

The photographer, her siblings and biographical misattributions: Jessie Buckland and P. Gay

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Abstract

From 1903–1934 Jessie Buckland worked as a professional photographer in Akaroa on Banks Peninsula. Biographers have identified the origin of this career with a successful series of photographic competition entries made in the 1890s under pseudonym P. Gay, a pastime enjoyed with her talented siblings. However, recently discovered archival evidence suggests that pseudonym was her sister Susan's. This article supports that revision with additional evidence, indicating a reappraisal of the Buckland siblings' photography as well as Jessie's biography is required. Buckland did have a pseudonym, Annis McLeod, previously unacknowledged by biographers, who have also understated the extent to which she supplied photographs to national weekly newspapers during her career.

Introduction

From the announcement of the daguerreotype process in France in 1839, the technology that became known as photography spread rapidly. The first known demonstration in Australia was by a Captain Lucas in Sydney on 15 May 1841.¹ Not much later, New Zealand's connection to photography begins with a missing daguerreotype of a Banks Peninsula subject. The French artist Charles Meryon (1821–1868) drew two portraits in France in 1846 of Ngāi Tahu rangatira Piuraki Tikao (1808–1852) (who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi at Ōnuku as John Love) which Meryon recorded were based on a daguerreotype.² A possible candidate for the photographer was Didier Joubert (1816–1881), a French trader in Sydney who was in Akaroa from 25 January until 1 February 1842.³ However, the daguerreotype has never been located, and among the considerable volume of reports and letters produced by French and British officials in Akaroa at this time, no hint of an instance of daguerreotypy is to be found.⁴ Given the novelty and scientific interest that photography instilled, it is hard to imagine such an event passing without some record being made; it was most likely an offshore photograph. Six years later, Auckland had daguerreotypist Isaac Polack (1829–1888) offering portraits.⁵ In the absence of the Tikao daguerreotype, it was not until 1857 that photography can be dated as being practiced in Canterbury by Christchurch's Dr Alfred Charles Barker (1819–1873) and Benjamin Mountfort (1825–1898) who had taught Barker the wet plate collodion process.⁶

Elizabeth Pullman (1836–1900) is described as one of New Zealand's first female photographers (in Auckland in the later 1860s), if not the first.⁷ However, as Jill Haley discusses, it all depends on what is meant by "photographer".⁸ While there is often a simple relationship between the person operating a camera and the photograph that results, photographic discourse (quite rightly) has a broader outlook, considering how photographs can also be the result of collaborative production, a product arrived at through a variety of hands, both creatively and in their processing.⁹ This approach has helped recognise that a subject can be creative director of their photograph, how albums might reveal collaborative amateur photography, and considers the variety of photographic sub-trades revealing the previously underacknowledged work of women in photographic studios, not just as principals, but also behind the scenes.¹⁰

While Jessie Lillian Buckland (1878–1939) was certainly not Akaroa’s first photographer nor the first woman in New Zealand to run a photography business, or even one of the earliest, her career as a professional photographer in the small rural town on Banks Peninsula in the early twentieth century nevertheless remains unusual for the time, not least for its near three decades duration and national reach.

Jessie’s involvement with photography began in her youth with her siblings’ amateur endeavours. Amateur photography had become much more accessible in the 1880s with the relatively quicker and easier gelatin dry plate process¹¹ compared with the earlier fiddly and time sensitive wet plate collodion process.¹² From 1890, Kodak film cameras were available in New Zealand whereby photographers could have their films processed for them by approved agents, making photography even easier for the amateur.¹³

During Jessie’s childhood and youth, the Buckland family lived at Tumai Station in the hills above Waikouaiti, Otago, where surviving prints show the Buckland siblings made their first photographs. After several months interlude c.1892–1893 at Cintra, a grand house on Musselburgh Rise in Dunedin’s Andersons Bay, the family relocated inland to the Taieri Lake Station in the Strath Taieri area. The homestead there was close to the Rock and Pillar railway station situated midway between Middlemarch and Hyde. Here, the siblings continued to pursue their photography, entering competitions in Melbourne’s *The Australasian* and Dunedin’s *Otago Witness* weekly newspapers. Four of the seven children of John Channing Buckland (1844–1909) and Caroline Fairburn (1848–1934) were active photographers: Caroline (1868–1930) known as Carrie, William Harold (1870–1941) known as Harold, Rachael Susan Christabel (1876–1948) known as Susan, and Jessie.¹⁴ The rest of the family¹⁵ and visiting friends were also sometimes involved as subjects. It is likely that Jessie (and her sister Susan) were boarders in Dunedin during their school years, presumably making photography a holiday activity. Jessie would have completed her education at latest by 1896 when she turned eighteen. She then lived at the family home and engaged in photography with her siblings until 1899. Early that year she returned to Dunedin to work as a house governess at Dunedin’s Girls’ High School, a live-in position. Due to a falling roll, the position was dis-established mid-way through 1902, when Jessie was aged 23. She relocated to Akaroa, following her family who had moved there after leaving Taieri in 1901. By 1903 she was making photographs in Akaroa and producing them for sale. She opened a studio-shop in 1907 and practiced through to 1934, after which she spent the rest of her life travelling.

William (Bill) Main produced one of the first biographies of Jessie in 1993.¹⁶ Main’s biography divides Buckland’s life between her early years in Otago with her “brilliant genre series of 1895–98” followed by “her accomplished professional photography” in Akaroa. This split was clearly influenced by the Buckland family albums donated to the Hocken Collections at the University of Otago that weigh as a significant body of evidence.¹⁷ As well as informal family portraits, photographs of relatives, and (in two of the three albums) photographs by Buckland as a professional photographer in Akaroa, these albums are the key record of the Buckland siblings’ award-winning photography produced in Otago. Paired with research into their newspaper competition entries, the albums provide an insight into the family’s photographic activities and an avenue into the wider photographic culture at the time. For Main, Jessie Buckland was the one “directing the family” into their poses during that Otago period. Of all the competition entries by the Buckland siblings, those by “P. Gay” were the most successful. Although Main does not specifically mention this pseudonym, he clearly identifies photographs made by P. Gay with Jessie; subsequent biographies have followed this convention.¹⁸

Since Main's 1993 biography, online access to digitised archival sources has made newspaper research and fact checking vastly easier. Ever since commencing on-line research on Jessie Buckland for an exhibition catalogue, I have been finding evidence suggesting P. Gay has been misidentified and their photographs misattributed, which in turn affects how the siblings' photographic activities are assessed.¹⁹ However, it was old-fashioned archival research that led Hocken Collections staff to the discovery of the names Peter and Peterkin Gay inscribed on three paintings attributed to Susan Orbell née Buckland, Jessie's sister (Fig. 1). In the *Otago Daily Times*, Nick Austin (Collections Assistant, Hocken Collections) reported the finding asserting "Susan deserves greater credit, though it's certainly possible the sisters shared the nom de plume."²⁰ While there was clearly collaboration in many (but not all) P. Gay photographs, I propose that P. Gay was wholly Susan's pseudonym.



Figure 1. P. Gay [Susan Buckland], Tumai House, 1891. Watercolour on paper, 168 x 267 mm. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka, accession number 26,766.

This article identifies six “red flags” that should have alerted biographers to this possibility and together confirm that Jessie Buckland could not have been P. Gay. With this key narrative of her youth unravelled, the question of authorship in the siblings' photography needs to be re-examined with the ramifications for the development of Jessie's professional career in mind. The Buckland siblings remain an intriguing case study of turn-of-the century photographic culture but require reappraisal. Further research has also shown that Jessie did have a pseudonym, but it was a pen name, Annis McLeod. As Annis McLeod she wrote short stories and published three photo-stories, one in Otago, the others in Akaroa. Furthermore, the quantity of Jessie Buckland's professional photographs published in the weekly newspapers was much more significant than previously acknowledged, and importantly, gave her photographs a national audience. A summary assessment of her influence in shaping how Akaroa was

represented can be made through this medium and with reference to collections of her work. In short, Buckland's biography requires re-examination and reframing.

