves, New Zealand was the world’s social laboratory (Olssen 57). The historians researching and writing in the period 1900-1930, and subsequently, worked inside either one or both of these paradigms, which resulted in the conceptualisation of New Zealand’s emerging national identity in “evolutionary terms” (57). Reviewing multiple newspaper representations creates the cumulative impression of the emergence of a distinct New Zealand identity, but it is an identity that remains coupled with a sense of connection and belonging to Britain and her Empire. A. G. Hopkins has argued that one nationality was not substituted for another, but that identity developed as multiple layers (Hopkins 212). “Britishness” did not need to be forsaken in order for “New Zealandness” to be aimed for or assumed.

“NEW ZEALAND’S LOYALTY TO THE EMPIRE” was prominent in the newspapers’ pictorial supplements, most frequently through the construction of photomontages on subjects concerned with the British royal family, such as coronation celebrations (figure 1). Even when the occasion was “British,” pride in New Zealand’s achievements were equally evident in the visual material, whether it was the cities, industries or untouched landscapes that featured as the backdrop for the celebrations or royal visitors. Figure 1 includes descriptive images of the country’s military, the Government buildings (Wellington), a viaduct (Auckland’s Grafton Bridge), loyal crowds and a pioneer. While it is not spelt out in the title, there an underlying suggestion that loyalty to the Empire has been a factor in the country’s progress and success. New Zealand’s modernity was on show, celebrated by the central position and significant scale of the photograph of electric decorations. The montage also provides an opportunity for the newspaper to demonstrate
its photographers’ ability with the inclusion of two examples of technically challenging night-time photography.

Figure 1

“NEW ZEALAND’S LOYALTY TO THE EMPIRE. Coronation Day Celebrations in the Chief Towns.”
Photos by E. Denton, F. W. Young, and others.
_Auckland Weekly News_, 29 June 1911, p5.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago
In and out of the picture

This section provides an overview of the historical context in which the weekly newspapers were produced and consumed that exceeds the scope of the politics, issues and events depicted in the pictorial supplements. As the cumulative picture the montages present is consistent and persuasive, it is important to provide an historical background to allow readers less familiar with this period of New Zealand history to identify possible gaps between actual conditions and representations. In order to be able to critically read the photomontages today, it is necessary to consider some of the major contradictions, omissions and fictions. The broader historical context for this analysis extends into the period before 1900, as the newspaper photomontages actively constructed representations of the past, as well as of life in New Zealand at the time and in the imagined future.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge that my own interest, as a Pakeha, is piqued by the formation of Pakeha identities and the importance or otherwise of representations of the Māori “Other” in the creation and perpetuation of these identities. Edward Said articulated the concept of the “Other” as a process of defining, excluding and controlling colonised peoples (Said). In the visual construction of ideas of New Zealand and New Zealandness, the Māori “Other” is integral to the formation of a Pakeha “Self”. The texts and images in the weekly newspapers create very different pictures of Māori, but whether presented as savage or beautiful they are always seen through Pakeha eyes. In typical texts, “otherness” provided a justification for civilisation and control of Māori. An “historical” account published in the 1901 Auckland Weekly News Christmas Number explains that the pioneers “found New Zealand a savage wilderness, tenanted by fierce cannibals, and within sixty years they have made it one of the most productive and prosperous of countries” (Mahara 32). The text reminds its readers, clearly imagined as Pakeha, that their recent ancestors were “almost unconsciously obeying that wonderful instinct of our race” in conquering, civilising and holding the land (32). The visual material that appeared in the illustrated weeklies, on the other hand, is not so blatantly dismissive and exclusive and, as a result, is more interesting. Māori, not Pakeha, were presented again and again as the face of New Zealand to a national and international audience, supporting the notion that Pakeha identities were commonly projected, if not defined, in relation to what they were not. This is evidenced by the regularity with which images of Māori
appeared on the covers and opening pages of the showcase Christmas Numbers. It is also significant that in the printed texts Māori are regularly referred to in masculine terms, while in images Māori men are rarely visible, with young women and child being most frequently pictured.

Figures 2 & 3

*New Zealand Graphic*, Christmas Number, 1903.  
*Auckland Weekly News*, Christmas Number, 1924.

In 1900 New Zealand's official status was as a British colony. In 1891 the Cook Islands had come under New Zealand control, with formal annexation occurring in 1901, an event that was historically symbolic of the role New Zealand imagined for itself, as an extension of Britain in the Pacific. Anne Maxwell suggests that this was part of the development of New Zealand's own imperialist programme, a move that would go some way towards helping the nation attain Dominion status (Maxwell 136). A typical title for

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4 “Mare carrying a baby on her back” - Photograph taken by William Henry Thomas Partington.

5 New Zealand also administered Niue from 1901, Western Samoa from 1914 and the Tokelau Islands from 1925.
a photomontage, “NEW ZEALAND’S POSSESSIONS IN THE PACIFIC”, suggests that there was recognised trophy value connected with having island nations under New Zealand control (figure 4). However, the infrequency of published photographic features on any of the Pacific Islands leads to the observation that the general public had little visual knowledge of the various island groups, and that any connections to the Pacific were considered to be of peripheral importance.

Figure 4

“NEW ZEALAND’S POSSESSIONS IN THE PACIFIC. Every year the Cook Islanders celebrate the annexation of their Islands to the Commonwealth by a sort of dancing tournament, lasting several days, in which they re-enact in pageants old legends and folk stories.”

Savage, photo.

*New Zealand Weekly Graphic*, Christmas Number, 1907, p21.

Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
In 1907 New Zealand attained Dominion status, a symbolic name change which was marked by ceremony but was without any practical effect. The *Free Lance*, on the occasion of the celebration of Dominion Day the following year notes: “Of course, we have inherited very little advantage by reason of the change” (“The Dominion’s Birthday. Drums and Trumpets!” 6). While Maxwell’s analysis suggested that Dominion status was actively sought, the change from colony to Dominion did not alter the relationship of New Zealand to Britain, nor did it set in motion a chain of actions towards greater independence. There was a degree of ambivalence about increasing independence, with separate nationhood not seen as a necessary or desirable end goal by many, including the Government of the time (King 306).

The period 1891-1912 was politically very significant for New Zealand. 1891 was the year party politics began in New Zealand, with the Liberals (the only party of the time) coming to power with a promise of effective and reliable government. The Liberal Party governed for twenty-one years, during which time they established systems of government and a model for the role of government in New Zealand life that remained relatively unchallenged until the Labour Government of 1984 (Hamer 125). New Zealand, in this period, was considered one of the most democratic countries in the world, a country in which the most “daring” social experiments were being tried (131). Women got the vote in 1893. While this move did not have universal support at the time, once instituted it quickly became a cause of national pride. Māori were never officially excluded from voting, but land ownership requirements meant that most were, in reality, ineligible. Māori did have a distinct voice in Parliament, however, as four Māori seats were established in 1867. The number four was arbitrary and did not reflect population statistics, which would have seen Māori with fourteen or fifteen seats if the same calculations were applied for them as were used for the general electorates (King 257). In 1896, Māori lost the right to membership on the common electoral role, and therefore the opportunity to have a say in majority government (Ward 303).

While Māori may have been imagined as having a separate voice in parliament as a result of having designated representation, the policies of the successive Governments in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were, in fact, strongly assimilationist. By 1893, Māori were effectively “subordinated to the settler political and legal system and asked to
assume its obligations,” while being discriminated against and having little real
opportunity to participate in the economy (Ward 305). The attitude expressed in the
newspaper photomontages was paternalistic, more than discriminatory, with
representations clearly supporting segregation rather than assimilation. Māori were not
depicted as active participants in the economy in any realm other than that of tourism, in
which they were employed as guides. In contrast, varied economic opportunities were
presented as there for the taking, to existing and future generations of white settlers.

It is generally acknowledged that no country offers more numerous or more solid
advantages for people of the British or North European peoples than New Zealand.
There are still very large areas of virgin and unoccupied land for new settlers, and
farming industries are well established; so that whether a man takes up dairying or
sheep raising he has modern factories to deal with his products, good markets for
his wares and a high standard of quality already won (“New Zealand’s Flocks and
Herd. Scope for Immense Expansion. Sporting and Holiday Attractions.” 40)

The New Zealand economy, throughout the period covered by this study, was export-
based, with Britain being the primary destination for goods. Wool was the major product
before the advent of refrigerated shipping in the 1890s and continued to be a significant
trade commodity after this development. Meat and dairy products took over as principal
earners and became the foundation of the economy, a position that is relatively unchanged
to the present day. Images of farming and other industries were regular features in the
newspapers. “WINNING FARM LANDS FROM THE FOREST: COUNTRY LIFE
AND PIONEERING SCENES IN NEW ZEALAND” (figure 5) is an overtly
propagandistic example, in which the triumph of man over nature is declared. The farmer
is described as a “pioneer settler”, a term which invites connotations of a romantic, hardy
figure at the forefront of the settlement push. This is highly unlikely to have been the case
in Westland in 1927, as the pioneer generation was generally held to have arrived in New
Zealand in the nineteenth century. Those not involved in agriculture in the nineteenth
century were often connected to the extractive industries, in the forests or the goldfields.
Despite propaganda that suggested prosperity, even hard work on the land did not always
result in financial reward. There was a severe depression from 1879 until the 1890s, and
some of the pioneer generation found themselves destitute.
“WINNING FARM LANDS FROM THE FOREST: COUNTRY LIFE AND PIONEERING SCENES IN NEW ZEALAND. The central picture of this page, taken at Wataroa, Westland Province, South Island, shows bush country being cleared to furnish new pasture lands as the pioneer settler breaks in fresh country. The other photographs are scenes on farm and country roads, where man’s battle with the forest has already been won.”

G. R. Northcroft and Miss H. Garlick, photos.

_Auckland Weekly News_, Christmas Number, 1927, p19.
The Welfare State was imagined and tentatively established in 1898, with the introduction of old age pensions under Prime Minister Richard Seddon. The old age pension was not universally available, as it was means tested, and also carried a prerequisite that recipients be of good character. Eligibility standards were restrictive, “designed to ensure that only Pakeha (European) residents of New Zealand were eligible for assistance. Māori, while not specifically excluded, were immediately disadvantaged because, in most cases, they had no way to prove their age and they were deemed to own a share of ancestral lands” (Knutson 12). Asians were specifically excluded, and continued to be so until 1936 (12).

The intention to exclude Asians went beyond the new welfare system, as the *Free Lance* explained in 1908:

> The desire of the public of New Zealand is undoubtedly for the absolute exclusion of Chinese from New Zealand. There is in this Dominion sufficient pride of race and spirit of patriotism to desire New Zealand for the New Zealander, and, failing that, at any rate to have the Dominion peopled with our own race. We want no Asiatics whatever. There will be no quibbling on the part of New Zealanders about a China for the Chinese as a fair offset against our own racial conservatism. Let us bar the door, and double bar it, against the yellow peril, and we as a people shall be well content (“Asiatic Immigration. Will the New Restriction Restrict?” 4).

Asians were not only apparently unwelcome but were totally invisible to the general Pakeha population, if the pictorial supplements of the newspapers were to be taken as an indication. They simply do not enter into the picture of New Zealand at all.

Further Acts of Parliament expanded the state’s role in providing relief for individuals’ poverty. The Widows Pension Act was introduced in 1911, followed by the Miners Phthisis Act 1915, the Pensions for the Blind Act 1924, and the Family Allowance Act 1926. All of these benefits were targeted and tested to ensure that only the neediest received assistance. While the benefits offered were low, the incremental recognition of needs and the government’s moves to pragmatically address those needs resulted in the establishment of the framework for the social welfare system (Knutson 14).

The composition, character and growth of the New Zealand population were fundamentally important to the politics and process of progress. People were central to the building of a nation and to the establishment of a national identity. There were strong
opinions as to who those people should be and how they should conduct themselves. If New Zealand was to become a “better Britain” then the population needed to be predominantly made up of “better British.” Concerns about racial deterioration, inferior breeding stock (non-British, as well as poor, unemployed or disabled) and, as the *Free Lance* article highlighted, threats of unchecked immigration by Asians (the “Yellow Peril”) were taken seriously (Belich, *Paradise Reforged* 161-2). The poor physical condition of many New Zealand men was confirmed by the fact that only 34% of World War One conscripts were found to be completely fit. Following the end of the war, children’s health camps were instituted around the country in 1919, “with considerable emphasis being placed on creating children who were physically robust” (Kearns and Collins 1051). Championed by a few highly influential individuals, including Dr. Truby King, founder of the Plunket Society, and A. H. Bristed, editor of the *Weekly Press* 1886-1924, eugenics was discussed more than it was practised (The Press 172). Segregation and improvements in environment, health and fitness were preferred to sterilisation. As Angela Wanahalla notes, “by emphasizing the environment as a potential avenue to racial revival it was possible to suggest that the ‘stock’ was not biologically degenerate” (Wanahalla 169).

A table of population distribution was published in the 1901 *Auckland Weekly News* Christmas Number. In this table, population figures were given for each of the provinces, with a note at the bottom of the table indicating that Māori have not been included but that “about 34,000 live in the province of Auckland” ("The Growth of New Zealand. A Land of Progress and Promise." 5). Motherhood, childbirth and child-rearing became national concerns, as the country’s future was predicated on the growth of a healthy, young generation of Pakeha to replace the generation of pioneers who were dying out. The *Free Lance* identified a declining birth-rate as being “one of the most menacing dangers to this country” and quoted the Hon. Dr. Findlay, who emphasised the significance of the concern by describing it as “the gravest we have got to face just now if we are going to rise to the position of a great race” ("Lady Plunket’s Mission. The Saving of Infant Life." 6). The danger was seen as lessened if not wholly averted by the introduction of the Plunket Society in 1907. Despite its reactionary origins, this was a significant event.
By 1880, the New Zealand population had reached 500,000, greatly boosted by government-assisted immigration. This figure had doubled by 1908, with the population reaching one million. Significantly, the increase between 1880 and 1908 was more as a result of New Zealand births than of new arrivals from overseas. This is also the period during which the urban population gradually exceeded the rural, a shift that had direct implications for the composition and distribution of newspapers. The relationship between town and country at this time was one of animosity and competition, with the trend of population movement from the farm to the city providing a serious cause for concern in some sectors (Hamer 139). New Zealand Census records indicate that by 1911 30% of the Pakeha population resided in one of the four main centres, while a further 38% lived in towns and cities numbering over 8000 residents. 1896 saw the population majority shift from the South Island to the North Island. This trend continued steadily, so that by 1906 there were 521,899 North Island residents compared to 414,410 South Island residents ("Where People Live: New Zealand Official Yearbook 2000.").

As the Pakeha population expanded, the Māori population declined at an alarmingly rapid rate, largely as a result of European-introduced diseases and lifestyle changes. To some, the extinction of Māori seemed imminent, their fate inevitable and irreversible ("The Passing of the Maori" 4). The perception that Māori were a dying race continued to be perpetuated after 1900, but became increasingly inaccurate, as Māori slowly began to regain numerical strength.6 It was not only Pakeha who believed the end of the Māori race was near. Māori themselves began to accept it as unavoidable. “They could read, or have the newspapers of the Europeans read to them, and these spared no efforts to tell them that they were dying, even rejoicing in the prospect” (Ballara, Proud to Be White? 83). However, by 1921, the Māori population had returned to 56,000, being approximately the same as at the time of the first census, just before the New Zealand Wars.7 That Māori as a people had a future, as well as a past, was cause for hope,

6 Methods for collecting census information may also have affected the numbers of Maori reported, as only full-blooded Maori, or Maori-Europeans of more than half Maori blood were counted. A. H. McLintock, "Population", from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, 1966. Web. 9 January 2009.

7 Sometimes referred to as the Land Wars.
frustration and legislation in different sectors of society (Sinclair, A History of New Zealand 192).

While the population grew, the experience of New Zealand shrank, a perception that can mostly be attributed to the march of rail and road across the country: construction projects that not only linked up the increasingly urbanised population but created the transportation infrastructure necessary for the operation of a modern economy. Valentine’s Day in 1909 saw the opening of the Auckland-Wellington rail link, a full thirty years after the centres of Christchurch and Dunedin had been connected by railway line. The Auckland-Wellington link connected with existing services from the main centres to Napier and to New Plymouth. Railways confirmed and supported the dominance of the four main centres and contributed to changing the shape and size of the country by reducing travelling time. In this respect, roads were even more significant than railways. Belich states that “roads were a metaphor for progress and colonisation itself in the colonial mind; there was an almost religious respect for their powers” (Belich, Making Peoples 352). By 1890, most large-scale public works (roads, railways, bridges), largely funded by massive international borrowing, were brought under central government control. “This by no means eliminated localism and regionalism, but it did reinforce wider zones in which collective identity could be imagined” (Belich, Paradise Reforged 69). Travel, trade and communication sped up around the country, and social isolation became less common.

The involvement of New Zealanders in international conflict was another significant prompt contributing to the forming of a distinct New Zealand sense of identity around the turn of the century. The Boer War of 1899-1902 was the first overseas conflict to involve New Zealand troops. The New Zealand engagement in what was essentially a British war engendered an enormous sense of national self-respect. An article in the 1902 Christmas Number of the New Zealand Graphic proudly states that:

The conspicuous part this colony played in the South African war will be remembered, not only on account of the valour and soldierly fitness of her boys, but because New Zealand was the first to offer the services of her sons, thereby inaugurating a new epoch in the relations between the Mother Country and the colonies (“At the Empire’s Call” 44).
Six thousand five hundred troops were sent, with seventy of those being killed in active service, and another one hundred and fifty eight deaths resulting from disease or accident. During the war New Zealanders both joined with and distinguished themselves from the British. Keith Sinclair suggests that, in fighting alongside the British, the troops from the colonies began to grow aware of their differences and to consider their identity “self-consciously” (Sinclair, A Destiny Apart 125). While the then premier, Richard Seddon, supported the inclusion of Māori troops, imperial authorities objected to Māori fighting what was seen to be a white man’s war, considering that “blacks should not be deployed against whites” (King 288). Despite protest by Māori and Pakeha alike, Māori were excluded.

There were no such exclusions in World War One. Again, the New Zealand government entered the war without hesitation. “In addition to imperial sentiment, they were influenced by the fact that New Zealand’s prosperity rested on its market in Britain and the need to keep the sea trade routes open” (King 295). New Zealand troops, and consequently New Zealand society, suffered heavy losses in the war, with very few families untouched by personal tragedy or experience (165). The illustrated weekly newspapers, while operating with constrained resources, fulfilled the important role of publishing photographic Rolls of Honour of the wounded and fallen. Photographs taken by soldiers were also regularly published, as were extracts of soldiers’ personal letters home to family (Callister). Throughout World War One, the tone of the images and texts remained staunchly patriotic, with a dual patriotism to New Zealand and to the “mother country”, but criticism of the British forces crept in. Disliking the class system that dominated the British Army ranks, the New Zealand troops did not personally identify with the British and showed little admiration for the fighting and strategic abilities of their troops, and even less for the leadership (160). On the other hand, the major battles of World War One, Gallipoli for example, are seen as pivotally defining moments in the creation of New Zealand as a nation, and in “New Zealander” as a distinct identity (171).

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8 A number of Maori served regardless, often by simply providing anglicised versions of their names.
Following the war, Britain offered New Zealand increasing degrees of independence in recognition of the Dominion’s service. The Government of the time, being the Reform Party led by William Massey (1912-1925), demonstrated considerable reluctance in the face of these offers (King 306). Nevertheless, in 1919 Massey signed the Treaty of Versailles, which gave New Zealand entry to the new League of Nations, a move which indicated that New Zealand did have a degree of control over its foreign affairs. In 1931 the New Zealand government continued to show reluctance for greater independence, being disinterested in ratifying the Statute of Westminster, “which had granted the dominions complete autonomy in foreign as well as domestic affairs and put their parliaments on an equal footing with Westminster” (365-366). At the present time, in which the possibility of becoming a Republic and cutting all ties to Britain is a regular if controversial topic for debate, such reluctance to gain and exercise independence can be easily overlooked or forgotten.

While New Zealand’s independence as a country and identity as a nation were not always actively sought in the period 1900-1930, they were nevertheless gradually achieved. Aside from World War One, the first few decades of the twentieth century could be summarised as being increasingly settled, years in which the national focus was on developing the country from colony to modern nation. The illustrated weekly newspapers functioned not only to record actual progress, but heralded possibility and promise through propagandistic texts and photomontages. New Zealand was not a country of equal rights or opportunities for all peoples, nor was it one in which success could be guaranteed. Nevertheless, the idea of New Zealand, constructed in photomontages in the nationally and internationally distributed publications, was of a paradise, a wonderland.

Colonial propaganda followed by Tourism and Publicity

In the aptly named book Making Peoples, Belich gives importance to the idea of New Zealand, created in the minds of the potential immigrants by what he identifies as colonising propaganda (Belich, Making Peoples 300). He suggests that potential settlers were neither pushed from Britain by the cost nor pulled to New Zealand by the benefits but “prised out of their British contexts by powerful myths and prophecies” (279). This
propaganda, produced and distributed by sources ranging from individuals to companies to the government, was continuous and voluminous. It was centred on three dominant motifs of “‘progress’, ‘paradise’ and ‘Britishness’” and ranged from apparently objective geographical, ethnographic and historical accounts to ludicrous claims (287). These volumes “anticipate the picture New Zealanders were to form of themselves over the years” (Evans 19). Belich further suggests that the myths originated to attract migrants “became the prospectus New Zealand was considered obligated to fulfil, a history written in advance” (Belich, Making Peoples 279).

The existence of accepted mythologies or images of New Zealand can explain both the range and treatment of photomontages in the weekly newspapers. While the photomontages were produced decades after the progressive settlement push for which the “colonial propaganda” was initially created, the key themes had already been established and Pakeha New Zealand was striving to realise the history that had been written for it. Belich has coined the term “progressive colonisation” to describe the period of supercharged settlement that occurred between the 1840s and the 1880s in New Zealand. (He offers “explosive colonisation” as an alternative name) (Belich, Paradise Reforged 17). “Progressive colonisation,” asserts Belich, “mounted a quadruple assault on nature, natives, emptiness and distance, each of which served the others” (Belich, Making Peoples 351). This drive remains in the pictorial supplements of the weeklies from 1900-1930, but it is coupled with a nostalgia for what has changed or has disappeared, without fully recognising those instances where the explosive assault left some survivors.

Tourism and publicity took up where crusader literature left off. Despite overseas tourism being economically insignificant to New Zealand before the First World War (with the majority of tourist experiences being consumed by affluent New Zealanders), “overseas tourism was clearly a big deal in the minds of New Zealand leaders and publicists” (Belich, Paradise Reforged 82). Advertising and publicity, a considerable amount of which were published in the weekly newspapers and their Christmas Numbers, were predominantly directed towards a British audience (figure 6). However, publicity had

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9 For example, Wakefield’s (1837) The British Colonisation of New Zealand: being an account of the principles, objects and plans of the New Zealand Association, and Ward’s (1839) Information Relative to New Zealand for the Information of Colonists, were both highly influential and highly poetic.
other purposes than simply attracting tourists as pleasure seekers and potential immigrants. According to Taylor, tourism functioned as a front for the wider purposes of self-promotion and the production and exercise of colonial power (J. Taylor 2).

In 1901 the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts was established. The foundation of the first such government department in the world coincided with the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall. At the time of its establishment, the Department's major focus was Rotorua. Under Department head Thomas Donne, Rotorua was constructed as a "metropolis of geyserland", providing tourists with a European-style spa and a Māori cultural centre (McClure 30). While other tourist sites did exist and were independently developed and promoted, Rotorua received the bulk of Tourist Department funding until 1909, whereafter funding was less generous but more widely distributed (30). Around this time, New Zealand citizens began to question the value of tourism to New Zealand, with some calls from taxpayers for the Department to retrench or fold. They suggested that the money would be better spent for the benefit of existing settlers rather than impressing foreign travellers or luring potential immigrants. The Free Lance was one of many vocal supporters of the Department, crediting it with providing bustle and activity to towns otherwise at risk of stagnation and decay ("Our Tourist Traffic. Is the Game Worth the Candle?" 6).

At the outset the Department established a photographic section and employed Thomas Pringle (1858-1931), as well as Frederick Radcliffe (1863-1923) and others, to travel the country photographing the scenery, industries and Māori life. Both these men, and many of the other photographers who worked for the Tourist Department, also contributed photographs to the weekly newspapers under their own names. By 1903, Donne considered the Department to have one of the finest collections of photographic negatives in and of New Zealand (McClure 57). McClure notes that, in the absence of a large advertising budget, the Tourist Department looked to the popular press for publicity.

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10 Thomas E. Donne was superintendent from 1901-1909. His interests included hunting and fishing and he was personally responsible for the introduction of many game-hunting species into New Zealand. He was also an amateur historian and a collector of Maori artefacts and rare books on Maori culture. Margaret McClure, The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism (Auckland: Auckland UP, 2004).
opportunities. She makes particular comment about the Department’s practice of
submitting “reams” of illustrated articles to international magazines, with the purpose
being “to educate the mass of readers overseas who knew as little of New Zealand ‘as of
the mountains in the moon’” (58).

The frequency with which the Department is credited as a source of photographic
material in the New Zealand press suggests that the New Zealand public, who made up a
considerable proportion of tourist numbers, were also a target audience. For example, in
the 1909 Christmas Number of the *Free Lance*, the only photos which appeared were full-
page photomontages credited to the Tourist Department.\(^1\) It is also possible that Tourist
Department images appeared in the pictorial supplements at the instigation of the New
Zealand newspapers. It would have been to their advantage to publish existing
photographs, of a style and quality already familiar to the New Zealand public and their
overseas correspondents through the Tourist Department’s extensive production of
postcards.\(^2\) There is also the quite practical issue of cost, as making photographs,
particularly in remote geographic locations, was not a cheap or easy activity. The financial
benefit of accessing existing high-quality photographs of sites and sights of public interest
would likely have been a motivating factor for printing Tourist Department images. The
existence of a mutually beneficial relationship between the Department and the weekly
newspapers is evidenced in the announcement on the front cover of the 1905 *Otago
Witness* Christmas Annual, which offers the newspaper “With the Compliments of New
Zealand Government Department of Tourist and Health Resorts”. In this instance, the
benefit to the publisher would have been financial subsidisation and wider distribution
resulting from its use as a publicity tool by the Tourist Department, while the
Department would have benefited from the opportunity to endorse a pre-existing
publication rather than publish material independently.

\(^{11}\) Unlike the other Christmas Numbers of the other weekly newspapers studied, the *Free Lance*
identified its target audience as a national one.

\(^{12}\) See Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of postcards.
N.Z. Weekly Graphic, Christmas Number, 1902, p1.
Note, in the lower right hand corner of the advertisement “Photographic Dark Rooms Provided Free” in both Wellington and Rotorua. This provision would have supported and reinforced the activity of making photographs of the sites and attractions identified by the Tourist Department.
While the Tourist Department’s presence in the weekly newspapers, in the form of advertising and photographic submissions, ensured that the official image of New Zealand continued to be projected, its views were wholeheartedly supported by the remaining content of the weekly newspapers. In other words, the newspapers functioned not only as vehicles for the propaganda and publicity of the Tourist Department, but also as active producers of complimentary propaganda and publicity in their own right.

**Newspaper photomontages in the construction of public memory**

Let photography quickly enrich the traveller’s album and restore to his eyes the precision his memory may lack (Baudelaire 232; Charvet).

Charles Baudelaire imagined photography as a handmaid, assisting travellers by retaining and re-presenting their visual experience. However, the experience of looking at photographs is itself memory-forming, and so photography may provide a viewer or reader with the possibility of having a visual memory of a place they had not actually visited. This function of photography as memory-forming prior to, or in place of, actual physical experience is related to Belich’s notion of a “history written in advance”. Memories of or about photographs can be as real or strong as any other memories. For example, in *Camera Lucida* Roland Barthes dwells on a photograph of his mother and her brother as children, taken in a greenhouse. Barthes refers to this image as the “Winter Garden Photograph” but never produces/reproduces it with his text. Margaret Olin concludes that this absence occurs not, as Barthes suggests, because its meaning will be lost on the readers, but because it does not, in fact, exist (Olin 109). Instead, she posits that it is a memory of a description of a photograph of Kafka aged six, into which Barthes has montaged his own family members. This may have been an act of memory montage, a retrospective rewriting, or an intentional fabrication. Whichever, this example illustrates the power of photographs, not just to be remembered but to become part of memories.

When a photograph is brought into contact with another photograph or with illustration or text, the memory created by the combination not only becomes more complex, but the photomontage itself actually mimics one of the key structures of memory. In thinking about memory, I have been influenced by the description of the memory process advanced
by Richard Semon, an early twentieth century German biologist. He invented the term “engram”, meaning a memory-trace, a supposed permanent change in the brain that accounts for the existence of memory (Schacter 5). An engram is the product of two actions: “engraphy”, that is, the encoding process; and “ecphory”, the retrieval process.

According to Semon, every act of engraphy (i.e. encoding and storing new information) involves some ecphory of thoughts, images and memories that are activated by the current situation. Thus a newly created engram is not a literal replica of reality, but is always an interpretation that includes retrieved information ... that is, when we remember a past experience, it is encoded anew in the memory system (Schacter 5-6).

Following Semon’s definition, memories are therefore not distinct but are interlinked; memories are fragments that are able to be constructed and reconstructed. In other words, one image fragment associatively brings to mind another and the association of some fragments is so automatic that they are thought of and remembered simultaneously. The designer involved in the construction of photomontage plays on the associative potential of the fragments, whether by playing with existing associations, or by creating new associations deliberately. The repetition of image combinations, such as the juxtaposition of people fishing with photographs of large fish, links combined images in the memory; meaning that there is every chance the retrieved memory will be of bountiful fishing. “FAIR PATRONS OF THE ROD” (figure 7) is a classic example of the combination of fishing and fish photographs, and as such functions to reinforce the notion that in New Zealand waterways, large fish were plentiful, there for the taking. When the associative potential of images and ideas is recognised, the connections can be manipulated and exploited, not only for propagandistic purposes, but also for entertainment. “SOME NEW ZEALAND TROUT FISHING STORIES” (figure 8), is essentially about the one that didn’t get away. George Bourne constructs a central scene of a young Māori boy with a ridiculously enormous fish, against which all other surrounding fish will be measured. The fisherman’s paradise, it suggests, may be located in one’s head.
When photomontages are designed for the purpose of visual communication to a mass audience, they will, through becoming part of viewers’ environment and experience, become part of the larger public memory. Kevin Barnhurst and John Nerone suggest that illustrated journalism was actually intended to intervene between readers and the world, “to provide them with an artificial archive of memory images” (Barnhurst and Nerone, "Civic Picturing Vs. Realist Photojournalism" 64). Memory is not limited to being a property of individual minds. Changing technologies, such as photomechanical printing, result in the collection of texts and images that make up the form of the newspaper, which become vehicles for the distribution of an artificial memory archive to a large and engaged, “thirsty” public (Klein 130).

The exteriorisation of collective memory, that is, the creation of a physical archive, has to some degree transformed historical understanding. Patrick Hutton proposes that the
interplay between repetition and recollection be considered as the foundation of the history/memory problem. Repetition, he explains, concerns the presence of the past; that is, how images of the past continue to influence the present (Hutton, xx). In relation to the photomontages under consideration in this thesis, repetition is a key element in the creation of myths, conventions, notions of national identity and expectations. Hutton’s second “moment” of memory, recollection, refers to efforts made to evoke the past, being the “moment of memory with which we consciously reconstruct images of the past in the selective way that suits our present situation” (xx). Recollection is a similarly important and intentional function of the designed photomontages, with nostalgic constructions of the relationships of Māori and Pakeha to the land, for example, representing them as having always been natural and peaceful.

The cultural construction of New Zealand

The construction of the colony in words and, later, images was made possible by the high literacy rate of both British immigrants and New Zealand-born Pakeha. Equally important was the existence of a working literary infrastructure in New Zealand which, from very early in the history of the colony, included libraries, bookshops and newspapers. The job of colonial literature, reflected also in contemporaneously produced images, “was to sustain order, and particularly to sustain the idea that it was right and natural for Europeans to be living in the wilds so far away from their original home - to deny the fact that there was distance between home and Home” (Evans 18). In photomontage, the denial of distance was manifested through the creation, selection and titling of photographic fragments of, for example, tranquil glades, gently rolling hills and feminine young women, which together constructed an idea of a tamed New Zealand landscape. Difficulties slowly arose for New Zealand-born Pakeha in maintaining this denial of distance, which became evident in the literature and other cultural productions of the period between 1900 and 1930. For many of the writers, artists and designers of this generation, Britain-as-home did not exist in their personal memories and was therefore an ever-present but inherited idea. Notions of both the past and the future were therefore based on myths and second-hand accounts, encountered and reproduced in oral traditions, texts and images.
The geographical isolation of New Zealand in combination with the relatively short history since its colonisation meant there was little chance of any distinct national culture evolving by 1900, or indeed by 1930. Historian Miles Fairburn argues that the situation in New Zealand instead predisposed its people to borrow heavily from other cultures, a practise that contradicts notions held about the uniqueness of this place (Fairburn 34). Fairburn argues that the consideration of New Zealand culture as either a derivation of British culture or an overlay of it onto local themes is too narrow, despite being a common position strengthened by its recent reiteration by Belich (36). Instead, he proposes that early-mid twentieth century New Zealand culture be approached as a pastiche that was dominated equally by influences imported from Britain, Australia and America (33). While Fairburn is primarily addressing the literary output of the period, there is a good case for applying his observations to the photomontages in the newspapers also. Conventions for the selection and treatment of subjects for photographs were well established by 1900, and were applied to photographic image-making in New Zealand with infrequent variation. The Arcadian myth of natural abundance, scenic wonders and hard work as the cornerstones for an ideal society in “God’s Own Country” was consequently able to be expressed using a pastiche of styles, images and symbols developed elsewhere. Fairburn argues that the resulting combination of cultural influences can itself be thought of as distinct, in that no other culture at the time was as open to as many current cultural influences as New Zealand was (45). Therefore, while not necessarily being “original”, the cultural productions of the period 1900-1930 were still potentially unique.

“IN GOD’S OWN COUNTRY” (figure 9) provides an example of a photomontage constructed from a variety of photographic, graphic and textual elements heavily influenced by language and cultural styles from elsewhere. To make the point, there is not one single element in the montage that could be accurately described as either original or unique to New Zealand, but neither do they solely reflect British cultural productions. The influences are far less distinct, and are multiple. The excerpt of poetry is correctly attributed to Thomas Bracken, a poet, journalist and politician who was
Figure 9

Hocken Collections Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
born in Ireland, brought up in Australia and who settled in New Zealand (Broughton). Although he did write a poem with the title “God’s Own Country”, these lines are not in it. Instead, they have been taken from “The Waterfall. Nichol’s Creek” (1884), and describe a scene which features a “wooded glen”, “plains” and “rich-feathered foresters”. J. E. Ward has contributed a design which references a page from a commercially produced illustrated album, into which photographs or postcards were intended to be inserted. These sometimes heavily ornamented albums have come to be described as Victorian, but were not exclusively designed or produced in Britain. Ward, in his version, has chosen not to illustrate any of the features mentioned in the text, instead introducing conifers, a waterfall and featuring birds that appear to most closely resemble stitchbirds (hihi). While male stitchbirds do have brilliant yellow feathers on their breasts, by 1904 the species was largely extinct on the main islands of New Zealand, surviving on small outlying islands only. As such, any direct sighting of the birds would have been more likely to occur in a museum cabinet than in a “wooded glen”. The ornamental border incorporates a stylised adaption of a kowhaiwhai pattern into a fairly standard typographical design. Aside from the words “New Zealand”, the studio portrait of a young Māori girl and the leaning ponga in the landscape photograph are the only recognisably local features. However, the compositions of the photographs are not subject-specific as they reference compositional conventions employed by artists for centuries. These pictorial conventions were very quickly borrowed and adapted by photography, and versions of these image clichés were produced everywhere.

In a survey of New Zealand literature from 1880 to 1918, Jane Stafford and Mark Williams provide a useful description of that period, which came to be known as “Maoriland” (Stafford and Williams, Maoriland 12). They wrote that “Maoriland constituted the first generation of cultural nationalism in New Zealand”, coinciding with the time “in which settler society in New Zealand consolidated itself economically and culturally” (14). “Maoriland is a land of settlers who, having claimed for themselves the designation ‘New Zealanders’ once reserved for Maori, now feel comfortable enough about their identity and security to borrow the name of those they have supplanted” (12). Maoriland is a common designation for New Zealand in the captions, headings and

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13 Painted scroll ornamentation – commonly used on meeting house rafters.
14 Native tree-fern.
literature in the weekly newspapers and is even given as the cable address for the superintendent of the Tourist Department (refer back to figure 6). It is a term that has nothing to do with being Māori but everything to do with belonging to the land.

The literature of the Maoriland period is characterised by the appropriation of Māori sources by the settlers. Māori culture was used by the writers to construct histories peculiar to Pakeha New Zealanders, with the dual intentions of differentiating themselves from the British while identifying themselves to those same peoples. Said’s terms of “Other” and “Self” could be applied to the consciously assumed “Maorilander” identity, with Pakeha attempting to define themselves and the country they had colonised as the “Other” in relation to the British “Self” or “Home”. In the literature of this period, Māori cultural heritage is inherited by the new generation of Pakeha New Zealanders, while Māori themselves conveniently die out (11). Stafford and Williams conclude that Maoriland is “a place where Māori have been translated out of the realm of the present into that of myth” (268).

In the weekly illustrated newspapers the realm of myth frequently coincided with the creation of tourist spectacle. Designers of photomontages routinely appropriated historical cultural artefacts, in particular carvings, and combined them with conventional photographic treatments of “natives” to reinforce the curiosity value of Māori while visually identifying them as distinct from (Pakeha) New Zealand society. “T’ROW A PENNY!” provides an example of the literal framing of Māori children with, and as, traditional cultural objects (figure 10). The positioning of a photographic cut-out of a young Māori woman with a child on her back directly on top of three carved panels at the right-hand edge of the photomontage conflates Māori person with Māori object, and therefore suggests a shared connection to the myths and histories that the carvings are imagined to represent. Compositionally, the young woman and child also provide a balance, and a comparison, to the large carved post figure which is situated diagonally opposite them. As a result of the combining, contrasting and merging of photographic representations of people and artefacts, all things Māori are cast as cultural spectacle. The world in which they exist is therefore tied up with ancestors, traditions and narratives that

15 Excepting the waka (canoe) prow at bottom right, all other carvings appear to have been taken from a single pataka (food storehouse).
are foreign to the observers. At the same time, the heading text explains that the children are diving for coppers in the hot water, and therefore interacting directly with the tourists. In this role they are children of nature, naked and possibly nymph-like, while simultaneously poor and under-civilised, performing for a penny. The capitalised title below, “T’ROW A PENNY!” suggests that the Māori children have only mastered a form of pidgin English, another marker that they are not the racial equals of the tourists or newspaper subscribers (Basso 73).

Figure 10

_N.Z. Weekly Graphic, Christmas Number, 1902, p3._

Photomontages of the period, such as “T’ROW A PENNY”, were visually and technically sophisticated. This particular montage is a three-layered construction, an approach which provides the image with an effective illusion of pictorial depth. The photographic cut-out of the woman and child floats at the front. Although her lack of legs is disconcerting, the skill with which the blanket fringe has been trimmed is remarkable, and saves the cut-out from any sense of abrupt rupture. The large carved figure that forms the left-hand vertical
edge of the frame also appears as foreground. This is due to a number of factors, the most obvious being its imposing scale. In addition the fall of light over the wood, captured by the photographer and maintained by the quality of the photomechanical reproduction, describes the object as three-dimensional. The degree of detail and the heightened contrast set it apart from the apparently flatter and tonally more limited panels. The identified subject of the montage, pictured in the background photograph of Māori children in the water waiting for tourists’ pennies, provides both a focus and a vanishing point. Design decisions about the shape of the montage and the use of white paper space, as well as choices concerning size, font and placement of the two texts seem considered.

