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Imaging a colonial presence : a photograph album of the S.M.S. Bismarck South Pacific Expedition 1878-1800

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IMAGING A COLONIAL PRESENCE:
A PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM OF THE *S.M.S BISMARCK* SOUTH PACIFIC
EXPEDITION 1878-1800

by

Jennifer Beth LeBlanc

Bachelor of Fine Arts, Mount Alison University, Sackville, NB, Canada 2003

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A thesis

presented to Ryerson University and George Eastman House International
Museum of Photography and Film

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

In the program of

Photographic Preservation and Collections Management

Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Rochester, New York, United States
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**Imaging a Colonial Presence:
A Photograph Album of the *S.M.S. Bismarck* South Pacific Expedition 1878-1800**

**Jennifer Beth LeBlanc
Master of Arts -Photographic Preservation and Collections Management
Ryerson University and George Eastman House
2007**

Abstract

This thesis examines the expeditionary photographs taken in association with the *S.M.S. Bismarck* and commercial photographs by the Dufty Brothers in the nineteenth century South Pacific. It is not a study of the culture and lives of South Pacific peoples, but rather of the nineteenth century European society, culture, and imperial benevolence that led to their production and collection into this album. The photography that is included in this study reflects the prevailing culture of capitalism and colonialism of the nineteenth century and demonstrates influences from anthropological science, art, studio and commercial photography. By placing these images within the context of photographic history, South Pacific history, and European colonialism of the late nineteenth century, they can be assessed against the notion that photographs occupy a temporal space that is fractured by its very nature and mode of production, but also by its representation of events, people and landscapes.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the faculty and staff of Ryerson University and George Eastman House. In particular I would like to thank my advisor, Alison Nordström, for her expertise and guidance during this project, and Don Snyder for his comments and suggestions. I would like to thank David Wooters and Joe Struble in the photography department, the Registrar at George Eastman House Wataru Okada and the Librarians and staff of the George Eastman House, Rush Rhees and Ryerson Libraries

I would like to thank my family for their support, both emotional and financial, during my past two years of study. In addition, I would like to thank my friends and colleagues in the Photographic Preservation and Collections Management Program, from whom I have learned an endless amount and hope to continue to do so in the future. I am grateful to Clemens Prestele for his English translation of German primary material. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Sharon Long, Picture Librarian at the State Library of Victoria, Australia; Sela Rayawa, Registrar and William Copeland, Photographer at the Fiji Museum.

I would especially like to thank Fiona Hall who generally keeps me sane, well-fed and watered. Her support, encouragement, direction and friendship have been appreciated greatly.

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A. List of Album Photographs

Introduction

Survey of Literature

This thesis is a description and analysis of an album of albumen¹ prints of the South Pacific located in the permanent collection of George Eastman House. The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the content and functions of seventy-five photographs. The album contains photographs that encompass the South Pacific voyages of the German Imperial Navy covered corvette² *S.M.S. Bismarck* between 1878-1800, and some of the commercial photographs taken by The Dufty Brothers Studio in Levuka and Suva, Fiji. I will place them within the contexts of photographic history, South Pacific history, and European colonialism of the late nineteenth century, and also assess them against the thesis proposed by Elizabeth Edwards that photographs such as these occupy a temporal space that is fractured by their very nature and mode of production, and have their own continuous social biography that makes them objects in their own right.

This thesis will be an examination, not of the culture and lives of South Pacific peoples in the nineteenth century, but rather of European society, culture, attitudes and power through one of the many cultural objects produced in that century. Much of the photography that is included in this study reflects the prevailing culture of capitalism and colonialism of the nineteenth century and includes influences from anthropological science, art, studio portraiture,

¹ See Glossary of General Terms

² See Glossary of General Terms

commercial photography and the idiosyncrasies of the crew and photographer(s) aboard the *S.M.S Bismarck*³. It is my contention that these photographs both reinforce the notions proposed by Edwards, and demonstrate a European-based depiction of indigenous peoples of the South Pacific and that these tendencies reflect, not the realities of nineteenth century Polynesian culture, but rather the western ideal of an exotic land and its people. I recognize that by examining these photographs within their larger contexts historically, anthropologically and photographically, as well as the exploring their multiple trajectories, I am constructing another consideration of them and thus adding to their continuing history and the contexts under which this is articulated.

Some academic writing has been undertaken on the subject matter of colonial South Pacific photographs. However, it appears that there has been no extensive academic writing about this particular album or most of the photographs in it, with the exception of some of the Dufty Brothers photographs. Brigitte d'Ozouville has discussed the life and work of Francis Herbert Dufty and his brothers, who ran studios across the Pacific and intermittently traded negatives and re-printed each others' work, however, she does not directly address the particular Dufty photographs in this album and which I discuss later in this literature survey. For the purpose of this thesis, I have chosen, due to my

³ Referred to in *Samoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community as H.I.G.M.S Bismarck* (His Imperial German Majesty's Ship); in the caption below the image 1981:149:700:20 of the ship itself in Apia harbour as *H.I.G.M.S. Bismarck*, and in *Amerika Samoa* and *The Samoan Tangle* as *S.M.S. Bismarck* (Seiner Majestäts Schiff). For the purposes of this thesis I will use the acronym *S.M.S* in accordance with the lettering on the ship's life preservers within the images themselves. See Glossary of General Terms.

lack of knowledge of the language, not to consider material written in German with the exception of a series of letters written by Philipp Remelé, who may have been one of the *Bismarck's* photographers. Further research into German language resources may prove to be a useful addition to what is known of Remelé, the *Bismarck* and its voyage.

My consideration of these photographs has been influenced greatly by, and will be examined against, the writings of Elizabeth Edwards. In "Time and Space on the Quarter Deck: Two Samoan Photographs by Captain W. Acland", a chapter in *Raw Histories: Photographs Anthropology and Museums*⁴, Edwards claims that Acland's photographs, taken aboard a naval ship, are not simply colonial documents but are also objects that can be read in terms of visibility and cultural biography. In *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*⁵ Edwards's article "Negotiating Spaces: Some Photographic Incidents in the Western Pacific, 1883-84" relates closely to the Eastman House photographic album of the South Pacific in its examination of two photographs taken in Samoa aboard the *H.M.S Miranda*. Edwards's essay examines and suggests that photographs have multiple trajectories because of the interrelationship between photography and history. This book does not focus solely on the depiction of 'the other' in the name of anthropological science or tourist imagery, but is rather an examination of specific photographic experiences exploring how photographs

⁴ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

⁵ Joan M Schwartz and James Ryan (eds), *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London; New York: I.B Tauris, 2003).

and their making actually operated in “the fluid spaces of ideological and cultural meaning⁶.”

In the chapter relating to Acland’s *H.M.S Miranda* photographs taken in Samoa, Edwards demonstrates how the photographs serve a purpose as witness to historical events, how they played a part in the political negotiations and colonial encounters and how their subsequent nineteenth and twentieth century European uses transformed them into anthropological and ethnographic objects. She suggests also that the multiple readings of these types of images helps to better inform the notions of space and temporality as the images move from “colonial encounter to anthropological document.”⁷

In countless general histories of photography such as Beaumont Newhall’s *The History of Photography*⁸, the invention of photography is shown to have had its debut in the scientific community. Introduced in Paris at the French Academy of Sciences, photography has been employed by scientific and artistic disciplines alike, but has been accepted wholeheartedly by neither. This uncertainty has led to multiple uses of photography; thus, multiple histories of the medium have emerged. One of the uses of photography when it was first introduced was in history and natural history museums to record collection objects as ‘truth-telling’ documents. This concept, having spilled over into the realm of ethnographic depiction and anthropological study, excluded the

⁶ Elizabeth Edwards, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (I.B Tauris): 3.

⁷ Ibid, 123.

⁸ Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1949).

predispositions of the colonial photographer. European political and cultural sensibilities had a great deal of subliminal and even overt influence on how photographs were taken, and what 'truths' were being told through the visual clues that the subjects and objects depicted. In turn, these sensibilities were consumed by the very culture that produced them.

It is not my intention to address the ethnographic qualities of these images or to debate their truthfulness. In order to address the complex nature of these images, an understanding of the cultures under which they were produced is necessary. My research will examine how these images, through their composition, subject matter, and symbolic content reveal internal evidence that advances what we know today, in the twenty-first century, about colonial encounters in the nineteenth.

Within anthropology and photography, the most useful and recent publication *Anthropology and Photography*⁹ addresses, in a series of chapters, the correlation between the two disciplines of its title. This relationship is manifested in a scientific representation of the 'other' and as the development of visual anthropology to present day. Since there are images in the *Bismarck* album under discussion that allude to this tendency in the use of photographs, an informed perspective on this aspect of photographic history is important to consider.

⁹ Elizabeth Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1992).

As Schneider points out in the journal article “British Popular Anthropology: Exhibiting and Photographing the Other”, “ethnographic exhibitions [and photography] developed as a new medium of popular culture [in the nineteenth century] that played a powerful role in shaping European popular attitudes towards non-westerners.”¹⁰ Banta and Hinsley’s *From Sight to Site: Anthropology, Photography and the Power of Imagery*¹¹ also emphasizes the anthropological photograph collections of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University and how photography was, in its infancy, at the service of anthropology before fieldwork was the universal norm.