Background

The convention of misidentifying P. Gay probably began with Nancy Buckland, daughter of the eldest brother Harold. She credited Jessie as the photographer of "Why the Mailbag was Late" (Fig. 2) and the prize-winning "Comin' Thro' the Rye."²¹ (Fig. 3). Both were photograph competition entries in *The Australasian* submitted under the name P. Gay; Jessie was in front of the camera in both.²² Nancy Buckland was an informant to the short 1993 biography of Jessie Buckland by Annette Facer, who wrote: "[a]lthough it is difficult to be certain who actually pushed the button, family tradition has it that Jessie usually composed the shots.... she arranged them [her family] into humorous poses, frequently dressing them up and sometimes herself appearing in male attire."²³ Although Facer does not identify Buckland as P. Gay, like Main, she does give her the active director role in a shared, co-operative family photographic practice.



Figure 2. P. Gay [Susan Buckland], Why the mail bag was late, c.1898, Album 210, 40. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihū Waka, reference number P1993-011/1-040b.



Figure 3. P. Gay [Susan Buckland], Comin' thro' the Rye, 1897, Album 211, 8. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka, reference number P1993-011/3-008d.

Born in 1908, Nancy Buckland only knew her aunt as a professional photographer. Since Jessie issued both of the above photographs as postcards in Akaroa in 1908, the assumption that she was the creator is understandable.²⁴ However, she also reproduced two of Harold Buckland's photographs, "Brothers of the road"²⁵ (Fig. 4) and "Sunset"²⁶ (Fig. 5), as postcards.²⁷ These had been entered into competitions under his own name (W.H. Buckland), thereby asserting authorship.²⁸ Today, these competition entries can be found by word-searching digitised newspapers online, but before this technology, it was understandably more difficult to uncover these facts. The misidentification of P. Gay as Jessie and the narrative of Jessie directing family photography subsequently became carry-over errors.



Figure 4. W. H. Buckland, *Brothers of the Road*, c.1896, Album 211, 4. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka, reference number P1993-011/3-004a.



Figure 5. W.H. Buckland, Sunset, 1897, Album 211, 8. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihū Waka, reference number P1993-011/3-008a.

Vickie Hearnshaw's 1997 article "A Study in Black and White" was a significant contribution to the history of New Zealand photography as the most expansive Jessie Buckland biography to date.²⁹ Taking a cue from Main, the biography stated the P. Gay pseudonym was Jessie's, although Hearnshaw puzzled over why she would use one.³⁰ Following previous biographies, Buckland was again described as the talented organiser of her siblings, who "exhibited prodigious skill as a photographer."³¹ The collective approach to photography by the Buckland siblings and the problem of assigning authorship was also discussed, claiming it did not matter who operated the camera, creative direction was more important.³² This helped resolve the conundrum of how Jessie could be the star photographer while simultaneously taking a starring role in front of the camera in numerous prize-winning photographs.

A decade later, Hearnshaw's MA thesis did not revise the assumption that Jessie was P. Gay nor her role in the four siblings' photography.³³ The thesis also repeatedly refers to two Hocken Collections albums as Carrie's (Album 210) and Jessie's (Album 211).³⁴ A third album in a private collection located in the United States is described as Susan's. This is represented in the Hocken Collections as a copy-album (Album 121). The designation of the latter is plausible given the provenance: Susan's son Geoffrey Orbell donated the copy. However, there are inconsistencies and duplications in Albums 210 and 211. While Album 210 is inscribed "Carrie

Buckland” on the inside cover, it is also inscribed “To W.H. Buckland, Wainui, B.P. 1934,” a date four years after Caroline’s death. It is not impossible that this album could be of Caroline’s work and inscribed posthumously. However, the handwriting on captions within and across Albums 210 and 211 is inconsistent, while the captions in Album 121 appear consistent throughout. Some inscriptions in Albums 210 and 211 are in wet ink and others are in biro. There is no chronological order to the prints pasted into the albums to suggest progression as a photographer and there is duplication of some of the prints within and between albums.³⁵ That implies there is no separation between the work of Carrie, the work of Jessie and that of the other siblings: both Albums 210 and 211 contain professional Jessie Buckland prints. Overall, Album 210 has 210 prints, 25 of which are from Akaroa. Album 211 has 297 prints, including 50 from Akaroa. While both albums contain photographs that were entered into competitions, in Album 211 fifteen are labelled with the newspaper title, the year, any awards and sometimes initials indicating the photographer.

On-line research indicates that in 1923 Caroline (as C.M. Buckland) published four photographs in the *Auckland Weekly News*, and a fifth in 1925.³⁶ None of these were included in the albums, which is inconsistent with the assertion that Album 210 was “Carrie’s Album,” yet that album did contain Jessie Buckland photographs from the 1920s, and as late as 1929. The inconsistencies, duplication and disorder makes a single compiler highly unlikely. While Albums 210 and 211 may have been begun by one or other of the siblings, it is just as likely they were completed by another sibling or by the next generation of family members.³⁷

Album 121 (“Susan’s album”) has 286 photographs across 100 pages. None are Akaroa photographs; indeed none appear later than about 1900. Inscribed captions record titles, publication, and sometimes the date created. Several captions name individual photographers. Carrie, Harold and (aunt) Elizabeth Hocken are recognised with “taken by...” in several places indicating the caption writer felt this significant. There is repetition of photographs in the other albums, but this album has many photographs that are unique to it. It also has the full set of photographs published with “The Tribulations... of an Amateur Photographer” in 1898 (see below). There is no reason to doubt this album was compiled by Susan.

The assumption that P. Gay was Jessie was firmly established and remained so into the present century, as for example in David Eggleton’s *Into the Light* (2006) and Lissa Mitchell’s *Through Shaded Glass* (2023). Mitchell also follows the convention of the collective and collaborative photograph-making process that enabled P. Gay’s work to come into being with Jessie directing from in front of the camera.³⁸ Mitchell does add a new dimension by identifying the use of P. Gay as a pen name for a short story “The Tribulations... of an Amateur Photographer.”³⁹ This discovery adds the creative application of photographs as integral story illustrations to the Bucklands’ oeuvre. She also notes that in 1918 both Jessie and the other Akaroa-dwelling sibling Caroline made copyright applications for their photographs, reinforcing the fact that Caroline remained an active photographer during Jessie’s years as a professional in Akaroa (while P. Gay had ceased as a producer).⁴⁰

P. Gay’s real identity

Even before the Peter and Peterkin Gay inscriptions were found on paintings attributed to Susan Buckland in 2024, there were six identifiable inconsistencies with the identification of P. Gay as Jessie Buckland.

1. “Rauka” in Album 211 (Fig. 6) offers direct evidence that P. Gay was Susan and not Jessie. The photograph of two horses, one with a rider, standing in pond, received a “highly commended” in *The Australasian* in 1899, with the title “After toil of the day” and credit P. Gay.⁴¹ In the album, the initials “S.B.” are inscribed in wet ink under the photograph, plausibly indicating it was Susan’s photograph as clearly she was not the rider.⁴² Another photograph in Album 211 titled in wet ink “A rest by the way” (Fig. 7) depicts John Channing Buckland and is also annotated “S.B. / H. C. / *Australasian* ’98.”⁴³ These initials can be read as Susan Buckland / Highly Commended. (The additional inscription in blue biro “J. C. B.” are the initials of the subject.)



Figure 6. P. Gay [Susan Buckland], Rauka / After the toil of the day, 1898, Album 211, 39. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka, reference number P1993-011/3-039b.



Figure 7. P. Gay [Susan Buckland], *A Rest by the Way*, 1898, Album 211, 4. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka, reference number P1993-011/3-004d.

2. Susan Buckland's son Geoffrey Orbell (b. 1908) clearly stated in a letter to S. Morrow at Akaroa Museum that P. Gay was his mother Susan's pseudonym, not Jessie's: "the name of 'P. Gay' ...was my mother's nom de plume."⁴⁴ This was a clear contradiction to the assumption that P. Gay was Jessie. While he could be accused of favouring his mother, there was no real motivation for this.

