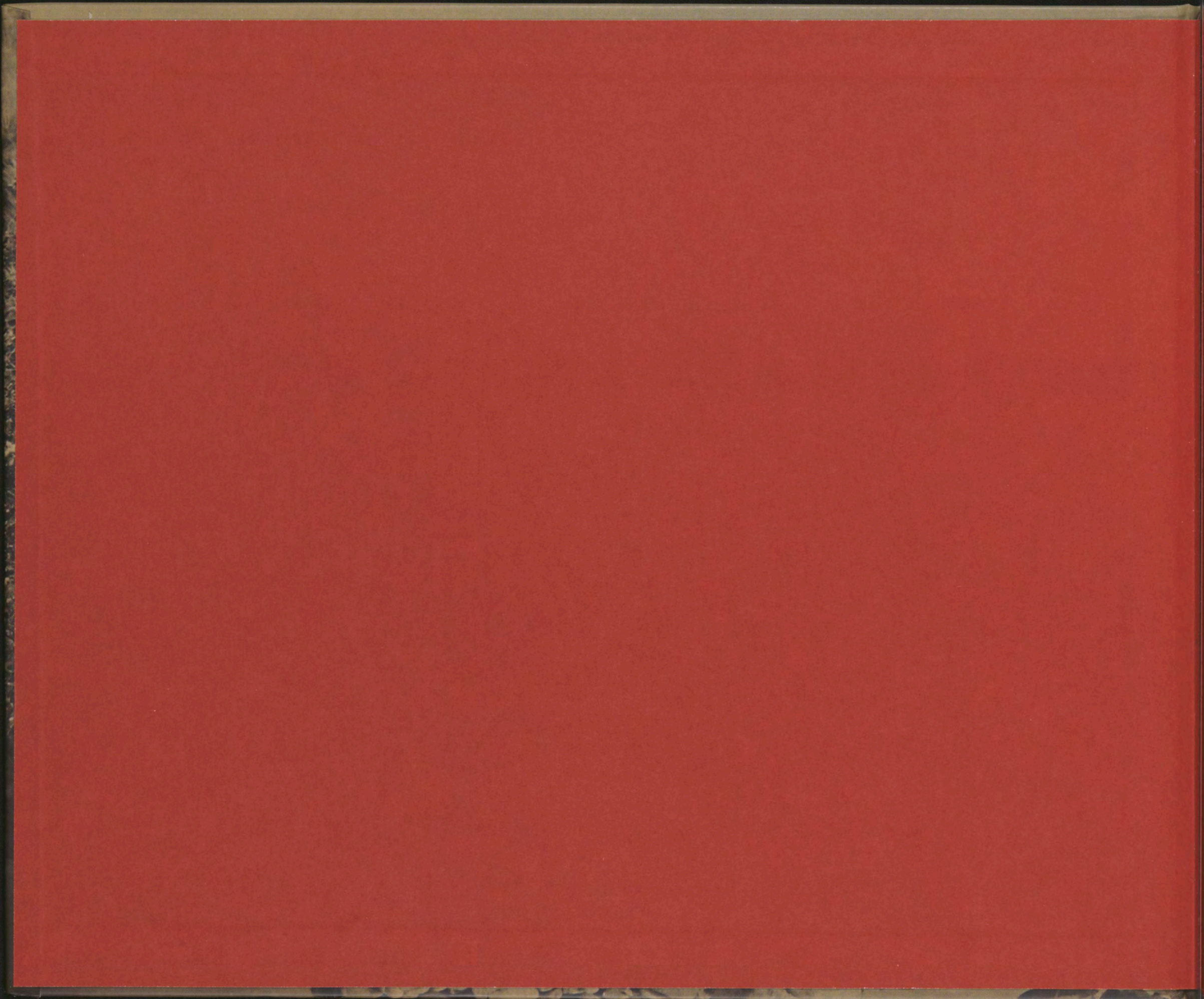
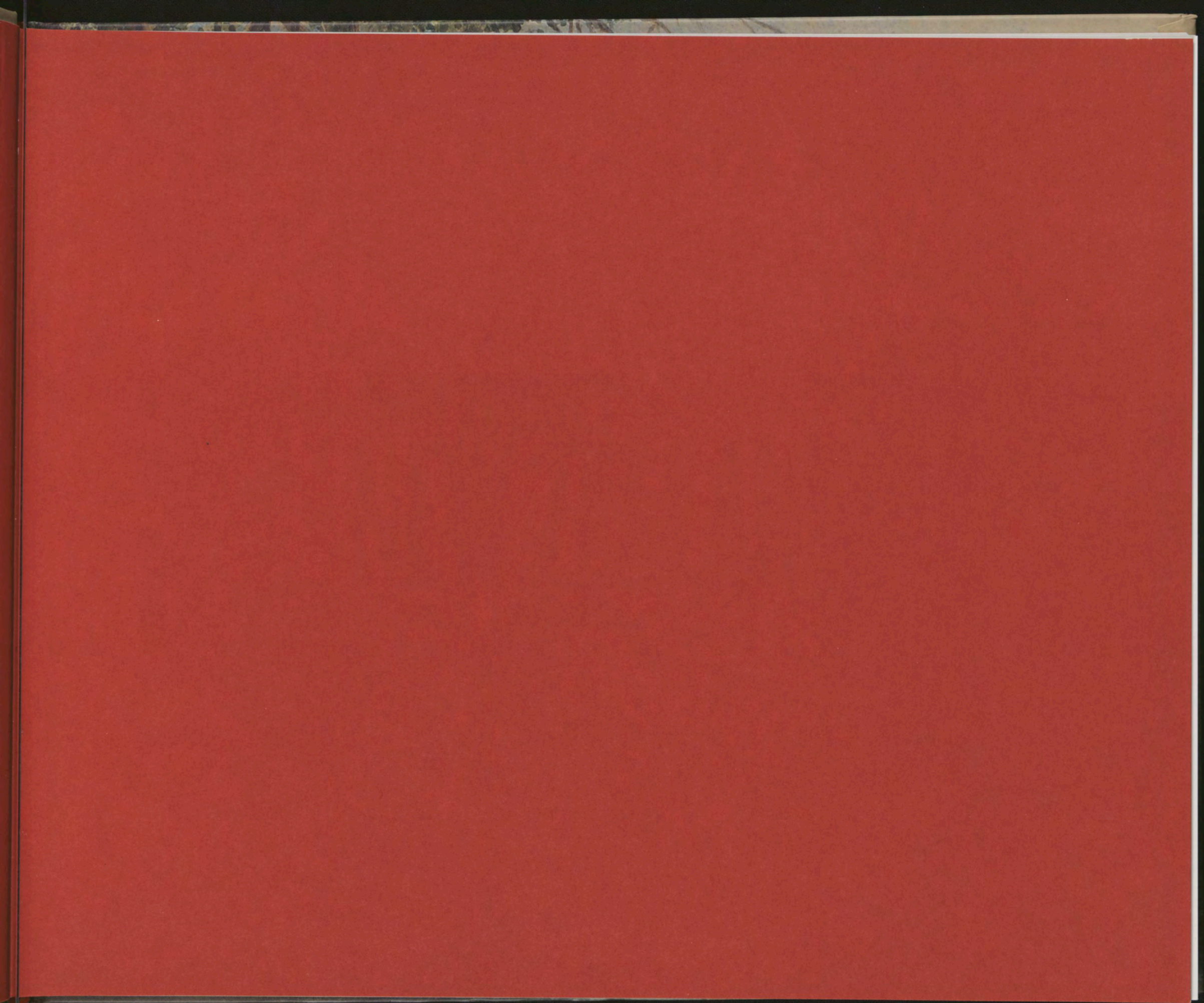
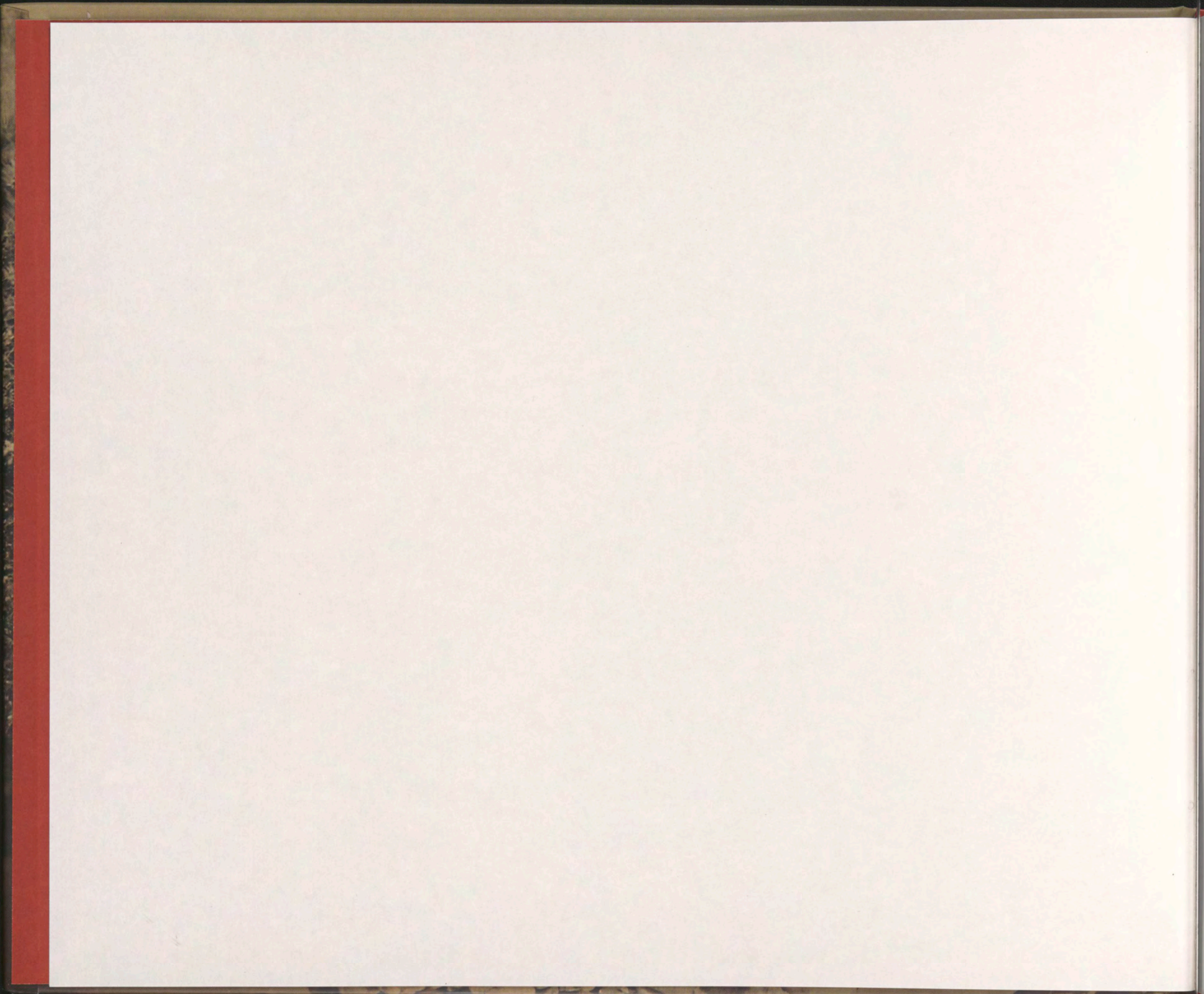


**JOHN KINDER'S**  
**NEW ZEALAND**







**JOHN KINDER'S**  
**NEW ZEALAND**

NEW ZEALAND  
JOHN KIRBY'S

**JOHN KINDER'S**

**NEW ZEALAND**

**RON BROWNSON**

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PETER SHAW, MICHAEL DUNN AND ROGER BLACKLEY



# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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In Dunedin at the University of Otago Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakana, Stuart Strachan, Linda Tyler, Anna Petersen, Mary Lewis and Pennie Hunt all gave me in-depth assistance and cooperation. Their agreement to make available a significant number of the Hocken Library's John Kinder photographs, for reproduction in this book and for inclusion in a national touring exhibition, is much appreciated. The Hocken Library holds the pre-eminent collection of Kinder's most important photographs, gifted in 1922 by Olga McCurdie, who was the daughter of John Kinder's sister, Sarah Tracey, and wife of William Dunbar Ross McCurdie of Dunedin.

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Michael Dunn first made me aware of John Kinder's importance. Michael's scholarship led to the *catalogue raisonné* of Kinder's paintings and photographs. His essay here on Kinder's watercolours represents a life-long advocacy of Kinder's significance in early New Zealand art.

Michael Gifkins as editor and Arch MacDonnell as designer have shaped this publication with their characteristic attention to clarity. Tom Beran of Random House New Zealand ensured that a new publication about John Kinder was produced.

I appreciate and value the contribution of all the above individuals and institutions.

Ron Brownson  
Senior Curator New Zealand and Pacific Art  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki

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Cover images: *Tapu Creek, Thames Goldfield* circa 1868 (front) and *Whangarei, Near The Heads* 1871

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Plate 1 *Puai Island from Pukura Island,  
Rotomahana. Te Hapeotoroa  
Mountain and Otukapuarangi  
beyond 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922

# FOREWORD

## CHRIS SAINES

The Reverend Doctor John Kinder was one of New Zealand's most influential 19th century Anglican ministers and teachers. At the same time he was also one of its most committed and peripatetic amateur artists. From his arrival in Auckland in 1855 until his death in 1903 he travelled the breadth of this country, incessantly making drawings, watercolours and photographs of the experience. He saw this place as singularly different from others he had come to know and he wanted to record what was, for him, its peculiar and particular reality. Although his genre may have been the topographical landscape, his principal legacy is a marvellous portrait of New Zealand in its early colonial years.

This book, and the nationally touring exhibition resulting from it, contrasts John Kinder's brilliance as a painter with his equally remarkable achievements as a photographer. It celebrates the outstanding watercolours of the Ferrier-Watson Collection, which now forms part of the Fletcher Trust Collection. It brings together the richly evocative albumen photographs that Olga McCurdie gifted to the Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena at the University of Otago. And it celebrates the major body of watercolours that Harry, John Kinder's adopted son, gifted to the citizens of Auckland. These three collections have never been seen together before in such depth and Kinder's brilliance has never been more apparent.

Through this book and associated exhibition, curator Ron Brownson argues that Kinder led parallel lives as a painter and

photographer. By opposing Kinder's practice as photographer and painter, he investigates our only 19th century artist to fully exploit both media. In so doing, he re-animates the boundaries and the nature of Kinder's unique vision. I am very grateful to Ron for both his scholarship and his passion for this project. Co-writers Peter Shaw, Michael Dunn and Roger Blackley have contributed no less exceptional insights into the artist's life and practice.

Hamish Keith was the first public gallery curator to promote Kinder; later Gordon H. Brown and Anne Kirker curated important exhibitions at Hamilton and Auckland respectively. And it was Ron Brownson who published the first study of the artist's photographs in 1985. Their cumulative endeavours have allowed us to see and to know John Kinder better. This major project both updates and extends that earlier enquiry from a present-day perspective.

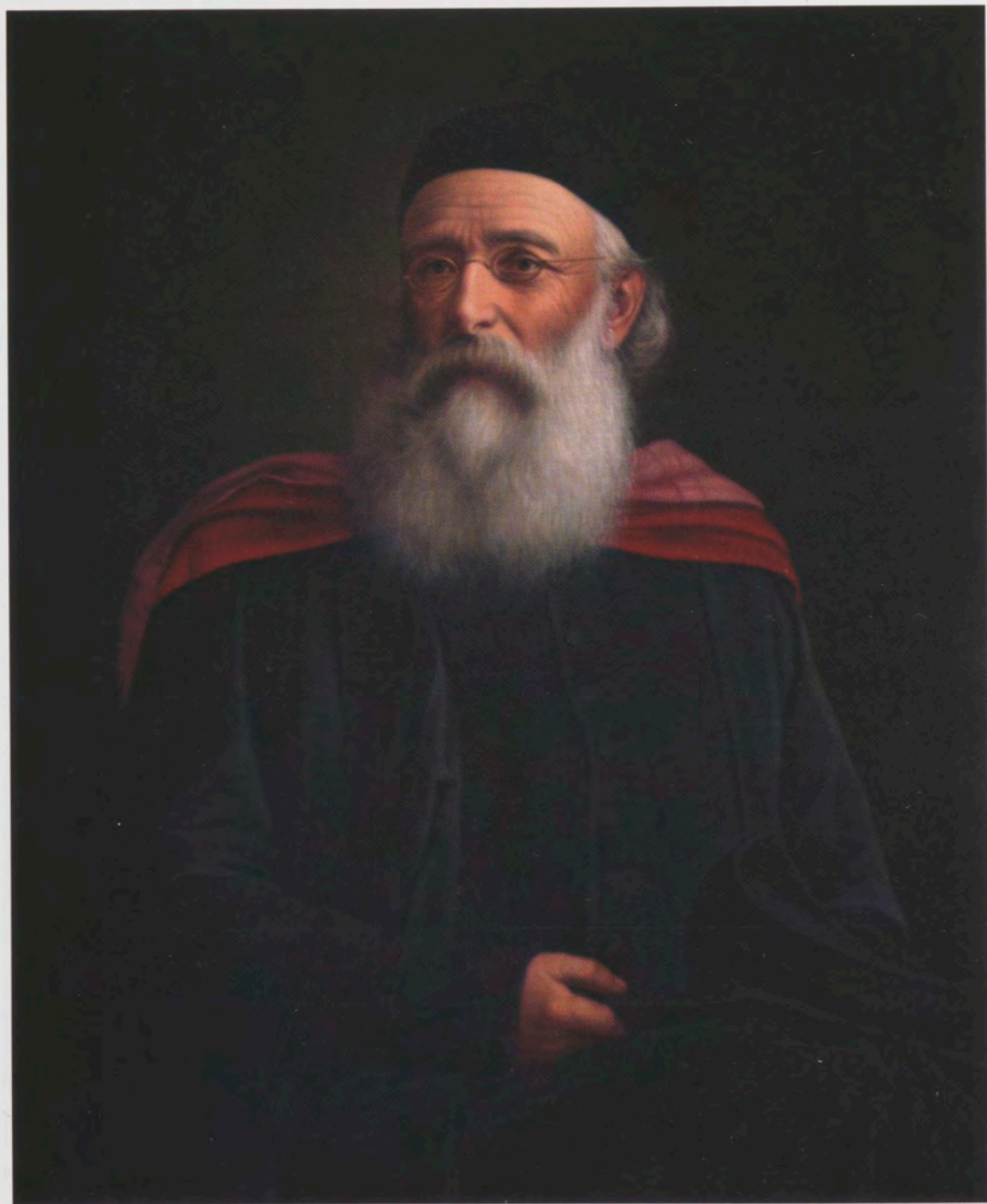
Today, when we look at John Kinder's paintings and photographs, it seems that we are looking into our past through a carefully framed and filtered lens. It might be a much-loved geographical or built feature in the landscape, a panoramic or an intimate view, something that we recognise but which is, simultaneously, no longer there. The starkly different nature of our contemporary presence in this land, in places actually known, remembered or imagined, is made all the more apparent by Kinder's vivid illuminations of their past life. His paintings and photographs describe a now-distant topography of whole or partial absence. And they do so with an astonishing power of observation that invariably provokes our study, reflection and pleasure.

The Fletcher Trust's Ferrier-Watson Collection of John Kinder watercolours has recently been placed on long-term loan to the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki. This magnificent collection means that the gallery now holds the pre-eminent collection of Kinder's paintings and has, in turn, become the catalyst for *John Kinder's New Zealand*.

The Fletcher Trust has been more than generous in the development of this book and exhibition. As chair of the Fletcher Trust, Sir James Fletcher, a long-time champion of New Zealand art, has been especially assiduous in his support. I warmly thank him and the trust board for their commitment to John Kinder and to this gallery.

The Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki dedicates this publication to Sir James Fletcher.

Chris Saines  
Director  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Gottfried Lindauer  
*Reverend Doctor John Kinder* 1899  
oil on canvas  
The College of St John the Evangelist, Auckland

# A LIFE OF JOHN KINDER PETER SHAW

John Kinder's first acquaintance with New Zealand was bizarre. Sometime between 1834 and 1838 – when Kinder was in his late teenage years – he and his sisters attended a talk given in the Mechanics Institute, Southampton by one Barnet Burns. Kinder described him as being a fully tattooed, runaway sailor who had lived for many years among Maori. Although Burns was said to be illiterate, his talk greatly amused his audience, not least because he carried around with him in a bag the dried head of a Maori enemy whom he claimed to have killed in battle.

In his unpublished 'A Brief Account of my Life' (1900) the retired Kinder, now 81 years of age, observed of this experience:

*I little thought at the time that I, my mother and sisters would spend so great a part of our lives in that wild and savage country which was not then a part of the British dominions and was inhabited, I may say, entirely by cannibals. It is quite possible that this may have had a share, though a small one, in leading me eventually to decide on going there when circumstances pointed in that direction.'*

Kinder arrived in Auckland, New Zealand with his mother, sister Fanny, a piano and many books on 17 October 1855, having sailed directly from Gravesend three months earlier. From then until his death in 1903 he travelled constantly within New Zealand but never left its shores. Compared with the relatively staid nature of his later life, an account of Kinder's earlier years is bound to read like a Trollopian melodrama.

Born in London on 17 September 1819, he was the second child of Fanny and her husband Thomas Kinder, a merchant. His father's prosperous business was conducted in the hub of London's commercial district near the Guildhall. Thomas Kinder spoke Spanish, having made lucrative connections in Spain, and was thus ideally placed to take advantage of the independence of Spanish colonies on the American continent. He set up an office in Mexico and was responsible for raising a sizeable loan for the government of Peru. By 1826 when John was seven years old, the family was living in a fine house, beautifully furnished, at 66 Portland Place near Regent's Park. Mrs Kinder had her own carriage and horses, his father a gig and saddle pony and John a pony of his own. The family took their holidays in fashionable English seaside resorts and entertained notable figures from South American republics. The Kinder family flourished with the addition of five daughters and a son; with the exception of one sister who died early, all eventually came to New Zealand.

Given his father's wealth and status, Eton or Harrow were the obvious choices for John's education but in 1828 he became one of the first pupils of a new school run by Reverend William Brown at Cheam, near London. It was in many respects a forward-thinking institution, although conditions were typically spartan. Reverend Brown believed with the Swiss educationalist Pestalozzi that learning should be undertaken for its own sake, without the added burden of examinations or the goad of prizes. The young Kinder responded well to this system, commenting in particular that the attention given to French and Drawing would be of much use to him in later life. Besides the usual classical education, gardening, rambles to places such as Hampton Court and the study of insect life also formed part of the school's activities.

At home things were not going so well. As Thomas Kinder's business began to decline, the inner-city house at Portland Place was exchanged for more modest accommodation at Epsom. Then on 30 September 1831, a day John Kinder was to describe as the most bitter in his life, the family was gathered in the drawing room and asked to kneel as Thomas Kinder commended his wife and children to God, telling them that he was about to go to Mexico. His intention was to see if he could protect a costly investment he had undertaken which had become illegal as the result of a sudden change in Mexican law.

Clearly in desperate financial straits and unable to provide for his family, Thomas Kinder left immediately. They were not to see him again for six years. Mrs Kinder was quickly surrounded by creditors and had to sell furniture and jewellery to pay debts. At the end of 1832 she briefly established herself as a schoolmistress



After J. Sutcliffe  
Pahe-a-Range, the New Zealand  
Chief – Barnet Burns 1835  
lithograph  
Fletcher Trust Collection, Auckland

1. John Kinder, 'A Brief Account of my Life by J. Kinder M.A. and D.D. of Woodcroft, Remuera, in the neighbourhood of Auckland, 1900'. Unpublished manuscript, photocopy held in Auckland War Memorial Museum, p. 12.

at Fulham and her fifteen-year-old eldest son was forced to leave school to help her. In the winter of 1834 the Kinder family moved to Southampton where Mrs Kinder ran another school for young children and John did some teaching and supervising. Such a drastic and rapid change of circumstances was obviously damaging to this young man, who had lost not only his expectation of going to Cambridge but also considerable self-esteem. Late in life he still recalled his devoted attachment to a girl named Maria Bolton, only slightly younger than him, who had to be left behind in Fulham.

It was at this difficult time that John Kinder turned for solace to nature and to painting and ecclesiastical architecture. By his own account, he was lonely and bored, and he relied on new friendships. The first and most important was with the watercolourist Aaron Penley, whose son was one of Mrs Kinder's pupils. Penley gave Kinder lessons in painting, allowed the young man to observe him at work in his studio whenever he liked and deepened his interest in art, encouraging his taste for sketching from nature.

Another friend was a young clergyman, Reverend John Shadwell, to whom John and Fanny Kinder went for religious instruction before their confirmation. Shadwell revived John's dashed hopes of attending Cambridge University, accompanied him on long country walks and provided him with much-needed intellectual stimulus.

In Kinder's own view, the friend who had the greatest influence on him was a man ten years his senior, a Quaker called Samuel Clark. As secretary of the Mechanics Institute he was devoted to the encouragement of learning among working men. He encouraged Kinder's reading by loaning him books, personally introduced him to the Christian Socialist writer and teacher F.D. Maurice and provided him with a timely alternative to brooding on his family's misfortunes. Despite these misfortunes, Kinder's Southampton days influenced his later choice of a vocation and his interest in art and literature.

Late in 1837 Thomas Kinder returned from Mexico. Writing in his memoir, John Kinder said that he found it strange that he had no specific recollection of this momentous event, although he observed that the family believed that their troubles were at an end and that their husband and father would remain with them. Now the young John had someone with whom he could read Cicero and Homer and who could help to recover his hopes of going to university. Father and son walked together, making a tour of the Isle of Wight and travelling to Belgium where Thomas Kinder had business involving the iron trade. They visited all the major places of interest, particularly those displaying mediaeval

antiquities and paintings. For John Kinder these things were a 'revelation and a sort of intoxication'.<sup>2</sup>

Kinder's relationship with his father was of crucial importance to the young man, so long deprived of paternal company. He clearly admired his father's scholarly abilities and it is obvious that his taste for travel was greatly encouraged by his father. It was probably due to the same influence that when he went to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1838 it was to study not classics as he had hoped but mathematics, a subject in which he had very little interest. Although he elected to take additional courses in theology and the Greek and Latin classics, most of his time was spent studying geometry, algebra, calculus, mechanics, hydrostatics and optics. At the end of his first year, 1839, Kinder's name was in the first-class list after the annual college examinations, and a similar thing happened in his second year.

He worked hard, abjuring the pleasures of university social and sporting life. A scholarship won in 1841 entitled him to a set of rooms in the Great Quad. During his final year, however, he tired of the effort of studying in an uncongenial subject area and wrote that he 'lost much time in desultory reading'.<sup>3</sup> He disappointed his father by being placed last in the list instead of near the top of his class, though he had still achieved a more-than-respectable B.A. degree. Thomas Kinder's ambition that his son go on to study law was thwarted by John's professed shyness and want of readiness in speaking and by his decision to remain at Cambridge as a tutor. The illusion that he was in fact going to study law was maintained only insofar as he was entered at Lincoln's Inn and 'proceeded to qualify myself for the legal profession by industriously eating my dinners there, going up to London three days in each term for the purpose.'<sup>4</sup>

In 1839 Kinder's parents had shifted from Southampton back to London and in the following year they moved to France, where John travelled to spend the long vacation with them. This trip too had not encouraged mathematical study: Kinder spent most of his time on long walking trips sketching Gothic churches and ruined abbeys and reading the history of the Norman dukes in the public library at Dieppe.

With this experience behind him, he was ideally equipped to pursue his interest in ecclesiastical architecture by becoming a member of the Cambridge Camden Society. Formed in 1839 by John Mason Neale and E.J. Boyce (both of them Cambridge men from Trinity, Kinder's own college), the society was devoted to the restoration of old churches and providing guidelines for the building of new ones based on the close study of architectural details. Kinder was first listed as a member in 1842 but the next year he was honorary secretary and a committee member.



John Kinder  
*Abbaye de Valmont, Normandy* 1842  
pen and sepia wash  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
purchased 1978

2. 'A Brief Account...', op.cit. p. 13.

3. Ibid, p. 15.

4. Ibid, p. 15.

It is of particular interest to note that in 1841 the first volume of the Cambridge Camden Society's journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, carried the recently appointed Bishop George Augustus Selwyn's request for plans that might be suitable for building churches in New Zealand. He stated that 'as the work will be chiefly done by native artists, it seems natural to teach them first that style which first prevailed in our own country.'<sup>5</sup> It was of course Selwyn who in 1855 would interview and then appoint Kinder to the position of Master of the Church of England Grammar School at Auckland.

Kinder was an enthusiastic member of the society, visiting churches, contributing to *The Ecclesiologist* and debating questions of ritual and church ornamentation. He heard Pugin lecture on Gothic architecture but, as a convinced Cambridge Anglican and no friend to Romanism, felt it necessary to declare that he was not in the least shaken by John Henry Newman's conversion to Rome in 1845. Maybe the number of Kinder's own friends who also turned to Rome shocked him more. Michael Dunn has commented that Kinder felt at home in this world, and that the controversy surrounding the Camden Society and its activities must have been exhilarating. No doubt, too, his own growing inclination towards a religious vocation was encouraged by the example of the large number of his friends who were either ordained or about to take orders.

Despite Kinder's failure to achieve the professional goals set for him by his father, their relationship seems not to have suffered in any way. In the summer of 1842 they made a tour of southern Normandy, visiting among other places Caen, Bayeux (where they inspected the famous tapestry) and Mont Saint Michel. The following year the whole Kinder family returned to London where, to John's delight, they took a house not far from the British Museum. He spent a large amount of time in the reading room devouring, in particular, Carlyle's recently published *Past and Present*. This in turn introduced him to German literature, especially the writings of Goethe, Schiller and Jean-Paul Richter. On his return to Cambridge Kinder took German lessons, arousing his father's displeasure that he was still not paying any attention to his legal studies. In his account of his life John Kinder comments, somewhat ingenuously, that had his father been in earnest about this he would surely have placed him in a lawyer's office.

In 1844, a year that he always recalled with particular pleasure, Kinder was able to integrate his religious, artistic, architectural and pedagogical interests as never before. His Trinity College colleague Benjamin Webb, who was also the secretary of the Camden Society, suggested that he and Kinder take a small group of their pupils for a tour on the continent.

The group travelled up the Rhine, diverting up the Mosel to Trier and then rejoining the Rhine to visit Bonn, Andernach,

Coblenz and Cologne. Travelling south again, they went to Mainz and Frankfurt, Würzburg, Nuremberg, Regensburg and Munich. There Kinder and his pupil Bamford parted company with Webb and his group, the latter continuing on into Northern Italy while Kinder and Bamford went into Switzerland, touring the Bernese Alps and eventually making their way north again to Dusseldorf and Rotterdam and home to England. Along the way Kinder made many sketches, all of which prove his intense interest in the mediaeval, the artistic and the picturesque. He mentioned how impressed he was not only with mediaeval buildings in Nuremberg but also with the then modern buildings commissioned by Ludwig I of Bavaria, in particular the Alte Pinakothek where the Nazarene painter Peter von Cornelius was painting his frescoes. In Cologne he watched another fresco painter, Steinle, at work in the chancel of the Dom. In Munich Kinder bought a fine specimen of German lithography, a copy of Van Eyck's *Adoration of the Three Kings*, that he brought with him to New Zealand and that in later years hung over the fireplace in his study.