The challenge of writing about the New Zealand landscape is another defining feature of Maoriland writing. Much of the resulting literature borrows heavily from Romanticism in an effort to form a “literary relationship” with “the landscape’s sublimity” (Stafford and Williams, Maoriland 11). The concept of a sublime landscape sat uneasily with images of the land as pliable, either as a site of industry, or as a backdrop for material society, and so a disjunction occurred between literary mode and the advancing “civilisation”. Photomontage was uniquely suited to the representation of such apparent contradictions, due to the relative newness of the photographic medium and its association with the modern world. The multi-faceted nature of montaged constructions also allowed for the visual coexistence of an untouched and an industrialised landscape. These two tropes of Maoriland literature, the appropriation of Māori culture and the challenge of visualising a sublime landscape in an era when interactions with the land were increasingly modern, are key motifs in the photomontages under consideration here. Figure 11, “THE VIRGIN SPLENDOUR OF THE RANGITIKEI”, is a typical example of a Maoriland montage. The central image of a seemingly untouched landscape, a gorge - a physical reminder of the underlying power of nature, is anchored at the corners by photographs of bridges, detailing how that landscape is breached by the technology and progress of man.
Stafford and Williams date the currency of the term Maoriland and its associated cultural constructions, from 1880 to the late 1910s, with some continued use into the 1920s, by which time it had begun to sound overly colloquial or old fashioned (Stafford and Williams, *Maoriland 11*). Tourist promotion is cited as an example of a domain in which Maoriland was most enduring; the discourse of tourism continued to evoke the concepts embodied by the term long after it fell out of common usage. The weekly newspapers should be included here also, as Maoriland continued to appear frequently in titles and accompanying texts throughout the 1920s. Due to the popular nature of the publications, both weekly and annual issues, the romantic, nostalgic and celebratory themes of Maoriland continued to be presented using literary models and visual communication modes that were beginning to be considered outdated and embarrassing elsewhere. This perseverance suggests that, at this time in New Zealand, graphic culture followed literary
culture. It is possible also that the prolonged use of the term was accompanied by an increasing awareness that Maoriland itself was becoming a nostalgic vision. Maoriland is characterised as a period of both modernity and nostalgia, in which self-assertion and dependency struggle to co-exist (Stafford and Williams, "Fashioned Intimacies" 34). As such, it is a period that has subsequently been treated as a problem that needed to be worked through, but with no merit of its own. The embarrassment engendered by these literary modes resulted in their being “so universally condemned and so gratefully discarded” in literary culture (Stafford and Williams, Maoriland 13). This stigmatisation may also explain why the weekly newspapers of this period have remained relatively unstudied. I agree with Stafford and Williams that this embarrassment needs to be overcome, or even just enjoyed, in order for the cultural productions of Maoriland period to taken seriously as an important part of the cultural construction of modern New Zealand, “albeit one that denied modernity to Māori” (273). The chronological distance that exists between current investigations and the period of Maoriland production allows such interest to be free of any direct or personal association, from which embarrassment would normally stem.

The newspapers, while to a greater or lesser degree actively supporting local literary and photographic activity, appear not to have been searching for new forms of writing or image-making. As a staple, the newspapers relied on nostalgic and romantic examples from familiar writers of the previous decades or their followers. There were obvious commercial as well as editorial reasons for this practice, which could be considered a variation of text montage. As discussed, Thomas Bracken’s lines from “The Waterfall. Nichol’s Creek”, which had been published first in 1884, appeared in the 1904 Christmas Number of the N.Z. Weekly Graphic (figure 9). Alfred Domett (1811-1887) is another poet whose writing continues to be used in fragments in the newspapers. A representative example can be found in the 1910 Christmas Number of the N.Z. Weekly Graphic. The following lines are

16 Writers who did not fit into the “Maoriland” genre of course existed, although often as expatriates, with the most famous example being Katherine Mansfield who left New Zealand permanently in 1908. And even Katherine Mansfield was not immune to influence from “Maoriland” casting a “Maori figure as a romantic other to the restrictions of colonial bourgeois life” in her 1912 story “How Pearl Button Was Kidnapped”, and elsewhere projecting similar romantic qualities onto “traditional” peoples Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, "Fashioned Intimacies: Maoriland and Colonial Modernity,” The Journal of Commonwealth Literature 37 (2002).
part of a photomontage titled “THE MAORI AND HIS CANOE. PICTURESQUE ASPECTS OF A POPULAR PASTIME”:

Where a people primeval is vanishing fast,
With its faiths and its fables and ways of the past.

The sentimental and “contrived” writing of this period has subsequently been criticised as being “undeniably bad” and “simply artificial” (J. O. C. Phillips 534). J. O. C. Phillips argued that this outcome was the inevitable result of writing that did not emanate from Pakehas’ own experiences. If such judgments are accepted, then there is little cause to critically review the cultural productions of the Maoriland period. However, the consequence of intentionally ignoring a period because of its artificiality would effectively be cultural and historical memory loss (Stafford and Williams, "Fashioned Intimacies" 35). Literary excerpts such as Domett’s may indeed cause a reader to cringe, but the graphic and photographic elements should not. As a result of the technical and aesthetic control with which photomontages such as “T’ROW A PENNY!” and “THE VIRGIN SPLENDOUR OF THE RANGITIKEI” were constructed, the messages communicated remain both subtle and attractive.

The Maoriland period in a history of New Zealand design may yet have more gaps than details, but the wealth and quality of material investigated for this thesis indicates that it is a rich period for further research. Pastiche, appropriation and adaptation were more common methods of production than innovation, but these are perfectly valid ways of working in commercial design. It is in this period of cultural production in New Zealand that visual conventions were established and reinforced, and the illustrated weekly newspapers have made a significant contribution to the public’s recognition and understanding of these.

New Zealand as an imagined community

Benedict Anderson discusses the importance of the newspaper in forming an imagined community. Print capitalism, of which the newspaper is a highly successful product, “made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to
relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways” (Anderson 36). By being a commodity that is mass-produced, distributed immediately and superceded by the next issue, the newspaper creates a ceremony of simultaneous consumption (35). Anderson describes the ceremony of consumption and its related imaginings as paradoxical: performed, as a rule, in privacy and silence but with an awareness that the individual reader’s experience is being simultaneously replicated by hundreds or thousands of unknown others (35). The reader’s awareness that the same newspaper is being consumed next door, in rural backblocks and in urban centres also provides a reassurance that the content of the newspaper is trustworthy (35).

While New Zealand cultural nationalism was in its infancy and political nationalism was only slowly evolving, New Zealand newspapers played an important role in creating a sense of connectedness and belonging: an imaginary community. “Internal communication was … important to the cultivation of social empathy among settlers”, many of whom led transitory lives up until at least the 1890s (C. J. Williams 10). The 1890s marked a transition towards the creation of actual communities in New Zealand; a development encouraged by more stable employment, an increase in the population and in particular, an evening of the gender balance. New Zealand society was nevertheless minimally organised even after this shift, with family and voluntary associations providing what thin social network there was (Belich, Making Peoples 416), (Fairburn 34). Newspapers, especially the weeklies that served both rural and urban populations, functioned to connect disparate communities and encouraged small communities in the growth of a local sense of belonging.

By placing equal emphasis on the far and the near, the newspapers succeeded in maintaining an unbroken thread to Britain in the form of information: cable news and culture (Evans 25). The juxtaposition of reports from the districts, towns and cities of New Zealand with items from Britain, Europe and elsewhere created imaginary simultaneous linkages between the locations. Placement and order of articles and images were determined by format and convention in each of the newspapers. Nevertheless, the associations suggested by the combination of the events and people of both hemispheres, however unintentional and fictive, were powerful. Facing pages in the Free Lance pictorial section of 8 June 1927 were not unusual (figure 12). On the left hand page, three separate
photos are reproduced: a giraffe being fed porridge at the Sydney zoo, a double portrait of engaged American film stars, and “WHEN EVE GOES OVER THE TOP”, a photograph depicting the new popularity of cross-country running among young English women. The right hand page announces that “TUNNEL BUILDING IS CHILD’S PLAY IN THIS AGE OF CONCRETE” and shows the building of the Tamaki Tunnel. While the layout could not be described as montage, as each of the images is intended to be discrete, the combination suggests that modern New Zealand is keeping pace with the novelty, the glamour, the fads and the fashions of the world at large.

Figure 12
(from left – main titles only) “LIKE A TRUE SCOTSMAN.” “TWO HEARTS THAT BEAT AS ONE.” “WHEN EVE GOES OVER THE TOP.” “TUNNEL BUILDING IS CHILD’S PLAY IN AN AGE OF CONCRETE.”
New Zealand Free Lance, 8 June 1927, pp22-23.

The newspapers, as part of an international communication network, performed an important role in communicating to distant as well as to internal audiences. The mass-produced images, articles and advertisements about life in New Zealand served to validate the content of personal communications in the form of letters, postcards and private
photographs. To outsiders, who in this instance would be the international readership of the Christmas Numbers, the presentation of New Zealand in the designed pictorial supplements of the newspapers communicated and affirmed the country’s reality.

In order to maintain a personal connection with Home and to reinforce the colony’s ties, British immigrants were advised to arrange a standing subscription to a London weekly newspaper before embarking on their journey to New Zealand (Harvey, "Newspapers" 128). For many settlers, locally published newspapers would initially have complemented the British publications rather than replaced them. References to weekly newspapers in the biographies and autobiographies of settlers provide anecdotal accounts of their importance in maintaining a connection to the wider Empire, while simultaneously creating an imagined national community. For example, Margaret McKenzie, who has been included in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography as a typical “homemaker” of her time, lived in Martins Bay, central South Island, from 1878 to 1903, an isolated location that was a week’s journey on foot from the closest communities of settlers at Te Anau and Lake Wakatipu. She and her family relied on a delivery by sea of dry stores and mail every two to three months, between which times her family would see no one and have no news or contact with the outside world. Included in each delivery was a sackful of the Otago Witness, which “was read and re-read” (Barlow).

**The newspaper as environment**

The form of the newspaper constitutes an environment into which the reader can enter. The newspaper is “a space that comfortably pretends to represent something larger: the world-at-large, its economics, politics, sociality, and emotion” (Barnhurst and Nerone, "The Form of News" 7). Barnhurst and Nerone go further, describing the experience of the newspaper environment as three-dimensional, involving the senses of sight, touch and smell. Combined with Anderson’s description of newspaper consumption as mass ceremony the newspaper becomes more than a text; it becomes an event, an influential part of the reader’s larger life experience.

There are many anecdotes and accounts of the weekly newspapers in New Zealand functioning not only as an environment into which a person enters through the activity of
reading, but as part of the reader’s actual physical environment through secondary uses. Barnhurst and Nerone talk about newspapers being trashed, without actually being trash. (7). There is a sense that, in New Zealand in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the newspapers themselves contained value as objects as well as holding value as containers of content. For many of the readers the pictorial supplements of the newspapers performed a dual function and had a second life. The function of connecting the reader to a world-at-large through a familiar environment of text and image was complemented by the secondary uses of the newspaper by the reader, many of whom made the newspapers part of their greater physical world:

Every year the kitchen-living-rooms would be papered with the newsprint ‘for Christmas’, the illustrated section being reserved for the children’s bedrooms. … The coloured picture given free with each Christmas Number made a picture for all rooms in turn; these pictures would be framed with narrow strips of shirred or pleated muslin - the ‘good end’ of an old worn-out curtain perhaps, dyed to whatever tone of pink desired by boiling the material with the pink covers of the Weekly (Boswell).

Boswell’s recount suggests that many children growing up in New Zealand in the early twentieth century would have gone to sleep and woken up in an annually changing montaged environment. It is easy to imagine that a degree of ownership of the images developed over the course of each year, as the illustrations, photographs and photomontages would have been viewed over and over again, being part of the children’s daily experiences and routines. Children would have learnt from the representations that surrounded them. The images could also have entered children’s imaginary realms through inclusion in games, story-telling and dreaming. But it was not only children’s bedrooms that were papered with the pictorial supplements.

In figure 13, the main (and possibly only) room of a house in the backblocks has become a three-dimensional montage of idealised life in New Zealand. It is clear from the scale of the room and the simple nature of the fireplace and furniture that a materially humble life was being lived in the midst of an unbroken surface of representations. Photographs and montages of leisure, landscape, romantic Māori and modern industry were staple themes in the newspapers, and a full-page montage on yachting, a pursuit of the wealthy, is clearly discernable above the fireplace. The bookshelf, on the right-hand wall, has a meagre number of books, with a pile of newspapers taking up as much space. It is likely that many
readers would have recognised their own living environments on viewing this picture, and equally possible that many others would have gone on to transform their bare walls into similarly illustrated environments after viewing this image.

It was not just the poorest of the subscribers who incorporated the pictorial supplements of the newspapers into the interior design of their homes. McKay comments that even in 1940 one could still see many prints from the *Graphic* supplements hanging in frames on the walls of Auckland houses (McKay). The Christmas Numbers contained pull-out or fold-out lithographs and photomontages that were designed as posters, and were explicitly intended to have a life beyond being the central section of the newspaper. The artists or subjects of the pull-out were often advertised in advance, along with assurances that the plates were “well worthy of and eminently suited for framing” (figure 21). The loose-leaf prints that were designed to be kept, are the sections of the newspapers least represented in the archives today. Instead, they were pulled out and used, rather than remaining with the rest of the text which got preserved. Images that are lived with become part of everyday experience, and become involved in personal narrative, imagination and memory. As a consequence, the material portrayed in the images could have a long-term influence.

Papering the interior walls directly and entirely with newsprint was a practice not exclusive to New Zealand. Furthermore, this practice was common well before the introduction of photomechanical printing or pictorial supplements. The major practical benefit was to seal off the cracks in the walls, with the low cost and regular availability of material being additional important factors. The application of newspaper illustrations and photographs to walls was not exclusively reserved to domestic environments, either. In the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* entry on Frederick Radcliffe, a farmer turned photographer who, among other things, contributed scenic photographs to the *Auckland Weekly News* and the *New Zealand Graphic*, particular mention is made of his studio at Stony Hill: “It was remembered for its walls papered with pages from the *Weekly News* and photographic transparencies over the windows” (Ringer).

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17 It is possible that McKay is referring to the British illustrated newspaper, *The Graphic* (1869-1932), and not to the *New Zealand Graphic*. 
This chapter has argued that photomontages in the pictorial supplements of the illustrated weekly newspapers played an active role in constructing, and visually communicating, set ideas of New Zealand as a place and of New Zealanders as a people. As this occurred during a period in which a distinct national identity was being formed, it is reasonable to conclude that the photomontages echoed and projected the key hopes and fears of the Pakeha proportion of the New Zealand population. While the images may not have accurately reflected the major political events and social issues of the period, this chapter has demonstrated that visual experiences, particularly those involving photographs, and shared by an imagined community, can be consumed as information and retrieved as memory.
CHAPTER 2.

Producing weekly entertainment for thousands of homes: the development of technological capabilities and social needs.

Photo-illustrated newspapers and periodicals vastly proliferated in the early decades of the twentieth century and, as a consequence, the general public was exposed to a great range of photographic imagery. It is not that photographs themselves were new to the majority of the public, as both mass-manufactured and privately made images were common in homes from the late nineteenth century onwards. Rather, the experience of photographs changed. Cartes-de-visites, cabinet cards and stereographs were selected by consumers, who made, arranged, displayed and stored them, and would have looked at them repeatedly. Anne Maxwell claims that, by the 1880s, “almost every middle-class household in Britain, the USA, Australia and New Zealand could boast a photographic collection” (Maxwell 11). She further claims that these personal collections also “included images of indigenous peoples” (11). While a large proportion of the New Zealand population did not fall neatly into a middle-class, the experience and ownership of photographic imagery became increasingly common by the turn of the twentieth century, with the simultaneous development of photo-illustrated newspapers and magazines, postcards and other forms of less expensive printed ephemera. The rise in consumer photography (a result of the consumption of photographic equipment and products by the purchasing public) was contemporaneous, meaning that image viewers were potentially image-makers as well.

There was a great hunger for images in general and for photographs in particular. Advances in printing technology enabled production to meet the demands of the public. As the Dutch graphic designer Jan Tschichold noted in 1928: “such extraordinary consumption can only be met through mechanical means” (Tschichold 122). Photography came to be associated with the modern world, the world of industry. In contrast to the psychic and financial investments made in the assembling of personal collections of original photographs, the photomechanical reproductions in newspapers and magazines were selected by editors, produced en masse and quickly superseded by the next print run. As a result, “the glut of images was producing an increasingly visually sophisticated
audience that rapidly came to see printed images as transitory and expendable” (Marien 240-41). The Hungarian-born constructivist artist Laszlo Moholy-Nagy later reflected on the introduction and impact of photographs in the mass media as being centrally important to modern society, predicting that the illiterate of the future would be those who were “ignorant of camera and pen alike” (Moholy-Nagy, "From Pigment to Light" 342). The changing experience of photographs could be summarised as the development of the photograph from object into media, from individual image to functional communication strategy.

**Photography enters the printing industry**

Photography is not only a mechanical process for the production of an image, but is also, almost implicitly, a mechanical process for reproduction. Even when early technology limited the act of photographing to the production of a single impression, the act itself was inherently one intended to mirror or duplicate the visible world. Although the invention of photography is generally dated to around 1839, the idea of photography existed long before science and technology made it a reality. Joseph Nicéphore Niepce successfully mechanically transferred an image onto a lithography stone in 1825. His initial experimentation was motivated by his work as a lithographer. Early developments by Niepce and others, along with patented techniques such as the calotype developed by William Henry Fox Talbot, prove that the desire to make multiple copies accompanied photography from the start. As soon as negatives rather than positives were able to be produced, reproduction came to be considered a fundamental condition of the photograph: “the very principle of photography is that the resulting image is not unique, but on the contrary infinitely reproducible” (Berger 291). The daguerrotype was an exception, in that it was a unique positive-appearing image. The process was capable of producing a finely focused image with subtle tonal variations, but when reproducible photographic processes came close in image quality the daguerrotype became obsolete.\(^\text{18}\)

\(^{18}\) The cheaper ambrotype and tintype processes also produced unique images.
Technology must logically precede production, but ideas, desires and imagined applications generally precede and provide motivation for the invention of a technology. Uses for photographic reproduction technology far preceded the means, and were quickly realised when means were available. Nevertheless, there is a popular conception that new technologies are the drivers of change. Liz Wells addresses this conception in relation to the role technology plays in creating or satisfying social needs and changes.

New machinery is normally presented as the agent of social change, not as the outcome of a desire for such change, i.e. as a cause rather than a consequence of culture. However, it can be argued that particular cultures invest in and develop new machines and technologies in order to satisfy previously foreseen social needs (Wells 12).

A parallel with the development of the book can be drawn, in which social need and imagination preceded the technology to satisfy them. Frederick Kilgour listed the existence of five concurrent elements he considered necessary for each of the major innovations in the form of the book: “(1) societal need for information; (2) technological knowledge and experience; (3) organizational experience and capability; (4) the capability of integrating a new form into existing information systems; and (5) economic viability” (Kilgour 5). His summary can be usefully applied to the development of photography, with the mass reproducibility of the photograph presented as answering a social need for information. However, it is his fourth and fifth points, the capability of integration into existing systems and economic viability, which are particularly pertinent to the development of mechanical reproduction techniques that would allow photography entry into the printing industry. As with any innovation, once developed, its properties were open to experimentation and exploitation. Patterns of production and consumption of images were permanently altered.

In hindsight, the marrying of photography to journalism seems so logical as to have been inevitable. In the late nineteenth century, this conclusion was not so automatic. Illustrations for news and for entertainment were already a common feature of Victorian newspapers and periodicals. Barnhurst and Nerone point out that experiments resulting in the development of methods of illustration and image reproduction began in the 1830s, predating the 1839 introduction of the daguerreotype (Barnhurst and Nerone, "Civic Picturing Vs. Realist Photojournalism" 60). By the late 1850s, illustration had become an
integral part of a number of intellectual and popular publications. As a result, studios of master engravers, woodcutters and lithographers became well established in most of the major industrialised centres in the second half of the nineteenth century. However New Zealand, being neither major nor well established, consequently had few local lithographers and even fewer engravers. While illustrations were an increasingly common feature in the New Zealand popular press, some newspapers relied on purchasing plates from Britain to fill the pictorial pages or supplements. Nevertheless, many major daily newspapers in New Zealand, Britain and elsewhere did not include illustrations, and this conscious policy did not change with the increased availability of mechanically printed photographs. This may have been because “many editors had deep-seated prejudices about newspaper illustrations. They thought them unnecessary, frivolous and beneath the dignity of a serious newspaper” ("A Century in Print” 6).

One of the first ways in which photography visibly impacted existing methods of illustration was a subtle change in the appearance of wood engravings. This was evident in the employment of greater tonal ranges and more emphasis on “correct” scale and perspective. Paul Jobling and David Crowley attribute this change to the development of the solar camera by David Woodward in 1857 (Jobling and Crowley 27). This meant that photographic images were able to be printed onto wood blocks, which were then carved by engravers and printed from. It is also possible that the change resulted from a growing familiarity with the look of the photographic image. Although the look of photographs may have been attempted or referenced, an adoption of the nature of photographs was not equally implied. Photography was closely linked with truth and reality in the nineteenth century; however there was no overriding expectation for newspaper illustrations to present visual truths. In the nineteenth century, caricature, impression and blatant exaggeration often better served the reading public’s appetite or the newspaper’s function.

Over the course of the nineteenth century the demands of the reading public continued to change, in parallel with advances in photomechanical reproduction technologies. By the beginning of the twentieth century there had been a definite shift in modes of illustration, from images created by hand such as drawing and diagram-making to images created with cameras. The shift is significant and can be summed up as a manifestation of the desire for a degree of objectivity, from a subjective “artist’s” view to the impersonal “machine’s”
view. The world was no longer to be translated by a trusted intermediary; the audience wanted to see for themselves. The change in the method of illustration reflected the concurrent change in the relationship of the individual to the world (Barnhurst and Nerone, "Civic Picturing Vs. Realist Photojournalism" 66).

Half-tone printing, the process which eventually proved suited to producing photomechanical images on an industrial scale, was initially posited and patented by William Henry Fox Talbot in 1858. This process would allow for photographic images and type to be printed simultaneously, a development which was highly significant. Early photographic production was itself difficult and expensive, and further difficulties were encountered in attempting to print text and photographic reproductions on the same page and with the same plate. As a result, until half-tone printing was refined, the large scale reproduction of photographic imagery by the mass media was inhibited by issues of cost and complexity. Talbot called his patented method photoglyphic engraving and continued to refine it independently and then with the collaboration of the Czech Karl Klic (also spelled Klietsch), until they considered it “perfected” in 1879 and renamed it photogravure (Schaaf). Process line engraving, a technique that used a photographic negative to transfer a design onto a light sensitive metal plate, was introduced in 1870 by Gillot and Lefmann. This was a development of an existing technique, originally used by Gillot’s father, Firman Gillot, in the 1850s, which transformed lithographs into relief blocks (Jobling and Crowley 28). Further refinements by others, including Frederic Ives, made the half-tone process increasingly feasible and economical.

During the 1880s, lines were replaced by dots, and the technique of half-tone printing was considerably improved. The basic principle of the half-tone process is the breaking down of an image into dots by passing the image through a screen of diagonal lines, with the ink then being deposited on the paper in proportional density to that of the original images (Hirsch 316).\(^1\) One of the key problems that the half-tone process solved was the

\(^1\) McKay relates the considerable difficulty with this process experienced by printers and their apprentices in New Zealand. Unable to easily obtain materials or equipment, they had to manufacture their own screens by hand, “very carefully winding thin wire or silk thread upon a frame and then cutting out each alternative strand, two negatives being made and then bound together to give the cross-line effect required” R. A. McKay, ed., A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940 (Wellington: Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen, 1940).
conversion of the photographic image from a broad range of tonalities into just two, black ink on white paper.

Although mechanically reproduced photographic images could be relatively cheaply and easily printed alongside type by the early 1890s, there was not an immediate rush by all sectors of the newspaper and magazine industries to implement this technology. There are a number of possible explanations for the slow uptake of new technology, including practical, financial considerations, given the need for major capital investment. In an era of rapid change and growth in the newspaper and periodical industries, there were frequent improvements, developments and updates, in terms of speed, output, print quality, and usability. Companies were logically unable to refit their print shops each time a new kind of press or process was brought to the market. In this regard, New Zealand was at an advantage. The relative newness of the newspaper plants and the small scale of production meant that businesses were not encumbered with print rooms full of aging machinery. Newly established enterprises looked to start with the newest technology and were able to consider importing it from America as well as from Britain and continental Europe. Small plants were able to adapt existing equipment relatively easily to suit newer processes. For example, McKay notes that the collotype process had been tried for a year at The Press in Christchurch before the move to half-tone, but that it was declared “too slow for newspaper work” (McKay 123). The collotype glasses and printing machine were then converted, the glasses becoming supports in the process-engraving frames, while the collotype printing machine was adapted for lithography.

Colour printing, a novelty feature and a declared selling point of the special issues and Christmas Numbers of the weekly newspapers, also needed to be adapted for use with photographic imagery. By 1900 chromolithography was no longer the dominant process of colour printing, as the various presses were experimenting with tri-chromatic printing, four-colour printing and colour half-tones. The variations in colour print processes were driven by the desire to cut costs, to simplify methods and to present a more modern look “in accordance with the innovative thrust of the time” (Johnston 452). The Weekly Press was an anomaly, preferring to retain chromolithography as a process for which they were well-equipped and had successfully achieved very high production standards. Over the thirty years covered by this study colour remained sparingly used, most probably due to
economies of scale required for colour simply being unfeasible in New Zealand, regardless of the method of production.

For the first decades of the twentieth century, photographic images complemented rather than automatically replaced graphic modes of illustration in many newspapers. Eventually, speed became the single most significant deciding factor for industry, with photomechanical images able to be reproduced faster and with greater efficiency than other modes of illustration. With the introduction of images into first weekly and then daily newspapers, and an increase in the overall popularity of illustrated newspapers, a reliance on traditional, more time-consuming methods was no longer feasible. Graphic illustration became outpaced rather than entirely outmoded.

**Consumer photography and photographic ephemera**

The technical capacity to mass-produce photographic imagery was not reason enough on its own to fill pages or stores with pictures. Photographs themselves initially had to be produced, and by the 1890s this also could be done with relative ease and speed. George Eastman’s production of sensitised paper in 1884 and of the hand-held consumer camera in 1888 made possible the separation of the processes of taking photographs (which came to be associated with leisure) and making photographs (work, carried out in the factory). The development of consumer photography was characterised by the Kodak advertising slogan “you push the button and we do the rest.” People not only had images produced of themselves, but began to picture themselves: “simultaneously, photography was both domesticated and industrialised” (Holland 141). While access to equipment and processing would not have been equally available across the socio-economic spectrum, the activity of photography was thrown wide open, with all members of a family able to take turns or play parts in the construction of images. Many published photographers in New Zealand initially encountered photography as a leisure activity or hobby.20

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20 For example, Jessie Buckland (1878-1939), who operated a small commercial photography business in Akaroa for 30 years, learnt and practiced photography collectively with her family. For the Bucklands, photography was “a fascinating pastime and a wonderful outlet for the creativity of each individual” (Main). Their albums are held in the Hocken Collections, Dunedin.
New Zealanders were quick to embrace photography as part of the rise of a popular cult of science and technology.

This was an international phenomenon but seems to have been curiously acute in New Zealand. [...] Photography was a leading edge of popular technology at the time, and New Zealand was said to have six or seven times the number of photographers per head of capita as the United States in 1900 (Belich, Paradise Reforged 74).

In 1897, for example, the Otago Witness estimated there to be over 15,000 professional photographers in New Zealand as well as “quite an innumerable army of amateurs – some of them as clever as professionals” ("Photography’s Queer Side” 47). While this estimate may prove to be wholly unreliable, it give some indication of the quick popularity that photography found, as both profession and pastime. The resident New Zealand population would not have been solely responsible for producing the quantity of photographers practicing here. It was also an attractive destination for photographers from elsewhere: “many commercial photographers, fuelled by a spirit of adventure and exploration, had ventured to the colonies in search of their own economic prosperity” (C. J. Williams 9).

Making photographs stimulated rather than replaced the desire to own photographs made by others. The public was not solely reliant on newspapers and periodicals for photographic vision, nor were the photographers solely reliant on the newspaper industry for publication or income. John M. MacKenzie asserts that at the turn of the twentieth century “the influence of cheap photography, its sharpness of definition, its immediacy, even attempts at colour, were to be conveyed primarily through the sales of photographic ephemera” (MacKenzie 21). Centrally important to the ephemera boom was the picture postcard, which he credits as being responsible for the democratisation of the visual image. The postcard, like the illustrated press, was made possible by the combination of technical advances in photography and print production and relied on the improving postal services for distribution.

Postcards were were immediately popular. They were far cheaper than other pre-existing forms of printed photographs such as cartes, cabinet cards and photographic albums, whose greater expense was due to their being produced as actual photographs. Manufactured in Germany before 1900 and in England from 1901 onwards, postcards
were bought, posted and collected in New Zealand in enormous quantities. Hardwicke Knight gives figures of postcards posted in New Zealand, recording 1,453,463 posted in 1903 growing to a peak of 14,188,642 posted in 1909 (Knight 89). Altogether, around 54 million postcards were posted in New Zealand between 1903 and 1912, a figure which does not take into account postcards purchased but never committed to the post.

The New Zealand Department of Tourist and Health Resorts alone published 100,000 postcards in 1901, its first year of existence, and a similar number again in its second (figure 14). Popular themes of tourist postcards were portraits of Māori women, mountains, lakes and geysers (McClure 57). The photographic firm Muir and Moodie, which was associated with the Burton Brothers before buying them out in 1898, also contributed significantly to the New Zealand total (figure 15). Records show orders for up to 500 copies of each of the 6000 different cards they produced during this era. The Muir and Moodie catalogue was predominantly composed of scenic views, with the partnership styling themselves as “Specialists in New Zealand Scenery” (Main and Turner 24). They travelled the country updating their most popular views, which frequently appeared in the popular press as well as in postcard format. This doubling up created the possibility of a core of images of New Zealand that were recycled to the public as both information and commodity and would have served to reinforce a selected set of key or “classic” New Zealand scenes through repetition.

*The New Zealand Graphic and Ladies’ Journal* is one of the photo-illustrated weekly newspapers that recognised and sought to benefit from the popularity of postcards. For a period of time over the years 1904-1906, postcards were given away with every edition as a promotional exercise. “These were issued unattributed, […] in sheets of two or three joined with perforations between and printed in a variety of colours such as dull green, rusty red, blue and purple that gave some variety to *The Graphic’s* normal black imprint” (Main and Jackson 64). *The Weekly Press* also issued a series of postcards, which they made available to subscribers at the cost of sixpence in unused stamps for a set of twelve cards.
Figure 14

Wairoa New Zealand.
Littlebury’s Series.-No. 30. By permission of the N.Z. Tourist Department: postmarked 1907

Figure 15

“No. 1880, Aratea Rapids”
Issued by Muir and Moodie, Dunedin, N.Z. from their Copyright Series of Views. (pre-1905)
The recycling and re-presentation of images were apparently common practices in the postcard industry (figures 16-18). The image at the top is acknowledged as an F. J. Denton photo, and is titled “DROP SCENE (6 MILES ABOVE PIPIRIKI) THE WANGANUI, NEW ZEALAND’S SCENIC RIVER.” It was printed in Germany between 1907 and 1915. On closer observation, it is clear that the central figure of a young Māori girl in a canoe has been montaged onto the river scene and has been heavily retouched. She is at a different scale to the rest of the image and at quite a different resolution. The montaged figure is likely to be by Denton also, as he made a series of studies of a young Māori girl at the prow of a waka around 1900. Interestingly, these inconsistencies are much less marked in the second example. This card, from the “Semco Series”, would have been published at a similar time. Despite the fact that the image on the Semco postcard is obviously a construction, the photographic insert, through being distanced by the map, appears as a convincing view. It is in the “original” image, which is presented as a photograph and has the photographer’s name to add authenticity to the claim, that the cutting and pasting is most noticeable.

The photomontage format remains unchanged throughout the “Semco Series”, with views of the beauties and wonders of the country inserted into the rent over the lower North Island. The photograph and the two-dimensional map, brought together in the postcard design, are both distinct ways of factually recording the world. As such, they are tied up with the discourse of geography, although the map is denied its function of detailing location by being blown apart. The central section is crudely embossed, with the map sitting lower than the photo fragment.
Figure 16


Figures 17 & 18

Versions of this format, a paper map of either New Zealand or the globe ripped through to reveal photographic detail, are produced contemporaneously in product advertising and in the weekly newspapers. The “Extract of Meat” advertisement (figure 19) would have been constructed in an identical way to the Semco postcards. The Weekly Graphic example differs in that the Boy Scout has actually burst through the paper. He holds the flag in front of the map while his lower body remains concealed by it. This detail is important because it demonstrates that, while montage conventions clearly existed, the photographers and designers involved in the image construction did not always repeat conventions unthinkingly. This particular example retains an illusion of depth. While photographing automatically flattens, the “Extract of Meat” advertisement and the Semco postcards illustrate the effect of rephotographing; a double flatness in which both real
depth and appearance of depth are absent. The Boy Scout would have been photographed before the additions of illustration and typography. The image is accompanied by the caption:

Maoriland Gives Greeting to the Empire. The year that passes with 1910 in New Zealand is conspicuous for the fact that it sees a gift of a Dreadnought cruiser to the Empire, the adoption of compulsory military training, and the realisation of the Boy Scout movement.

Whether the repetition of this format allowed for clear communication of an already understood message or whether it reduced a potentially meaningful format to the function of an unremarked framing device is impossible to ascertain retrospectively. That it was familiar is undeniable.

**Illustrated weekly newspapers in New Zealand**

Newspapers and periodicals form an important part of New Zealand history. Unlike in Britain, where book publishing was well established before the advent of newspapers, in New Zealand the newspaper came first. Newspapers were rapidly produced in New Zealand, with 181 newspapers being founded between 1860 and 1881 alone (Scholefield 6). Their life expectancies were not particularly long; some newspapers lasting for one or two editions only, while others served their purpose over a few years before closing or being amalgamated into another newspaper. However, there are a few newspaper enterprises that were established in this period that carried on in one form or other well into the twentieth century, or even continue to the present day. In the case of the majority of the illustrated weekly editions of newspapers, closure has been attributed to a failure to meet the changing patterns of newspaper circulation and distribution, as well as to the competition of radio. The longest running weekly, *The Auckland Weekly News* was, according to its publisher, “killed by the age of television, [yet] it now stands as a remarkable pictorial record of colonial New Zealand” (“The New Zealand Herald”).

Newspapers are highly significant in that, in an age of print, they “both reflect and influence the cultures in which they are published” (Byrne 59). Those involved in the development of the press and print culture in general in New Zealand had very clear ideas about the purpose of their endeavours. Over the course of the nineteenth century those
aims generally changed from political to commercial ones. In the “Foreword” to *A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940*, H. A. Lines “offered” the book on behalf of the Club of Printing House Craftsmen as a “permanent record of the service of printing to the culture of a country but one century removed from primitive savagery”. Furthermore, he claimed that New Zealanders had established an industry that had kept pace with the world’s rapid progress while being “a people engaged with the primary task of conquering a wilderness” (page unnumbered). Nearly sixty years later, J. E. Traue more helpfully comments on the horizontal spread and local mutation of the press, in contrast to Line’s racially motivated model of cultural evolution. Likening New Zealand newspapers to gorse, blackberry and rabbits, Traue suggests that identifiably New Zealand newspapers “were spawned by our colonial conditions and played such a major part in our print culture” (109). It is undeniable that printing was involved with larger ideas of progress in New Zealand, whether progress was seen to be keeping up or competing with Britain, Australia or America, or was defined by the growth of a distinct national culture and identity.

The development of the modern newspaper industry in New Zealand, as elsewhere, was tied directly to the development of other communication technologies and the political management of them. On April 12, 1872, telegraphic communication was established between Auckland, Wellington and the southern provinces. This was followed by the opening of the trans-Tasman cable in 1876, which allowed telegraph communication not only with Australia but also with Britain. Add to this the introduction of the telephone in the 1880s, and a relatively efficient and uniform news service was able to exist. In comparison, the first national radio station was not established until 1925, only slightly preceded by local stations, such as Radio Dunedin which began broadcasting in 1922.

Ross Harvey, a leading authority on newspapers in New Zealand, attributes the uniformity of news services not only to quickly established political control over the telegraph, but also to the existence of a single press association that had substantial control over the supply of overseas news. He concluded that “a monopoly situation prevailed for much of the nineteenth century, the consequence being … a single national view without contrast, and little opportunity for dissenting views” (Harvey, "Bringing the News to New Zealand" 32).
Despite the political control over wireless transmission (formalised in the 1903 Wireless Telegraphy Act), there was a strong conviction in New Zealand about the importance of a free press. The notion of a free press should not be confused with ideas of objectivity, openness or political neutrality, however. There were a number of newspapermen in Parliament and newspaper owners and proprietors were frequently involved in local body politics. The major newspapers were definite in their statements of serving their reading communities’ interests rather than being political mouthpieces. This extract from the 1 January 1877 *New Zealand Herald* is representative:

No influence can be brought to bear upon us from outside; we are as free to form our own conclusions and to express our own thoughts as any newspaper can possibly be. We shall be ever mindful that our duty is to the people and not to any man, or set of men ("Foundation and Rise of the Herald - Seventy Years’ Growth" 5).

By the end of the nineteenth century, those reading communities had expanded, due to a number of factors including population increase and the high rate of literacy, which can be partially attributed to the introduction of compulsory education in 1877. The introduction of new printing technology which enabled faster and larger production runs, and the continuing push to create permanent rail and road infrastructures throughout the country put more emphasis on wider distribution and the creation of a larger readership. Wide distribution was particularly important for the weekly newspapers, which predominantly served a rural population, where poor access, transport and distribution systems prevented the delivery of daily newspapers.

Weekly illustrated periodicals were first produced in Europe in the 1840s. Generally, weekly newspapers featured a combination of news, current events (especially those able to be anticipated ahead of time as this enabled the preparation of illustrations), and matters of common interest.

These [newspapers] had developed as a vital medium for linking the nation, and in the case of Britain and France, its empires, with the metropolis, and they had been able to do so because of the development of a reliable and cheap national and international postal service after the middle of the nineteenth century (Gretton 100).

There were twenty-two weekly newspapers in circulation in New Zealand at the turn of the twentieth century, many of them being adjuncts to the larger dailies, but a few were
stand-alone publications that developed their own identities and niches (McLintock, "New Zealand Press’, from an Encyclopaedia of New Zealand"). Weekly newspaper print runs were substantial, with the Weekly Press (Christchurch) boasting a record circulation of 40,000 copies an issue by 1901 (The Press 166). Some of the weeklies circulated nationally and even to Australia and further afield. The following terms of subscription for the Auckland Weekly News in 1908 suggest an international readership was expected:

Terms of Subscription. – Delivered in any part of the Dominion: Per Quarter, in advance, 6/-; […] Posted outside the Dominion: - Great Britain, Canada, Australian States and South Sea Islands, per Quarter in advance, 7/-; […] America, India, South Africa, Samoa, Tahiti and Foreign Countries 8/6 per Quarter.

The weeklies led the way in pictorial journalism in New Zealand, with half-tone photographs beginning to complement or overtake line drawings, lithographs and wood engravings in some newspapers by 1900. New Zealand photographic historian Hardwicke Knight described the introduction and use of photomechanical processes by the main presses in New Zealand as “very early, enterprising, and successful” (Knight 144).

Technically, the standard of press photography and printing in New Zealand at the turn of the century compared favourably with other countries, and the quality of some printed photographs is high, even against current standards. An international comparison in regards to the timing of the introduction of half-tone can be made with the world's first illustrated weekly newspaper, the Illustrated London News, which was first published on 14 May 1842. Founded by Herbert Ingram, it came at a time “when Britain was embarking on an epoch of unprecedented expansion and prosperity” ("The Illustrated London News"). Although the half-tone process was first used by the Illustrated London News in 1887, half-tone photographs were only gradually introduced, with wood-engravings generally holding their own until the turn of the century. In Australia, a colonial comparison can be made with the Sydney Mail. Established in 1860, the Sydney Mail was a weekly news summary published by the Sydney Morning Herald. It first introduced woodcuts in 1871, then a dedicated pictorial section in 1876. In 1888 the Sydney Mail printed its, and possibly Australia’s, first photograph using the half-tone process (Quanchi, "The Power of Pictures" 45).

In Canada, photographic illustrations were immediately introduced into The Canadian Illustrated News (established 30 October 1869) and its sister publication L’Opinion
Publique, with local experiments resulting in the development of a half-tone, cross-lined screen photolithographic process, called “leggotype” (Burant 114). By the 1890s, the dominant photomechanical processes had been adopted. The importance of photographic illustration for commercial, political and educational purposes was clear to the Canadian Illustrated News’ founder, George E. Desbarats, who wrote in his prospectus:

By picturing to our own people the broad dominion they possess, its resources and progress, its monuments and industry, its great men and events, such a paper would teach them to know and love it better, and by it they would learn to feel still prouder of the proud Canadian name (Burant 119).

This statement reflects not only the important role of illustration in meeting a newspaper’s aims, but also highlights the importance of newspapers, carrying on the role of propagandists involved in the task of colonial boosterism.

The majority of the New Zealand weekly newspapers studied in this thesis introduced pictorial supplements, if they were not already a feature of the newspaper, in tandem with the move to half-tone printing. The existence of a separate pictorial supplement served a number of purposes. A gloss stock paper was used exclusively for the pictorial section, which enhanced the printed image quality. Photographic and other illustrations became an independent and increasingly marketable feature, with little or no connection to texts in the body of the newspaper. As the supplements were stapled into the middle of the publication, the pictorial supplement was easy to remove from the supporting newspaper. Items in library collections now attest to the practice of collecting and binding the supplements, while the newspapers themselves designed an additional removable feature. The central double-page spread in some weekly editions and in many of the Christmas Numbers was designed as a pull-out poster.