3. In a private archive of the Buckland siblings' younger cousin Gladys Hocken, Hearnshaw found evidence of Susan's activity composing, photographing, developing and printing, and planning, without Jessie.⁴⁵ In an 1894 letter, it is Susan Buckland whom Gladys reports as discussing plans for future photographs, and of making a photograph of a stretch of water. In another instance (undated), Susan photographs Gladys being pig-a-backed across a stream,⁴⁶ and again in 1894, it is Susan who teaches Gladys to use a camera.⁴⁷ In 1897 Susan is behind the camera for the creation of the photograph "Coming Thro' the Rye" (Fig. 3) and also prints it.⁴⁸ In another private archive, Hearnshaw found a letter from Nancy Buckland to William Main⁴⁹ from which Hearnshaw concluded "Susan... [was] the one who took control of the production of the photographs, from the point of shooting to the processing of the prints."⁵⁰ These references confirm Susan's involvement in photography was significant and she was behind the camera for the P. Gay photo "Coming Thro' the Rye", and the one who processed and printed it, not Jessie.

4. The backdrop of family life was rural, first at the coastal Tumai run, just north of Waikouaiti, and from 1893 or 1894, at the inland and more remote Taieri Lake Station in the Strath Taieri area of Otago, both leased by their father John Channing Buckland.⁵¹ Photography offered an absorbing pastime for the rural family and captions in the Hocken Collections albums show photography began at Tumai, that is before 1892 (in contradiction to Main). As well as casual

family portraits, the staged photographs featuring family members in costume began here, including “Gypsies”⁵² (Fig. 8) and a photograph re-enacting King Charles II hiding in an oak tree during the English Civil Wars.⁵³ Age needs to be considered here. Susan (b.1876) and Jessie (b.1878) were much younger than the other competition photographers Caroline (b.1868) and Harold (b.1870), and both attended school in Dunedin, most likely as boarders given the distance.⁵⁴ Jessie was aged thirteen when the family left Tumai, her elder (photographer) siblings 24, 22 and 16. Although the relationship between the siblings is unknown, it is difficult to imagine a sibling dynamic where the eldest two would accept direction from the youngest. Furthermore, it was Harold who became a member of the Dunedin Photographic Society in 1892, which could indicate leadership (Caroline was a member in 1899, the others did not join).⁵⁵ This perhaps also helps explain why Jessie is often the costumed actor in the P. Gay (Susan’s) photographs, the younger two clubbing together.⁵⁶ Susan finished school in 1893, and Jessie would have completed her education by 1895 or 1896. Susan’s first two competition successes (as P. Gay), “Such a big basket, and we have caught nothing” (1895) and “Comin’ Thro’ the Rye” (1897) (Fig. 3), both featured Jessie as a subject.⁵⁷



Figure 8. Photographer unknown, Gypsies, c.1890, Album 211, 2. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka, reference number P1993-011/3-001c.

5. Jessie Buckland took up the role of house governess at Otago Girls’ High School at the beginning of the first term of 1899.⁵⁸ The job was a live-in position, which, like her school years, would have reduced her time at home to photograph with her siblings. She held this post for three and half years, until mid-way through 1902, when there was (in today’s term) a restructure due to falling numbers on the roll with her post disestablished.⁵⁹ The P. Gay photographs entered into *The Australasian* (sixth and seventh) competitions in 1899 and 1900 do not feature Jessie as a subject, and there were no more of the elaborate, costumed, genre

narrative photographs such as “Why the mail bag was late” (Fig 2) or “Comin’ thro’ the Rye” (Fig. 3) entered. The collaboration producing such photographs had ended. Only five of the twelve competition photographs by P. Gay include Jessie. The last known P. Gay photograph competition entry was 1901.⁶⁰ That year, Susan was married to Lionell Havelock Orbell, John Channing Buckland had given up his leases and sold his stock,⁶¹ and the family had relocated, first to Winchester, then to the Glen at Akaroa where Jessie arrived in mid-1902. As J.L. Buckland, Jessie made her first competition entry in 1899 and continued entering competitions while in Akaroa, as did Caroline to at least 1904.⁶² Jessie’s photograph entered in *The Australasian* in 1900 was coastal Otago, not inland Taieri, and the “Boulder Hunting” story and photographs from 1901 (discussed below) were at Hampden and Moeraki in North Otago. She was already photographing away from Taieri and apparently independently of her siblings.

6. There is also the issue of why Jessie Buckland would engage in the self-contradictory behaviour of entering photographic competitions under a pseudonym and simultaneously her own name, which biographers have not explored. The first photograph by J.L. Buckland found in *The Australasian* was in 1899, and her second in 1900.⁶³ In both years the newspaper also had competition entries from P. Gay, Caroline and Harold (in 1899 only, by 1900 he was serving in the South African War).

Furthermore, the look of the early photographs by J.L. Buckland compared to those of P. Gay in these years are significantly different. The content and titles of many P. Gay photographs interact to be suggestive of a narrative whether carefully staged with costumes like “Why the mail bag was late” (Fig. 2), or more simply conceived like “After the toil of the day” (Fig. 6). Jessie typically had a more straightforward documentary approach. “Chums” (Fig. 9) is a portrait with the seated subject looking straight into the camera. The title is a description of the relationship between the subject and cat he is holding. “Cauldrons, Maori Kaik” (Fig. 10) was a view of try pots on a foreshore with the sea in the background, published as “Old Whaling Station.” Again, there is no narrative intent beyond describing an abandoned whaling site and the link between the try pots and sea. Both the straight-on portrait (compare Fig. 15) and the photograph of a historic site incorporating scenery (compare Fig.16) are characteristic of Buckland’s early work in Akaroa, but there are exceptions. Buckland continued to enter competitions. In 1904 she had her first success with a second prize in *The Australasian* competition for “The Reading Lesson” which is of a more narrative style.⁶⁴ In 1922, “Town and Country Cousins” (Fig. 11) involved Susan and harked back to their collaborative images. Here the title implied the narrative. Jessie’s competition entries were few compared to her steady supply of photographs from Akaroa to weekly newspapers, however, she did later make staged photographs with an implied narrative for sale as prints and newspaper publication, such as the well-known “Home in the Evening” made on a panorama camera.⁶⁵ Although more research is required, it appears that in Akaroa Jessie developed towards the more complex photographs of P. Gay.

Observed in isolation, these red flags are easily disregarded as anomalies, but taken together with the Peter / Peterkin Gay signature found on the paintings attributed to Susan they add up to a convincing argument that P. Gay was Susan’s pseudonym, not Jessie’s.

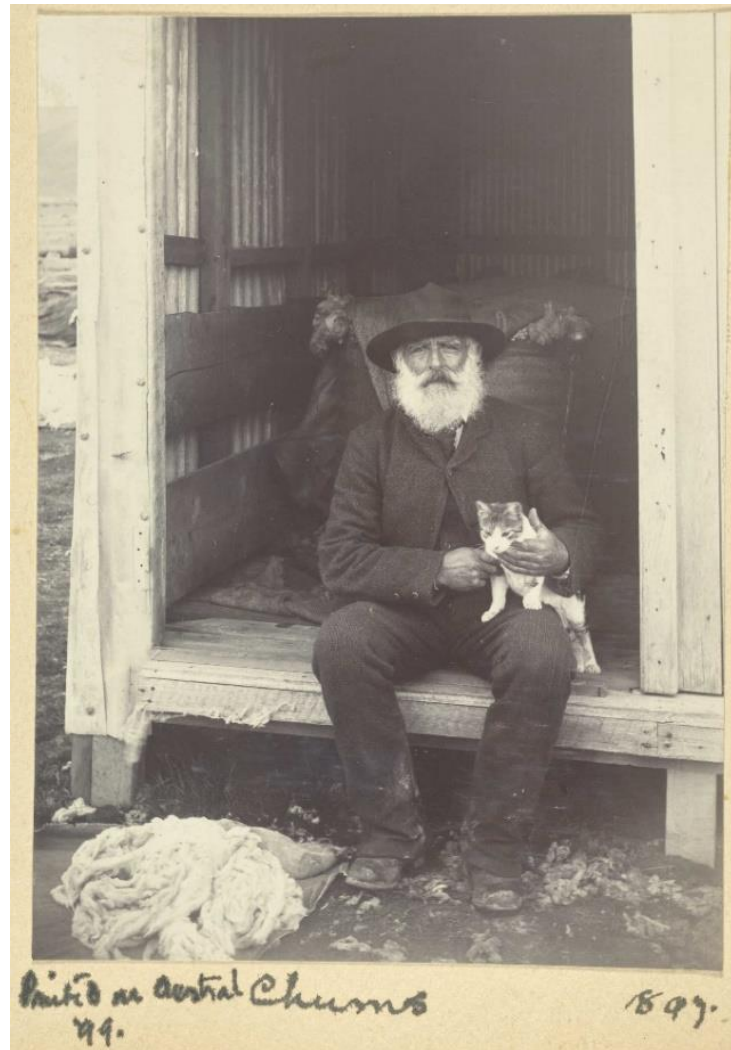


Figure 9 J.L. Buckland, Chums, 1897, Album 211, 31. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka, reference number P1993-011/3-031d.