Immediately upon Kinder's return to London his father's protracted legal battles with the firm of Baring and Company, with whom he had originally purchased land in Mexico, impinged dramatically upon his son's life. Documents needing signature could only be dealt with in Mexico, so Thomas Kinder deputed his son to the task. It involved considerable danger, even necessitating the adoption of an assumed name, so it was as 'John King' that John Kinder left Southampton in October 1844 on a sea voyage that he actually enjoyed very much. The ship called at Barbados, Jamaica, San Domingo and Madeira, which appeared to him like a vision of fairyland rising out of the waves. At Havana he saw the stone said to mark the grave of Columbus. From Vera Cruz he journeyed overland to Mexico City where he accomplished his business with speed, as instructed, and with little difficulty.

At the beginning of 1845 Kinder returned to Cambridge, taking his M.A. degree at the end of the academic year in May. His next post was as travelling tutor to two young sons of a Mrs Evelyn of Wotton, Surrey. It was a pleasant arrangement, for Kinder had complete charge of the itinerary. So, in the summer months, he found himself retracing his steps by travelling up the Rhine then to Switzerland, and this time extending his travels to Italy. There he and his young charges visited the Italian lakes and Milan, then Verona, Vicenza and Venice. On the way back to England they spent a night at Baden Baden where Kinder saw in the hotel register the married name of his Fulham childhood sweetheart Maria Bolton, then on her wedding tour. Although she was under the same roof, Kinder did not see her. He did later, once in England, on the eve of his departure for New Zealand and



John Kinder  
Bayeux, France 1842  
pencil and watercolour  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1978

5. Margaret H. Alington, *Frederick Thatcher and St Paul's: An Ecclesiastical Study*, Wellington, New Zealand Historic Places Trust/Government Printer, 1965, p. 22.



John Kinder  
*The Master's garden, St John's College* 1878  
watercolour  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1989

again in Auckland when, as a widow, she passed through on her way from Ceylon to Vancouver.

On Kinder's return to England, Mrs Evelyn asked him to accompany her on a trip to Waterloo where her first husband had fallen in battle. This invitation he gladly accepted, particularly as he had visited the site earlier with his father and now had nothing better to do. His thoughts at this time were inclining more and more away from the bar and towards ordination. Most of his close friends had already committed themselves in this way, and so Kinder embarked on a programme of reading designed to further his already profound interest in ecclesiastical and theological subjects.

At the same time his father's legal affairs were nearing crisis point. Since his return from Mexico in 1837 Thomas Kinder had been in constant conference with solicitors, Members of Parliament and Foreign Office officials. He fought doggedly to have the wrong done to him by the Mexican government redressed and to sue his former business partner, Baring and Company. Hope came and went as his opponents offered settlements and then withdrew them, taking advantage of every legal device to tire their adversary. When the case against Baring finally came to court in early 1846, the Chief Justice himself found that Thomas Kinder had suffered no loss and that any injustice that had occurred was due to the corrupt state of Mexican society and its courts.

Some weeks after this decision Thomas caught a severe cold that quickly developed into pneumonia, and on 7 June 1846 he died. Again the family was left with no source of income. For John the crisis was even sharper: his attendance at his father's deathbed came only the night before his ordination as a deacon by the Bishop of London.

Kinder's first job as a curate at the church of St James, Curtain Road, Hoxton was paid at a rate quite inadequate to allow him to help his family. Two of his sisters were sent out as governesses and John himself again took responsibility for his mother, brother and other younger sisters.

Obviously unhappy in his curacy, Kinder was delighted when his old tutor at Cambridge came to his rescue in 1847 with the suggestion that he take the position of master at a school at Uttoxeter, Staffordshire. Alleyne's Grammar School was in fact administered by Trinity College. It had fallen to a very low ebb, though a substantial house provided with the job meant there would be accommodation for Mrs Kinder and two sisters. Kinder accepted the appointment and threw himself heartily into the work, despite having never considered that he would pursue a career in education. His brother Henry, who had been studying in Germany, came home to act as assistant master for a period and once more the family was united and secure. John Kinder stayed

in this job for eight years, coping with the difficulty of teaching pupils whose parents wished their children to acquire only a basic education. The possibility of accommodating boarders was always precarious because there were so many other schools in the area offering a similar service. In addition, Kinder became involved in religious controversy – not for the first time in his life nor the last – as the result of his friendship with the local vicar and other clergy who openly sympathised with High-Church practices. He incurred the resentment of local people too by insisting that any child attending his school must be a baptised Anglican. This did not go down well in a community of small traders, many of whom were Quakers, Congregationalists or Plymouth Brethren.

In 1852 townspeople presented a petition to Trinity College complaining about Kinder's running of the school, focussing particularly on his religious inflexibility. Trinity College supported Kinder in the main but asked him to be more flexible about his requirement that all pupils attend chapel. Kinder resisted and was then reprimanded. Matters worsened after an Uttoxeter lawyer published two pamphlets criticising Alleyne's School and its stiff-necked schoolmaster. Then a group of townspeople decided to sue Trinity College on account of a perceived unjust administration at Alleyne's and inadequate financing. There followed protracted legal negotiations involving Kinder in extensive correspondence, which wore him down and made him more and more dissatisfied with his occupation. Events came to a climax at an 1856 court hearing, which completely vindicated both Kinder and Trinity College. The damage was done, however, and Kinder began taking steps towards leaving Uttoxeter, a long-laid plan. He intended to emigrate to New Zealand.

He had been preceded in this by his widowed sister Charlotte Barton who in 1853, after some years living with her husband in Canton, had emigrated to New Zealand with her infant son and younger brother, Henry. Shortly after arriving at Auckland she had written to John, encouraging him to think about joining them. When Bishop Selwyn returned to England in the early months of 1855, John Kinder sought an interview with him for the position of Headmaster at the Church of England Grammar School soon to be established at Auckland. Kinder and Selwyn were bound to like each other. Both were Cambridge men, both had been members of the Camden Society and they shared similar ideas about matters of religious doctrine and education. The interview was a success. In March 1855, Kinder wrote to his brother Henry telling him of his appointment and that the rest of the family would shortly be joining him and Charlotte in Auckland.

On 4 July 1856, Kinder, his mother and one sister, Fanny, set sail on the *Joseph Fletcher*. His two sisters Mary and Sarah had

elected to remain in Europe. This time Kinder, normally an interested traveller, wrote nothing about the voyage. His sister Mrs Barton and brother Henry met them at the wharf and the family took up residence together. Kinder was not impressed with the town of Auckland, describing its wooden buildings as 'of the poorest and shabbiest description, mere shanties in fact.'<sup>6</sup>

The Auckland that Kinder chose to describe consisted of its chief suburb, Parnell, and the centre of the city around Albert Park, where the barracks was surrounded by a stone wall to resist feared native attack. Kinder was most unimpressed by the facilities in the wharf area at the bottom of Queen Street. The North Shore was uninhabited except for a signalman on Mt Victoria. Further inland, the area west of Hobson Street and south of Karangahape Road was manuka-covered wasteland. The lower part of Mt Eden too was covered in thick bush and the Domain was a pathless mass of scrub, bush and swamp. Kinder's disparaging comments indicate that he must have wondered what on earth he had come to.

His first position was as assistant to the Reverend George Kissling in conducting services at St Barnabas's Church, which overlooked the sea at Parnell, and this gave him the chance to meet people in the neighbourhood. No preparations had been made at all for the Church of England Grammar School, but the Kinder family was initially given a decent-sized house in Karangahape Road, known as Mr Keven's house. It was from the verandah of this house that Kinder made a painting that included a family group.

Bishop George Augustus Selwyn purchased land at Parnell for the school, and a substantial stone house was built at the top of Ayr Street to serve as the Master's House. To afford its high rent, Kinder needed to find ways to supplement his income. He acted as military chaplain to troops stationed at Auckland and took Sunday services at St Mark's, Remuera. The Parnell house, now known as the Kinder House, was to be the family home for fifteen years from 1857.

An indefatigable walker, Kinder must have covered many miles as he went from Parnell to Remuera to the central city and back, several times a week. From his earliest days in Auckland he made excursions north and south, sketching as he went as had always been his practice in England and while touring on the continent. At Christmas 1857 he and a young part-Maori pupil Arthur Gundry, another talented artist, made a journey to the central North Island lakes beginning with a sea voyage from Auckland to Tauranga. In Tauranga they were received by Archdeacon A.N. Brown, who insisted on both men becoming his guests at The Elms, the lovely Georgian house sited on a low cliff overlooking

the harbour at Te Papa. It was there that John Kinder met for the first time his future wife, Marianne Celia, Archdeacon Brown's daughter. There too Kinder met Carl Völkner, then the Archdeacon's assistant, with whom he developed a close friendship.

With a Maori guide, Kinder and Gundry travelled on foot to Rotorua, visiting the geysers at Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa, the lakes including Tarawera and – most spectacular of all – the Pink and White Terraces at Rotomahana. The homeward journey was made by canoe along the Waikato River to Mangatawhiri and thence on foot back to Auckland.

Kinder took opportunities to meet Miss Brown again both at Auckland and at Te Papa, Tauranga, though their developing relationship was not encouraged by the Archdeacon who disapproved of Kinder's High-Church leanings and perhaps also of the eighteen-year age difference between the couple. The Archdeacon also had some cause to fear his daughter's imminent departure because Celia, despite her youth, had acted as his housekeeper and hostess since the death of her mother. For some time he resisted the suggestion that he give her away at the proposed wedding but eventually he relented and the wedding took place on 15 December 1859 at Te Papa, the Reverend Thomas Chapman officiating. John and Celia's happy, childless marriage lasted over 40 years until Kinder's death in 1903.

Their honeymoon was of course spent on a journey, this time on horseback through the hills between Tauranga and Thames. It included a stop at Matamata where they were guests of the chief Wiremu Tamihana. Christmas Day was spent at Taupiri with the Reverend Benjamin Ashwell before the couple returned to Auckland to set up house with Mrs Kinder senior and her daughter Fanny.

The 1860s was such a busy decade for Kinder that one can only wonder how he managed to find any time at all to paint and take photographs. He had begun experimenting with wet-plate photography in 1860 or 1861 and was encouraged in this through his friendship with a local professional photographer, Hartley Webster. Most of Kinder's photographs were of landscapes – though he did make portraits of family and friends, including one of Wiremu Tamihana, which was later used as the frontispiece (see page 91) of Sir John Gorst's *The Maori King* (1864). Kinder continued with the troublesome and time-consuming photographic process until 1872, when he was appointed a master of theology at St John's College, Meadowbank.

On Sundays he preached at both St Paul's, Symonds St and St Mark's, Remuera. His duties as army chaplain grew as the land wars escalated and numbers of troops increased. Kinder ministered to wounded soldiers and officiated at many burials. He made photographs of military encampments along the Waikato River



John Kinder  
*Grammar School Master's House* 1869  
albumen print  
Auckland War Memorial Museum Te Papa Whakahiku

John Kinder  
*The Grammar School, The Master's Garden* 1869  
albumen print  
Auckland War Memorial Museum Te Papa Whakahiku

6. 'A Brief Account...', op.cit. p. 25.

and of road-making by the army south of Auckland. When hostilities grew more intense in the Bay of Plenty area, Archdeacon Brown was forced to leave Te Papa and come to live in Auckland with his daughter's family.

In 1862 Kinder also acted as a kind of reporter on the Waikato war, sending photographs with explanatory notes and a map back to the *London Illustrated News*. As a churchman and teacher, he greatly regretted the war, since in his view it marked the fruitless end of years of missionary work and would result in 'the throwing open of large tracts of land to colonisation and... the destruction of a great part of the Maori race.'<sup>7</sup>

Kinder's teaching and church duties fully occupied him throughout the decade. He taught classes in Greek and Latin as well as calculus and mathematics. Drawing was in the capable hands of J.B.C. Hoyte and for a time John Gorst assisted Kinder each morning in the teaching of Greek. It seems that Kinder had no great enthusiasm for his teaching, about which he wrote little. In his correspondence is a letter outlining instructions for the enlargement of the schoolroom to the effect that windows should be placed well above the heads of the boys. He clearly did not want them distracted by views. Pupils recalled him as a master who, although thorough and fair, was also strict. One of them, Arthur Lush, grandson of Reverend Vicesimus Lush of Howick and Thames, recalled a verse that Kinder had found written on a blackboard:

*Twixt Kinder and kinder  
There is not a letter  
But if Kinder were kinder  
The boys would be better.*<sup>8</sup>

In the year 1865 drama broke again upon the Kinder family. John's close friend Carl Völkner – who had taken charge of the Church Missionary Society's station at Opotiki in 1861 – was killed by Hauhau members of his own congregation, an event extremely distressing to both John and Celia. That same year in October, John's younger brother Henry was found dead, apparently by his own hand, at his house in Sydney. Henry had married Maria Ellen Wood in Auckland in 1860 and they had had two children before moving to Sydney. Then in December, a dentist named Louis Bertrand was charged with Henry Kinder's murder and Maria Kinder was charged as an accessory to the crime. A diary was produced that gave clear evidence of Bertrand's passion for Maria, and letters from her indicated that the attraction was mutual. The trial, given extensive publicity in both Auckland and Sydney, was sensational and resulted in Bertrand's conviction in February 1866. No conviction was entered against Maria Kinder although she was advised by the Chief Justice to leave Australia immediately. As the trial had produced evidence that Bertrand



was far from being her only lover, she was considered unfit to be a mother. John and Celia Kinder adopted the children, Harry and Nessie, bringing them up as their own.

Kinder had the opportunity in 1867 to use his enthusiasm for architecture in a practical way. The original design for the church of St Andrew at Epsom is his work; according to Kinder the architect Reader Wood provided the specifications free of charge. Kinder gave the church its stone font and oak lectern and himself paid for the fine rood screen that was designed by Edward Rumsey, architect of the Auckland Supreme Court. Like all of the Selwyn churches, St Andrew's was designed according to strict ecclesiological principles. Many such features can still be observed, despite later enlargement of the building.

In 1868 Kinder's friend and supporter Bishop Selwyn left New Zealand to become Bishop of Lichfield. This may have been a catalyst for Kinder's own growing desire to leave the grammar school post that had occupied him since his arrival in Auckland sixteen years earlier. His wife, who clearly supported him in his wish for a change, described in a letter how the petty duties of running the school were an increasing annoyance to him. Although at the time St John's College was closed, there was a strong likelihood that the

John Kinder  
St John's College Chapel circa 1870  
watercolour  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Lady Spens, 1940

7. Michael Dunn, *John Kinder: Painting and Photographs*, Auckland, SeTo Publishing, 1985, p. 27.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

new bishop would re-open it to continue the work of preparing candidates for ordination into the priesthood. Supported by the Chief Justice Sir William Martin and the missionary Bishop John Patteson, Kinder applied for the post of Master of the college and in 1869 he was appointed. He welcomed the opportunity it would bring for him to teach more advanced and highly motivated pupils instead, as he observed, of children bent for the most part on doing as little as possible. Kinder had to remain at the grammar school until a replacement could be found for him so it was not until July 1872 that he finally went into residence at St John's, having run both institutions successfully for the previous year.

Kinder was indefatigable in his dedication to restoring the college, which he found in a squalid condition. He freely spent his own money landscaping and developing its gardens and installing in the chapel a memorial window to Bishop Patteson, who had been killed in September 1871 on the island of Nukutapu in the Santa Cruz group. In 1872 Bishop William Cowie recommended Kinder to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the award of a Doctor of Divinity degree, in recognition of the many years of service he had given to church education within the diocese. The expenses involved in such service being considerable, Kinder gratefully acknowledged the contribution made by Sir William Martin, Reverend Lush, his father-in-law Archdeacon Brown and the Trustees of St John's.

In March 1878 Mrs Fanny Kinder died aged 83. Her earlier life had been eventful and difficult but in later years she had lived quietly, firstly at the stone house in Ayr Street and then, after her son's removal to St John's, in a small cottage near Bishops court, Parnell. She always regretted the violent death of her son Henry and was devoted to her grandson Harry who had dinner with her every day before riding home to Meadowbank on his pony. Mrs Kinder was buried at St John's. In the same year two of John's other sisters, Mary and Sarah, finally emigrated to New Zealand with the latter's two daughters. John had paid for their voyage and assisted them to become established in Otago. In the summer of 1878-79 he made an extensive journey south to visit them, recording the trip as usual in sketches that he later worked up into finished watercolours.

After such success in employment that he described as 'the summit of my ambition'<sup>9</sup> it must have been extremely disappointing for John Kinder in 1880 to find himself embroiled once again in deep controversy. In 1876 Kinder's re-appointment to St John's for a further five-year term had been opposed by a member of the college's board, Dr Robert Maunsell, described by Kinder as an Irish Protestant. It appeared that suspicions about Kinder's apparent High-Church tendencies were behind such a move.

In the event Kinder was re-appointed and Dr Maunsell resigned in protest. In 1880 Maunsell returned to the board and complained of 'inadequate instruction' by the master, demanding an enquiry into the matter. Kinder, implacable under attack as he had been at Uttoxeter many years before under similar circumstances, refused to submit to the enquiry after the board had requested it. He took the dangerous step of handing in his resignation, confident that the board would refuse it, only to find that it was accepted. Indeed so too was his offer to stay in the job until a replacement could be found. Suddenly his successful career was at an end.

Kinder was forced to insist on his rights to remain at the college until a new house was built for him at Arney Road, Remuera. He also made a request that two plots, for him and his wife, be set aside next to his mother's grave in the churchyard at St John's. This was granted. Like his own father years before, Kinder made many attempts to clear his name after this 'great catastrophe'.<sup>10</sup> He remained incredulous at Bishop Cowie's lack of support for him and aghast that a man such as Dr Maunsell ('an Irishman who skulks behind a hedge and shoots his landlord'<sup>11</sup>) could even call into question Kinder's hard work in teaching his scholars, all of whom had acquitted themselves well in their examinations. Many years later Kinder was to discover that the student whose 'complaint' Dr Maunsell had cited had in fact never made such a complaint. Indeed, after his time at St John's, he had gone on to achieve a university scholarship and a good degree.

In his 'A Brief Account...', Kinder's final comment on the affair is bitter but resigned:

*I realised sadly that my life's work was done and that I could not at my age undertake any fresh work in a diocese where the bishop had so weakly thrown me over through fear of his Irish Archdeacon and where the clergy had shown me but little sympathy.*<sup>12</sup>

John Kinder spent the rest of his life in retirement at Woodcroft, Arney Road. He painted extensively, reworking sketches made on many journeys through New Zealand, gardened and attended to his extensive library. In 1890 his former pupils presented to St John's College a portrait made of him by Gottfried Lindauer. Because it was to be a surprise, the painting was based on a photograph taken in 1873, when he had first begun work at the college. Kinder used the occasion of its presentation to give a long apologia outlining the work of the college in the days when he had been its master. It was his last attempt at public vindication. In 1902 he gave his library of theological books to the college.

John Kinder died aged 83 at Woodcroft on 5 September 1903, after a brief illness. He was survived by his sister Fanny until 1908, his wife Celia until 1928 and his nephew and adopted son Harry until 1940. He was buried, as he had requested, next to his mother in the churchyard of St John's College Chapel.

right: Unknown photographer  
John Kinder's study at St John's College, Auckland circa 1875  
albumen print  
Auckland City Libraries

far right: John Kinder  
Woodcroft, Remuera 1888  
albumen print  
Auckland War Memorial Museum Te Papa Whakahiku

9. 'A Brief Account...', op.cit. p. 31.

10. Ibid, p. 32.

11. Ibid, p. 33.

12. Ibid, p. 34.





Plate 2 Kororareka, Bay of Islands 1858  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 3 *Paihia, Bay of Islands* circa 1864

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



*Te Kohukohu, Hokianga - J. Webster's - 1858.*

Plate 4 *Te Kohukohu, Hokianga*  
(J. Webster's) 1858

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 5 *Wesleyan Mission Station, Waima, Hokianga 1858*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 6 *Keri Keri Falls* 1859

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937

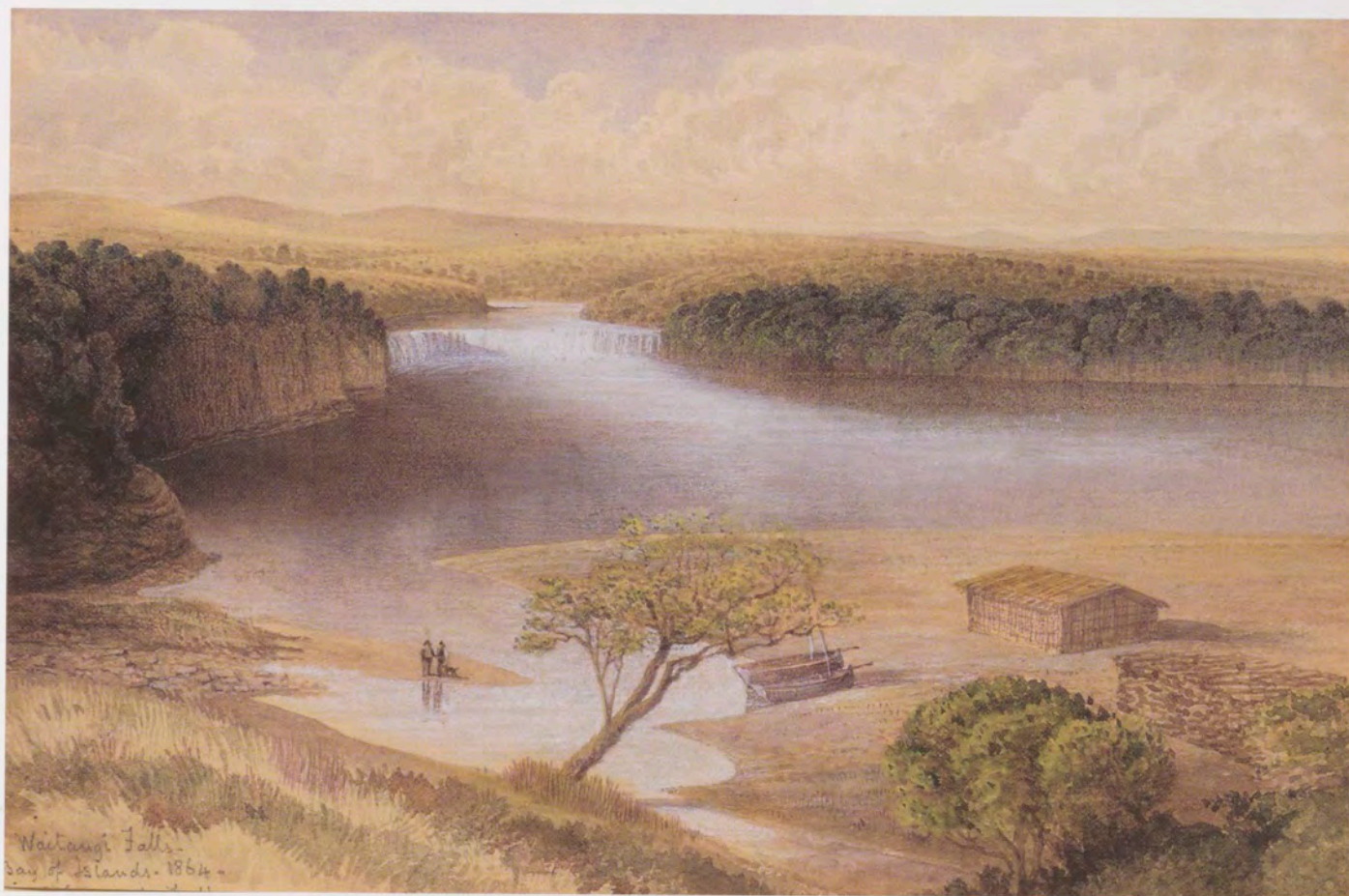


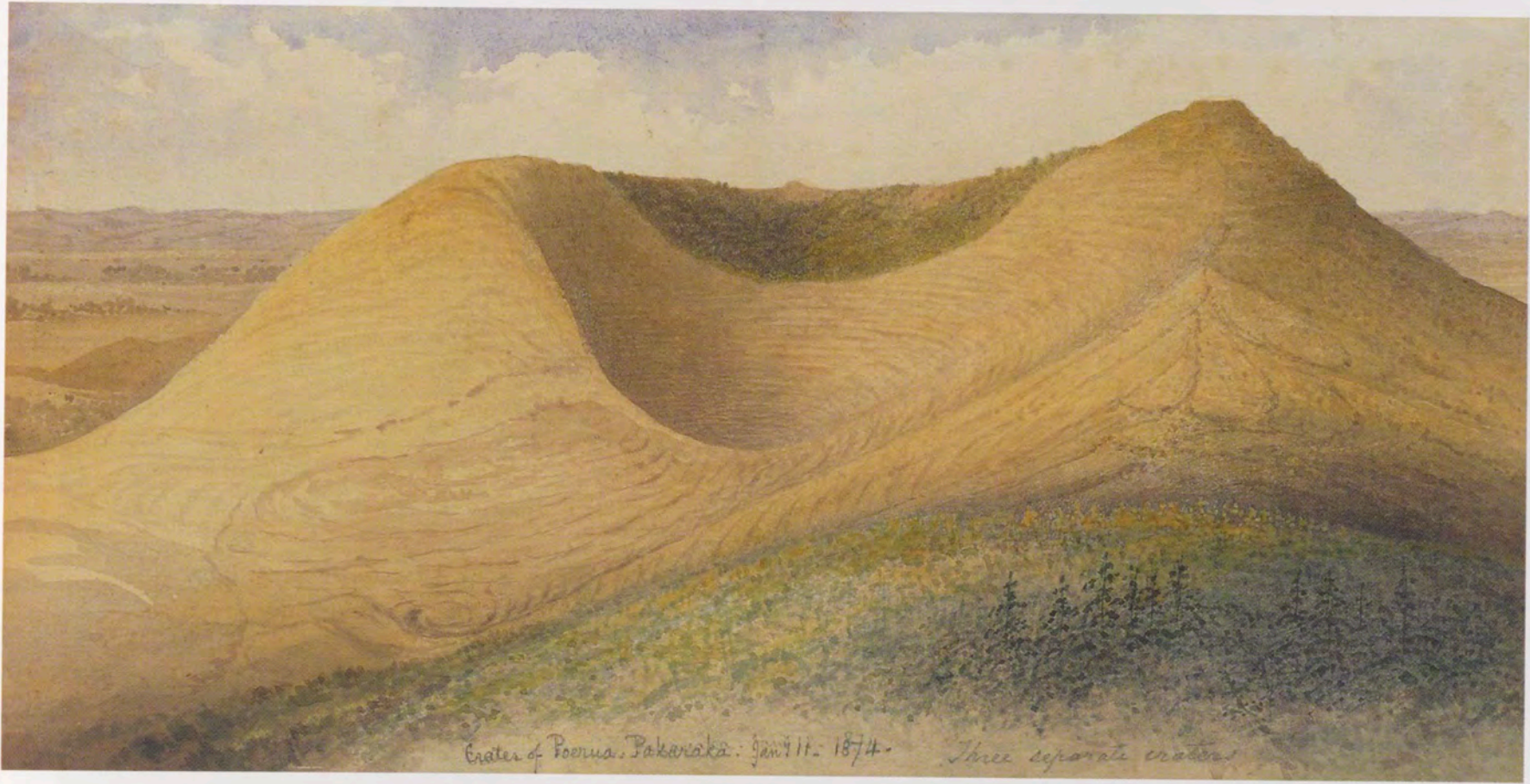
Plate 7 Waitangi Falls 1864

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 8 *Manaia, Whangarei (1)* 1871

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



*Crater of Poerua, Pakaraka. Jan 11. 1874. Three separate craters.*

Plate 9 Crater of Poerua, Pakaraka 1874  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 10 *Manaia, Whangarei (2) 1871*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 11 Whangarei Falls 1858

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937

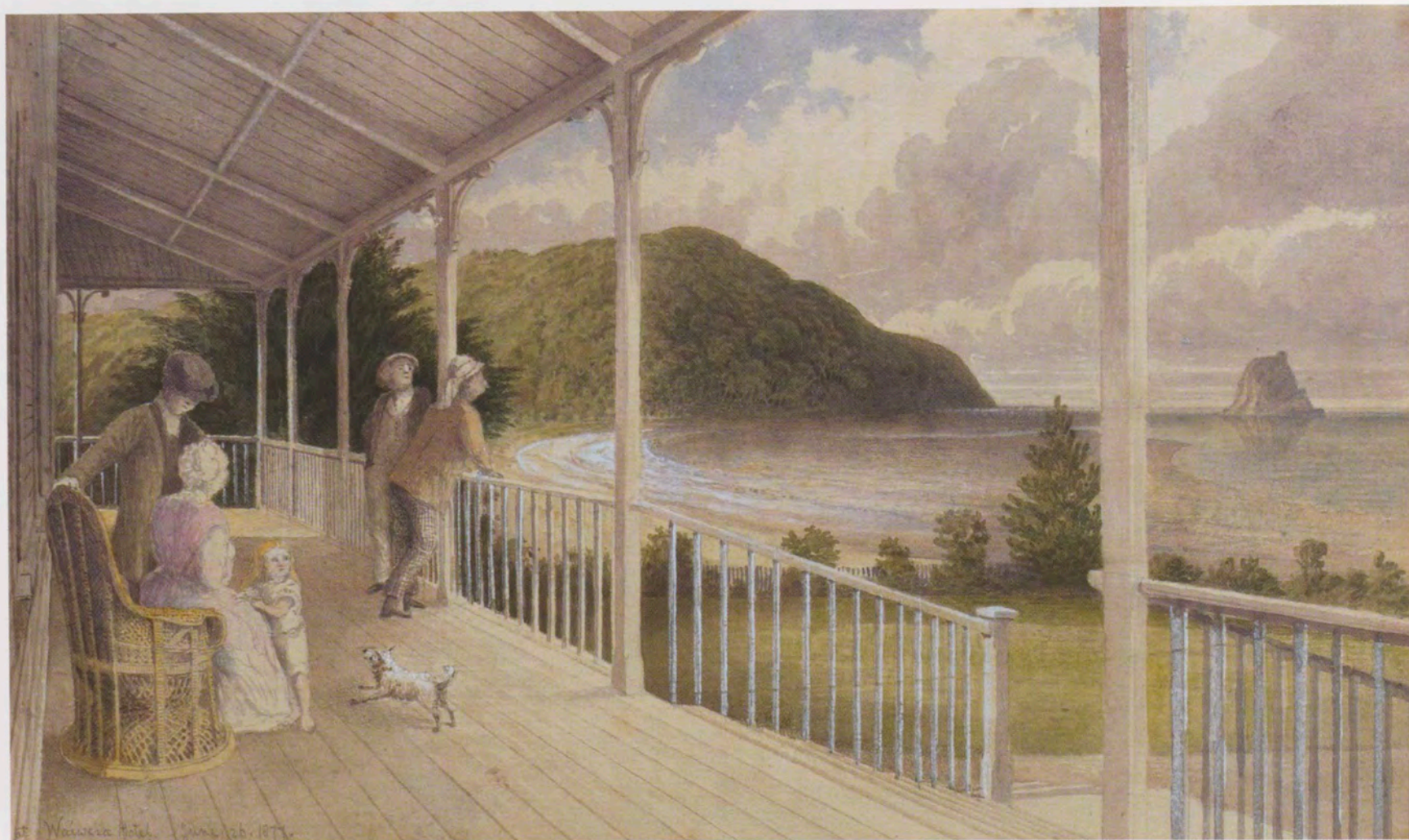


Plate 12 Waiwera Hotel 1877

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 13 *Mongonui, Capt Butler's House 1858*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



*The Three Kings. Volcanic crater Auckland*

Plate 14 *Auckland, The Three Kings*  
circa 1875

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 15 *Auckland, from the verandah of Mr Reader Wood's Cottage 1856*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 16 *Purewa Creek, High Water* 1878

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 17 *Auckland: Looking over the  
Harbour from Judges Bay* circa 1866

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 18 Auckland, Freeman's Bay 1860

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 19 *Auckland, Taurarua (Judges Bay)*  
1856