The images on the central pages to be removed for display were of the highest quality attainable, in terms of both photographic or artistic composition and print production. The same can be said of the production of the entirety of the Christmas Numbers. The Christmas Numbers (in some instances referred to as annuals) were lavishly illustrated, and included some of the earliest uses of chromolithography and monotone half-tone photographs. A review published in the Otago Witness on 25 November 1903 identifies the dual importance of technological and artistic achievements:
...in the competition that exists amongst the papers of the larger centres there is a distinct improvement each year, and finality does not appear to have been reached. The number under notice is a capital exposition of the pictorial and printing arts ("Daily Times and Witness Christmas Annual" 79).

John Ross and K. A. Coleridge reiterate the secondary purpose for these lavishly illustrated Christmas supplements: they were “showcases for the capabilities of their process departments” (Coleridge and Ross 50). The results of months and months of work at the presses, the Christmas Numbers were issued in October to enable them to be posted overseas and arrive in Britain in time for Christmas (figure 21). The following review, published for promotional and self-congratulatory purpose, nevertheless offers additional opinion as to how the illustrations in the 1901 Christmas Number were both conceived and received:

No better means could be devised of advertising the resources of the country – the beauties of its scenery, the grandeur of its mountains, and the development of its manifold industrial enterprises – than that adopted in the publication of the Christmas Annual before us, whose pages team with illustrations embodying the highest attainment of the photographic art ("Daily Times and Witness Christmas Annual" 73).
THE PUBLICATION OF THE YEAR!

THE SPECIAL

Christmas Number

OF THE

Auckland Weekly News

WILL BE PUBLISHED OCTOBER 19th.

This year's number will surpass all previous issues, notwithstanding the fact that our last year's number was placed

First among all Christmas Numbers of the Empire.

Included in the number are No. 18 Plans

18 Magnificent Full-page Pictures

All of which are ornamented with artistic borders.

The Beautiful Half-tone Blocks throughout the Number illustrate a wide range of New Zealand Life and Scenery.

The Cover is of Chaste Design, executed in Orange and Gold, with a very attractive real picture of Maui Heads in centre—a work of art in itself. Altogether, this year's Number is the MOST ATTRACTIVE YET ISSUED.

The Best Shilling's Worth in the Dominion.

ORDER EARLY. PRICE ONE SHILLING.
**Selected weekly newspapers**

The following section provides historical and contextual detail about the selected New Zealand weekly newspapers that constitute the fundamental research material for this thesis. The focus newspapers are *The New Zealand Graphic*, Auckland (1890-1913) and *The Auckland Weekly News*, Auckland (1863-1971), with comparisons being made with the *Otago Witness*, Dunedin (1861-1932), *The Weekly Press*, Christchurch (1865-1928) and the *Free Lance*, Wellington (1900-1960).

The time period examined in this thesis, 1900-1930, was set to address the quick uptake of photomechanical printing processes in New Zealand and to cover the decades in which the illustrated weeklies were in their heyday. Photographs were a regular feature in the selected weeklies from the late 1890s onwards. Single, generally small photographs initially appeared infrequently in the *Graphic*, *Weekly Press* and *Otago Witness*, but they were printed with increasing frequency in the lead up to the new century. Early examples are those published in the 12 July 1890 issue of the *Graphic* (figure 22). These images cannot accurately be described as “typical” as they appear to be hybrid productions, probably derived from a combination of graphic and photographic techniques. I suspect that they originated as photographs taken in a studio using pictorial backdrops, but that they have been heavily retouched. The inclusion of a signature at the bottom left on each plate also supports the suggestion that they are not unmanipulated photographs but were published as a form of artwork.

Published photographs were most frequently formal studio portraits of political, social and sporting figures and touring performers. Many issues over the remaining years of the nineteenth century were entirely free of photography, employing lithography or cartoons instead, with many subjects being treated equally regardless of reproduction technique. As previously discussed, the introduction of the photomechanical processes did not see the end of the use of lithographic illustration and for many years the two major pictorial methods were employed in tandem. For example, the Boer War (1899-1902) was reported both by artists and photographers.
This section includes statistical graphs at the conclusion of the discussion of each individual weekly newspaper. These graphs record the percentage of page space that was committed to photomontage in the pictorial supplements. Page space is an appropriate measure for the prominence of photomontage, as the features were predominantly full-page with double-page central spreads also being common. Thus, a sixteen-page pictorial supplement might contain only three photomontages compared to forty-three photographs, but have committed 25% of the page space to those montages. The samples have been taken at five-yearly intervals. For the weekly issue sampling the first issues for each of the months of April, August and December were analysed, and an average was then calculated. This method was designed to safeguard the results from being unduly influenced by any single season or event. Where an issue was unavailable, the nearest consecutive issue was instituted.

The table for the Graphic varies, in that it represents the entire holdings of the Hocken and Whangarei Public Libraries collections. This variation was decided on in order to better represent the shorter thirteen-year period covered by this research, during which
the *Graphic* was a distinct entity. My intention in presenting this data is to provide an overview of the incidence and relative importance of photomontage as a design strategy in each of the newspapers over the thirty-year period. The graphs also allow for comparisons between the weekly issues and Christmas Numbers. It must be noted that the archives of some of the newspapers are incomplete, while others are better described as patchy; as a consequence the data also has gaps, which are indicated.

**The New Zealand Graphic**

*And Ladies' Journal.*

Henry Brett had been involved in the newspaper industry even before leaving Britain for New Zealand in 1862, and found himself employed as ship reporter on the staff of the *Daily Southern Cross* almost before he had disembarked. He continued work as a journalist until 1870, when he bought into the *Auckland Star*. He later became its sole proprietor. In 1890 Henry Brett first published a weekly, known as *The New Zealand Graphic, Ladies’ Journal and Youths’ Companion*. Based in Auckland, it had a number of minor variations in name. In 1907 after acquiring the goodwill of the Wellington-based *Mail*, it became known as *The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail*. In 1913 the *Graphic* itself was acquired and was incorporated into the competing Auckland-based weekly, *The Auckland Weekly News* (Harvey, *Union List of Newspapers before 1940*, 28).

The *New Zealand Graphic* has been called “the pioneer of illustrated journals in New Zealand” (McKenzie and Coleridge 25). It is a key publication for this research in that it had a distinct identity: “It was rather a separate magazine than a news budget, and was illustrated at the outset” (Scholefield 90). Patrick Evans, author of *The Penguin History of New Zealand Literature* (1990), also singles it out as being “the first really substantial locally produced magazine”, remarking that it contains early evidence of a “nationalist … impulse” (28). As well as publishing the *Star* and the *Graphic*, Henry Brett and Thomas Leys, a previous sub-editor of the *Star* with whom he set up the Brett Printing and Publishing Company in 1900, published a number of almanacs and guidebooks (Brett). It
is important to note that after the firm divested itself of the *Graphic* in 1913, it continued on with the production of a Christmas Number (*Brett’s Christmas Annual*), which further indicates the important role of Christmas Numbers as print trade promotions.

In an entry in the 1906 *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Brett’s printing establishment was recorded as “one of the best appointed general steam printing offices in the colony” (McKenzie and Coleridge 49). Brett’s direction is described, in the *Cyclopaedia*, as being “vigorous” (13). While he employed numerous skilled workers in the typography, lithography and engraving departments, it was nevertheless necessary in the early years of the *Graphic* to import British woodcuts to satisfy the weekly’s appetite for illustrations (McKay 231). Scholefield credits Brett with being the first to introduce a plant for photo-engraving into the colony, a distinction also claimed for the *Press* by McKay. As there was rivalry between the newspaper companies it is unsurprising that there are differing accounts. McKay notes that the improvements in illustration were driven by progress and demand, and were achieved by a combination of photography, “standard equipment and established formulae” (231-32). Regardless of precedence, the *Graphic* was full of professionally printed photographs by the turn of the century.

For high-class artistic merit its engravings compare favourably with the best work of the kind in Australasia, and no other colonial journal so completely fulfils the ideal of a family magazine. Its pictures, social news, stories, sketches, and miscellaneous notes supply weekly entertainment to thousands of homes (McKenzie and Coleridge 25).

It is my opinion that the *Graphic* represents one of the high points of illustrated journalism in New Zealand in the early twentieth century. Although it is impossible to prove, I surmise that the presentation of this weekly, in terms of both format and quality would have been influential not only on the look of the *Auckland Weekly News* into which it was amalgamated, but on other contemporary newspapers. The cohesively designed photomontages of the *Graphic* were rarely matched in the following decades.

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21 The *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* was published by a specially incorporated company (The Cyclopedia Company Limited), which included the engravers and printers McKee and Gamble. The *Cyclopedia*’s stated aims were to provide useful information to the commercial and industrial sections of the community, and to promote what was happening in New Zealand to an international audience.
The data collected shows that photomontages consistently filled the pages of the *New Zealand Graphic* (figure 23). It can be concluded that the newspaper’s visual communication strategies relied, to a large extent, on the combination of photographs, illustrations, ornaments and texts. As a consequence, staff involved in the production, design and editing of the weekly and Christmas newspapers would have constantly been involved in making decisions about the content, format and function of photomontages. Simultaneously, the audience of the *Graphic* would have become familiar with, and would have learnt to read, constructed representations.

![N.Z Graphic](image)

**Figure 23**

Incidence of photomontage in the pictorial supplements of the *New Zealand Weekly Graphic* 1900-1913. Data for weekly incidence of photomontage were only gathered for the four years shown (1904, 1910, 1911, 1913) reflecting archive holdings. Christmas Numbers for 1911 and 1913 were not sighted.
The Weekly News: A Journal of Commerce, Agriculture, Politics, Literature, Science, and Art was first issued in 1863 by the Southern Cross Company. That same year it was amalgamated with the Auckland Weekly News and Farmers’ Gazette. In 1876 it merged with the New Zealand Herald, taking over from the previously published Weekly Herald. The Weekly News (known as the Auckland Weekly News between 1877-1934) was one of the largest and certainly the longest running of the weeklies (Scholefield 86). The pink cover of the weekly editions was instantly recognisable. A 1963 centennial supplement of the New Zealand Herald, feeling no need for modesty, described the pink cover as being “famous”, a sentiment reiterated in the nostalgic series Those Were the Days published during the 1980s by Wilson and Horton (Barnett 9). Originally designed to provide a news service for rural settlers, it contained a summary of the week’s news, along with a miscellany of other reading material. Sir George Grey went so far as to claim that “the northern settlers take their religion from the Bible and their politics from the Auckland Weekly News, these being their principal sources of information” (“A Century in Print” 5).

In 1898, a twelve-page pictorial supplement was introduced which ran for over three decades. The half-tone process was introduced the same year, and so the pictorial section very quickly became full of photographs. The supplement was printed on a glossy stock, with the resulting image quality being very near to that of actual photographs. The daily Herald, in comparison, did not introduce regular photographs until after the American Fleet visit in 1925. The introduction of imagery to the Auckland Weekly News was credited with “greatly enlarging the appeal of the journal, so that by the beginning of the 20th century it had blossomed from a provincial into a national publication” (“A Century in Print” 5). While being cautious of such an obviously promotional source as a reliable
reference, available circulation figures do support the general gist of the claim. Ross Harvey provides a figure of 6000 copies a week in 1881, meaning a distribution to the equivalent of 19.4% of the population of Auckland city and suburbs (Harvey, "The Power of the Press in Colonial New Zealand" 144). Unlike most other weekly newspapers, the *Weekly News'* circulation continued to increase, maintaining its market share through the 1930s to the 1960s, and reaching a record high of 164,000 copies a week in 1964 (Barnett 11).

The graph shows that photomontage quickly became the primary mode of image construction and presentation in the Christmas Numbers, a trend that peaked between 1910 and 1920. In contrast, photomontages were less visible in the weekly issues, but increased in their incidence over the period analysed.

![Figure 24](image)

*Figure 24*

Incidence of photomontage in the pictorial supplements of the *Auckland Weekly News.*

The 1900 Christmas Number was not available, hence the 1901 number was instituted. The 1915 Christmas Number was not sighted and no consecutive issues were available.

In addition to the Christmas Number, which was published in October, the *Weekly News* published a Christmas Supplement. The Christmas Supplement was provided as part of the offering for the regular subscription, being the issue immediately preceding Christmas, while the Christmas Number constituted a separate purchase. As such, the Christmas
Supplement mainly reached a national readership. Initially this supplement included only a few special features for Christmas, but it quickly developed into an issue that, thematically and aesthetically, had much in common with the Christmas Numbers.

The trend for the Christmas Supplement closely reflects that of the Christmas Number. This observation supports the conclusion that the Supplement was designed with similar aims as the Christmas Number, while being more modest in its scale and production quality. For example, there were no experiments with colour printing techniques in the Supplement.

![Auckland Weekly News Christmas Supplement](image)

**Figure 25**

Incidence of photomontage in the Christmas pictorial supplements of the *Auckland Weekly News.*
The *Otago Witness: A weekly journal of art, manufactures, science, commerce* (Dunedin) was established in 1851, only three years after the arrival of the John Wickliffe, the first of the Otago Association’s immigrant ships. The *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* (1906) links its history to that of the province of Otago, pronouncing its career one of “uninterrupted success”, the newspaper having “steadily progressed with the development of the colony” (McKenzie and Coleridge 31). The *Witness* is particularly notable as a literary newspaper for its inclusion of poetry and prose written in New Zealand.

The *Witness’s* circulation progressively grew from 4500 copies per week in 1864, to 8500 per edition by 1882. For a short period it also produced a special edition for the Central Otago goldfields. Scholefield, while giving no figures, states that the *Otago Witness* continued to grow, so that at the end of the nineteenth century the newspaper was “the soundest weekly in the Colony” (Scholefield 169). In 1900, a photographic insert, which varied from eight to twelve pages of mainly half-tone engravings, was introduced. The introduction of illustration was credited with increasing the popularity of the weekly. That same year a Christmas Annual began publication in conjunction with the *Otago Daily Times*.

The variety of its contents has made it indispensable to town and country readers alike, and as a consequence its circulation is exceedingly large and continuously increasing. It has solicitously furthered the encouragement of native talent, having introduced to the literary world a number of writers of acknowledged ability [...] The racing man and the minister of the gospel, the miner and the farmer, the teacher and the pupil, the student of affairs and the seeker after news, the matron and the maid - all read, enjoy and quote the “Witness” (McKenzie and Coleridge 31).

Early in its history, the *Otago Witness* lent its political weight to promoting the aims of William Cargill over those of his opponents. Initially noted for taking a high moral stance, it later settled into the less overtly political role of a commercially driven enterprise. The *Witness* has been described retrospectively on the National Library database, *Papers Past*, as “probably the most conservative of the pictorial weeklies”. This conservatism is evidenced in content selection and tone. However, the layout of the newspaper, style of
illustrations and presentation of photographic images can also be described as conservative, with few variations on standard column formats and grid compositions.

![Illustration](image-url)

Figure 26

In incidence of photomontage in the pictorial supplements of the *Otago Witness*. The Christmas Number for 1920 was not sighted.

**The Weekly Press**

The *Weekly Press* was established in 1865 as a news summary for distant readers, four years after its parent daily, the Christchurch *Press*, hit the stands. The *Referee*, a sporting newspaper founded by Phineas Selig, was incorporated into the weekly edition in 1891, thereafter featuring as a central lift-out section of up to 84 pages that functioned like the sporting sections in contemporary weekend newspapers. With this development, the newspaper was published under the name *Weekly Press and Referee* until 1927, when the newspapers separated and briefly continued as independent publications. The *Referee* was the official calendar of both the Racing Conference and the Trotting Association. The importance of horseracing in the colony at the time is not to be overlooked, with the *Press* itself recognizing that “rural matters led racing only by a short head” (The Press 167).
The *Weekly Press* was the most politically vocal of the focus weekly newspapers. For instance, it supported an Imperialist position with regard to the Boer War. It assisted in organising and raising money for this war through the “More Men Fund”, which was to be supported by a shilling subscription (additional to the cost of receiving the newspaper), established to double the New Zealand contingent being sent. The fund was deemed a success; the *Weekly Press* “was foremost in the colony in calling for New Zealand’s utmost efforts on behalf of the Empire” (The Press 123-4). Arrangements were made for a photographer to provide illustrations from the war front for the weekly. The *Weekly Press* was able to claim both precedence and professionalism in its coverage, as its half-tone process-engraving department was already well established by 1899. A small process-engraving department had already been installed at the *Weekly Press* in August 1893 under the charge of J. N. Taylor, and photographs had become a regular feature in the newspaper by 1894 (Scholefield 221).

The introduction of photographs into the *Weekly Press* built upon an already strong reputation for delivering an illustrated journal. The *Weekly Press* was widely subscribed throughout the colony. In the 1906 edition of the *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, the *Weekly Press* is referred to as the “New Zealand pictorial record” (McKenzie and Coleridge 40). The *Weekly Press*’s Christmas Number came out under the title *New Zealand Illustrated* and was full of pictures, even prior to the introduction of photographs. The *Cyclopaedia* entry on the *Weekly Press* further identifies an international audience, stating that “New Zealanders are justly proud of the “Weekly Press” Christmas numbers, which […] have done wonders to exhibit the beauties of the colony and attract to it settlers and tourists” (McKenzie and Coleridge 40). Outliving the *Weekly Press*, the *New Zealand Illustrated* finally succumbed to financial pressures in 1941.

As the gaps in the archives consulted are greater than the holdings for this publication, no graphing of data has been presented as this would be misleading. The issues I have viewed fell in chronological clusters. For example, in 1904 28% of the page space of the Christmas Number of the *Weekly Press* was occupied by photomontages. In the 1905 Christmas Number there were fewer photomontages included (16% of page space), but in 1906 the issue was dominated by full-page montaged features (41% of page space). Although I have not been able to comprehensively review the incidence of photomontage
in the *Weekly Press* across the three decades 1900-1930, the conclusion I have reached from the issues viewed is that photomontages were prominently and regularly published, and therefore made an important contribution to the overall visual communication of the newspaper.

Figure 27

The press room at the *Weekly Press*, Christchurch, 1902-8?
Illustration courtesy of Julian Heyes.

The *New Zealand Free Lance: An Illustrated Journal of Information and Racy Comment Upon the Topics of the Hour* was established in 1900 with its first issue appearing on Saturday, 7 July. The *Free Lance* was published in Wellington by H. E. Geddis and Co. Ltd. It continued publication until 1960, when it was incorporated with the *New Zealand Weekly*
News. This weekly journal was a spin-off of the successful Auckland weekly, the New Zealand Observer and Free Lance. It quickly became a highly popular Wellington-based weekly newspaper that, like the Graphic, was not associated with a daily. The title was later changed, to the more staid New Zealand Free Lance: The National Pictorial Weekly.

The National Library of New Zealand’s digital newspaper database, Papers Past, describes the Free Lance as “a typical weekly; conservative and mainstream with much coverage given to royalty, New Zealand scenery, high society and sport”. However, it was not typical in the early decades of the twentieth century in that it was satirical. Furthermore, it included and fostered the talent of many local cartoonists to a far greater extent than any other newspaper or journal at the time. In its first issue, the editor states “the object of the Free Lance will be to entertain and amuse its readers”, explaining that while “it may occasionally indulge in a play of satire or a touch of sharp criticism, its pages will be free from personal abuse” (6).

The Free Lance, in the period 1900-1930, had a definite focus on the local, both in its material and in the identification of its audience. The Christmas Annual was primarily produced for an audience familiar with Wellington, claiming that “you’ll find your father’s portrait on one of the pages, or your cousin’s, or, better still, your intended’s” (“Free Lance Christmas Annual” 16). Unlike all the other weeklies studied, the Free Lance issued its Annual in December, meaning it would not have been intended to reach Britain in time for Christmas.

Cartoons and lithographic illustrations made up most of the pictorial content for the first decade of the Free Lance’s publication. There are at least two possible explanations for this differentiation. Firstly, the journal was an entirely new enterprise and thus may not have been able or willing to commit the financial outlay necessary for setting up a process department at its outset. Secondly, it is quite possible that graphic methods were considered more appropriate forms of illustration for comment and opinion. For example, an advertisement for the 1908 Christmas Annual lists features including “A Splendid Double Page Cartoon, illustrating every branch of sport in Wellington and the enthusiasts in each” and “Local Celebrities, with and without whiskers”, while a review of the same Annual by the Grey River Argus, commends it for its chief feature, being “as usual, [...] the pleasant, wholesome humour of pen and pencil alike” (13). The figures were,
predominantly, national and international politicians, archetypes and stereotypes. Photographs and photomontages were reserved for portraits of figures not already familiar in appearance to the public, such as touring performers, new civic appointees and sportspeople. A very few full-page photomontage submissions from the Tourist Department were included in some of the early Christmas Numbers, but these had no supporting information and appeared out of context. The photographic supplement, introduced nearly a decade after those in the comparative newspapers, was titled “Our Picture Gallery”, and its photographs shared none of the satire of the other modes of illustration more typical of this publication.

While issues of the Free Lance only sporadically included photomontages in the first decade of its publication, there was a steady increase in the incidence of montages over the subsequent two decades. There are a number of possible explanations for the significant increase in the regularity and quantity of photomontages in both weekly and Christmas issues from 1915 onwards. By this time the journal was an established enterprise and could have been in position to confidently acquire new printing presses. Perceived audience demand and the newspaper’s own perceptions about which methods of representation best described the issues of the day are also likely to have been influencing factors. From around 1915 there seems to have been a slow shift in the focus of the newspaper from appealing to a regional audience to seeking a wider readership. The shift occurred earlier in the appearance and distribution of the Christmas Annual, which by 1925 had little to distinguish it from the competitors it had earlier mocked. In 1927 the weekly issues switched from using the sub-title “An Illustrated Journal of Information and Racy Comment Upon the Topics of the Hour”, instead testing out “The News of the Week Brightly Told in Picture and Story”. The name change is evidence of the newspaper’s intention to reposition itself in the market.
Figure 28

Incidence of photomontage in the pictorial supplements of the Free Lance.
No data was able to be gathered for 1920. All other relevant issues were seen, but did not contain photomontage.

Taken as a whole, the graphs confirm the continuous and significant presence of photomontages in the pictorial supplements and Christmas Numbers of the selected newspapers. Each newspaper’s reliance on photomontage also appears to have been reasonably consistent. For example, the data presented on the Otago Witness demonstrates that photomontage features had a steady and relatively unvarying presence. That newspaper’s applications of photomontage techniques could also be described in the same terms, steady and unvarying, save for a few isolated experiments. In comparison, the Graphic and the Auckland Weekly News dedicated considerable amounts of space to photomontages and equal amounts of energy, expertise and thought seem to have been involved in their design and construction. Particularly when the Christmas Supplement of the Auckland Weekly News is taken into consideration, the graphs point to a conclusion that photomontage was seen as a particularly appropriate format for the presentation of images for holiday reading: for visual entertainment and for tourist and settler promotion.
The emergence of visual professions in the newspaper industry

In 1948 Siegfried Giedion opened his contribution to anonymous history with the observation that “history is a magical mirror. Who peers into it sees his own image in the shape of events and developments. It is never stilled. It is ever in movement, like the generation observing it” (Giedion 2). His thesis is that the significance of history can be found in the relationships between fragments, and that when the facts of history are not bridled with names or dates their significance and form become clearer to make out. The inventions and practices which are imagined, carried out and adapted by anonymous workers are vitally important to the slow shaping of daily life. In the case of the weekly newspapers, the work of anonymous visual producers had an important and lasting impact on the visual environment of early twentieth century New Zealand, on the construction and projection of an idea of New Zealand and on the public memory of the imagined communities that made up the newspapers’ readerships. Anonymity, while potentially an element of frustration to a researcher, is a common condition for design. The historical blindness of, in particular, businesses, which did not make or have simply destroyed records is combined with a perceived hierarchy of historical worthiness, in which the modest, daily or banal is given no entry. I concur with Giedion that a closer study of the banal or the everyday, when able to be viewed as part of a constellation of fragments, can be “made to reveal the guiding trends of a period” (4).

Conclusions about the guiding trends of the early twentieth century can be made retrospectively and include developments in visual literacy and the emergence of a design discipline. The inventions, adaptations and innovations that resulted in photography becoming an accessible technology and in the mass production and distribution of photomechanical images, not only affected the way the world was represented and the forms of publications, but also corresponded with changing roles for those working in and for the newspaper industry. In a period in which the guiding trends were towards mechanisation and increasing professionalism, visual communication through the medium of the illustrated newspaper was part of the flow. Barnhurst and Nerone describe a rather tidy evolution of journalists from being gentleman correspondents to being active news
gatherers or scavengers in the Victorian era, to identifiable professionals by the 1930s (Barnhurst and Nerone, "Civic Picturing Vs. Realist Photojournalism” 60).22

Those responsible for the visual content of the newspapers followed a similar, if slightly more varied, course towards professionalism. The introduction of visual means of recording and reporting had an impact on the newspaper companies’ organisation. Not only were new departments established for photomechanical reproduction equipment and processes, but the presence of artists and photographers changed the nature of the staff of the newspaper, as well as the focus and look of the publications themselves. For example, the Weekly Press had a separate staff, whose experience and concerns informed the construction of the newspaper. To them “display had for years been a vital art” (The Press 142). Nerone and Barnhurst describe the professionalisation of newspapers in larger terms, stating that “these [artistic] occupations became more prevalent and brought their own professional commitments, such as the doctrine of modern design principles” (Nerone and Barnhurst 446).

As highlighted previously, the Christmas Numbers of the weekly newspapers were the pride of their respective newspaper press enterprises. Centrally important to this thesis is the recognition, not just retrospectively by people looking in the magical mirror as described by Giedion, but at the time by those involved, that the activity in which they were engaged was design (Giedion 2). That there is acknowledgement by both newspaper companies and individuals that this was the case could also, like the introduction of photomechanical processes, be described as early and enterprising. There are a number of indicators to support this claim. Of consequence is a small line of type at the bottom of either the front or back cover of the Otago Witness Christmas Numbers. In 1900 the publication credit reads “Printed and Published for the Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Company (Limited), by GEORGE FENWICK”. A year later this has been updated: “Designed, Engraved and Printed by the Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co., Ltd.” That the company recognised the primary part of the activity of composing and producing the Christmas Number as designing in 1901 is noteworthy.

22 “Gentleman correspondent” is not an accurate description of the range of people involved in news-gathering and reporting pre-1900. While there were some gentlemen correspondents, there were also any number of low-paid hacks at the other end of the spectrum.
Most significantly, the following year the credit is amended to “The Otago Daily Times and Witness Company, Limited, Designers and Printers, Dunedin.” Not only was the activity and output considered design, but the work was being carried out by designers (albeit predominantly anonymous ones).

The photographs, photomontages, ornaments and other illustrations in the pictorial supplements were not uniformly anonymous, however. While anonymity presents no problem to the investigation and analysis of the material, attributions to individuals have not been entirely overlooked. Uncovering the backgrounds, roles and ranges of contributions by named individuals can assist in the development of a greater understanding of the working environments at the various newspapers, and the processes used, abandoned or adapted. Equally, attitudes of individuals could, through their visual work, have a significant impact on the overall tone and presentation of a publication. Trevor Lloyd, who was a prolific illustrator and designer on the Auckland Weekly News staff in 1903-1936, is one such example. Lloyd was a self-styled “expert” on Māori, and his cartoons, illustrations and borders were a dominant feature of the newspaper’s pictorial supplements and special numbers for decades. Retrospectively recognised as representing “fragments of past racism”, Lloyd’s racial imagination as communicated through his art and design work “had an immense influence on the construction of a racialised politics” as well a major influence on the visual cohesion of the newspaper (Basso 69 & 83).

Small autographs in the corners of lithographic or engraved illustrations and decorative borders allow the occasional recognition of a named individual. While it was common for “artworks” such as leading illustrations or pull-out features to be credited in newspapers and magazines, the other types of visual work those same commercial artists were responsible for would not be equally recognised (Brothers 9). Again, it is especially the Christmas Numbers that offer such rare insights into the identity of commercial artists and designers. The cover and the central removable spread are the most frequently credited features in the publication, and occasionally both theme and artist or photographer are advertised in advance. Some of the other pictorial features at times included a recognisable name or initials and from these instances conclusions of attribution can be drawn based on stylistic similarities or traits. Some examples are: J. E.
Ward, whose name can be found in the graphic detail of a small number of photomontages appearing in the *New Zealand Graphic* over a period including 1903-1906; and J. McDonald, who was responsible for some of the prominent examples of photomontage from the *Witness* in the 1900s. Phil R. Presants, who worked for a over a decade at the Press Company as a staff member on the *Weekly Press* and can be identified in a similar manner over the period 1898-1909, significantly identified himself as a designer on his personal stationary.\(^{23}\)

At the turn of the century very few photographs in the weekly pictorial supplements of New Zealand illustrated newspapers bore acknowledgments. A much higher percentage of photographs in the Christmas Numbers were credited. As credits slowly became more commonplace, a few photographers’ names were familiar, occurring repeatedly over a number of issues, while many more occurred only once or very sporadically. It would appear that received photographs were originally a result of voluntary submission by freelance, studio and amateur photographers. This conclusion is reached based on the regular references to submissions by photographers in their biographies, as well as from observation of the wide variety of published photographs, in terms of location, quality and producer (where acknowledged).\(^{24}\) It seems that submissions were complemented by commissions, and, for some, regular employment. It is clear from the patterns of photographic illustration in the newspapers that some photographers established positions for themselves as local correspondents, following the model of regular contributors of written news and reports. C. F. Newham is one such example, being recorded as having “contributed photographs of the local [Wanganui] sporting and social occasions to the *Auckland Weekly News*” (Sowry).

The large number and diverse range of photographers who contributed to any one issue, along with the often equally large number of anonymous photographs, is highlighted in the following table. Incidences of credits to photographers have been surveyed over the period 1900 – 1930 and over a range of newspapers. The sample is intended to be

\(^{23}\) Presants’ work is dealt with in detail in Chapter 5.

\(^{24}\) For example, there is a reference in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* entry on Jessie Buckland that she submitted photographs of the 1912 visit of the *Terra Nova* to the *Auckland Weekly News*. William Main, "Buckland, Jessie Lillian 1878 - 1939", 1993. Web. 5 June 2007.
indicative, so only a small selection of issues have been analysed. In the following table, a photomontage has been categorised as anonymous where there is no acknowledgment of any contributor. The category “anonymous photographs” refers to uncredited photographs that appear independently, that is, not attached in any way to another image. While many of the photomontages that include the work of a named photographer also include many uncredited photographs, these would be impossible to accurately attribute. “Credits for photomontages” refers only to where the montage itself is the acknowledged work of a producer, while “credits for photographs” applies to both single photographs and photographs that appear in photomontages in combination with fragments of photographs from other sources. The data are presented this way in order to distinguish between photographers and photomontage designers. It is the number of times the credit is made rather than the number of photographs that each credit represents that has been recorded, as there is no way of distinguishing how many of the fragments that make up the photomontage are the work of each individual producer when, for example, a credit line reads “F. E. Stewart, W. Wilson and others”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Photomontages</th>
<th>Anonymous photographs</th>
<th>Credits for photomontages</th>
<th>Credits for photographs</th>
<th>Non-photographic illustrations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901 Christmas Graphic</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hemus Studios</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Issue</td>
<td>Anonymous photomontages</td>
<td>Anonymous photographs</td>
<td>Credits for photomontages</td>
<td>Credits for photographs</td>
</tr>
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<td>------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>10 May Graphic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>27 August Weekly News</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One obvious conclusion that can be drawn from the data collected is that there were no regularly acknowledged photomontage producers. The number of individual named contributors to each issue (alongside the large numbers of uncredited images) highlights the importance of the tasks of selection, composition and construction necessary to make so many varied submissions into effective montages and cohesive publications.

The *Weekly Press* stands out for its acknowledged employment of photographers on its staff from the Boer War onwards. While not always directly acknowledging this, the other major newspapers clearly did employ photographers, a fact which can be ascertained from individual biographies. The inclusion of photographers on the newspapers’ staffs was more than an employment issue. For example, it is clear from the structured formats of the pages and the photomontages in *The Weekly Press* that there was a degree of communication between those making the photographs and those preparing them for print. The responsibility for the format and illustration of *The Weekly Press*’s Christmas Numbers, “New Zealand Illustrated”, was held by (Andrew) Kennaway Henderson from 1907 – 1917. He had come to the *Press* in 1904 as an illustrator and cartoonist. The existence of the role of illustrations editor, and the employment of an artist in it, gives additional explanation as to the greater cohesiveness of the Christmas Numbers in comparison to the weekly editions (Hamilton). In 1923, S. D. Waters was appointed Illustrations Editor for *The Weekly Press*, succeeded in 1925 by C. W. Vennell.

“A photographer by trade (or is it profession?)” questions a *Free Lance* columnist in 1901 ("All Sorts of People" 3). Photographers, while their roles evolved, did not automatically become photojournalists. In New Zealand the photographs published in the newspapers and periodicals, although increasingly made by professionals, were often better described as pictorial or documentary, not journalistic. Definable photojournalism was not much in evidence until the 1930s or later. While the shift from newspaper photography towards photojournalism can be traced through a study of photographs in both daily and weekly

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25 For example, George Bourne, who is discussed in detail in Chapter 5, was in the employ of the *Auckland Weekly News* from c.1902-1922. The majority of published photographs made by Bourne appeared with no reference either to himself or to “staff”.

26 He is chiefly remembered in New Zealand history for his position as a pacifist and his contribution as an editor of the political and literary magazine *Tomorrow* (1934-40).
newspapers, photomontages sat outside of this movement, drawing on older pictorial conventions. The existence of photo agencies is another sign of the increasing professionalism of the role of the photographer in relation to the press. Photographs from Britain, France and Australia were increasingly sourced from agencies, with credits to the Central News Agency, Topical Photo and Photopress, for example, appearing intermittently. The appearance of photo agencies in New Zealand is equally important to understanding the changing role of the photographer, and the relationship between photographer and newspaper. Little research has yet been carried out in this area.

While the production of photographs for the illustrated press is a promising research topic, the central concern of this thesis is the work of the designer, whether named or anonymous. Image selection, composition and construction of photomontages for the pictorial supplements of the weekly newspapers were carried out by someone who, in many instances by virtue of position rather than training, became competent at sourcing, cutting and pasting photographs, thereby turning collections of images into cohesive, designed, visual communication. This role would have been carried out on occasion by the photographer, whether a member of staff or a freelance contributor. Photomontage construction would also have been carried out in the process room at the press, perhaps by the lithographer or commercial artist who then added the graphic decoration, or by the illustrations editor who also added the text. Through the combination of new photographic reproduction technologies with existing printing knowledge and visual conventions, photomontage became established as an important mode of visual communication in the New Zealand illustrated press in the early twentieth century.
CHAPTER 3.
Grammar of Construction

But what constitutes a text is not the presence of linguistic elements but the act of
construction (McKenzie 43).

The term “grammar” refers to the basic principles of an area of knowledge, in particular,
to the study of structural relationships in a language. The description of a set of systematic
observations or rules of a language, with the intention of increasing access to,
development and use of that language, has an historical equivalent in design practice and
history. In 1856 Owen Jones first published a book *The Grammar of Ornament*, which
was one of the key texts in the South Kensington system of art and design education in
England and in the colonies (Jones 5). Its stated purpose was to advocate “general
principles in the arrangement of form and colour, in architecture and the decorative arts”.
It is not surprising that Jones’ *Grammar* influenced and became part of this grammar of
photomontage construction in the New Zealand illustrated press. The term “grammar”
has been used in reference to Jones, but is coupled with an awareness that images and
words are not interchangeable. While linguistic and semiotic methods may provide tools
for analysing images, particularly in the context of a newspaper where image and word co-
exist, there is no justification to “treat images as mere grist for the mill of textual
decoding” (Mitchell 52).

Written for an audience of practitioners and students, Jones’ *Grammar* was therefore
intended to be read before the act of designing took place. This proscriptive book was
based upon principles devised by the author. In contrast, the grammar that I will be
setting out in this chapter is based upon observation and analysis of the published results
of photographing and designing. As such, this exercise occurs after the action and must
necessarily be from the position of a reader, albeit decades later than that imagined by the
designers and publishers whose work is under consideration. This chapter does not aim to
be exhaustive. Instead of listing or describing all the possible variations, it will identify key
applications and analyse the communicative function of construction methods that were
repeated and often formulaic. Instances where design innovation and departure from convention occur will also be highlighted.

Roland Barthes, in his essay “The Photographic Message” (1977), explains that the message of a press photograph is formed by “a source of emission, a channel of transmission and a point of reception”. He concludes that “whatever the origin and the destination of the message, the photograph is not simply a product or channel but also an object endowed with a structural autonomy” (Barthes 15). Photomontage exists as a subset of press photography. It is the consideration of newspaper photomontage as an object with structural autonomy that is the focus of this thesis. However, it is important to remember that while structure is the focus, no single element can be examined in isolation when approaching a photographic object.

The photomontage object’s structure was influenced by a combination of factors, including, importantly, the new technologies of photomechanical reproduction and the changing contemporary culture that such technologies were employed to serve. The attitudes of those working for the newspapers ranged from repetitive and mechanical to highly inventive and innovative. In all the newspapers studied in this thesis, the design and construction of photomontage seems to have been most significantly influenced by the employment of largely anonymous individuals, who brought distinctive skills, interests and imagination to their work. Examples of influence by individuals includes the publication of series of related photomontages during the course of their employment, the technical quality of construction, favoured themes and the appearance and development of design innovations. The introduction of new equipment and phasing out of older processes was also highly significant, with chromolithography being a prominent example. Chromolithography was a very time consuming process, requiring the image to be hand-rendered on the stone. In a note from the editor of the 1904 Christmas Number of the Weekly Press, the cover is recorded as having “received nine printings”, which would have required the preparation of nine individual stones. Also, lithography, as a process, was less than conducive to the introduction of photographic imagery. While it continued to represent quality in print, faster, more “modern” processes for colour printing were being trialled on their own and in combination with photographic imagery from 1900. Eventually chromolithography ceased to be a practical choice for time- and cost-effective
printing in the newspaper industry. The replacement of chromolithography by newer processes made it obsolescent. This technological shift made room for photography and photomontage to become the chosen processes for the production of the central showcase features and inserts, providing an opportunity for photomontage to be produced at its most professional level. While the combination of photography, illustration and text continued to be central to newspaper design, after 1930 the visual exploration took a new direction characterised by clean geometric layouts and simplicity, in the ongoing search for a more modern appearance.

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the main visual strategies of photomontage, to examine their use and communicative potential. This aim will be best achieved by analysing and decoding some of the most cohesive and professional photomontages. Consequently, examples have been sourced predominantly from the Christmas Numbers as they were the publishers’ showcases and reached not only a national but an international audience. The international audience may have seen only one isolated issue or at most one issue a year, so the construction and content of individual features would have been a more influential factor in terms of communicating meaning than the repetition of core recurring topics, which was a key strategy of the weekly issues for establishing and maintaining mythologies of New Zealand. Nation-building (constructing national identity and destination recognition) was a key function of the Christmas Numbers, and the success of their visual communication relied on how the themes were visualised, the aesthetic referenced or employed, and the technical proficiency with which the photomontages were created and printed. These factors, while significant to the success of any photomontage, are doubly significant in a singular showcase Christmas Number.

Over the thirty years studied in this thesis, the construction of photomontages in the weekly newspapers and their respective Christmas Numbers had high and low points in terms of design and realisation, rather than following a trajectory of continual improvement or a pattern of evolution. In this study, the terms “high” and “low” are being used to indicate value judgments and are not intended to reference discourse related to the differentiation of high art from popular culture. Any judgments about high and low are inevitably problematic, in that they are to a large extent subjective and selective. High
phases are manifested through the regular publication of photomontages in pictorial supplements over a time period when photographic and graphic technical skill is also in evidence. Further criteria for identifying high phases are consistency of execution, the development of variations of established conventions, and, the appearance of expertise or innovation. Low points are most easily identified when photomontage is the least in evidence or is poorly executed. Criteria for judging low points include the presence of technically weak photographic and/or graphic components, the lack of evidence of planning, and the apparent absence of organising principles or structures.

Photomontages from the 1910 Christmas Numbers of the *Free Lance* and *N.Z. Weekly Graphic* demonstrate the range in quality of design and execution at any one time (figures 29 & 30). In “THE MAORI AT HOME: SOME PICTURES IN THE KAINGA”, the montage construction is able to be easily unpicked. The photographic fragments are roughly, unevenly, and possibly even randomly, cut. The only discernable visual logic is the need to fit all the images onto a single page. The montage lacks an overall structure, although it could be read as a variation of a personal album page, as the snipped photographs are attached to a sugar paper ground. In contrast, “PICTURESQUE ASPECTS OF THE SEAFARING LIFE AND CRAFT TO BE FOUND IN THE PRINCIPAL SEAPORTS OF THE DOMINION” is a technically polished production. It is a complex photomontage, based on the grid structure, in which a number of different strategies for the cutting and arranging of photographic fragments are employed. In it the photographic and graphic elements are cohesively linked, both visually and thematically. The photomontage is printed in two tones: steel blue and sunset pink. In my opinion, the colour slightly overpowers the tonal subtleties of the photographic images, but is nevertheless highly impressive. However, it is important to consider that the quality or innovativeness of a photomontage’s design and construction cannot automatically be conflated with its success as visual communication. Formulaic, repetitive and uninventive montages appeared to be equally capable of conveying visual information; however they are of less interest to a designer.
“THE MAORI AT HOME: SOME PICTURES IN THE KAINGA.”
Photos Tourist Dept. and May and M. Moore.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

“PICTURESQUE ASPECTS OF THE SEAFARING LIFE AND CRAFT TO BE FOUND IN THE PRINCIPAL SEAPORTS OF THE DOMINION”
Photo A.N. Breckon.
N.Z. Weekly Graphic, Christmas Number, 1910, p22.