Figure 10. J.L. Buckland, Cauldrons, Maori Kaik / Old Whaling Station, 1899, Album 211, 31. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka, reference number P1993-011/3-031a.

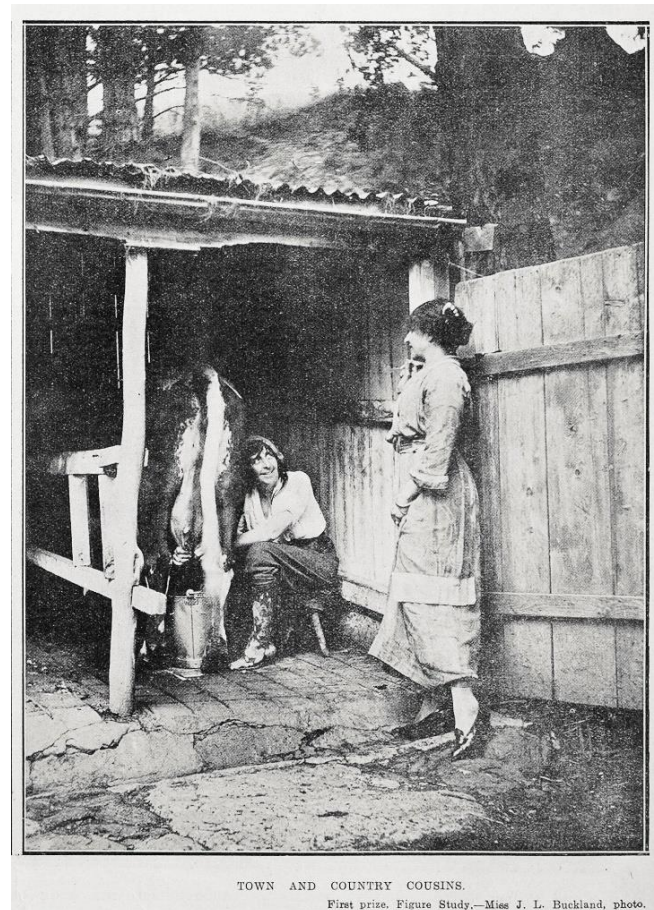


Figure 11. J.L. Buckland, *Town and Country Cousins*, 1922. In *Auckland Weekly News*, May 25, 1922, 31. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, record ID: AWNS-19220525-31-03.

An excess of pseudonyms

The dynamics of collaborative family photography were lampooned in an 1898 short story contributed to *The New Zealand Graphic* by “P. G.”, that is, as Mitchell identified, P. Gay.⁶⁶ “The tribulations... of an amateur photographer” is about the production of the eight photographs that accompany the text. Matilda, the narrator, contemplates the thwarting of her creative efforts by her not-fully-co-operative siblings, who challenge and counter her creative direction, argue with her over details, and are embarrassed by the costumes she wants them to wear. Like many of the P. Gay photographs, the story has a comic tone, but it is also clearly grounded in the real experiences of Susan. It is the character Matilda *behind* the camera who is the creative director.

It transpires, however, that Jessie also had stories published under her own pen name. New research shows that in September 1902 J.L. Buckland was awarded third prize in a short story competition in *The New Zealand Graphic* for “From a sunburnt land” with the address 71 Downing St., Dunedin.⁶⁷ However, when this story was published in December, the name Annis McLeod was printed as the story’s author.⁶⁸ Entries for the competition had closed on 16 May while Buckland was still employed at Girls High.⁶⁹ The address for the school residence where she, some of the teachers and the girls lived was 71 Dowling Street (misprinted as Downing Street). Since no student, nor any teacher, was named Annis McLeod, it is safe to conclude (considering its subsequent use) that Buckland was Annis McLeod.⁷⁰ Further research into Annis McLeod (also printed as MacLeod) reveals she had already published three stories,

“Paid” in 1900,⁷¹ “Boulder-Hunting at Hampden” (accompanied by three photographs)⁷² and “The Goldseeker” in 1901.⁷³ Annis McLeod would appear twice more in print after Buckland had relocated to Akaroa, both times accompanied by Buckland photographs.⁷⁴ If Jessie Buckland was P. Gay, why would she also publish under a second pen name as Annis McLeod?

The story “Boulder-Hunting at Hampden” like “The tribulations... of an amateur photographer,” integrated the making of the accompanying photographs into the narrative. It involved three female flatmates, the narrator, an arts student and a medical student, taking a trip up to Hampden in order to have a break from their lives in Dunedin. The objective was to see the Moeraki boulders, which the narrator photographed (Fig. 12) although she was dismayed with her efforts when she developed the negatives back in Dunedin.⁷⁵ The three accompanying photographs, published on a different page in the issue, and were not given a photographer’s credit, one caption directed the reader to the “article in this week’s issue” by McLeod.



Figure 12. J.L. Buckland, Moeraki, 1900, Album 211, 29. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka, reference number P1993-011/3-029d.

A further link between Annis McLeod and Jessie Buckland is the article by McLeod, “Growing cocksfoot seed, Banks Peninsula” that appeared in *The New Zealand Graphic* in May 1904; this time the accompanying photographs were credited to “Miss J.L. Buckland”.⁷⁶ In the text, the author recounts her experience making one of the photographs,⁷⁷ printed with the title “Cutting” (Fig. 13):

Having been warned of the ruffianly character of the average cocksfooter, it was with some trepidation that I set off to take his photograph, but on close acquaintance he proved as harmless and polite as one could imagine. In taking the picture of “Cutting,”

feeling guilty regarding the alarming quantity of grass I had trodden “out of recognition,” I expressed my contrition regarding it, and was met with the cheerful reassurance that “it will have plenty of time to grow again before we get back to it.” The speaker had, apparently, had previous dealings with a woman photographer.⁷⁸

In the passage, Annis McLeod refers to the photograph *she* took, helping confirm McLeod and J.L. Buckland were the same person. The passage ends with something of a statement of self-identity referring to herself as “a woman photographer.” In March 1908 another cocksfoot story appeared with text by Annis McLeod and photographs attributed to both Jessie and her sister Caroline (although printed as “Messrs C. and J. Buckland”).⁷⁹ This article was straight-forward reportage about the stages of harvesting the seed.