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 20 *Kotanui Rock, Frenchman's cap,  
Whangaparaoa 1868*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 21 *The Union Bank, Queen Street,  
Auckland 1864*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 22 *St. John's College, Auckland, from  
the West circa 1878*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1984



Plate 23 *St. John's College* circa 1875

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
purchased 1983

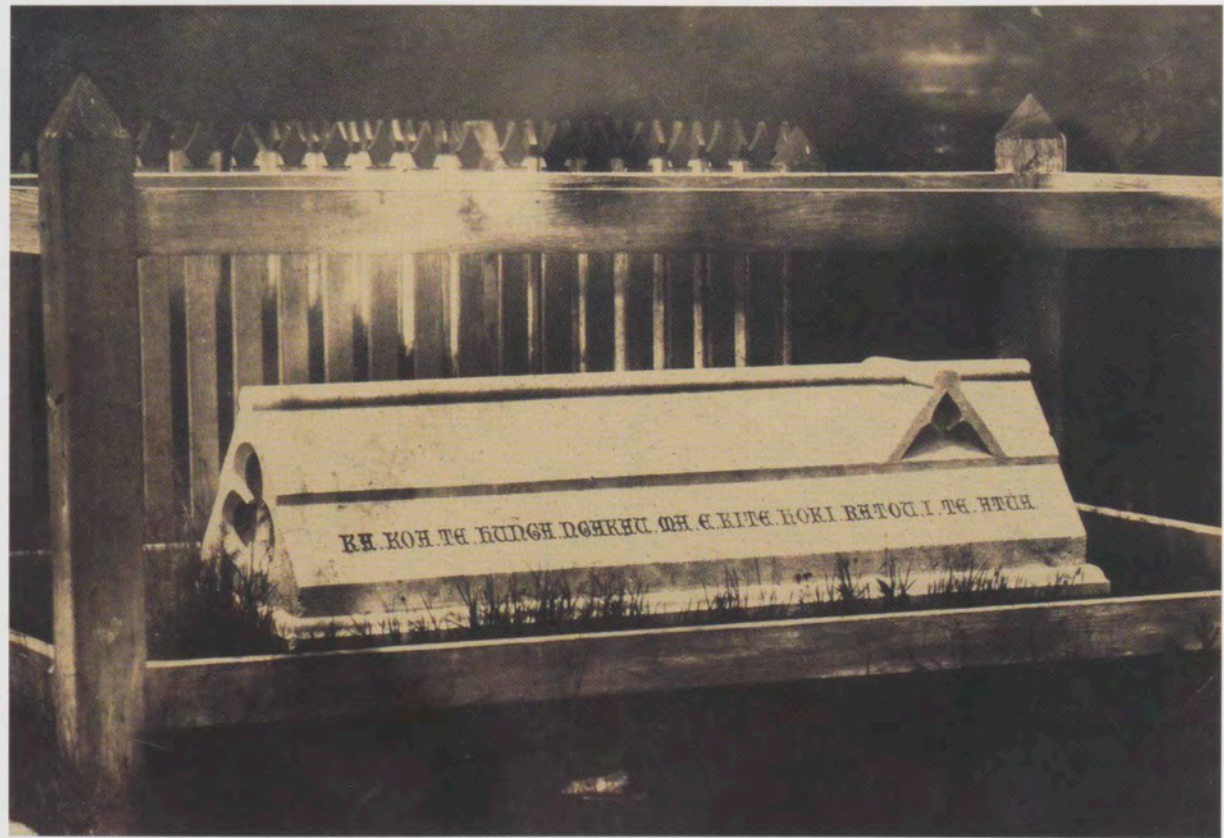


Plate 24 *The Grave of Reverend Thomas  
Whytehead, Waimate North 1864*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983



Plate 25 *Reverend Kinder and his family at St. John's College circa 1877*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983



Plate 26 *Te Aroha* 1891

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 27 *On Mercury Island 1857*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 28 *Te Papa o Haria on the Wairoa River, Tauranga 1857*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1989



Plate 29 *Te Papa, Tauranga -  
Mt Maunganui and Old Pa* 1857

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



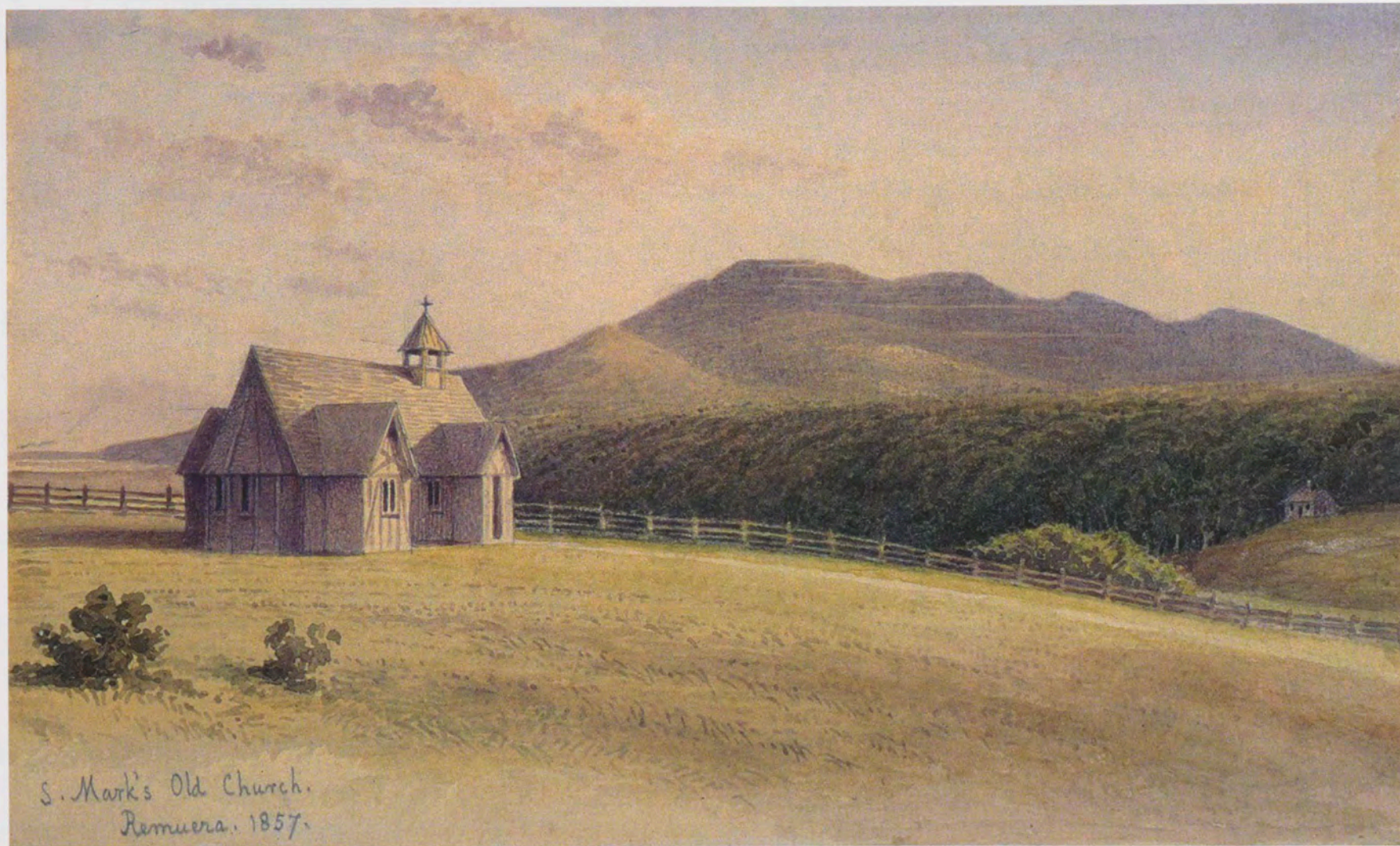
Plate 30 *Mt Maunganui, Tauranga 1874*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 31 *Araitaha with Maungatautari Mt*  
circa 1865

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



John Kinder  
*St. Mark's Old Church, Remuera 1857*  
watercolour  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937

# JOHN KINDER'S NEW ZEALAND PAINTINGS

## MICHAEL DUNN

Every object breathes repose; and the peaceful landscape, suffused with golden light, suggests an image of the world before the Fall.

William Swainson

*Auckland, the Capital of New Zealand, 1853*

Among 19th century watercolourists who worked in New Zealand, John Kinder stands out for the quality and individuality of his paintings. He belongs to the ranks of English amateur watercolourists who flourished from the late 18th to the mid-19th century and who were almost invariably, like Kinder, men or women of means with time to paint. They usually had a good education, talent for drawing and a circle of friends and family interested in viewing their productions.<sup>1</sup> But unlike many amateur English painters, Kinder was present at a time of great change and development in a thriving colony. While his painting is always based on a close observation of the world around him, it cannot be called unimaginative or merely descriptive. Instead he creates from everyday subjects an idealised view of the British

colonisation process – in Auckland first and foremost, but also in the country as a whole – with his wide-ranging topographical views. These cover both islands and most major centres of population.

By the time of his death in 1903, he had the status of an old colonist who had contributed significantly to the establishment of Auckland, where he had lived and worked for nearly fifty years. In 1900 he recalled early Auckland as having been ‘comparatively a very poor place to what it is now.’<sup>2</sup> He had seen the settlement grow into a prosperous city over the years since his arrival in 1855. Naturally he took pride in this achievement and in the part he played as teacher and clergyman. His generous gesture of endowing St John’s College, Meadowbank, with his fine library of over 3000 books created a fitting memorial to his intellectual life as a classical scholar and theologian.

Kinder’s profile as a man of learning and reflection is apparent in his art, where thought and calculation play prominent roles. He was not a man to paint spontaneously; rather he chose to arrive at finished images that distilled his ideas into fully resolved compositions. His subjects are meaningful both formally in terms of construction and symbolically in terms of the selection and position of each motif. Nothing is left to chance. As a Church of England minister, Kinder frequently included an Anglican ecclesiastical building in his topographical views. For example, in his view of *Auckland: Looking over the Harbour from Judges Bay* circa 1866 [plate 17], the small chapel of St Stephen’s stands out on a rise overlooking the harbour. He did not include the chapel simply because it introduced a picturesque feature to his view of Auckland harbour with Rangitoto Island in the background. He included it because it had specific meaning for the establishment of Christianity in the settlement.

Unlike the ancient and historic churches Kinder sketched while he was a young man in England, St Stephen’s was, when he painted it, newly built.<sup>3</sup> Instead of having the associations of age and accumulated centuries of Christianity behind it, the small wooden chapel symbolised a beginning. For Kinder the theologian, St Stephen’s had added importance as the place where the constitution of the Anglican Church in New Zealand was signed in 1857. For him the chapel was a symbol of progress for the Anglican Church in a country that previously had been pagan and beyond the reach of the Christian gospel.

Another instance of this emphasis in his watercolours occurs with his views of St Mark’s Old Church, Remuera (facing page). In the Auckland Art Gallery version he depicts the small wooden structure in an empty paddock, without the accretions of history found in an English churchyard with its monuments and

1. Martin Hardie, *Watercolour Painting in Britain, Vol. 3, The Victorian Period*, London, Batsford, 1968, p. 248.

2. John Kinder, ‘A Brief Account of my Life by J. Kinder M.A. and D.D. of Woodcroft, Remuera, in the neighbourhood of Auckland, 1900’. Unpublished manuscript, photocopy held in Auckland War Memorial Museum, p. 47.

3. For St Stephen’s and other Selwyn churches mentioned in the text, see C.R. Knight, *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland*, Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed 1972.

plantings of trees and shrubs. The raw newness of the church is his theme, not its age and history. He bravely draws the little belfry surmounted by a cross so that it breaks the skyline and registers the Christian mark on the surrounding landscape for the first time. St Mark's had personal associations for Kinder as well, because he was vicar there during his early years in Auckland and helped establish the parish.

His knowledge of and interest in church architecture is visible in the drawing of St Mark's where components like the nave, chancel, porch and transepts are all correctly rendered, as is the method of construction where roof rafters were carried to the ground for stability (this is seen in the exposed timbers of the transepts and porch). Kinder was well versed in what is called the Selwyn style of architecture and was later to design St Andrew's Church in Epsom along those lines. When he took up photography in the 1860s, Anglican ecclesiastical architecture featured there, too.

It is easy to find other examples of his work where he depicts Anglican churches as features of the developing townscape of Auckland. St Peter's appears in his view from Manukau Road of Onehunga, 1860 (facing page). Old St Paul's was recorded several times and was the subject of a finished watercolour in the Auckland Art Gallery, completed much later than the initial sketches and after the church had been demolished (page 57). Kinder became aware that change and progress meant that his art was a means of recording, for posterity, stages in the development of the town and later city. When he was at St John's College in the 1870s he actively recorded the chapel and college buildings, associated as they were with the growth of Anglicanism in New Zealand and the establishment of seminary facilities for priests.

Related to this activity is his recording of mission stations and chapels at locations throughout the central and upper North Island. This included all the main historic centres of the Anglican mission to Maori, in locations such as Waimate North, Paihia, Tauranga and Te Wairoa. In all instances Kinder knew the missionaries involved, and in the case of Archdeacon A.N. Brown of Te Papa, Tauranga, he married his daughter Marianne Celia, establishing a close bond.<sup>4</sup> Again we find a personal and autobiographical dimension emerging from a study of his subjects and themes.

By giving prominence to ecclesiastical buildings in his paintings, Kinder presents them as records of the establishment and growth of the Anglican Church in New Zealand. This growth is seen positively by him, and in his finished watercolours made from earlier sketches he develops the Christian colonising theme

in an idealised way. For example, if we return to his view of *Auckland: Looking over the Harbour from Judges Bay* circa 1866 [plate 17], this painting shows Auckland as a light-drenched haven of peace and progress. Tall-masted ships are in the harbour, the sea is calm and pure and the foreground fields are covered with pasture, not scrub; also they are fenced and shaded by imported trees. This serene view is filled with a glow of warm light and is presided over by St Stephen's Chapel. For Kinder this was indeed the better world for which he left his native England, never mind the less-than-perfect success of his career as a clergyman in Auckland or the very real difficulties of colonial life. As he painted this and related watercolours in the spacious rooms of Woodcroft, the two-storeyed mansion he built in Remuera for his retirement, he must indeed have felt he was living in an earthly paradise. It is important to realise that the main finished watercolours for which Kinder is known were all completed in the 1880s and early 1890s, when he was an elderly man looking back at scenes he had first recorded at least a quarter of a century earlier.<sup>5</sup>

In Kinder's finished watercolours, sentiment and nostalgia are important if sometimes overlooked ingredients. As an amateur he was not much concerned with exhibiting or selling his paintings to the public. While he did exhibit at the Auckland Society of Artists in 1871 and 1873, that was exceptional and probably done to support the establishment of the society. In the main his art was a private affair – made for himself, his family and friends. He kept his sketches in albums that could be stored in his library and brought out when occasion required for display on a table or desk. His personal involvement in their display would have allowed an accompanying story or narrative to go with the drawings. It is easy to imagine him leafing through the albums and portfolios, giving an oral accompaniment to the visual records before a select and sympathetic audience. In such a context his personal feelings and associations could be articulated clearly, whereas today we must reconstruct them. Their autobiographical character reveals something of the man, who was methodical and had great self-discipline. Even in his leisure hours he was diligent and industrious, recording his life while living it, wanting to capture and retain his feelings and experiences for posterity. Presumably he would have seen his works as having an appeal mainly to his family and descendants; certainly he would not have anticipated their current wider audience.

He described his sketching as a pastime; it was a form of recreation for a man of sober habits who apparently did not express his feelings easily. In his art he could show something of what he felt and what he cared about more than in public

4. See C.W. Vennell, *Brown and the Elms*, Tauranga, The Elms Trust, 1984, for a full account of Brown and the mission.

5. This was first established by Gordon H. Brown in his important catalogue *The Ferrier-Watson Collection of Watercolours by John Kinder*, Hamilton, Waikato Art Gallery, 1970.



John Kinder  
*Onehunga, Manukau Harbour and Heads* 1860  
watercolour  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937

displays of affection or enthusiasm. He described himself as being of a retiring disposition and was not one who would have been the life of a social gathering. His many hours of reading and study, beginning as he notes before breakfast at seven in the morning and often extending into the evening hours, would have made him value silence, solitude and meditation rather than conventional social discourse.<sup>6</sup> And it is known that he was not very popular as a person either in England or New Zealand, often seeming stiff and inflexible. In Uttoxeter he was referred to in a polemical pamphlet as the 'stiff-necked Schoolmaster' and in Auckland he was the subject of an unkind jingle composed by his school pupils.<sup>7</sup>

Not surprisingly, much of his art at the beginning of his Auckland years was centred on his home and family. One of his earliest Auckland sketches, now in the Hocken Library, is taken from the verandah of Mr Keven's house in Karangahape Road in 1856. Situated on the site of the present St Kevin's Arcade, the house was rented by Kinder while the new master's house was built for him in Ayr Street, Parnell. The sketch appropriately shows a bearded figure, presumably Kinder, looking at the view of the town through a telescope. Kinder's family is shown around him, including his sister Charlotte seated with her young son, and the older sister Fanny, standing attentively behind him.<sup>8</sup>

Both sisters lived with him at this time. This fascinating painting combines the personal with the topographical, for Kinder has laid out the panorama of Auckland with the landmark of Partington's windmill at the far right and the harbour and Rangitoto Island in the middle distance. The civilising overtones of his vantage point, an architectural frame for the view and the family members in Western dress, give the painting a sub-theme as a celebration of the colonial endeavour. Here Kinder is not an impartial recorder, rather he is a warmly partisan observer and participant in this historic moment: the formation of a new city. He allows no troubling elements to intrude on the utopian calm and benevolence of his view.

This sketch, like many of Kinder's early works both in England and New Zealand, is in monochrome. It is a sepia-wash drawing of the type he learned to do when he was a young student. He was first taught to draw at the Reverend William Browne's school at Cheam, and later by Aaron Penley, a well-known English watercolour painter, while he was living at Southampton.<sup>9</sup> He records in his autobiography how Penley befriended him and allowed him free access to his studio. Penley wrote instruction manuals on watercolour technique and on perspective and drawing. Kinder learned from him how to establish lines of sight, to draw in perspective and to

model forms in light and shade. He must, too, have had some instruction in figure drawing, even though his figure groups can seem a little naive in conception and execution. Penley advocated the use of appropriate figures in view paintings, a practice Kinder followed throughout his career.

Kinder's paintings made before his arrival in Auckland are topographical views and architectural drawings of historic churches, abbeys and castles. In all of these, the subject is important as a source of factual data about the buildings and their locations. While a student at Cambridge he belonged to the Camden Society, which was concerned with the study and preservation of old churches and buildings of architectural quality.<sup>10</sup> Colour and atmospheric perspective are largely ignored. But Kinder was gradually to extend his range as a painter to include colour and atmospheric effects as well as aerial perspective. Space became much more important, and that is already visible in the view he recorded from Mr Keven's house.

This sketch belongs to a series of sepia-wash drawings Kinder made of subjects in and around Auckland, soon after his arrival there. To accompany these he also made a relief drawing and map of Auckland that shows the geographical and man-made features of the town. As his notes on the map explain, the numbers on it refer to individual sketches in this series and arrows indicate the direction at the centre of each view. Predictably, the view from Mr Keven's house is number one in the series. The drawing of the map shows Kinder's interest in the systematic study of his surroundings. He lists the main streets and names and identifies the houses of notable citizens, including Judge William Martin, Reader Wood and various prominent clergy, like his neighbour the Reverend Vicesimus Lush. Again we see how his painting is based on his own location both socially and geographically, and how it tells us about the world he knew and belonged to. We find again the coincidence of the personal and the historic.

Among paintings in this series, his view of St Paul's Church, 1856, in the Hocken Library, is characteristic of his evolving style. While still in monochrome, his sketch now shows the church in the middle distance, silhouetted against the sky, whereas in the majority of his European views of churches he chose a close-up viewpoint that excluded the surrounding landscape. In painting the landscape he is showing the social importance of the church in the new urban community, not just its architectural aspects. Kinder is now interested in the cluster of weatherboard houses, the newly formed roads and the picket fence that tells out as a pattern, as do the flowers of the aloe plant, which the artist observes with the eyes of an amateur

6. 'A Brief Account...', op. cit. p. 73.

7. Michael Dunn, *John Kinder: Paintings and Photographs*, Auckland, SeTo Publishing, 1985, pp. 12–13 and p. 38. Also John Webster, *The School Report: School-Life at the Church of England Grammar School*, sixth Kinder lecture, Kinder House Society, Auckland, 2000.

8. For information on Kinder's sisters, see Ian Thwaites, *In Affectionate Remembrance: The Four Kinder Sisters*, second Kinder lecture, Kinder House Society, Auckland, 2000.

9. Kinder refers to having learnt to draw while at school with Mr Browne: 'I learnt French and Drawing which were both of much use to me in after life.' ('A Brief Account...', op. cit. p. 7.) His references to Penley are on p. 9. Aaron Edwin Penley (1807–1870) exhibited at the Royal Academy and was a member of the New Watercolour Society. He was watercolour painter to William IV and Queen Adelaide.

10. For the Camden Society, see J. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and The Gothic Revival*, Cambridge, University Press, 1962. Kinder joined the Society in 1842 and in 1843 was Honorary Secretary. The Society encouraged the recording of historic churches and mediaeval buildings by sketches with annotations.

botanist and gardener. Compared with his European views, fine though they are, the St Paul's sketch and related ones in the series have a new intensity and freshness. It is as if the colonial experience has acted as a catalyst for the artist, opening his eyes and giving him the desire to record vividly all that is happening and changing around him by the day.

Kinder saw the views he made in this series as forming a collective entity. He did not intend to split them up or have them framed and exhibited as individual items. His intention has been realised because the daughter of his sister Sarah, to whom he gave the map and sketches, donated them to the Hocken Library where they have been preserved together. It is thus still possible to get a good idea of how the sequence cumulatively gives information about Auckland and its environs at a particular moment of its history. Kinder had the exact combination of skills and interests to carry out this task systematically and thoroughly. Without his industry, our knowledge of early Auckland would be very much the poorer.

While nearly all Kinder's early views of Auckland record the progress of European settlement, there is little attention to local Maori or to the virgin landscape. By contrast, in his photographs taken from the early 1860s, he was much more wide-ranging in his subject matter and depicted the bush with native ferns and remains of kauri forest. However, a surviving sketch from his series of sepia-wash drawings of 1856, entitled *Glen Ligar, Auckland*, in the Hocken Library, shows a bush-covered gully near the present Symonds Street cemetery with a group of Maori in native costume in the foreground. They are clustered around a fire for warmth and give us a glimpse of the passing lifestyle so rapidly being supplanted by British settlement. In this sketch Kinder records details of Maori cloaks with some care and depicts the standing figure holding a taiaha. Kinder had some interest in Maori artefacts, which he collected and photographed. In this case it is difficult to know whether he observed the group of figures from life or inserted them to give greater authenticity and incident to his view. He draws the bush and trees with an eye for different species and types of vegetation. The tree fern in the foreground is an example of his observation from nature.

A further instance of his recording of Maori is found in his view *Maungatapu, Tauranga* 1863 (page 54). This depicts a Maori village in the middle distance with carefully rendered houses and a foodstore raised from the ground on stilts. In the foreground a group of Maori converse by the roadside, while in the distance we see the mission chapel and a group of European houses springing up along the foreshore. There are several canoes anchored in the bay and a European sailing ship approaching

from further out at sea. This is a good example of Kinder portraying the impact of settlement on Maori and their way of life. At this stage, old and new were at a point of near equilibrium and peace. However, Kinder knew this was soon to give way to the hostilities of the land wars. He had a special interest in the mission at Tauranga where Archdeacon Brown, his father-in-law, had worked for many years – and he was painting from personal knowledge and experience of the local situation.

By painting finished watercolours from his original sketches made much earlier, Kinder had the advantage of hindsight. This is a factor with *The Wairoa near Lake Tarawera with Mission Chapel of Te Mu January 4 1866* circa 1886, from the Ferrier-Watson Album, now in the Fletcher Trust Collection [plate 90]. He painted this finished version of the subject at Woodcroft after 1886 when he knew that the eruption of Mt Tarawera had devastated the village and destroyed what remained of the mission chapel.<sup>11</sup> His painting becomes, like those he made of the Pink and White Terraces for the same album, a record of times past and of scenes destroyed and gone forever. Nostalgia and sentiment play a part in giving symbolic overtones to such works. In this case, his introduction of the rainbow, not found in a related photograph, can be interpreted as a symbol of hope and a sign that the Christian mission to Maori, despite setbacks, will triumph in the end. Undoubtedly Kinder would have had some emotional response to the eruption of Tarawera in June 1886 and its destruction of locations that he had drawn and photographed. It may indeed have been a factor in his decision to create the Ferrier-Watson Album of carefully finished watercolours, some of whose subjects had been destroyed or irrevocably changed.

In this respect, his paintings of the Pink and White Terraces for the Ferrier-Watson Album show great care in the recording of the geological formations and the geothermal landscape that he observed closely on his second trip to the area in 1865–66. On that occasion he took large-format photographs, which he later used as a reference for the finished watercolours. For example, *Te Tarata. The White Terrace. Rotomahana 1866* circa 1886 [plate 45] depends closely on a photograph of the same view, but the artist has been able to develop and clarify the information provided in his black-and-white print. Firstly he elaborates the spatial and atmospheric dimensions of the subject to good effect, for example by showing the clouds of steam rising from the hot pools and basins of the terrace.<sup>12</sup> Kinder depicts the intricate silica formations of the terrace with considerable care and clarity. He tries to give accurate information of a scientific kind as well as to create an appealing painting. By choosing – in this case – an extended

11. For the Tarawera eruption, see R.F. Kearn, *Tarawera: the Volcanic Eruption of 10 June, 1886*, Auckland, R.F. Kearn, 1988. Kearn chronicles very closely the physical changes to the area and reproduces many contemporary photographs.

12. For colour reproductions of paintings and photographs, see Michael Dunn, *op.cit.*



Naunaoa, Taurana. 1863

T. Kinder

semi-panoramic view, he could show the location of the terraces in relation to the surrounding landscape and the shore of the lake. Typically for Kinder, his view is understated and not romanticised like those of Charles Blomfield. It shows the artist's interest in the subject and his awareness of its historical importance. He also drew a close-up view of the crater of the White Terrace after a violent eruption had emptied it of water for a time. He depicted the Pink Terrace as well, thus giving a comprehensive coverage of the locality and its former natural wonders.

Kinder normally followed the practice of working from sketches he made on the spot, sometimes in pen and ink. He could make such sketches relatively quickly and they had the advantage of portability. In his autobiography, he records: 'Sketching from nature became my favourite amusement and was kept up till old age as my numerous books and portfolios will testify to you.'<sup>13</sup>

Quite a few of Kinder's sketches survive and some were compiled into albums, once owned by the late Mr H.M. Rodewald of Auckland. In most cases these sketches are small in size, drawn in pen and wash over a pencil outline. The artist would often write notes on the sketches as guides to work from later, back in the studio. If necessary, Kinder would join several pieces of paper together in order to achieve the size he wanted for his sketch. A good example of this method can be seen in his view of *Keri Keri, Bay of Islands* 1858, now in the Alexander Turnbull Library. This attractive sketch is in blue wash over pencil on two pieces of paper butted together. This extension allowed Kinder to include more of the topographical view as well as show the main buildings, the Stone Store and the Kemp House. Such sketches would have been completed at a single sitting.

In one of his finished watercolours, *Te Papa, Tauranga – Mt Maunganui and Old Pa* 1857 [plate 29], Kinder includes foreground figures that give an insight into how such sketching was done. He depicts two figures that we can identify as Kinder himself and his favourite pupil Arthur Gundry.<sup>14</sup> Gundry accompanied Kinder on this occasion and was a gifted artist. Kinder is shown reclining on the grass smoking a pipe while Gundry is hard at work sketching the view before him. He is seated on a portable folding stool and is supporting his sketch-block on his knee while he studies his subject. He wears a hat to protect himself from the summer heat, while a parasol lies on the ground in case it is needed. There is a folder beside the figures, undoubtedly for carrying the blocks of sketching paper and keeping them flat and dry. Kinder appears to be conversing with Gundry and is probably giving him some tips on how to

proceed with his drawing. This is a rare but informative glimpse of how Kinder would have pursued his pastime while travelling. By the stage Kinder painted this finished watercolour he would have been aware of Gundry's premature death in 1868, and his vignette would also have been a sentimental record of happy times, long past and irrecoverable.

From this same trip we also have a written account by Kinder that gives insights on his sketching procedure. He wrote a journal on the back of his sketches as a record for his sister Fanny, who remained behind in Parnell.<sup>15</sup> In one entry he writes: 'I wandered out with my sketchblock to the old pa upon the cliff, close by, surrounded by a high bank and commanding a good view of the harbour and the remarkable isolated hill Maunganui at the entrance.' Judging from these notes, Kinder was careful to select an appropriate vantage point, preferably from a height so he could see his subject laid out below him. Such a position would fit with his topographical interests. He was of course free to determine what he would paint without considering commercial factors.

There are also some notes from this journal that relate to another sketch made on this trip entitled *View on the East Coast of Mercury Island looking North*, in a private collection. This is a pen-and-wash sketch, formerly in one of Mr Rodewald's albums, which relates closely to a finished watercolour entitled simply *On Mercury Island* 1857 [plate 27]. In the sketch, Kinder depicts himself and Gundry in the foreground, looking at and discussing the view before them. He writes:

*Leaving my initial station exposed to the breezes of the Pacific, I took up a position more inland on a hill and overlooking a beautiful little landlocked harbour round which a magnificent wall of precipitous white cliff towered up to a great height. I had now both shade and shelter and worked much more successfully than I had done in the heat of the day, while the declining sun throwing the steep precipice of rock into shade and bringing out the inequalities of the ground and the reflections in the blue water of the little bay, which was almost a lake, added every minute to the quiet beauty of the scene. My companion [Gundry] had now left me, and there was no living thing in sight, or indeed anywhere on the island except where the four little schooners sat at anchor waiting for a fair wind.*

These notes are valuable for indicating the importance the artist gave to the fall of light and shade and the way it could assist him to clarify the scene before him. Typically in the finished watercolour he took that process further than in the sketch, being at pains to clarify the drawn elements of his composition and to render the details of the trees and cliff more specifically. His written response to the pristine beauty and solitude of Mercury Island is captured fully in his watercolour, which is its pictorial equivalent.

Judging by surviving albums of his sketches that were intact

left: John Kinder  
*Maungatapu, Tauranga* 1863  
watercolour  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937

13. 'A Brief Account...', *op. cit.* p. 17.

14. With Kinder's encouragement, Gundry went to London to study art. He had paintings accepted by the Royal Academy in 1866 and 1868 before his untimely death in 1868 cut short his career at the age of twenty-three.

15. For an account of these journal entries, see Michael Dunn, 'John Kinder: Transcripts of Journal Entries', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, 9, 1986, pp. 26–32.

until the mid-1980s, Kinder arranged sketches from his holiday trips on the pages so that they formed a sequence corresponding with his journey. By doing so, he provided a coherent record of the journey that was easy to store and access when required. There is nothing to indicate that he saw the sketches, or indeed his finished watercolours, as items to frame and present on the wall. That his albums have now been broken up and the sketches framed for individual display tells us more about contemporary expectations than about Kinder's intentions for the presentation of his work.