While photographs in the *Bismarck* album do not appear to have been made for the purposes of anthropological study, there are aspects of them that are reminiscent of picturing ‘the other’ – influences that were likely subliminal on the part of the photographer, yet ever present. It is important to note that the European ethnocentric interpretation of Pacific peoples was not lost on many artists and photographers who were influenced by the scientific and colonial ideals of the time. Photographers’ nineteenth century preconceptions filtered through to their images, resulting in a mixture of artistic imagination, scientific study and the idea of ‘accurate’ cultural representation.

¹⁰ W. Schneider, “Race and Empire: The Rise of Popular Ethnography in the 19th century” In *Journal of Popular Culture* 11. no.1 (1977): 98.

¹¹ Melissa Banta and Curtis M. Hinsley, *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography and the Power of Imagery* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press, 1986).

*Images of Paradise: Photographs of Samoa 1880-1930*¹², and *Picturing Paradise: Colonial Photographs of Samoa*¹³, both serve as valuable resources in the contextualizing of the images within a larger genre that is closely related to the photographs in the album. In addition to these texts, other publications by Alison Nordström such as, *Early Photography in Samoa: Marketing Stereotypes of Paradise*¹⁴ and *Persistent Images: Photographic Archives in Ethnographic Collections*¹⁵ are demonstrative of the varied uses of such ethnographic 'type' photographs.

In terms of the literature associated with Fiji and other Pacific Islands, the authoritative publication by Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*¹⁶ proves useful in placing the album's images in the greater context of European colonialism with a broad overview of the European impact on the South Pacific islands in pre-photographic ways. Also, *Political Advancement in the South Pacific: A Comparative Study of Colonial Practice in Fiji, Tahiti, and American Samoa*¹⁷ gives an historical overview of the South Pacific islands with particular reference to some of the subjects in the album's images. The *Cyclopedia of Samoa*¹⁸, written and

¹² Alison Nordström, *Images of Paradise: Photographs of Samoa 1880-1930* (Master's Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1989).

¹³ Casey Blanton (ed.), *Picturing Paradise: Colonial Photography of Samoa, 1875 to 1925* (Daytona Beach, Fla.: Daytona Beach Community College, 1995).

¹⁴ Alison Nordström, "Early Photography in Samoa: Marketing Stereotypes of Paradise," *History of Photography* 15, no.4 (1991): 272-284.

¹⁵ Alison Nordström, "Persistent Images: Photographic Archives in Ethnographic Collections," *The Australian Journal of Media & Culture* 6, no. 2 (1991).

¹⁶ Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific (Second Edition)*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

¹⁷ F.J. West, *Political Advancement in the South Pacific: A Comparative Study of Colonial Practice in Fiji, Tahiti and American Samoa* (Melbourne, New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

¹⁸ *The Cyclopedia of Samoa (Illustrated)* 1st printing (Sydney: MacCarron, Stewart & Company 1907, (reprinted) Apia: The Western Samoa Cultural and Historical Trust, 1984).

first published in 1907 is a photographically illustrated overview of the history of Samoa, its formation and its transformation in post-European contact. In addition to these, texts such as *The Southwest Pacific to 1900*¹⁹ by Hartley Grattan and *Some Recollections of Early Samoa*²⁰ by H.J. Moors provide an historical overview of the economic, political and social climate of the South Pacific – told in a European context – during the approximate time in which the photographs in this album were produced, between 1878 and 1880.

It appears that some of the images of Fiji in the album were made by the Australian commercial photographers the Dufty Brothers, who had a photographic studio in Fiji between 1871 and 1892, and the article by Brigitte d'Ozouville "Reading Photographs in Colonial History: A case study from Fiji, 1872"²¹ published in the journal *Pacific Studies* has been invaluable. The article focuses on a triptych of Fiji photographs by the Dufty Brothers but also gives an account of the time they spent in Fiji and the types of work they produced. In another work by D'Ozouville, "F. H. Dufty in Fiji 1871-1892: The Social Role of a Colonial Photographer"²², published in the journal *History of Photography*, discusses Francis Herbert Dufty's photographic practice, and how he contributed greatly to the knowledge of the country, its colonial history and its socio-economic development.

¹⁹ Hartley Grattan, *The Southwest Pacific to 1900* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963).

²⁰ H.J. Moors, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa* (Apia: Western Samoa Cultural Trust, 1986).

²¹ Brigitte D'Ozouville, "Reading Photographs in Colonial History: A Case Study from Fiji, 1872" *Pacific Studies* 20, no. 4 (1997).

²² Brigitte d'Ozouville, "F. H. Dufty in Fiji 1871-1892: The Social Role of a Colonial Photographer", *History of Photography* 21, no. 1 (1997).

Another important aspect of this study of the *Bismarck* album is the recognition and understanding of the importance of naval history in the South Pacific. As much colonial history is directly related to the importance of European seafaring to these islands, publications such as *The Samoan Tangle: A Study of Anglo-German-US relations 1875-1900*²³, is valuable for its insight into the influence of the Navy in the islands (particularly the naval bases in Apia Harbour) and the political events that may or may not have led to the involvement of the *S.M.S. Bismarck* and the taking of certain photographs in the *Bismarck* album. Additionally, J.A.C Gray's *Amerika Samoa: A History of American Samoa and Its US Naval Administration*²⁴ and *The Navy and the White Man's Burden: Naval Administration of Samoa*²⁵ have proved to be a useful overview of the multiple colonial interests in the South Pacific, particularly Samoa, by the Great Powers of Germany, America and Great Britain.

While these histories contribute a good general overview of some of the major events and perspectives of the development of the South Pacific, a more recent publication by Jane Samson, *Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the South Pacific*²⁶, develops the concepts in older publications of colonial

²³ P.M. Kennedy, *The Samoan Tangle: A Study in Anglo-German-US Relations 1875-1900* (Dublin and New York: Barnes and Noble, 1974).

²⁴ J.A.C Gray, *Amerika Samoa: A History of American Samoa and Its US Naval Administration* (New York: Arno Press, 1980).

²⁵ Frederick Harris Olsen, *The Navy and the White Man's Burden: Naval Administration of Samoa* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Washington University, 1976).

²⁶ Jane Samson, *Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the South Pacific*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997).

power and influences and explores new perspectives on how those histories emerged, both reinforcing them and calling some into question.

There is very little literature that specifically addresses the naval voyage of the *S.M.S. Bismarck* in the South Seas²⁷, however, there are a number of very useful texts that mention different aspects of the ship's presence there in the late 1870s and certain events of their mission, whether intentionally or by chance. Through these small literary glimpses and a reading of the images in the album, there emerges a narrative of the voyage that illustrates possible events and demonstrates the function of the photograph. As documents and fractured slices of space and time, the photographs in this context can be at once fixed and infinitely varied. *Amerika Samoa: the Politics of Multi-cultural Community*²⁸ and *Samoa 1830 - 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*²⁹, give accounts of one of the roles the *S.M.S. Bismarck* played in the attempted resolution of inter-tribal war and in the protection of German plantation interests. As colonial interests focused mainly around the expansion of industry and power and the control of major shipping routes in the Pacific, peace among the native inhabitants, for the Europeans, was more conducive to trade.

²⁷ I will re-iterate the exclusion of any German literature resources used in this thesis. More could likely be learned from research into German language resources relating to the *S.M.S. Bismarck*, its crew and possibly the photographer.

²⁸ J.A.C Gray, *Amerika Samoa: A History of American Samoa and Its US Naval Administration* (New York: Arno Press, 1980).

²⁹ R.P. Gilson, *Samoa 1830 – 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1970).

The romantic notions associated with the South Pacific had great appeal in nineteenth century Europe. *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin*³⁰ is an overview of the aesthetic and romantic imaging in the colonial South Pacific that emphasizes the concept of 'the other' as it played a role in shaping colonial discourse, and vice versa. *Images of Paradise: Photographs in the South Pacific 1800-1930*³¹, illuminates the origins and development of these romantic visions of the South Seas islands during the nineteenth century and how the European "audience for these photographs chooses to know that place."³²

Philipp Remelé (and the events in which the *S.M.S. Bismarck* was involved) wrote a series of letters to a friend in Germany, whom we only know as Heinrich, during his voyage that proved some insight. There are associations between the events in the letters and some of the images depicted in the album. The photographs create a grounded time and space that provides insight into the attitudes and approaches used in their making. Accompanying these letters, in a private archive in Germany³³, are some of the same images that occur in the album, indicating that these photographs were produced in multiples.

³⁰ Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³¹ Alison Nordström, "Images of Paradise: Photographs of Samoa 1800 – 1930" (Master's Thesis: University of Oklahoma, 1989).

³² Ibid, 1.

³³ Archiv Rudolf Dunker, Natbergen, as noted where the letters have been reprinted online at <http://members.aol.com/hawermg/stereoviews.htm>.

In an effort to present this album and the photographs in it in a concise and encompassing manner, I will provide an overview of the political and colonial circumstances that contributed to their production and how these images occupy a space and a time in colonial history and are a product of them. I will also discuss the aesthetic, anthropological, expeditionary and European cultural influences in relation to technological change and the history of photography.