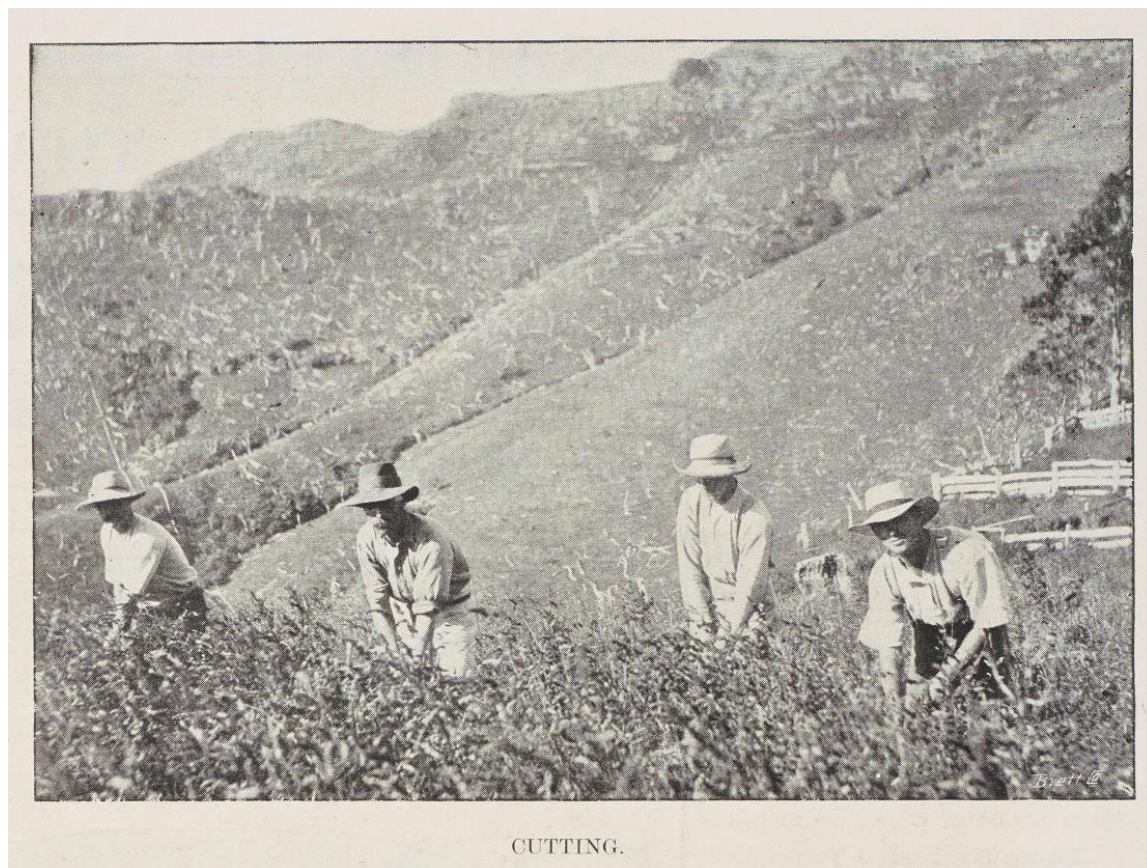


Figure 13. J.L. Buckland, Cutting, 1904. In *The New Zealand Graphic*, May 7, 1904, 43 [also see Hocken Collections, Album 211: 71]. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, record ID: NZG-19040507-0043-03.

Collaborative photography and the problem of authorship

It is obvious that the Buckland siblings collaborated on photographs while in Otago, particularly when cast as subjects, with parents and friends also brought into the frame. Geoffrey Orbell wrote “I know that all the competition photos which were sent in by my aunt were set up between her and my mother who refused to be in any picture but was always there to press the shutter while my aunt posed.”⁸⁰ The convention developed by biographers around the Buckland family photographic practises is that whoever released the shutter should not necessarily be given authorial credit. It should also be considered that the dynamics of collaboration may have varied from photograph to photograph, depending on variables such as

who originated the idea for the subject. The staged Buckland photographs might be likened to the production of a cinematic film, where multiple creative roles are involved—actors, writers, costume designers, cinematographer and so on—with a director whose role is to hold the whole together and realise an overarching creative vision. Similarly, the person behind the camera was only one of several creative inputs to the final outcome of a Buckland family photograph, and there was of course also the darkroom work of developing and printing, which involved another set of skills and artistry. Jessie Buckland was frequently in front of the camera in various costumes playing female and male characters. However, according to this line of thinking, in practice, the borders between different roles in the production of the photograph were suitably fuzzy or overlapping to enable Jessie to simultaneously be director and actor. Ultimately, seeking a single author in such collaborative works is unnecessarily reductive and misses the point of collaboration.⁸¹

However, there is an inherent tension between this idea of collaborative photography on the one hand and on the other of a single sibling taking sole credit for a photograph as happened with competition entries. Caroline, Harold and Jessie all entered photographic competitions under their own names, and Susan as P. Gay. If the convention of collaborative family production of photographs is applied as a rule, then it is not possible to have a strict author-to-photograph relationship, only a fuzzy one. This is no great issue; a great deal of art has been produced in a workshop environment where a named artist takes credit. Larger commercial photography studios worked with a division of labour where a lead photographer might take overall credit. There may have been a prior agreement that a particular Buckland image was one or other's photograph and that the siblings were all working on and contributing to its creation.

Reviewing the Hocken Collections albums and the published competition entries suggests that while some photographs required a cast and may have been workshopped, others, for example landscape views without human subjects or documentary photographs, only needed to be the work of one photographer, a sole creator working alone. The J.L. Buckland entries to *The Australasian* in 1899 and 1900 are examples of these (Figs. 10, 11). With all the evidence supporting the suggestion that Susan was P. Gay, it may have been that Jessie's role was much more straightforwardly as an actor in the P. Gay narrative photographs, contributing much less in the role of a photographic director in the pictures of her more prolific and successful sibling(s) overall during the Otago period. In other words, the narrative of collaborative photography was too easily extended by biographers to explain Jessie's role in front of the camera when it was thought P. Gay was her pseudonym. An alternative approach that P. Gay was shared or "owned" by both sisters (or all four siblings) does not ring true. That would mean that Susan entered no photographs in competitions in her own right and conflicts with the Peter / Peterkin Gay inscription found on the paintings attributed to her and conflicts with the observations of Gladys Hocken.

There is no doubt that the environment of collaborative family photographic endeavour would have been influential on the young Jessie Buckland creatively, in technical instruction, and in recognising newspapers as a photographic outlet. However, during the Otago period Susan was more active and influential as a producer than Jessie's biographers have assumed. Although many photographs in the Hocken Collections albums have no indication of creator, it appears that the photographs where Jessie can be considered the "author" prior to her move to Akaroa are likely to be many fewer than previously thought, with only five published with her name.

To continue this line of thought, if the competition entries in *The Australasian* and *Otago Witness* between 1895 and 1900 were to be taken as signals of authorship, the family's photography takes on a different complexion. Harold is known to have entered into three competitions, gaining a second prize, a first prize and a highly commended. The last of these, "A Cross Road difficulty" (1899) (Fig. 14), indicates that several photographs in the Hocken Collections albums taken at the same fallen road sign will also be his work. Susan as P. Gay entered twelve known photographs into thirteen competitions with three wins, three second placings, three honourable mentions and all printed. In addition to the competition entries are the eight photographs published with the story "The Tribulations... of an Amateur Photographer." Caroline was also successful in competitions, with eleven known photographs entered, two winning, at least two commended, and at least eight printed. As with Harold, photographs in the Hocken Collections albums similar to those entered by Caroline or Susan/P. Gay, can be taken as their work. This leaves the two Jessie Buckland competition entries and three published story photographs, four of which appear in the albums. Dissecting the albums with the idea of identifying instances of definite or claimed authorship while also being open to works of collaborative production is a means to reappraise the family's photographic endeavours and reconsider its connections to the wider photographic culture of the time. In turn, this will provide a firmer footing for any future Jessie Buckland biography, illuminating her family as the nursery to her professional career through evidence rather than speculation.



Figure 14. W.H. Buckland, Which Way? / A Cross Road Difficulty, 1895-1897, Album 211, 62. Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago, Ōtākou Whakaihū Waka, reference number P1993-011/3-062c.