In his finished watercolours, Kinder arrived ultimately at a personal and recognisable style. These paintings are usually of a similar size or, as in the case of the Ferrier-Watson Album, are customised to fit an album page and be bound together in a sequence. A typical size for these watercolours is 250 x 300 mm. They rarely depart from these dimensions by more than fifteen percent. This means that the paintings can be viewed comfortably at close range, on a table or desk. Kinder intended them to be seen at this distance, identical with the distance he adopted while painting them. As a result he worked them up to a degree of finish and detail that encourages close observation. For example, his painting from the Ferrier-Watson Album entitled *Inside the Crater. White terrace. The basin empty 1866 circa 1886* [plate 42] shows close attention to the patterns in the silica of the basin caused by geothermal activity and weathering. He recorded these formations also in his photographs, one of which shows them in close-up. The attractive group of figures in the middle distance in this painting is so small that it could be easily missed if seen from a distance. The man and woman are fashionably dressed and are obviously tourists, attracted to the terrace by its remarkable and unique features. They contribute a human scale and interest to the composition.

Kinder largely preserves the translucency of his medium in his finished works, which he invariably painted on sheets of white Whatman paper imported from England. This high-quality hand-made paper was specifically designed for watercolour artists and allowed them to use water liberally in washes, without the surface becoming rough and raised. Kinder restricted himself to a limited palette in his watercolours, where there is often a preponderance of yellow and purple tints. He was in fact criticised for having a sickly yellow tinge in two watercolours he exhibited at the Auckland Society of Artists in 1871.<sup>16</sup> But his colouring is not naturalistic and is consistent throughout most of his finished watercolours, no matter what the locality. He did not, however, confine himself to earth colours as some purists did, and even used body-colour, an opaque white, to establish highlights in

areas like the foreground wheelbarrow and spade of *Dunedin from Melville Street* 1890 [plate 99]. Body-colour allowed the retouching and detailing that Kinder required in his finished works. He put on dark touches in the final stages of his process to introduce a fuller feeling of light and shade in motifs like trees and shrubs.

If we look for a progression in Kinder's style, we have to be careful not to make the mistake of thinking that the dates written on his watercolours tell us when he painted them. In all cases, the dates refer to when he visited the location and made the original sketch from nature. For him that date was more significant than when he painted a particular version. As an artist with a topographical emphasis, he wanted his paintings to record a particular place as it was at a specific time in history. He was well aware of the changes that could take place in the space of a few years. Usually there is no problem dating the sketches made from nature, as the date on them and the date of execution are one and the same. It is the dating of his watercolours that causes the problems.

One useful guide to dating the watercolours is provided by the watermarks embedded in the sheets of paper by the manufacturer, which give the date they were made. If the watermark is early, that is a useful guide to the approximate date of a painting. We do have some watercolours by Kinder on paper with watermarks as early as 1850. One of these is a view of Dr Dalliston's, Mahurangi, held in a private collection and dated 1856. The close concordance between the date on the watercolour and the watermark suggest an early dating for this painting. The work is painted in pure watercolour on a rough-textured paper that contributes sparkle and life to the surface. In this example, Kinder brushed on broad washes of pigment to indicate the main forms and then added darker tones over them to render the details of trees and scrub. He applied the darker tones after the underlying washes had dried, so that there would be little or no bleeding of one layer into the other. He drew Dr Dalliston's house minimally and did not give the detail that is characteristic of his mature style. Also, he used a palette of cool greys, blues and greens that is closer to the typical colouration of the New Zealand landscape than the yellows and purples of his later paintings. There are other paintings with these stylistic features, which probably indicate how he painted in his first New Zealand years.

All the evidence suggests that the characteristic style, familiar in Kinder's finished watercolours, evolved in New Zealand over a period of time. It appears well developed in his paintings of the 1870s at St John's College, but was brought to its final form in the 1880s at Woodcroft. There, in his retirement, he had the time

16. 'Society of Artists' exhibition. Watercolours by local artists', *New Zealand Herald*, 3 March 1871, p. 2: 'there is a pervading tinge of yellow which gives rather a sickly appearance to the drawings.'



John Kinder  
*Old St Paul's, Auckland 1861*  
watercolour  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937

to do more watercolour painting than ever before. With freedom and the appropriate conditions, he could spend the time needed to do justice to his earlier sketches and impressions made from nature. Then calculation and control, as well as nostalgia for times past, contributed vital ingredients to the formulation of his mature style as a watercolourist.

It is sometimes said that Kinder was affected by the introduction of photography and that this had an impact on his art, especially his painting of tone. However, while there is evidence to show the relationship between Kinder the painter and photographer, it is important to remember that his work up to 1861 was initially drawn on the spot from nature. Even after that date, when he began to take photographs, he continued to sketch outdoors. The conventions of painting remained critical for him throughout his career.

About 1860 Kinder took up wet-plate photography as a hobby and was often to be seen taking photographs around Parnell and central Auckland. He also took his camera on some of his holiday trips to places like Lake Rotomahana and Whangarei. There are full plate landscape photographs that compare in size with his watercolour paintings and are of the same or related subjects. He also collected photographs by professional practitioners such as Hartley Webster, the Burton Brothers and Daniel Manders Beere. It is not known who taught him photography. But his methodical nature, together with his amateur interest in science, meant that there was a rapport between him and the process of preparing wet-plate glass negatives, exposing them to the light and making prints from them.

In his photography Kinder was able to extend his range as an artist to include subjects such as portraits that were beyond his scope as a painter. Also, he could photograph figure groups or contemporary architectural subjects like the Union Bank, Queen Street, with a graphic realism that he did not achieve in his paintings. His range as a landscapist was also extended by his photography to include frontier scenes at Coromandel or near the Manukau Harbour, with bush being cleared and gold being mined. There is a new rawness and roughness quite unlike the pastoral aspects of his painted landscape views. In these cases it is hard to believe that it is the same artist at work. His close-up views of bush scenes depict a world of intricate patterns of light and shade and fragmentary forms – true to New Zealand, but alien to the systems of painting and composition he had learned in England. His superb photographs of Maori artefacts, canoe prows, pataka, wharenui and gateway carvings at Maketu Pa reveal a response to Maori art that he does not show in his watercolours. It can be said that

his photographs complement his watercolours by allowing an extended range of expression.

There are special cases where Kinder used one of his own photographs rather like a preliminary sketch for a finished watercolour of the same subject. This happens, for example, in several paintings he based on photographs taken at Whangarei Heads in 1871. His watercolour called *Whangarei, Near The Heads* 1871 [plate 59] is almost identical in size to the photograph on which it is closely based, held in the Auckland Museum. Kinder appears to have made no sketch for the painting, which has all the characteristics of his mature style. By comparison with the photograph, Kinder's watercolour appears lighter and brighter and lacks the deep shadows and brooding depths of chiaroscuro. In his watercolour, Kinder systematically clarified all the drawn forms by simplifying them and using tonal contrast to make them more legible. This is very noticeable in the group of trees at the right of the painting. There he has separated the tree located on the far bank of the inlet from the others on the near bank. To do this he has trimmed away the leaves and branches found in the photograph, leaving the sky and background hill clear and unobstructed. Every part of the watercolour, including the background hills with their rocky outcrops, has undergone a similar process. Kinder the painter wants to show us what he knows to be there rather than retain the complexity and disorder of nature. He uses light to define and clarify his drawn forms, not to convey effects of light and shade in an impressionist fashion. By introducing the farmer and cow into his watercolour, he adds a pastoral dimension that goes with his tidied painted view and reduces its untamed nature.

In at least one case Kinder made a compositional pencil study in the process of translating one of his photographs into a finished watercolour. In his painting *Old St Paul's, Auckland, 1861* (page 57), in the Auckland Art Gallery, he closely followed a photographic view of the subject he had taken with his stereoscopic camera. This apparatus had two lenses set at eye distance apart and took two negatives of the same subject from slightly different angles. The resulting prints were viewed through a special device that merged them into one for the viewer, generating a greatly enhanced three-dimensional effect. In this case, Kinder's watercolour is considerably larger than the stereoscopic images and takes in a somewhat extended view to the right that is not visible in the photographs. Obviously he had to reconstruct this area, either from memory or from other visual aids.

A feature of both the painting and the stereoscopic prints is the presence of two Norfolk Island pines in the garden of the foreground house. Neither appears in his earlier view of the same

subject dated March 1856, in the Hocken Library. The trees must have been planted subsequently, though they look more mature than the intervening five years would suggest. Kinder drew their trunks as precise verticals and used them as accents for structuring his view, with a formal disposition of vertical and horizontal divisions of the picture surface. To achieve this order he made a pencil study where he used a ruler to lay out the vertical lines of the Norfolk Island pines and the walls of the buildings, including Old St Paul's, that are visible in his final watercolour. He ruled in a horizon line in the same way, and laid out the receding perspective lines of the foreground house to a vanishing point on the line of sight. He enlarged the pencil study to the scale of the finished watercolour as an intermediary step in converting his small photographs to the larger size. What this shows is that Kinder was prepared to add considerably to the information supplied in the photograph. In the process he made changes to create a pictorial composition that conformed to his stylistic and compositional criteria. This procedure appears to differ from that outlined by the Reverend Frederick H. Spencer in his 'Reminiscences' where he noted: 'He [Kinder] would generally photograph what he intended to sketch, and then would generally sketch the same and in completing would correct the outline from the photograph.'<sup>17</sup>

It is important to remember that Kinder frequently took photographs with no intention of making painted versions of them. He conceived paintings and photographs in the main as separate but complementary activities. Each medium had its advantages for him and was used accordingly. When he could see the benefits of using a photograph as an *aide-mémoire* for a painting, he felt free to do so. It is worth remembering, too, that his knowledge of painterly conventions always influenced his approach as a photographer. In acknowledging the importance of photography Kinder was in tune with many 19th century painters, including Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the influential art critic John Ruskin, whose writings he knew.

In assessing Kinder's overall achievement as a watercolourist, we should consider him in the context of his contemporaries in Auckland. Among prominent watercolour painters he knew was John Barr Clark Hoyte who taught art at the Church of England Grammar School while Kinder was Master there. Whether he and Hoyte sketched together is not known. Unlike Kinder, Hoyte was a professional artist who painted many topographical views in and around Auckland with the intention of exhibiting them and selling them to the public. His views often lack the distinction of Kinder's, being cruder in colour, more conventional in drawing and less personal in their conception and meanings. More comparable in artistic quality, though different in style, is

Alfred Sharpe, a younger painter, who shared Kinder's enthusiasm for New Zealand flora and landscape. He painted not only distinctive topographical views of Auckland and its environs but also the native pohutukawa tree and kauri logs in a stream, both subjects found in Kinder's photographs. Hoyte and Sharpe found Auckland a somewhat unwelcoming place for their art and left the city. As an amateur who rarely exhibited, Kinder was free from such concerns. He kept nearly all his watercolours intact at Woodcroft until his death.

Because of his private dimension, Kinder did not receive any proper critical attention as a painter in his lifetime. Two of his sisters, Sarah and Charlotte, were thought by the family to be his superiors as artists, but neither today seems to display any of the qualities or commitment that give Kinder his prominence as a colonial artist. In fact, it is hard to think of any other amateur painter of his generation who equals him in range, dedication and individuality. Apart from the topographical importance and their symbolic meanings, his many paintings of growing towns and resorts like Waiwera and Te Aroha demonstrate the development of a civilised and cultured lifestyle, with scope for leisure pursuits. For example, *Waiwera Hotel 1877* [plate 12] shows European patrons relaxing on the hotel's verandah enjoying the beach view, no doubt between bathing in the hot pools that were the drawcard, especially in winter, the time of this visit. The presence of the seated lady, the small child and the pet dog contribute to the picture of security and wellbeing. This is not a view of a dangerous frontier country but of one where Europeans can enjoy a pleasant lifestyle. Kinder's many views of picturesque subjects, like waterfalls, relate to this dimension of colonial life. Subjects like *Waitangi Falls 1864* [plate 7] could be enjoyed by the cultivated viewer with knowledge of art, for their beauty and their associations with the famous cascades and waterfalls of Europe that were so well known to Kinder and his friends.

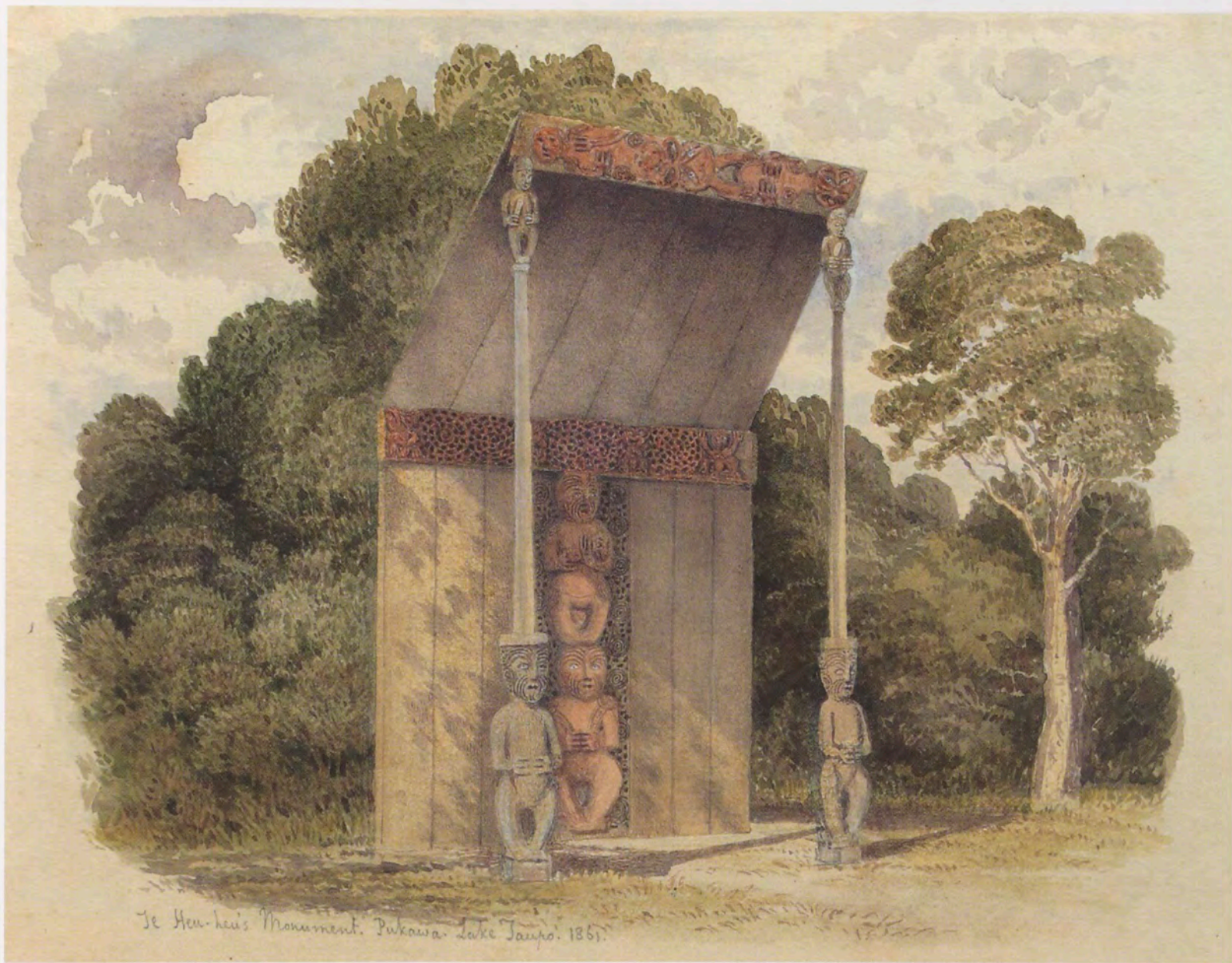
The stimulus of the distant land to which he emigrated with high hopes lifted his watercolours to a new level of interest, one that is absent from his early paintings made in Britain and Europe. He created an image of Auckland and colonial New Zealand that is idealised, utopian and appealing. It has a mesmerising charm that invites us to look back at a golden age of hope and optimism. In his paintings, colonial New Zealand remains a land of enchantment, fixed in a moment of time, so that future generations can enjoy and visit it in their imagination. It is Kinder's gift to posterity, a legacy beyond price, preserved in the hundreds of watercolours painted in his leisure hours by a true Victorian whose industry was seemingly tireless. That he made these paintings for love, not for material gain, only adds to their unique qualities and their purity of vision.

17. Reverend Frederick H. Spencer, 'Reminiscences of an Old New Zealander', typescript of the original manuscript, Auckland War Memorial Museum, manuscript 285, p. 39.



Plate 32 *Waihaha, Lake Taupo* 1861

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



*Te Heu-heu's Monument. Pukawa. Lake Taupo. 1861.*

Plate 33 *Te Heuheu's Monument. Pukawa. Lake Taupo 1861*

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki



Plate 34 *Pukawa Lake Taupo from Oreti*  
(Mr Grace's) December 1861 1861

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Plate 35 *Lake Taupo from the Mission Station, Oreti, Near Pukawa 1862*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
purchased 1961



Plate 36 *Okareka, December 31 1866* 1866

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki



Plate 37 *Wharetata. Roto Iti. December 29 1865*  
1865

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Plate 38 *Wairoa Falls and Gully leading  
to Lake Tarawera 1858*

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki



Plate 39 *Tarawera Lake and Mountains  
from Waitangi 9 January 1866*  
1866

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Plate 40 *Rotokakahi. 1866. Outlet of Lake*  
1866

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Plate 41 *Waikanapanapa, Rotomahana.  
Old Sinter Terrace 1866*

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Plate 42 *Inside the Crater. White terrace.  
The basin empty 1866 circa 1886*

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Plate 43 *Whatapoho (geyser) with incrustrated rock, Rotomahana 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 44 *The Tarata, or principal boiling  
spring, Rotomahana 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 45 *Te Tarata. The White Terrace.*  
*Rotomahana 1866 circa 1886*

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki



Plate 46 *Otukupuarangi. The Pink Terrace.*  
January 2 1866 1866

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Plate 47 *Otukapuarangi, Rotomahana 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 48 *Waikanapanapa, Rotomahana 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 49 *Rotomahana from the Pink Terrace*  
1866

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Plate 50 *Cascade of hot water, The Tarata, Rotomahana 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 51 *Ruahine (Solfatura) Rotoiti*  
circa 1865

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 52 *Off Taranaki 1873. Early morning*  
1873

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Plate 53 Gisborne 1890

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



John Kinder  
*Harakeke* 1865  
albumen print  
Auckland War Memorial Museum  
Te Papa Whakahiku  
(a contact print made by  
J. Richardson, from John Kinder's  
original wet-plate negative)

# JOHN KINDER'S PHOTOGRAPHS

## RON BROWNSON

Light was my first love!

Sir John Herschel, on the art of photography.<sup>1</sup>

Last, loneliest, loveliest, exquisite, apart –  
On us, on us the unswerving season smiles ...

Rudyard Kipling, after departing Auckland.<sup>2</sup>

The Reverend John Kinder, Head of the Church of England Grammar School in Parnell, then came and stayed with us while he was carrying on his hobby; that of painting and photographing landscapes. He did excellent work. The walls of his house and his portfolios contain most accurate and well-executed scenes. He generally photographed what he intended to sketch, and then would sketch the same and in completing would correct the outline from the photograph. I went to several places with him in order to act as interpreter, going with him to Okataina Lake; I have never been there since. The photographs had to be developed in the dark and makeshift was made by putting carpets over the dining room table under which Mr Kinder would creep and with a red glassed lantern carry on his work. Once he accidentally put out the candle and fearful of having a ray of sunlight let in, issued instructions as to what should be done.

Reverend Frederick H. Spencer.<sup>3</sup>

John Kinder has a notable reputation as one of New Zealand's finest topographic artists. This status resulted initially from his adopted son Harry's decision that Auckland's Old Colonists Museum should permanently retain an extensive collection of his father's watercolours and from the exhibition of these paintings some years after their presentation in 1937. Subsequently Hamish Keith curated the first solo exhibition of Kinder's paintings in 1958 at the Auckland City Art Gallery. It was this travelling exhibition that established Kinder's renown.

When John Kinder arrived in New Zealand on 17 October 1855, however, he had no conception that he would subsequently live two parallel lives. His career would be that of an Anglican minister, a scholarly teacher, a military chaplain and a distinguished theologian. Religion gave Kinder his priestly occupation yet art would provide him with his life's actual vocation – to work as a painter and as a photographer. Reverend Kinder was the first New Zealand artist to use cameras to produce exceptional photographs as self-sufficient works of art. His photographs have an innate merit and their cultural meaning is more expansive now than when he made them. What began slowly as a personal pastime matured into works of art that now rank among the pre-eminent photographs created in 19th century New Zealand. When John Kinder transported his camera into the local landscape, he left England behind him and entered the New Zealand that he sought to know and understand.

Kinder always painted and photographed for his own enjoyment. Writing in his autobiography, he noted to his son: 'Sketching from nature became my favourite amusement, and was kept up till old age as my numerous books and portfolios will testify to you.'<sup>4</sup> Unlike his contemporary Alfred Sharpe, a very public and effective advocate for painting, Kinder led a private life as an artist. He seems never to have presented public lectures on art, written letters about art or published any texts. The short account above is the only time he wrote about his parallel life. Yet there are over four hundred extant photographs and a comparable number of watercolours and drawings. Taking into account the vicissitudes of historical loss, he may well have produced nearly one thousand works of art. It would be inaccurate to say that Kinder had a public reputation as an artist, yet his commitment to his artistic vocation – his calling – is equivalent to the commitment of any of the professional artists working in colonial New Zealand.

John Kinder started his camera work in 1859 with stereograph photographs. Stereograph cameras have dual lenses, with each component lens about 63 millimetres from the other, the average distance between human eyes. The resulting images approximate

1. Larry J. Scharf, *Out of the Shadows: Herschel, Talbot & the Invention of Photography*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992, p. xi.

2. Witi Ihimaera (ed), *Auckland: The city in literature*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2003, p. 15.

3. Reverend Frederick H. Spencer, 'Reminiscences of an Old New Zealander', typescript of the original manuscript, Auckland War Memorial Museum, manuscript 285, p. 39.

4. John Kinder, 'A Brief Account of my Life by J. Kinder M.A. and D.D. of Woodcroft, Remuera, in the neighbourhood of Auckland, 1900'. Unpublished manuscript, photocopy held in Auckland War Memorial Museum, p. 10.



the view from either eye. Stereograph photography was already popular at Auckland by 1855. Viewers, cameras and stereoscope views were available from that year through the auspices of John Nichol Crombie, whose newspaper advertisement announced that the viewers '... represent the figure as possessing all the solidity and roundness of statuary...'<sup>5</sup> When the mounted photographs are viewed through a special viewer, there is an illusion of three-dimensional space.

Previously, John Kinder's stereographs were considered as dating from the summer of 1861. Yet from a study of the 100 or so remaining stereographs it appears much more credible that he began to create photographs around the end of 1859.<sup>6</sup> The employment of stereograph views as a parlour amusement was already fashionable in the United Kingdom and was becoming known in the colonies.<sup>7</sup> He had married Marianne Celia Brown on 15 December 1859 at the Te Papa Mission Chapel in Tauranga and it is likely that he took up stereo-photography about the time of his marriage. In the first two years of his married life, Kinder was actually more active as a photographer than as a watercolourist. He roamed about Queen Street, Wynyard Pier, Commercial Bay and Princes Street making streetscapes; later in 1861, he ventured to Kohimaramara, Mangere and Howick.<sup>8</sup>

Kinder did not favour using a stereograph camera to make pairs of stereographic images. More single images remain than double images – true stereographs. The lens that Kinder used to make his stereographs had a short focal length that produced sharp and clear images. What frustrated Kinder about stereography was its small scale and his own lack of skills as a photographic printer. The remaining stereographs indicate that he had not yet perfected his techniques for printing photographs.

During the next few years, John Kinder spent much time with the military stationed at Auckland's Albert Barracks. He was invited to become a military chaplain soon after his arrival in 1855, but as his autobiography notes:

*The war in the Waikato broke out in 1863 as the sequel to the Taranaki war under Governor Brown. Settlers near Drury were murdered and it was feared that the natives had a design of attacking Auckland itself. Blockhouses were erected in the Domain, and the citizens enrolled and drilled, patrolling the outskirts of the city at night. But though there were occasional alarms the armed natives never approached nearer than Pukekohe (about forty miles off) where they were repulsed, and the large number of troops sent from England soon relieved us of any danger. This increase in the force stationed in Auckland much increased my duties as chaplain. Many of the wounded were sent up from the front to the military hospital and I was constantly called upon to officiate at the burial in Symonds Street of the officers who fell in the various engagements with the enemy.<sup>9</sup>*

Throughout 1862 and 1863, Kinder had regular duties as a military chaplain and this would become important for his work

John Kinder  
Aloe and natives carrying peaches near  
St Barnabas' Church circa 1860  
albumen print, right-hand side of stereograph  
Architecture Library, University of Auckland  
gift of Vernon and Lesley Brown

John Kinder  
Native church, Mangere – native teacher,  
the Reverend Mr Purchas and family circa 1860  
albumen print, right-hand side of stereograph  
Architecture Library, University of Auckland  
gift of Vernon and Lesley Brown

5. William Main, *Auckland through a Victorian Lens*, Wellington, Millwood Press, 1977, p. 12. This book is a significant photographic history of Auckland. It is highly likely that John Nichol Crombie and John Kinder knew each other. Crombie documented many of the Maori rangatira who assembled at Kohimaramara on 10 July 1860. On page 12 of the John Kinder album 2 at Auckland War Memorial Museum there are two portraits that I believe were made by Crombie at the 1860 Kohimaramara gathering: *Ihaia of Taranaki* and *Paora Toaroto of Te Au o Waikato*.

6. I am grateful to the research of William Main, Diana Masters, John Webster and Ian Thwaites in projecting dates for John Kinder's stereograph photographs. Members of the Kinder House Society have also analysed the early history of Kinder's Ayr Street garden.

7. As with British and American photography of the 1850s, stereograph portraits are rare in New Zealand. The *carte-de-visite* was the preferred format for portraits at this period.

8. Vernon and Lesley Brown presented a significant collection of John Kinder's stereograph photographs to the University of Auckland Library.

9. 'A Brief Account...', op. cit. pp. 28–29.

as a photographer.<sup>10</sup> He was unquestionably the most active photographer closely associated with the 65th York regiment and the Lancaster regiment headquartered at Auckland. Daniel Manders Beere acted like a quasi-official photographer to the military but there is no evidence that he accompanied the military in a role that was as close to the officers as Kinder was. As their chaplain, he was both colleague and friend. Beere's ability to get his photographs published as engravings was an example of which Kinder soon became aware. Officers of these regiments, and other divisions, were already collecting Kinder's single-frame stereograph photographs: Ensign B.G. Haines, Lieutenant H. Stretton Bates, Dr William Temple and Major C.N. Rookes all collected Kinder photographs between 1861 and 1863. Rookes and Temple took fine photographs themselves and were proficient at printing, an activity of which the British military approved. Captain Thomas Porter's photographic album (private collection, Australia) contains an extensive representation of Kinder's stereographs and Assistant-Surgeon Dr William Temple's album (private collection, Australia) contains stereographs that reveal Kinder was photographing the military in early 1861.<sup>11</sup>

As early as 1856, photography was being taught to officers of the Royal Engineers at their military training school in Chatham; they learnt how to make landscapes, portraits and still lives. Photography was valued for its support in the preparation of maps and in the recording of topography. The public responded keenly to the engraved versions of Roger Fenton's Crimean photographs, reproduced between October 1855 and February 1856. Photographs replaced sketches and drawings as a visual account that could illustrate first-hand accounts of warfare.<sup>12</sup>

Kinder accompanied Assistant-Surgeon Dr William Temple south towards Drury from the camp of the 18th Regiment at Papakura during the spring of 1862. This was the first of many trips that they made together to the area. They always travelled through Shepherd's Bush to Baird's Farm and then overlooked Rhodes Farm. Kinder appears to have used Temple's larger camera during the next year while they went south together. In July 1863 they both made views from above the Mangatawhiri River with the same camera.<sup>13</sup>

Kinder's first military photographs are *Soldiers making a road, near Drury* 1862 [plate 68] and *The road through the bush, between Drury and the Waikato* 1862 [plate 69]. They are part of a larger sequence that includes *New road cut through kahikatea swamp to Waikato River, near Te Ia, Mangatawhiri* and *Soldiers at work on the new military road through the bush between Drury and Waikato*.<sup>14</sup> The latter photograph was one of a group reproduced by the *Illustrated London News* in November 1863 and titled *Views in*

*New Zealand: The River Waikato near Mangatawhiri – Koheroa, The Scene of the Fight on July 17*.<sup>15</sup> In what must be the first example of a New Zealand artist supplying military intelligence, the *Illustrated London News* reproduced not only two of Kinder's photographs but also a reconnaissance map that had been supplied by him.<sup>16</sup> Travelling with the engineers entailed many discussions about the consequences of their building of a road from Drury to the confluence of the Mangatawhiri and Waikato Rivers. In fact, the battle at Koheroa on 17 July 1863 resulted directly from the construction of the road visible in Kinder's photograph.

The title of one of Kinder's military photographs – *The road through the bush, between Drury and the Waikato* [plate 69] – shows how much he used location photography as visual evidence. The three men rest on their shovels while interrupting their road-building. Their wary poses say much about the difficult nature of their work, and Kinder has made a rare and candid image. Another photograph from 1862, *Soldiers making a road, near Drury* [plate 68], is less candid and less intuitively composed. The two tents frame the central gun carriage and Kinder has placed a draped tent canvas behind it to show the circular wheels.<sup>17</sup> The officers, unused to a long exposure time, have not been able to remain motionless. In these two images, Kinder juxtaposes dissimilar methods with which to make military photographs: one has a sense of him coming upon soldiers working in the bush, while the other is much less spontaneous.

The written report, photographs and map that Kinder sent to the *Illustrated London News* represent his views on the events of 1863. His account is at first hand and remains the most significant document to parallel his work as a visual artist and as an Anglican minister. In the winter of 1863 he travelled south with the military to serve as their only chaplain. Kinder's map shows Auckland as a town encircled by soldiers sited at Auckland, Onehunga, Otahuhu and Papakura. The isthmus was crammed with soldiers and his report indicates that his early photography had a political context:

*Events have recently taken place here which are likely to increase the interest felt at home in this country. The crisis in native affairs which has long been impending has at last begun, and we are engaged in earnest in a war which must have the most important consequences for the colony. At present we are only at the beginning of the struggle, and it is not easy to see how long it may last or what dimensions it may assume before it is brought to a close. Everything, however, seems to portend that it will be most serious, and that most if not all the tribes of the northern island will be drawn into it. The result in the end will no doubt be the destruction of a great part of the Maori race, and the throwing open of large tracts of land to colonisation; but this will not be purchased except at the cost of much blood and money to the colony, much public loss and private suffering. Already many of the settlers have been obliged to abandon their homes, and have lost their all, or the greater part of their property. Already several families among us have had to mourn the loss of relatives cruelly cut*

10. At the beginning of the Crimean War in 1856 the British army only had seven serving military chaplains. Lawrence James comments: 'After the war the number of chaplains was increased to twenty-two and Roman Catholics and Presbyterians were included for the first time. At the hospital at Scutari, near Constantinople, the religious life of the troops received greater attention, if only as a means to reduce drunkenness among the convalescents.' Lawrence James, *Crimea 1854-56: The War with Russia from Contemporary Photographs*, London, Hayes Kennedy, 1981, p. 108.

11. The most extensive holdings of Kinder's stereograph photographs of military provenance, in New Zealand collections, is contained in albums that were assembled in the early 1860s. The Nicholl, Moore, Wheeler and Urquhart albums at the Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand are essential resources for an understanding of Kinder's earliest photography. John Johnson's journal at the Auckland War Memorial Museum is another key resource for Kinder's 1861-63 single-frame stereo photographs.

12. William Main, 'Photographic Reportage of the New Zealand Wars' in *History of Photography*, vol. 5, no. 2, April 1981, pp. 105-114.