The quality of photomontage design in the Graphic can be described as generally high from 1900 until its amalgamation into the Auckland Weekly News in 1913. Photomontage frequency, technical production and aesthetic qualities were especially consistent from 1909 to 1913. Over this period a large variety of full-page montage formats were experimented with and developed in variation, including editorial applications of photomontage and constructions of single images from multiple photographic fragments. Further experiments involved the entry of text, in the form of hand-rendered typography, inside the frame, and the overlaying of graphic detail onto photographic backgrounds.
The *Auckland Weekly News* consistently (but not exclusively) published technically well-constructed and designed montages. This newspaper also established a recognisable style over subsequent years. In my estimation, the style was largely the result of the contributions of such long-serving staff members as Trevor Lloyd and George Bourne. Lloyd, for example, worked primarily in line and wash, and developed a recurring cast of cartoon figures, Māori motifs and simplified botanical details for framing and decoration (Perry). His work tied together the layout of many entire issues, and changed little from one year to the next. In the *Auckland Weekly News*, the Christmas Supplement offered another opportunity for both more polished and more innovative photomontage productions. While the supplement was part of a weekly edition and was distributed predominantly to a national subscribed readership, the subject material was close in content to that of the Christmas Numbers. Regular themes of the Christmas photomontages were timeless representations of young and old New Zealand, and the ideals of the Christmas and holiday season. These timeless themes importantly allowed for a longer production time, as no relevance to recent events was required. The first page of the first edition of the New Year also provided space for designed montages, and a series of lighthearted and fanciful offerings from staff photographers were featured until around 1920. Photomontage continued to be published in the *Auckland Weekly News* after 1920, but there appeared to be a greater reliance on established conventions, with notably fewer variations in method.

Among the newspapers studied, the *Free Lance* is exceptional as it was the only recently established venture. The newspaper did not acquire the technical printing capabilities or staff to print photographs or montages regularly until around 1910. As a result skills were not developed, nor innovative applications explored, until the years following the upgrade in printing technology. A pattern of continuous improvement is evident from the mid-1910s onwards. The *Free Lance* provides an important case study as it demonstrates that technology was a key factor in the production and design of newspapers.
**Image and Text**

Every photomontage published in the studied New Zealand illustrated weekly newspapers was presented in combination with one or more written text. Texts were generally positioned outside of the frame in the form of titles or captions. Longer texts, sometimes directly related, at other times totally unrelated but nevertheless simultaneously encountered, can be found above, beneath or entirely surrounding montages. In “The Rhetoric of the Image”, Barthes acknowledges the importance of text in or around the image, citing the linguistic message as the first level of meaning “read” in a photograph (Barthes 33). The linguistic message performs the function of anchoring the image by guiding identification and controlling the message through selective elucidation. The proliferation of meaning in any photograph, seen as a potential defect of the medium, is controlled and curtailed by its anchoring caption (Burgin 74). This suggests that the presence of an anchoring text, by controlling meaning, can reduce the communicative potential of a photomontage. It is also important to allow that text sometimes duplicates a message of an image and at other times enlarges or functions as a supplement to the information provided in an image. Nevertheless, by being the first level of meaning read, its importance should not be minimised. As the positioning of text on the pages, and in relation to the visual components of the photomontages is relatively unvarying, comment will only be made when the established convention is broken.

**Order for A Grammar of Construction**

I have divided the montage structures viewed in the newspapers into two major categories: connection and creation. The methods of constructing montages are analysed under one or other category, although many of the identified photomontage methods, such as the insert and the cut-out, may be found in either type of structure.
1. Connection

1.1 Juxtaposition
1.2 Variations of the juxtaposition structure
1.3 Juxtaposition using cut-outs
1.4 Juxtaposition – inside and outside the frame
1.5 The grid
1.6 Ornament and illustration
1.7 Elaborate framing
1.8 The public album

2. Creation

2.1 Constructing picture montages on a white ground
2.2 The photo/graphic object
2.3 Constructing a single picture on a photographic background

“Connection” refers to structures in which two or more images are linked either by direct contact or by graphic illustration and decoration. In montages where the images are connected it is still possible to individually identify the fragments and to consider them independently of each other. Connection structures can be applied to create or suggest links and associations between image fragments. Alternatively, the structures analysed in the connection category can be used for the creation of narratives and sequences. It is possible for these functions to operate simultaneously in single photomontage. A spread published in the 1929 issue of New Zealand Illustrated, the Christmas Number of the Weekly Press uses the connective structures of juxtaposition and insert (figure 31). The three photographic elements remain distinct, in that they are able to be considered as separate but joined (a photograph of a market garden plus a photograph of the harvested fruits plus a photograph of a smiling girl about to eat the fruit). It is through the combination of the three photographs that a narrative sequence is suggested. This combination also connotes the bounty of the earth and the desirability of the product.
“Creation” refers to structures that layer rather than append elements, that is, to montages in which the elements interact as part of a unified illusionary image rather than as a collection of parts. In the photomontage of “THE GOLFERS’ CARNIVAL AT SHIRLEY” (figure 32), the photographic images of twenty-four men tee off together in front of the clubhouse. While their actual presence on the green is unmistakably imaginary, the designer has taken the effort to retouch the montage and provide them with shadows, thereby giving the cut-out figures an illusion of weight.
1. Connection

Connected photographs are those most frequently overlooked as being photomontages. The simple or conventional nature of connecting structures, such as the consecutive printing of images with no space between or the overlapping of one image with a portion of another image, has the potential to shape the meaning of the resulting representations as much as the content of each of the separate elements. In particular, connection strategies bring with them the power of association.

Rosalind Krauss discusses the structure of montage as “cellular”, with the gaps, where they exist, around and between the reality fragments or shards mimicking the syntax of written language. Krauss explains that the formal precondition of signs is that they remain fundamentally exterior to one another:
In language this exteriority manifests itself as syntax, and syntax in turn is both a system of connection between the elements of a language and a system of separation, of maintaining the difference between one sign and the next, of creating meaning through the syntactic conditioning of spacing (Krauss 28).

While Krauss overlays a linguistic analysis onto visual material, an exercise which relies to some extent on the differences between visual and linguistic signs being considered as minor, she nevertheless highlights the importance of connection and spacing in the creation and communication of meaning.

There appears to have been a fairly concerted effort by those involved in the production of newspaper photomontages in New Zealand to fill space, sometimes with zeal. On occasion the external frame is abandoned and the paper of the page becomes the ground for the fragments. In the majority of photomontages in the New Zealand weekly newspapers there is little white space, but even the smallest spaces and separations help to determine relationships between fragments. While the spaces between fragments hold little measurable ground, space and spacing are nevertheless highly important factors for the creation of a language effect (Krauss 28).

1.1 Juxtaposition

The technically simplest form of montage is juxtaposition, when one image is brought into relation with another through placement. When two images appear next to each other and are read as parts of a whole or as a pair, then we can consider the result to be montage. Juxtaposition can serve to reinforce, contrast or destabilise meaning. Juxtaposition was the key editorial tool used and, it is claimed, developed by the Hungarian émigré, Stefan Lorant, in the British publications *Lilliput* (1937) and *Picture Post* (1938). “It is here that we see the birth of the visual metaphor, a process whereby connotations attached to one image … are transferred to the subject of the other” (Bowden 225). Like the claims by members of the Dada group to the invention of photomontage, any claim for Lorant’s primacy must relate to the author’s stated critical awareness of the communicative potential of the processes of montage, rather than to the
invention of technique.27

The structure, intent and content of photomontage are frequently described as components of a visual rhetoric. W. J. T. Mitchell has concisely defined rhetoric as “showing while it tells.” This term is often applied to the conjunction of image and text (Mitchell 54). Arthur C. Danto identifies the metaphor as among the favoured tropes of the rhetorician, writing that “the art of photomontage is precisely the art of arranging photographs in such a way as to elicit the deep surprising affinities of which great metaphors are capable” (Danto 6). By bringing two photographs together, the content in each of them becomes symbolic, rather than descriptive or pictorial. In the spread captioned “VIRGIN NORTH ISLAND BUSH COUNTRY THROUGH WHICH A NEW TOURING HIGHWAY HAS JUST BEEN COMPLETED”, each image exists as a metaphor; in the top photograph the car and road are metaphors of progress and modernity, while the ramshackle village and barefoot children in the lower photograph are metaphors for backwardness (figure 33). These metaphors are set in opposition. The affinity created is not always between one image and the other; it can also be between the photomontage and the reader. What is communicated, while heavily symbolic, has been constructed using a format that, through its clarity and apparent simplicity, allows it to be perceived as unmanipulated and potentially truthful.

The placement of the written texts on the page is the first indicator that this is a montage rather than two unrelated half-page photographs. Each image is individually titled, but both are linked by a larger title at the bottom centre. A simple hand drawn border with detail of daisies on the corners of the top photograph and with fuller illustrations between both images serves to fill interstitial space and thereby physically links the photographs. Daisies are wildflowers and as such may be associated with innocence.

27 Bowden’s claim for Lorant may be correct for the English-speaking world, but, while Lorant’s use of the juxtaposition structure was highly intelligent and effective it was by no means the first. There was a well-developed body of self-aware critical photomontage and an active critical discourse in Europe well before 1937.
Figure 33

“VIRGIN NORTH ISLAND BUSH COUNTRY THROUGH WHICH A NEW TOURING HIGHWAY HAS JUST BEEN COMPLETED.”
Small text reads (upper) “MOTORING ON THE NEW SCENIC ROUTE FROM ROTORUA TO LAKE WAIKAREMOANA.”
(lower) “A MAORI VILLAGE IN THE HEART OF THE RUGGED UREWERA COUNTRY ON THE SAME ROAD.”

Staff Photographer.
Auckland Weekly News, Christmas Number, 1930.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
Through juxtaposition, the image of a touring highway pushing into the heart of the Urewera country can be presented as photomontage, simultaneously representing Pakeha as going forwards fast and Māori going nowhere. What is presented as a contrast, as two sides to a story is in fact one side. As Barthes explains, “the emission and reception of a [photographic] message both lie within the field of sociology” (Barthes 15). The motives and attitudes communicated through press photography are defined by the social group that produces and reads the newspapers. In the case of this montage, the source of emission is the Pakeha medium while the site of reception is a predominantly Pakeha and European audience. This picture of unequal progress gains an apparent evenness through the important factor of balance. The two photographs that make up the montage fill the equivalent space of a single full-page photograph. The dimensions and placement of the two images are dictated by the page set-up of the newspaper. The photographs are of equal size, meaning neither has the advantage of scale, and therefore power, over the other. This evenness in format can be read as neutral and without bias. However it is actually an effective format for the communication and reinforcement of one-sided, and therefore strongly biased, visual messages.

Juxtaposition denotes the close placement of, in this context, photographs. The structure is not reliant on vertical sequence, although sequencing can be a highly influential factor in the creation of meaning. The basic structure of juxtaposition can also operate where the photographs are side-by-side. Horizontally juxtaposed images more readily invite a linear reading. However, when juxtaposed photographs command the same space as a single photograph (through the simple division of the page into halves, quarters, eighths and so on), the reading of the juxtaposed photographs as a montaged whole, rather than as a sequence of single frames, is faster and, I would suggest, more natural. Such divisions also result in the juxtaposed photographs touching at their longest edges, and consequently having the greatest physical proximity to one another.
1.2 Variations of the basic juxtaposition structure

Juxtaposition can provide a basic structure, onto or into which other elements can be added. In “LOOKING ACROSS NEW ZEALAND FROM TITIRANGI, AUCKLAND”, two photographs of roads leading to harbours are juxtaposed (figure 34). Inserted across the lower portion of the landscapes, and thereby physically connecting them, is the circular photograph of a car. As in the photomontage previously examined, the dimensions of the montage are equivalent to those of a standard single photograph (half-page landscape in figure 34, full-page portrait in figure 33). The main photographs are of equal size and touch at their longest edges. Sub-titles provide descriptions of each component, while the main title links the two, and communicates the larger idea of unbroken access.

The hand-drawn border is not elaborate, although it is more complete than the previous example in fulfilling the function of framing and combining the parts. As such, the graphic elements operate to unify the montage and to reinforce a sense of natural balance and harmony. This application is in accordance with Jones’ propositions about the correct appearance and purpose of ornament (Jones 6).

The circular photographic fragment of the car is presented as an insert. Inserts generally have the appearance of being cut into rather than overlaid on top of larger images. The uses of circular inserts were, and still are, understood as a construction strategy designed to provide additional detail, whether that be, for example, a close-up view of a product or specimen, or a focus portrait of an important figure who may otherwise have blended in with the crowd. While the car is relatively small in scale it is highly symbolic of progress, technology, and luxury. By being independent of the landscape, the car is able to be presented as advancing towards the viewer, driving into the future rather than disappearing down the roads. An alternate reading could be that the viewer is encountering the landscapes from the car and that the addition of the car insert is in fact a visual inclusion of the viewer.

Juxtaposition, in this example, is used to create a graphic metaphor, and employs compositional contrasts rather than contrasts in content (for example the mirroring of the curve of the road, which is continued in the right hand image by a river). While East and
West are situated as if North was located at the bottom of the page, the montage suggests a continuous, unbroken stretch of road from coast to coast. The reverse orientation could be read as appropriate for a northern hemisphere audience, looking down on New Zealand. The car’s power is emphasised, due to its insertion into the centre at the peak between two downhill routes. While the country is still rugged, it clearly has presented no challenge to progress.

The format of linked, paired images resembles the double spread of a book or magazine. The construction of the two images may also be read as mimicking the proportions of the windscreen of the car, and as such, would locate the viewer in the driver’s seat. Such readings recognise the appropriateness of the construction to the content, but do not preclude the structure being a conventional one.

Figure 34

“LOOKING ACROSS NEW ZEALAND FROM TITIRANGI, AUCKLAND.”
Subheadings (left) “A GLIMPSE OF THE WAITEMATA, EAST COAST.” (right) “MANUKAU HARBOUR, ON THE WEST COAST.”
Una Garlick, photos.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
Dynamism can be added to juxtaposition by varying the scale of the two images in relation to each other, and by the footprint of the combined images deviating from that of a standard single photograph. In this way, the model becomes one of a dominant and a subservient photograph. The general rule I have observed is that the smaller photograph works on the dominant, larger one, but that the influence is not always equal and not necessarily reciprocal. In figure 35, the enormous trophy fish dominates the composition in placement and in scale, and this photo alone could have illustrated the caption. However, on its own it would have presented a rather static view of one man and his prize fish rather than a dynamic image about the activity of fishing.

A dynamic composition is appropriate for an active topic. In this montage a narrative of male endeavour is created by the juxtaposition of photographs that document fishing as an action and fish as a result. By placing one above the other, an imaginary line runs down from the taut rod of the man at top centre. The white background in the upper photograph, a result of photographing the subject against the sky on a bright day, renders the figures as cut-outs. They exist as a fragment and are visually symbolic in that they are coded as archetypes. In the same instance they are identified as individuals in the supporting text. As a result, the men appear god-like in stature, dominant even in relation to the overly large fish. The long composition both emphasises and reflects the dimensions of the fish.

Again, fairly minimal hand-drawn framing is employed in this montage. While the decoration applied to the corners appears derived from nature rather than from geometric design, it is reduced to pattern, an exception being a tiny fish drawn into each of the upper corners. Most importantly, the framing works to physically combine the two photographs. While there is a dividing line between the two photographic components, this does not serve to separate the images. Instead, the corner details suggest this is a single picture that could be from a family album. The construction of a long, narrow composition is relatively unusual, with juxtaposed photographs of uneven scales more frequently filling the space of a panoramic landscape photograph.
“THRILLING SPORT WITH ROD AND LINE IN NEW ZEALAND: ‘Big Game’ Anglers in the Bay of
Islands.”

Staff Photographer.
Auckland Weekly News, Christmas Number 1925, p32.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

Additional text reads, “Top: Mr. E. P. Andreas, of Sydney, N.S.W., playing a record mako
shark of 558lbs. It was landed after a fight lasting 4½ hours, in which the launch was taken 9
miles out to sea. Lower: Mr. J. W. Kershaw, of Martinborough, New Zealand, photographed at
the official weighing station at Deep Water Cove, with one of his catch, a swordfish weighing
402lbs.”

The inclusion of an Australian fisherman connects this montage to tourism as well as the more
obvious categories of sport and recreation. In this sense it performs a promotional as well as a
reportage function.
1.3 Juxtaposition using cut-outs

A juxtaposition format, which brought together a cut-out figure and a cropped landscape photograph, was regularly and effectively employed (most notably in the Auckland Weekly News’ Christmas Supplements between 1910 to 1922) to animate scenes or to depict oppositions. Typical applications contrasted old and new, or created comparisons, such as the progress of Māori versus Pakeha. This format is sophisticated in its simplicity. The juxtaposition creates a visual shift between a closer isolated figure and a picturesque scene as the focus. The cut-out figure can be read as part of the frame, bounding the interpretation of the featured landscape.

In the analysed example, three distinct photomontages appear on a single page, and repetition of the same basic format reinforces established structural rules (figure 36). The three photomontages depict distinct social types with similar pictorial units, while simultaneously creating difference through minor image-specific variations. In each montage the cut-out figure of a person is combined with a landscape, while hand-drawn frames start at the top as linear, develop in the centre to stylised reeds and end at the bottom in the illustration of a sheaf of wheat. The structure and repetition of the format encourages a string of associations to spin out between the different images and graphic elements. In this instance, no image is more important than any other, although the texts do not make particular mention of the left-hand portraits. The shifting back and forth between the two photographic elements is continuous, which results in the activation of otherwise very still photographs.
Figure 36

From top. "CHRISTMAS ON A NEW ZEALAND BACKBLOCKS FARM: A HAPPY FAMILY PARTY, IN THE RANGITIKEI DISTRICT, WELLINGTON PROVINCE."

"A SCENE IN NEW ZEALAND'S THERMAL WONDERLAND: A GLIMPSE OF LAKE ROTORUA, LOOKING TOWARDS THE NATIVE VILLAGE OF OHINEMOTU."

"A SCENE IN NEW ZEALAND'S GREATEST WHEAT-GROWING DISTRICT: A BIG CROP IN STOOK ON THE SOUTH CANTERBURY DOWNS. SOUTH ISLAND."

_Auckland Weekly News_, Christmas Supplement, 21 December 1911, p8.

Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
“IN TIME OF PEACE PREPARE FOR WAR” is a variation of this juxtaposition structure, and can be described as an intelligent and well-executed montage (figure 37). It creates a relationship between a social type (in this instance, a young New Zealander), a group, and the history and potential future of the Dominion. It simultaneously communicates the contrast between innocent youth and destructive war, and the inevitable convergence of the two. The structure itself is simple, one of visual connection achieved partially through physical overlap, and is constituted from one full photograph, one smaller cropped photograph and one cut-out photographic fragment.

Graphic additions are kept to a minimum, with a single black line outlining and containing the elements, except for the cut-out. Rectangular formats for the images of war and marching present those photographs as reportage, while the boy is cut-out and therefore encountered first more as a person rather than as a news photograph. The photographs also follow the rules of formal composition derived from the conventions of European painting, with the portrait presented in a vertical format and the landscape in a horizontal one.

Figure 37

“IN TIME OF PEACE PREPARE FOR WAR. ON THE TRAINING OF YOUNG NEW ZEALAND DEPENDS THE FUTURE SAFETY OF THE DOMINION.”
Portrait of Cadet by R. Reid, Ponsonby.
The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail, 9 March 1910, p27.
Whangarei Library, Wananga Whakatupu Matauranga.
As a cut-out, the boy bears a more direct relationship with the viewer than if he was constrained within the rectangular format of a typical photograph, with its regular format and necessary contextual detail. His gaze is to the viewer. It is as if the act of photographing did not take place; any trace of a photographer mediating the interaction has been minimised. He remains outside of the frame, but the familiar issue of the abrupt cutting off of body parts means that the relation of the photographic fragments to each other has limitations. While the cut-out boy appears to be spatially in front of the scene of war, the cropped photo of marching cadets can only be seen to be in front of him. This particular photograph is very flat, despite the quite dramatic receding perspective of the advancing line in the image itself. The lower tonal contrast of the image is one cause for its flatness, while the inclusion of the row of trees is a totally unnecessary element that weakens it. In this instance I would argue that, while the content of the marching photograph adds important information to the photomontage, from the viewpoint of construction it hinders the effectiveness of an otherwise very poignant image.

1.4 Juxtaposition – inside and outside the frame

Variations between the scale of two photographic elements within a montage can be too extreme for juxtaposition to function as a correct description of the structure. In “A CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY AT LAKE TE ANAU, OTAGO, SOUTH ISLAND” the cut-out photograph of the woman, placed at the bottom right corner of the nearly full-page photograph of the landscape, may be read alternately as part of the main photograph or as part of the frame, but not as an independent photographic element (figure 38). In this instance the pairing of the figure and the landscape suggests that the landscape is going to work upon the woman. Indeed, nearly full-page photographs with photographic and graphic additions at the borders were frequently used to promote sites of interest to tourists.

The spectator appears in the foreground, with her gaze travelling across the surface of the dominant photograph. She is archetypal, standing in for any holiday-maker, and her placement invites the reader to imagine themselves in her shoes, enjoying the view. The cut-out and pasted-in spectator positioned to view the landscape echoes the faceless viewers of Romantic landscape paintings, as in Caspar David Friedrich’s Wanderer in the
Sea of Fog (1818). The frequent use of this format for full-page illustrations reinforces a connection between technically professional photography and scenic beauty. This holds particularly true of scenes where the descriptors “picturesque”, “grand”, “majestic” and “awe-inspiring” are applicable, such as views of high mountain passes or large bodies of water. The landscapes, while visually sublime, usually exclude humans. The technical quality of this particular image, combined with its imposing scale, allows it to retain a convincing sense of pictorial depth despite the placement of the cut-out figure in “real space” in front of it. The result is that the landscape photograph reads as a window to look through and into, rather than a picture to be looked at. The cut-out figure breaks the boundaries of the photograph and exhibits a direct connection to the drawn ferns beneath her feet.

The cartoon-like mode of illustration demonstrated in this montage was not specific to it, as it directly related to illustrations throughout this, and subsequent, issues. It was a common style for the Auckland Weekly News. In this example, a crude caricature of a large-eyed “native” and a dog creep along the bottom of the frame, out of sight and therefore outside of any relationship to the photographed tourist. The ferns at the tourist’s feet and sprouting from the wider right-hand vertical side of the frame, are generic plants that function as a symbol of lush growth; they appear as markers of nature, rather than as botanical illustrations. The border itself is in keeping with the natural theme of the elements it contains in that the double lines are drawn rather than ruled. Sections of hatching at and near the corners suggest, in a simplified way, that the frame is actually constructed from bound twigs.

The text reinforces this montage as an invitation to tourism, an encouragement to undertake a journey. It is promotional in that it presents a suggested rather than documented experience, therefore being available to anyone with the time to stop and look. The shore is empty of figures, although it features an empty boat, presumably waiting for a passenger. The steamer surging through the water doubles up the theme of scenic grandeur made accessible for pleasure by the availability of transport. The text also associates the montage with leisure, as it suggests the Christmas holidays as an appropriate

29 The Free Lance had an almost identical style, and others of the newspapers had closely related variations of this.
time to visit the location and provides selected geographical detail. This format (tourist and site, or tour guide and site) remains a simple and effective construction strategy for photomontages that promote tourist experience to the present day. It is not a format particular to newspapers either then or now, and similar constructions can be seen on postcards, posters, other advertising ephemera and the internet.

Figure 38

“A CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY AT LAKE TE ANAU, OTAHO, SOUTH ISLAND.
Te Anau, the largest lake in the South Island, is about 40 miles long, varying from one to six miles across.”
Staff Photographer.
1.5 The Grid

The use of the grid structure as the basis for the design of photomontages was extremely common, especially in the newspaper context. There were many variations on tiled layouts, depending on page size, photograph size and number of images in a sequence. For example, fifteen photographs could be laid out three columns wide, five rows down (figure 39). The photographs are often accompanied by small numbers, which structures the order in which the reader encounters the images.

The Free Lance relied on sequential connections and readings for the largest proportion of its photomontages. This is probably due to the newspaper’s less advanced process department, which led to the use of conventional and narrative visual reporting structures instead of more sophisticated or adventurous layouts. From a technical perspective, production of grid-based montages could be relatively simple, both at the construction and the printing stages. Photographic prints could be cropped to the required dimensions, then pasted onto a sheet with the edges touching, or spaced to allow the backing paper to form borders around and between them. From this pasted-up montage, a single rectangular plate could be produced.

Gridded and tiled montages, while being particularly suited for sequential series due to the specified reading direction, could not always be relied upon to contain any sense of visual order. Collections of related thematic images were frequently pasted together this way and appended a single title, as were “snapshots” of an event or scene in which no chronological order is discernable. Grids can have a levelling effect, in that the visual regularity can promote an apparent equivalence of units. “THE PHYSIOGNOMY OF THE RACECOURSE – SPORTING FACES IN A SPORTING CROWD” represents a considered application of the grid format, despite the obvious technical simplicity of the construction (cut photographs loosely stuck onto grey sugar paper with additional framing details in pen). The cut-out profiles of the horses in the upper corners visually identify and frame the montage. The central image is also framed, subtly, by the placement of photographs above, below and to either side in which the backgrounds have been cut out. Further evidence of visual order can be seen in the distribution of darker and lighter images across the layout.
Figure 39

“THE PHYSIOGNOMY OF THE RACECOURSE – SPORTING FACES IN A SPORTING CROWD. Snapshots at the Recent Autumn Race Meeting at Trentham, Wellington.”
*The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail, 10 May 1911, p32.*
Whangarei Library, Wananga Whakatupu Matauranga.

The grid structure lent itself to the reporting of group activity. The regularity of the format combined with the repetition of content had the effect of multiplying figures exponentially. This ability of photomontage techniques to create crowds was widely recognised and exploited. “THREE HUNDRED GIRLS TAKE PART IN THE NEW ZEALAND LADIES’ HOCKEY TOURNAMENT” (figure 40) pictures just over a third of that number of players, but the suggestion of a massive gathering, for the purpose of a group activity, makes the existence of the additional 190 “girls” almost visible. The part is suggestive of the whole.
Tiled montages, in which the edges of photographs were pasted directly against each another with no space or border between, were standard for the weekly issues. In the Christmas editions spacing was more frequently used, and graphic ornamentation entered the space between the photographs. This spacing had the effect of forming visual linear grids and creating layers of frames, separating or joining together sections of the whole.

Figure 40

“THREE HUNDRED GIRLS TAKE PART IN THE NEW ZEALAND LADIES’ HOCKEY TOURNAMENT.”
Barton, photo.
Whangarei Library, Wananga Whakatupu Matauranga.
Variations in the scale of the included images was another method of increasing the visual sophistication of grid format montages. Key shots were emphasised not only by central placement, for example, but also through the use of larger scales that dominated montages. Another common variation in proportions was the replacement of two consecutive photographs with one panoramic shot.

Figure 41

“THE CARNIVAL OF THE SWIFTS AMATEUR SWIMMING CLUB, WELLINGTON.”
Barton, photo.
The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail, 8 February 1911, p27.
Whangarei Library, Wananga Whakatupu Matauranga.

“THE CARNIVAL OF THE SWIFTS AMATEUR SWIMMING CLUB, WELLINGTON” (figure 41) is similar to a private album page of the era. While published in a weekly issue, it is a formal composition and not a structurally naïve montage. A nine-part underlying grid structure has been utilised, and a number of different techniques for linking photo fragments are demonstrated. While juxtaposition serves to create an important connection between the central vertical pair of swimmer and trophy (with scale being used to make the trophy the largest item), this device breaks the uniformity of the nine-part grid. Overall, the larger grid structure dominates. The central
cross anchors the composition, establishing foreground detail from background context. The physical placement of the floating profiles of the Hon. J. A. Millar, Minister of Marine (left), and Mr. T. E. Shields (right) above the rectangular photos of the event, as well as their relatively imposing scale, determines their importance. An imaginary sight line between the men adds visual tension.

Edges and cuts draw attention to intervention. In this instance the profile portraits are cut above the elbows, possibly a cut that occurred at the point of shooting. Such a clear reference to the photographic edge, when closely scrutinised, undoes the otherwise skilful excision of the men from their paper existence. Any illusion of three-dimensional space is flattened at the point of the slice. In this example, the flattening effect of the cut edge is compensated for by the foregrounding of the portraits and their adherence to the larger grid. The practical issue presented when constructing using cut-outs highlights one of the key technical problems of photomontage: where to place the cut? How can the edge of the photograph be dealt with so that the result avoids abrupt disruption or incongruity?

In this photomontage the four rectangular corner photographs provide contextual background information. The pair across the top sets out the race scene and the spectators, while the bottom pair displays spectacular highlights of the action. Each pair employs the construction strategy of the suggested continuation of an horizon line. In the top pair, the visually connectable horizon creates a continuation in space. It creates the illusion of a panoramic space that continues behind the overlaid trophy. In the lower pair, continuity is structured across time rather than space. Paired together, the two images create a sequential effect that recalls film, a very new media at the time. Cinematic sequences rely heavily on gesture, action and repetition. More traditional narrative sequences, which are more commonly encountered, present more elastic representations of time through numbering systems, layout and the use of stereotypic or symbolic imagery that aid the linking of photographs of fragments into an understandable chronological order.
1.6 Ornament and illustration

Graphic elements are particularly important in unifying photographs in montages in which the underlying structure is connection. When there are more than two individual photographs in a montage, or when the regularity of the grid is not relied on, graphic ornament and detail serve to bind fragments together, to frame the content as a whole as well as to highlight its individual photographic components. While the graphic elements were frequently decorative and supplementary to the content of the montage, this was not always the case. Conventional graphic style repeated across an issue or over many issues or even years may not have added visual information to individual montages. Instead, the creation of a house style had a cumulative effect: to link unrelated montages, and to present them as part of a larger, connected message. For example, the inclusion of cartoon-like Māori figures in combination with botanical ornamentation over a number of years in the Auckland Weekly News, and later in the Free Lance, not only immediately identified the montages as being about New Zealand, but created a background theme of New Zealand being connected with “natives” and nature.

From another perspective, the appearance of a standard graphic approach to photomontages tells us something of the systems of montage production at a newspaper. The contributions of the staff commercial artists and designers had a significant role in the creation and communication of meaning in the published photomontages. J. E. Ward’s signature can be found below the lower right circular photo fragment of the following illustration (figure 42). Ward was a very accomplished designer and illustrator whose contributions to photomontage were significant. The inclusion of a signature is unusual for the production context of a commercial mass media publication, and most of the work undertaken by Ward is more conventionally anonymous.30 In “STUDIES FROM LIFE AMONGST NEW ZEALAND BIRDS AND REPTILES”, the graphic elements have been composed in direct response to the content of the photographs. Ward combines flat pattern design with both stylised and observational illustration. The tumbling egg design is contrasted with illustrations of eggs in nests at bottom corners, while highly stylised

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30 Ward signs himself J. E. Ward, with the bottom horizontal line of the E running underneath the length of the surname and beyond. Because of this it would be possible to mistakenly read the initials as J. F.
kowhaiwhai patterning functions in one place as decorative framing and in another as architectural elements (providing pedestals for the mirrored birds at the top).

Figure 42

“STUDIES FROM LIFE AMONGST NEW ZEALAND BIRDS AND REPTILES.”
G. N. Buddle, photo.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
Observation from nature, the development of flat patterning and the adaptation of Māori cultural artefacts for design purposes were all advocated by the educators in the South Kensington training system. From observing the work of J. E. Ward, we may conclude that in all likelihood he studied under this system, either in New Zealand or abroad. Ann Calhoun, in her text on the *Arts and Crafts Movement in New Zealand 1870-1940*, explains that the imported training system was all that was available to New Zealand students with artistic aspirations (Calhoun 20). As with South Kensington students anywhere, Owen Jones’s *Grammar of Ornament* was a key text. Jones propounded the “fact” that any ornament that could command universal attention would “be found to be in accordance with the laws which regulate the distribution of form on nature” and that the future of Ornamental Art relied, to a large extent, on the “return to nature for fresh inspiration” (Jones 2). Jones also explicitly recommended the study and appropriation of the ornament “of a people on an early stage of civilisation”, as another route to nature, in the effort to get rid of the build-up of the acquired and artificial that had made European ornament stagnant (16).

Because the cohesion in such a montage as “STUDIES FROM LIFE: NEW ZEALAND BIRDS AND REPTILES” is an effect of design, the result is held together rather than unified. Scale, for example, indicates importance rather than nearness to the viewer. There are stylistic contradictions, such as the shift between the flat egg-shaped outlines and the illustrations of eggs in a nest rendered with pictorial depth, but the similarities are greater and therefore assist rather than hinder the cohesion of the fragments. If such variations of representation were included in a painting at the time, the result would be considered extremely radical and might be perceived as complicating the communication of any visual message. In a designed montage, these methods simplify it. Nevertheless, the overall impression of the montage design is not one of simplicity but of busy-ness, with graphic elements being used to fill spaces leaving no gaps other than a suggestion of sky at the top.

“NATIONAL WEALTH IN THE MAKING” (figure 43) provides an alternative, if still conservative, example of the page’s providing the outer frame for a montage. Rather than being filled up, the space of the page is acknowledged to construct a photomontage “unit” in the centre. Typography is also physically connected to the montage, an unusual feature that was used quite often in the *Graphic* for two to three years. The hand-drawn font is in
keeping with the overall design, reinforcing the message it spells out. The typography is therefore a significant part of the montage itself. This internal text dominates over the more conventionally placed text that appears below the images and appears in the newspaper’s regular font (not visible in the figure).

Figure 43

“NATIONAL WEALTH IN THE MAKING. SUMMER STUDIES OF ANIMAL LIFE.”
Webb, photo.
New Zealand Weekly Graphic, Christmas Number, 1910, p12.
Calhoun identifies *The Studio: Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art*, which was published in London from 1893, as the most important imported publication for designers, stating that “the mix of Aesthetic and Art Nouveau styles […], had an untold influence in New Zealand” (Calhoun 68). In “NATIONAL WEALTH IN THE MAKING” art nouveau-influenced illustration and ornamentation link all the fragments and carry weight with the photographic components in creating the montage’s meaning. After all, photographs such as these were standard fare for features and montages on themes of farming bliss and nostalgia for the pre-industrial countryside and way of life, promoting New Zealand as a land of plenty. The simplified construction and use of an Art Nouveau design frames the photographs in the contemporary moment of 1910 and suggests that abundance of the present will lead to a wealthy future.

1.7 Elaborate framing

The structure of a large, central photograph, surrounded and framed by smaller oval and circular photographs was one of the more commonly used formats for full-page montages in the feature issues. For the majority of the years covered by this study, the first page of the *Auckland Weekly News* showcase Christmas Number repeated this format, as did the first page of the domestic Christmas Supplement (figures 44 & 45). It is a relatively static format that was suitable for timeless themes, such as the larger myths of ideal life in New Zealand.

Elaborate frames can guide and control meaning. In “A TYPICAL NEW ZEALAND CHRISTMAS DINNER”, a frame of graphically linked photographs of “typical New Zealand”, (which encompasses geese, geysers and a girl scout, as well as the usual scenes of landscape and leisure), surrounds a large central image of what would seem to be a remarkably untypical Christmas dinner. The central image of “JOYS OF THE CHRISTMAS SEASON IN NEW ZEALAND” again is an untypical one, which, on its own would be open to wide interpretation, but is here framed, and its meaning therefore controlled, by stereotypical representations of the seaside.
“A TYPICAL NEW ZEALAND CHRISTMAS DINNER”
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

“JOYS OF THE CHRISTMAS SEASON IN NEW ZEALAND”
G. L. Adkin and Staff, photos.
_Auckland Weekly News_, Christmas Number, 1924, p9.

In “A MAORI WAHINE AND HER PICKANINNY.”, an example from 1909, the skill with which the carved wooden frame is photographed, constructed and integrated causes the central components of the montage to read like a rephotographed framed photograph rather than part of a montage of cut paper elements arranged on a page (figure 46). This frame, like many, was used on more than one occasion, with only the central photograph varying.\(^{31}\) The trio of Māori youth at the top are human figureheads, part of the frame through their connection to the carved head below them, and are equally a stereotypical representation of Māori culture. The four corner cameo images are also stereotypes, being

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\(^{31}\) This particular frame was also employed for an illustration in the _Auckland Weekly News_ Christmas Number, 1908, p3, where it contained a photo of a young Māori woman taken by Leslie Hinge, St. Albans, Christchurch.
photographs that are familiar not only in kind but also from frequent previous publication. The cameo photographs as well as the carved frame style and execution suggest that this is the work of George Bourne, who often constructed frames from photographed carvings. While he appears to have led the development of this technique in New Zealand, others also employed it. The photographic use of carving is a type of appropriation that functions at two levels: as an appropriation of design and as appropriation of an identifiable unique cultural object. The second layer of framing is loosely drawn curvilinear botanical decoration. It serves to link and contain the photographic elements, but does not add any additional structure. Double framing reinforces the visual emphasis on the central photograph, which consistently was a pictorial composition or study of a photogenic subject. The fragments of the elaborate frame dictate the reading of the central image inside the frame. In this example, the Māori are represented as happy, young, carefree, poor and beautiful through a frame comprised of both their own culture and a slightly overgrown natural environment.
Figure 46

“A MAORI WAHINE AND HER PICKANINNY.”
E. Preen, photo.
Auckland Public Libraries Special Collections.
1.8 The public album

Victorian photograph albums provided both model and reference for framing formats for newspaper photomontages (figure 47). Caroline Brothers, in her discussion of the Illustrated London News’ early use of photographs, notes that “its layout was regular and symmetrical despite a propensity for trimming its images into ovals and ornamenting them like a family photograph album” (Brothers 8). While her comment acknowledges the common nature of the album format, it also seems to suggest that this resulted from scissor-happy workers in the process-room rather than a strategy of visual communication design. Notably, family photograph albums quickly became designed commodity objects – sold to accommodate the standardized formats of cartes and cabinet cards.

Conventions developed in both family and professional photograph albums are as much a feature of the New Zealand newspapers as they were of the Illustrated London News. It is probable that this occurred for two reasons: firstly, as an immediate continuation of established and conventional design formats; and secondly, I propose that intentional references to album formats were made with the purpose of aligning the newspaper publications with personal image archives. As previously stated, many photographs and photomontages carried no names at all. When they do occur, the attributions are to four distinct groups of producers: newspaper employees, independent professionals, photo agencies and amateurs. The large cities, in which the weekly newspapers examined in this thesis were published, boasted sizeable numbers of professional photographic studios. Much of the work undertaken by the commercial studios was for the domestic market. Publication in the regionally (and nationally) distributed weeklies was an excellent means of promoting a photographer’s business. Therefore it was important to present a photographic product that was stylistically related to the studio’s output or style.

Close examination of the visual material suggests that amateur and part-time producers, for whom photography was a secondary source of income, were responsible for a significant number of the photographs and photomontages that were published. Publication opportunities for amateur photographers were very important to the emergence of photography as a profession. It seems likely that images, and possibly entire album pages, were submitted by post for publication (made domestically, perhaps with publication in mind, but possibly with publication being the secondary outcome). There
are a few telltale signs that point to this conclusion, such as a grey background of the sugar paper page common to the undecorated albums, or the inclusion of hand-written captions in white pencil or ink directly below the photographs. Landscapes and events are common themes for what I have surmised are postal submissions. The frequent use of such titles as “Snapshots of…” or “Pictures from…” for album format photomontages also suggests a private, non-professional collection and presentation of photographs. At the very least, such titles could be intended to evoke such associations.

Figure 47

An example of a Victorian family album, c1885

In some instances, formal references to the structure and content of the private photograph albums of domestic or vernacular practice were intentional, with the aim being the creation of a public album. “Album” suggests a personal visual archive, a volume to which a degree of ownership is attached. Sets of Christmas Numbers or pictorial
supplements from consecutive weekly issues were often bound by individuals for preservation. Jo Spence’s description of the family album would not sit uneasily as a description for the bound personal collections of Christmas Numbers: [The album] “interweaves the trivial and the intense, the moment and the momentous, as it challenges any simple concept of memory. [...] here we can gaze at layers of our past” (Spence and Holland 2). The 20 December 1917 photomontage in the Graphic, “YOUNG NEW ZEALANDERS WITH THEIR CHRISTMAS PRESENTS” (figure 48), brings together picturesque portraits and snapshots of unnamed children, and employs familiar family conventions both of photographic content and of display. The material is consistent with the material being produced domestically or in the studio for the private album. By reproducing them in the album style, the photographs are shifted from private to public. The children become every child or, perhaps, the symbolic children of a nation still in its early years.