Chapter I

Description and Analysis

The subject of this analysis is an album of seventy-five albumen photographs. Some were taken from during the voyage of the *S.M.S. Bismarck* (1878-1880) while others were taken outside of that time frame by the Dufty Brothers Studio, Australian commercial photographer working in Fiji. The album is held in the permanent collection of George Eastman House; it was purchased by Beaumont Newhall, Curator of George Eastman House at the time, from the Old and Rare Books Department of Brentano's, a bookseller in Chicago, Illinois on February 21, 1951, for five US dollars.³⁴ The album was catalogued with the now-defunct George Eastman House accession number 1296, which appears written in pencil on the second page of the album with the first photograph entitled *Ba Vatu Loma Loma Fiji*. Before the Department of Photographs and the Library became intellectually and physically separate entities within George Eastman House's organization, photographic material, photographically illustrated books, archives and albums alike were stored in close proximity.

For many years, photograph albums in museum, archives and library collections were accessioned, catalogued and used as books and fell in no clear category. The "Library of George Eastman House" label adhered on the inside

³⁴ On the first page of the album the number "5" with a dash after it, is written in pencil. The collections files at the George Eastman House have the original letter that was written to Mr. Newhall by Brentano's indicating the items for sale, the price and notes (posthumously) the purchase date.

front cover of the album, indicates that while the lines between the library and photography collection were blurred at the time, it was once considered a part of this collection.

When a major re-accessioning project was conducted at George Eastman House in 1981, many of the objects in the collection, including this album, were assigned new numbers to coincide with a more conventional and standardized numbering system. The *Bismarck* album was given the number [19]81:1497:1-75, that appears on the first page, written in pencil. One other number, 05.35, is written in pencil on this first page just above the current accession number. It is an old classification number used by the George Eastman House Library, and is based on the Royal Photographic Society Classification system³⁵.

Under this semi-hierarchical classification, "Albums (travel)" are designated by "05.3" and the subsequent number classifies their geographical origin. The choices of geographical location are limited to eight regions: North America, Central & South America, Europe (general), British Isles, Asia and Australia, Africa, Near East, and Various countries. The album has been classified into the category of Asia and Australia - "05.35", the closest location possible, instead of "05.38" - Various Countries. This system of classification gives an indication of how albums like these were considered and ordered, even as recently as the 1970s. What is interesting about the system and how the album

³⁵ George Eastman House Library, *Classification Table for the George Eastman House Library (Based on the Royal Photographic Society Classification)*, January 1970.

falls into it, is how the categories were presumably dictated by necessity: the number of photographs of The British Isles – “05.34”, for example, merited a whole category onto itself. It can be presumed also that the album was classified into the Albums (travel) category instead of Albums (general) because the images were of an exotic land and featured in the images a mode of transportation, the *Bismarck*. However, it is interesting to note that upon examination and research, the album could be in the Albums (general) category under Historical Events “05.25”, and even Snapshot Albums “05.22” or Portrait Albums, “05.21”. The classification of the album has contributed to its history as an object and a consideration of these associations can further our understanding of how it was intended and used in its recent history as part of the collection of George Eastman House.

The leather bound album cover and its back have a similar embossed design on both sides. Its outer surfaces are tattered, scuffed and faded from use as though the album had been repeatedly pulled from a dusty and crowded shelf for many years for repeated viewing of the photographs within. The heavy album has a weak hinged binding that creaks when opened and some pages have come loose from their hold. The once-white heavy card pages of the album have yellowed and deteriorated with time and have warped, probably from exposure to moisture, possibly immersion, at some point in their existence. All of the pages have light foxing present and in places there is dirt and evidence of insect detritus.

When the album is opened, the pages smell old and musty as though the album spent the better part of its existence in an attic or basement. The inside covers of the album, recto and verso, have a white vellum textured sheeting that has been inexpertly applied, presumably to hide deterioration or as the result of poor restorative work. There is no title on the album, no clearly identified album manufacturer, and no indication of an owner or compiler of the album or when it was made. From the state of the object and the age of the album and pages, it is probably from the same time when the images were taken, although it is ultimately impossible to tell.

The albumen photographs in the album are faded, each at a differing level of deterioration around the edges. The photographs vary in size from the smallest at quarter page size to the largest at full page size, with the majority of the images centered and positioned sideways on the pages. They have been oriented so that to view them, one would turn the album so that the left-hand side of the album was on the top, and the pages would be turned from the bottom.

The photographs are a mixture of landscape, portraits, seascapes, and group portraits of the crew, commanding officers, events, casual (and possibly formal) encounters and various people they (would have) met during the voyage of the *S.M.S. Bismarck* to the South Pacific. In addition, some of the photographs come from a commercial studio, Dufty Brother Studios, located and operating in

Fiji between 1871 and 1892³⁶. What is of particular interest in the placement of the photographs in this album is that all of the images from Fiji are on the left-hand pages and all of the images of Samoa are on the right. This is discernable through the captions, written on the pages in English, either directly below or above the photograph. In addition to the captions, the analysis of costume, buildings and other visual clues that are unique to a particular culture or geography are helpful in determining the location or ethnicity of the photograph's subjects. In some cases where the photograph is fitted closely to the page edges, the caption has been written on the opposing page.

It is interesting to note that the photographs of Fiji have a rich and crisp eggplant tone, whereas the photographs of Samoa are brown and yellow toned, with more prevalence of chemical fading at the edges. It is obvious that the photographs were taken in different spaces and at different times due to their location; however, the state of the photographs would indicate that a different mixture of chemicals may have been used in their development. Because the photographs were treated with a different level or type of toning, they may have been made and processed different photographers.

The condition of the photographs may also suggest when they were placed in the album and in what order. The edge fading on many photographs, regardless of whether or not they are albumen, is a result of exposure to air

³⁶ Alfred Dufty left Fiji for Melbourne in 1887, his brother Francis Dufty followed in 1892. See Roderick Ewins online article at <http://www.justpacific.com/fiji/fijiphotos/dufpics/index.html>

through the gaps in the leaves of the album. Since the photographs of Samoa and the larger photographs of Fiji (that reach to the edges of the page), are more faded than the rest of the Fijian images, it might be possible to conjecture that the Samoan photographs were placed in the album first on the right hand pages. When there was limited space on the right hand pages, the Fijian photographs have been placed on the left hand side of the pages at a later date. It is possible, therefore, that the left-hand page Fijian photographs have had less exposure to the air and therefore less deterioration around the edges. The Fijian photographs do, however, have distinct fading in the areas where the image has been in direct contact with the opposing pages' paper stock. The facing photograph being ever so slightly smaller has protected the surface of these images from the harmful effects of the acidic album pages.

The images in the album of Samoa are all of a similar subject matter and time period, and one can assume that a portion of them were taken by the same photographer. The images on board ship in Samoa, for example, are so closely linked in their visual clues (for example the deck of the ship and some similar people throughout) that it is presumably one event recorded by multiple photographs. It was not uncommon for naval ships in the nineteenth century to have photographers on board to document the trip or to have a crew member double as a photographer. In the case of the *S.M.S. Bismarck*, it is known that the photographer Philipp Remelé, a German scientist, was aboard the ship during its voyage to the South Pacific. Letters written by Remelé to his friend Heinrich in

Germany, suggest that many of the photographs taken in Samoa were made by him and in all likelihood many of the Samoan photographs were his documentation of that part of the voyage.

In some cases, the images are stylistically reminiscent of commercially produced photographs for European consumption; however, they have a personal quality to them that suggests a more intimate audience. Captions for the photographs such as: *Presents of food to Captain Deinhard [sic] Samoa* (Fig.1) below an image of a feast of suckling pig and other foods laid in a circle on woven mats in a fale, ³⁷ a traditionally styled Samoan house, and *War Canoe at Apia, taken by Captain Deinhard H.I.G.M.S. Bismarck* (Fig. 2), show a group of canoes along the shore with a building or boathouse in the background, indicate that the personages in the photographs or the captions were probably known to the person who labeled them.



Figure 1. *Presents of Food to Captain Deinhard, Samoa*



Figure 2. *War Canoe at Apia taken by Captain Deinhard, H.T.G.M.S. Bismarck*

A curiosity of the captions is the language in which they are written – English. The captions are written by the same hand in black ink script with a

³⁷ See Glossary of Pacific Terms

quill or calligraphic pen. Their uniform nature and similar ink suggest that they were all written within a very close time period.

It is possible that some of the images were made for documentary purposes and for the commanding officers and crew of the *S.M.S. Bismarck* – whose presumed primary language of operation was in German. One can only conjecture that these photographs (or albums outright), may have been gifted or available to other people associated with the naval and commercial entities that controlled the South Pacific, or were available to anyone curious about the South Pacific as the presence of commercially produced photographs of Fiji suggests. The function of the album and its photographs thereby changes from a naval document to a travel/tourist document, a socio-political trade object and potentially many other roles afterward until it came to be an ethnographic and geographically classified object in the collection of George Eastman House.

The Samoan Sequence

The photographs also suggest, by virtue of their placement, two sequences of time that demonstrate narratives in Samoa and Fiji. The sequence of Samoan images on the right hand pages starts with an image of a group of Samoan women on board the deck of the *S.M.S. Bismarck* and continues with other images of cultural contact on the deck of the same ship. Mary Louise Pratt defines this as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of dominion and subordination – like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today.”³⁸ This space, which Pratt calls the “contact zone”³⁹ is clearly demonstrated in these photographs and suggests a singular event during which the images could have been taken. The sequence then leads to images of German plantations, government buildings, naval officers among the Samoan people, makeshift fortifications used for inter-tribal warfare and eventually ends with further images of Samoan people on the *Bismarck*.