The Akaroa photographs

During her youth Jessie and her siblings had found that newspapers were an avenue for sharing their photographs. Buckland's success publishing her photo-stories as Annis McLeod would have been encouragement to continue sending photographs to the weekly newspapers. During her career, over 150 of her photographs were printed in more than 100 separate issues of *The New Zealand Graphic*, *Auckland Weekly News*, *Weekly Press*, *Canterbury Times* and occasionally the *Otago Witness* from 1907 to 1934; a significant area of her professional work.⁸² Her photographs also illustrated tourist guides such as Blanche Baughan's *Akaroa* (1919).⁸³ Income aside, publishing was a useful form of promotion and, given the geographic spread of the papers, indicates a nationwide audience. Repeated subject matter in these publications includes: local news items such as the opening of the lawn bowls season and rowing races; the cocksfoot seed harvest; landscape views with Akaroa Harbour; the Akaroa waterfront; visiting naval ships; portraits of notable locals (Fig. 15); the obelisk monument at Greens Point (Fig. 16) and other landmarks; the Banks Peninsula War Memorial (in Akaroa).

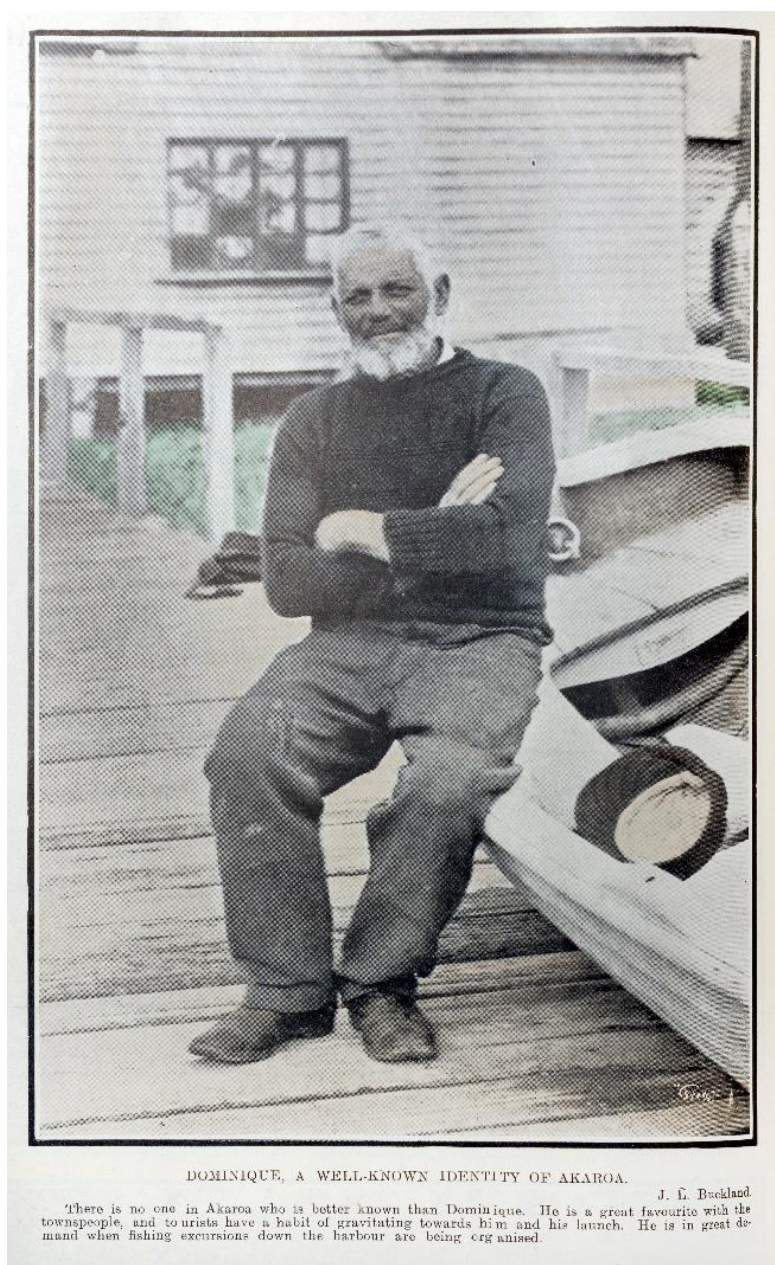


Figure 15. J.L. Buckland, Dominique [Demetrius Koinomopolos], A well-known identity of Akaroa. c.1911. In *Weekly Press*, June 19, 1911, 42. Christchurch City Libraries Heritage Collections, digitised by author.



Figure 16. J.L. Buckland, Where the Flag was Hoisted, A popular legend of early New Zealand that is now discredited, c.1911. In *The New Zealand Graphic*, January 25, 1911, 22. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, record ID: NZG-19110125-0022-01.

Jessie Buckland's Akaroa output was undoubtedly substantial, but there are no (known) business-related papers, correspondence, work diaries or job books to aid developing a narrative about her photography as a business. The Hocken Collections albums contain 75 Akaroa photographs. Akaroa Museum has over 300 prints (including duplicates) and about 100 negatives. A digital collection of over 200 prints and postcards is accessible on the Christchurch City Libraries online database canterburystories.nz.⁸⁴ In these hundreds of Buckland's photographs, notable absences are Māori people and places of significance. This is surprising given that a recurrent theme in her work is historic places and landmarks. The Akaroa Harbour basin has several locations significant to Ngāi Tahu and arguably Māori history more generally, which were well known at the time.⁸⁵ Neither are there any portraits of Māori individuals known to have been photographed by Jessie, even though there were Māori communities at Ōnuku near Akaroa and Ōpukutahi near Wainui, enough to form a pool of potential resident portrait subjects.⁸⁶ It cannot be ruled out that portraits may yet be found in whānau collections but, to give a comparison, the Akaroa Museum's collection of 505 photographs from the T.E. Taylor studio in Akaroa (active from 1896–c.1910) contains seven studio portraits of Māori,

two of which are of wāhine in customary dress, and one is of a Māori group at a significant site.

Buckland did not photograph the Native School nor the interdenominational church/whare karakia at nearby Ōnuku, but did photograph settler cottages, Akaroa churches and other buildings such as the lighthouse at the head of the harbour. Although she photographed Takapūneke (at the time known as Red House Bay) and Ōnawe, both of which had been sites of conflict with Te Rauparaha-led war parties in the early 1830s, neither were presented with that significance. Instead, Takapūneke was included as part of the landscape that included the obelisk celebrating the flying of the British flag in 1840, and Ōnawe as a natural feature. Furthermore, when Buckland included people in the landscape they were often involved in agricultural activities, such as the cocksfoot grass seed harvest. This presents a subtext of a natural principal connection between settler-farming activity and the land; a subtext reinforced by the general absence of Māori. This observation could be a result of an accident of history—a missing group of photographs could disprove this observation. However, given Buckland's role promoting and developing the visual record of Akaroa through photographs, it is important to note there appears to be a strong settler bias to her photography through the omission of Māori and related subjects.

Conclusion

There are multiple reasons to support the conclusion that Susan Buckland was P. Gay, not Jessie, not least the finding by Hocken staff of the Peter/Peterkin Gay inscriptions on the paintings attributed to Susan. As the youngest photographer among her siblings, Jessie was often away at school and later work, and when she was available to collaborate with her siblings she was frequently in front of the camera. Two captions in one of the Hocken Collections albums indicate that “S.B.” was the photographer of entries to *The Australasian* competitions under the P. Gay pseudonym. It also seems overly complex for Jessie to enter the same competition under her own name and under a pseudonym, and publish stories under two different pseudonyms. P. Gay also stopped entering competitions at the time Susan was married and the family left Taieri Lake Station. The P. Gay photographs have a consistent style while the known J.L. Buckland photographs from the Otago period have a different look about them that followed through into Jessie's Akaroa career. Her published Akaroa photographs include scenic views, rural landscapes and labour, historic sites, mists and reflections on water, or straight portraits.

The production of a genre narrative photograph such as “Comin’ Thro’ the Rye” required a series of decisions beginning with subject matter (here, how to illustrate a Burns poem), then considerations around location, composition, actors, costumes, and poses. Technical decisions around lighting, length of exposure, and various darkroom skills were also required. Any future biography of Jessie Buckland will need to carefully consider just how deeply she was involved in the decisions for these kinds of photographs during her youth in Otago. It may be that an enthusiasm for dressing up and acting is as much credit as can be reasonably attributed to her, given that among her siblings Susan as P. Gay was the one who entered the most successful photographs into competitions, and she is recorded as operating the camera and working in the darkroom. While the creative Buckland family environment was undoubtedly influential, the conclusion is that Jessie was a much less experienced and successful photographer when she arrived in Akaroa in 1902, making the establishment of her longstanding career in that location all the more remarkable.