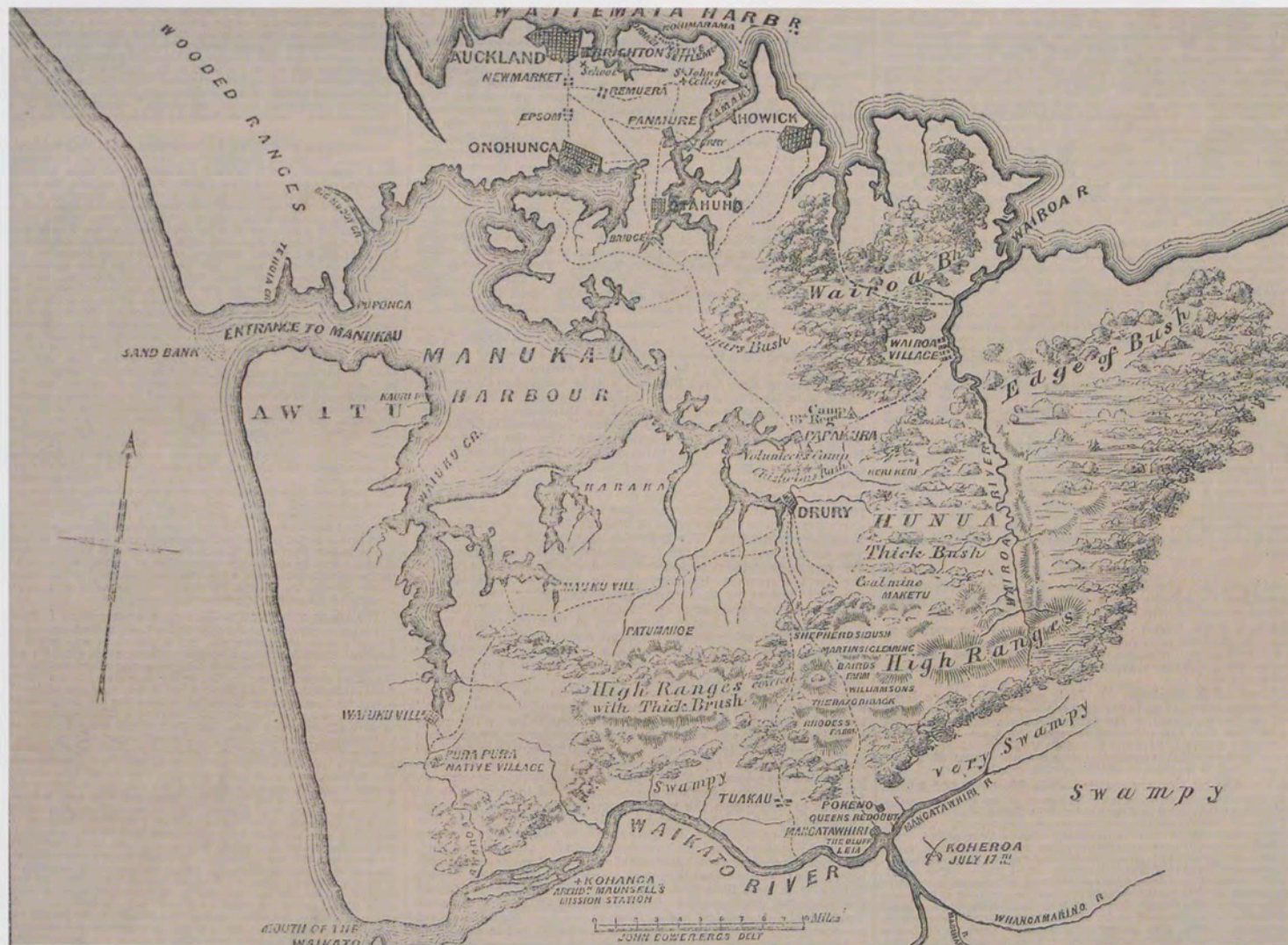
13. The Kinder photograph is in the Hocken Library (256); the Temple is in the Urquhart album in the Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand. The plate size of each photograph is 145 x 208 mm.

14. Plates 1 and 3, *John Kinder Photographs*, Ron Brownson, Auckland, Auckland City Art Gallery, 1985.

15. *Illustrated London News*, 7 November 1863, vol. XLIII, p. 469.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 475.

17. The American Civil War started in April 1861. Newspapers and magazines had an immediate need for photographic documents from the camps, forts and front lines. Mathew Brady, and his associate Alexander Gardner, were important practitioners as they had mastered how to make wet-plate collodion negatives on location. Kinder would never have seen their actual photographs but he would have seen engravings based on their images.



Unknown, after John Kinder  
 Map of the country between Auckland  
 and the River Waikato, illustrating  
 the war with the natives 1863  
 from page 475, Illustrated London News  
 7 November 1863, vol. XLIII

off by the natives now in arms against us, who make no distinction between the armed soldier or militiaman and the unarmed settler peaceably at work on his own farm – who make no prisoners, and tomahawk the wounded when the fight is over. Hitherto in Auckland we have been free from these sad scenes of blood and devastation which have been too common in the adjacent province of Taranaki; but it was hardly possible that we could continue to be so when our next neighbours of the Maori race are the natives of Waikato, the strongest and most warlike of the Maori tribes, the very heart of the King movement, and the centre from which the former war at Taranaki drew the support and strength that made it all formidable. It was, in fact, inevitable that we must sooner or later, have been brought into collision with these tribes. They have (as a body) all resisted the introduction among them of Sir George Grey's system of native Government...<sup>18</sup>

The military photographs of 1862 and 1863 convinced Kinder that he had an aptitude for location photography and the resulting confidence allowed him to purchase the larger-scale camera that he utilised for the next decade. During 1864 and 1865 he made a series of notable photographs of Maori subjects. *Carved stern-post of a canoe, ornamented with feathers* circa 1865 [plate 83] and *Tauihu, Waka taua Te Toki a Tapiri* circa 1865 [plate 82] are among the earliest photographic close-ups of Maori taonga. *Te Toki a Tapiri* was recorded at Onehunga beach and the other waka at Te Taongaroa, at the shore below Parnell Rise.<sup>19</sup> By raking his camera off perpendicular and placing it higher than usual, Kinder compensated for the distortion that occurred at close range. It also ensured that the stern and prow of each waka were silhouetted, to record light passing through carved fretwork. The care that Kinder took in documenting the high relief of the wood reveals that he was looking at the waka as sculpture.

For some early photographers, making images of sculpture was described as 'the triumph of the apparatus'.<sup>20</sup> Sculpture, to look good in a photograph, must be examined from the point of view that will reveal most about it. The artist has to question what light is needed for three-dimensionality to be at its most expressive. Kinder waited for the moment when the carvings could be lit by bright sunlight coming from a raking angle. This preparation is nowhere more apparent than in the two photographs he made at Maketu in the summer of 1865: *Waharoa or gateway, Maketu* [plate 88] and *Pataka, or food store, Maketu, Bay of Plenty, NZ* [plate 85].<sup>21</sup> The waharoa at the entrance to Maketu Pa is side-lit so that the carving of these ancestors is in full relief. Nearby, Kinder shows that the pataka named Te Awhi o Te Rangi is a storehouse that is in daily use. The enclosed garden, the plough, spade, and the stakes form one of the first 19th century images of a Maori garden. In the background, a two-doored thatched building echoes the pataka's roofline and shows how carefully he chose his point of view to be at 45 degrees. The thatched roof of Te Awhi o Te Rangi is

much more regular than the roof seen in the photograph *Wharepuni, Native House, Ohinemutu, Rotorua* 1865 [plate 89], where the thatch is both thicker and longer. Again, by employing a 45-degree viewpoint towards the building, and a low point of view, Kinder creates a dramatic and monumental photograph. The wharepuni appears to be much larger than it would have been in reality. The obvious concentration on the foreground garden is characteristic of Kinder; this is a place where people are living.

Kinder took a number of photographs of the impressive house that he used while Master of Parnell's Church of England Grammar School (see page 14). However, one of his most dramatic photographs of architecture is that of the *Mission station and native village on the Wairoa river, Tarawera lake. NZ. The Revd Mr Spencer's* 1865 [plate 91]. This is one of Kinder's deftly symbolic images, and the watercolour that derives from it is even more representative of Kinder exercising images to express his religious values. Reverend Seymour Spencer had built the chapel at Te Mu in 1853 and extended it further during 1861. When Kinder visited the mission station in the summer of 1865–66, its future was already insecure and by decade's end it would be abandoned. Kinder was aware of the mission's undetermined future and its possible closure; by the mid-1860s missionary stations were no longer regarded as being a priority for Anglicans.

In the background, Spencer's house cannot be seen. Kinder makes the white chapel the dominant structure of the photograph. Yet in his watercolour, Kinder 'restores' the presence of his friend's home and places the entire landscape under a rainbow that reaches down into the Maori village. *The Wairoa near Lake Tarawera with Mission Chapel of Te Mu January 4 1866* circa 1886 [plate 90] is an intriguing painting. It is a carefully adjusted copy of a photograph that Kinder had waited until the late 1880s to paint. By returning to the photograph that he made two decades earlier, he demonstrated that memory was a significant motivation for some of his late paintings. The eruption of Tarawera was definitely the impetus for the artist to paint a place that had not only closed as a mission station but was also later annihilated by volcanic upheaval.<sup>22</sup>

One crucial theme throughout Kinder's paintings and photographs is his search for visual evidence about the relationship between the Church of England and its development in New Zealand. By surveying the erection of church buildings, his photographs measure what is both contemporary and contributory to a future New Zealand. Out of this focus grew Kinder's scrutiny of how buildings modify the way we look at what is within the landscape. Just as buildings alter a place's

18. *Illustrated London News*, 7 November 1863, vol. XLIII, p. 474.

19. According to David Simmons, Te Toki a Tapiri was 'built (but not carved) in about the year 1836 by Tamati Parangi and Paratene Te Pohoi for Te Waaka Tarakau, chief of the Ngati Matawhaiti sub-tribe of Ngati Kahungunu at Whakaki lagoon near Te Wairoa, Hawkes Bay...' (Gilbert Arcey, *Whaowhia*, Auckland, Collins, 1977, p. 137.)

20. Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *L. J. M. Daguerre: The History of the Diorama and the Daguerreotype*, New York, Dover, p. 85.

21. Horatio Gordon Robley copied the *Waharoa or gateway, Maketu* photograph. It is the basis for his watercolour of the same subject (Hawkes Bay Art Gallery and Museum, MNC 808). He sent a version of his watercolour to the *Illustrated London News* where it was reproduced on 12 February 1867, p. 29. The pataka Te Awhi o Te Rangi was presented by the Ngati Pikiao elders of Te Arawa to the Dominion Museum in 1902. Margaret Orbell has noted that an 'entirely new Paepae (horizontal board below the porch) was made, and new lower ends were made for the two maihi (bargeboards).' (Margaret Orbell, 'Maori Collections – Their Display', *Agmanz Journal*, vol. 15, December 1984, pp. 5–6.) This 'reconstructive' work was carved by Mr. T. Heberley during the 1930s, and when completed, subsequently repainted. The original amo (upright posts supporting the bargeboards) (ME 8522, 8584, 8585/1, 8585/2) are retained at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (information from Ross O'Rourke, Ethnology Department, National Museum, 3 May 1983).

22. The stone pataka or food house is still extant and can be seen at the Buried Village, Tarawera. In 1986, Mark Adams returned to Te Mu and reviewed the appearance and surroundings of the stone pataka from a position and point of view comparable to that of the John Kinder photograph *Mission station and native village on the Wairoa river, Tarawera lake. NZ. The Revd Mr Spencer's*. Susan Sontag writes about the process of remembering through photographs in a way that is apposite to Kinder. 'The problem is not that people remember through photographs, but that they remember only the photographs. This remembering through photographs eclipses other forms of understanding, and remembering.' Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, New York, Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2003, p. 89.

habitation and usage, they also verify its character. In Kinder's photographs, buildings always show themselves as being recent constructions – yet in his paintings they frequently appear as if they have existed in a particular place for some time.<sup>23</sup>

Botany, and particularly indigenous flora, intrigued Kinder as much as the shape of the landscape within which it grew. The accomplished integration of New Zealand's topography with its flora is an attribute that identifies Kinder's visual style, and is manifest in both his photographs and watercolours. In fact, the indivisibility of plant life from its location is more apparent in the photographs because he could retain the textural variety of massed vegetation.

Photographically, he approached plant life from four viewpoints – close-up, in mid-view, in an all-over massing and, infrequently, in a panoramic format. Kinder was himself a prodigious gardener. He planned and developed gardens at the Master's House, at St John's College and at his last residence, Woodcroft in Remuera (pages 12, 17). Each garden mixed exotic and indigenous plant life. As early as 1864, he had started a programme of photographing plant life at the Auckland Domain and throughout inner Auckland. This 'botanising' project soon extended to locations far outside of Auckland.

The remarkable plant study of *Harakeke* (page 82) is a tribute to the beauty of flax and demonstrates Kinder's concentrated response to indigenous flora. This dramatic photograph shows a radical new way of seeing and was probably made near the Bay of Plenty coast during 1865. The subject required a motionless and dazzling day, with the sunlight orientated onto the flax from directly above, indicating an exposure made sometime about noon. The light contrasts skied silhouettes of the harakeke's flowers with the ragged patterns formed by the vertical stalks. Beneath these variegated outlines, thick spatulate leaves twist about from within a mass of highlighted and shadowed texture. The harakeke's symmetrical and asymmetrical tension – between curvaceous leaves and upright flower stalks – is totally characteristic of its growth habit. Kinder's reaction to such vegetation expresses his delighted perception of indigenous flora.<sup>24</sup> It also shows one of the reasons his photographs are special – he looks at something explored by no other contemporary camera artist.

The photographs *Manukau ranges no.3 Waitakeres* circa 1869 [plate 72] and *Cliffs, Whangaparaoa, near Auckland* 1868 [plate 79] further proclaim the intensity of Kinder's reactions to native plant life. These images are analogous to the photographs that he exhibited at the Auckland Society of Artists exhibition in 1873, when the *New Zealand Herald* noted:

*We must also mention one or two photographs by the Rev. Mr Kinder. They are beautiful specimens of this auxiliary art. They are not favourably placed in regard to light. One is a forest view near Titirangi. The extraordinary accuracy of detail, even to the fine and silvery texture of the bark on some of the trees, is worth close examination. The other is a beach scene at Wangaparaoa [sic].<sup>25</sup>*

Kinder's 1868–69 Manukau photographs balance what remains of the indigenous forest with an area where the cut-down trees have been hauled away. Kinder sees the eradication of trees in the Waitakere Ranges as happening in a 'before' and 'after' image of the landscape. The original covering of the land is coupled with its current 'uncovering', inside the one picture. This photograph prefigures the subject matter common to New Zealand's landscape art of the 1870s and 1880s, where the 'before' and the 'after' are shown from a position of landscape conservation.<sup>26</sup>

*Cliffs, Whangaparaoa, near Auckland* [plate 79] shows us how directly Kinder responded to the eastern coastline of the North Island. This photograph has the visual authority of an icon, that inexorable quality necessary for an image to become a symbol of place. It has the visual integrity that is recognised in Christopher Perkins' 1931 painting of *Frozen Flame* or Colin McCahon's 1950 *Six Days in Nelson and Canterbury*.<sup>27</sup> It is difficult to imagine New Zealand's visual history without such haunting images as these three. In *Cliffs, Whangaparaoa, near Auckland* Kinder portrayed an eroded sandstone cliff draped with vertiginous pohutukawa. These grow above a tidal shoreline on the Whangaparaoa Peninsula and mass together against a vivid summer sky. The photographer's perception of this subject asserts a response to the littoral that still parallels how New Zealanders feel about images of such places: they symbolise what we identify as being uniquely New Zealand. *Cliffs with Pohutukawa trees, Whangaparaoa, near Auckland* 1868 [plate 78] is another persuasive image that coalesces around the meeting of land and sea. Kinder's coastline photographs have a palpable identification of their subject and detect the actuality of New Zealand's topography as acutely as his bush images. By seizing on what is defining of a place's appearance, he exposes the fact that his photographic subjects can never be anywhere other than in New Zealand.<sup>28</sup>

John Kinder's photographs thus delineate more than topography; their quality of verification not only registers physical appearance but also investigates his subject's emblematic properties. This topological attitude is concerned with the focussed identification of what a photograph can mean. Still lifes are rarely encountered in Kinder's photographs yet he frequently approaches his subjects as if they are very expansive,

23. The watercolours *Puhiia, Bay of Islands* [plate 3] and *Wesleyan Mission Station, Waima, Hokianga* [plate 5] are striking examples of Kinder's technique of using close-toned hues to represent buildings and topography as sharing a temporal history that is not identified as being new. They may well be recent buildings, and usually are so, but they are not seen by Kinder as being 'newborn'.

24. No vintage print of *Harakeke* survives. J. Richardson made a print in the later 1930s from John Kinder's original collodion negative to which Harry Kinder had given him access.

25. 'Exhibition of works of art', *New Zealand Herald*, 7 March 1873, p. 3.

26. For a comprehensive discussion of contemporary responses to conservation issues see Roger Blackley, *The Art of Alfred Sharpe*, Auckland, Auckland City Art Gallery, 1992.

27. Both paintings are in the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki collection, and were gifts from the Friends of the Gallery.

28. I am indebted to the late Malcolm Ross for suggesting where the sites of John Kinder's Whangaparaoa photographs are located.



John Kinder  
*View from Victoria (Waitangi),  
Bay of Islands* circa 1865  
albumen print  
Auckland War Memorial Museum  
Te Papa Whakahiku

open-air still lifes. Such a still life approach attests to Kinder's intense self-consciousness about the composition of the photograph. For instance, in photographing a *Taumata Atua* [plates 80, 81] twice, Kinder shows that the taonga has an animate personality. One is not looking at a carved object; one is encountering an astonishing Maori expression.

Ruth Ross, one of our most penetrating cultural historians, has expressed delight in recognising a topography that belongs uniquely to New Zealand. She considered such a cognisance resulted from deliberate insights gained through engagement with a specific locality, and recalled Professor J. C. Beaglehole arriving at her home in Motukiore. He told her that his arriving at that place was an epiphanic experience of 'the autochthonous New Zealand soil'.<sup>29</sup> Parallel to Beaglehole's experience, the inspiration that Kinder gained from looking beyond the connotations of topography was one of a recognitive perception. Landscape has its own veracity, as the more that one searches for locational truth the more landscape is transformed into an emblematic representation. Kinder used his camera to display what is inseparable from the nature of a place.

*Kotanui Rock, Frenchman's cap, Whangaparaoa* 1868 [plate 20] and *At the bottom of a dark gully, Coromandel – Kauri logs lying in the creek* circa 1866 [plate 65] are among Kinder's most luminous photographs. The tonal range extends from the very dark to bright highlights. Both images result from wet-plate collodion negatives that would have been exceedingly difficult to generate.<sup>30</sup> One is a view of a rock stack photographed on a tidal shelf, which surrounds the diminutive island of Kotanui. Kinder had a male companion present – probably his friend Monsieur Direy, who lived within sight of the island. Only the man's bare legs and rolled-up trousers are visible. This half-figure transforms what is already a significant photograph into a spectacular image. The man is like a witness who indicates the scale of the jagged outcrop and reveals how the ocean uncovers the well-weathered rock shelf during tidal shifts. Kinder could have chosen to view Kohinui from the west, but through preferring the southern aspect, he shows the Whangaparaoa Peninsula. By including this narrow strip of land, he discloses the sea's proximity, which if the image had been taken from the opposite side would have simply disappeared into the blinding light of a summer sky. The other photograph has one of Kinder's most evocative titles – *At the bottom of a dark gully, Coromandel – Kauri logs lying in the creek* [plate 65]. It verifies Kinder's discovery of a conspicuous juxtaposition that could only be encountered in New Zealand. A colossal pair of sawn kauri trunks is marooned 'at the bottom' of a very steep and 'dark gully'. They rest in this virgin forest like

two artefacts symbolising their own destruction. It is as if Percy Bysshe Shelley's 'Two vast and trunkless legs of stone' have suddenly been turned to wood and dropped from the Coromandel sky.<sup>31</sup> To create this photograph the artist would have to position the tripod of his camera in the stream that flows away from him. The pattern of textures, the diagonals of fallen plants, the impression of a limpid and damp place – all gather together to compose a photograph that has to be one of the greatest and earliest responses to New Zealand bush.

The connections between Kinder's paintings and his photography show that he only rarely copied his photographs. Each medium delivered its own subject matter and each medium had its own rationale. The prime area of overlap is in the area of church buildings, and even then, his photographs are frequently closer views of the architecture. The relationships between painting and photography intersect in the subjects that he discovered on his frequent travels away from home. Dating from the summer of 1868 when Kinder spent time with his friend Monsieur Direy at Matakatia Bay on the southern side of the Whangaparaoa Peninsula, the photograph *Kotanui, Monsieur Direy's house, Whangaparaoa* 1868 [plate 61] determines the composition of the watercolour entitled *Kotanui, Whangaparaoa* 1868 [plate 60]. The photograph presents a north-eastern morning light and the watercolour dutifully follows the direction of the light but removes the shadow depth of the foliage. If Kinder had reflected the shadow's darkness, he would not have recorded the textural differences between puriri, pohutukawa and ponga – a plant not seen in the photograph and which could not have been present at this beachfront location. The two logs of the watercolour are a compositional requisite indicating the foreground space, and they replace the harakeke of the photograph. What the photographs could not document is the distant presence of Rangitoto Island on the horizon, a consequence of the collodion emulsion's inability to render backlit forms at an extreme distance. Kinder's affection for Rangitoto lets him 'restore' it in his watercolour.<sup>32</sup>

The Coromandel Peninsula was one of Kinder's favourite places to visit, yet it presented him with many conflicting subjects. Between 1866 and 1869 he made many photographs that survey the environment and present the physical depredation being initiated by gold mining and forestry. At Coromandel, he perceived New Zealand's landscape as existing in opposing incarnations – the natural and the altered. Timber and gold were making Auckland prosperous. Kinder wanted to examine Coromandel's commerce and observe the landscape's transformation. One of his earliest photographs of the region's

29. Ruth Ross, 'The autochthonous New Zealand soil' in Peter Munz (ed), *The Feel of Truth, essays in New Zealand and Pacific history presented to F.L. Wood and J.C. Beaglehole on the occasion of their retirement*, Wellington, Reed for the Victoria University of Wellington, 1969, pp. 49–63.

30. The collodion wet-plate process was discovered by Frederick Scott Archer in 1851 and within a few years was preferred as a photographic method because of the detail it could render. John Kinder used only this process, printing his photographs on imported albumen paper. The collodion technique is difficult. The camera must be placed in the required position and the lens focus determined, using a ground glass screen under a black lightproof hood. While on location a small lightproof tent is required, and all the necessary chemicals held in travelling containers. The glass negative plate must then be coated with the viscous collodion, which is cellulose nitrate mixed with ether and alcohol, and containing potassium iodide and potassium bromide. This sticky solution is spread over the glass by a gentle rocking movement, while the ether and alcohol slowly evaporates. This leaves a thin film that is still slightly sticky and translucent on the glass. The viscosity and chemical ingredients of the collodion emulsion has to be checked before every exposure, according to the location's temperature and humidity. Ten or more seconds later, when the collodion solution had set but not dried, Kinder lowered the glass plate into a tank of silver nitrate solution for some minutes. The negative would then be light-sensitive and could be placed, still wet, in his camera. After he had made the exposure, which could take many seconds, the glass plate had to be taken immediately to the lightproof tent and developed on the spot. After the negative was developed, washed and dried, Kinder would have to apply a coating of varnish to stop the negative from scratching. Kinder's printing paper was coated with albumen (egg white mixed with salt), and treated with silver nitrate and then dried. The negative would be sandwiched against the albumen paper, emulsion to emulsion, in a contact-printing frame and placed in sunlight until the image appeared.

31. *Percy Bysshe Shelley*, New York, Clarkson Potter, 1994, p. 27.

32. Kinder made the first photograph on Rangitoto Island.

industry is also one of his most disconcerting images. *Coromandel Gold Field* circa 1866 [plate 73] illustrates that mining and deforestation took place rapidly and in tandem. Kinder shows the landscape stripped back to its soil's skin; it has become a rent landscape whose forest is cut down and burnt. Trees have become redundant after providing timber to fabricate mine-heads and workers' accommodation.

*Coromandel Gold Field* circa 1866 [plate 73] reveals Kinder at his most critical. This is one of the earliest and most expressive New Zealand views of a landscape undergoing the process of devastation. The unpainted buildings are vernacular examples of local architecture at its most functional. They are the opposite of the stone 'mansion' that was Kinder's own house. The karaka gully is an ugly and besieged area. The topographic damage reflects the environmental tactics of 'cut and burn' that allowed New Zealand's landscape to become a 'home' for colonial settlers.

In other Coromandel locations, especially near the Tapu River, Kinder saw images of habitation that affirm a more affable landscape, where rustic homes are seen as natural dwellings integrated with their setting. There is a harmonic counterpoint between nature and 'architecture'. *Tapu Creek, Thames Goldfield* circa 1868 [plate 77] is probably the photograph that Kinder exhibited at the 1871 Society of Artists exhibition. The *New Zealand Herald* noted:

*There are not two better photographs in the room than Nos. 4 and 5 in the catalogue. 'Views on the Tapu Creek', by the Rev. J. Kinder. We are convinced that No. 4 could not be surpassed in finish, and both must be regarded as two very successful specimens of a beautiful art. Although these are not priced in the catalogue, we were informed on enquiry that copies could be had from the artist at 10s each.*<sup>33</sup>

*Tapu Creek, Thames Goldfield* circa 1868 [plate 77] and *Bush Scene, Coromandel* circa 1866 [plate 75] are vigorously romantic images that show how Kinder considers the bush homes of gold-miners and timber-millers should exist inside a place rather than simply on it. He depicts settlement and location as entwined. A photograph such as *Bush scene, Coromandel* remains as moving as when Kinder first saw it. He peers at the view with such fascination and pleasure that his sensation is still palpable nearly a century and a half afterwards. The hut's open door, the roughly thatched roof, the well-worn pathway and the axe balanced against the rata-strewn trunk of the totara tree all contribute to an impression that could have become simply a prosaic assemblage.

Kinder avoids sentiment through a careful pre-visioning of his photographs. His method of photographic construction is one of the attributes that further affirm his position as an artist-photographer. This is immediately evident in the two-part

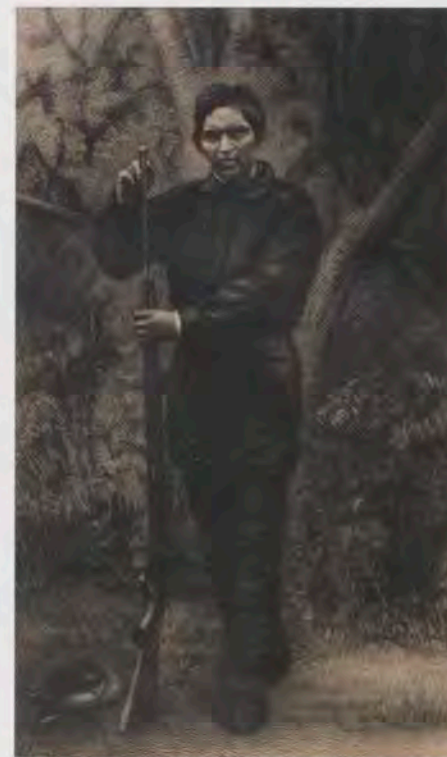
*Kauri tree, Coromandel, N.Zd* [plate 64] from the summer of 1868–69. The bush panorama has been conceived as resulting from two pictures: the top section looks upwards and the lower half looks downwards. The huge kauri is at the bottom of a wide valley and to its left is the stump of a recently felled kauri. There is no doubt that the kauri in Kinder's photograph is going to be the next tree to be felled, as the timber platform required for the work is already at the tree's base.

In some of Kinder's photographs, no human presence is apparent. *Bush scene, Coromandel* circa 1866 [plate 63] dates from the same summer as the previous photograph. The camera looks across a steep and narrow valley. This is a view of a gully, as Kinder soon called such bush places, with two of the New Zealand ferns that he most admired, the nikau and the ponga. Their palm fronds have a languorous habit and form softly seriate textures, rendered with incredible sharpness because the stillness of the forest floor allowed Kinder to use a long exposure.

Kinder's knowledge of indigenous flora led him to employ Maori words for the plants that he photographed.<sup>34</sup> A rare example of his close-up, still-life practice is an exceptional view entitled *Pikiarero (clematis paniculata)* circa 1865 [plate 54]. Kinder almost never made interior photographs and this is, arguably, his most carefully composed still life. The white Parian-ware jug is the perfect foil for the black-and-white flowering pikiarero. Kaka-beak flowers (*Clianthus puniceus*) are draped over the jug as mid-toned foils to the clematis's star blooms. It is telling that Kinder did not attempt to produce other interior still lives.

In October 1862, Bishop George Augustus Selwyn made a speech in Maori to a Ngati Haua gathering at Matamata. It is likely that John Kinder was present at this event and met Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi Te Waharoa, of whom he made three photographic portraits in early 1863. One of the resulting portraits, *Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi Te Waharoa, Chief of Ngati Haua* 1863 [plate 86], was engraved as the frontispiece for John Gorst's 1864 book *The Maori King* (right). It is an outstanding portrait and although Wiremu Tamihana's stance and surroundings are completely pre-arranged, a concentrated naturalism and mutual familiarity are evident. The musket supports Tamihana's posture during the long exposure period and the weapon appears as if it is actually in the process of being loaded with shot. The variant portraits<sup>35</sup> of Wiremu Tamihana show him holding a mere and a taiaha.

Kinder's interest in portraiture dates only to the first years of the 1860s. It is not known why he withdrew from making portraits, especially when one sees how accomplished they are. Almost all of Kinder's photographs of people are close-ups that



Vincent Brookes, after John Kinder  
*Wiremu Tamihana* 1864  
mezzotint  
frontispiece, from *The Maori King; or, The Story of our quarrel with the natives of New Zealand*  
Auckland City Libraries

33. 'Society of Arts exhibition. Crayons, photographs, &c.', *New Zealand Herald*, 8 March 1871, p. 2.

34. Kinder had an extensive and important library, now held at the Kinder Library of St John's College. The volumes that he used to undertake his research into the Maori language are no longer identifiable as being within Kinder's own research collection of published material.

35. Auckland War Memorial Museum, John Kinder album 2, Dunn PH 380 and 381.

have been carefully prepared. They are unlike most other New Zealand photographic portraits dating from the 1860s because they approach people as if they are participating in an outdoor still life, compositionally pre-arranged and mediated through physical pose. Kinder decided how to view the physical relationship between people and their exterior setting earlier than the actual portrait session. Three differing examples demonstrate how inventive he was in photographing people. His early 1862 group photograph, *Maori girls, Te Papa, Tauranga* [plate 87] is one of the very first photographs of New Zealand children. These are Christian Maori girls and their dresses indicate that they are inhabitants of the Te Papa Mission Station. Kinder locates them outside of the mission's cookhouse, a positioning that probably indicates that they helped with the work there. The bowl in front of the smallest child, just like the adjacent iron pots and manuka brushwood, suggests that they all had kitchen duties.