The sequence is reminiscent of a tourist voyage with the start and the end of the photographs sequence being book-ended by the mode of transportation, but narrates on the whole as being a larger colonial encounter. The circumstances under which the *Bismarck* was in Samoa, however, also suggest

³⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London ; New York : Routledge, 1992): 4.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 4.

that, while the images are pleasing and documentary, they served and were taken with expressed political, imperial and possibly capital purposes.

The political systems in Samoa have been largely understood through the ideas and perceptions of European visitors and explorers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The subsequent comparisons that have been made between a traditional and, in many ways a de-centralized, system of government, have contributed to the argument that societies, like Samoa, were less advanced than other Polynesian nations and certainly less developed than the European. As Malama Meleisea points out, "there was little centralized authority that was intelligible to Europeans. Instead, each of the principle political divisions was dominated by powerful groups of orators who appeared in European eyes to have 'usurped' the authority of the highest ranking chiefs in whose service they acted."⁴⁰ Because this was something so unfamiliar to Western thinking, they classified Polynesian societies as unorganized, unstable and in need of western development.

If the intention was religious or for commercial gain, the easiest and most expedient way to achieve these imperialistic goals was to deal with a centralized government with a stratified hierarchy. It was, therefore, one of the main goals of European missionaries to centralize religion and one of the main goals of the political authorities to foster the centralization of power.⁴¹ It is for this reason,

⁴⁰ Malama Meleisea, *Change and Adaptations in Western Samoa* (University of Canterbury, Christchurch, NZ: MacMillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, 1992): 9.

⁴¹ Ibid, 10.

among others, that political and naval authorities intervened frequently in the political affairs of South Pacific nations, negotiated treaties with the political parties that seemed the most influential at the time and made recommendations, such as the recognition or endorsement of a particular king, in order to attain their goals. By shaping the society into something that closely resembled their own, Europeans paved the way for their own commercial and territorial interests, and also, in their view, advanced the society through their own benevolence.

While an understanding of this imperialist system is important for understanding the photographs, it is the photographs that ultimately inform how this imperialism was visualized, translated and disseminated among western society. "A photograph does not have an articulated language of its own; it, in many ways, quotes from reality."⁴² A photograph quotes from appearances but, in quoting, simplifies them, and this simplification can increase their dimensions of legibility. By examining this sequence and the individual images within it, some of these counter-narratives are revealed. The sequence continues, presenting static images of Samoa and culture contact: preparing or drinking kava⁴³, a prepared feast, exotic and lush bathing places, groups of dancers and the families of high chiefs, while the captions re-contextualize the images in terms of the European vision to which the album's compiler was party.

⁴² John Berger and John Mehr, *Another Way of Telling* (London: Writers and Readers, 1982): 119.

⁴³ See Glossary of Pacific Terms

It is interesting to note that the sequenced photographs taken in Samoa are the only ones in which the *Bismarck* and her crew are pictured or mentioned in the captions. Despite the fact that the *Bismarck* traveled to Fiji after its stay in Samoa, the distinct differences in the image's visual clues and treatment suggest that they were taken by different photographers and under different circumstances entirely.

The *S.M.S Bismarck* had on its crew a photographer named Philipp Remelé, a German chemist who is best known for his technical and scientific contributions to photography, but also for a voyage he made into the Libyan desert with explorer Gerald Rohlfs, in 1873.⁴⁴ The frequent appearance of the *Bismarck's* crew in the Samoan photographs, and the representations of culture contact that are shown suggest that these images were Remelé's work or that of the Captain, who is claimed as the photographer of the image *War Canoe at Apia* in the caption, or of Remelé's assistant Emil, whom he claims in a letter to his friend Heinrich is "a scallywag, whose sloppiness is spoiling more prints than I can make good."⁴⁵

It is suggested from Remelé's letters that he took many photographs of indigenous peoples, who were "festively decorated"⁴⁶, on board the *Bismarck* during celebrations that included a national dance, which produced "a different

⁴⁴ Philippe Remelé, *Fotografien aus der Libyschen Wüste* (Berlin: Edition Temmen, 2001).

⁴⁵ Remelé to Heinrich, Apia auf Upolu, Samoa Inseln 29 May 1879, *Philipp Remelé Reise mit der SMS Bismarck in die Südsee und nach Australien 1878 – 1880* papers, Archiv Rudolf Dunker, Natbergen. Translated for the author by Clemens Prestele, 2007.

⁴⁶ Remelé to Heinrich, Apia 1 June 1879, Archiv Rudolf Dunker, Natbergen. Translated for the author by Clemens Prestele, 2007.

rhythm than European terms”⁴⁷, while in Raiatea, the Society Islands of French Polynesia. This account is startlingly similar to the photograph *Samoans Singing on board H.I.G.M.S. “Bismarck”* (Fig. 3), which shows a group of native people seated on board the deck of the *Bismarck* in rows, captured making movements with their arms in unison as they would performing a traditional seated dance or siva.⁴⁸



Figure 3. *Samoans Singing on board H.I.G.M.S. Bismarck*

In addition, Remelé claims that during these on-deck celebrations in Raiatea the occasion arose to photograph members of the assembly individually, and in the end, he succeeded in making a portrait of two stately ladies – the princesses of Honehine.⁴⁹ This could be the image in the album entitled *Samoan Girls* (Fig.4), which has two young indigenous women standing closely together holding hands on the deck of the ship, centered in the photo frame with the

⁴⁷ Remelé to Heinrich, Apia 1 June 1879, *Philipp Remelé papers*, Archiv Rudolf Dunker, Natbergen. Translated for the author by Clemens Prestele, 2007.

⁴⁸ See Glossary of Pacific Terms

⁴⁹ Remelé to Heinrich. Apia 1 June 1879, *Philipp Remelé papers*, Archiv Rudolf Dunker, Natbergen. Translated for the author by Clemens Prestele, 2007.

ship's rigging surrounding them. They stand in the shade of the great boom and ship's sail, as light hits the canvas and the deck barriers on either side of them.



Figure 4. *Samoa Girls*

The captions in the album place the photographs and their subjects in Samoa, however the accounts of Remelé may place them in Raiatea. As the details of the letters are unclear and the captions appear to have been written by someone other than the photographer, without further research it is uncertain which is correct. Regardless of the geographical area or nationality of the subjects, the visual and symbolic representation in these images is the same – the zone of cultural encounter. As Elizabeth Edwards has demonstrated, the neutrality of the space that the subjects occupy is the main interest of these images.⁵⁰ She infers that the ship's deck is not a European nation nor is it the

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001): 118.

physical environment of a Polynesian island – it is both of these places and neither, it is a contained space that is deeply cultured, and the photograph frames it⁵¹.

The political climate in Samoa was in a constant state of upheaval during the late 1870s. At the time of the *Bismarck's* voyage to the South Seas, Samoa was under the administration of a *matai*⁵² government, commonly referred to as “The Old Government”⁵³, and had consular and naval presences of Britain, Germany and the United States.

The part of the disruption that deals directly with the time of the photographs in the album started after 1878, when the Samoan seat of government, Mulinu'u, was challenged by Malietoa Talavou, Laupepa's uncle, and taken by force⁵⁴. At approximately the same time a British representative, Sir Arthur Gordon, came from Fiji to negotiate a treaty on coaling-station rights with Samoa on behalf of Britain.⁵⁵ Gordon, despite great uncertainty, chose to negotiate with Talavou based on his occupation of Mulinu'u. The treaty and municipal convention requested that Samoa be taken under the joint protection of Great Britain, Germany and the United States among other concessions such

⁵¹ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001): 118.

⁵² See Glossary of Pacific Terms

⁵³ A full account of how this government was formed and its actions can be found in J.A.C. Gray's *Amerika Samoa: A History of American Samoa and Its US Naval Administration*, (New York: Arno Press, 1980): 61-65.

⁵⁴ J.A.C. Gray, *Amerika Samoa: A History of American Samoa and Its US Naval Administration*, (New York: Arno Press, 1980): 66.

⁵⁵ R.P. Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural community*, (Melbourne : Oxford University Press, 1970): 360.

as those that permitted foreign nationals living in Samoa to be governed by their home countries. On the whole the treaty between Malietoa Talavou and the consuls, naval officers and the British Governor of Fiji, endorsed Talavou's position and greatly displeased the traditional league of chiefs, or Tumua⁵⁶, then opposing Malietoa Talavou's kingship⁵⁷.

It was the intervention of Captain Deinhardt of the *S.M.S. Bismarck* in December of 1879 that prevented an outright civil war from breaking out between Talavou and his opposition⁵⁸. In the sequence of Samoan images, part of this small history is revealed. In order to quell the rising tensions between the opposing parties, it is suggested that Captain Deinhardt along with the crew of the *Bismarck* went to the area where the armed opposing parties were encamped, and, either by force or persuasion, disarmed them and negotiated a peace agreement.⁵⁹ Captain Deinhardt "wanted to not only stop the war, but to save the Malietoa government and, if possible, to extend its jurisdiction"⁶⁰.

⁵⁶ Referred to as Taimua in *Amerika Samoa*, 67.

⁵⁷ J.A.C. Gray, *Amerika Samoa: A History of American Samoa and Its US Naval Administration* (New York: Arno Press, 1980): 67.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Various accounts of this altercation are told in Kennedy's *The Samoan Tangle*, 24; R.P. Gilson's *Samoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 362-363; and in J.A.C. Gray's *Amerika Samoa: A History of American Samoa and Its US Naval Administration*, 67.