In 1906, Akaroa had a population of 557⁸⁷ and one established photographic studio in the T.E. Taylor department store.⁸⁸ The following year, J.L. Buckland announced “Artistic Photography” was available from her new studio.⁸⁹ This was a bold, assertive statement, a challenge. Buckland was making a bid for the trade of the 557 inhabitants as well as the clientele of Akaroa’s holidaymakers.⁹⁰ She proceeded to run her business until 1934, quite a feat in what can be a fickle trade at the best of times; meanwhile the T.E. Taylor studio fell by the wayside.⁹¹

Buckland had been progressing her Akaroa career since 1903, beginning with mounted prints of scenic views,⁹² adding in postcards, and achieving publication in *The New Zealand Graphic*. Opening a studio enabled her to advance into portrait work and sell her wares directly. As the years ticked by, she became a key contributor to how Akaroa was visually represented as a settler society and as an agricultural landscape through the circulation of her souvenir prints, postcards and published photographs. Other pictures chronicle local events and, as represented in family collections, contributed to private chronicles as well. It was all this professional work that carved her a niche in New Zealand’s photographic history as a modern, independent photographer and businesswoman. As well as updating errors and omissions regarding her youth and early oeuvre, any new biography will need to better reflect her substantial professional career. It may also be time that an entry for Susan Orbell née Buckland was added to the DNZB.

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¹ Jack Cato, *The story of the camera in Australia*, (NSW: Institute of Australian Photography, 1979), 1-2; R. Derek Wood, “The voyage of Captain Lucas and the daguerreotype to Sydney”, *Journal de la Société des océanistes*, 102, 1 (1996): 113–118. <http://chauvigne.info/files/the-voyage-of-captain-lucas-ans-the-daguerreotype-to-sydney.pdf>.

² ‘...at Toulon, I do, copying a small-sized daguerreotype proof which I enlarge, a portrait, a stumped drawing of Tikao, native of Akaroa, orator.’ Charles Meryon, “Notes particulières”, in Roger Collins, *Charles Meryon, a life* (Devizes, UK: Garton & Co., 1999), 87. Collins suggests that the portrait now in the Australian National Library is the one being referred to by Meryon. A second portrait, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, is described by Collins as an intermediary work between the daguerreotype and the former. Ibid.

³ Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf, “Photography, materiality and history,” in *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and essays*, ed. Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf (University of Otago Press, 2011), 11.

⁴ In 1841-42 Joubert was involved in a dispute over a seized ship *Ville de Bordeaux* and its cargo. See the letters by Captain Lavaud (1798-1878) on the subject, translated by Peter Tremewan, at Akaroa Museum. Peter Tremewan authored *French Akaroa: an attempt to colonise southern New Zealand* (Canterbury University Press, 1990, revised 2010). He scoured French and Anglophone archives for material on colonial Akaroa and produced a digital chronology of all records located. None mention this photograph.

⁵ In May 1848, Isaac Polack (1829-1888) advertised his daguerreotype studio in Auckland. Polack visited Lyttelton for a week from late November, 1850, but there is no evidence he took any photographs.

⁶ Benjamin Mountfort was the first professional photographer in Christchurch; Alfred Barker always remained an amateur. Ken Hall with Haruhiko Sameshima, *Hidden Light: Early Canterbury and West Coast photography* (Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū, 2019), 26.

⁷ Phillip D. Jackson, “Pulman, Elizabeth,” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, see, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2p32/pulman-elizabeth>

⁸ Jill Haley, “Who was New Zealand’s First Female Photographer?”, *Records of the Canterbury Museum*, 35 (2021): 153–167.

⁹ For example, see Ariella Aïsha Azoulay, Wendy Ewald, Susan Meiselas, Leigh Raiford, Laura Wexler, *Collaboration, A Potential History Of Photography* (Thames and Hudson, 2023).

¹⁰ For example, see Lissa Mitchell, *Through Shaded Glass: Women and Photography in Aotearoa New Zealand 1860-1960* (Te Papa Press 2023).

¹¹ The gelatin dry plate process dates from 1871 when Richard Leach Maddox was the first to successfully make a gelatin dry plate negative. However, the process was not commercially viable until 1879. See: “Gelatin Dry Plate”, Graphics Atlas, http://www.graphicsatlas.org/identification/?process_id=303.

¹² William Scott Archer published a formal treatise on the collodion wet plate process in 1851 and is often credited with the discovery. The process was difficult as the plates lost their light sensitivity as they dried and also became impermeable to processing solutions. See: “Wet Plate Collodion”, Graphics Atlas, http://www.graphicsatlas.org/identification/?process_id=352

¹³ Hall with Sameshima, *Hidden Light*, 100–102.

¹⁴ Nancy Buckland, *The Bucklands, a continuation of C.M. Gordons story and a revision of the Buckland and Taylor Trees* (Nancy Buckland, 1975), 37. The active Buckland photographers were identified by the siblings that entered into newspaper photographic competitions in *The Australasian* and *Otago Witness*.

¹⁵ Herbert John (1871–1961); Arthur Channing (1874–1945); Alfred Francis (1882–1971). See Rex D. Evans (ed), *The descendants of William Thomas Fairburn (1795-1859) Missionary* (Evagean Publishing, 1991), 154-164.

¹⁶ William Main, “Buckland, Jessie Lillian,” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, see, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b47/buckland-jessie-lillian>

¹⁷ Album 121 was donated by Dr G. W. Orbell in 1975.

https://hakena.otago.ac.nz/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/DESCRIPTION/WEB_DESC_DET_REP/SISN%20185700?sessionsearch.

Albums 210 and 211 were donated by Nancy Buckland and Patricia McKenzie in 1983.

https://hakena.otago.ac.nz/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/DESCRIPTION/WEB_DESC_DET_REP/SISN184167?sessionsearch,

https://hakena.otago.ac.nz/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/DESCRIPTION/WEB_DESC_DET_REP/SISN184169?sessionsearch.

¹⁸ Vickie Hearnshaw, “A Study in Black and White: The Life and Work of Photographer Jessie Buckland,” *Women’s Studies Journal* 13, 1 (1997): 41–62; David Eggleton, *Into the light: a history of New Zealand photography* (Craig Potton, 2006); Mitchell, *Through Shaded Glass*.

¹⁹ Daniel C.P. Smith, *Catching Shadows: A century of photography on Banks Peninsula* (Akaroa: Akaroa Museum, 2023). This was a short catalogue for an exhibition with the same title, a survey of photographers active in Akaroa in until 1960. The early research was undertaken in 2021 using Papers Past. The scope of that project meant it was not possible to develop research on Buckland, but subsequently I was able to visit the Hocken Collections and examine the two original Buckland albums there.

²⁰ “Peterkin Gay is the name of a cheerful youth in two adventure novels by Scottish author R.M. Ballantyne: *The Coral Island: a Tale of the Pacific Ocean* (1857)... and its sequel *The Gorilla Hunters* (1861).” Nick Austin, “Images capture the art of play,” *Otago Daily Times*, March 16, 2024, <https://www.odt.co.nz/lifestyle/magazine/images-capture-art-play>

²¹ Buckland, *The Bucklands*, 11.

²² “Comin’ thro’ the Rye” was announced as a winning photograph in *The Australasian*, May 15, 1897, 33. “Why the Mail Bag was Late” was awarded second place in the 1899 competition, *The Australasian*, January 14, 1899, 35. A print of “Comin’ thro’ the Rye” with annotation recording its first prize is in Hocken Collections. Album 211, 8.

²³ Annette Facer, “A woman photographer’s story,” in *Mrs Hocken Requests...; Women’s contribution to the Hocken Collection*, ed. Rosemary Entwisle (Hocken Library, University of Otago, 1993), 36.