The aim and result of a public album created with apparently personal imagery and in a familiar style would be to naturalise views and opinions about topics, such as the different relationships of Pakeha and Māori to the land. It would also have served to create a feeling of inclusivity in a country still consisting of many small, unconnected settlements and outposts. The conventional formatting allowed Pakeha positions to be reinforced as dominant. More challenging photographs and montage constructions could have brought the visual material into question as well, potentially challenging views rather than reinforcing the status quo. I also suggest that the album format may have consciously been used to appeal to a female readership (note that from 1890 to 1908 the Graphic was called the New Zealand Graphic and Ladies’ Journal). It was and still predominantly remains the woman’s role to maintain the domestic image archive.
The album format, of pre-printed decorative frames with empty windows into which photographs could be inserted, was also employed by the newspapers. Two examples, published two years apart in the *New Zealand Christmas Graphic*, demonstrate the reuse of a sophisticated ornamental frame to feature the work of an individual photographer (figures 49 & 50). Despite the interval between the published features, the reproductions appear as parts of a collectable set, and refer to the domestic practice of collecting sets of photographs and postcards for the purpose of presentation in such albums. There were practical advantages to a photographer and to a newspaper of creating and recycling such window frames. Apparently the work of a designer, the frame provides a presentation.
structure that already possesses formal qualities of balance and harmony. The central figure provides a focus which serves to visually link the separate photographs, while the Art Nouveau-influenced style and subject matter provide a larger thematic frame. The repetition of the flowing water in the ornamentation and in the inserted photographs reinforces the notion of New Zealand as a country of waterfalls, rapids, streams and rivers, and contributes to the presentation of New Zealand as fertile wonderland and tourism destination.

Figures 49 & 50

“WATERFALL AND CREEK SCENERY, KAWHIA DISTRICT, AUCKLAND PROVINCE.”
Jackson, photo, Auckland.
*New Zealand Christmas Graphic*, 1906, p23.

“BEAUTIFUL SCENERY IN THE FERTILE KING COUNTRY.”
V. L. Jackson, photo.
*New Zealand Christmas Graphic*, 1908, p23.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
Figures 51, 52 & 53

“LEADERS OF COMMERCE IN THE DOMINION.”
Whangarei Library, Wananga Whakatupu Matauranga.
Reuse of frames occurred over consecutive weekly issues as well. In such instances, the aim of presenting a set of photographs as belonging to a larger series was more directly implied. An example is a series of double portraits of “LEADERS OF COMMERCE IN THE DOMINION” which was published in the *Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail* weekly, throughout the months of September to November 1910 (figures 51, 52 & 53). Use of three different ornamental double-window frames was rotated over the twelve-part series. Each of the frames contained the central illustration of a figure representing an allegorical virtue, such as hard work or equality.

The construction of a group through the combination of individual portraits is one of the most common and effective applications of photomontage. The syntactical use of spacing to structure meaning can be so familiar as to be overlooked. While the album format is not the only structure used in such constructions, it is nevertheless a very conventional one and important to mention. In private albums, the selection and presentation of photographs of individuals on a page suggests a connection between those people photographed. Professional bodies and sporting clubs also regularly produced (and continue to produce) montages of individual members in which their belonging to the group is inferred by the larger format of the page or frame. Uniform scale and spacing are basic principles of such portraiture. Regularity connotes formality and authority, with variations in scale therefore connoting an increase, or otherwise, in importance and power (Bate 48). One of the advantages of a group constructed by connection is the ability of the members to retain their individual identities. “THE DOMINION’S TIMBER INDUSTRY” (figure 54), exemplifies an innovation on the ornamental album format. The use of photographs of trees and train tracks, in place of graphic decoration or illustration, provides an additional layer of association, visually linking the men not only to each other but to the raw material of the industry itself.
"THE DOMINION’S TIMBER INDUSTRY." 32
Whangarei Library, Wananga Whakatupu Matauranga.

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32 Additional text reads “Members of the Royal Commission just set up by the Government to inquire into the position of New Zealand’s timber industry, which, it is said, has suffered from the importations of large quantities of Oregon timber that began last year. The scope of the inquiry is very wide, and evidence will be given from all over the Dominion. In addition to the members whose photographs are given, the Commission also includes Mr. Morris, of Greymouth.”
2. Creation

2.1 Constructing picture montages on a white ground

“BEAUTIES OF THE MAORILAND BUSH” is designed to have two levels of reading: as a single picture of a stylised tree on the land, constructed from photographs that have been cut and montaged onto a white ground; and as a pairing of photographs containing imagery of trees and bush scenery (figure 55). In attempting both it fully succeeds in neither. Unconventionally shaped photographic components invite a pictorial reading of the entire resulting construction, but the detailed contents of photographs and, in particular, the illusion of three-dimensional space contained within photographs, work against any united reading of the montage as a constructed pictorial object. In this example, the perspective recedes strongly in the lower photograph to a small mounted figure. The upper photograph includes the person of a squatting Māori man who is a substantially larger figure and, as a result, appears in closer proximity to the viewer. Because of the contradiction between photographic content and photographic form, the construction of this montage is not overly successful, complicating rather than assisting the communication of meaning. At the same time, the cut-out form of the tree and the unusually shaped ground are, by themselves, unconvincing.

Skill in graphic design and botanical illustration holds “BEAUTIES OF THE MAORILAND BUSH” together, despite the fact that the hand-rendered elements support neither the pictorial reading of the photomontage structure, nor the content of the specific photographs which make it up. The quality of the illustrations is high, and the placement, scale and asymmetry of the drawn elements work to control the white paper space of the page. While I cannot find any mark on this montage to confirm it as the work of J. E. Ward I feel confident that it could be attributed to him. The choice of a botanical subject, the treatment of it and the skill with which the studies are executed point to training in the South Kensington system. The botanical illustrations are studies from life. The inclusion of the Māori name (Putaputa Weta) in the illustration, and the

33 Photomontages with attributions to Ward (in his own hand) are on pages both before and after this montage in the Christmas Number.
Latin name (*Cordyline indivisa*) in the title, suggest that they should be read as accurate botanical illustrations, not as designs simply derived from nature.\(^{34}\)

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**Figure 55**

“BEAUTIES OF THE MAORILAND BUSH.”
No. 1. – A Fine Specimen of the Toii (*Cordyline indivisa*). Tourist Dept., photo.  
No. 2. – Avenue of New Zealand’s Graceful Tree Fern. Northwood Bros., photo.  
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

\(^{34}\) Putaputa Weta is in very small handwritten text directly underneath the drawing of the specimen on the left-hand side.
The choice of a way of addressing the problem of how to cut photographs is one of the fundamental design decisions in photomontage. Unless cut, most photographs are conventionally rectilinear. Convention has established other geometric shapes (circle and oval) as only minimally interfering with the photographic reading. References such as insert, close-up, or cameo are inferred, but these, by being common, are largely unnoticed. Cutting a person or object out of a larger photograph (and thereby discarding the photographed background) is the most successful method of making a photographic fragment in which form and content work together rather than against each other. Individual cut-outs can then be combined to create a new unity. The photographs from which newspaper photomontages have been constructed only occasionally appear to have been taken with the final design of the montage in mind. As a result, the raw photographic material did not necessarily contain complete objects or figures, which would have lent themselves more readily to the successful creation of cut-outs. If photographs are not cut to follow the contour of an object or figure, any other way they are cut causes them to become irregular or geometric objects. Cuts that do not follow an outline generally appear blunt or ill-considered.

The cutting and arranging of thematically related photographic fragments on a white ground, into a form symbolic of that theme, developed into a conventional structure for nautical subjects. There are many examples of full-page features in which photographic fragments form the shapes of a hull and sails. Most applications of this technique produced compositionally weak results in which either the content of the photographs was primary and readable, leaving the larger pictorial montage structure recognisable at best, or vice versa, in which the overall image of a boat was communicated at the expense of the readability of the individual image fragments. There are, however, a few nautical montages that demonstrate the possibility of constructed photomontage objects being successful in the communication of the message through both content and form. Images that include tonally light or white photographic space allow cuts to be less obvious or intrusive, and the white space of the page can become an active component of the montage picture. For example, in “UNDER THE SPREADING CANVAS. YACHTS IN NEW ZEALAND WATERS” the selection of images with tonally light skies allows the paper to also read as sky (figure 56). This montage is one of the strongest examples of this construction strategy that I have found in any of the newspapers.
“UNDER THE SPREADING CANVAS. YACHTS IN NEW ZEALAND WATERS.”

Text below the image at bottom right reads:

“The ships sail out, and the ships sail in,
Passing, repassing with outspread wing.”

-Francis Sinclair

Photos-A.N. Breckon and “Weekly Graphic”.

New Zealand Weekly Graphic, Christmas Number, 1910, p14.

The result of this compositional symmetry is harmonic balance. This was achieved by the cutting and layout of the fragments to represent the water, the hull and sails of a tallship. The symmetry is strengthened by the intentional composite printing of photographs. It appears that the same yacht has been photographed four times as it moved across the
water in front of the photographer, and that pairs of possibly consecutive negatives have been printed with a very slight overlap or disjunction between them to form the scenes in the bottom and central thirds. Joins are clearly visible in the contour of the land in the central section, as are some changes in the tone of the water. With such methods for printing photographs being used, retouching by hand also became necessary to maintain a believable fall of light and shadow. This retouching may be seen most clearly on the sails of the yacht in the bottom left corner.

Additional compositional stability is provided by a very straight typographical border, based on a rope design. Free-flying seagulls, the only significant non-symmetrical elements, function to integrate the graphic and photographic spaces of the montage. The gulls appear to slip from illustration to photographic representation depending upon which background their flight path takes them. They belong to no one photographic fragment, their scale being in correct proportion against the silhouette of the constructed tallship.

2.2 The photographic object

The creation of a photomontage object through the cutting of a single photograph into a graphic frame provided a design solution which, when skilfully executed, combined the strengths of the varying media rather than undermining them. In this structure, the frame creates meaning as well as containing it. In “COOKING THE CHRISTMAS DINNER IN A STEAM HOLE AT Rotorua, Auckland, N.Z.” (figure 57), the photograph of a Māori man cooking is combined with the form of a kotiate and floral ornamentation to become a distinct photo/graphic object. One possible interpretation of this construction is as a metaphor for the changing role of Māori men: warriors no more, they have been reduced to cooking, an activity stereotypically seen by Pakeha as women’s work. The Māori man’s power has been lost and the object of war has been put aside to become overgrown with morning glory, an introduced plant that grows wild and smothers what it grows over.

In general, this strategy of presentation appears to have been considered appropriate for symbolic or metaphorical statements. The statements often resulted in the repetition of

35 Literally means “cut liver” and describes the shape of this club.
stereotypes, with many versions of portraits of young girls appearing at the centre of flowers, for example. Interspersed throughout newspapers, photo/graphic objects were used to fill gaps and were smaller in scale than multiple fragment montages. There is no sense that any of the montages thus constructed related either to the immediate present, or were constructed from recently created visual source material.

Figure 57

“COOKING THE CHRISTMAS DINNER IN A STEAM HOLE AT ROTORUA, AUCKLAND, N.Z.”
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
2.3 Constructing a single picture on a photographic background

The combination of a variety of photographs on a photographic background to create a unified picture is perhaps the structure most widely recognised as photomontage. Constructed by combining a variety of images, the final result reads as a single picture. In the New Zealand weekly newspapers this format was mostly used for humorous and sporting topics. Humorous montaged pictures can be found in some Christmas Numbers and supplements, where the theme is lighthearted, and the general intention of the number is to entertain and delight. They were less frequently included in the weekly issues. With this type of montage, ornamentation is often absent or relegated to providing an exterior frame. Hand-drawn details occasionally become part of the central image, working to complete a picture or to add a shadow. George Bourne is singularly responsible for the largest number of montages in this category. His work is dealt with in detail in Chapter 5. The photomontage under investigation here is one attributed to H. Winkelmann, published in the Auckland Weekly News Christmas Supplement in 1910 (figure 58). The montage is typical in terms of construction process, but highly unusual in all other respects. Technically, the montage is constructed by a process of addition. Fragments of multiple photographs are pasted onto a single complete photograph that serves as a background. The background of this photomontage is a straight photograph.

Winkelmann’s humorous montage was prominently printed full-page on the third page of this supplement; scale and position endowed it with significance. Winkelmann was a regular contributor of photographs to the Auckland Weekly News, as well as to Free Lance and the New Zealand Graphic. With a professional photographic career that stretched over four decades, he is primarily associated with photographs of yachting and of the wider Auckland region. However, he often sought to combine travel around New Zealand and the Pacific with photographic commissions, and Rotorua was a common destination (Edwards 61). This was not Winklemann’s only published photomontage. The 10 December 1901 issue featured images from the newspapers’ second photographic competition, including Winklemann’s submission to the “Comic Study” category, “A STRANGE YACHT’S CREW.”
The title of the later photomontage, “AN ANCESTRAL GATHERING: THE EFFECT OF A DAY’S SIGHTSEEING AT ROTORUA FOLLOWED BY A LITTLE CHRISTMAS CHEER”, suggests a bit of fun, perhaps conceived after the consumption of a bit of Christmas cheer. The title serves to distance it from Winkelman’s serious and predominantly straight, photographic work. While the photomontage is here cast as entertainment, it also allows Winkelman to claim credit for its production. The text suggests that the gathering, both of people and of photographs, took place in Rotorua. This is very unlikely to have been the case. While the negative of the wharenui may have been made in Rotorua, I have been unable to positively identify it. On closer inspection, there is at least one montaged addition to the wharenui itself; a carved head pasted at the top of the lintel. The human figures on the verandah have become absolutely unrecognisable as individuals, their identities replaced by carvings. The text acknowledges that Māori carving represents ancestors, but the variation in carving and representation

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36 Meeting house, often decorated with carvings, rafter panels and tukutuku panels.
styles shows that these ancestors are not all related.

Photographs of Māori and their cultural artefacts were core business for professional photographers in New Zealand in the early twentieth century. Winkelmann was no exception. Vivien Edwards notes that Winkelmann produced a series of lantern slides of Māori carvings and photographed the Spencer Māori carving collection (Edwards 35 & 140). At least three of the carvings from which Winkelmann has chopped the heads are currently on display in the Auckland Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira. It is highly likely that the photographs of other carved ancestors are also gathered from this or other museum collections. Cultural appropriation was common practice at the time this montage was produced and published. Māori carving provided source material for ornamentation and illustration in newspaper photomontages, whether drawn or constructed from photographs. The difference with Winkelmann’s use of carvings here is that he has sought to animate them, and in the process has appropriated not just artefacts but known and named ancestors. In his spirit of Christmas cheer, Winkelmann has presented a multi-tribal group of ancestral figureheads as women. He has, for example, cast Pukaki, the Ngati Whakaue chief, as mother to a kuwaha pataka, an unidentified figure from a Te Arawa food storehouse.

Writing in 1935, Louis Aragon described the strength and attraction of photomontage as being the ostensible verisimilitude of the photographs and fragments to reality. In reference to the works of John Heartfield, he described the photomontage artist as “playing with reality’s fire” (Aragon 63). Winkelmann’s photomontage, while apparently not inflammatory in the context for which it was produced, nevertheless played with reality and certainly has the potential to be inflammatory.

37 The Auckland Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira holds a number of Winkelmann’s negatives of Maori carvings. (Negative reference numbers: B9549, B9550, B9551, B9552, B9553, B9554, B9555, B9556, B9557, B9558)

38 Identification made by author during visit to the Auckland Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira, 6 August 2008.

39 This is the pairing at the right hand of the photograph.
CHAPTER 4
Page after page of “God’s Own Country”

A Poetic Tribute.

New Zealand

My Homeland

With sweet union and tender each stream flows to me.

To be lying in love, happy Homeland, is bliss.

How pleasant to sail where the whaling gales

And the birds and the beaches, the cliffs above

To see forever white wings on the treading

Singing wounds of my Homeland, New Zealand,

Oh, the uplands, when tempests are shrieking, to stand

And enjoy the great waves look these coves on the shore

Oh, the hills, and I live now, oh, the hills, to be

To rest in my Homeland, New Zealand, with thee.

Oh, the hills, and I live now, oh, the hills, to be

To rest in my Homeland, New Zealand, with thee.

Oh, the hills, and I live now, oh, the hills, to be

To rest in my Homeland, New Zealand, with thee.

New Zealand Free Lance, Christmas Annual, 1925, p23.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena.
God guided our fathers; 'neath Hope's silver ray
They sailed bravely on from old homes far away;
And new life and strange beauty they marvelled to see,
They found in my Homeland, New Zealand, with thee.

Newspapers set out to inform, readers to learn. In the time period studied (1900 to 1930), looking at photographic images was a mediated version of the activity of observing; the vicarious experience of knowing about one’s place in the Empire and its relation to others. The medium of photography was ideally suited to empiricism. On their own, in newspapers, in combination with text and with other types of images, photographs served and extended the nineteenth century ethnographic curiosity with its passion for collecting, classifying and controlling facts (Schwartz and Ryan 2). Concepts associated with Empire remained strong in New Zealand past the end of the nineteenth century. For C. W. Grace, author of “New Zealand, My Homeland”, excerpted above and originally written for the 1925 Free Lance Christmas Annual, one’s place in the Empire, not just in New Zealand, continued to remain important. The stanzas of the poetic tribute are set around a montage of cameos and snapshots of majestic or docile scenery, linked by cascading flowers, soaring seagulls and a curving banner of ribbon.

Photographers, illustrators, designers, printers and ultimately editors of the illustrated newspapers constructed representations of New Zealand, and to a lesser extent of the Pacific Islands, to be consumed on a weekly basis. The pictorial sections of the illustrated newspapers provided weekly opportunities for vicarious ocular experiences and learning, both in New Zealand and abroad, about the nature of the countries featured and their inhabitants. Circulation figures and other statistics able to be drawn from newspapers provide numbers, but numbers on their own are an inconclusive measure of influence (Brothers 12). Nevertheless, circulation figures were substantial, and some influence can be claimed. While arguments can be made as to the degree of visual literacy or scepticism possessed by the newspapers’ audiences, it is inevitable that looking and reading resulted in learning. “Photographs have been used […] in profoundly influential ways to shape modern geographical imaginations” (Schwartz and Ryan 5). Even entertainment informs.

40 Selected circulation figures can be found in Chapter 2.
The term “learning-by-looking” is employed by Max Quanchi to explain the activity of the reader of the illustrated press, and the effect of the material read. He describes the illustrated newspapers as offering “visual shortcuts to knowledge”, by providing “evidence to support long-held or newly adopted opinions, beliefs and attitudes” (Quanchi, “The Power of Pictures” 38). In his studies on the representation of Polynesia and Melanesia in photographs, with particular emphasis on their regular appearance in the Australian illustrated press, Quanchi methodically documents the producers, the publications, and the frequency of published images. These details are supported by summaries of stereotypical image content and presentation. Key to Quanchi’s conclusions is the importance of repetition in creating familiarity and reducing perceived distance, primarily in content but also in representation. In turn, familiarity transmutes to understanding. Material viewed and potential understanding acquired are shared across a significant percentage of the population, informing common knowledge and becoming part of personal and social memory.

Quanchi’s notion of “learning-by-looking” can usefully be applied to the pictorial supplements in the New Zealand illustrated press. While the scenes and peoples depicted are within the distribution area of the newspapers, rather than belonging to other nations as in Quanchi’s studies, the images for many of the New Zealand readers would have showed them a world beyond their personal experience. Writing on behalf of the Herald in an uncritical review of a century of publication, Jean Boswell provides an effusive description of the expository function of the illustrated sections: “the pictorial section gave to the youngsters glimpses of a world they couldn’t even have imagined, widening their outlook and providing a never-ending feast of wonder and speculation” (Boswell 8). More importantly, her comments serve as a reminder that the illustrated sections of the weekly newspapers were intended to be enjoyed not just by potentially media-literate adult readers but by the whole family.

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Stock representations of the New Zealand landscape and wilderness areas have changed very little since the 1925 publication, representations which even then were repetitions of photographic conventions. Images of children at the beach or men with fishing rods have likewise altered imperceptibly. Not only was there a definite set of conventions regarding content, in which views of, and interactions with water feature a remarkable number of times, but there was an increasingly formulaic and recognisable approach to composing those photographs. In many instances, the series of photographic conventions established or simply repeated in the newspaper photomontages have changed little between then and now. The readership learnt, at the very least, how New Zealand and “her” inhabitants should be imaged.

Unlike contemporary New Zealand newspapers, there was no firmly established order of subjects nor headed sections grouping like with like in the period 1900-1930. The most reliable structural feature of the newspapers was the separation of texts, images, and advertising from each other. Readability, however, does not rely on clear design (although knowledge of information hierarchies and conventions is essential), but can generally be expected to be “a product of repetition: the entry into the text of the already read, the already seen, according to familiar rules of combination” (Burgin 21). In this instance, on viewing multiple, subsequent issues, readability is established by the repetition of regular content. A pattern of familiarity, in place of order, is recognisable.

Repetition of themes, images and visual tropes is how visual stereotypes are created, and how they become normalised. An analysis of portrayals of gender relationships in advertising by Erving Goffman in 1979 was one of the earliest sociological studies of visual representation and has subsequently been highly influential both in its method and in its conclusions. Goffman’s method has been challenged as being no longer adequate by Gary Bowden in his paper “Reconstructing Colonialism: Graphic Layout and Design, and the Construction of Ideology”. Bowden argues that while the connection between image

42 Through the detailed analysis of over 500 magazine advertisements, Goffman highlighted the social purpose of photographs in the media. Pose, gestures, interactions and costumes were categorised and analysed, and found to be highly repetitious and conventional. He concludes that photographs convince an audience through repeated exposure: that depictions, although not of real life, are nevertheless natural, perhaps the way real life should be Erving Goffman, *Gender Advertisements* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979).
and ideology is analysed and thoroughly documented, the visual processes used to create the ideologies are ignored. In particular, he cites visual juxtaposition and sequencing as a principal but previously overlooked mechanism for ideology formation (Bowden 217). As has been demonstrated in Chapter 3, sequencing and juxtaposition are only two of the many visual communication strategies available to those involved in the design and construction of photomontage in newspapers.

Bowden states that the selection and combination of images should be considered across the entire publication or supplement. Photographs and montages, while occasionally subsequently taken out of context and represented as individual historical images, would initially have been read as embedded in the formats and documents in which they appeared. Bowden’s object of analysis, *The Colony in Pictures* (1953), was divided into clear chapters with a developing narrative while, in comparison, the images of any single newspaper’s pictorial supplement seem unrelated, disconnected from each other and presented with very limited supporting associative text. However, I propose that a cumulative review of the major themes of photomontages from the selected newspapers will illuminate a symbolic narrative that sits below the surface of the individual issues.

In the catalogue *Fields of Golden Daffodils*, which accompanied an exhibition of images selected from New Zealand newspapers and magazines produced between 1890 and 1980, Athol McCredie suggests that the staple categories for representation are mythological themes rather than news subjects. He acknowledges the increased power of communication once images come into contact with each other, giving as his example stock images of young girls, spring lambs and daffodils. In isolation these images are simply pictures, but when “two or more are combined in a single image” they “reinforce a symbolism of purity, renewal and hope” (McCredie 3). By considering the key themes as mythological ones, the wealth of visual material can be discussed synchronically rather than strictly diachronically. Once the themes have been individually established and repeated with minor variations, a visual vocabulary of symbolic conventions is developed, with one image then being able to stand for the whole class of images represented by the theme.
The process of recycling extends and complements the practice of repeating. After stereotypes and conventions in photomontage had been established from 1900 onwards, they became part of a common visual vocabulary, able to be juxtaposed with symbols excerpted and recycled from other recognised cultural forms, in particular literary and artistic texts and artefacts. In the context of the illustrated weekly newspapers, recognisable, familiar materials had greater currency than new, recent materials. Therefore the visual vocabulary was able to extend back in time to include British as well as early colonial source material. Fragments of text, graphic figures such as mermaids from myths and bedtime stories, formats from high and low culture already known as versions (the original being distant or obsolete), were selected, recycled and reordered in the pages of the illustrated weekly newspapers. Maud Lavin argues that this activity of montage is the fundamental basis of graphic design and responsible for its inherent ability to communicate. “It is precisely because design recirculates easily understood and shared imagery - and is widely distributed - that it is so powerful” (Lavin, Clean New World 80). Lavin credits recycling as being more important to the communicative potential of graphic design than formal innovation, and this is confirmed by my study. A recycled montage of familiar ideas and conventional representations has the broadest cultural impact, even though innovation is valued more highly in design history.

Versions of the same montages were published in issue after issue and year after year. The Free Lance perpectively identified the strategies of recycling employed in the Christmas Numbers of its rival publications, noting that its own annual “isn’t a re-hash of photos of the washing pools at Rotorua; it hasn’t got the photos of the Maori girls who have ‘starred’ in Christmas numbers for twenty-five years” (“Free Lance Christmas Annual” 14). For the most part, idealised representations of the past and projections for an ideal future were pasted side-by-side. Rather than uncovering a chronicle of constant progress and change, the present-day reader is left with an overall impression of timelessness and stability. The opening of temporal space, a space cohabited by romanticism and a burgeoning modernity, produced narratives characterised by desire and nostalgia (J. Taylor 2). The idea of New Zealand that was constructed in the photomontages is not an accurate historical record of experience, and the distance between the constructions and social reality only widened over the period 1900-1930.
Every part of the colony has been laid under contribution by the photographic artist, with the result that there are scores of excellent pictures of mountain, lake, valley and farm, whilst a number of portraits of Māori youths and maidens give an appropriate finish to this portion of the Annual ("Daily Times and Witness Christmas Annual" 27).

The categories that I have identified as key themes for photomontage over the thirty-year period are: the land (encompassing rugged or undeveloped wilderness, native birds and plants, pictorialist scenery, and new urban landscapes); Māori; Pakeha New Zealanders ("types" including the New Zealand woman, children, pioneers and professionals); leisure (social, cultural and sporting activity); industry (from farming, logging and fruit growing to the progress industry of road, rail and other major infrastructure); and war. Even those montages that fall into the "other" category become conventionalised. At least once a year there is a page of pets dressed in children’s clothes or posed as humans, an ethnographic feature of one or many combined island groups of the Pacific, and a feature about a famous or royal visitor from Britain.

Many of the photomontages overlap or encompass two or more categories, with common examples being leisure/land, that is, the experience of the land, common in features on holiday seasons, sights and activities. Again, many of the montages could also be categorised as leisure/Pakeha, their purpose being to showcase the promise of enhanced lifestyle and experience for the new generation of Pakeha New Zealanders and for potential migrants. Over the period studied, representations of industry move, in the decade 1910-1920, from scene or spectacle to work site, leading to the overlapping of Pakeha/industry in which new developments in technology or infrastructure are accompanied by the emergence of new types of workers, or, conversely, old extractive industries such as kauri logging are tied up with such archetypal kiwi blokes as the gum diggers or logging crews. Land/Māori is another common overlap, in which Māori are inextricably linked to nature and are presented alongside other native curiosities and specimens. Geoff Park’s statement that, “landscape can be identity; it can be myth” supports my observation that photomontages about the land dominated the Christmas Numbers, and also by the numerous and varied constructions in which representations of the land are included, but in which the topic is ostensibly something else (Park 76).
Montages that present what I have described as “the grand myth of New Zealand as it should be” have been categorised as leisure, for the current purpose of graphing the key themes. In this categorisation I have been guided by the titles, for example “JOYS OF THE CHRISTMAS SEASON IN NEW ZEALAND” and “SUMMER’S CALL TO THE SEA AND RIVER: HOLIDAY SNAPSHOT IN NEW ZEALAND”, on the basic assumption that they are a reflection of at least the occasion the montages were created for, however wide the range of visual material included. The grand myth of New Zealand is utopian, being a synthesis of the ideals of New Zealand as an emerging nation and a tourist destination.

It is clear that there is little major variation in content over three decades, excepting major national involvement in war. Presented in such a way, the photomontages in the pictorial supplements deal with topics that could be considered a continuation of the colonial propaganda of the early to mid-nineteenth century, summarised by Belich as foregrounding “‘progress’, ‘paradise’ and ‘Britishness’” (Belich, *Making Peoples* 287). The importance of representing and promoting “Britishness” was initially overlapped with, and then overtaken by, the importance of visualising and promoting a national identity for Pakeha New Zealanders. Single photographs do not necessarily fall into these categories, and over the course of time, a marked difference between the content and presentation of individual photographs and photomontage develops. Single photographs generally take on an increasingly informative or reporting function in the weekly issues, save for publications of photographic competition finalists. This thesis focuses on photomontage, and individual newspaper photographs are a separate study.

The following graphs are intended to give an indication of the changes and continuities in thematic content over the period 1900 to 1930.\(^\text{43}\) I have separated the Christmas Numbers (or annuals, as they were called at various times) from the weekly issues of the newspapers, as both the percentages of the page space filled by montages and the subjects

\(^{43}\) The *Weekly Press* and its Christmas number, *New Zealand Illustrated*, have been excluded from the data as the sample in the archives was not complete enough to ensure an accurate representation of the thematic trends. The *Free Lance* data has been presented for the period 1925 to 1930 only as there were not enough montages regularly published in 1900 to 1915 from which to draw conclusions, and I have been unable to view issues from 1920.
of the montages themselves were significantly different.\textsuperscript{44} As a broad generalisation, photomontages in the weekly issues contained images of action, rather than images serving as descriptions, and so the categories of Māori to a small extent, but Pakeha to a much larger extent, have been subsumed into the themes of leisure and industry. On a weekly basis, the land is generally the site of action rather than the cause for contemplation.

Another significant variation between the Christmas and weekly issues was that the Christmas Numbers included both a pictorial cover and a title page. These additional full-page designs and montages are obviously very important features in the overall publication design and equally important in framing the content of the body of the issue. While title pages have been counted, I have not included covers in the presentation of the data below. This decision was based on the observation that photomontage was only one of many techniques used in the design of the covers. The work by Philip Presants for the \textit{Weekly Press} is an example of designs printed as chromolithographs, in which photomontage was a significant part of the process rather than an accurate description of the entire published result (figure 113). As a consequence of excluding covers from the graphs, I feel that the significance of images of Māori in particular is not accurately reflected. To take the \textit{Graphic} as an example, the 1904, 1906, 1908 and 1910 Christmas Number covers all feature representations of Māori, while the 1907 cover was an illustration of an attractive Pakeha woman. A similar pattern can be observed in the \textit{Auckland Weekly News}.

The sample from which the graphs have been compiled represent 5-yearly intervals for the dates specified, for example, figure 60 represents 1900, 1905 and 1910. For the weekly issues, the first issue of each of the months April, August and December have been included, in order to counter the influence of any single event on the year’s data. Where the exact issue has not been available, the next available issue has been substituted. The graphs and taxonomy should be read as a preliminary study only.

\textsuperscript{44} Graphs detailing the percentage of page space occupied by photomontage, in each of the five newspapers, can be found in Chapter 2.
The relationship between Māori and land in the photomontages in the *Auckland Weekly News* Christmas Number underwent a significant shift between 1910 and 1920. While many of the features contained photographic and illustrative elements representing both themes, the focus of the montages moved firmly to the land, with Māori being presented as a secondary theme. Photomontages with land as the predominant theme, to a lesser extent also replaced features about industries such as farming and logging. At the same time, photomontages identifying and promoting types of Pakeha New Zealanders largely ceased, in favour of constructions about leisure activities such as holidays, sport, outdoor recreation and social activity. The data collected for the weekly issues of the *Auckland Weekly News* was more consistent, save for those years when the New Zealand military forces were actively engaged overseas. The most significant shift is in the percentage of photomontages that are included on themes other than the key ones which I have identified. After 1920 approximately, photographs on any number of topics started to be presented in largely unornamented montage formats. For example, the first issue for the month of April, 1925, featured among other things: the British Naval base in Singapore, pretty girls in London, Spain’s War and the Australian kookaburra.

The *Otago Witness*, perhaps as a consequence of publishing a smaller number of photomontages in both the Christmas Numbers and the weekly issues, showed very little change in the thematic content over the period 1900 to 1928, when publication ceased. What small shifts there were followed a similar pattern as the *Auckland Weekly News*, with the themes of industry and leisure reversing in their prominence. In the *Otago Witness*, Pakeha remained a minor but constant thematic presence, while constructions about Māori declined slightly.

In the samples examined, differences in thematic content between the Christmas Numbers and the weekly issues appear more marked over time. As previously explained in Chapter 2, the major variance in preparation time between the two types of publications had a significant impact on the construction of photomontages in terms of complexity and quality. The combination of these factors, audience and time, explain why the weekly issues are progressively presented as news summaries while the Christmas Numbers maintain their status as a promotional medium. A more explicit understanding of the subscribing audience and their requirements, as well as the desire by newspaper
enterprises to reduce costs, would account for the slow disappearance of decoration and ornamentation from the weekly issues. The key themes that filled up the pages of the weekly pictorial supplements were nevertheless mythical and highly repetitive, despite being constructed from more current visual material, and presented in formats that were less elaborately ornamented. A major exception was the considerable space dedicated to war while New Zealanders were in active service.

**War**

Two significant military engagements occurred during the time period of this study: the Boer War and World War One. In between these two major international deployments, imperial military training and parading still features in the pictorial segments. Photomontages about war filled considerable percentages of page space over the periods when New Zealand forces were employed overseas. However no specialised visual vocabulary emerged, and the design layouts and formats being used for other subjects in the corresponding period were simply adapted for the theme of war. Montage was used for two distinct abilities: to create associations between groups of images, or to create narratives, causing images to be read sequentially. Many of the published photomontages contained or were entirely comprised of photographs from international sources.

Significant features of war photomontage, in which design played an important, if conventional, role in communication were the Roll of Honour pages. Clarity of layouts, logical relationships between image and text, and weekly repetition were of vital importance to the communicative purposes of the Roll of Honour. In all newspapers, variations of the grid structure were employed. Uniformity of spacing reflected the orderliness of the military, and referenced conventional structures for grouping portraits. Determining the correct scale was important in preserving the individual features of the fallen men while at the same time presenting pages that were simply not too overwhelming by the sheer number of portraits of the dead.
Figure 68

“NEW ZEALAND’S ROLL OF HONOUR.”
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
**Industry**

Ultimately, the work and products of industry affected life in New Zealand dramatically from 1900 to 1930. New developments and improvements in roading, rail and communication systems not only made life and trade easier for a large number of New Zealanders, it made it more possible for people living in this country to think and act on a national basis (Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart* 64). Photomontages primarily representing industry in New Zealand were promotional, to the point of propaganda. The mythical ideal of the New Zealand lifestyle, of hard work for personal reward, is ever present. Homage is paid to the work of the passing generation in establishing industries and building the country, while a lingering romanticism for pre-industrial farming is repeated and reads not only as nostalgia for an earlier simplified past, but as a hope that this ideal of life in New Zealand may yet be available to be lived out. Modernisation, the work of the progressive industries, is less personalised partly due to the scale of the plans and the projects. The message was that progress is good for the country.

The categories of industry and leisure should be read together as they overlap in many instances in the newspapers’ pictorial segments. The regular montages dedicated to Agricultural and Pastoral Shows, for example, illustrate not just the prize-winners, the results of labour, but also the pleasure of the spectators. The pride and produce of the farms are on display, as are fairgrounds and fashions (figure 69). The *Otago Witness* was particularly regular in featuring many rural shows within and beyond the Otago region, including those held in Portobello, Taieri, Otago, Gore, Timaru, Invercargill, Hastings and Manawatu. The newspaper frequently published a panoramic photograph of the showgrounds as part of the reportage and maintained a similar format for full-page montages on this topic, making for easy identification through repetition over time.

Also repeated over time were photomontages on the work of farming. By glancing at the pages of the weekly newspaper, urban citizens could learn to recognise the different breeds of sheep and cattle, or could make generalisations about the nature of typical North or South Island farms, the defining landscapes and the scale of operations. Farming montages have distinct and contrasting modes, being either nostalgic and picturesque representations of pre-industrial farming, or promotional montages celebrating the
industrialisation and modernisation of farming. Farmers themselves, where they appear, are therefore cast in the role of admirable pioneer, in repose and engaging with the camera, or as modern young farmer, engaged in active hard work, too busy to stop for a photograph. Accompanying texts reinforced the distinction between the two approaches. Nostalgic montages were described as visions of country or farming life, while the modern farming montages were described as industry. These two modes of photomontages on farming continued to be published simultaneously for most of 1900-1930 (figures 70 & 71).

Figure 69

“THE FAT OF THE LAND. Blue-ribbon stock on parade at the annual shows of our Agricultural and Pastoral Associations. These shows are the great days of the year for the various districts.”

“HELD IN HIGH HONOUR. New Zealanders are great lovers of the horse, and have a quick eye for equine points. Riding and driving events are always a feature of our Agricultural and Pastoral Associations’ Shows.”


Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
Agriculture, in the photomontages, was essentially the work of men. Horticulture on the other hand was presented as the realm of women. Orchards and strawberry fields are presented as sites of pleasure, in which attractive women leisurely harvest. The association of women with orchards and field crops can partly be explained by the seasonal nature of horticulture. Rows of trees in blossom not only predict a good harvest, but herald in spring, who is often embodied in photomontages by a demure young woman in white sitting in the lower branches. Aside from the feminine appearance and long established association of girls and women with flowers, the sweetness of New Zealand women was a commonly used visual metaphor for the sweetness of the fruit, and vice versa (refer back to figure 31).
“DIGGERS IN SEARCH OF KAURI GUM. THE LEGACY OF THE FOREST.”
Olive & Walker and A. Northwood, photos.
*New Zealand Christmas Graphic*, 1910, p16.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

Small text, below the bottom right corner of the montage, reads:

“Though young, they are heirs of the ages;  
Though few, they are freemen and peers;  
Plain workers—yet sure of their wages  
Slow destiny pays with the years.”
-William Pember Reeves.

45 Half of the fourth stanza of the poem “New Zealand”, which is the opening poem in Alexander and Currie’s *New Zealand Verse*. It was first published in *New Zealand, and Other Poems* (1898).
Extractive industries, in particular the logging of the remaining kauri forests, continued to be visible in the weekly newspapers despite the reduction in importance and volume of the industry to the larger New Zealand economy. Clearing the bush, “the quintessence of the assault on nature”, with the triple outcomes of providing clear land, building materials and fuel, had been of such significance in the early decades of colonial settlement (Belich, Making Peoples 356). As if in recognition of the waning of the industries of the pioneers, montages dedicated to the theme of logging included many decorative graphic elements, with accompanying text tending to nostalgic rather than descriptive modes. “THE LEGACY OF THE FOREST”, focuses on the subsidiary industry of digging for kauri gum: what is left behind after the forest itself has been destroyed (figure 72).

The photographic fragment in the top left-hand corner contains the only seated figure, an old man, who is in marked contrast to the young workers that make up the remainder of the montage. His figure serves as a reminder of the work of the colonial pioneer generation in bringing about the transformation of both the landscape and the industry. The legacy of the industry, from towering forest to muddy trenches, however ornamented and poeticised, is nevertheless recognised as a passing and a loss. The recycled stanza of Pember Reeves’ poem reinforces the hard work that the younger generation must now do to get what small return they can from land that has already been exploited. The botanical border offers the only sign of growth.

Photomontages of progressive secondary industries, the work of building infrastructure, providing electricity and so on, are in direct contrast to features on extractive industries. Pioneering and colonial history appear irrelevant to progress. Progress is looking forward, projecting oneself into the future and providing for the needs of the future. The following pair of photomontages, both taken from the Free Lance in 1910 and 1930 respectively, show something of the future-gazing of the industrial sector and the role of photography and montage in presenting possibilities as realisable. The Aratiatia Rapids, the subject of the 1930 montage, are included in the bottom right hand corner in the 1910 montage.

46 Not all the gumfields were sites of earlier logging by Europeans and Pakeha New Zealanders. There are instances, in places such as Ahipara, where the kauri trees had died out prior to the arrival of Europeans. However, the activity of digging for gum itself radically changed the appearance and the conditions of the land.
Photomontages on industry increasingly became dynamic narratives over the thirty years, with a steady move from collections of related pictures towards narrative and sequential formats. Process of construction, and progress, are demonstrated and celebrated, and photomontage is ideally suited to foreshadowing the second as well as documenting the first. As in figure 74, “SURGING, FOAMING, POWER”, the associative power of juxtaposition is highly effective in communicating the concept of hydroelectricity. While this montage celebrates a realised project, the format could be, and was in many instances, used to propose new and often unrealised projects as if they were fait accompli.
SURGING, FOAMING, POWER: Some of New Zealand’s ‘White Coal.’

Small text reads “One of the exhilarating sights of the Thermal regions of the North Island is the Aratiatia or Ladder Rapids at Wairakei, on the Waikato River.”

Above: “Unbridled power. The great white stream of foam, half-a-mile long, presents a magnificent spectacle.”

Below: “Harnessed Power. The same flow of water harnessed at Arapuni.”

J. F. Louden, E. O. Hoppe (inset), photo.

New Zealand Free Lance Christmas Annual 1930, p43.

Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
Leisure

If leisure time can be equated with wealth and quality of life, then New Zealanders as represented in the photomontages in the weekly newspapers appeared blessed with abundance. Leisure is, necessarily, time away from work. In Europe and America “the history of leisure is inextricably tied up with the history of work”, and the relationship between work and leisure underwent a major transformation with the advent of the industrial revolution (Koshar 5). This is clearly not the case for New Zealand; instead I would argue that the nature of leisure, and the causes for its importance as represented in published photomontages, were more closely linked to the tourism industry and to developments in national identity. The New Zealand environment and climate, considered mild in contrast to harsher climes in other British colonies such as Australia and Canada, was conducive to a “year-long open air life” (Sinclair, A Destiny Apart 9). New Zealanders just couldn’t stay indoors.

Choices regarding how one’s leisure time is spent are significant in terms of identity formation, with recreation being a “way of finding personal fulfillment, identity enhancement, self-expression, and the like” (Hall and Page 3). Leisure played a central role in establishing and reinforcing the structure of the increasingly settled New Zealand communities. Shared leisure activities brought rural people together, strengthening both their personal identities and their bonds with each other (Dewson 1). Belich notes that sport also provided a “means of expressing various collective identities that otherwise found it difficult to achieve recognition” (Belich, Paradise Reforged 370). However, sport, and “manly pastimes” in particular, had a greater significance to the colony/Dominion (1907-) than simply strengthening and expressing identities of individuals and communities. It was noted in the press at the time that sporting (in this instance, rugby) prowess was proof that the “vigour” of the British parent stock had not been diminished (Sinclair, A Destiny Apart 147). Sporting participation and success proved that New Zealanders were not degenerating. Some sporting codes and associations strove to maintain class divisions, notably cricket, rowing, cycling and athletics, which were linked to notions of Christian gentility and imperial greatness. In general, though, sport and leisure in New Zealand became increasingly egalitarian in the early twentieth century (Sinclair, A Destiny Apart 152).
Leisure, as featured in photomontage, encompassed organised sport and physical activity, spectator sports such as horse-racing, and the recreational activities of hunting and fishing, camping, mountain-climbing and yachting. Social events were frequently associated with sport, but sport did not entirely dominate. Cultural events and competitions were regularly reported in the newspapers, as were charity days, and community and national celebrations. Not to be overlooked are the large number of montages constructed about leisure as relaxation. It is possible that the situations from which these montages resulted were particularly suited to the enjoyment and practice of photography itself as a leisure activity, or recognised as sites of saleable professional practice. The two combined to present a picture of a land, inclination and time for contemplation and gentle adventuring free from danger (Holland 120). The luxury of time seems best illustrated by repeated features of what could be described as spontaneous or unorganised leisure, most often occurring at the beach. “Sunbathing and swimming became part of the New Zealand
Sun and sea were not only associated with the good life, but also equated with general good health (Belich, *Paradise Reforged* 372).

As well as being a consideration in the definition of self, leisure is considered to play an important role in the definition of space (D. R. Williams 351). Depictions of places and modes of leisure must be considered in relation to the advertising of the country as a tourist destination, and to the idea of New Zealand marketed to the resident population. The New Zealand represented in the pictorial segments was a playground. Both sport and an imagined relationship to the land are important parts of contemporary New Zealand’s identity, and appear to have been so since at least the turn of the twentieth century when this study starts (Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart* 152). The pictorial sections of the newspapers communicated sport and leisure to a New Zealand population and an international readership who may have had little knowledge of organised sports, or other forms of outdoor recreation and games (Rickards Betts 249). Not only did the *Weekly Press*, with its association with the *Referee*, have large portions of the illustrated section dedicated to racing and team sports, but each of the other studied newspapers researched regularly reported on, or sporadically featured, organised and casual leisure activities. A significant increase in sports and leisure reporting was not peculiar to New Zealand. Rickards Betts notes that American newspapers rapidly expanded their sports coverage in the 1880s and 1890s as “sport had emerged into such a popular topic of conversation” (240).

Photomontages constructed about sport fall into one of three categories. These are defined primarily by content but are also chronological to some extent (with one approach being initially the most common and slowly being joined or overtaken by the following approach). Firstly, from the beginning of the study (1900), memberships of sporting associations and teams are regularly featured. The *Otago Witness* provides numerous examples of formal team or association portrait montages that tell more about the members than the activity they are reported to have engaged in. “OTAGO CYCLING CLUB. OFFICE BEARERS FOR 1899-1900” is a representative example (figure 76). In the remaining categories, montages were constructed of photographs taken

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47 The need to teach both women and children to swim was recognised, with the aim of preventing a continuation of the New Zealand death: drowning. James Belich, *Paradise Reforged* (Auckland: The Penguin Press, 2001).
at the sporting match or event. In the second category, action shots were still snapshots: non-specific photographs descriptive of the general nature of the activity (figure 77). Photomontages in this mode often devoted equal space in the montage to audience as to the competitors. The third category of sports photomontages involved the selection of apparently significant action shots from which a visual narrative was constructed to communicate about the high or noteworthy actions in the course of the event. “BRILLIANT BOXING WITNESSED BY RECORD CROWD” is a double-page feature that emphasises selected match-winning moments through variations in scale, and visually declares the winner, a decision the roaring crowds at the bottom of the right-hand page appear to support (figure 78).

Figures 76 & 77

“OTAGO CYCLING CLUB. OFFICE BEARERS FOR 1899-1900.”
*Otago Witness*, 30 August 1900, p25.

“HIGH SCHOOL DEFEATS CHRIST’S COLLEGE, 11-6: Thrilling game at Lancaster Park, Christchurch.”
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
If quantity and regularity of montages on a particular topic can be taken as a gauge of audience interest, then horseracing was a year-round concern and fascination. However, action shots of horses racing were almost universally excluded, in favour of portraits and snapshots of the people and fashions on display. Profile photographs of champion horses occasionally entered the montages. Race meeting attendance was from the breadth of the social spectrum. Belich explains that the “high-low alliance” of horseracing enthusiasts protected the sport from the “reforming middle”, but “the associated gambling was progressively and heavily regulated from 1881” (Belich, Paradise Reforged 371).
“WILL THE AMENDED GAMING BILL CHECK THE EVIL?”

*The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail*, 7 November 1910, p17. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

Small text at bottom reads: "Until the facts and figures of racehorse gambling in New Zealand are collected and presented as above, it is almost impossible to realise the extent to which the evil prevails. These facts and figures deal with registered meetings. The Amended Gaming Bill proposes to allow the totalisator to be used approximately five days in every week of the year. All the proposals contained in the original bill to restrict the issue of totalisator licenses are struck out, and it is made the duty of every racing club to use all lawful means to prevent bookmakers from plying their calling on the course itself. It is proposed further to allow the newspapers in future to publish starting prices and dividends. The question for Parliament and public now is whether the proposals are radical enough to check the gambling which has risen in the last few years to such astounding figures and to the severe detriment of this country."
The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail editorialised that horseracing was a focus for gambling “to the severe detriment of this country”. The photomontage this editorial caption accompanied (figure 79), is an exception rather than a rule, in that it includes facts, politics and opinions, using the combination of photographic fragments, graphic illustration and a variety of texts in an intentionally informative manner. In combining images with statistics and a social reform message, strong similarities to Lewis Hine’s 1914-15 poster, “Making Human Junk” can be seen (figure 80). The Graphic is the only one of the studied newspapers to construct editorial photomontages, and then only for a limited period between 1908-1911.

As an editorial photomontage with a clearly rhetorical function, the message of “GAMBLING IN GOD’S OWN COUNTRY” is surprisingly ambiguous. On first impression it appears to be celebrating the success of gambling across the nation and it is only in the small text, under the title and completely out of the frame, that gambling is
unwaveringly identified as “evil”. The use of the crowd shot at the top of this montage is a particularly strong and recognisable feature of photomontages symbolising the mobilisation, support or agreement of the masses. It is a potent symbol that has been used regularly throughout the thirty-year period under consideration in this thesis, and in political and commercial photomontage in Europe and elsewhere both at the time and since.

Yachting, like racing, was a staple feature of leisure representations throughout the year, while a more seasonal focus is obviously given to sport and leisure activities such as athletics and swimming. In addition, the holiday issues of the newspapers regularly included a full-page montage on each of hunting, fishing, mountain climbing, camping and motoring. There were significant increases in montages on snow sports themes after the introduction of rail, which had an impact on the content and nature of the photographs themselves. Mountain climbing went from a high altitude challenge for an elite few, reported on to the masses, to a new experience and easy getaway for all. Hunting was presented both as a worthy colonial pastime, encouraging masculine virtues, and as an attraction for tourists (McClure 52). The introduction of game for hunting by tourists was criticised in the press at the time. However, the photomontages all positively represent the activity. Fishing was featured regularly, with the introduction of exotic fish stocks also exciting some debate. A significant proportion of the montages prominently include female anglers. Angling was promoted as an exciting or suitable activity for women, and it is possible that a large proportion of anglers at any one time or place were regularly women.

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48 “If New Zealand has not enough attractions in its ‘dusky damsels,’ record geysers, Alps, and bush, it should go out of the tourist-catering industry. To dare to devastate this happy land with the pick of the earth’s pestiferous animals is a menace to the peace of mind of the hard-working settlers” "A Happy Hunting Ground. New Zealand as a Reserve for Big Game." New Zealand Free Lance 10 October 1903.
The land

New Zealand, a natural environment composed of the land and indigenous flora and fauna, is the single most common theme for photomontages across all the newspapers studied, and remained so for the three decades under consideration. The employment of travelling photographers, the acceptance of photographic contributions from widely spread freelancers, and the sourcing of photographs from the official government record such as that created by the Tourist Department from 1901, later the New Zealand Publicity Department, indeed saw “every part of the colony […] laid under contribution
by the photographic artist”, as the *Otago Witness*’s advertisement for its own Christmas number claimed ("Daily Times and Witness Christmas Annual"). While the photographs are of actual sites and scenes, they are not representative of the country as it was by 1900 and into the early decades of the twentieth century. By this time colonisation and development had already radically and permanently altered the New Zealand landscape, with “wilderness” experiences having to be sought out and managed rather than daily encountered. It was in the 1880s and 1890s that notions arose of the “conservation ‘estate’, of pristine nature, in balance and able to be ‘preserved’, or of land and nature as ‘national park’ or ‘wilderness’” (Park 81). These notions developed into active conservationist, environmentalist and rational recreationist strands in the 1920s (Belich, *Paradise Reforged* 530).

The focus on nature as wilderness provided a symbolic, sublime backdrop to colonisation and the large-scale industrialism that had accompanied it and had swept through New Zealand – in sharp contrast to the extractive primary industries of farming, forestry, and mining. Images of the untouched beauties and marvels of the land were an important visual counterbalance to the continuing physical destruction of those signs of the natural environment’s power and fecundity (J. Taylor 15). The need to preserve is often prompted by the recognition of an otherwise imminent loss. Not only were the landscapes and birds as encountered by the explorers and early colonists in New Zealand pushed to the edges or completely obliterated by the activities of settlement, resulting in potential permanent losses of species and of the natural histories of place, but colonisation had ignored, overlaid or wiped out the cultural histories also. Māori mythology was going to need to be preserved if it was not to be lost, and as Māori were seen to be dying out the lot fell to the settlers to “remember” and represent selected myths in their own terms. “The Story of Hine-Moa, (the Maiden of Rotorua)” was recounted by Sir George Grey in his book *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race*, first

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49 The N.Z. Publicity Department was also credited for contributing a significant number of published photographs on emerging and established industries.

50 Tongariro, being the first national park, was established in 1894.

The locations in both the Hinemoa myth and the photographic fragments of the montage above are geographically specific, but this does not result in the montage reading as geographically factual. By evoking a known (and appropriated) myth through the use of the name “Hinemoa” in the title, the representation is instead an imagined vision of a pre-colonial land. The montage does not set out to illustrate the myth, showing no “Hinemoa” figure nor containing any sense of sequence or action, but instead uses the reference to load the landscape with mythological status. This constructed place exists

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51 Bell argues that Grey’s *Polynesian Mythology* was primarily responsible for making the legend of Hinemoa and Tutanekai well known not only in New Zealand but also in Britain by 1870. Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori, 1840-1914* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 1992).
outside of historical time. That it is a cultural landscape is emphasised by the graphic rendering of Māori carving figures and patterns, which serve to both define and contain the identified sites. I propose that the illustrations of carvings, by being sketched rather than stylised into decorative graphic design elements, were intended to appear authentic, although their accuracy is very questionable. The hazy, pictorial quality of the photographs and the overall dark tonal range of the montage accentuate the romantic and imaginary aspects of the representation. Small text at the bottom left instructs the reader: “For letterpress, see ‘Our Illustrations’”. The letterpress, found on page 37 of the issue, confirms the reading, describing Mokoia Island as “the poetic centre of New Zealand—that is, the New Zealand of the Maoris.” The text goes on to retell the “oft-told love tale”, describing Tutakei as a hero, while Hinemoa’s determination and independence are muted. The writer reduced her role by describing her only as being drawn “to emulate the feat of classic Leander”. She is as at the edge of the story as she is outside the frame of the picture.

A comparison can be made with a montage from the 1906 Christmas Number of the same newspaper, the New Zealand Graphic (figure 83). While “THE WAIRARAPA PASTORAL DISTRICT OF NEW ZEALAND” (subheaded “A FORD NEAR MASTERTON” and “AN ADVANCE IN WOOL”) does not explicitly use text to evoke a particular myth, the idealised landscape presented equally exists in a mythological realm. Instead of visioning New Zealand’s past as a romanticised land of Māori, it is England’s pre-industrial pastoral past that is overlaid and played out in a New Zealand setting. Through a recycling of already-known imagery, the romantic landscape tradition established in European art is envisioned as daily reality in New Zealand, available to be captured by a camera. Although described in the text as being “near Masterton”, the left-hand image locates itself firmly in a European aesthetic tradition by mimicking The Hay Wain, painted by John Constable in 1821. The pliant New Zealand landscape has been adapted to represent the ideal of a picturesque, pre-industrial countryside.
The right-hand photograph confirms the projected image of pliant land and ideal country life, as the well-behaved sheep mirror the flow of water in the left-hand photograph. Stalks of wheat, traditional British graphic symbols of harvest and bounty, are worked into an elaborately illustrated frame along with floral studies and a rondo portrait of a magnificent ram. The bottom of the frame is constructed by an overlay of two contrasting forms of stylised decoration. To the front is a curling, looped ribbon in an Art Noveau style, while behind is a piece of graphic decoration that is almost a trademark of J.E. Ward, whose autograph the montage carries. An appropriation and adaptation of *kowhaiwhai* panels and Māori carving from the prows of *waka*, the resulting graphic

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52 J. E. Ward employed a very similar arrangement of wheat in framing for a montage of South Island farming scenes, in *New Zealand Christmas Graphic*, 1904, p18.

53 Painted scroll ornamentation – commonly used on meeting house rafters.
appears equally related to the latticework found framing the entrances and verandahs of New Zealand domestic architecture of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Stafford and Williams have argued that the second generation of Pakeha settlers was “self-inventing”, with the cultural production of the period being defined by “the use of Māori sources” to create “a history peculiar to themselves” (Stafford and Williams, *Maoriland* 10-11). In this light, the coexistence of “poetic” Māori and British landscapes with established mythological references work together. The process of montage, cutting and pasting selected elements and arranging them on a blank ground, is a fitting analogy for the process of self-definition that occurred in the Maoriland period, in which both a relationship to Britain and differentiation from it needed to be negotiated. Hinemoa, in being cast as a follower of Leander, is connected with a defining European culture. The land is presented as both a site for the construction both of cultural identity and of economic prosperity.

In New Zealand the Tourist Department has been serving two very useful purposes. It has exploited our thermal wonders and our curative mineral waters, and it has enabled the Government to make a considerable revenue out of them. It has at the same time advertised the Dominion the wide world over for its scenic beauties, its fertile soil, its manifold resources, and its surpassing advantages for the sportsman, the pleasure-seeker and the settler (“Our Tourist Traffic. Is the Game Worth the Candle?” 6).

Publicising the Dominion as a tourist destination, as The Tourist Department was charged and credited with doing, relied to a large extent on the creation and distribution of visual images of the landscape. The Tourist Department was one of the most consistently visible paying advertisers in the newspapers, most notably taking out full pages in the front sections of the Christmas Numbers of all of the studied newspapers. The *Auckland Weekly News’* promotion of the impending publication of its 1909 Christmas Number identifies the purpose of including photographs of “beauty spots” as being to “excite the imagination of people in the Old Country and elsewhere, and perhaps induce them to visit a country which can boast of such magnificent and charming scenery” (“Auckland Weekly’s Christmas Number” 1). The photographs in the montage

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54 Canoe.
“WATERFALLS OF NEW ZEALAND” (figure 84), are credited to the Tourist Department, yet are presented in the form of newspaper illustrations rather than as an advertisement.

![Waterfalls of New Zealand illustration](image)

**Figure 84**

“WATERFALLS OF NEW ZEALAND.”
Tourist Dept., photo.
*New Zealand Christmas Graphic* 1908, p.22.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

Tourist Department photographs can be found many times every year across all the examined weekly newspapers. This served to keep the major tourist sites overseen by the Department in the public eye, with Whakarewarewa, followed by Ohinemotu and later
Mount Cook being the most regularly depicted attractions. Whakarewarewa and Ohinemotu were showcase villages, constructed as spectacles and represented as realities. Māori were an essential population of the “metropolis of geyserland”, and were consistently depicted in the pictorial supplements as inhabiting a timeless, romantic past. The identity of the “traditional” Māori at Rotorua was constructed by the government and became part of popular imagination through representation and publication (McClure 48). However, maintaining an unchanging, constructed Māori community in Rotorua that fitted the expectations or desires of the tourists became an increasingly difficult task for the government. In the early decades of the twentieth century Māori leaders were beginning to look to the future and were encouraging their people to do the same. Rotorua, in fact, became an important site of the Māori cultural renaissance with Apirana Ngata establishing a Māori School of Arts and Crafts there in 1926 to train Māori carvers (Sorrenson 335).

Recycling dated photographs in combination with more recent scenes, repeating poetic titles and descriptors, as well as adhering firmly to existing photographic conventions, allowed the newspaper photomontages to continue presenting a cohesive picture of the “metropolis of geyserland” with none of the growing conflicts the Tourist Department was having to address. “Wonderland” was one such descriptor, the use of which effectively distanced the montaged scenes shown from either real time or real place. The Oxford English Dictionary (online edition) gives two definitions for wonderland, both of which were in usage by 1902. The first being “an imaginary realm of wonder and faery”, the second “a country, realm or domain which is full of wonders or marvels”. While the second meaning may have been intended the first would nevertheless have been inferred.

An article in the 1904 Christmas Graphic “A Holiday in the Hot Lake District”, (pp35 & 38), describes Whakarewarewa as a place where “the charm of those wild surroundings” could be felt, while also reporting on the activity of its construction. “High up on the hill stands the new Maori Pa. Round its high sod banks runs a double row of wooden pillars, alternatively surmounted by hideous carved Maori figures on tikis. When completed, and the Maori mat-makers have taken up their dwelling inside, this pa should be one of the most interesting spots at Whaka.” However, in photographs and montages there is no similar acknowledgment that Whakarewarewa was essentially a stage set.

Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland was first published in 1866, and consequently would have been widely available and read in New Zealand.
A comparison can be made between the following two photomontage features, published twenty-three years apart (figures 85 & 86). There is little to differentiate them in terms of content, and nothing whatsoever to indicate the years of their construction. In the 1904 feature, “WONDERFUL WHAKAREWAREWA: A Popular Tourist Resort in the Hot Lakes District”, attention is directed equally to natural wonders provided by geysers and cultural wonders provided by Māori. In comparison, in the 1927 spread, “IN THE WEIRD WONDERLAND OF NEW ZEALAND’S THERMAL REGIONS”, the curious natural phenomena are the main source of wonder, with Māori having been relegated to cameos, providing a decorative cultural frame. Over this period (1904-1927) the change in the presentation of Māori suggests that they have recast themselves, or been recast, from existing in and as part of the wonderland, where they were observed in nature, to being additions to the land, taking on roles as guides and entertainers. As such they appear to be engaging directly with the tourists rather than being part of a spectacle of daily native life. Despite this slight shift, the activities and poses they are represented in remain unchanged. Women cooking and washing in a primitive manner, relaxing in traditional dress, and children playing naked in the water, are a continuous source of curiosity for tourists and, it is presumed, the newspapers’ readers.57 There are no representations of adult Māori males in either of the following montages, nor in any other sighted photomontages of the “Wonderland” of Whakarewarewa.

While minor shifts in the representation of the land and Māori can be observed, more significant differences can be observed in the construction. The production quality of the two montages is directly comparable, as they were both constructed for Christmas Numbers. The clarity and tonal range of the photographic reproductions in both the examples is remarkable. The 1904 feature spreads across two pages, while the 1927 montage is a single page (therefore requiring reorientation by the reader). The 1904 photomontage design is complex and the strategies used are specific to this particular montage. The photographic material was cut into circular or oval formats, figures were reintroduced into or next to scenes as cut-outs and hand-drawn ornamentation was

57 Maori had adopted items of European dress from the 1820s, and by the 1870s most Maori would have worn European dress in daily life. By 1904 and 1926, when these montages were published, taniko cloaks and huia feathers were representative Maori costumes – what Maori wore when they dressed up as “Maori”.

applied to the spaces thus created between fragments. By 1927 photographs were regularly cropped but seldom cut into fragments or formats beyond variations on basic geometric shapes. The format applied to the example in figure 86 is a repetition of a standard formula for landscape-themed montages. The photographic source material for both feature photomontages is almost interchangeable; however, in 1904 the material may have been novel, while in 1927 it was already familiar.

Figure 85

“WONDERFUL WHAKAREWAREWA: A Popular Tourist Resort in the Hot Lakes District.” New Zealand Graphic, Christmas Number 1904, removable double page spread, pp10-11.58 Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

The 1904 feature was designed as a double-sided removable poster with full-page decoratively framed portraits of Maggie Papakura and an unnamed Māori chief on the reverse. The feature is also supported by a two-page article, “A Holiday in the Hot Lake District”, appearing near the end of the publication, which describes from the author’s

58 An example of the recycling and reuse of photographs in the presentation of Whakarewarewa as a static attraction can be made from the circular photograph at top right of children in the water, which is reprinted in full four years later as part of a montage titled “Children’s Happy Days on the Hot Lakes, Rotorua”, N.Z. Christmas Graphic, 1908, p24.
personal experience most of the scenes depicted in the montage. Figures in “WONDERFUL WHAKAREWAREWA” are, in many instances, cut-out and reintroduced into scenes. Across the whole, scale is consistent and the organic decorative framing elements serve to unite rather than separate the photographic components. The dimensions of the larger photographic units directly relate to the content of the images, for example, the photograph in the upper centre of the composition has been cropped to allow the geyser to fill the frame and hence appear impressively large. The resulting montage is therefore a sum that is greater than the parts, in which photographs have been used as a source of visual material from which to design something cohesive and compelling.

Figure 86

“In THE WEIRD WONDERLAND OF NEW ZEALAND’S THERMAL REGIONS. An early morning view at Whakarewarewa, showing (left) the steaming cauldron of Pohutu geyser. Inset are snapshots of well-known Rotorua guides.”

C. F. Newham, photo.

In the 1927 montage, despite being cut into oval and circular formats, photographs remain photographs. This simplified technique, in which a group of related photographs
are arranged with little manipulation, was increasingly common through the 1920s. The illustrative elements are not unique, bearing little relation to the content of the montage they surround. The “natives and nature” cartoons are both poorly executed and rather inappropriate, as there is little foliage in the geyser region, while the Māori pixie characters eating a sandwich and an enormous banana are totally unrelated to the photographic material and texts. I suggest that the time taken, the consideration given and quality of the photomontages of the earlier decades, could have been proportionate to the value placed on them by the newspaper, the number of times the newspaper would have been looked at, and how expendable it would have been when superseded by the next issue. In the case of Whakarewarewa, it could also be that the remarkable had, through repeatedly being photographed, become ordinary. Susan Sontag describes this phenomenon in her essay “Melancholy Objects” (1977). Over-photographing exhausts, uses up, beauty and wonder. She gives sunsets as her example, concluding that now sunsets only look like photographs (Sontag 85). “WONDERFUL WHAKAREWAREWA” of 1904 demonstrates a greater range of photomontage processes and is of greater interest as an example of design history. However, both effectively communicate, and were viewed by a large number of people, and repetition, as previously argued, is a powerful and effective communication strategy.

**Māori**

In *Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest*, Carol J. Williams states that “photography propagandistically served a utilitarian and fundamental purpose: to lure Euro-American immigrants into a region where the potential for indigenous resistance had supposedly been put to rest” (C. J. Williams 7). While she is specifically referring to a period of visual exploration, recording and imaging that took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the modes and motifs of the photographs and montages can be applied to twentieth century images of Māori in the New Zealand illustrated press. Although conflict with Māori had characterised significant periods of the nineteenth century, by 1900 conflict and, in the minds of many Pakeha, Māori themselves had been overcome. Images of nostalgic, picturesque and benign Māori made for and
reproduced in the newspapers therefore reinforced the status of Pakeha as dominant. Any continued resistance occurred beyond the gaze of the newspaper photographers. Immigrants were still being lured throughout the first half of the twentieth century, but by this time settlers were to a significant extent settled. The photographic features represented the imagined social structure and promoted “the racial and cultural norms that had helped shape settlers’ national identities” (Maxwell 134). These norms were then “sustained by the mass production of ethnographic images that relegated […] Māori […] to the temporal vacuum of an imagined pre-colonial past” (134).

It is important to note that not all representations of Māori produced in photomontage formats followed the ethnographic conventions. Occasionally the established image of traditional, anonymous and stereotypical Māori would be interrupted by montages constructed to report about contemporary figures and events, such as the “FUNERAL OF THE LATE HON. HENARE TOMOANA, M.L.C.”, which appeared in the Graphic on March 12, 1904 (not shown), or the feature on Rua Kenana that appeared in the Auckland Weekly News on 21 October, 1909 (figure 118). In the case of Tomoana, who was a Member of the Legislative Council at the time of his death, the visual inclusion of his funeral in the newspaper would seem to have more to do with class than with race (Ballara, “Tomoana, Henare ? - 1904”). Rua Kenana, on the other hand, had come to personally symbolise a challenge to Pakeha, and was represented as the focus of curiosity that quickly became a larger source for concern.

59 This montage is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.
“TWO NOTABLE WANGANUI CHIEFS” ARERO (left) TURAHUI (right)\textsuperscript{60}


Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

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“WARRIOR CHIEFS OF THE WANGANUI TRIBE.” TEREWI (left) HIRAWANU (right).

*New Zealand Christmas Graphic*, 1908, p7.

Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

\textsuperscript{60} Photographs by Partington. Identified in *Te Awa* as “Hamarama or Hiruharama of Otoko” (left) and offers alternate spelling of Tarahui for chief at right.
Another variation of Māori-themed photomontages was the satirical genre, being, in comparison to the overtly racist content of the majority of the cartoons, a more insidious humour. The montages predominantly involved Māori children, although fat men and pipe-smoking women were not above ridicule. The basis of most of the satirical photomontage material was the contrast between primitive or backward representations of Māori with progressive elements of Pakeha culture or society. In many of these racist montages, Māori themselves have been presented as complicit in the joke, laughing at their inability to hit a golf ball, for example. This type of humour, depicting Māori as struggling or failing to grasp civilisation was not just insulting, but, as Matthew Basso explains, also contributed to public opinion on issues of land ownership (Basso 71). The uncivilised were considered as less deserving of land and the repeated publication of the type of humour that infantilised Māori at the same time reinforced notions of white racial superiority (72).

In the 1905 photomontage “THEIR FIRST CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY TRIP TO TOWN FROM A NORTH AUCKLAND KAINGA.”, not only are the Māori children in ill-sized, mismatched and outmoded costumes, but they are photographic figures with an obviously staged painted backdrop (figure 89). The implication suggested by the contrasting media is that they are characters or actors in a theatrical narrative, and that therefore the construction is a fiction. Perhaps the Māori children are to be read as native versions of the English poor, made familiar and likeable by Dickens and others. Framing the central scene are three insets on either side of Māori as “natives”, growing like wildflowers and presented with opossums and weta61. Again, the combination of photographic with drawn or painted elements sets up unfavourable comparisons. The native weta are drawn as being curious with a natural hideousness, while the opossums (an introduced species) are directly paired with portraits of Māori children, both species being drawn as equal to the children in scale. The painted opossums and weta are more animated than the frozen photographed children, and appear poised to eat them.

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61 Large insects.
Juxtaposition had a more serious purpose as a comparative structure, and was employed in montages of Māori and Pakeha, or Māori and the landscape. In such instances, photographs of Māori function as markers against which Pakeha progress can be measured. Both of the representations of young New Zealanders in figure 90 are symbolic, but they appear designed to show the gulf between the two races, despite the uniting effect of the double-page format, or the small central figure which overlaps both larger portraits. The young blond toddler taking confident steps towards us reads as the child of the future, and while less significant in terms of scale, through being freed from any photographic frame, and represented in suspended movement, appears closer to life than the larger, formal portraits.
While juxtaposition sets up a comparative structure in which these two portraits can only be read in relation to each other, there are some obvious aspects of the individual photographic elements that lead to such a clear reading. The “culture” of the Pakeha is contrasted with the “nature” of the Māori. While the decoration of the Māori child with flowering vines is the most blatant marker, pose and gaze of each subject reinforce the associations. The Pakeha child engages the camera and is complicit in some way in the production of the image. The Māori child is not.

Figure 90

“TWO YOUNG NEW ZEALANDERS: Daughters of the Pakeha and the Maori.”
Auckland Weekly News, Christmas Supplement, December 22, 1910, p11.62
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

Similar comparative formats are used for picturesque landscapes, against which figures of young or old Māori in raggedy clothes, or wrapped in blankets or cloaks function as a framing device, adding an historical or cultural element to a central scene. The use of a

62 The photograph of the Maori child on the right was earlier published as part of a juxtaposed pair of portraits in the 1901 Auckland Weekly News Christmas Number, p30. The montage was titled “A NEW ZEALAND STUDY IN BLACK AND WHITE.”
larger, cut-out figure alongside or overlapping a long, landscape format characterised the design of the *Auckland Weekly News* Christmas supplements of the early 1920s (but not the Christmas Numbers to the same extent). Not only Māori cut-out figures were presented in this comparative format, but a white bearded colonial pioneer miner might be set against the scene of a modern mining operation, or an attractive young Pakeha women against an attractive landscape (refer back to figure 36 for further examples). In the following montages, old is played against new.

Figures 91 & 92

“MOTORING NEAR LAKE ROTOITI, ROTORUA DISTRICT”
“THE GOLD-SEEKERS: OLD AND NEW METHODS ON THE WEST COAST OF THE SOUTH ISLAND”

Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
In the *Auckland Weekly News* in particular, small portraits of Māori are introduced, and increasingly used through the 1920s as decorative additions to montages on any number of themes, often in the form of circular cameos. In these examples the portraits of Māori have more in common with the decorative use of classical cherubs, and appear to have no impact on any communicated meaning. The reduction of Māori to decorative addition is repeated in the graphic elements of montages, with flora and fauna being replaced as framing devices by large-headed, and foolish-looking Māori figures. The inclusion of Māori as pixie-like figures of sub-normal intelligence had the potential to significantly impact upon the reading of the huge range of montages to which they were added, despite, or more likely because of, the devices and styles being so common and repetitious. The *Free Lance* followed the *Auckland Weekly News* in developing a cast of “native” cartoon figures to play in the spaces between the photographic components of montages throughout the 1920s (figures 93 & 94).

Figures 93 & 94

“A SPORTSMAN’S PARADISE: Scenes with Rod and Gun in New Zealand.”

“WHERE THE WATERS TEEM WITH FISH: With Rod and Line at Mayor Island.”
*New Zealand Free Lance* Christmas 1925 (detail), p31.
Photographic fragments of Māori continued to appear in montages, either as the central theme or in a more decorative role, throughout the thirty-year period in question with no major variations in frequency. There were only minor shifts in the modes and methods of representation of Māori, unlike montages on other topics, which, while often relying heavily on romantic or pictorial traditions and recycling imagery and mythologies as demonstrated, also showed an intention to represent contemporary life, views or experiences. Ethnographic photography and tourist snapshots of Māori were repeated and combined well after they would have been known to have been either outdated or fictional representations. In other words, “traditional Māori” became a photographic and graphic genre, and, quite possibly, making new versions of the stereotypical images could have been increasingly challenging, as the gap between image and reality became a gulf.

Aside from Whakarewarewa, and very occasionally Urewera or Northland, geographic references were regularly omitted from texts accompanying Māori-centred photomontages. Māori became generalised, the purpose of the continued construction and publication of such montages only served to reinforce conventional stereotypes, once initial curiosity had been exhausted. I would argue that the emptying of meaning from Māori components of the montages was emphasised by the reduction of portraits to scales where it was difficult to establish individual identity, and by their employment as decoration. By being relegated to ornamentation, Māori became extraneous to communication, implying that Māori had no role or place in the central issues or landscapes of the time. In this, the illustrated newspapers operated as instruments of colonial power.

**Pakeha New Zealanders**

Representations of Pakeha New Zealanders in photomontages in the weeklies were similarly symbolic. While cast as representations of “culture”, compared to the Māori

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While I am commenting on the representation of Maori here, I have not included any montages with only cameos or cartoons under the theme of Maori for the purpose of graphing. The montages above, for example, would have been categorised under land and leisure accordingly. Maori, while present as stereotypes and caricatures, are outside the frame and not intended to be included in the actual scenes or action depicted.
“nature”, the stereotypes created and perpetrated were often equally far from truthful illustrations of their contemporary reality. Categorising Pakeha New Zealanders, in terms of sorting out types, common traits (and promoting ideals), the differences between generations, their celebrations, and favourite or appropriate leisure activities, was an ongoing fascination and concern demonstrated in the pages of the illustrated newspapers. Young, healthy Pakeha became part of the propaganda advertising the success of the New Zealand colonial project, while the passing generation of pioneers were represented as characters of folklore to be remembered with admiration and nostalgia.

Figure 95

“YOUNG NEW ZEALAND.”
E. A. Millard, photo.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
A visual taxonomy of celebrated and desirable types of Pakeha New Zealander is built up on viewing multiple issues of the newspapers over the period 1900-1930. The photomontages function as both report and model, the inference being that the types identified and isolated in the image constructions would have been recognisable to a keen social observer, but would also have provided ideals for readers to aspire to. The categorisation and representation of types were approached with both visual and textual clarity, resulting in the blatant promotion of them as ideals (figures 96, 97 & 98). The use of photography as a tool for the classification of social types was established by 1900, and continued to be practised throughout the period under consideration. As Allan Sekula states “every portrait implicitly took its place within a social and moral hierarchy” (Sekula, ”The Body and the Archive” 347). Those of Pakeha in the New Zealand press were no exception. The published photomontages that presented typologies of ideal New Zealanders supported the aim of creating and promoting a healthy white population.

I have identified a preliminary four-part Pakeha taxonomy of: girls and women, babies and children, pioneers, and professionals. Individuality is obscured in the montages by the one symbolically representing the many. Names are associated with professional classes, but the common narrative is that Pakeha New Zealanders appear to be model citizens of a superior race.

While pioneers provided the history, and women and children to some extent provided the promise of a future, professionals provided an economic framework upon which New Zealand society was structured. As such, the montage formats depicting them reflected the sense of order and organisation that groups of professionals intend to impart. Standardised studio head and shoulders portraits of lawyers, politicians, mayors, committee members and professional associations were arranged on the pages of the newspapers following the grid format. The common format for inventories of professionals bore strong similarities to pre-printed album pages, and compositional comparisons can also be made to the ethnographic portrait series of Māori chiefs and maidens (figures 87

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64 The term “Pakeha” was not commonly used in the newspaper titles or captions. “New Zealanders” was the designation most frequently employed. I have added “Pakeha” to “New Zealander” however, in order to indicate where references are only to white settlers and their descendants. “New Zealander” initially referred to Maori, before being appropriated by Pakeha.
The formality of the component photographs in combination with the regular spacing, uniform scale and balanced ornamentation constructed an overall impression of stable and trustworthy professionals. Relatively random groupings, such as “SOME WANGANUI LEGAL LUMINARIES” (figure 99) were presented as cohesive and natural through adherence to the recognised and repeated structures.

Figure 96

“SOME WORKERS OF THE DOMINION.”
Subheadings include “A Cabinetmaker. A Sailmaker. A Linotype Operator.”
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
“SOME TYPES OF NEW ZEALAND SPORTING GIRLS”
1. The boating girl. 2. The basketball girl. 3. The racing girl. 4. The tennis girl. 5. The motor girl. 6. The golf girl. 7. The fishing girl. 8. The hunting girl.
_Auckland Weekly News_, 16 December 1915, p43.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

“PENSIONERS AND PIONEERS: SOME FINE NEW ZEALAND TYPES”
1. The watchmaker. 2. The miner. 3. The sailor. 4. The boatman. 5. The soldier. 6, 7 and 8. Settlers.
_Auckland Weekly News_, 15 November 1917.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

In contrast to the other category types of Pakeha New Zealanders, professionals tended to be named individuals. However, professionals, while providing a formal and informational addition to the pictorial supplements, were not numerically as significant as either women or children. Over the thirty years of this study professionals remained exclusively male. Pakeha New Zealanders were not only represented as static examples of types of ideal citizens, but were also frequently featured at work and at play. Over the period 1900-1930 there is a noticeable shift from the construction of montages about what Pakeha New Zealanders were or should be, to what Pakeha New Zealanders did or should do.
“SOME WANGANUI LEGAL LUMINARIES.”

The New Zealand Graphic, 2 April 1904, p38.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
Exceptions can be seen in constructions propounding female roles and feminine virtues. Apart from a simplification of ornamental borders, there are no significant variations in the compositional construction of the two montages of New Zealand girls/women in “A MAID OF MAORILAND” and “SOME OF THE ATTRACTIONS OF OUR BEACHES”, despite the twenty-four year period separating them (figures 100 & 101). However, there is a vast shift in the attributes being promoted by the types depicted. The single most obvious difference is that the women have taken their clothes off. The “sweet New Zealand girl” of 1901 demonstrated by her formal colonial dress that the civilised standards with which British rule was associated were not eroded by the distance of New Zealand from Britain. This served to pacify immigrant fears about coming to a wild or untamed land (Alessio 265). Still posing, engaging directly with the camera and following the instructions of a photographer, the women of 1925 have their charming appearance rather than a catalogue of practical and cultural virtues to recommend them. In the twenty-four year period between the montages presented here, the New Zealand woman has become relaxed and passive, where once she was active and multi-talented.
For wondrous versatility/Of maids she is the pearl./What is there that she cannot do./The sweet New Zealand girl?

She’s milkmaid, cook and groom in one./As you may see above;/And after dinner on the lawn./She’ll beat you four to love.

What charming metamorphoses/This girl goes daily through-/From washing tub to bicycle,/From easel to canoe!

And should you all these charms resist./At night you’ll yield perchance/To fairy feet that lightly tread/The mazes of the dance.
While the New Zealand woman shifts from the perfect white lady to a shapely specimen, her importance at all times should not be underestimated. The fact that full-page montages were constructed is evidence in itself that women were central in the establishment of the colony, in the growth of the dominion and in the larger idea of New Zealand. A focus on motherhood, while not the explicit theme in the montages of women, is supported by the equally significant number of montages featuring babies and children. Williams argues that the production and reproduction of baby photographs, although commonly dismissed as sentimental in conventional histories, is important in situating the reproductive labour of white women at the centre of public vision (C. J. Williams 30). There was popular panic in the 1900s about low birth rates, accompanied by a renewal of encouragement for women to marry and raise families. As Dr. Truby King so emphatically preached, “THE DESTINY OF THE RACE IS IN THE HANDS OF ITS MOTHERS” (Belich, Paradise Reforged 163).
Birthrates halved from 1870 to 1920, with average family sizes falling from seven children to three (Belich 360). Over this period, the experiences of parenthood and childhood also changed. While child labour was in demand in nineteenth century New Zealand, Belich argues that, for many colonial children, work and play would have been combined (359). Early colonial children, with larger numbers of siblings, and living in districts with relatively large areas of undeveloped land, would have had a greater degree of autonomy (“wildness”) than their twentieth century equivalents (360). As family sizes reduced, parental control increased. As settlements grew, wilderness decreased. The photomontage features suggest that, by 1900, children were both cherished and tame. Most importantly of all, the children belonged to New Zealand and by implication, New Zealand belonged to them. If any firm impressions could be drawn from the newspapers illustrations, one of the first ones would be that in New Zealand children lived outside, existing in a state of permanent holiday.

Designations previously reserved for Māori, firstly “New Zealander”, then “Maorilander”, and even occasionally “native”, were applied to countless montages featuring chubby New Zealand-born Europeans. The “NATIVE BLOSSOMS” photomontage is assembled from children’s portraits taken in the Hemus Studio in Auckland (figure 102). The theme of children growing from the earth, and thriving, echoes the format of common informative photomontage features of species of indigenous plants and birds, and in turn is echoed by later montages bearing titles such as “A BUNCH OF NEW ZEALAND’S FAIREST FLOWERS”65 and “FRESH FROM THE HILLS OF MAORILAND”.66 The beach is also portrayed as the natural home of New Zealand children: a backdrop for the idealised good life offered by New Zealand, echoes of which can still be seen in advertising and political national identity propaganda today.