Later in 1862, John Kinder made a double-portrait of the two people for whom he had a devoted regard; in fact, they were probably the two people whom Kinder most respected. He arranged Bishop George Augustus Selwyn and Sir William Martin against the eucalyptus tree that he had planted in his Parnell garden a couple of years earlier (see photo at right). As Anglican Bishop of New Zealand, Selwyn had interviewed Kinder at London early in 1855 for the Master's position at the Church of England Grammar School. The position enabled Kinder to join his brother and sister who were already living in Auckland. More than any other church colleague, Kinder considered Selwyn as a man of exceptional vision and insight. Late in his life, he recalled Selwyn's advice: 'You see Mr Kinder... that in the colonies the great thing is to keep moving. As in mathematics a point in moving generates a surface, and a surface generates a solid, so in the colonies only keep moving and in time we arrive at solidity.'<sup>36</sup> Here, two of New Zealand's most important citizens collaborate in a private portrait that is full of symbolism; Selwyn is a man of action who is temporarily at rest. His hat could easily have been set aside but its inclusion further reinforces his social eminence as the nation's Primate. Judge Martin is seen here as the informed Attorney-General that he was. This double-portrait is not only concerned with indicating the social position and role of each man; it is in fact an early type of snapshot because it occurs outdoors. Such a methodology, appearing to be casual while not being so, is exceedingly uncommon in the period's photography.

An even more intimate photograph is the captivating portrait of Celia Kinder taken around 1863 (facing page).<sup>37</sup> She has taken

much care to select her attire so that its colour, texture and pattern complement her home's garden setting. She sits comfortably in her Ayr Street garden and is part of a tenderly constructed still-life tableau; the watering can and flowerpot are placed artfully near her feet. As with many of Kinder's portraits of the early 1860s, Celia Kinder does not look directly at the camera. In the studio-based *carte-de-visite* portraits of the period, a sitter's head is frequently disposed at a 3/4 or a 7/8 ratio away from a perpendicular to the camera lens. While not looking directly at the camera is an attribute that current viewers frequently confuse with either modesty or shyness, in the late 19th century the face was always thought to reveal more about an individual's personal nature when it was disposed at an angle away from the perpendicular, preferably with one's chin – if one was an adult female – lowered below the horizontal. In fact, Celia Kinder's pose indicates her enjoyment in the photograph. Yet her preparation for the portrait would not have been in any way casual.

In January 1871 Kinder travelled north to Whangarei Heads and spent time about Mt Manaia and George McLeod's farm. He was fascinated with the area's ancient geology with its jagged and gnarled rock outcrops. One of the few times in his life Kinder exposed a negative, made a print and then proceeded to make a watercolour of the same view all within months of one another. As with the Te Mu photograph and its associated watercolour, Kinder added human and animal content to his watercolour *Whangarei, Near The Heads* 1871 [plate 59]. In the transfer from photography to painting, the artist excludes details that could over-complicate a painted composition. For instance, the puriri tree loses new growth from its crudely pruned trunk and the wooden fence follows the topography of the undulating land somewhat more evenly. Kinder retains the most eloquent element of his photograph, the effects of a forceful backlighting. The murky shadows in the sluggish stream are one of the reasons he spent so much time on this view.

In 1857 Bruno Hamel was the first person to use a camera to record Otukapuarangi (Pink Terrace) and Te Tarata (White Terrace) at Rotomahana. John Kinder visited the terraces in the summer of 1865 and again in 1866. He was probably aware that he was only the second photographer to document this unique thermal landscape. Based at Reverend Spencer's Te Mu Mission, he could travel to Rotomahana on a daily basis. In two visits, a year apart, he made over twenty exposures. This series is Kinder's largest and most motivated photographic sequence. By ranging over the area, he represented the site's distinctive features, as if he was again classifying the nature of the landscape.



John Kinder  
Bishop Selwyn and Sir William Martin 1862  
albumen print  
Auckland War Memorial Museum Te Papa Whakahiku

36. 'A Brief Account...', op. cit. pp. 45–46.

37. Auckland War Memorial Museum, John Kinder album 2, Dunn PH 370. Important variant portraits of Celia Kinder are Dunn PH 366–369.

Producing wet-plate negatives at an active thermal area is both taxing and problematic. Many of the negatives made at Lake Rotomahana indicate that some of the wet collodion emulsion oxidised and mutated into silver sulphide salts. This is apparent in *Otukupuarangi, Rotomahana* 1865 [plate 47] where the emulsion shows that a chemical reaction occurred soon after the collodion was coated onto the glass negative. Such degradation, however, reduces none of the mystery of the photograph. A shadowy figure leans against the silicate outcrops. In the watercolour based on this photograph, *Otukupuarangi. The Pink Terrace. January 2 1866* [plate 46], Kinder moves back from his close-up viewpoint of the photograph and adds two figures and a dog. In the photograph, a printing mask gives the terraces a silhouette to replace an area of sky.

In his groundbreaking publication *The Ferrier-Watson Collection of Watercolours by John Kinder*, Gordon H. Brown introduces a new way of approaching the artist. Although the principles of geomorphology form the artistic basis for Kinder's appreciation of the landforms he painted, there are occasions when this is so strong that it suggests shapes that are almost architectural in feeling. This is particularly noticeable in the fractured strata of overhanging rock in *Keri Keri Falls* 1859 [plate 6], the arch-like shape of the bank in *On Mercury Island* 1857 [plate 27], or the barrel shape of the left-hand bank (and the foot-bridge) in *Rotokakahi. 1866. Outlet of Lake* 1866 [plate 40].<sup>38</sup> Kinder's absorption in the geological basis for topography is evident throughout his Rotomahana photographs: *The Tarata, or principal boiling spring, Rotomahana* 1865 [plate 44] and *Waikanapanapa, Rotomahana. Old Sinter Terrace* 1866 [plate 41] show a place that is very different from the far-off landscape of England. *Whatapoho (geyser) with incrustated rock, Rotomahana* 1865 [plate 43] is an alien scene, a close-up that shows a landscape changing while in the process of its own physical birth. *Ruahine (Solfatura) Rotoiti* circa 1865 [plate 51] further indicates Kinder's passion for seeing what it is about a landscape that is unknown and unfamiliar in relation to his previous experience. Kinder's explicit focus on thermal topography shows that he recognised a symbol for New Zealand's topography through what is geologically unique.

At first sight, Kinder's watercolours may appear to be generalised responses while his photographs are more specific visions of place. The received notion that Kinder harmonises or elides a landscape's contrasting tones and textures actually misses the purpose of many of his watercolours and photographs – to see what is specifically autochthonous about landscape. The 'indigenous' and the 'introduced' are in continual dialogue

within his work. Two 1865 photographs could not be more at odds in their verification of the contemporary. The spectacularly volcanic photograph of *Puai Island from Pukura Island, Rotomahana. Te Hapeotoroa Mountain and Otukupuarangi beyond* 1865 [plate 1]<sup>39</sup> is much less surreal as an image than *Railway cutting and tunnel with Grammar school and Masters House* 1865 [plate 71]. Auckland's first railway required the construction of a tunnel under the school where Kinder taught. Kinder was fascinated with all types of architecture and building processes and his viewpoints towards such subjects often opposed the scale and nature of buildings with their location. A renowned example of this is the watercolour *Auckland, from the verandah of Mr Reader Wood's Cottage* 1856 [plate 15]. Made soon after he had arrived in Auckland, it is a radiant instance of how Kinder used architecture to celebrate living in a new location. The exaggerated width of the doorway reveals the symbiotic manner in which Kinder counterpoises buildings as emblematic of place.

While John Kinder was an assiduous scholar of classical literature, he had no affection for classical architecture. One of his few photographs of a local instance of such a phenomenon is *The Union Bank, Queen Street, Auckland* 1864 [plate 21]. He may have chosen to photograph this fine building because his brother Henry worked there as a teller during 1864. Kinder's study of Gothic and neo-Gothic design had been a principal interest since he joined the Cambridge Camden Society (or Ecclesiological Society) in 1842. The society promulgated a highly cohesive advocacy for a stylistic return to the Gothic. In relation to Church architecture, they were adamant that the revival of the Gothic would be a faithful expression of Christian values. Bishop George Augustus Selwyn concurred with this pairing of the Gothic with church architecture.<sup>40</sup> In his watercolours, Kinder often contrasts the geometric nature of a local 'Gothic' church building with intersecting curvilinear forms and contrasting textures. *Auckland: Looking over the Harbour from Judges Bay* circa 1866 [plate 17] is a telling example of Kinder's symbolic use of the Gothic. The apex of the chapel's bell tower pierces the horizon at the same hour a vessel bringing immigrants leaves Auckland's harbour.

Kinder's photographs offer a more radical investigation into Gothic forms. They are more daring in composition and indicate his opinion that the Gothic is an appropriate colonial style. *The Grave of Reverend Thomas Whytehead, Waimate North* 1864 [plate 24] records the carefully crafted tomb as if it is a Gothic sepulchre, the hipped shape of which forms an uplifted crucifix. The grave-site is a superlative monument to Bishop Selwyn's young friend.<sup>41</sup> Kinder photographed the tomb about



John Kinder  
Celia Kinder circa 1863  
albumen print  
Auckland War Memorial Museum Te Papa Whakahiku

38. Gordon H. Brown, *The Ferrier-Watson Collection of Watercolours by John Kinder*, Hamilton, Waikato Art Gallery, 1970, p. 19.

39. The title of this photograph derives from the variant print in the Auckland War Memorial Museum collection. An unknown person has transcribed Kinder's description of the view: 'Looking westward. In the foreground is part of the island Puai, with the native whares (in the nearest of which we slept) and our canoe. In front of the whare and to the right the ground is formed of slabs of white encrustation laid over the hot springs. Upon these slabs the natives dry the tana [sic] berries which they use as food. On the further side of the lake (behind a projecting point of land) is the boiling pool and terraced incrustations of Otukupuarangi from which arises a cloud of steam, very inadequately shown in the photograph. The hill of Oruakorako is to the left.'

40. See Allan K. Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy: The College of St John the Evangelist Te Waimate and Auckland 1843-1992 A History*, Auckland, The College of Saint John the Evangelist, 1993, p. 53; Michael Dunn, op. cit. pp. 6-7.

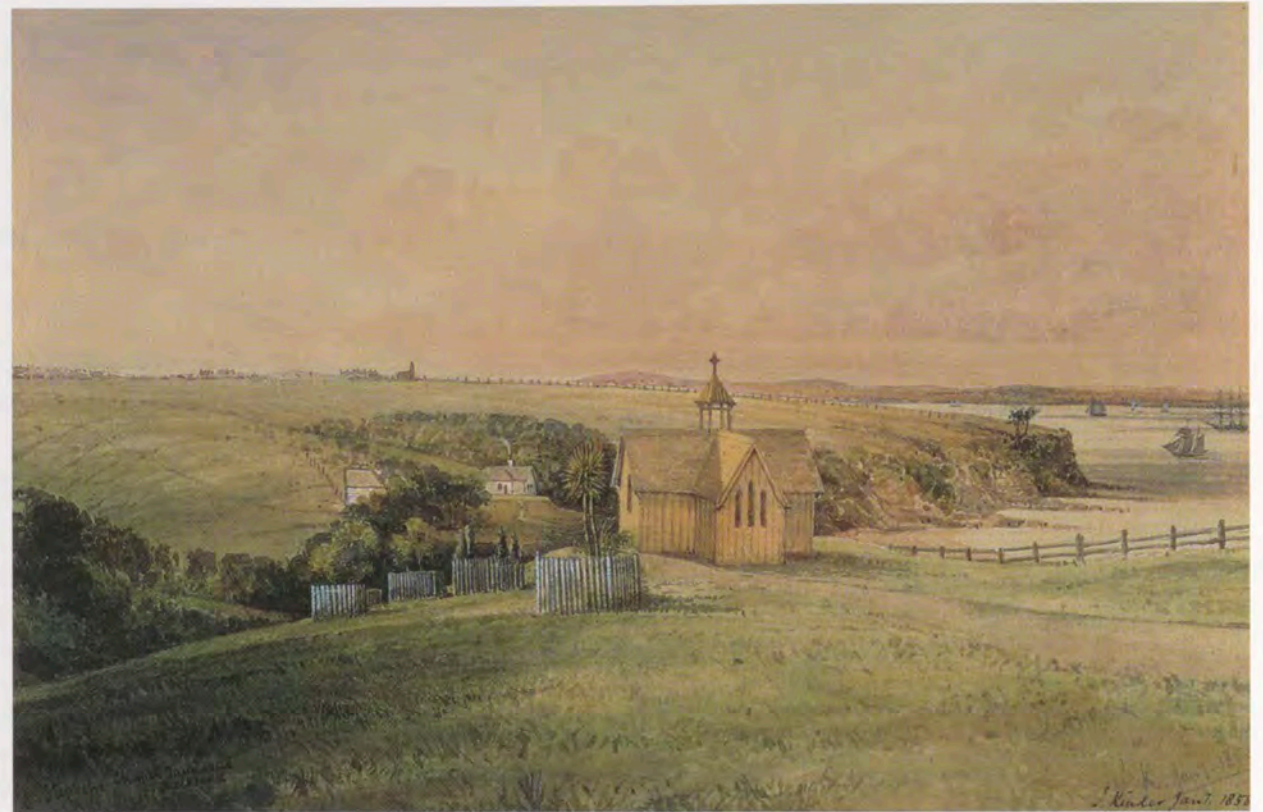
41. Bishop Selwyn chose Thomas Whytehead (1815-1843) as someone who could help him establish St John's College at Auckland. Whytehead's ill health led to his early death. See Allan K. Davidson, op. cit. pp. 17-19.

midday, so that the light would render the sandstone at its most sculptural.<sup>42</sup> He positioned his camera so that the triangulated fence posts would further reflect the trefoils around the tomb.

While the greater part of Kinder's photographic practice dates from between early 1862 and July 1872, there are a few small later suites of photographs made during the summer of 1872 and winter of 1873 that look at the gardens and architecture of St John's College. Kinder had taken up his appointment as Master of the College in January 1871<sup>43</sup> while still living at Parnell and teaching at the Church of England Grammar School there. His work at Tamaki actually began in July 1872. *St John's College* circa 1875 [plate 23] and *St John's College, Auckland, from the West* circa 1878 [plate 22] date from the period when he had mostly turned away from making photographs and had returned to working on watercolours, often paintings that he had begun some decades before. The bell tower of St John's College looms over Kinder's low viewpoint, with the Chapel of St John strategically placed like a framed 'miniature'. The broken shingle above the chapel's bell tower further emphasises the structure, the construction of which Kinder himself funded. *St John's College, Auckland, from the West* shows the degree to which he had developed the gardens below St John's College with plantings of exotic trees.

Throughout his photography and watercolours, Kinder emphasises that he believes that appropriateness exists between a building and its location. This interactivity, or mutuality, between architecture and its setting is a philosophic assertion that Kinder learnt from his time with the Cambridge Camden Society. Perhaps even more significantly, he attended from early in 1845 the lectures and sermons of the Reverend Frederick Denison Maurice.<sup>44</sup> Denison's philosophy is analogous to the current forms of Christian Socialism, where 'working men' could gain the sort of education that the middle classes had available to them. Such thinking was parallel to that of his friend John Ruskin, the pre-eminent Victorian writer on art and its place in society. From 1854 to 1858, Ruskin taught landscape drawing on Thursday evenings at the London Working Men's College that Denison had founded in 1854. Although there is no evidence that Kinder actually attended Denison's college, it is very likely that he knew of their work and of Ruskin's specific connection with the school.

Gordon H. Brown was the first art historian to observe the significance of John Ruskin in any discussion of Kinder's career.<sup>45</sup> Ruskin (1819–1900) is one of Kinder's contemporaries. The earliest Kinder drawings and watercolours date from when he was aged twenty years (1840) and it is inconceivable that he



John Kinder  
*St Stephen's Church, Taurarua* circa 1863  
albumen print  
Auckland War Memorial Museum Te Papa Whakahiku

42. The suggestion for the time of day came from Malcolm Ross who visited Whytehead's grave in 1982.

43. See Allan K. Davidson, *op.cit.* p. 92. Davidson notes that Kinder was Master at the Tamaki site from 1872 until 1880, but had effectively been Master of the College since 1871.

44. Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–1872) was the founder and inaugural principal of the Working Men's College. Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (known as Lewis Carroll) photographed him at his Hampstead home on 27 July 1863. Kinder purchased copies of Denison's pamphlets.

45. Brown's catalogue to the Ferrier-Watson collection, *op. cit.*, represents a complete re-evaluation of Kinder's significance as a New Zealand artist.

was not familiar with John Ruskin's multi-volume publication *Modern Painters*. Brown suggests that Ruskin's attitude supported Kinder's pictorial methodology and approach.

Further to this, it seems likely that the process by which Kinder was able to grasp in his paintings the natural disposition of a landscape and indicate its geological form, was hastened by the appearance, in April 1846, of the second volume of John Ruskin's renowned work *Modern Painters*. The opening sentences in this volume are of interest: 'By truth of earth,' writes Ruskin, 'we mean the faithful representation of the facts and forms of the bare ground, considered as entirely divested of vegetation, through whatever disguise, or under whatever modification the clothing of the landscape may occasion. Ground is to the landscape painter what the naked human body is to the historical. The growth of vegetation, the action of water, and even of clouds upon it and around it, are so far subject and subordinate to its forms, as the folds of the dress and the fall of the hair are the modulation of the animal anatomy.'<sup>46</sup>

The parallels that exist between Kinder and Ruskin are pertinent because they reflect the comprehensive Victorian belief in the rectitude between the observed and the manner in which it is perceived. This is akin to a scientific avowal of an elevated, spiritual truth. The Christian Socialist belief that the works of God wait to be experienced through their meticulous study was a form of visual typology that Christian Scientists espoused. Plants are named, rocks are named, places are named, colours are named – such a classificatory approach is immediately apparent in the momentous photograph entitled *Mangawhai, Auckland Province, NZ* of December 1864 [plate 62]. This is probably the first truly great photograph of a New Zealand summer. The pohutukawa is in bloom, so much so that the emulsion of the negative cannot record the red's presence except through its absence. Seeing this image is to encounter Kinder in the act of looking, recording a seaside that is at total variance to the appearance of the Yorkshire coastline that he had drawn in 1854.<sup>47</sup>

John Kinder's photographs are some of the first images to seize the experience of living in New Zealand. They show that he is an artist who wants to know what is unique about this place. He wants to perceive locality; not topography or appearance but reality and the evidence of life. The concentration that he brings to his subject matter, and his lucid attitude about it, reveal that he is a pioneering innovator of photography. In every instance, Kinder employs photography to distinguish what defines the 'local' in local subjects. When looking at his photographs, there is the relevant sense of him actually making the image of what he is looking at. His taxonomic approach towards his subject matter allows him to contrast the indigenous with the introduced. Today, Kinder's photographs show us that he lived with an eloquent eye. We recognise Kinder as an authentic witness who created photographs that communicate the New Zealand that we recognise as our own.



John Kinder  
*Hokianga claim (White's) Karaka* circa 1869  
albumen print  
Auckland War Memorial Museum Te Papa Whakahiku

46. Gordon H. Brown, op. cit. p. 18.

47. John Kinder, *Devil's Bridge, Filey, Yorkshire* 1854, ink, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 1968.



Plate 54 *Pikiarero (clematis paniculata)*  
circa 1865

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983



Plate 55 *Manuka in the Auckland Domain*  
circa 1865  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
purchased 1983



Plate 56 *Parau from the Road to Huia*  
circa 1869  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
purchased 1983



Plate 57 *Tapu, Coromandel Peninsula*  
circa 1868

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983



Plate 58 *Near Mr George McLeod's house,  
Whangarei Heads 1871*

Auckland War Memorial Museum  
Te Papa Whakahiku



Plate 59 *Whangarei, Near The Heads* 1871

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 60 *Kotanui, Whangaparaoa* 1868

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 61 *Kotanui, Monsieur Direy's House,  
Whangaparaoa 1868*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 62 *Mangawhai, Auckland Province, NZ*  
1864

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 63 *Bush scene, Coromandel* circa 1866

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 64 *Kauri tree, Coromandel, N.Zd* circa 1869

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 65 *At the bottom of a dark gully,  
Coromandel – Kauri logs lying in  
the creek circa 1866*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 66 *A Grove of Ponga (Cyathea dealbata)*  
*Auckland Domain circa 1869*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
purchased 1983



Plate 67 *Epiphytic Tree, Titirangi* circa 1869

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983



Plate 68 *Soldiers making a road, near Drury*  
1862

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 69 *The road through the bush, between  
Drury and the Waikato 1862*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 70 *Titirangi* circa 1869

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983



Plate 71 *Railway cutting and tunnel with  
Grammar school and Masters  
House 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 72 *Manukau ranges no.3 Waitakeres*  
circa 1869

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 73 *Coromandel Gold Field* circa 1866

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 74 *Bush scene, Coromandel N.Zd*  
circa 1866

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 75 *Bush scene, Coromandel* circa 1866

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 76 *Bush scene, Coromandel* circa 1866

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 77 *Tapu Creek, Thames Goldfield*  
circa 1868

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



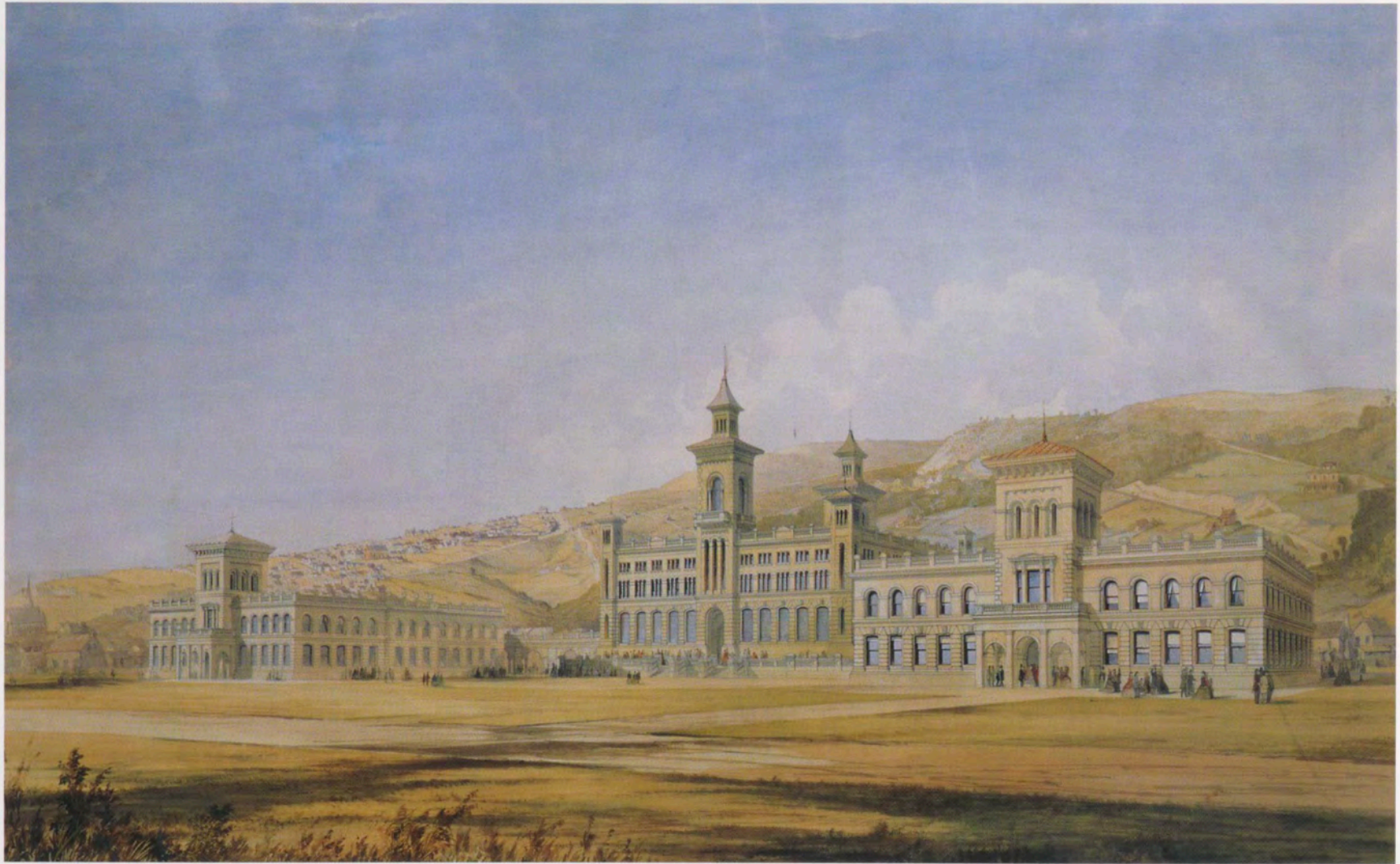
Plate 78 *Cliffs with Pohutukawa trees,  
Whangaparaoa, near Auckland 1868*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 79 *Cliffs, Whangaparaoa, near  
Auckland 1868*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



George O'Brien  
*Dunedin Exhibition Buildings*  
1865  
watercolour  
Early Settlers Museum, Dunedin

# JOHN KINDER AND NEW ZEALAND ART

## ROGER BLACKLEY

This essay explores how a 19th century New Zealand fine-art tradition manifested itself in the 1860s and 1870s through exhibitions of settler art that were displayed within a wider field of British and European art. It pays particular attention to the role of the amateur artist within this developing art culture, by examining firstly the art shown at Dunedin's New Zealand Exhibition of 1865 and then the reception of John Kinder's work at the two earliest exhibitions of the Auckland Society of Artists in 1871 and 1873. Kinder's work is assessed in relation to that of a professional contemporary, Alfred Sharpe. The second part of the essay considers the implications of Kinder's amateur status for his positioning within the 20th century canon of New Zealand art, arguing that amateurism and autobiography are crucial concepts for assessing Kinder and his place within colonial art.

The earliest exhibitions of colonial New Zealand art were staged in ad hoc venues, as individual artists made use of shop windows, hotels and church halls. The best were to be seen in metropolitan London. Here George French Angas's 1846 show in Piccadilly's famed Egyptian Hall ran for three months. Visitors to the premises of the New Zealand Company might inspect a unique collection of watercolours by William Fox and Charles Heaphy, and works of art joined raw materials for display at the Great Exhibition of 1851. Comprising exotic documents from a fresh and far-off colony, the displays naturally possessed considerable cachet. In the colony itself, during the first decades

following colonisation, exhibiting possibilities were rare and artists' associations non-existent. The establishment of the Auckland Society of Artists, which mounted four biennial exhibitions between 1871 and 1879, finally allowed audiences to assess a variety of work by resident artists – work that had formerly been seen in isolated fashion within the windows of framers and booksellers. What these and other exhibitions of this earliest period of colonial art had in common was the presentation of New Zealand fine art within a wider context of European art, examples of which were contributed by individual collectors as well as by the artists themselves.

The New Zealand Exhibition staged in Dunedin in 1865 was the first major event to bring a specifically 'colonial' focus to the exhibition of the fine arts in New Zealand, even though the local work was embedded within a show of European fine art. Among the local amateur artists with work displayed was the politician William Fox, who recorded his impressions of the exhibition in a pair of anonymous articles contributed by 'Rambler' to the *Wellington Independent*.<sup>1</sup> Fox refers to three walls covered with oil paintings and a fourth 'with that species of art in which the English excel all other nations, water color.' He notes that the watercolours are 'almost exclusively the work of New Zealand artists and amateurs' and acknowledges the prowess of the colonial work: 'Many of them are quite equal to the works of some of the best artists at home, and might be exhibited without fear of invidious comparison on the walls of the old and new Water Color Societies of London.' Fox is referring to the exhibiting organisation, founded in 1804 and significantly reformed in 1832, which had transformed watercolour painting from a modest 18th century tradition of tinted drawings to a 19th century exhibition medium capable of challenging the long-standing supremacy of oil painting.

The bulk of the oil paintings shown at Dunedin in 1865 came from the old country, but from the colonial works Fox singles out a large painting of the Nelson Lakes by James Crowe Richmond, land commissioner at Nelson. Richmond's picture reminds Fox of the leading English landscapist Francis Danby, especially in the

*breadth and spirit with which it is treated, the artist not having time or temptation to fritter away the grand original idea by too much attention to very minute detail – a fault to which amateurs are particularly prone, sometimes perhaps, originating in the attempt to conceal defects of conception and deficiency of sentiment.*

Fox notes that Richmond is still young and expresses regret that 'his artistic abilities should be smothered by the details of an official life.' The distinctions that Fox draws in this essay, between 'artists', 'amateurs' and 'collectors', are crucial for an understanding of the nature of these early exhibitions, where

1. *Wellington Independent*, 16 March 1865, p. 3; 18 March 1865, pp. 5–6. The identification of 'Rambler' as Fox is given by an annotation in the Hocken Library's file of the newspaper; see R. D. J. Collins and Wendy-Anne Curtis (eds), *The New Zealand Exhibition 1865: Documents on the Fine Arts*, Dunedin, University of Otago, 1988, p. 33, which provides the text of Rambler's second article.

the owners of works are frequently credited as the lenders. Fox's watercolours shown in the 1865 exhibition – *Wanganui, N.Z.* and *Oteriah Pah, Wellington* – were exhibited by Supreme Court judge Mr Justice Chapman, who also contributed a range of English watercolours by such leading exponents as John Glover and John Martin. The published catalogue presents a promiscuous mixture of local and foreign, original and reproductive, and the catalogue numbering suggests that Fox's works hung close to engravings of French romantic artist Ary Scheffer's *Dante and Beatrice* and the Pre-Raphaelite William Holman Hunt's celebrated *Light of the World*.

In keeping with Royal Academy protocols, none of the exhibits was priced, although works exhibited by the 'artists' – professionals such as John Gully of Nelson – were certainly sent for sale.<sup>2</sup> Another Royal Academy protocol regarded the showing of architectural drawings, where it was traditional to identify the architect rather than the actual draftsman who produced the drawing. In the case of a work credited to 'Mason and Clayton, architects and exhibitors' – a large watercolour of the Exhibition Buildings – Fox betrays his connoisseurship by detecting the hand of Dunedin artist George O'Brien (page 122).

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, an amateur is one who cultivates an activity as a pastime, as distinguished from one who prosecutes it professionally – that is, work for pleasure rather than monetary reward. While Fox also uses 'amateur' in the sense of dabbler or superficial worker, the disparaging and now dominant sense of the word, there are good reasons for retaining his firm distinction between professional and amateur. It is a distinction that allows an understanding of an important yet under-examined factor within colonial art history: the role of social class in shaping the development of the fine arts. Wealth and leisure are the necessary prerequisites of the amateur artist, and involvement with art societies and exhibitions, alongside collectors and patrons, acts as confirmation of elite status.

The status and relative visibility of the professional artist, on the other hand, could also be complicated by issues of social class. This can be seen in the critical treatment accorded a range of professional draftsmen including the superbly gifted George O'Brien, who worked for various architects.<sup>3</sup> There was a tendency to classify such draftsmen as mechanics or artisans, which was why they were not necessarily welcomed and accorded artist status by the 'gentlemen' in control of the exhibitions.<sup>4</sup> While John Gully's reputation was confirmed by the landscape watercolours that were so prominently displayed within the Fine Arts Gallery at Dunedin, elsewhere at the exhibition another artist's landscapes served as illustrations to a geological display under



the rubric 'Educational Works and Appliances'. This obscure draftsman was John Buchanan, who would be amazed by the posthumous fame and canonical role achieved by his magnificent panorama of Milford Sound – one of the geological 'illustrations' shown at Dunedin.

The case of John Kinder in Auckland conforms closely to the paradigm of middle-class amateurism. Like William Fox, another wealthy colonial amateur, Kinder was extraordinarily prolific and also tended to hoard his work as a form of visual autobiography. The Reverend Frederick H. Spencer, who hosted Kinder on his expeditions to Lake Tarawera, wrote of visits 'while he was carrying on his hobby; that of painting and photographing landscapes.'<sup>5</sup> Spencer also remarked how 'the walls of his house and his portfolios contain most accurate and well executed scenes', characterising Kinder's home as the primary site of exhibition for work that was addressed mainly to family and friends. But just as Fox involved himself in other exhibitions, collaborating with artists both amateur and professional, Kinder also reached out to a wider audience through his association with the Auckland Society of Artists. When that group was established in 1869 with Kinder as one of the founding members, it was the earliest such artists' organisation in the colony.<sup>6</sup>

Alfred Sharpe  
Judges Bay 1874  
watercolour  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
purchased 1935

2. A letter from 'A would be purchaser' complained that 'very beautiful' pictures by Gully had been purchased before the exhibition opened, by 'persons who only officially had access to the building', 'Mr Gully's pictures at the Exhibition', *Otago Daily Times*, 17 January 1865, p. 4; cited by Collins and Curtis, 1988, p. 25.