⁶⁰ *Samoa Times and South Seas Gazette*, 10 April 1880, quoted in R.P. Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1970.



Figure 5. *Samoan Fortifications*

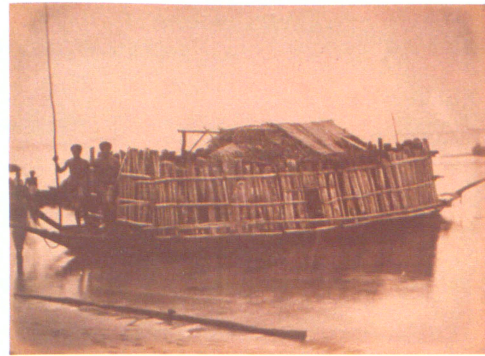


Figure 6. *Samoan War Canoe*

Amongst the Samoan images there are photographs of makeshift fortifications (Fig.5), war canoes (Fig.6)⁶¹, and suggested encamped prisoners (Fig.7)⁶², which in relation to the *Samoan Chief's deputation* (Fig.8) photograph and the many taken of Samoans at Mulinu'u, suggest a sequence of events that relates to this intervention.



Figure 7. *Untitled [Groups of people seated among palm trees]*

⁶¹ Accompanying the letters by Remelé online, some of the same images in the *Bismarck* album appear as illustrative tools. This particular image is displayed with the German caption *Kriegs-Kanu von Safata*, or War Canoe of [at] Safata.

⁶² As above in note 53, this image appears with the caption *Die Gefangenen von Savai*, or The Prisoners of Savai'i.

The accounts of this interaction⁶³ and the subsequent agreement are varied according to multiple written histories. However, the photographs suggest that part of this negotiation was conducted on board the quarterdeck of the *Bismarck*.

The image of the *Samoa Chiefs Deputation* (Fig.8) may be a rendition of this encounter and negotiation. What is important about an image like this is how the photograph itself has essentially served, in addition to the encounter itself, as a vehicle for culture contact and solidifying the agreement that was reached between the two parties. The photographs show a group of Samoan men, presumably all chiefs, seated on a woven mat that has been placed on the quarterdeck⁶⁴ of the *S.M.S. Bismarck* around one man in the centre who has his back turned to the camera.



Figure 8. *Samoa Chiefs Deputation*

⁶³ The *Bismarck* arrived in Apia on the 10th of May 1879, but does not seem to have been involved in the altercation until this point.

⁶⁴ See Glossary of General Terms

Just as Elizabeth Edwards describes the photographs of Mauga Manuma and Mauga Lei and their supporters on board the *H.M.S. Miranda* taken by Captain Acland⁶⁵, the photograph of the chiefs deputation demonstrates that “we have the colonial views, not only through the instrumentality of the camera in embodying the photographer’s view, but how that photograph is enclosed and framed by the rigging of the ship and the frame of the photograph”.⁶⁶ As with photographs taken on other ships, the zone of contact is the deck of the ship, a middle ground where the encounter of both cultures is played out.

The photographs from the album mainly represent the cultural encounter. However, some images, particularly that of the J.C. Godeffroy and Sohns *Vailele Coconut Plantation* (Fig.9) in Samoa provide a small window into the commercial interests of the west in Polynesia. Godeffroy and Sohns was one of the largest and most prolific German companies in the South Pacific, and had extensive ties with German political and naval officials. In one of Remelé’s letters, he writes of how his mail was sometimes transported home to Germany on a Godeffroy ship.⁶⁷ The Godeffroy firm had plantation agents in other Pacific Island countries, including plantations in the Lau Island group of eastern Fiji and in Uvea and Futuna (now known as the Territory of Wallis and Futuna Islands - a part of the French overseas collectivity) which is located between Samoa and Fiji.

⁶⁵ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001): 114.

⁶⁷ Remelé to Heinrich. 1 June 1879, *Philipp Remelé papers*, Archiv Rudolf Dunker, Natbergen. Translated for the author by Clemens Prestele, 2007.

In an account by Sylvia Masterman in 1934, she claims that where the Samoans were lacking in ability to occupy and solidify land, the German firms excelled and realized quickly that the “possession of land tied down German interests to the islands and that plantations were a proof of this.”⁶⁸ This observation demonstrates how the uninformed concept that the indigenous peoples of Polynesia were inefficiently using their lands still persisted into the early twentieth century, when in reality, the ownership of land rested communally with the whole society and was distributed and demarcated based on need. The exploitation of the land was not a core value nor a great a priority for some Polynesian societies as it was for imperial powers.

By the late 1870s, plantations such as the Godeffroys were prolifically producing copra⁶⁹ for export to Europe, although one of the main barriers to their continued successful production was the frequency of inter-tribal wars. “The constant depredations led to attempts to control the chaos, to insistence on the neutrality of plantations, and so to attempts to control the government.”⁷⁰ The Germans and the German firms wanted peace in order to produce and trade. This motivation demonstrates the need to shape the society in order to shape and control the land and commerce.

⁶⁸ Sylvia Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa 1845-1884* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1934): 70.

⁶⁹ See Glossary of Pacific Terms

⁷⁰ Sylvia Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa 1845-1884* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1934): 70.



Figure 9. *Vailele Coconut Plantation, Godeffroys*

The image (Fig.9), which appears early in the sequence of Samoan photographs, shows a central aisle of the rows of coconut trees belonging to the Godeffroy firm. Framed on the right and left-hand sides by a coconut tree in the foreground, the rows of coconut trees occupy the full expanse of the territory that can be seen. This composition firmly establishes an organized place with only some irregular and organic lines. The swaying palm fronds above are blurred from the lengthy exposure time of the collodion wet plate, creating a canopy that contains the space within the image. In a way, the photograph encloses this small piece of the landscape, just as Western influences have contained and ordered the land and the society it occupies.

The Fijian Sequence

The photographs appearing on the left-hand side of the album pages were all taken in Fiji, some, and possibly all, by the studio photographers Francis Herbert Dufty and his brother Alfred W.B. Dufty, who arrived and set up their studio in Levuka, Fiji in 1871. Originally from England, the Dufty brothers came to Fiji after spending six years practicing photography in the Colony of Victoria, Australia. After moving to Fiji, Francis Dufty established a profitable business and became an active member of the colonial society of Levuka.⁷¹ Francis Dufty, in many ways, was a photographer who wanted to represent the country, to build a collection of human types and to stimulate the development of the future colony.⁷² Not unlike the political and commercial interests of the German colonists and the crew of the *S.M.S. Bismarck*, the intention of the Dufty's photographs, in the words of d'Ozouville, was to "promote[d] the Fijian-European politics of the church and the government, concerned as they were to install social order in the country."⁷³

The images of Fiji are mostly landscapes; some studio portraits and village scenes are also included. Given that the majority of these photographs appear to have been purchased from a commercial studio photographer, their selection and order is most interesting in terms of understanding the nineteenth century mind-

⁷¹ Brigitte d'Ozouville, "Reading Photographs in Colonial History: A Case Study from Fiji, 1872" *Pacific Studies* 20, no. 4 (1997): 54.

⁷² Ibid, 60.

⁷³ Ibid, 54.

set of the person who compiled this album. The landscapes are lush and tropical, with mountains, foliage, waterfalls and crystal pools of water. The views of Fijian villages and people are, generally, all taken from a distance, are of government or constabulary buildings and their officials, and of plantations and their labourers.

The clothing and ornamentation of the subjects in the Fijian photographs reveal, for the most part, the origin and status of the subjects pictured and the function and roles those people and objects played in Fijian society. They therefore have a large impact on what we, as products of twentieth and twenty-first century societies, understand of nineteenth century photography. Dufty, according to d'Ozouville, portrayed some Fijian Chiefs as curiosities, adding to the circulation of celebrity portraits from foreign lands which in turn, contributed to the constructing of the 'the other'.⁷⁴ Of these, Cakobau, king of the constitutional monarchy in Fiji between 1871 and 1874⁷⁵, was one of the most photographed, as he was one of the most important and influential allies of the Europeans.

The portrait of Cakobau (Fig.10) that appears in the album is one of the photographs that was circulated in a *carte-de-visite* format.⁷⁶ The studio portrait shows the chief, Cakobau, seated regally, his white hair and beard framing an

⁷⁴ Brigitte d'Ozouville, "Reading Photographs in Colonial History: A Case Study from Fiji, 1872" *Pacific Studies* 20, no. 4 (1997): 60.

⁷⁵ In 1874, Cakobau ceded The Kingdom of Fiji to the United Kingdom. See Jane Samson, *Imperial Benevolence*, 156-169.

⁷⁶ See the collection of the National Library of Australia PIC P665/1-14 LOC A127.

expressionless gaze directly into the camera. He wears a collarless European style white shirt with a traditional tapa⁷⁷ cloth around his waist, symbolizing his status as a paramount chief (or vunivalu⁷⁸), and a white bark-cloth cummerbund.