66 New Zealand Weekly Graphic, Christmas Number, 1910, p30. “Pretty studies of young New Zealanders, arranged specially for the Christmas Graphic by Miss May Moore, Wellington (protected photos).”
“WATER BABIES IN MAORILAND. THE PHYSICAL REGENERATION OF THE RACE” not only relies on established photographic conventions to represent cherished childhood, but combines them with text and graphics to make larger suggestions of childhood being not just an ideal happy experience, but important to the existence and quality of the future of New Zealand society. I closely examine this example of photomontage to show how a combination of recycling and repetition of familiar photographic convention cultural symbols served to bind contemporary Pakeha experience to established timeless mythologies.
“WATER BABIES IN MAORILAND, THE PHYSICAL REGENERATION OF THE RACE.”
Photos by F. E. Stewart, W. Wilson and others.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

The Rev. Charles Kingsley’s children’s novel *The Water-Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby* popularised the term “water baby”. The book, first published as a single volume in 1863 by Macmillan, was still popular in 1910 and was adapted in New Zealand by Whitcombe & Tombs in 1918. In Kingsley’s moral tale, water babies were spirits of the dead who inhabited an underwater after-life. In contrast, the Graphic’s water babies appear robustly alive, playing at the edge of the water but belonging to the land. Maoriland. It is clear from the photographic elements that the montage is celebrating the physical regeneration of the Pakeha race.

An additional text, secondary to the title, accompanies the montage in small italics. It appears at the bottom right-hand corner, a relationship between photomontage and poetry that is repeated throughout the 1910 Christmas Number. It reads:
Pray we, then, what’er betide them—
Howsoever great they’ve grown—
That the past of England guide them,
While the present is their own.
-Charles C. Bowen.

This verse was the final stanza of a poem “The Old Year and the New” which had first been published in Christchurch by the Union Office in 1861. However, it was anthologised in 1906, when Alexander and Currie published a collection of New Zealand Verse, spanning the first seventy years of the colony (Alexander and Currie 5). It is from this single volume that the many poetic fragments throughout the Graphic’s 1910 Christmas Number have been taken. The poem acts as a reassertion of the perceived importance of a continuing relationship between New Zealand, from 1907 a Dominion, and England. The children are offered “their own” present and future, but at the same time are tied to the colonial centre and the weight of history.

Save for the larger photographic fragment at the upper right, in which three children are cooperatively building castles on the shore, where the sea is simply a backdrop, the photographed figures are all negotiating the spaces at the edges of land and water. On closer inspection, these are not just photographs of children at the beach. While the majority of images are of sunlit youngsters leaning over the sea with fishing lines, running through knee-high surf or sitting in knee-deep water, the central photograph around which all the children are arranged is a dark silhouette of a fisherman untangling his net. The entire montage is contained within a decorative frame that contradictorily locates the photographs at an Auckland beach, looking out to Rangitoto, and in a mythical underwater otherworld of mermaids. Contained in such a way, the photographs are not read as snapshots, but are pulled into a larger narrative. From my reading, there are two minor themes that surface here: progress, being the movement from one age or realm to another, and control represented in the motifs of mermaids and fishermen. The new, modern age is represented by the new generation of Maorilanders, but also symbolically by the small-scale illustration at the centre bottom, in which a steam-powered vessel motors into the scene, in front of Rangitoto, while a tall ship sails out. The theme of control overlaps, as it features not only in the content but also in the form. Immediately above the slow passage of old to new in front of Rangitoto, fourteen young children rush towards the camera, to land, out of reach of the stylised wave that looms over them like a
suspended tsunami. Like the wave, they too are suspended in motion, but their motion is in real-time, modern photographic time, while the graphic wave belongs to mythological time. These running boys are the immediate future of New Zealand. Their action showcases the health, physical strength and competitive ability of the new generation of white New Zealanders.

At the top of the frame, there is an echo of distant figures in a line. They are slightly smaller in scale than the running children and here they are drawn in silhouette. Mirrored from the centre, these fishers are linked, and provide a continuous border, with the line of a net. Interestingly, this graphic detail can provide some insight into construction as well as content. Figure 104 was printed on page 32 of the 27 February 1904 edition of the _New Zealand Graphic_. It is most likely to be from this published photograph, presumably from the newspaper archive, that the line of figures has been recycled. Instead of reprinting the photograph, the decision has been made to illustrate the image as a border, which gives the fishers an iconic rather than indexical quality. The net they are holding is then extended from their group and into the grasp of reclining mermaids at either end. Instead of catching mullet, the string of fishers have been caught and have become playthings. Further around the frame the mermaids are portrayed in the act of catching fish. Unlike Kingsley’s water babies, mermaids had no prior existence as land inhabitants. Their history, instead, is one stretching back centuries and taking many forms and names. Associated with sirens in some mariners’ tales, mermaids are as dangerous as they are enchanting.

![Figure 104](image)

“CATCHING MULLET BY NET IN THE SURF.”
_New Zealand Graphic_, 27 February 1904, p32.
The Graphic’s photomontage presents fragments of recycled images and stories, cohesive in design, but nevertheless open-ended in meaning. This image in the 1910 Christmas Number may have been read as conventional, decorative and romanticised representation of healthy young children having fun at the beach. However, given the integrated composition of the elements—textual, graphic and photographic—I would argue that a complex narrative is constructed in which, in order to regenerate the race, children have been fished out of the sea. Like Kingsley’s main protagonist Tom, the water babies of Maoriland are to be given a second chance at living as humans in the modern world.

**The Grand Myth of life in New Zealand or “THE CALL TO THE OPEN”**

Montaged together, the key themes combine to represent a grand utopian myth of New Zealand. It is constructed as both a perfect place and no-place, as the background and scenery of an ideal life (not as it is, but as it should be). This grand myth, or grand montage, itself becomes a convention through repetition. The holiday seasons frequently provided the occasion for double-page spreads constructed from fragments of the full range of themes. For example, the *Auckland Weekly News* issue of 16 April 1930 includes a central double-page feature titled “THE CALL TO THE OPEN AT EASTER”, while the Christmas Supplement the same year (10 December 1930) boasts a central spread titled “ANSWERING SUMMER’S CALL TO THE OPEN AT THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY SEASON.” The New Zealand population, in particular the Pakeha proportion of it, are “called” not only to the Open, but to the rivers and sea with remarkable regularity. In these montages landscape is marvelled at and explored, becomes the road and the destination, the source of work and wealth while all the stereotypical images of New Zealanders elsewhere created, relax, play or contemplate.

Fishing, yachting, childhood, native birds, a nostalgic portrait of a traditional Māori maiden in the landscape, “modern” Māori and Pakeha women, and picturesque farming do not appear as a disconnected muddle, but as a cohesive picture of “COUNTRY LIFE IN NEW ZEALAND DURING THE GLORIOUS SUMMER SEASON” (figure 105). That such montages could be constructed is testament to the importance of repetition and recycling in creating familiarity and acceptance. The symmetrical structure of the
montage assists in making this construction of a New Zealand wonderland a compelling example. Composed of photographic conventions such as the use of the panoramic format for landscapes, or head and shoulder portraits with blank studio backdrops, the individual components are easy to read and understand. The subtitles too, “Daughter of a noble race”, “Reflections at Tokaanu”, “At the Ford” are equally as recognisable. If not for the hairstyles in the portraits of the two young women, there is little to distinguish this montage as a production of the mid-1920s. The New Zealand of the “grand myth” was a timeless place.

The visual vocabulary with which ideas, ideals and identities for New Zealand had been constructed in photomontages in the illustrated weekly newspapers, had developed into recognisable conventions by 1930. Over three decades, during which the country and the world experienced significant events, changes and inventions, the newspaper photomontages presented an unerringly positive vision of New Zealand as a stable yet progressive nation. To borrow a linguistic term, it could be concluded that photomontage performed a “hyperbolic” function, in that, in a feature, an idea was able to be presented and concurrently reinforced through repetition and visual association. Photomontage allowed for the representation of a holiday, in place of an isolated snapshot. Simultaneously, the titles and other captions anchoring the photomontages were routinely effusive, in the Christmas Numbers in particular. For example, with the addition of ornamentation and illustration, three cut photographs of groups of figures in the snow (taken at the diverse locations of the Southern Alps, Mount Cook and Ruapehu) could be constructed as “THE WONDERFUL WINTER PLAYGROUNDS OF A FAVOURED LAND”. This montage, read in the context of the Auckland Weekly News Christmas Number for 1927, falls into a cohesive sequence of constructions including “A HAPPY CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY […]”, “A SHELTERED HOMESTEAD OF A NEW ZEALAND PIONEER”, “A FAIRYLAND FOR PICKNICKERS […]”, and “AN EXHILARATING SUMMER PASTIME IN NEW ZEALAND”.
“COUNTRY LIFE IN NEW ZEALAND DURING THE GLORIOUS SUMMER SEASON”
_Auckland Weekly News_ Christmas 1924, p31.
The grand myth of New Zealand as a utopian homeland and playground for Pakeha settlers or a magnificent destination for tourists and white immigrants, is supported by features on Māori interspersed throughout the 1927 issue, such as “WARRIOR CHEIFTON OF A NOBLE NATIVE RACE”, “A HAKA FOR THE TOURISTS: MAORI BOYS ENTERTAIN VISITORS AT ROTORUA” and “WONDERS OF THE WORLD THAT WERE LOST TO NEW ZEALAND THROUGH THE ERUPTION OF MOUNT TARAWERA”. In the latter montage, three of C. Spencer’s pre-1886 photographs are vertically juxtaposed, connected by a single-line, hand-drawn frame and loosely rendered ferns. At diagonally opposite corners of the central photograph, circular insets of portraits of young Māori women are montaged. They wear feather capes off their shoulders, and gaze, solemnly, over the shoulder of the photographer. In the illustrated weekly newspapers, Maoriland was no longer the land of the Māori, but Māori had not disappeared. Instead, in the photomontages, Māori were an important facet in the construction of a nostalgic past, representing a cultural history which was appropriated by Pakeha New Zealanders. Nostalgia, for both pre-colonial and pre-industrial eras repeatedly cohabited the pictorial supplements with visions of New Zealand as a confident, modern, (white) nation, on its way to greatness.
CHAPTER 5.
Adaptable professionals: Case studies of two distinct visual producers in the illustrated press.

The ability of New Zealand’s colonists to improvise has been generally remarked upon as one of their defining positive characteristics, and it is from this characteristic of improvisation that the nationalist design myth of “number 8 wire” has emerged.\(^67\)

However, it has also been a point of criticism, with its downside being that energetic and multi-talented individuals would rarely get the opportunity to operate as specialists in any one of their varied fields. James Belich proposes the descriptor “cyclopedian” to identify the colonial archetype, a local middle class “worthy” who got on in the colony through occupational versatility. Being the “epitome of colonial citizenry”, Belich’s cyclopedian is a figure involved in a vast number of related or unrelated occupations, including, in the anonymous example he provides, that of photographer (Belich, Making Peoples 399).

Many of the contributors to New Zealand weekly illustrated newspapers would fit this description. Frederick Nelson Jones (1881-1962), whose photographs can be found in the Weekly News, is cited in the New Zealand Dictionary of Biography as “one of New Zealand’s first photo-journalists”, but he is also listed as a saddler, amusement park owner and inventor (Markwell). Another example would be Tudor Washington Collins (1898-1970), another regular Weekly News contributor, who titled himself a “bushman-photographer” in his contribution to A. H. Reed’s The New Story of the Kauri (1964). These occupations are included in his DNZB entry, which also identifies Collins as a seaman, businessman and farmer.\(^68\)

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\(^67\) Number 8 wire is standard fencing wire, and as a consequence of geographic isolation which meant that equipment and supplies were slow to source, New Zealanders historically adapted basic products such as number 8 wire for any number of alternate and innovative purposes. The resulting myth celebrates the attitudes of self-reliance, pragmatism and ingenuity.

\(^68\) Notably, George Bourne (the subject of detailed discussion later in this chapter) urged Collins to pursue his photographic hobby, to buy a tripod and begin developing his own film in his bush shanty (Gordon Maitland, "Collins, Tudor Washington 1898 - 1970", 2000. Web. 25 June 2007.)
Unlike the widely spread pool of newspaper contributors, full-time employees in the publishing industry did not have to be cyclopedians, although prior to their employment as printers, illustrators, commercial artists, editors or photographers they might have engaged in any number of widely divergent activities or occupations. Full-time employment encouraged a degree of specialisation through the focus on the practice and development of a particular set of skills. However, in the working environment of the newspaper industry in the early twentieth century, even specialists had to be adaptable. This chapter will investigate the contributions of two full-time employees who, while being highly adaptable in their work, were closer to being specialists than cyclopedians. Then again, “specialist” is a descriptor which requires a qualification as to the degree of specialisation. A more accurate description of the individuals focused upon here is “adaptable professional”.

This chapter focuses on the work of designer Philip R. Presants, who was employed at The Weekly Press from circa 1898 to 1909, and photographer George Bourne, who was employed by the Auckland Weekly News from circa 1902 to 1922. Presants was a designer and chromolithographer who incorporated or otherwise used photographs taken by other individuals in his work. Bourne was a photographer who constructed photomontages from his own photographs during his two decades of employment. The work of each man merits attention, not only for the professionalism with which it was executed and the aesthetic values that make the work stand out to a present day viewer, but for the alternative yet complementary visions they produced. Between them they embody the contradictions of the Maoriland period: the coexistence of nostalgia and modernity.

Writing in 1947, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy provided a description of the role of the designer that applies to the careers of the individual designers and image-makers whose work is under consideration here. He argued that “the idea of design and the profession of the designer has to be transformed from the notion of specialist function into a generally valid attitude of resourcefulness and inventiveness” (Moholy-Nagy, Vision in Motion 42). Perhaps the major divergence between Moholy-Nagy’s designer and the designers involved in the creation of montages or their fragments in the New Zealand newspapers was that the latter did not need to transform from a “specialist function” in the first place. While photomontage has been shown by this thesis to have been a centrally important means of
visual communication and presentation for all of the newspapers over the time period studied, there was no one person attached to any single newspaper who specialised entirely in photomontage design and construction. This leads to the conclusion that photomonteur did not exist as a recognised profession. As a result, the full potential of photomontage was probably neither recognised nor reached.

Excellence in printing and production were stated aims of the various newspaper enterprises and, as discussed in Chapter 2, were achieved relatively early by international comparison. Maintaining and promoting professional production standards was necessary for the success of newspapers as commercial ventures in an increasingly competitive market. High quality half-tone reproductions were published regularly in New Zealand newspapers from the 1890s onwards (Knight 144-5). National pride in print quality was enduring, with reviews of the various Christmas Numbers frequently including views on their imagined reception in the Motherland. A review published in the Hawera and Normanby Star in 1909 competitively positions the publications:

New Zealand can successfully rival the Old Country in the matter of high-class art reproduction. Indeed the specimens now referred to [Christmas Numbers of the Auckland Weekly News, Weekly Press and the art supplement of the Triad] will probably astonish any publishers of similar productions at Home into whose hands they may fall, and those who have had any experience of the mechanical processes involved will have nothing but praise for all concerned in the making of these charming numbers ("Art Publications" 4). 69

Photographic excellence was sought through the running and publishing of regular competitions and by the employment of staff photographers by the newspapers. Graphic design and illustration were less frequently identified as areas in which to achieve excellence, although popular cartoonists and illustrators were recognised and supported. The inclusion of the names of the illustrators responsible for the feature images in the advance advertising for the Christmas Numbers provides clear evidence of the recognition of the importance and skills of the commercial artists to the newspapers. “Bloom” (J. Blomfield) of the Free Lance is one such who was singled out for mention. The Weekly Press, in 1905 and 1906, included lift-out supplements that were translations of a pair of

69 The Triad: a monthly journal of music, science and art was published by the Dresden Piano Company, Dunedin between 1893 and 1915; thereafter published in Sydney till 1927?
Wilhelm Dittmer’s oil paintings into twelve-colour chromolithographs. In these instances it is Dittmer’s name that remains firmly attached to the reproductions in the newspaper’s captions. This was also a common occurrence.

The elevation of aspects of the Christmas Numbers was suggested by the selective adoption of the high culture practice of acknowledging authorship. Nevertheless, the publications, while high quality, clearly did not have aspirations for the status of high art. Hence, no conclusions should be drawn about the value of work based on its status as either authored or anonymous. Photomontages in New Zealand illustrated newspapers were rarely the work of a single producer and photographs are only one of the many elements combined in their construction. Over the time period studied, varying amounts of graphic and illustrative decoration or content have been part of the published photomontages. While it has been possible to ascertain the names of some of the illustrators or lithographers on the staff of various newspapers, the list is largely incomplete and the tasks or outputs of most of the individuals are difficult if not impossible to determine. It can be argued, based on stylistic similarities, that the same person may have been responsible for providing all the decorative frames or backgrounds in one issue, but that person remains anonymous. While photographers whose images had been included in photomontages were frequently not acknowledged, it is occasionally possible to trace the background of the photographs, due in part to the practice of recycling images and in part to the archives of negatives and photographs now held by institutions. In such instances where subsequent identification is possible, the photomontages or their fragments may be viewed as part of their producer’s often cyclopedian career. The purpose of tracing work by distinct individuals, such as Presants and Bourne, is to elucidate the context of the production of the works.

Presants and Bourne are not isolated examples of adaptable professionals, as there were evidently a number of other individuals capable of producing of highly professional, quality photomontages. Attributions more frequently accompany the work of self-identified professionals, with some of the most notable photomontages being those provided by Hemus Studios or designed by J. E. Ward. As the Hemus Studio was operated entirely independently of the newspaper enterprise by a succession of professional photographers, they do not fall directly within the scope of this newspaper.
study. J. E. Ward, on the other hand, was a full-time employee of the Graphic, but there is little known evidence of the course of his career, and his available biography only provides details of his signed, published work. Due to the skill and professionalism evident in his design work, I have examined his productions for illustrations in previous chapters.

**Philip R. Presants**

Philip Robert Presants (1867-1942) was born in Norwich, where he studied at the Norwich School of Art and Design in 1889. In 1890 Presants submitted work for the South Kensington Museum Examination and gained a Government Scholarship and a Third Prize for a series of studies of casts, titled “Head from the Antique in Sepia” ("Fine Art: Works in the Fine Art Collection"). In 1890 he was an apprentice architectural draughtsman at Page Brothers, one of the main lithography firms in Norwich at the time. He continued working there until emigrating to New Zealand with his wife and children on board the Rimutaka, arriving on 4 November 1897 ("Presants, Philip Robert, 1867-1942").

On arrival in New Zealand, it is likely that Presants initially worked for the Wellington lithography firm McKee and Gamble, before settling in Christchurch and beginning employment with the Press Company around 1898. There he held the position of chief lithographer, until he “retired” on 26 May 1909 (The Press, 278). Presants then ran his own studio from an office in High Street, Christchurch. He sold a house in Christchurch in 1920, following which he went on to work for the Wellington printing firm C. M. Banks Ltd., whose output included lithography. He died in London in 1942.

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70 Some visual examples of photomontages contributed by or commissioned from Hemus Studios are reproduced and discussed elsewhere in this thesis, and I believe that this studio warrants a fuller study of its own.

71 The National Library archives hold a negative as part of the Auckland Star Collection (NON-ATL-0038) of an oil painting signed by Ward. In it three Maori children ride a moa, which is led by two Maori men and two kiwi. The men and children are identifiable or recognizable from photographs made by W. H. T. Partington. The execution of the painted landscape behind the party suggests that Ward painted seriously.
P. R. Presants, personal letterhead.
Image courtesy of Julian Heyes.
Presants is particularly interesting in the context of this study as he identified himself as a professional designer, as evidenced by his personal letterhead, which he produced while still in England (figure 106). This public identification as a designer in the late 1890s predates conventional historical narratives of design, which usually deem the design profession not to have been formalised until the late 1920s or early 1930s. Presants’ also designates himself as a chromo-lithographic artist. In the period in which Presants was operating, artist and designer were not mutually exclusive professions. Furthermore, they were not seriously antagonistic towards each other, as they have been, more or less, ever since. Presants’ use of the word “artist” described his mastery over the skill of drawing on and printing from stone, while the word “designer” described the professional realm of applied or industrial art in which he sought to practice those skills. Photomontage constituted only a small percentage of Presants’ total production. As such, he is a good candidate for a case study, as his scenario would have been typical in the industry. I have attempted to situate his contributions to photomontage within the context of a larger career that included involvement in the design of iconic New Zealand commercial imagery.

While the *Weekly Press* first printed a full-colour lithograph in 1893, this publication’s early efforts “looked more like line drawings, for the processing was crude” (The Press 121). After Presants’ appointment, the quality of the prints improved markedly. As well as demonstrating the image and print quality that could be achieved from chromolithography, it is possible that Presants was responsible for introducing new colour printing techniques during his tenure at the newspaper (Sutherland 2). After Presants’ resignation there were noticeably fewer high quality, full-colour chromolithographs. In her thesis “Colour printing in the uttermost part of the sea”, Rosslyn Joan Johnston singles out for mention “A Maori Princess”, a lift-out executed by Presants for the 1898 Christmas Number. It was “not an imitation half-tone, but rather a competent chromolithographic production in fine stipple” (Johnston 453). She also notes that by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, relatively coarse-grained chromolithography was being produced. In this the *Weekly Press* was following a “developmental pattern similar, if not identical” to the other weekly newspapers in that it

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72 This suggestion originates from his daughter, Myrtle, and is supported by analysis of lithographs and photomontages published subsequent to Presants’ employment.
aimed for the effect of colour rather than the attainment of fine standards (455).

However, Presants’ importance beyond his own work should not be overstated, as colour printing at the Weekly Press, as in other newspaper printrooms, was undergoing simplification and experimentation in order to reduce expense, and so variations in printing techniques and effects were being trialled regularly. Furthermore, it is difficult to entirely distinguish Presants’ work at the Weekly Press from that of another employee, William Baverstock. The Press credits William Baverstock senior with being chiefly responsible for the fame of the commercial art work. He entered employment in the Weekly Press’s lithographic department in 1901 and took charge of it after Presants’ resignation in 1909 (The Press 171). Likewise, Baverstock had earlier practiced his trade in “high-class lithograph designing and printing for a firm in Norwich, England”, possibly at Page Brothers alongside Presants (171). For this reason it is hard to distinguish the influence of one individual from the other on the production techniques and values of the Press Company.

Design work undertaken by Presants during his tenure at the Weekly Press extended beyond designing illustrations or advertisements for publication. Much of his commercial work, as with the department in general, was for outside jobs. For the purposes of this current research and for the larger project of research into New Zealand design history, it is useful to be broadly familiar with Presants’ output. Like so many involved in the construction of montages, his contributions to the newspapers are often unacknowledged. Familiarity with any of his signed work allows for more accurate identification of unattributed work. One of Presants’ earliest identifiable commissions would have been the 1899 calendar for the New Zealand Shipping Company Ltd. Further commissions for the Shipping Company feature in the photographs (figures 107 & 108) of Presants at work in the Weekly Press’ studios. These photographs date from roughly 1904-1909.

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Figures 107 & 108

Presants (and unidentified artist) at work in the *Weekly Press* lithography studios. Presants is the figure to the right in the second photograph.74 Between 1904-1909. Images courtesy of Julian Heyes.

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74 Identification made by Julian Heyes, a great-grandson of Presants, and confirmed by my comparison with a named photo of the 1906 Fine Arts Committee (James Cowan, *Official Record of the New Zealand International Exhibition of Arts and Industries Held at Christchurch, 1906-7: A Descriptive and Historical Account* (Wellington: Government Print, 1910).
The *Press* studio photographs interestingly echo the published image of the interior of the backblocks home wallpapered with pages from the *Auckland Weekly News* (figure 13). In both, an unbroken montaged environment is created. In the studio, cover artwork and “Stout” advertisements are pasted side-by-side, truthfully representing the newspaper as a commercial venture. It is tempting to draw the conclusion that all the items on the montaged walls are the work of Presants, as many are indeed able to be positively identified as his, but studio walls often display works by others that were either admired or referenced.

Family members attributed the iconic design on the label of the *Edmonds Baking Powder* tin to Presants. Circumstance and observation support the family’s claims. While unable to be irrefutably confirmed as his, this highly significant piece of design work was completed during the time of Presants’ employment at *The Weekly Press*. T.J. Edmonds was the creator of the ubiquitous *Edmonds’ Baking Powder* brand and the design of the original rising sun label is generally attributed to Edmonds himself (Wolfe and Barnett 42). However, it is highly likely that Presants was partially if not totally responsible for a major redesign of the *Edmonds Baking Powder* label sometime between 1907 and 1909. This redesign was the one used first on tins and later on boxes, and is likely to be the version trademarked in 1912 (figure 110). Hence, the trademarked design is certainly not the original version created by Edmonds in 1897.75 The Trade Mark Number is 10823, and records at the Intellectual Property Office of New Zealand show that the design remained relatively unchanged until 2004, meaning that the design would be familiar to generations of New Zealanders (Intellectual Property Office of New Zealand).

Presants and T. J. Edmonds both had connections to the Christchurch Arts and Industries Exhibitions, with a certificate designed by Presants being awarded to Edmonds in 1901 (figure 109). The certificate bears Presants’ signature.76 This certificate is a fourteen-colour lithographic print and was awarded to Edmonds for his “Egg Powder and Self

75 While the “sure to rise” design is frequently credited to Edmonds himself, two of Presants’ daughters, independently of each other, talked of their father doing the design. His youngest daughter, Alice Myrtle (b.1908) has her claim recorded as part of the Alexander Turnbull Library’s biography of Presants, and it was here that I first encountered it.

76 A print of the certificate can be seen to the left of Presants’ head in figure 108.
Raising Flour”. Edmonds would have possessed and displayed this certificate and would therefore have been aware of Presants, his location, style and skill. Reference to the award is made in the two medallions at bottom left on the label design. The third medallion represents the New Zealand International Exhibition held in Christchurch in 1906, which provides a guideline as to the date of the redesign.

“CANTERBURY JUBILEE INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION” Certificate, awarded to T. J. Edmonds, 1900-1901.
Image courtesy of Julian Heyes.

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77 Julian Heyes recalls his grandmother Lilian and his great-aunt Myrtle saying that they played with the Edmonds’ children and that the two families were close.
Presants may also have had a hand in designing the cover of the second edition of *Edmond's Cookery Book*, which commanded a run of 150,000 copies in 1910. It was initially published in 1907 as a 50-page pamphlet (Stevenson). The second edition was printed in Christchurch by Smith and Anthony Ltd. whose premises were on High Street, near the studio that Presants kept in the years after he left the *Weekly Press*. The rendering of such elements as the heads of wheat and the boat are close to those elsewhere drawn by Presants, and the accuracy and confidence with which the labelled tin is drawn suggests that the hand is that of the same designer. The clever mirroring of the proportions and basic composition of the label also support this conclusion. In the designs of both label and book cover lithographic and commercial conventions are adhered to.

Figure 110

Front cover of second edition and front and back covers of the 3rd edition of the *Edmonds Cookery Book*:

[www.abebooks.co.uk](http://www.abebooks.co.uk) and [www.nzhistory.net.nz](http://www.nzhistory.net.nz)

Presants was working on the Decorative Committee and the Fine Arts Committee for the Jubilee Exhibition in 1906-7. This membership indicates Presants’ role as a professional designer, and that this role extended beyond the process room at the *Press*. Presants produced several signed lithographs for the Exhibition booklet, which were available both as souvenirs and with the Exhibition Number of the *Weekly Press*. A number of these have survived and are in library and museum collections, and as a result it is with these images

78 A third edition, as pictured in figure 110, was issued in 1914, printed by the Christchurch Press Company.
that he is most frequently associated. These works are purely pictorial and demonstrate Presants’ drawing ability and technical proficiency.

Figure 111

P.R. Presants, “Young New Zealand at play: cricket in a mining town.” 1899. Alexander Turnbull Library C-079-054

Other works that demonstrate Presants’ drawing and technical skill are pull-out features that were produced for the Weekly Press. A notable example is one of Presants’ earliest featured inserts, Young New Zealand at play: cricket in a mining town, dated 1899, shortly after his appointment (figure 111). He also produced feature lithographs from photographs of Field Marshall Lord Roberts in 1900, and HRH The Duke of Cornwall in 1901, and lithographs from drawings by Willheim Dittmer, titled The Keeper of Pabikaure and Mana, published in 1905 and 1906 respectively. The survival of the pull-out inserts, and the subsequent gifting of them to libraries, attests to the recognition of their quality.

79 This is not an exhaustive listing as it only represents the holdings of the Alexander Turnbull Library.
Figure 112

P. R. Presants, Coronation Number of *The Weekly Press*, 26 June, 1902.
Auckland Public Library, Special Collections.
Presants designed and executed a significant number of covers for *Weekly Press* showcase issues, such as special editions and Christmas Numbers. The inclusion of his signature near the bottom of the covers indicates the degree of agency that he retained while working for the *Weekly Press*. He clearly felt that these cover productions were of a high professional standard and that they warranted acknowledgement. The highly ornate cover for the 26 June 1902 Coronation Number is rich with symbolism and detail. The scrolls and other forms of ornamentation are Victorian, and the lettering used for “Coronation Number” is a hand-rendered blackletter typeface, which references Old England. Presants easily shifts between illustration and flat pattern design and decoration, creating a complex series of visual layers. Photographs have been used as source material for the portraits, which have been rendered in full colour. The circular and oval scenes across the bottom, which are presented as sepia images, also appear to have been derived from photographs.

The covers of the 1902, 1903 and 1904 Christmas Numbers of the *Weekly Press* (also titled *New Zealand Illustrated*) bear the discreet signature of Phil R. Presants. Of the cover artworks for the *Weekly Press* Christmas Numbers viewed, both the 1902 and 1903 covers feature images derived from anonymous photographs included in the issues, and it is highly probable that the 1904 cover was produced following the same process. The 1903 Number is of particular interest, as it mimics the appearance of photomontage. As demonstrated in the cover image (figure 113), the source material is purely photographic, yet the treatments of the foreground and background images are markedly different. The Māori warrior is rendered from a photograph, while the panoramic and round landscapes appear as photographs. In contrast to the full-colour illustration of the Māori warrior in which all areas are rendered in similar detail, the background images are mono-tone and reference the photographic quality of depth of field.

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80 I have not been able to view all the Christmas Numbers published by the *Weekly Press* during Presants’ tenure, due to gaps in the archives. There may be further cover designs by Presants not mentioned here.
The Weekly Press, Christmas, 1903, cover.

“A MAORI WARRIOR ARMED WITH THE MERE. Our warrior is Waaka Tamaira of Takaanu, Lake Taupo, a clever exponent of the uses of ancient Maori weapons. When fighting with the mere it was hidden under the Korowai till at close quarters.”

The themes of the cover artworks are familiar from the work of many photographers at the time and include such recurrent subjects as “the long-haired Māori woman with a child *pikau*\(^{81}\) on her back”, and “the *hongi*\(^{82}\)”. All three of these covers demonstrate an aesthetic shift by Presants, from the historical symbolism and inherited Victorian design that dominated the Coronation Number cover to an emptier composition that instead referenced New Zealand culture. The culture Presants had greatest access to in Christchurch were the colonial myths of New Zealand settler culture, common in paintings and photographs produced at the time. Although a recent immigrant, Presants

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\(^{81}\) To carry on one’s back, piggyback.

\(^{82}\) To press noses in greeting.
quickly became a competent producer of romantic representations of Māori in their “natural” and “cultural” landscapes.

Presants’ signature is also visible on the double-page colour feature in the centre of the 1904 issue, a photomontage that includes portraits by the then Wanganui-based photographer William H. T. Partington (1855-1940). Many of Partington’s photographs of Māori also appeared in tourism magazines, in other newspapers and on postcards (Partington, 8). A number of the images included in the *Weekly Press* montage had been previously published. This double-page feature shows Presants’ skill practised within the bounds of the established conventions of the album format. Partington is acknowledged as the photographer, with an attribution in the bottom right hand corner. Presants’ signature appears discreetly in the foliage. Despite the differing modes and potential hierarchies of attribution, Presants’ design work is equal to rather than subordinate to Partington’s photographs, and, as such, the resulting photomontage is represented as a collaborative effort. Presants worked with existing photographs, rather than ones expressly commissioned. The finished product is another demonstration of Presants’ professionalism in both his execution and in the degree of agency that he exercised in undertaking this work.

In his choice of New Zealand native plants and in the realistic rendering of them Presants demonstrates design intelligence rather than innovation. The familiar pairing of women and flowers reproduces the stereotypical metaphor of women as part of nature, floral beauties to be collected and admired. This metaphor is reinforced by the regular association of Māori with nature, aligned with other studied native species of flora and fauna. While the album format usually had large central photographs with decoration or minor illustration in the spaces, in Presants’ design there is visual equivalence between the photographs and the framing illustrations. The illusion of depth in the flowers is greater than that in the photographs, an illusion created through the clever use of colour and contrast. As a consequence the photographs appear unusually flat. The representative style of the bunches and sprigs of flowers show the influence of botanical illustration, a study of which would have formed part of Presants’ South Kensington design education.
In conclusion, Presants is a significant, if little known, figure in New Zealand design history. He identified himself as a designer and operated within his designated position with a recognisable degree of agency. He brought a professionalism with him to his role at the Weekly Press, which he applied to pictorial, editorial and commercial tasks alike. The work he produced shows an understated flexibility in the relationship between graphic and photographic components. While not all his output can be categorised as photomontage, he consistently incorporated elements of photography into his designs, whether as source material, through photolithography, or by the inclusion of photographs by others. Presants’ contribution to the newspaper and to the visual culture of the time was a model of professional excellence, working with and adapting established design and thematic conventions in a New Zealand context.
George Bourne

George Bourne (1875-1924) was employed by the Weekly News around 1902 as a photographic artist and spent the following twenty years travelling in that capacity. Bourne’s obituary in The New Zealand Observer describes him as an “outdoor representative” who was “an outstanding personality from the artistic side of newspaperdom in the Dominion” ("Bourne, George").

Figure 116

“There is nothing up my sleeve.”
George Bourne. George Bourne Album, 328.
Auckland Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira.
Bourne is the only photographer to have his portrait included in the 1963 *New Zealand Herald Centennial Record*, under which the caption describes him as a “Weekly News photographer …, [who] was a pioneer of aerial press photography in New Zealand” ("A Century in Print" 4). He is described in an obituary in *Te Tohunga, the Official Magazine of the New Zealand Society of Magic* as being “possessed of a rather ‘dapper’ appearance, particularly impressive in everything he did and invariably neat in his execution” (Axford). Bourne’s skill as a conjuror was reportedly responsible for his easy access to and welcome into Māori communities during his travels. Although the scope of his work was much wider, it is to a large extent for his photographs of Māori that he was renowned then and is remembered now. The *New Zealand Herald*s own obituary, for example, claims that “his displays of sleight of hand delighted and amazed the inhabitants of many a kainga and made them amenable to his approaches in the interests of the journal he represented” ("Mr. George Bourne: Artist and Traveller").

Bourne’s practice of magic is not dissimilar in intent or execution to his production of photomontages. Magic provides a useful metaphor for the transformation that photography underwent in Bourne’s humorous photomontages. With the aim of providing entertainment, it could be said that Bourne conjures up fanciful visions by the clever manipulation of fragments of photographs taken from life. Kate McNamara describes his montage works as a series of elaborate tricks, recounting that his family also referred to those images as his “trick photographs” (McNamara 3).

George Bourne is an important example of a professional photographic artist in the newspaper industry. He is not known to have self-identified as a designer, yet nevertheless he produced a series of photomontages over his two decades of continuous employment that demonstrated design intelligence. He was highly conversant with the communicative potential of the medium in which he worked. It is impossible to establish to what extent elements of his montages were influenced by newspaper directives, but it is obvious from comparisons with his private work that he carried out his work as a staff photographer with a large degree of independence. The resulting montages are highly innovative, representing the present rather than a nostalgic view of the past and, in many instances, projecting technologies of the day into an imaginary futuristic realm.
The importance of photomontage in creating visual associations and guiding the reading and understanding of images will be examined first in the context of Bourne’s reportorial work. This section takes as its example the publication of a series of photographs of Rua Kenana, made by Bourne, and considers the impact and importance of construction on the communication of meaning.

**Rua Kenana**

Bourne is particularly remembered for a remarkable series of photographs, taken in 1908, of the Māori prophet Rua Kenana at his newly built community of Maungapohatu in the Urewera country. Photographs from this series were published in the *Auckland Weekly News* over the course of 1908 to 1910. Some of these publications were repetitions. None of these pages names the photographer or acknowledges that the photographer was “staff”; however negatives of some of Bourne’s work that are now held in the Auckland Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira library collections confirm his authorship of the images. A number of these photographs have been recently reprinted in such publications as *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and his community at Maungapohatu* by Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplain and Craig Wallace. It is the republication of Bourne’s photographs that have, to a large extent, made Rua Kenana recognisable to a twenty-first century audience.

Rua Kenana Hepetipa was a Tuhoe prophet from the Urewera. He emerged from among the Ringatu around 1895, claiming to be Te Kooti’s successor (Binney). Prior to his arrival in Maungapohatu, he completed a series of quests and underwent some highly significant and transformative experiences in the years 1905 and 1906. Historian Judith Binney summarises Rua’s purpose and actions:

Rua now initiated a new cycle of events, the creation of the City of God at Maungapohatu. This cycle was created from scriptural history, but its immediate purpose was to prevent the alienation of the Urewera for mining or European settlement. Tuhoe’s land was being made available for prospecting without their consent, contrary to protective legislation passed in 1896 (Binney).

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83 Publication dates include 23 April 1908, 17 December 1908, 7 January 1909, 14 January 1909, 21 January 1909, 28 January 1909, 21 October 1909, 8 September 1910.
Figure 117

“In the City of the Maori Prophet: Unique Scenes from Rua’s Settlement in the Urewera Country, Auckland, N.Z.”

Auckland Weekly News, 23 April 1908, p1.

Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
In 1907, Rua began the construction of a community in Maungapohatu. The design of the main buildings was striking, while the appearance of his followers, the Iharaira (from “Israelites”) was distinctive, with Rua and the other men growing their hair long. Along with Rua’s taking seven wives, according to newspaper accounts these aspects were the main sources of curiosity for the Pakeha public (“All Sorts of People” 4). In 1907 the parliament passed a Tohunga Suppression Act, which was primarily directed at Rua. While never charged under it, he was under police scrutiny from this time onwards (Binney, Chaplin and Wallace 35).

The newspaper’s primary motive in sending Bourne to the “fastnesses” of the Urewera country would have been to provide an insight into the prophet Rua’s lifestyle and settlement for those to whom it was otherwise closed. However it is important to acknowledge that the readership of newspapers included Māori, whose literacy rates were high. Judith Binney notes that the Auckland Weekly News was read regularly in Maungapohatu, so Bourne’s photographs were likely to have been viewed by their subjects (Binney, Chaplin and Wallace 158). A description of the settlement in 1927 observes the secondary function of the newspaper, as “the houses, built of slab and shingle, were lined throughout with pages and illustrations from the Weekly News” (160).

Initially Bourne’s photographs were presented as full-frame, single images (figure 117). The 23 April 1908 issue of the Weekly News opens the pictorial supplement with the series from Maungapohatu. Pages 1-4 are dedicated to the series, while an additional small image (1/6th of page) can be found on page 5 of the supplement. Stretching across the bottom third of pages 8 and 9 is a panoramic view of the entire settlement. The initial images are two to a page, with a main heading “IN THE CITY OF THE MAORI PROPHET: UNIQUE SCENES FROM RUA’S SETTLEMENT IN THE UREWERA COUNTRY, AUCKLAND, N.Z.”, in bold at the page foot. This same title is used with

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84 Rua was charged with illicitly selling alcohol, a number of times, and the sequence of events surrounding a 1915 charge led to conflict on 2 April 1916, when an armed force of at fifty-seven constables from Auckland, a group joined by others from Gisborne and Whakatane, seized Rua on his marae. Gunfire ensued and two Maori were shot dead. The Auckland Weekly News sent another staff photographer, Arthur Ninnis Breckon, to accompany the constables, and subsequently published a considerable number of images. Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin and Craig Wallace, Mihiaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu (Auckland: Oxford UP, 1979).
the photos that appear on later pages, identifying them as a series. Each individual photograph is also accompanied by a further title and comment, such as:

**RUA’S TEMPLE AT THE MODEL SETTLEMENT OF MAUNGAPOHATU.**
This striking-looking building was designed by the prophet himself, and the decorations, which consist of a line of aces of clubs and diamonds painted on the side of the structure are said to possess some significance known only to Rua and his followers.