3. For the critical response to O'Brien's work, see R. D. J. Collins and Peter Entwisle, *Pavilioned in Splendour: George O'Brien's Vision of Colonial New Zealand*, Dunedin, Dunedin Public Art Gallery, 1986, pp. 33–37.

4. For evidence of a colonial visual culture that stood completely outside the 'Fine Arts', see Roger Blackley, *Stray Leaves: Colonial Trompe l'Oeil Drawings*, Wellington, Adam Art Gallery and Victoria University Press, 2001.

5. Reverend Frederick H. Spencer, 'Reminiscences', cited Ron Brownson, *John Kinder Photographs*, Auckland, Auckland City Art Gallery, 1985, p. 5.

6. Ron Tizard, *The Auckland Society of Arts 1870–1970: A Centennial History*, Auckland, Auckland Society of Arts, 1970, p. 8.

The society's inaugural exhibition took place in Auckland's City Hall in March 1871. The first notice in the *New Zealand Herald* reviewed the watercolours, which were clearly considered the particular strength of the exhibition.

*The Rev. J. Kinder has contributed two pictures, (157) 'Lake Okataina,' and (162) 'Lake Tarawera.' Both of these are nice sketches, but there is a pervading tinge of yellow which gives rather a sickly appearance to the drawings, and which we can hardly think would be justified by nature.*<sup>7</sup>

The reviewer accords primacy to Kinder's former colleague, J. B. C. Hoyte, 'with his facile brush and well-known pleasant and rapid style', indicating the considerable exposure and status that Hoyte had already achieved through solo exhibitions staged at Upton's, a Queen Street bookseller. When it came time to assess the photographs, however, it was a different story.

*There are not two better photographs in the room than Nos. 4 and 5 in the catalogue, 'Views on the Tapu Creek,' by the Rev. J. Kinder. We are convinced that No. 4 could not be surpassed in finish, and both must be regarded as two very successful specimens of a beautiful art. Although these are not priced in the catalogue, we were informed on enquiry that copies could be had from the artist at 10s each.*<sup>8</sup>

While the final comment partially qualifies Kinder's amateur status and helps to account for the presence of his photographs in a range of contemporary albums, two watercolour translations of *Tapu Creek* by his contemporary Albin Martin are likely to have resulted from Martin's receipt of the photographs as gifts.<sup>9</sup>

Just as at Dunedin in 1865, the exhibition contained a considerable body of works by 'English and foreign artists', lenders of which included Kinder, Hoyte, Richmond and Sharpe.<sup>10</sup> Among the foreign works mentioned by the critics were a number of photographs, including two views of Parisian churches by the important French architectural photographer Edouard Baldus, who worked for the Commission des Monuments Historiques. 'They possess more than ordinary interest at the present time', the reviewer wrote, referring to the revolutionary Paris Commune, 'and one cannot but hope that the noble originals may escape uninjured from the fiery ordeal through which their city is now passing.'<sup>11</sup> This is a good example of how technological developments in shipping and telegraphy had brought contemporary history to the walls of an antipodean society of artists.

Local photographers played an important role as exhibitors, welcomed by a society that accorded photography the status of art alongside paintings and other media. What is particularly noteworthy is the evidence that local collections – and exhibitions – also included English and continental photographs with which colonial work could be favourably compared. At the society's second exhibition in 1873, Kinder again exhibited pairs of water-

colours and photographs. The *Herald's* reviewer considered his watercolour of Rotomahana worthy of 'distinction', commenting that 'there is manifested great attention to detail.'<sup>12</sup> This is followed by reference to 'one or two photographs by the Rev. Mr. Kinder.'

*They are beautiful specimens of this auxiliary art. They are not favourably placed in regard to light. One is a forest view near Titirangi. The extraordinary accuracy of detail, even to the fine and silvery texture of the bark on some of the trees, is worth close examination. The other is a beach scene at Wangaparoa [sic].*<sup>13</sup>

Adjacent to Kinder's photographs was a moonlight scene by another important French photographer, Gustave de Gray, which was lent by the prominent capitalist and collector D. L. Murdoch. 'It is very curious, and of great merit, being a representation of ocean moonlight, cloud and sea, without any animated figure,' wrote the *Herald*, while the *Daily Southern Cross* considered Kinder's and de Gray's works 'most conspicuous'.<sup>14</sup> De Gray was a leading calotypist and wet-plate photographer whose landscapes are credited with influencing Impressionist practice; the presence of such work in colonial New Zealand suggests that Kinder's innovative landscape photography needs to be measured against a European photographic tradition, of both monumental architecture and 'pure' landscape.<sup>15</sup>

The most intriguing commentary on photography appeared in the columns of the *Daily Southern Cross*, in a virtual apologia for the new medium. 'Here [in photography] art and science become closely connected; and, however much art may dislike the encroachment of the sun's accuracy, that encroachment has been made, it is increasing, and will increase in power within the long exclusive domain of art.'<sup>16</sup> This is the unmistakable voice not of a photographer, but of the watercolourist Alfred Sharpe, an exhibiting artist who maintained a double identity as a critic of art and public culture.

*Helios and the photographic lens are the true pre-Raphaelites of the present day. Pre-Raphaelitism meant and means as near an approach as possible to accuracy of detail, as differing from the production of 'effect,' to which 'manual' art – the art which works by the palette and the brush – is more or less restricted by the nature of things. The brush and palette must ere long enter into intimate partnership with the camera. It will be some time ere the upholders of the old traditions of art, those lofty thoughts and aspirations which animate the painter, can be induced to accept the fiat which has gone forth, and which is steadily changing the old character of art processes. They are unwilling to confess, or slow to believe, that – by the discoveries in optics and especially those already made in photography, and those still to be made – what has so long been termed art must, ere long, be mainly mechanical and scientific, and that the actual accuracy, the realism of the representation must depend on chemical, optical, and mechanical combinations.*<sup>17</sup>

For Sharpe, it was not only painting that needed to take account of photography; he accurately diagnoses photography



Alfred Sharpe  
A Jam in the Lava Cleft, Hay's Creek, Papakura 1878  
watercolour  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of John Leech, 1936

7. 'Society of Artists' exhibition. Watercolours by local artists', *New Zealand Herald*, 3 March 1871, p. 2.

8. 'Society of Arts exhibition. Crayons, photographs, &c.', *New Zealand Herald*, 8 March 1871, p. 2.

9. Martin's small watercolour 'translations' of *Tapu Creek* (M1885/1/140 and 141) entered the Auckland Art Gallery in 1885 as part of a bequest from James Tannock Mackelvie.

10. 'Society of Artists' exhibition. English and foreign artists', *New Zealand Herald*, 10 March 1871, p. 2.

11. *Ibid.* In the absence of a catalogue, it is impossible to tell who had lent the Baldus photographs.

12. 'Exhibition of works of art', *New Zealand Herald*, 7 March 1873, p. 3.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.* The catalogue identifies the photographer as Gustave de Grut.

15. For de Gray's influence on Impressionism, see Gary Tinterow and Henri Loyrette, *The Origins of Impressionism*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994, pp. 73–79.

16. 'Auckland Artists' Society's exhibition. Final notice', *Daily Southern Cross*, 8 March 1873, p. 3.

17. *Ibid.*

as crucial to the future of mechanical reproduction, citing 'photo-lithography and photo-xylography'. One development that he thinks would have astonished the ancient Greek sculptor Phidias was 'photo-sculpture, which is a process for forming statuettes by means of manifold photographs simultaneously taken, and from which a mathematically exact counterpart of the figure is obtained.'<sup>18</sup>

In his own artistic practice, which maintained the established English tradition of the large-scale exhibition watercolour, Sharpe self-consciously proclaimed himself a Pre-Raphaelite, a position that he conceived as *avant garde*, opposing the 'tories' of the art world. In praising a view of Lake Tarawera by J. B. C. Hoyte (facing page), whom he regards as Auckland's leading painter, Sharpe notes that Hoyte's rocks possess 'bold accuracy and pre-Raphaelite realism', while of Kinder's *View at Rotomahana* he praised the 'transparency of the water'. This was the essential challenge for a watercolourist: to achieve accuracy and realism while maintaining the transparency in which the power and charm of the medium resided.

Although Sharpe and Kinder had a great deal in common, including a revolutionary attitude towards photography, it is extremely unlikely that they knew each other socially. This relates in part to Kinder's move to St John's College, after which he remained aloof from Auckland's exhibitions, but also to Sharpe's own volatile temperament and ambiguous social status within Auckland's art world. While Sharpe attempted to assert an identity as an 'artist' rather than a 'draftsman', becoming the most vocal critic of his generation, he needed to supplement his income as an artist and teacher with work as an architectural draftsman. When John Kinder was forced out of his job at St John's, he moved to a comfortable retirement in Remuera. When Sharpe admitted professional defeat, however, he was forced to abandon an invalid wife and move to Newcastle, New South Wales. Fate held different fortunes for the well-heeled amateur from those in store for the upstart artisan.

In terms of their actual work Kinder and Sharpe share an allegiance to a very similar aesthetic, tied to a technique known as the 'progressive execution'. The technique was basic to traditional watercolour practice and was outlined in technical manuals published by paint manufacturers Winsor and Newton. Among these *Shilling hand-books on art*, available in the colony at one-and-threepence, was Aaron Penley's *A System of Water-colour Painting*.<sup>19</sup> It is Penley who most directly connects Kinder, who took lessons directly from the artist, with Sharpe, who owned a copy of Penley's book and made extensive use of it in preparing his series of 'Hints for Landscape Students in

Watercolour' published in the Auckland press between 1880 and 1882.<sup>20</sup> In the work of both artists we see brilliant use of watercolour's translucent properties, tied to a marvellous instinct for unconventional points of view.

The differences between the two artists relate not to style so much as to viewing context. In the lead-up to the Society of Artists' fourth and final exhibition of 1879, Sharpe objected anonymously to the way that prizes at former exhibitions had been awarded to what he termed 'a miserable, sniggling, stippling, miniature style, utterly at variance with art outside of miniature painting on ivory.'

*The modern style of painters (especially watercolour painters) is a decidedly 'hanging style', i.e., a style that, while it looks harsh and rather crude at a close examination, when hung up in a room it becomes a pleasing and vivid realiser of the scene it portrays [sic]. On the other hand, the microscopic or 'anti-hanging' style, while appearing perfect at close quarters, sinks into an unmeaning chaos, without any definite form, or any mass or relief, when hung up on the walls of an apartment at the ordinary height at which pictures are hung, and looked at across the room.*<sup>21</sup>

Sharpe intends his 'hanging style' to refer to professional artists such as Hoyte and himself, who presented their work in gilded surrounds prepared by local framers John Leech or R. J. de Courcy. These were watercolours intended to be framed, hung at an exhibition, judged at an appropriate distance and, ideally, purchased by a captivated collector.

Sharpe's category of an anti-hanging or 'microscopic' style related to the contemporary fashion for gouache or opaque body-colour, exemplified by the work of Kennett Watkins, rather than to the smaller-scale works by Kinder that nevertheless retained all of the translucency and breadth required for exhibition-scale work. It is true that Kinder's watercolours generally approximated the size of his photographs and, as Michael Dunn has argued, that works in both media were primarily intended for mounting within albums and viewing at relatively close range. This original viewing context clearly relates to the amateur-professional divide, but it is equally true that Kinder's watercolours more than hold their own when presented within frames in a modern art gallery. Rather than faint praise in the newspaper columns, Sharpe's real homage to Kinder came in the form of direct visual quotations such as *A Jam in the Lava Cleft* 1878 (page 125), with its reference to Kinder's photograph of stranded kauri logs in a creek-bed [plate 65], and *Oyster Cove, North Head, Auckland* 1879, which so clearly echoes Kinder's photographs of cliff-top pohutukawa [plates 78, 79].

John Kinder's privileged position within New Zealand art history relates not only to the outstanding quality and quantity of his output, but also to his amateur status. It was Kinder's

top right: J. B. C. Hoyte  
*Lake Tarawera from Kariri* 1873  
watercolour  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
bequest of E. Earle Vaile, 1956

bottom right: James Crowe Richmond  
*On Lake Wanaka, Mt. Aspiring, Otago, New Zealand* 1870  
watercolour  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of the Countrywomen's Association of  
New South Wales, 1974

18. 'Auckland Artists' Society's exhibition. Final notice', *Daily Southern Cross*, 8 March 1873, p. 3.

19. 'Winsor and Newton's Art Hand Books, each 1s 3d' appear among the 'artists' materials' advertised by Champtaloup and Cooper, *New Zealand Herald*, 2 March 1877, p. 1.

20. See Chapter Four, 'Theory and Practice', in Roger Blackley, *The Art of Alfred Sharpe*, Auckland, Auckland City Art Gallery, 1992.

21. A Well-wisher to Art, 'The Forthcoming Art Exhibition', *New Zealand Herald*, 1 October 1879, p. 6.

22. E. H. McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand*, Wellington, Department of Internal Affairs, 1940, p. 101.

careful preservation of sequences of his work within albums and portfolios, work subsequently donated by his heirs to public institutions such as the Auckland Art Gallery and the Hocken Library, that provided the basis for his 20th century installation as a canonical artist. Kinder's considerable presence in these collections mirrors that of his prolific fellow-amateur William Fox, for it was through a combination of Fox's personal gifts to Thomas Hocken, the aggressive repatriation of New Zealand Company property by Alexander Turnbull, and subsequent acquisitions from heirs, that considerable bodies of this artist's work were established within the Turnbull and Hocken collections.

It is the outstanding presence of artists such as Fox and Kinder within the archive of colonial art that allowed their inclusion within a range of exhibitions and publications. This began with the first survey exhibition of New Zealand's fine art tradition, the *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art* organised by A. H. McLintock and opened in Dunedin in 1940. The show included two watercolours drawn from Harry Kinder's magnificent gift to the Auckland Art Gallery of only three years earlier – *Keri Keri Falls* 1859 [plate 6] and *Anakiwa, Queen Charlotte Sound (Mr Beauchamp's)* 1871 [plate 93] – which were accompanied by the stark comment, 'He painted a number of pictures of the Auckland district'. It was McLintock's fellow-historian E. H. McCormick whose centennial survey *Letters and Art in New Zealand* first attempted a critical placement of Kinder's achievement as an artist: 'Kinder, who is well represented in the Auckland Art Gallery, retained in New Zealand the vision of a domesticated English countryside which he transferred, with odd but charming results, to his renderings of the New Zealand landscape.'<sup>23</sup>

Kinder's first major outing came in the form of an exhibition of 52 watercolours staged at the Auckland City Art Gallery in 1958, one of a series showcasing significant historical artists. An essay by Hamish Keith, drawing on Kinder's 'A Brief Account of my Life', outlined his career and claimed a special 'aesthetic' status for his art. Including several loans from the Hocken Library as well as a family collection, the catalogue of 107 works listed all watercolours by Kinder then held at Auckland: a collection destined to grow and to remain the pre-eminent holding of his work. Keith invoked a qualified geographical determinism in accounting for Kinder's distinctive style, which he characterises as important in its own right.

*The considerable impact of the New Zealand scene on John Kinder was probably responsible for his development of a style unique in colonial painting. It is true that, in common with most colonial painters, he endeavoured to 'tidy' the New Zealand landscape and impose on its wilderness the more subtle contours of a gentler climate.*



The eventual compromise is of considerable aesthetic merit. [...] The painting of John Kinder, in contrast with that of the majority of his contemporaries, contains those elements of construction and vision that make it important more for aesthetic than historical reasons.<sup>23</sup>

Curiously, Keith relegates speculation regarding this 'predilection for tidiness' by the colonial painter to a fascinating footnote. His first suggested explanation is the obvious project of taming the land for cultivation, including nostalgia for a domesticated landscape left behind. The second suggested reason is the influence of Pre-Raphaelitism:

This movement was well under way by the time the early colonial painter began to appear and the tendency to clip the edges of the bush could have some connection with the Pre-Raphaelite desire to present us with nature '... such as we have never seen but have often wished to see it'.<sup>24</sup>

Hamish Keith went on to contribute the chapter on Kinder in a pioneering 1969 survey, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting, 1839–1967*, co-authored with a colleague at the Auckland gallery, Gordon H. Brown. William Fox also enjoyed his own chapter, preceding Kinder's, in which Brown linked his 1840s work to New Zealand Company land explorations and argued that Fox was 'perhaps the first painter to capture the essence of the local landscape in a natural and unpretentious way.'<sup>25</sup> Paralleling this approach to Fox, Keith again advances his thesis that 'the origins of Kinder's singular style are in the New Zealand landscape itself, suggesting that aspects of his work prefigure 1930s painters' concern for "hard clear light" revealing "the bones, the sheer form, of hills, trees, stones and scrub" and asserting that 'there is little remotely like these watercolours in nineteenth century English landscape painting.'<sup>26</sup> He concludes by linking Kinder's work to the colonists' desire for order and cultivation, arguing that 'The results are happily free from that romantic mist which obscures the landscape forms in the watercolours of most of his contemporaries.'

An important essay by Gordon H. Brown accompanied the Waikato Art Gallery's 1970 exhibition of *The Ferrier-Watson Collection of Watercolours by John Kinder*, a group of highly finished watercolours from the collection of Kinder's great-grandson that has now entered the Fletcher Trust Collection. Brown uses Kinder's biography to arrive at a sophisticated reading of the artist's style, linking this to his interest in Gothic architecture as well as to the influential writings of John Ruskin. He quotes from a section of *Modern Painters* in which Ruskin compares the relationship of land and vegetation with the body and its clothing, declaring: 'Ground is to the landscape painter what the naked human body is to the historical.' As Brown points out, this notion of geological anatomy perfectly corresponds to

Kinder's perception and treatment of landscape forms, which sometimes assume the character of architecture. Kinder's connections with Pre-Raphaelitism exist largely on this theoretical level, related to Ruskin's earnest advocacy of 'truthfulness', rather than in actual exposure to mid-century Pre-Raphaelite landscape practice such as Alfred Sharpe had experienced in Liverpool.

The most significant of Brown's discoveries related to the chronology of Kinder's work. Seven of the Ferrier-Watson watercolours, inscribed with dates from the 1850s and 1860s, were painted on paper with a watermark of 1886. That is, the dates on Kinder's more highly finished paintings refer not to the time of their execution – the usual significance of an inscribed date on a work of art – but rather to *when he was there*. One of these is the extraordinary *Inside the crater. White terrace. The basin empty* [plate 42], dated 1866 but evidently produced after the dramatic eruption of June 1886 that sounded the death knell for these geothermal marvels. This insight of Brown's had profound implications for serious consideration of Kinder's development as an artist.

While Kinder had been acknowledged within surveys of the New Zealand photographic tradition, it was in 1985 that he was finally accorded a solo exhibition of 45 vintage prints at the Auckland City Art Gallery, subsequently shown in Hamilton and Rotorua. Ron Brownson selected the exhibition from the rich deposits of photographs in the Auckland War Memorial Museum and the Hocken Library – deposits of work that, as with the watercolour collections, resulted from the benefactions of the families of Kinder and his associates. The full extent and importance of Kinder's photography finally became clear with the 1985 publication of Michael Dunn's *John Kinder: Paintings and Photographs*, which revealed the astonishing symmetry of his output: around 400 photographs alongside a similar number of watercolours and drawings. While not quite as opulent as Alister Taylor's limited-edition, slip-cased volumes on C. F. Goldie published in the late 1970s, Dunn's monograph stands as a paragon of sensitive scholarship backed up by high-quality book production. Never before had Kinder's watercolours been so faithfully reproduced, and the superb duotone rendering of the photographs passed successfully as full-colour reproduction.<sup>27</sup> The most revolutionary aspect of Dunn's book was his treatment of the photographs as works of equal stature to the paintings.

Francis Pound had two years earlier published *Frames on the Land: Early Landscape Painting in New Zealand*, aimed at puncturing the myth of 'geographical determinism' – or the notion that the New Zealand landscape itself had a hand in



Auckland Art Gallery, showing a display of John Kinder's paintings in November 1946.

23. Hamish Keith and Ross Fraser, *John Kinder*, Auckland, Auckland City Art Gallery, 1958, pp. 14–15.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

25. Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith, *Introduction to New Zealand Painting, 1839–1967*, London and Auckland, Collins, 1969, p. 35.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

27. Ian Lochhead, reviewing Dunn's book in *Art New Zealand*, described them as reproduced in 'full colour', *Art New Zealand* 36, 1985, p. 67.

influencing the character of New Zealand landscape paintings. The various styles, Pound argues, were imports along with the rest of the colonial mindset. In a sense this was obvious: artists' visual educations, even the how-to books such as Aaron Penley's *System of Water-colour Painting*, would inevitably influence the styles of New Zealand watercolourists more than any 'real' landscape. But Pound's rigid system of 'genres' – in which topography occupies an entirely separate sphere from the ideal – is not suited to a subtle reading of Kinder's highly idealised, retrospective practice as a topographer. Pound's categorical approach tends to suppress any fruitful discussion of the multifarious ways that New Zealand nature was perceived as different and unique – a desire for uniqueness that was as inevitable a component of the colonial mindset as the urge to destroy that difference. The notion of fidelity to local conditions – 'New Zealandness' – has to be recognised as a major theme within 19th century commentary on landscape art. As an example, when Fox praised Richmond's oil painting at Dunedin in 1865, he noted that it was 'painted with equal fidelity to nature and poetic effect ... full of breadth and light, yet with a careful attention to and most faithful rendering of the local details, to such an extent that anyone acquainted with New Zealand scenery, would pronounce it to be a view in that country, see it where he might.'<sup>28</sup>

I side with Keith and others who argue that an artist like Kinder imported his vision, but that the vision was itself imprinted by the local landscape. Just as the painter John Glover, by choosing to emigrate to Van Diemen's Land, transformed himself from an overlooked 'English Claude' to one of colonial Australia's most significant artists, it was by settling in New Zealand that John Kinder became an important artist. I must however take issue with Keith's curious remark that 'Almost nothing in Kinder's life has any real bearing on his painting'.<sup>29</sup> As Brown's discovery of the dating reveals, from the time of his retirement in his early sixties Kinder's painting pretty much *became* his life – an obsessive revisiting of landscapes encountered in earlier years.

I think that Dunn hits the mark with absolute precision when he diagnoses nostalgia as a prime ingredient of Kinder's utopian quest for the tranquil colony of long ago. Not only is Kinder tidying the landscapes of an unkempt colony; he is also – from the embittered vantage point of enforced early retirement – tidying his own past and distilling it into coherent sequences of paintings. We find a parallel in the works that Alfred Sharpe created in Australia in the later 1880s, when he assuaged his

misery and guilt by re-creating large-scale New Zealand scenes – accessing past happiness that could anchor him in a less-than-perfect present. Kinder's painstaking watercolour paintings similarly enabled him to recover meaning in his past. Far from having nothing to do with his life, the sequences of paintings and photographs reveal their full significance only when the autobiographical motivation is acknowledged. The present publication is testimony to that fact.

Gottfried Lindauer, Auckland's professional portraitist of the 1870s, was commissioned by St John's College to memorialise the features of the Reverend John Kinder (page 8). Working from a photograph, he achieved a wooden likeness that horrified Kinder when he saw it. But could there be a later, much better portrait of Kinder by Lindauer's successor, Charles F. Goldie? The painting is in the Sarjeant Gallery, Wanganui; it is dated 1900 and bears the portentous title *Of making many Books there is no end, and much Study is a weariness to the Flesh*. It depicts an elderly scholar in his study, and there is a resemblance to photographs of Kinder. Did Kinder actually model for the thirty-year-old Goldie, not long back from his art education in Paris? Or did Goldie, perhaps with an eye on a future purchaser, choose an elderly model that resembled the educated churchman who would soon donate his library to St John's College?

If this is indeed a portrait of Kinder, it documents a kind of apostolic succession: the reticent amateur at the end of his life, destined for posthumous recognition as a leading painter and photographer of the colonial period, portrayed by a young artist who is on the brink of his own sensational career. Whatever the circumstances, Goldie's work embodies the reputation of Kinder as a scholar, teacher and churchman that was current around the time of his death. Kinder's elevation to colonial art stardom is the work of 20th century scholars who have achieved for the artist a stature within New Zealand art history that – unlike Sharpe with his manic eye on posterity – he never sought. What ensured that position is Kinder's own tireless dedication to the real loves of his life – his 'hobbies' of watercolour painting and photography – coupled with the privileged amateur status that allowed the preservation and collection of his work.

28. Fox, in Collins and Curtis (eds), *op.cit.* p. 33.

29. Brown and Keith, *op.cit.* p. 46.



Plate 80 *Taumata Atua* circa 1865

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983

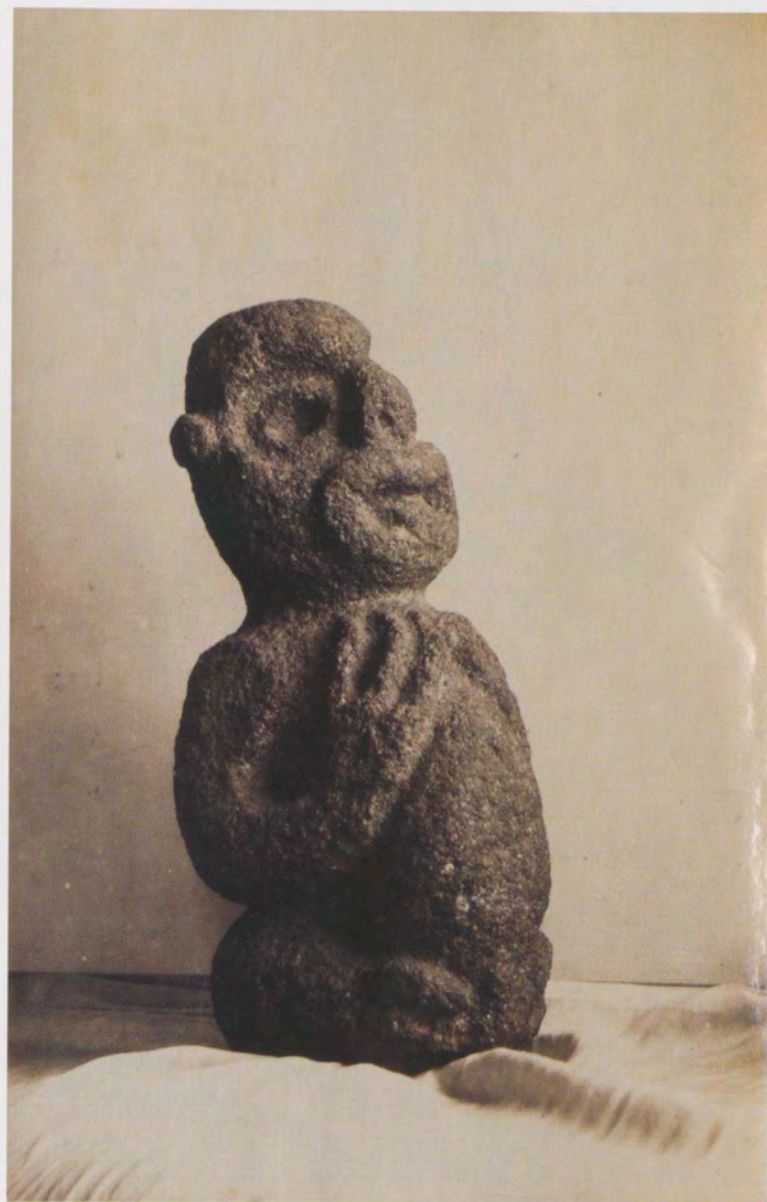


Plate 81 *Taumata Atua* circa 1865  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
purchased 1983

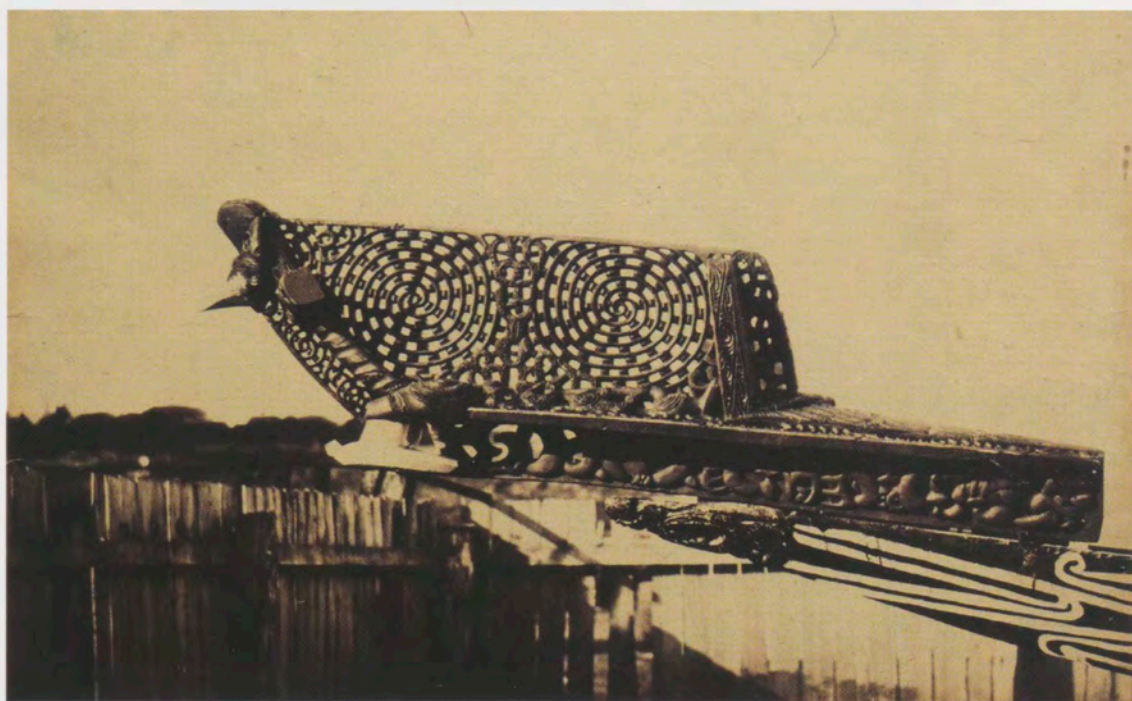


Plate 82 *Tauihu, Waka taua Te Toki  
a Tapiri* circa 1865

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983



Plate 83 *Carved stern-post of a Maori canoe, ornamented with feathers circa 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 84 *Waka at Te Taongaroa, Mechanics Bay circa 1865*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983



Plate 85 *Pataka, or food store, Maketu,  
Bay of Plenty, NZ 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 86 *Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi*  
*Te Waharoa, Chief of Ngati Haua* 1863

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
purchased 1998



Plate 87 *Maori girls, Te Papa, Tauranga 1862*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 88 *Waharoa or gateway, Maketu 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 89 *Wharepuni, Native House, Ohinemutu, Rotorua 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 90 *The Wairoa near Lake Tarawera  
with Mission Chapel of Te Mu  
January 4 1866 circa 1886*

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Plate 91 *Mission station and native village  
on the Wairoa river, Tarawera lake.  
NZ. The Revd Mr Spencer's 1865*

Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922



Plate 92 *On The Hills Near Lyttelton* 1874

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Anakiwa (Beauchamp's)  
Queen Charlotte Sound

Plate 93 *Anakiwa, Queen Charlotte Sound*  
(Mr Beauchamp's) 1871

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 94 *Lyttelton Harbour and Dock* 1890