Figure 10. *"Cakobau" Ex. King of Fiji*

Because of his ties to the European colonists, it is most interesting to note that his clothing is symbolic of his political and tribal affiliations, and also demonstrates his colonial transformation. Cakobau had asserted himself as king of all the Fijian chiefs as far back as 1852, and with the support of foreign settlers he succeeded in creating a unified kingdom of Fiji under his rule as a constitutional monarchy in 1871. Three years later in 1874, he ceded Fiji to the United Kingdom, under whose control it remained until independence was declared in 1970.

⁷⁷ In Fiji it is called 'masi'. See Glossary of Pacific Terms

⁷⁸ See Glossary of Pacific Terms

The Landscape

The photograph of the *Government House in Levuka, Fiji* (Fig.11), taken from an elevated vantage point is an image that shows a beautiful landscape with tropical foliage in the foreground and the seat of government and colonial presence in the country. Just like an establishing shot at the beginning of a film that surveys and sets the stage of the land in which a story is to be enacted, this image's vantage point opens up the land for the viewer, likely a European viewer, to enter.

The faces of the people in the grounds are turned towards the camera which indicates there may have been recognition of the photographer's actions and, though it is impossible to tell, echo the benefits of recognizing an ordered and centralized western influenced society. Their positions and attention to the camera suggest that in many ways it was a staged image. The slow exposure time of a collodion wet-plate would also explain why it was necessary for the photographer to ensure the subjects did not move; if they were taken as 'action' photographs the figures, presumably, the most interesting part of the photograph would be blurred and obscure. It is uncertain if this image was taken by the Dufty Brothers Studio, although, the subject matter and visual clues suggest that it could have been. Some of the images taken in Fiji that are in the *Bismarck* album are in the collection of the National Library Australia⁷⁹, The State

⁷⁹ See The National Library of Australia, nla.pic-an10975065-3 "Cakobau", included in a Panaorama of Fiji, with portraits. In reference to GEH 1981:1497:17, "'Cakobau' Ex-King of Fiji"

Library of Victoria⁸⁰ and the Fiji Museum⁸¹, suggesting that some or possibly all of the Fijian photographs were commercially produced, purchased and placed in the album by its owner.



Figure 11. *Government House in Levuka, Fiji*

⁸⁰ See The State Library of Victoria, Australia image number a17257, accession number H39363/6, "Cakobau's Canoe [in lagoon with Fijians on board]." In reference to The *Bismarck* Album photograph "Cakobau' Canoe," GEH 1981:1497:19. Other images that are identical if not similar to those in the *Bismarck* album are: GEH# 1981:1497:35 (SLV#H32422), GEH#1981:1497:45 (SLV#H32414), GEH#1981:1497:51 (SLV#H32413), GEH#1981:1497:53 (SLV#H32406), GEH#1981:1497:55 (SLV#H32410), GEH#1981:1497:57 (SLV#H32420).

⁸¹ There is at least one glass plate negative taken by the Dufty Brothers in the collection of the Fiji museum, glass plate negative Number 5, with the caption "One of the first Native Police Courts", in the *Bismarck* album the photograph is GEH#1981:1497:25, "Native House".

The landscapes pictured in this album have another dimension to them that illustrates nineteenth century European conceptions of the South Pacific, the romanticized ideal of an exotic paradise. Many of these photographs seem influenced by this very notion, particularly the image *The Coast of Ovalau Fiji* (Fig12).



Figure 12. *The Coast of Ovalau Fiji*

A long strip of beach and coastline stretches and curves until it reaches a point where a small hut sits surrounded by palm trees. There is a small island in the distance. The scene is calm and tranquil, and depicts the idyllic paradise that colonists and tourists see. They also possess all of the aesthetic and compositional elements of traditional European picturesque landscape: a humanized foreground that places the viewer in the space of the

artist/photographer; a middle ground with water as its main feature and a backdrop of sublime nature.

Nature in the European tradition was a popular aesthetic trend; it was, in a way, a social and political nexus that combined and solidified land with culture and constructed the idea of *terra cognita*. According to Sir Kenneth Clark, an esteemed art historian and critic of the twentieth century, there are underlying European ways to convert the complexity of landscapes to an idea: by placing in the work descriptive symbols of nature, by using the curiosity and unknown facts about nature, by picturing a fantasy land in order to quell the fears Europeans had about nature and by asserting the belief in a utopia of harmony and order.⁸² Just as landscape painting of the nineteenth century suggests something was seen with the eye, but on the whole was an interpretation, some of the landscape photographs in this album can be seen as an aesthetic interpretation of a time and a space that conformed to European notions of the romantic.

Early topographic paintings made by Europeans in North America and even the impressionistic paintings by Gauguin in Tahiti that show indigenous people among the wilderness of a new land, are similar to some of the photographs in this album. The photograph captioned *Bush Scene, Fiji* (Fig.13), is an excellent example that depicts two Fijian men wearing lavalava⁸³, a traditional

⁸² Sir Kenneth Clark, *Landscape into Art* (London: J. Murray, 1949), preface.

⁸³ See Glossary of Pacific Terms

garment, that are pictured leaning leisurely against the trunks of palm trees in a landscape setting of palm fronds above them and lush foliage around them. They are set in the middle ground of the photograph, making them a part of the landscape and a part of the greater subject, but not the focus of it themselves; they are, in essence, the landscape's adornments. Many travel photographers of the nineteenth century and beyond would also place people in landscape photographs as markers of scale to show, in some cases, the vastness of a pyramid or, in this case, the height and breadth of a palm tree.



Figure 13. *Bush Scene, Fiji*

The people are portrayed in the landscape as being a part of the land, but also as contributions to the 'otherness' of the exotic. In these images there is a cultural contact happening that is beyond the frame of the painting and beyond the lens of the camera. There is a space being articulated that in many ways may depict the connection between a land and its people, but also serves as an idyllic

connection for the European viewer between the concept of land and the concept of culture.

The image in the album *Capt. Sewell's Cotton plantation, Loma Loma Fiji* (Fig.14), is a photograph that shows the expanse of the cotton plantation and the neat rows of product, as well as the building that surround them. The left foreground has a cluster of palm trees and in the background is the coastline and bush covered hillside of the island. The image is representative and topographical and, at the same time, has a sense of romanticism that is associated with an exotic and rugged landscape.



Figure 14. *Capt. Sewell's Cotton plantation, Loma Loma Fiji*

The reasons why a photograph such as this was considered important or necessary are ultimately unknown. However, I would suggest that these photographs spatially solidify the territorial claims that the commercial plantations, and consequently the nations with whom they are affiliated, had on

certain land in Samoa and that the photographs' existence and use contributed to fortifying this claim within the nineteenth century European mind-set.

The 'Other'

Despite the fact that these images are most closely matched with the qualities of expeditionary photography, some images, such as the last photograph in the album (Fig.15) are clearly influenced by anthropological science. Two young Samoan girls are posed on the deck of a ship⁸⁴, naked and standing facing each other. The girl on the left has her left arm extended and placed on the shoulder of the other, as if to indicate scale and the particular structure of their bodies. It is interesting to note here that in the conventions of anthropometric poses, something that the photographer could have been exposed to, "it is desirable that the arm in female subjects should be so disposed as to not to interfere with the contour of the breast which is very characteristic in many races".⁸⁵



Figure 15. *Untitled [Two Samoan Girls standing on board the S.M.S Bismarck]*

⁸⁴ GEH # 1981:149:700:75. Presumably the deck of the S.M.S. *Bismarck*.

⁸⁵ Frank Spencer, "Some notes on the Attempt to Apply Photography to Anthropometry during the second half of the Nineteenth Century" in *Anthropology and Photography 1860 - 1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1992): 100.

Their modesty is preserved only by their right hands covering their front pelvic areas. The surrounding rigging and ships deck are a stark contrast to their nude bodies, emphasizing the disconnect between the subject and environment. Their facial expressions give the impression of being shy and uncomfortable with their own nudity and the circumstance under which they are there. Stripped of their clothing and the comforts of a familiar environment, the two young women become objects for the European gaze, and inferior by virtue of their otherness. The lack of scientific intention is what is perplexing about this image. It seems as though the scientific 'type' of photograph could have been influential for this photographer, but does not represent the outright intention. In a section of the Remelé letters, he refers to this inadvertent influence: "Raiatea was well received by the officers of our ship. In a similar manner, I likewise participated, although my tasks were primarily ethnographic and also every now and then anthropological studies."⁸⁶ The nineteenth century use of the term ethnographic here is important, as at the time, the study of other cultures was done by anthropologist and ethnologists based in European countries who relied on photographs and documents to compare and contrast cultures. It was in the early twentieth century that fieldwork, or immersion observation of a culture became the norm in anthropology and less emphasis was placed the information derived from photographs alone.

⁸⁶ Remelé to Heinrich, Apia 1 June 1879, *Philipp Remelé Reise mit der S.M.S Bismarck in die Südsee und nach Australien 1878 – 1880* papers, Archiv Rudolf Dunker, Natbergen. Translated for the author by Clemens Prestele, 2007.

The modesty that is surely genuine on behalf of the two women contests the scientific undertones and that aspect can be clearly seen in the image. It is interpreted, in a European imperialist manner, as the exotic and coy native for the enjoyment of the nineteenth century viewer. The subjects' vulnerability and innocence in this one photograph has captured the European notion of the primitive native and is echoed in some of the other photographs in the album.