While the only other text on the opening pages with the photographs addresses the unrelated issue of the “yellow peril”, a page in the main newspaper gives important information about both the photographer and the photographed. Page 45 is headed “THE HOME OF THE MAORI PROPHET. A VISIT TO RUA. HIS VILLAGE IN THE UREWERA COUNTRY. A MAORI MECCA. INTERVIEW WITH THE HIGH PRIEST. (From our Special Correspondent)”. While the “special correspondent” is not named, it becomes evident from the narrative that the photographer, Bourne, is also the journalist and had travelled alone. He recounts his journey to Maungapohatu, noting some sense of trepidation at arriving uninvited, unannounced and unknown. In his account he writes that upon declaring himself a non-smoker he was quickly made welcome by Rua Kenana Hepetipa himself, and:

making known my desire to obtain a series of photographs, he smilingly gave consent, though considerable difficulty was experienced in inducing him to face the camera personally, especially with his hat removed. Though “snapped” on several occasions, the photographs I obtained are the first “posed” pictures of himself (Column 3).

The photographs of Rua Kenana, his followers and their settlement are respectful, with none of the images adhering to established stereotypical compositions for photographs of Māori. Most of the people appearing in them are named in the accompanying texts. A sense of Bourne’s respect for Rua is also conveyed in the aforementioned accompanying newspaper article.

I went into Maungapohatu a much prejudiced person, and would therefore, before closing, like to place on record my impressions of this singular man and his work. In the first place I certainly do not think Rua is the eccentric and dangerous person some writers would have us believe, for he seems, outside his religion, sensible, kindly disposed and amenable to reason. True, he speaks of gold-bearing reefs in the Urewera (I have a quartz specimen that he gave me for analysis before me as I write), for the right to work which he demands staggering royalties, but recent
prospecting parties have put those ideas into his head. He also disturbs the native mind by dwelling upon the Treaty of Waitangi (Column 4).

Despite these minor misgivings, Bourne concludes that Rua should be supported by Pakeha for his clean-living and remarkable model community.

A rather different opinion of Rua Kenana is asserted in the regular Free Lance column, “All Sorts of People”, published that same year. The tone of this column is generally light-hearted and occasionally facetious, but the reporting about Rua lacks the good-nature of humorous commentaries on other visitors to the city.

It is said that Rua wears long hair like a Nazarene. But why "like a Nazarene"? Why not like an old lady or grandmother? Rua is coming to Wellington to see Mr. Carroll, in order to put "Himi" on to an enormous deposit of gold now lying untended in the Rohe-potae country. If the giddy Rua and his wives know of this store of gold, why doesn’t Rua rush his followers off to the gold and dig it out, and live happily ever after? And Mr. Carroll will meet the quaint character, and talk beautiful nothings to him, and Rua will say some sweet things, and the Mesdames Rua will say "Ha!" And Rua and his ladies will go back perfectly satisfied. In fact, Rua is out for a jaunt and an advertisement. When he comes to Wellington he should have his head read. (“All Sorts of People”, 4)

When Bourne’s account and photographs are viewed in the larger context of contemporary publications, it becomes evident that he was not simply expressing or representing generally held opinions.

The same Bourne photographs of the Maungapohatu community were featured again in a subsequent pictorial supplement of the Weekly News, dated 21 October 1909 (figure 118). In this issue the photographs are presented quite differently. While it has not been possible to ascertain if anyone other than Bourne was involved in constructing this representation, all available evidence suggests that he was singly responsible. In the weekly editions at this time photomontages were the exception rather than the rule, with one to three photomontages on average per supplement. Not only does a full-page photomontage stand out; its orientation requires the reader to turn the newspaper 90 degrees to view it, potentially encouraging the activity of looking rather than merely glancing.

Striking back into the wild bush-clad ranges of the Urewera country, Rua recently established a sect and settlement of his own. The pictures, as numbered, are: 1. The prophet's temple. 2. Rua and some of his wives. 3. Another group of Rua's wives. 4. Young Rua-ites. 5. A typical follower of the prophet. 6. Maungapoharu settlement."

_Auckland Weekly News_, 21 October 1909, p11.

Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
The montage consists of six numbered photographic images (comprised of seven photographs, as two are numbered as a single image), six unnumbered photographs, a patterned border around the anchoring panoramic image forming the bottom half of the composition which has been constructed from repeated photographic fragments of the clubs and diamonds motifs from the exterior of the temple. There is additional decorative framing devices in the form of linear borders, foliage and background blocks of varying tonal levels. Texts, in the form of title and captions, anchor the montage. The re-presentation of the photographs from series to photomontage shifts the function of the images from a reportorial one, in which they were accompanied by texts and presented as factual, to the holistic communicative purpose of presenting a total impression of Rua and his community at Maungapohatu. In this shift, details are omitted in order to focus on larger ideas. Not only are no names given, but Rua’s wives are multiplied by suggestion (commanding two photographs, with seven women in one and six in the other, although close observation would confirm that at least two women appear in both images). The man (Morahu) who served as a guide for Bourne from Waimana to Maungapohatu and was earlier identified by name and in that role, is recast in the montage as a “typical follower”. The club and diamond pattern painted around the temple, earlier referred to as “significant” and having meaning to Rua and his followers, is appropriated for purely decorative purposes. This treatment is in keeping with Bourne’s use of photographed carvings for frames.

Despite the reduction in specific detail, the montage, while highlighting the more curious aspects of the settlement, maintains an air of respectfulness. Centrally placed in the top half of the composition, the cut-out figure of Rua Kenana presides over balance and stability. His hands are one atop the other on a cane at waist level, causing his body to form a stable triangle. Behind him, a halo is suggested by the placement of a circular photograph of seven women (purportedly his wives). Equidistant around the main circular image are four smaller circular portraits of unidentified men in Rua’s likeness. Buildings, children and images of quiet activity are arranged symmetrically at either side of Rua while the panoramic photograph (the vision) of the entire settlement below is unequivocally his. The meaning created by the construction and format has a rhetorical function that leaves little room for alternate readings, and it is not at cross purposes with the intentions of the photographer or with the possible readings of the photographs themselves when they
appeared complete and singularly. Overall the production quality of the montage is high, in terms both of conception and of craft, with no evidence of any white edges of cut photographs, pencil marks, unintentional gaps or overlaps. For all these reasons it is reasonable to conclude that Bourne was responsible for reconfiguring his own work.

**Humorous montages**

George Bourne, as well as making photographs that were later presented in montage formats, was also known for producing a series of humorous photomontages which were primarily published in the Christmas Numbers, Christmas Supplements and New Year issues of the *Weekly News*. While Bourne would have reached his largest audience through publication in the *Weekly News*, he also produced alternate versions of the montages in the form of commercial postcards, large framed or mounted photographic works, and small album prints for his family and friends. Bourne’s production of commercial versions is key to the development of the genre of humorous photomontage. His practice involved a recycling of themes, images and fragments that, when viewed in sequence, illustrates the importance of play and wit, not just with the products but in the process of creation.

Early twentieth century photomontage, wherever it was produced, has invited comparison in art historical narratives with the products of the European avant-garde. William Main and John Turner describe Bourne’s montages as “lively works, crude in humour and technique, … [being] Edwardian precursors to the more sophisticated use of photo-collage, montage, cameraless images and unusual angles employed by avant-garde artists such as Laszlo Moholy-Nagy and Man Ray in Europe in the twenties” (Main and Turner 32). However, I would argue that any comparison to avant-garde work produced in Europe is unnecessary and irrelevant, as it only suggests Bourne’s work be approached as amateur, its liveliness and humour being detrimental to its chances of being considered seriously. Wit, play and experimentation can be valid, carefully considered and even sophisticated communication strategies. For his subject material, Bourne did not look backwards but embraced the latest technological developments, particularly in the field of transport, and adapted them for the New Zealand cultural and geographic environment. In this way, every year or two he announced, in montage titles, a new “first” of one kind or another, with either Urewera or Auckland being the site of innovation and launch.
With such subject matter, wit and humour could be considered strategies for overcoming alienation.

In all of Bourne’s photomontages published by the *Weekly News*, Māori make up an overwhelming majority of the actors. This is not true of the montages made for postcards or personal albums, in which his daughters feature prominently. The availability of models may have been a factor in the predominance of Māori subjects in these montages. It is evident from the detail in the montages that Bourne had the cooperation and assistance of the Māori pictured. Furthermore, his writings suggest he saw Māori as having an active role in the ongoing development of New Zealand culture and society. He clearly did not ascribe to the dying race theory still held, or at least visually recycled, by many of his contemporaries. It is also possible that the newspaper encouraged Bourne to use Māori in the humorous montages, due to an imagined audience appeal for such imagery. Ultimately, Bourne’s representations of Māori as being engaged with versions of the latest transportation technologies and as a force for the future full of life and good humour, should therefore not be read into too deeply in terms of intention. Nevertheless, they can be considered at the level of image analysis as a significant recurring feature.

“THE FIRST MONORAIL IN MAORILAND” (figure 119) transports seven men, one woman, one child on a grinning, catapulting log. A large woven fishing basket is balanced on the front of the log and doubles as its hat. The monorail’s construction is not only ridiculous but highly improbable, as it appears to rely entirely on balance and is a perilous height. Nevertheless, the passengers are unconcerned. While the monorail image dominates, the montage also includes conventional portraits of young smiling Māori above and below the central constructed photomontage and cut-out photographs of Māori carvings, in this instance *tiki*[^85] and *toki*[^86]. Bourne must have amassed a significant number of negatives of Māori carving. Even his earliest published montages appeared in purposely constructed frames made from cut-out fragments of photographs of carvings.

[^85]: A neck ornament usually made of greenstone and carved in the abstract form of a human.
[^86]: An axe, adze or hatchet.
Figure 119

"THE FIRST MONORAIL IN MAORILAND."

_Auckland Weekly News_, Christmas Number, 1910, p.28.

Auckland Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira.
On occasion the ornate and complex frames overshadow the central images. Bourne’s frames also appeared around photographs that were not his and were recycled and repeated over subsequent Christmas Numbers. This suggests that they became stock newspaper frames. The appropriation by designers of Māori carvings and other cultural symbols and artefacts was the adaptation of a common graphic convention to the New Zealand context. Bourne was not alone in constructing frames from photographs of carvings, but he did so professionally and elaborately.

In addition to the signature framing and the pattern of titling, Bourne’s montages contained one other significant recognisable and reliably repeated feature. Whether they were for the first car, the first bicycle, or the first monorail, the wheels were invariably solid wood. Many of the other fanciful constructions were entirely wooden. In the early twentieth century, the use of wood was an important commercial industry in its own right and a critical by-product of colonial pastoralism. In one of Bourne’s earliest montages to feature in a Christmas Number, “MOTORING IN MAORILAND: THE FIRST CAR IN THE UREWERA COUNTRY”, the wooden wheels appear to be largely hand-drawn under the body or engine of either a railway jigger or an early tractor.87

Remarkably, Bourne must have gone on from this first montaging of rounds of wood as wheels on to a photograph of a vehicle, to actually fitting a bicycle with wooden slabs in place of tyres. The 1907 Christmas Supplement, “THE FIRST CYCLIST IN THE UREWERA COUNTRY, NORTH ISLAND, N.Z., AND THE TROUBLES THAT BEFELL HIM ON HIS TOUR”, is a montage of six frames in a vertical filmic sequence (figure 120). Bourne appears to be the central actor in this sequence, assisted by a Māori man of similar age. The initial frame shows Bourne lying face-down on the uneven ground after an apparent tumble from his bicycle. The cyclist’s presumably bent wheels are then removed, and carried off out of the following frame by an otherwise unaccounted for third person. A Māori man with a saw then works with Bourne to substitute sawn rounds of wood for wheels and the cyclist once again goes on his way.

Figure 120

“THE FIRST CYCLIST IN THE UREWERA COUNTRY, NORTH ISLAND, N.Z., AND THE TROUBLES THAT BEFELL HIM ON HIS TOUR.”
_Auckland Weekly News_, Christmas Supplement, 19 December, 1907, p16.
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.
The wooden-wheeled bicycle was featured again in the 1908 January 2nd montage, “OUT WITH THE OLD YEAR, IN WITH THE NEW” (figure 121). This is a surprising montage, in the context of the Auckland Weekly News, as the title explicitly associates Māori with the new, rather than recycling the more familiar nostalgic attitude of Māori remembering (and living) in the past. The cyclist performs a pukana, dilating his pupils and looking directly at the camera and hence the viewer. The gesture of the pukana could have been familiar to the readers from countless photographs of young Māori children performing a “haka for a penny”, but this is the only instance I have witnessed a published photograph of an adult male performing the challenge.

Bourne has used the process of montage to disrupt traditional scale. The figures are monumental, as a result of being photographed from a low angle, and there being no contextual points of reference. They have been pasted in suspension over what appears to represent the curve of the earth, positioning them more in space than on land. The construction is mythical, with the pair of old cyclist and young passenger referencing either of two variants in popular iconography, being the Old Year and the New Year, or Father Time and the New Year. As such, the montage is a little more complicated, with the passing Māori representing both old and new. The hand-drawn elements of the montage such as the stars and the moon would have been executed by Bourne, as would the small splashes of cloud under the front wheel. It is likely that the Weekly News illustrator Trevor Lloyd would have contributed the frame of knotwork and flowers. The photographic components would all have been sourced from Bourne’s own negatives.


89 To stare wildly and dilate the eyes, for emphasis.
“OUT WITH THE OLD YEAR, IN WITH THE NEW.”
*Auckland Weekly News*, 2 January 1908, p.1.\(^9^0\)
Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago.

Bourne’s montage process was careful and many-staged. After examining the Auckland Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira’s holdings of Bourne’s photomontage work I was able to trace Bourne’s process over a series of negatives and photographs. Photographs were made, the selected details were then excised and often rephotographed against a black ground. This resulted in the background portion of the negative remaining clear, therefore

\(^9^0\) As another example of Bourne’s practice of recycling; in the 1911 Christmas Number, on p16, the head and shoulders of this man with his child appear in a frame created by photographed carvings of a *pataka* (food storehouse), with the title “TENA KOE PAKEHA”. The montage fills 1/3\(^{rd}\) of a page. The title “TENA KOE PAKEHA” is itself recycled, being used by Bourne for his winning entry in the 1901 *Weekly News* photographic competition.
being suitable for multiple printing in the darkroom. Some details would have been eliminated on the negatives by using masking fluid or by scratching away the emulsion, while other details were drawn with ink onto the photomontages, themselves made from a combination of printed and pasted elements. Lighting and shadow were not overlooked, and retouching was employed where necessary to keep these features as consistent across a montage as possible. Negatives were made of certain completed montaged elements, which were then used as grounds for the pasting on of further fragments, or for the drawing in of extra details. The montage was finally rephotographed to achieve a negative of the entire completed construction. This many-staged process facilitated the production of variations on a theme and the recycling of montaged frames.

Traces of Bourne’s construction process can be noted in “THE FIRST AIRSHIP IN MAORILAND”, published in the 1909 Christmas Number (figure 122). The airship references the basic form of a ship although the hand-written notice on its side, which exclaims that strap-hangers are not allowed, directly references an unpopular rule from the Auckland tram system. The airship with its passengers, and the hangers below, are each from separate negatives that have been montaged together then rephotographed to form a single unit. The suspended men appear to have been photographed lying on the ground, with the pinned up edges of the “falling” man’s jacket providing the most obvious clue. This montaged unit has then been rephotographed before being (probably) combination printed with the background landscape negative. Finally, the propellers and movement lines have been drawn on to the photograph, from which a final copy negative would have been made. The resulting seamless print has been inserted into a separately constructed montaged frame. From the top centre, the reader is greeted by the gaze of a good-humoured, elderly Māori man, whose relationship to the feature image is not specified. He could be read as the inventor of the contraption, or perhaps as an amused but sceptical witness.
Figure 122

“THE FIRST AIRSHIP IN MAORILAND.”
Auckland Public Library, Special Collections.
There are a number of variations of each of Bourne’s montages. Spectators, contraptions and actual aeroplanes and airships appeared and disappeared, while landscapes changed in location and scale. It is clear that many of the background photographs could only have been made from the air, producing a picture in the mind of the viewer of Bourne the photographer perched on a similar contraption, flying happily alongside the Māori children. Indeed, Bourne was a pioneer in aerial photography in Auckland. He was friends with Leo and Vivian Walsh, who made the first documented flight in New Zealand in Papakura in early February 1911. As well as Bourne appearing in numerous photographs alongside the Walsh brothers, a number of the records in the Auckland Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira pictorial collection comment specifically that the aerial views were taken from a Walsh Brothers’ seaplane. Bourne’s excitement with the experience and the possibilities of linking air travel and photography are conveyed in a draft of an account of his early flights, in which he writes: “To be the first to see the whole of Auckland laid out like a map at one’s feet is a soul thrilling experience, and more than repaid for any risks taken in defying [sic] the perils of the air” (Bourne). Bourne’s observations describe a very modernist way of seeing.

Bourne’s personal observations at the time of his early flying experiences bear striking similarities to his later imaging of flight, as he compares the shadow on the landscape below, created by the “beautiful machine” in which he was flying, with that of a “glorified moth” (Bourne). As early as 1915, George Bourne produced photomontages of an enormous dragonfly being flown over the landscape by a group of four smiling Māori girls. In this early version, the group fly over Rangitoto and some of the built up suburbs of Auckland. In later versions they fly over a landscape peopled with pointing spectators, and in another version they are accompanied by a seaplane of the same scale. It was not until 1922 that a photomontage on this theme was published in the Auckland Weekly News (figure 123). It is interesting that the published version of “THE DRAGON FLY” is structurally the simplest that Bourne made, involving the least number of montaged elements, resulting in an image that foregrounds fantasy over construction. The image is

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91 Bourne’s writing was published internationally, in journals and magazines including Wide World and Life, often under the pseudonym “Hori Poni”. It is possible that the draft held in the Auckland Museum, Tamaki Paenga Hira manuscripts collection was later developed into a piece for one of these publications.
marvelous and magical rather than simply humorous. Flight is achieved without reference to European technology, over a landscape that shows no European interference. The girls are correctly proportioned for the scene, making the dragonfly enormous rather than the riders miniature. The detail evident in the photograph of the dragonfly demonstrates Bourne’s versatility and skill as a photographer.

It is important, when reading the version of this photomontage published in the *Auckland Weekly News*, to directly acknowledge the influence of the illustrations framing the central montaged photograph. As these pixie-like Māori figures do not feature in any of the other, non-published, versions Bourne made using the dragon-fly it is reasonable to conclude that they were added in the process-room at the newspaper by someone other than Bourne. This would mean that they were an addition, unrelated to the design and construction process of the montage itself. The Māori pixie figures are in keeping with the style and content of illustrations and decorative graphic elements throughout the remainder of the issue. Their frame around Bourne’s “THE DRAGON FLY” invites a comic response, effectively disrupting any reading of the image in a more modernist context. The decorative embellishment destroys the smooth illusion of flight that Bourne has created.

The photomontage was published elsewhere without any frame. On 28 March 1923, the Continental (Paris) Edition of the *London Daily Mail* published a small unframed, but otherwise unchanged, version of the montage with the caption “The Dragon-fly. – A clever example of composite photography which was published in a recent issue of the ‘Auckland Weekly News’”. While this is the only international publication of Bourne’s montage work that I have sighted, it is by no means necessarily the only instance. This international publication illustrates that Bourne’s work was regarded at the time as clever, not (or at least, not only) as quaint or antipodean. The continental reproduction of his work also demonstrates that the flow of cultural productions was not all from northern to southern hemisphere, suggesting the emergence of a type of global modern popular culture in the illustrated press.

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92 Most likely Trevor Lloyd.
George Bourne’s photomontages made up only a very small proportion of his work published in the Auckland Weekly News. The images discussed here are representative of his montage work, but are by no means a complete catalogue. He was a prolific photographer and experimented with possible applications of photomontage throughout
his career, whether for the construction of elaborate frames of Māori artefacts, the representation of topical subjects, or for his own and the newspaper readership’s interest and entertainment. His professional and innovative uses of photomontage demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of the process’s potential for visual communication.

George Bourne and Philip R. Presants, in their widely different contributions to the illustrated weekly newspapers, and in their independent or commissioned commercial productions, are valuable case studies for the development of a New Zealand design history. The case studies presented here overlap for the first decade of the twentieth century, which was a period in which nostalgic and romantic appropriations of Māori people, their culture and land were being constructed in order to provide a history and a sense of national identity for Pakeha New Zealanders. Presants’ work in this mode is exemplary. Presants was Bourne’s senior by only eight years. However, his formal design education, his lack of personal contact with Māori due to the fact of being a recent immigrant, combined with the traditions and constraints of the lithographic medium in which he worked, resulted in Presants being tied to the past. He conservatively adapted the appearance and strategies of photomontage into already established modes of visual communication, but did not fully explore the potential of new ways of constructing images or representing subjects, made possible by advances in photomechanical reproduction technologies. In contrast, Bourne, who was slightly younger, New Zealand-born and who did not receive instruction in the South Kensington design system, embraced the new possibilities for visual communication that the strategies and technologies of photomontage offered. His work is firmly located in the new century, and pre-empts the role of both transport and photographic technologies in changing the experience of a potentially racially inclusive, modern, New Zealand.
CONCLUSION

Photomontages were highly visible, regular and important features in many New Zealand illustrated weekly newspapers between 1900 and 1930 (and a small sample of ninety-nine have been shown in this thesis). The quantity of photomontages published, and the regularity with which they appeared, confirm that the newspapers considered this medium to be an appropriate and valuable communication tool. In addition, there is considerable evidence of the establishment then the adaptation of certain conventions, of instances of innovative construction and the development of technical excellence by 1930 that makes the New Zealand archives of published material a significant resource for New Zealand design and visual culture history.

The power of photomontage as a tool for visual communication was recognised by those producing the illustrated newspapers. However, whereas photomontage’s European renaissance in art and design in the 1920s had some contemporary and subsequent discourse, I have been unable to identify a local contemporary supporting discourse about the images or their monteurs, in the form of statements, essays, letters or lectures. That it fulfilled the aims of the editors is evident from the facts that there were skilled, leading staff members working on the production of photomontage features, that photomontages regularly received central placement in the important international-showcase Christmas Numbers, and that there were conventional repetitions of the features’ construction and content over three decades, with degrees of refinement and some outstanding individual examples.

In order to make a case for the significance of newspaper photomontages in the larger contexts of New Zealand design, visual culture and print culture history, I have highlighted three aspects as being of equal importance to the creation and communication of meaning. These are: (i) identifying the many and various contexts in which the photomontages were produced; (ii) investigating the material processes of construction and reproduction; and (iii) analysing the content of the images themselves. Jointly these three aspects are key to the functioning of images as visual communication. The thesis’s
structure has been designed to selectively focus on each of these aspects in turn, simultaneously recognising that no one aspect can truly be encountered in isolation. As such, this methodology represents a divergence from those employed in related secondary resources, as it has been the common practice to single out one aspect as critical, leaving the other aspects either unmentioned, or fulfilling a supporting role, being referred to for background information or examples.

Of the three aspects (context, construction and content), it is construction that has received the least attention to date in design historiography. I make this judgment specifically in relation to the use of photographs in visual communication, at the same time acknowledging that there is an ever-increasing body of detailed scholarship on the construction of typography. In creating a “Grammar of construction” in Chapter 3, I have directly addressed this gap by documenting the practical processes, and questioning the design decisions, that I observed to be forming the basis of the newspaper applications of photomontage techniques. The “grammar of construction” has been intentionally placed at the centre of this thesis, as it represents a significant contribution of new knowledge. The grammar is organised into major two categories of construction: connection, in which discrete components are brought together in ways that allow them to be read as separate but linked; and creation, in which the components are cut, layered and otherwise manipulated resulting in the construction of a unified illusionary image. Within these categories I have catalogued the underlying formats and structures of photomontage, beginning with the juxtaposition of two photographs and building through the use of grids, and the creation of cut-outs, for example, to the construction of single, fictional images from fragments of multiple photographs, illustrations, ornaments and texts. The task of analysing the function of the formats has been undertaken by selecting and critiquing specific examples, in order to highlight the implications of the technical and designerly decisions involved for the creation and communication of meaning.

My investigation of the standard techniques of constructing pictorial features from multiple photographic and graphic fragments revealed that there were a significant number of distinct formats used with regularity by staff at the studied newspapers. Variations and experiments, successful and otherwise, were also common, showing that the layouts and structures were not treated as unchangeably formulaic. Although the
formats and techniques of photomontage do not prescribe content, that is, there are no external rules or guidelines suggesting that features on any one theme should be constructed in any particular way, the newspapers did create associations between structure and content through their repeated use. In this way, visual conventions were established (being different from pictorial conventions, which govern what happens inside the single image). Photomontages about sport provide what might seem an unremarkable example in that they were almost universally assembled from square and rectangular photographic components, with the scale of both the components and the subjects they represented being regular. There was no spacing between the multiple photographic fragments and they were unornamented (refer back to figures 77 & 78). As such, the apparently simple construction of the photomontages could assist in the identification and communication of the content. Similarly, uniformity of scale and structure, achieved through identically proportioned photographs being evenly spaced in lines or grids, were visual conventions applied to the majority of montages representing membership of (largely professional) groups. The Rolls of Honour for the dead and wounded published during the First World War are an obvious instance (refer back to figure 68).

Photomontages that promoted the joys and beauties of New Zealand employed contrasting visual conventions, in that they were generally more complex constructions, involving variations in the scales, dimensions and shapes of the photographic components. Their elements also regularly included any or all of botanical illustration, cartoons of natives, typographical ornamentation and at least one form of frame. The album format is an excellent example of a convention that was a highly effective means of influencing the positive reception of photographic content by referencing the look of a personal image archive. The process of selecting, using or adapting a montage format that was appropriate for the purposes of communicating visually about a theme or an event confirms, again, that photomontages were generally constructed with purpose rather than just casually by scissor-happy editors.

The contexts within which the newspapers were produced, and were primarily read, were fundamentally important factors in estimating the effectiveness of photomontage in terms of communicative potential and reception. The social and cultural history of New Zealand is outlined in Chapter 1 “New Zealand as a society in print construction”, while
the production and reception contexts of illustrated newspapers are discussed in Chapter 2, “Producing weekly entertainment for thousands of homes”. Between 1900 and 1930, New Zealand, along with many industrialised countries, witnessed a major proliferation of photographs and photographic ephemera as the associated technologies became more accessible and affordable. Photomechanical reproduction was quickly instituted around 1900 by most of the New Zealand newspapers selected for examination in this thesis, and, as a result, the illustrated weeklies became important vehicles for the transmission of visual information. The quantity, availability and variety of photographic images in the public realm resulted in the development of increasingly visually literate readers. Until the patchy introduction of radio from 1922 onwards, newspapers held an unchallenged and therefore highly influential position as the dominant source of news, views and representations of New Zealand for a local (and international at Christmas) audience.

The newspapers’ distribution extended beyond the regions of their publication to reach national and international audiences. The Christmas Numbers in particular were designed for international audiences whose only experience of New Zealand would have been delivered in this medium via the postal service. Many recent immigrants or second- and third-generation settlers, despite living here, would also have only experienced many regions of New Zealand vicariously through word and image, as settlements were often isolated. Illustrated newspapers therefore assisted not only in developing and maintaining links between the colony and the imperial centre of Britain, but also in promoting a sense of social cohesion internally through the development of imagined regional and national communities.

New Zealand was frequently referred to as “Maoriland” in the period 1872-1914. While the term eventually fell out of popular usage, it has recently been critically appropriated by Jane Stafford and Mark Williams to label the period’s cultural impulses and productions. Of particular importance to understanding the role of photomontage is Stafford and William’s acknowledgement of the uptake and sustained usage of the concepts and representative modes of the period in tourism promotion (Stafford and Williams, *Maoriland* 11). Maoriland continued to appear as a moniker for New Zealand in the titles of the studied photomontages, until 1930 at least. Illustrated newspapers clearly took a very active role in creating and distributing visual material designed to
function explicitly as promotion and propaganda to attract tourists and potential migrants alike. This was undertaken in tandem with the Tourist Department on occasion, but even more frequently tourism promotion appeared to be accepted as a core function of the weeklies themselves.

The notion of New Zealand as the “world’s scenic wonderland” was firmly established following the founding of the Tourist Department in 1901. At this time New Zealand was in a period of self-definition which could be described as intensive. National identities were being actively designed by the newspapers’ contributors and editors. Max Quanchi argues that the merging of “two new forms of media”, which he identifies as “the camera in the hands of colonial officials […]; and photographically illustrated magazines, newspapers, postcards and serial encyclopaedia,” contributed to the shaping of public opinion in the first three decades of the twentieth century (Quanchi, “The Power of Pictures” 37). His argument has been adapted for this thesis, in that the thesis is also specifically identifying photography and illustrated weekly newspapers as two highly influential new media forms within that era. The contemporary reviews of the newspapers’ Christmas Numbers are effusive and uncritical. In 1910, a Grey River Argus review of the Auckland Weekly News Christmas Number declared that, “Anyone with an observant turn who knew nothing of the country before, could not fail to form a very good idea of it after a careful glance through the Christmas number of 1910” (“Auckland Weekly News Christmas Number” 5). This assertion demonstrates an awareness by editors of the power of images both to inform and to influence. The prominent and repeated positioning of photomontages in the newspapers indicates that they were seen as playing a central role in forming, communicating and influencing ideas about New Zealand.

The practice of recycling, that is, the reprinting of previously published photographs and texts, supported the formation of ideas and opinions, by reinforcing visual messages and creating stereotypes. Recycling was examined in Chapter 4, “Page after page of ‘God’s Own Country’”, in which I particularly observed the recycling of photographs of Maori, (typically, studio portraits of individual sitters in taniko93 cloaks, or groups of naked children in hot pools). The same photograph was, for example, reprinted in combination

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93 A border for cloaks made by finger-weaving.
with a variety of old and new images, over the course of a decade or more (figure 85). One effect of the practice of recycling increasingly dated photographs was to present Maori as unchanging, untouched by progress and instead existing in a timeless mythological realm. The newspapers’ maintenance of photographic archives provides a practical explanation for reusing photographs, but it is also possible that the practice occurred as a result of actual change in the lives and appearances of Maori, whose contemporary lifestyles may not have matched the editors or audiences’ preferred representations. The recycling of texts occurred through the reprinting of excerpts of previously published poems as secondary texts attached to photomontages (figures 9 & 103). Some of the excerpted texts had been written and originally printed up to twenty years earlier. Their fragmented inclusion in the illustrated weekly newspapers functioned not only to associate the content of the montages with the romanticism and nostalgia of nineteenth century New Zealand, but also, on a secondary level, introduced the poets and authors to audiences that were significantly larger than those which had been reached through the original publications.

A reader of any of the New Zealand weekly newspapers I have examined could expect to learn about New Zealand’s geography, its progressive modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation, its peoples, and the multitude of leisure activities enjoyed by (some of) them. Photomontages in the pictorial supplements presented the country as being both a wilderness to be consumed by tourists and a tame and fertile land. The landscapes were presented as a source of wonder and opportunity. On one page, waterfalls and surging rapids were combined with images of mountains and dense bush, while on another, they were juxtaposed with photographs of pipes and texts about hydro-electricity generation (figures 73, 74 & 84). Features on the kauri forests and the logging industry demonstrate the coexistence of nostalgia for an untouched nature with the requirements of modernity, for the generation of income, and the creation of cleared land for the nationally important agricultural industries. As such, New Zealand is constructed, without apparent contradiction, as a unique and strange tourist wonderland, and as pliable countryside, comparable to (but better than) Britain. Clement weather, available arable land, bountiful natural resources, optimum conditions for good health and physical well-being and an egalitarian society were factors promoted to potential migrants who sought opportunity in
“God’s Own Country” away from the worst ravages of industrialisation, the urban crowding, and the class-structured nature of society in England.

While a large proportion of the constructed ideas were inherently positive, they were not equally positive for all. There was a very strong bias, for example, in favour of Pakeha as the rightful inhabitants of New Zealand, who were almost exclusively presented as superior to Maori in intelligence and progressiveness. Photomontages about Maori were extremely popular, in particular being staple features of the Christmas Numbers for the full duration of the thirty years under examination. In this context Maori were not linked to any current news events or issues but were represented as part of larger themes linking culture and nature, that tied directly into the provision of images for ethnographic curiosity, tourism spectacle, visual entertainment, or a nostalgia for an imagined pre-colonial past (and simultaneously an appropriation of that past as part of a history distinguishing Pakeha New Zealanders from their British ancestors). Propagandistic photomontage features displaying attractive, traditional, harmless or laughable natives, from whom resistance no longer needed to be feared, were the dominant, but not the only, representations of Maori in the pictorial supplements. Through the illustrations and cartoons of Trevor Lloyd at the *Auckland Weekly News* and anonymous illustrators fulfilling similar roles at the *New Zealand Free Lance*, cartoons of pixie-like natives romped naked or in grass skirts around photomontages concerned with any number of other themes as well. In this way, the “racial imagination” of Lloyd and his contemporaries had “an immense influence” on the construction of representations, stereotypes and opinions (Basso 83).

Photomontages on Pakeha New Zealanders - and again these conclusions are being arrived at predominantly in relation to the content of the Christmas Numbers - similarly relied on the creation and repetition of stereotypes. Construction formats that defined or suggested the constituting of groups were among the techniques employed to establish and promote a recognisable set of model types of an ideal race. For example, photomontages celebrating New Zealand girls and women maintained a notable visual presence in the pictorial supplements. The features’ themes centred on their adaptability, health, commendable qualities, and responsibilities, such as the important role of breeding and raising the next generation of Pakeha New Zealanders (figures 97, 100 & 101).
Nostalgic constructions about pioneers, who represented the passing generation and the short history of white settlement in the colony, and children, who represented the future of the increasingly defined “race” of white settlers that I have referred to throughout as “Pakeha New Zealanders”, were equally popular subjects for photomontages. Professionals, who were represented as providing the structural framework of society, constituted a more formal visual presence. It is reasonable to conclude that photomontages in the studied illustrated weekly newspapers made a significant contribution to recording and influencing the formation of a Pakeha national identity.

A key question that this thesis sought to answer was, by whom were the newspaper photomontages constructed? The general preservation of anonymity, like adherence to convention or formula, is one reason visual material can be neglected by researchers. However, it was appropriate for the time period, and the nature of the publications (being commercial, popular and the result of collective efforts), that a large proportion of the photomontages appeared without signatures or credits. By 1930, visual design professions were still in a process of definition and emergence, as was photojournalism. The photomontages in weekly issues were predominantly anonymous, while photomontages in the showcase Christmas Numbers were often credited simply to “staff”. It has been apparent, from my close reading of the pictorial supplements, that a large number, and a wide variety, of freelance, commissioned and employed photographers, designers, illustrators and editors were involved in photomontage construction. Over the course of thirty years many visual materials producers either constructed features from fragments of photographs made by others, or had their own photographs included in photomontages assembled or designed by staff members in the newspapers’ process rooms. For the newspapers that I have examined, there was no one person on the staff who specialised exclusively in constructing photomontages. Nevertheless, there were a small number of identifiable long-term employees who made important individual contributions, as part of their larger roles with the newspaper companies.

Two men who are often identified, the adaptable professionals Philip R. Presants and George Bourne, are examined by way of case studies in the final chapter. Presants, a self-identified chromolithographic artist and designer, and Bourne, a photographer and freelance writer, were selected as subjects for the case studies for several reasons, including
their technical excellence. As employees of the Christchurch-based *Weekly Press* and the *Auckland Weekly News* respectively, Presants and Bourne can be considered as insiders, who would have been aware of directives, formats, suggestions and themes as determined by those newspapers themselves. There is visual evidence that both professionals also operated with a degree of individual agency. The cases studies demonstrate that practitioners of photomontage produced commercial or personal work alongside their contributions to the illustrated newspapers, and that these products circulated simultaneously in different contexts (for example, postcards, calendars and product labels). The course and scope of the careers of Presants and Bourne highlight the possibility that there were other photographers, designers and *monteurs*, both named and anonymous, who could individually have made equally major contributions to the visual environment of the early twentieth century, both inside and outside the pages of the weekly newspapers. However, as well as being identifiable, these two individuals studied are significant in their own right for their contributions to New Zealand design.

The careers of Presants and Bourne are concurrent, but their contributions diverge. Presants merged new technologies with established ones, incorporating photographic elements into his predominantly chromolithographic illustrations and designs. The processes and aesthetics of his work appeared to be influenced, but not driven by, the new ways of recording and representing, that advancing photography and photomechanical reproduction technologies offered. Bourne, on the other hand, actively embraced the developing photographic technologies, exploring through experimentation, and application, the potential they offered, with the camera and in the darkroom. Examples are his early involvement with aerial photography, his ability with macro-photography and his technical expertise in the darkroom, in working with multiple negatives.

Both Bourne and Presants, possibly at the direction of their employers, possibly as a result of their own initiatives and interests, constructed a number of photomontages with Maori as the main subjects. While Presants’ works looked backwards to an imagined pre-colonial era, Bourne’s works, while often also imaginary, were otherwise contemporary, even forward-looking. As such, when viewed together, the works of Presants and Bourne represent one of the contradictions of the Maoriland period: the co-existence of nostalgia and modernity. Presants had only recently arrived in New Zealand when he began
constructing representations with Maori subjects. His own direct personal engagement with Maori would have been minimal, if it occurred at all. This thesis documents Presants’ practice of appropriating and adapting existing photographic imagery of Maori. A review of his work also points to the conclusion that he brought with him from Britain design knowledge, and visual conventions, which remained relatively static over the course of his career at the newspaper. The quality of his work for the Weekly Press and for other commissions, in terms of his design and graphic skills, and his demonstrated ability to learn and work inside of an established set of visual conventions for the nostalgic representation of “traditional” and “noble” Maori, mark Presants as an important contributor to the development of New Zealand design and the construction of Pakeha identity. He was a designer whose ideas and practices appear to be embedded in the time in which he commenced employment, but whose work reflected none of the changes that surrounded and perhaps eventually overtook him.

In contrast, George Bourne, who was an outdoor representative for the Auckland Weekly News, had repeated contact with a large variety of New Zealanders. Accounts and photographs document his personal engagement with Maori, in particular, through the medium of magic. Not all Bourne’s work is humorous; however, a sense of humour and an enjoyment of trickery are evident in his most recognisable photomontages. While Bourne adapted some conventional, stereotypical representations of Maori, in particular, by portraying them as unkempt and happy-go-lucky, there is, in many instances, a sense of collaboration in the realising of the photographs, suggesting that he is laughing with rather than laughing at his subjects. Bourne’s practice of constructing frames from cut-out fragments of photographs of Maori carvings functioned to ethnographically “frame” Maori as artefacts and cultural curiosities, and were another factor through which many of his photomontages were likely to have supported rather than undermined Pakeha public opinions about Maori. Nevertheless, Bourne more importantly constructed a remarkable, irregularly published but highly recognisable, series of photomontages in which he imagined totally new possibilities for Maori. In “THE FIRST […] IN MAORILAND”, Maori men, both young and old, join women and children as operators and passengers of a collection of brand new, fanciful but modern means of transport (figures 119, 120 & 122). These photomontages are exceptional, both in their challenging content and in their
innovative construction, and for me have been some of the most individually memorable images from the many thousands I have reviewed.

At the turn of the twentieth century, new photographic and photomechanical technologies coincided with the social desire to see the world in reproduction. In New Zealand, as elsewhere, photographs were combined, ornamented and used as elements in the construction of illusionary images, and photomontage was developed to serve the purposes of the newspaper enterprises. Like the newspapers which were the vehicles for their transmission, after 1930 photomontages did not maintain an unchallenged presence in the media environment. The *Otago Witness* ceased publication in 1932, and the *Weekly Press* similarly folded in 1928, with only its Christmas Number continuing publication until 1941. The *Auckland Weekly News* and the *New Zealand Free Lance* continued with considerable subscription numbers for a number of decades afterwards, but had to adapt to competition from illustrated daily newspapers, radio and finally television. While photomontage construction and publication in the illustrated press declined in practice, I would argue that its influence was enduring. That many of the ideas and images are still recognisable in contemporary New Zealand visual culture, such as the current “100% Pure New Zealand” campaign, signals that although New Zealand society itself may have changed with the passing of one hundred years, the (Pakeha) national visual identity is still heavily reliant on historically established stereotypes, images, and conventions.  

Photomontages in the illustrated weekly newspapers can be considered as having contributed to the development and recognition of a (utopian) New Zealand visual vocabulary.

This thesis concurrently singles out examples of excellence and innovation, while acknowledging that not all photomontages were either cleverly or even deliberately designed. Photomontages that may be uninteresting to present day practitioners and design historians, due to appearing poorly conceived or being technically weak, nevertheless actively contributed to the visual construction of New Zealand as a country.

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94 Tourism New Zealand has marketed New Zealand as 100% Pure for over a decade. “The 100% Pure New Zealand message is a simple one. It encapsulates all that is unique about New Zealand as a destination: our landscapes, our people and the stories that link the two.”  
www.tourismnewzealand.com/campaigns
of pastures and waterfalls, settlers and natives, progressive industries and boating parties. The ideas, ideals and images communicated by the photomontages may have been consumed unquestioningly, with visual and memory associations being made automatically, as a consequence of the content and construction of the photomontages matching expectations and memories of previous representations. Therefore I have concluded that photomontage was a powerful, visible, appropriate and effective means of constructing features in the New Zealand illustrated weekly newspapers between 1900 and 1930, that successfully defined and promoted New Zealand as “the world’s scenic wonderland”.
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