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 95 *Mt Hector and outlet of Lake Wakatipu 1880*

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki



Plate 96 *Mt Alfred at the northern end  
of Lake Wakatipu 1880*

Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust, on loan to  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki



Plate 97 *Dunedin from Queen's Drive 1890*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937

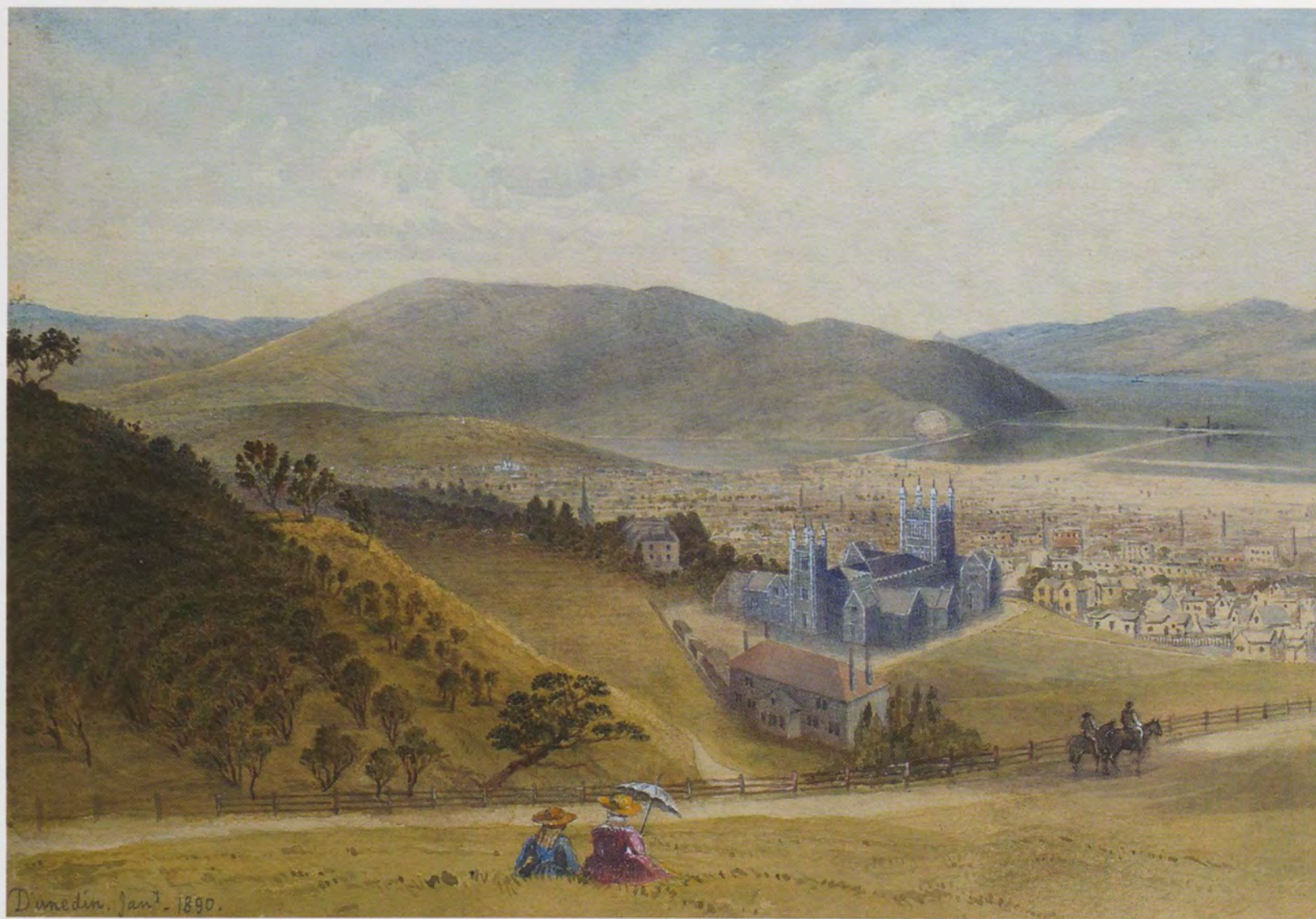


Plate 98 *Dunedin 1890*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 99 *Dunedin from Melville Street 1890*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937



Plate 100 *Waikouaiti, Dunedin 1873*

Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937

# CHRONOLOGY

1800-1809  
1810-1819  
1820-1829  
1830-1839  
1840-1849  
1850-1859  
1860-1869  
1870-1879  
1880-1889  
1890-1899  
1900-1909  
1910-1919  
1920-1929  
1930-1939  
1940-1949  
1950-1959  
1960-1969  
1970-1979  
1980-1989  
1990-1999  
2000-2009

1800 1801 1802 1803 1804 1805 1806 1807 1808 1809

1810 1811 1812 1813 1814 1815 1816 1817 1818 1819

1820 1821 1822 1823 1824 1825 1826 1827 1828 1829

# CHRONOLOGY

- 1819** John Kinder was born on 17 September, at 11 Red Lion Square, London. His father, Thomas Kinder, was a merchant with business premises in Basinghall Street. John was the eldest in a family of seven children.
- 1820** John Kinder was baptised on 28 January, at the church of Saint John, Hampstead.
- 1828** He attended school at Cheam, while his family lived at 66 Portland Place, London, on the corner of Duchess Street.
- 1831** Kinder's father went to Mexico in an attempt to save his business affairs from ruin. The family was forced to leave London and settle in Epsom.
- 1832** The family shifted to a house in Fulham.
- 1833** Kinder's father was ruined financially as a result of his ill-advised investment in Mexican estates. Mrs Kinder and the family moved house to Southampton where she became a schoolmistress.
- 1834** John Kinder developed an interest in Gothic architecture and sketching. He was taught watercolour painting by Aaron Penley.
- 1837** Thomas Kinder returned to England. He took John with him on a tour of Belgium.
- 1838** In October John Kinder began his mathematics studies at Trinity College, Cambridge.
- 1839** The family moved back to London. John was awarded a first-class pass at the Trinity College examinations.
- 1840** Thomas Kinder moved his family to Dover, then Boulogne, Paris and finally Dieppe. John spent his summer vacation at Dieppe sketching.
- 1841** John Kinder was awarded a scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge.
- 1842** John Kinder graduated Bachelor of Arts. He was 38th Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos. He became a member of the Cambridge Camden Society.
- 1843** The family returned to London and John became a tutor at Trinity College.
- 1844** John Kinder travelled to Germany and Switzerland with Benjamin Webb and some students. In October he travelled to Mexico in connection with his father's business.
- 1845** Kinder was awarded the Master of Arts degree from Cambridge University. In London he attended Frederick Denison Maurice's Bible readings, lectures and services. He began his studies for the Anglican ministry. He travelled again to Germany, Switzerland and Northern Italy. Kinder was the tutor for two young men on this trip.
- 1846** Bishop Blomfield ordained John Kinder deacon on Trinity Sunday at St Paul's Cathedral, London. His father died. In July he became assistant curate at St James's, Curtain Road, Hoxton, in the East End. He was there for six months.
- 1847** He was appointed Master of Alleyne's Grammar School, Uttoxeter, Staffordshire. His mother and his sisters were living with him at Uttoxeter.
- 1848** John Kinder was ordained priest on Trinity Sunday, at Lichfield Cathedral by Bishop Lonsdale.
- 1852** The townspeople of Uttoxeter presented a petition to Trinity College, Cambridge, complaining about John Kinder's administration of Alleyne's Grammar School.
- 1853** John Kinder's sister Charlotte (Mrs Barton) and his brother Henry emigrated to New Zealand.
- 1854** John spent his summer vacation at Filey, Yorkshire, sketching.

- 1855** After an interview in London, he was appointed Master of the Church of England Grammar School, Auckland. John Kinder resigned the Mastership at Alleyne's Grammar School on 16 April. On 4 July he sailed to New Zealand on the *Joseph Fletcher*. A sister and brother were already living in Auckland when he arrived on 17 October, with his mother and sister Fanny. He opened the grammar school at Mr Keven's house, Karangahape Road, gained the assistant's position to Reverend George Kissling at St Barnabas' Church and was appointed the acting chaplain to soldiers garrisoned at Auckland.
- 1856** Kinder was vindicated in a court hearing relating to complaints about his administration of Alleyne's Grammar School. He made sketches of Auckland. He visited Mahurangi in December.
- 1857** He shifted to the Master's House, Ayr Street, Parnell and began teaching at the new Church of England Grammar School nearby. In December he travelled by boat to Tauranga, calling at Mercury Island. He met his future wife, Marianne Celia Brown, at the Te Papa Mission Station.
- 1858** In January he made his first visit to the Rotorua-Tarawera district and sketched the Pink and White Terraces. He returned to Auckland via the Waikato River. In December he began his first Northland tour.
- 1859** In January he continued his Northland tour. In December he married Marianne Celia Brown at the Te Papa Mission Station. He visited the Thames area. This seems to be the year John Kinder began his photography.
- 1860** In January John Kinder and his wife honeymooned in the Matamata district where they visited Wiremu Tamihana. Later in the year, John was appointed vicar of St Mark's Church, Remuera.
- 1862** Kinder toured the Taupo-Waikato area. He photographed in the Waikato area, south of Auckland.
- 1863** In December he travelled to Northland.
- 1864** In January he toured and photographed in Northland. Later in the same year, he visited Tauranga and photographed the Gate Pa battle-site.
- 1865** John Kinder was appointed minister to St Andrew's Church, Epsom. He visited Maketu and returned to the Rotorua lakes district. He photographed the Pink and White Terraces. His brother, Henry, was murdered in Sydney.
- 1866** In January he continued photographing in the thermal district. John and Celia adopted Henry's children, Harry and Nesta.
- 1868** The Kinders visited Mr Louis Direy at Whangaparaoa during the summer.
- 1868** John Kinder's name was put forward as a founder member of the proposed Society of Artists in Auckland. In January he photographed at Thames. He visited Whangaparaoa.
- 1869** In January he photographed at Whangarei Heads. He exhibited at the Society of Artists' first exhibition at Auckland. He was appointed master of St John's College, Meadowbank. In December he travelled by boat to the Nelson area.
- 1870** In January John Kinder sketched in the Marlborough and Kaikoura area.
- 1871** He visited the Whangarei district.
- 1873** The Archbishop of Canterbury awarded Kinder a Doctorate of Divinity. He exhibited again at the Society of Artists. In December he visited New Plymouth on his way to the South Island. He toured the South Island's east coast.
- 1874** In January he visited Nelson, Lyttelton and Dunedin.
- 1878** Kinder's mother died. He travelled to Dunedin to visit his sisters, Mary and Sarah, and his nieces, Mary Anna and Olga, who had settled there.
- 1879** In January Kinder sketched at Inglewood, Taranaki. He toured Otago and Lake Wakatipu.
- 1880** He was forced to resign the Mastership of St John's College because of a bitter dispute with Archdeacon Robert Maunsell. In December he visited Norfolk Island for the consecration of the Bishop Patteson Memorial Chapel.
- 1881** John Kinder purchased land at Remuera and built a large house called Woodcroft. He retired and devoted his time to art and gardening.
- 1888** He made his last dated photographs at Woodcroft.
- 1889** He returned to Dunedin to sketch and also visited Gisborne and Lyttelton.
- 1890** John Kinder published a report criticising the report of the commissioners appointed to examine the administration of St John's College. He travelled to Dunedin, via Gisborne and Lyttelton. His past pupils presented Gottfried Lindauer's portrait of John Kinder to St John's College.
- 1900** He wrote a short autobiography entitled 'A Brief Account of my Life' for his adopted children, and a catalogue of his extensive library.
- 1901** Kinder suffered a serious illness and made arrangements to donate his collection of theological books to St John's College.
- 1903** John Kinder died on 5 September, aged 83 years. He was buried in the graveyard of The College of St John the Evangelist, Auckland.

Chronology prepared by Michael Dunn, with additions by Ron Brownson.

# PLATE LIST

*Anakiwa, Queen Charlotte Sound (Mr Beauchamp's)* 1871  
watercolour; 263 x 424 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/81 [plate 93]

*Aratitaha with Maungatautari Mt* circa 1865  
watercolour; 123 x 279 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/72 [plate 31]

*At the bottom of a dark gully, Coromandel – Kauri logs lying in the creek* circa 1866  
albumen print; 213 x 284 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
[no classification number] [plate 65]

*Auckland, Freeman's Bay* 1860  
watercolour; 232 x 336 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/28 [plate 18]

*Auckland, from the verandah of Mr Reader Wood's Cottage* 1856  
watercolour; 290 x 247 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/29 [plate 15]

*Auckland: Looking over the Harbour from Judges Bay* circa 1866  
watercolour; 211 x 300 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/31 [plate 17]

*Auckland, Taurarua (Judges Bay)* 1856  
watercolour; 227 x 344 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/26 [plate 19]

*Auckland, The Three Kings* circa 1875  
watercolour; 124 x 360 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/38 [plate 14]

*Bush scene, Coromandel, N.Zd* circa 1866  
albumen print; 220 x 291 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4476 [plate 74]

*Bush scene, Coromandel* circa 1866  
albumen print; 287 x 220 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4473 [plate 63]

*Bush scene, Coromandel* circa 1866  
albumen print; 213 x 274 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4472 [plate 76]

*Bush scene, Coromandel* circa 1866  
albumen print; 219 x 279 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4474 [plate 75]

*Carved stern-post of a Maori canoe, ornamented with feathers* circa 1865  
albumen print; 224 x 168 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
[no classification number] [plate 83]

*Cascade of hot water, The Tarata, Rotomahana* 1865  
albumen print; 197 x 241 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4338 [plate 50]

*Cliffs with Pohutukawa trees, Whangaparaoa, near Auckland* 1868  
albumen print; 207 x 288 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4496 [plate 78]

*Cliffs, Whangaparaoa, near Auckland* 1868  
albumen print; 233 x 292 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4495 [plate 79]

*Coromandel Gold Field* circa 1866  
albumen print; 195 x 275 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4478 [plate 73]

*Crater of Poerua, Pakaraka* 1874  
watercolour; 186 x 367 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/50 [plate 9]

*Dunedin* 1890  
watercolour; 233 x 335 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/97 [plate 98]

*Dunedin from Melville Street* 1890  
watercolour; 231 x 356 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/98 [plate 99]

*Dunedin from Queen's Drive* 1890  
watercolour; 235 x 342 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/94 [plate 97]

*Epiphytic Tree, Titirangi* circa 1869  
albumen print; 201 x 139 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/43 [plate 67]

*Gisborne* 1890  
watercolour; 237 x 328 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/80 [plate 53]

*The Grave of Reverend Thomas Whythead,  
Waimate North* 1864  
albumen on paper; 103 x 150 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/58 [plate 24]

*A Grove of Ponga (cythaea dealbata)  
Auckland Domain* circa 1869  
albumen on paper; 196 x 267 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/37 [plate 66]

*Inside the Crater. White terrace. The basin empty*  
1866 circa 1886  
watercolour on paper; 220 x 340 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/1 [plate 42]

*Kauri tree, Coromandel, N.Zd* circa 1869  
albumen print; 208 x 268 mm, 164 x 268 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4499 [plate 64]

*Keri Keri Falls* 1859  
watercolour; 254 x 198 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/51 [plate 6]

*Kororareka, Bay of Islands* 1858  
watercolour; 230 x 330 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/8 [plate 2]

*Kotanui, Whangaparaoa* 1868  
watercolour; 182 x 301 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/62 [plate 60]

*Kotanui, Monsieur Direy's House,  
Whangaparaoa* 1868  
albumen print; 207 x 290 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4494 [plate 61]

*Kotanui Rock, Frenchman's cap,  
Whangaparaoa* 1868  
albumen print; 202 x 291 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4497 [plate 20]

*Lake Taupo from the Mission Station,  
Oretí, Near Pukawa* 1862  
watercolour and sepia wash; 282 x 460 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1961  
1961/36/4 [plate 35]

*Lyttelton Harbour and Dock* 1890  
watercolour; 199 x 343 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/91 [plate 94]

*Manaia, Whangarei (1)* 1871  
watercolour; 243 x 325 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/56 [plate 8]

*Manaia, Whangarei (2)* 1871  
watercolour; 207 x 340 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/54 [plate 10]

*Mangawhai, Auckland Province, NZ* 1864  
albumen print; 166 x 219 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4344 [plate 62]

*Manuka in the Auckland Domain* circa 1865  
albumen print; 173 x 223 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/31 [plate 55]

*Manukau ranges no.3 Waitakeres* circa 1869  
albumen print; 243 x 295 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4479 [plate 72]

*Maori girls, Te Papa, Tauranga* 1862  
albumen print; 165 x 208 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4385 [plate 87]

*Mission station and native village on  
the Wairoa river, Tarawera lake. NZ.*  
*The Revd Mr Spencer's* 1865  
albumen print; 204 x 246 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4468 [plate 91]

*Mongonui, Capt Butler's House* 1858  
watercolour; 239 x 356 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/4 [plate 13]

*Mt Alfred at the northern end of  
Lake Wakatipu* 1880  
watercolour; 220 x 350 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/5 [plate 96]

*Mt Hector and outlet of Lake Wakatipu* 1880  
watercolour; 190 x 330 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/6 [plate 95]

*Mt Maunganui, Tauranga* 1874  
watercolour; 198 x 337 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/46 [plate 30]

*Near Mr George McLeod's house, Whangarei  
Heads* 1871  
albumen print; 190 x 280 mm  
Auckland War Memorial Museum  
Te Papa Whakahiku  
[no classification number] [plate 58]

*Off Taranaki 1873. Early morning* 1873  
watercolour; 155 x 330 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/10 [plate 52]

*Okareka, December 31* 1866 1866  
watercolour; 185 x 340 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/11 [plate 36]

*On Mercury Island* 1857  
watercolour; 231 x 334 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/39 [plate 27]

*On The Hills Near Lyttelton* 1874  
watercolour; 207 x 296 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/89 [plate 92]

*Otukupuarangi, Rotomahana* 1865  
albumen print; 187 x 242 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4342 [plate 47]

*Otukupuarangi. The Pink Terrace.*  
*January 2 1866* 1866  
watercolour on paper; 190 x 330 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/12 [plate 46]

*Paihia, Bay of Islands* circa 1864  
watercolour; 194 x 339 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/10 [plate 3]

*Parau from the Road to Huia* circa 1869  
albumen print; 200 x 290 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/44 [plate 56]

*Pataka, or food store, Maketu,*  
*Bay of Plenty, NZ* 1865  
albumen print; 177 x 232 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4370 [plate 85]

*Pikiarero (clematis paniculata)* circa 1865  
albumen print; 136 x 88 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/29 [plate 54]

*Puai Island from Pukura Island, Rotomahana.*  
*Te Hapeotoroa Mountain and Otukupuarangi*  
*beyond* 1865  
albumen print; 194 x 241 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4384 [plate 1]

*Pukawa Lake Taupo from Oreti (Mr Grace's)*  
*December* 1861 1861  
watercolour; 190 x 330 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/13 [plate 34]

*Purewa Creek, High Water* 1878  
watercolour; 209 x 330 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/36 [plate 16]

*Railway cutting and tunnel with Grammar*  
*school and Masters House* 1865  
albumen print; 180 x 217 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4460 [plate 71]

*Reverend Kinder and his family at St. John's*  
*College* circa 1877  
albumen print; 181 x 219 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/50 [plate 25]

*The road through the bush, between*  
*Drury and the Waikato* 1862  
albumen print; 164 x 170 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
692.00336 [plate 69]

*Rotokakahi. 1866. Outlet of Lake* 1866  
watercolour; 220 x 330 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/18 [plate 40]

*Rotomahana from the Pink Terrace* 1866  
watercolour; 181 x 291 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/19 [plate 49]

*Ruahine (Solfatura) Rotoiti* circa 1865  
albumen print; 193 x 248 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4464 [plate 51]

*Soldiers making a road, near Drury* 1862  
albumen print; 172 x 151 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
692.00346 [plate 68]

*St. John's College* circa 1875  
albumen print; 195 x 287 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/60 [plate 23]

*St. John's College, Auckland, from the West*  
circa 1878  
albumen print; 196 x 287 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1984  
1983/22/24 [plate 22]

*Tapu Creek, Thames Goldfield* circa 1868  
albumen print; 187 x 275 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4471 [plate 77]

*Tapu, Coromandel Peninsula* circa 1868  
albumen print; 204 x 282 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/23/11 [plate 57]

*The Tarata, or principal boiling spring,*  
*Rotomahana* 1865  
albumen print; 194 x 242 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4339 [plate 44]

*Tarawera Lake and Mountains*  
*from Waitangi 9 January 1866* 1866  
watercolour; 230 x 350 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/22 [plate 39]

*Tauihu, Waka taua Te Toki a Tapiri*  
circa 1865  
albumen print; 119 x 192 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/15 [plate 82]

*Taumata Atua* circa 1865  
albumen print; 149 x 95 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/10 [plate 80]

*Taumata Atua* circa 1865  
albumen print; 149 x 96 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/9 [plate 81]

*Te Aroha* 1891  
watercolour; 235 x 351 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/41 [plate 26]

*Te Heuheu's Monument. Pukawa.*  
*Lake Taupo* 1861  
watercolour; 248 x 354 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/23 [plate 33]

*Te Kohukohu, Hokianga (J. Webster's)* 1858  
watercolour; 225 x 330 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/20 [plate 4]

*Te Papa o Haria on the Wairoa*  
*River, Tauranga* 1857  
pen, ink, pencil; 179 x 257 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1989  
1989/19/2 [plate 28]

*Te Papa, Tauranga – Mt*  
*Maunganui and Old Pa* 1857  
watercolour; 212 x 332 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/44 [plate 29]

*Te Tarata. The White Terrace. Rotomahana* 1866  
circa 1886  
watercolour on paper; 180 x 320 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/25 [plate 45]

*Titirangi* circa 1869  
albumen print; 200 x 290 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/34 [plate 70]

*The Union Bank, Queen Street, Auckland* 1864  
albumen print; 172 x 224 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4379 [plate 21]

*Waharoa or gateway, Maketu* 1865  
albumen print; 240 x 178 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4369 [plate 88]

*Waihaha. Lake Taupo* 1861  
watercolour; 155 x 290 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/26 [plate 32]

*Waikanapanapa. Rotomahana.*  
*Old Sinter Terrace* 1866  
watercolour; 220 x 330 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/27 [plate 41]

*Waikanapanapa, Rotomahana* 1865  
albumen print; 194 x 243 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4337 [plate 48]

*Waikouaiti, Dunedin* 1873  
watercolour; 247 x 342 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/92 [plate 100]

*Wairoa Falls and Gully leading*  
*to Lake Tarawera* 1858  
watercolour; 210 x 330 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/28 [plate 38]

*The Wairoa near Lake Tarawera with Mission*  
*Chapel of Te Mu January 4 1866* circa 1886  
watercolour; 205 x 320 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/29 [plate 90]

*Waitangi Falls* 1864  
watercolour; 190 x 290 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/14 [plate 7]

*Waiwera Hotel* 1877  
watercolour; 210 x 357 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/63 [plate 12]

*Waka at Te Taongaroa, Mechanics Bay*  
circa 1865  
albumen print; 144 x 205 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1983  
1983/22/16 [plate 84]

*Wesleyan Mission Station,*  
*Waima, Hokianga* 1858  
watercolour; 230 x 355 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/18 [plate 5]

*Whangarei Falls* 1858  
watercolour; 296 x 207 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/55 [plate 11]

*Whangarei, Near The Heads* 1871  
watercolour; 190 x 301 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
gift of Harry Kinder, 1937  
1937/15/53 [plate 59]

*Wharepuni, Native House,*  
*Ohinemutu, Rotorua* 1865  
albumen print; 191 x 245 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4368 [plate 89]

*Wharetata. Roto Iti. December 29 1865* 1865  
watercolour; 135 x 329 mm  
Ferrier-Watson Collection  
The Fletcher Trust  
on loan to Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
L2003/8/30 [plate 37]

*Whatapoho (geyser) with incrustated rock,*  
*Rotomahana* 1865  
albumen print; 246 x 202 mm  
Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena,  
University of Otago, Dunedin  
gift of Olga McCurdie, 1922  
4462 [plate 43]

*Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi Te Waharoa,*  
*Chief of Ngati Haua* 1863  
albumen print, 85 x 54 mm  
Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki  
purchased 1998  
1998/40/3 [plate 86]

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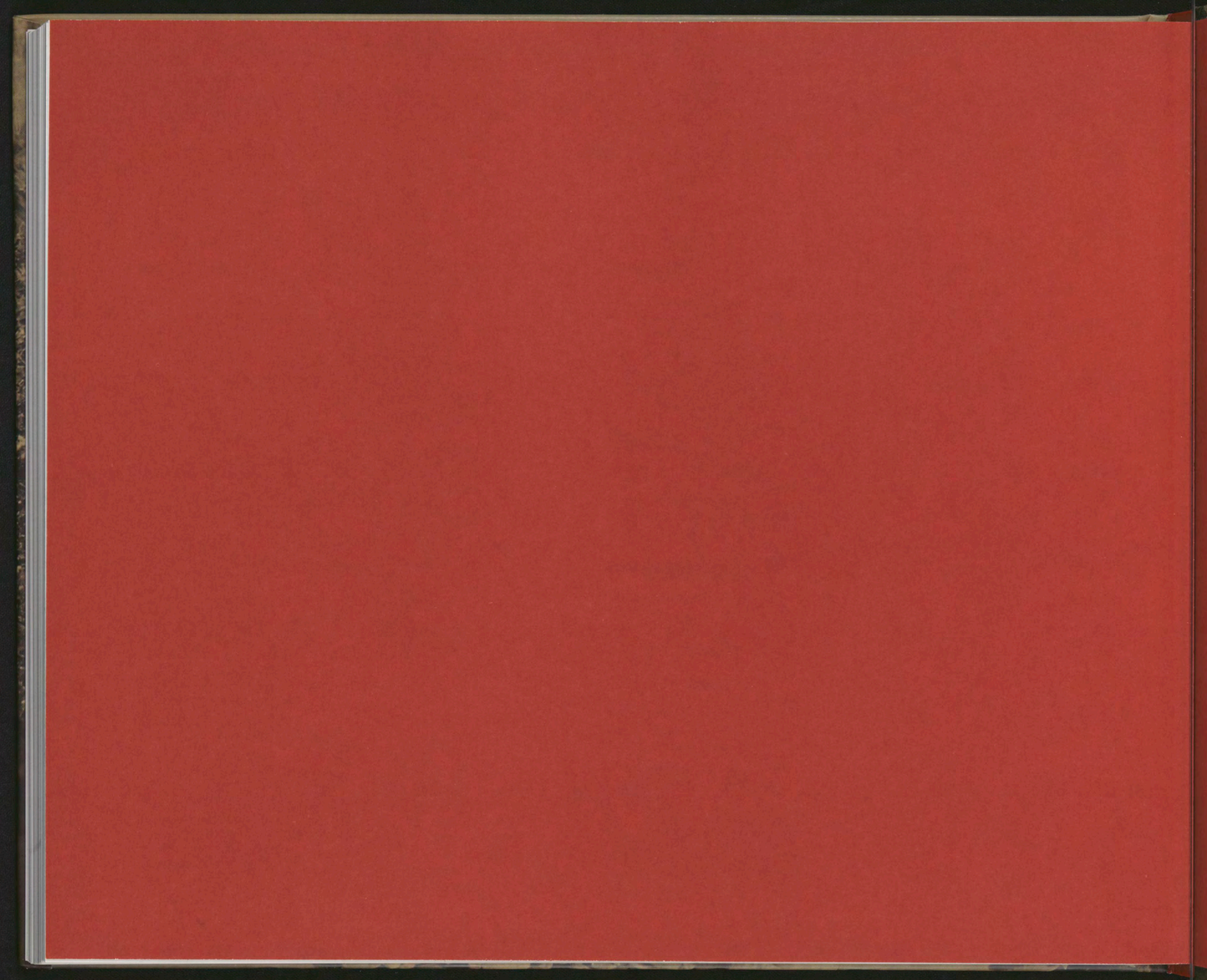
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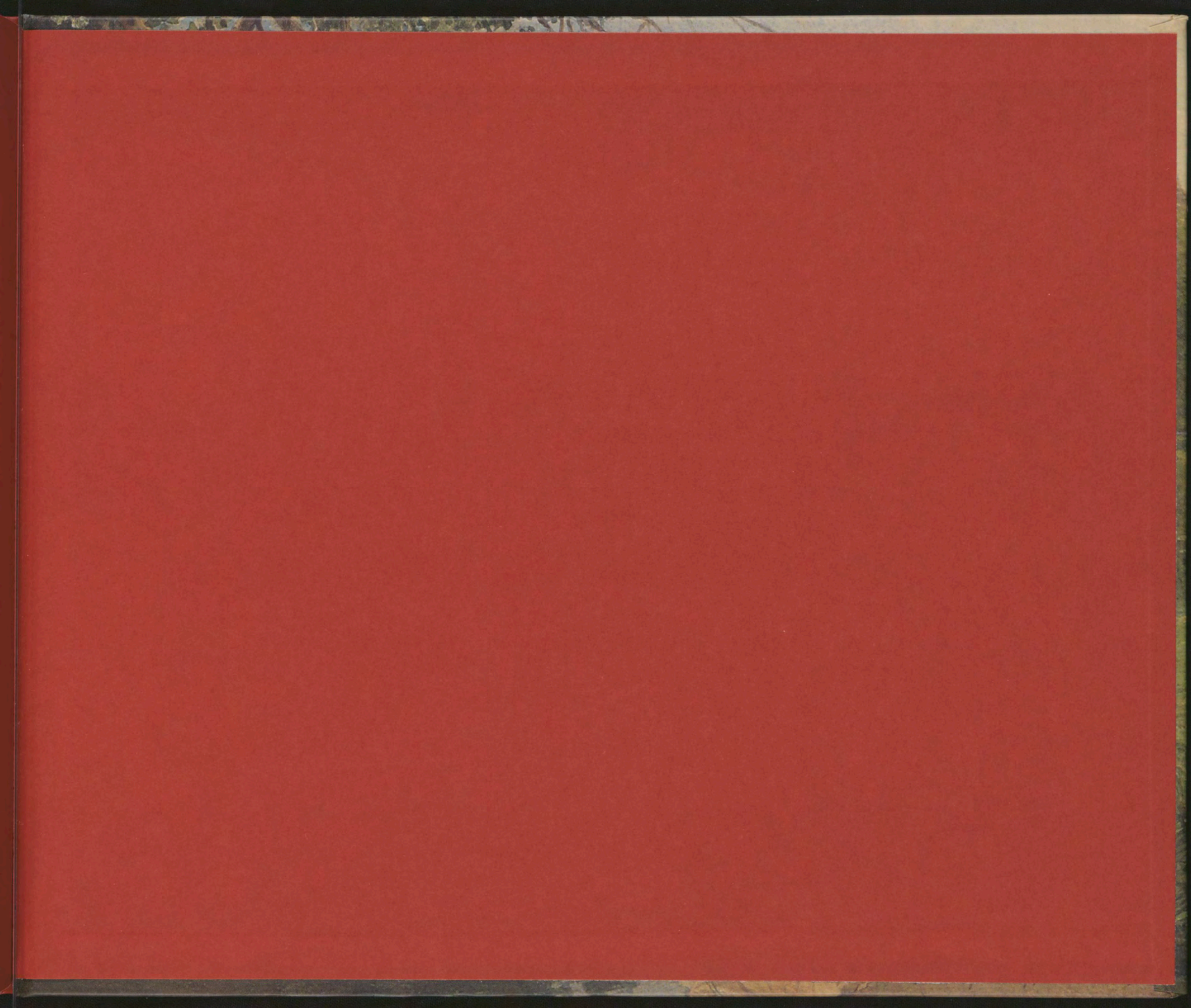
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