The photograph that appears next to the Samoan girls on the last page of the album is also one of these images. A young Samoan woman is seated on the deck of the ship with her arms folded across her bare breast. This image (Fig.16), in contrast to the others in the album, is taken closer to the subject, framing her and creating a more intimate relationship between her and the viewer. Her expression is difficult, and ultimately impossible to interpret, but a half-smile crosses her face as she gazes somewhere beyond the left side of the photograph's frame. Her gaze appears to have a calm acceptance that is reminiscent of many erotica-type photographs of the nineteenth century, particularly those taken of Polynesian women. Her body language is closed, unlike some photographs of that genre where the female subject is posed in an open, nymph-like and languid manner. Images that are reminiscent of these types of photographs were sometimes manipulated and posed for a specific purpose and because the scene of this image is so uncharacteristic, it is possible that the photographer was not accustomed to taking such photographs and that this image was more influenced by erotica, rather than being part of its larger commercial industry.



Figure 16. *Untitled [Seated Samoan woman on the deck of the S.M.S Bismarck]*

Another point of interest that is difficult to ignore is that despite the idiosyncratic types of photographs taken of Polynesian women in the nineteenth and even the twentieth century, recognition of their choice and attitude in the image is usually lacking. Defining images like these as being ultimately the whim and construct of the photographer, is to deny the intellectual capacity and awareness of the subjects to choose and define their own roles, and thus reinforcing or contradicting the notion of the passive and malleable Polynesian. While it is certainly possible that the photographer imposed conventions and interpreted through the lens of a camera, the subject can also impose intellectual attitudes that depart from the photographer's. The seated woman in this photograph can be seen to have an expression of passivity, but I would suggest that viewed a different way, it can be an expression of confidence that speaks to

some knowledge she may have that the photographer – and the viewer - does not.

In terms of aesthetic appeal, the album, though tattered and worn, contains images of pure delight. There are both aesthetic landscapes of the lush tropical Pacific islands and beachscapes⁸⁷ in combination with depictions of cultural encounters. The images in the *Bismarck* album fall into a variety of categories that seem to take influences from various places, but are not solely concentrated on one in particular. Many of the images taken on the ship's deck are posed portraits of indigenous peoples that are romantically reminiscent of exotic commercial tourist imagery. In addition, the landscape photographs occupy this romantic space, as well as having geographical survey qualities that could possibly be drawn from the photographer's experience with landscape photography and other surveys.⁸⁸ The photographs seem out of place in this context, if it is assumed that the album was not compiled for anthropological purposes, and remains a curiosity in relation to the other images.

The album today is a part of a collection that is devoted to the History of Photography, in both aesthetic and scientific capacities. The album is not regularly accessed in the collection, but is used and classified in an ethnographic manner. It has moved, by virtue of its existence in George Eastman House's

⁸⁷ Landscape Photography was the area of specialization of Philipp Remelé when many photographers from the time period were concentrated on the portrait photograph. A book written by Remelé that was published by Oppenheim Press focused on the technical and chemical aspects of landscape photography. See *Kurzes Handbuch der Landschafts-Photographie*. Berlin: Robert Oppenheim, 1884.

⁸⁸ See Philipp Remelé, *Fotografien aus der Libyschen Wüste*. Berlin: Edition Temmen, 2001.

collection, from expeditionary evidence and tourist imagery, to anthropological document and finally to an aspect of photographic history. The multiple discourses that images like this contain are now the foci of this album's existence and can tell us much about the colonial and cultural influences that informed their production. Through this album we are presented with an authenticated past, drawn in full detail of its nuanced surfaces, in a way that is uniquely photographic.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London: Fontana, 1984): 89.

Conclusion

This analysis has attempted to demonstrate that the South Pacific photographs in the *Bismarck* album, examined through twenty-first century eyes, can contribute further insight into the culture, lives, societal influences and inter-cultural encounters in the nineteenth century. Just as text needs a reader, the photograph needs a viewer. As an historical document, a photographic object is meaningful today only if someone can say something about it as a product of human labour and a cultural object whose being – in the phenomenological sense of the term – cannot be disassociated from its historical meaning and from the necessarily debatable project in which it originates.⁹⁰ When photographs are examined through their own surfaces, subjects, composition and visual symbols, they then depart from being illustrative tools, and become distinct references from which further information can be derived.

Photographs also occupy a physical space in our world; they are aspects of material culture that contribute to understanding how a society has pictured its past and what, in turn we can learn from those actions. As Elizabeth Edwards concludes in her discussion of Captain Acland's *H.M.S Miranda* photographs, the album's photographs both occupy a space and represent a space, in a way that is uniquely photographic. The context of an image does not merely demarcate a

⁹⁰ H. Damisch, "Five Notes for Phenomenology of the Photographic Image," in *Classic Essays in Photography*, edited by Alan Trachtenburg (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980): 288.

moment or a memory of something that is past, like the context of words does in a written document. It leaves these histories open to multiple interpretations. Photographic compositions that are made intentionally are actually the testimony of meanings relating to the hidden historical dimensions of the photographs, which are more than just illustrations or memories of places.⁹¹ By isolating the fractured space of the photograph into a moment of the past, we also deny the context of its present – our ‘re-engagement’⁹² with the photograph and interrogation of it continues and creates its multiple meanings and subsequent history. The action of examining the album and the photographs within has become part of the objects understanding and history. In addition to occupying a temporal space photographs like these represent and occupy physical space. While this space is temporal and physical, it is also ruptured by its very nature. These events and time are not displayed in their full totality through these images; they are brief and imprecise like memories

The photographs in this album tell us a great deal about the political and social climate of Samoa, Fiji and other Pacific Islands during the later part of the nineteenth century. The particular events that are pictured not only reinforce what other documentation exists, but also express, in a variety of ways, the colonial encounter and the zone of contact. In the case of the *S.M.S Bismarck*, this zone is the deck of the ship that is neither Europe nor South Pacific – but neutral

⁹¹ Brigitte d’Ozouville, “Reading Photographs in Colonial History: A Case Study from Fiji, 1872” *Pacific Studies* 20, no. 4 (1997): 54.

⁹² Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories* (Oxford: Berg, 2001): 125.

and powerful in the role it plays. The picturing of indigenous people in the South Pacific, for the most part has focused on perpetuating the stereotypes of an Edenic oasis with 'gentle natives' and that these exotic races, however charming, were separate from, and inferior to, the dominant cultures to which the viewers belonged.⁹³ By examining these photographs with the nineteenth century European in mind, many of these photographs can be seen as picturing the colonial culture and the effects of that presence in the South Pacific instead. It is interesting to note that the words 'country' and 'landscape' both carry a meaning associated with a sense of place and space. They suggest a physical presence, embody values, suggest ideas, and symbolize the melding of land and culture

What I hope to have demonstrated in this thesis is how photographs taken and distributed in a variety of ways by the colonial European shaped and molded aspects of South Pacific and European history, and that, in turn, these histories shaped and molded the photographs we have today. Through their own imperial benevolence, malevolence, and, in many ways, commercial interests, stereotypes have been perpetuated and alternate histories constructed. The spaces that these photographs inhabit, in ethnographic, anthropological, photographic and documentary collections, speak to their widespread influence and significance from the places of photography's invention to the places where it has been employed.

⁹³Alison Nordström, "Images of Paradise: Photographs of Samoa 1800 – 1930" (Master's Thesis: University of Oklahoma, 1989): 142.

APPENDIX A:

List of Album Photographs

The images are in sequence as they appear in the complete *Bismarck* album.



Ba Vatu. Loma Loma. Fiji
Albumen print
1981:1497:1



Samoan Girls
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:2



Capt. Sewells Cotton Plantation Loma Loma. Fiji
Albumen print
1981:1497:3



Samoan Girls taken on board H.I.G.M.S. "Bismarck"
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:4



Levuka. Fiji
Albumen Print
1981:1497:5



Samoans singing on board H.I.G.M.S. "Bismarck"
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:6



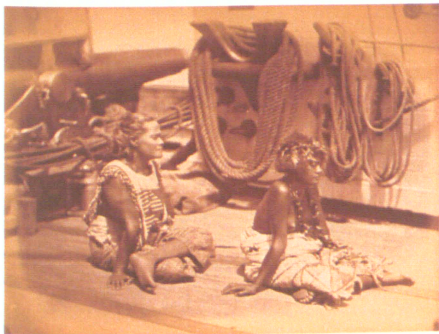
Johnstone Bros Plantation Savuni. Fiji
Albumen print
1981:1497:7



Vailele Coconut[sic] Plantation Godeffroys
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:8



Bush Scene
Albumen print
1981:1497:9



Samoan Girls
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:10



Native Village Fiji
Albumen print
1981:1497:11



Samoan Girls
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:12



Waitovu Bathing Place
Albumen print
1981:1497:13



Samoan Chiefs Deputation
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:14



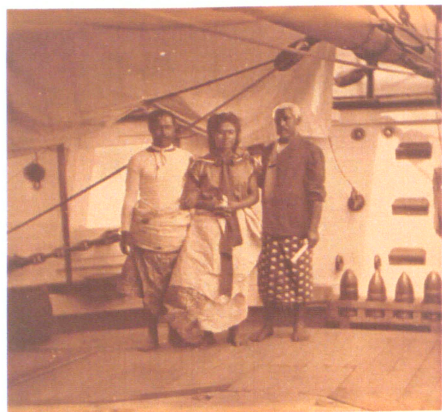
Native Constables. Levuka
attributed to Dufty Brother Studio
Albumen print
1981:1497:15



Samoan Girl
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:16



"Cakobau" Ex King of Fiji
Albumen print
1981:1497:17



Untitled
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:18



Cakobau's Canoe
attributed to Dufty Brother Studio
Albumen print
1981:1497:19



*H.I.G.M.S. Bismarck Harbour of Apia Captain
Deinhard*
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:20



Plantation Labourers Cia Cia Fiji
Albumen print
1981:1497:21



Building at Mulinu Samoa
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:22



Hospital Fete Fiji
Albumen print
1981:1497:23



Samoaan Canoe
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:24



Native House
 attributed to Dufty Brothers Studio
 Albumen print
 1981:1497: 25



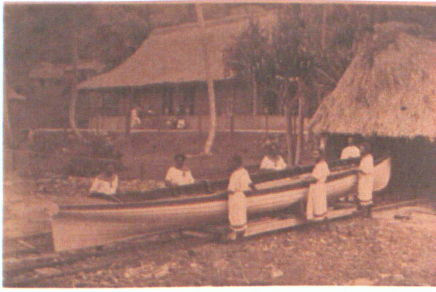
Unknown
 attributed to Philipp Remelé
 Albumen print
 1981:1497:26



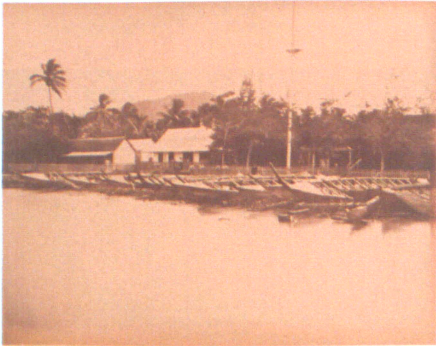
Captain Knollys and Native Officers Fiji
 Albumen print
 1981:1497:27



Samoans drinking kava
 attributed to Philipp Remelé
 Albumen print
 1981:1497:28



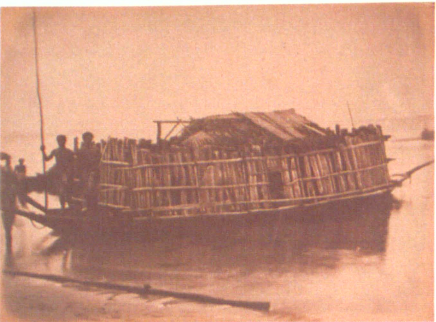
Government House boat Fiji
Albumen print
1981:1497:29



War Canoe at Apia taken by Captain Deinhard
H.I.G.M.S. Bismarck
attributed to Captain Deinhardt
Albumen Print
1981:1497:30



Ratu Abel Son of Cakobau. Ex King of Fiji
Albumen Print
1981:1497:31



Samoaan War Canoe
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:32



"Draiba" Near Levuka Fiji
Pool in the Lavouni River Ovalau, Fiji
 Albumen print
 1981:1497:33



Samoans
 attributed to Philipp Remelé
 Albumen print
 1981:1497:34



Unknown
 attributed to Dufty Brothers Studio
 Albumen print
 1981:1497:35



Samoans Singing
 attributed to Philipp Remelé
 Albumen print
 1981:1497:36



Waitovu Falls Levuka Fiji
Albumen print
1981:1497:37



Presents of Food to Captain Deinhard Samoa
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen print
1981:1497:38



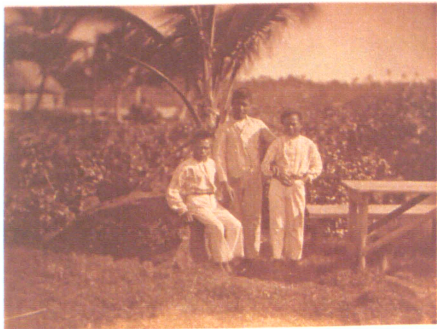
Maaфу and Daughter, Tongan Chief
Albumen Print
1981:1497:39



Samoa Chief and Family
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:40



Buretta Native Town Ovalau, Fiji
Albumen Print
1981:1497:41



Samoan Boys
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:42



Scene in the Lavoni[sic] Valley, Fiji
Albumen Print
1981:1497:43



"Mulinu[sic]" Gouvernement Residence
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:44



Buretta River, Ovalau, Fiji
 attributed to Dufty Brothers Studio
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:45



Young Cocoanut[sic] Trees, Samoa
 attributed to Philipp Remelé
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:46



Lavouni[sic] Valley, back of Levuka, Fiji
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:47



Group of Natives, Samoa
 attributed to Philipp Remelé
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:48



"Bau" near Levuka
Albumen Print
1981:1497:49



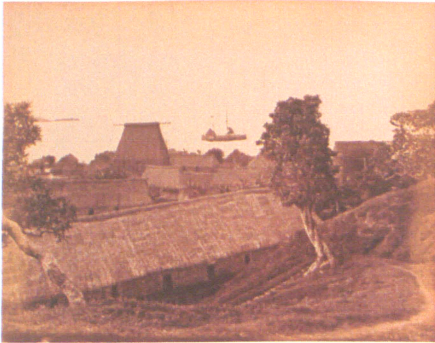
"Mulinui[sic]" Seat of Government Samoa
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:50



Government House, Levuka, Fiji
attributed to Dufty Brothers Studio
Albumen Print
1981:1497:51



Street in Apia Samoa
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:52



*Native Government Plantation, Rewa River Viti
Levu, Fiji*
attributed to Dufty Brother Studio
Albumen Print
1981:1497:53



Untitled[Man standing in front of a hut]
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:54



Fisher's Paradise, Lavonui[sic] Valley, Ovalau, Fiji
attributed to Dufty Brother Studio
Albumen Print
1981:1497:55



Samoan Fortifications
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:56



"Toko" Native Town, Ovalau, Fiji
 attributed to Dufty Brothers Studio
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:57



Untitled [Groups of people seated among palm trees]
 attributed to Philipp Remelé
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:58



Buretta Creek, Ovalau, Fiji
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:59



Captain Deinhard & Officers of H.I.G.M.S.
"Bismarck"
 attributed to Dufty Brothers Studio
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:60



Mirror Lake, Lavonui Valley, Fiji
 attributed to Dufty Brothers Studio
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:61



Scene in Samoa
 attributed to Philipp Remelé
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:62



The Devil's Peak, near "Toko" Levuka, Fiji
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:63



Fortifications
 attributed to Philipp Remelé
 Albumen Print
 1981:1497:64



The Coast of Ovalau, Fiji
Albumen Print
1981:1497:65



Untitled [Bush Scene]
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:66



Pine Apple Hill, Vagadace, Levuka, Fiji
Albumen Print
1981:1497:67



Group of Natives, Samoa
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:68



In the Bush, Ovalau
Albumen Print
1981:1497:69



Untitled [Native fale in Samoa]
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:70



Untitled [Group of people seated in rows]
Albumen Print
1981:1497:71



Untitled
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:72



Untitled
Albumen Print
1981:1497:73



Samoan Woman
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:74

Samoan Girls
attributed to Philipp Remelé
Albumen Print
1981:1497:75

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Glossary of Pacific Terms

Copra

The dried meat or kernel of the coconut. It was developed as a commercial product by merchants in the South Seas and South Asia in the 1860s.

Fale

A traditional Samoan hut or house that is either round or elliptical in shape, has a thatched roof and removable walls of woven matting.

Kava

A mildly intoxicating beverage prepared from the root of a pepper plant (*Piper methysticum*) and consumed ritually throughout Polynesia. Kava is used for medicinal, religious, political, cultural and social purposes throughout the Pacific. It is referred to occasionally as 'ava' in Samoa and 'yaqona' in Fiji.

Lavalava

Short for 'ie lavalava (cloth that wraps around) in Samoa, it is a singular rectangular cloth worn as a kilt or skirt by both men and women. Traditionally made from tapa cloth, it can now be also made from cotton.

Matai

A Samoan title of chieftainship or head of the family. The role of the matai is very complex and interwoven deep into the fabric of Samoan culture and history. Matai have family, civic, political and prior to the arrival of Europeans, religious duties to perform.

Siva

A traditional seated dance in Samoa

Tapa (cloth)

A traditional cloth in Polynesia made from the beaten bark of the paper-mulberry tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). Used as the material for clothing in the past, it is now normally only worn on special occasions, and it is used mostly as a decorative textile and as ritual gifts.

Vunivalu

A paramount chief.

Glossary of General Terms

Albumen print

A photographic printing process that was the first commercially exploitable method of producing a print on a paper base from a negative. It used the albumen found in egg whites to bind the photographic chemicals to the paper and became the dominant form of photographic positives from 1855 to the turn of the century, with a peak in the 1860-90 period.

Covered Corvette

A small, maneuverable, lightly-armed warship, smaller than a frigate, and usually having a single gun deck.

Frigate

Is the term used to describe a warship that is of various sizes and has multiple roles. In the 19th century, the armoured frigate was a type of ironclad warship and for a time was the most powerful type of vessel afloat.

H.I.G.M.S.

An acronym (an Anglicism) for His Imperial German Majesty's Ship.

S.M.S

An acronym for Seiner Majestäts Schiff. Also known as His Majesty's Ship (H.M.S), in English.

Quarterdeck

An area of the ship designated by the Commanding Officer where official and ceremonial functions are carried out when the ship is in port.