Facer does not cite the source of the family tradition, but an interview with Nancy Buckland is cited earlier.

²⁴ In her biographical note about Jessie Buckland, Nancy Buckland wrote: “The originality and charm of some of her earlier ideas won Australasian prizes. In most cases the picture told the story very clearly. ‘Why the mailbag was late,’ ‘Coming through the rye,’ [sic] or ‘He cometh not, she said’ are some examples.” Buckland, *The Bucklands*, 11.

²⁵ The photograph was awarded second prize. *Otago Witness*, December 17, 1896, 10–11; Hocken Collections, Adolf Moritzson scrapbook, MS-1143/01, unpaginated.

²⁶ *The Australasian*, March 19, 1898, 642; Hocken Collections, Album 210, 19.

²⁷ A copy of the “Brothers of the Road” postcard is in Hocken Collections, Moritzson scrapbook. A copy of the “Sunset” postcard is in Hocken Collections, Album 210, 19. Buckland included “Protected 6.6.09” as copyright protection.

²⁸ *Otago Witness*, December 17, 1896, 10–11; *The Australasian*, March 19, 1898, 30.

²⁹ Hearnshaw, “A Study in Black and White,” 41–62

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, 44.

³³ Victoria Hearnshaw, “Women album makers from the Canterbury region of New Zealand, 1890–1910, and their photographic practices” (MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2017), 51–70.

³⁴ The online catalogue for the Hocken Collections also uses these designations.

³⁵ For example, Hocken Collections, Album 211, 7 has two photographs from Akaroa dated 1903 pasted next to three prints taken on the Taieri Lake Station dated 1899. Further along, Album 211, 17 has two Taieri Lake Station photographs from 1896, two from 1899 and one from Akaroa, i.e. 1902 or later.

³⁶ Supplement, *Auckland Weekly News*, November 22, 1923:, 40, 45; *Auckland Weekly News*, April 23, 1925, 50.

³⁷ For example, the caption “Uncle Alfred” is likely to have been written by a niece or nephew. Hocken Collections, Album 210, 10.

³⁸ Mitchell, *Through Shaded Glass*, 64.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 267.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *The Australasian*, July 22, 1899, 193.

⁴² Album 211, 39. The same photograph, “After the toil of the day”, received second prize in the *Otago Daily Times and Witness* in 1900, also attributed to P. Gay. *Otago Daily Times and Witness*, December 1900, 14.

⁴³ Hocken Collections: Album 211, 4. Although it should be noted this photograph was not published among the list of results in *The Australasian*.

⁴⁴ Dr Geoffrey Orbell to S. Morrow, Akaroa Museum, undated. A note in the Buckland file, Akaroa Museum, shows that Vickie Hearnshaw saw this letter in or by 1997. Sue Morrow worked at Akaroa Museum from 1993 to 2000, so the letter was written between 1993 and 1997.

⁴⁵ Hearnshaw, “Women album makers,” 65–66.

⁴⁶ “A Pleasant Burden,” Hocken Collections, Album 121.

⁴⁷ Hearnshaw, “Women album makers,” 61.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 65–66.

⁴⁹ Cited as “Letter from N.M. Buckland to W. Main, dated 15 March 1983, private collection, Wellington.” See note 66, *ibid.*, 167.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁵¹ In between Tumai and Taieri the family lived at a grand house named Cintra on Musselburgh Rise in Dunedin’s Andersons Bay. The youngest of the Buckland siblings, Alfred, was enrolled at the Anderson’s Bay school, the local school to Cintra, in January 1892 (the only year he appears on a school roll). Susan’s enrolment record at Girls’ High in 1893 also shows the family’s home address as Cintra.

⁵² Hocken Collections, Album 210, 24; Album 211, 2.

- ⁵³ Album 210, 9. Captioned: "Bert Lionel. Harold hidden. Arthur representing King Charles hiding in the oak tree."
- ⁵⁴ Facer, "A woman photographer's story," 35; Una Platts, *Nineteenth Century New Zealand Artists: A Guide and Handbook* (Christchurch: Avon Fine Prints, 1980), 186. Thanks to Ceri Austin-Hart at the Hocken Collections for assistance in research related to Miss Dick's school.
- ⁵⁵ Hearnshaw, "Women album makers," 161.
- ⁵⁶ Published excerpts from a diary kept by Susan from 1892-1894 record the two sisters going to different locations together to paint. John Fairburn Buckland, "Jessie Buckland: Pioneer Woman Photographer," *New Zealand Memories*, 111, 2015, 47-48. Thanks to Nick Austin at the Hocken Collections for alerting me to this article.
- ⁵⁷ *The Australasian*, August 17, 1895, 30; *The Australasian*, May 15, 1897, 33.
- ⁵⁸ "Omnium gatherum," *Otago Daily Times*, March 7, 1899, 4.
- ⁵⁹ *Otago Daily Times*, June 26, 1902, 7; "School vacations," *Otago Daily Times*, December 12, 1902, 2. See also Hearnshaw, "Women Album Makers," 46.
- ⁶⁰ *Otago Witness*, May 26, 1901, 43.
- ⁶¹ *Otago Witness*, February 6, 1901, 37.
- ⁶² *The Australasian*, August 26, 1899, 34; *The Australasian*, May 14, 1904, 29; *The Australasian*, May 16, 1904, 35.
- ⁶³ The photograph was printed in 1900 but according to the caption was entered into the seventh *Australasian* photograph competition the previous year. *The Australasian*, March 17, 1900, 31.
- ⁶⁴ Announced in *The Australasian*, April 16, 1904, 35; printed *The Australasian*, May 14, 1904, 29.
- ⁶⁵ Published in *The Weekly Press*, September 4, 1924, 31. See also: Hearnshaw, "A Study in Black and White," 57; Mitchell, *Through Shaded Glass*, 267, 270-271.
- ⁶⁶ P. G., "The tribulations... of an amateur photographer," *The New Zealand Graphic*, October 1, 1898, 424-426.
- ⁶⁷ "Graphic 'Xmas story competition," *The New Zealand Graphic*, September 20, 1902, 750.
- ⁶⁸ *The New Zealand Graphic*, December 6, 1902, 1417-8.
- ⁶⁹ *The New Zealand Graphic*, May 10, 1902, 892.
- ⁷⁰ Thanks to Ceri Austin-Hart at the Hocken Collections for assistance in research related to Annis McLeod/MacLeod.
- ⁷¹ Annis MacLeod, "Paid," *The New Zealand Graphic*, February 10, 1900, 244.
- ⁷² Annis MacLeod, "Boulder Hunting at Hampden," *Otago Witness*, January 2, 1901, 27, 58.
- ⁷³ Annis McLeod, "The Goldseeker," *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, July 1, 1901, 790.
- ⁷⁴ Annis McLeod, "'Cocksfooting' on Banks Peninsula," *The New Zealand Graphic*, May 7, 1904, 21; Annis McLeod, "'Cocksfooting' on Banks Peninsula", *Weekly Press*, March 4, 1908, 39-41.
- ⁷⁵ Hocken Collections, Album 210: 7; Album 211: 29. Published *Otago Witness*, 2 January 1901, 27.
- ⁷⁶ *The New Zealand Graphic*, May 7, 1904, 43.
- ⁷⁷ Album 211, 71.
- ⁷⁸ *The New Zealand Graphic*, May 7, 1904, 21.
- ⁷⁹ *Weekly Press*, March 4, 1908, 39-41.
- ⁸⁰ Dr Geoffrey Orbell to S. Morrow, Akaroa Museum, undated [1993-1997].
- ⁸¹ A summary from a recent book is pertinent here: "The modes of participation in the act and event of photography are as varied as the photographs themselves and can be considered from this multiplicity of modes of engagement." Azoulay et al, *Collaboration*, 14.
- ⁸² The *Otago Witness* was word-searched using the online database of Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa National Library of New Zealand, Papers Past. Photographs from the *Auckland Weekly News* and *The New Zealand Graphic* were word-searched through Auckland Libraries online database Kura. The *Weekly Press* and *Canterbury Times* were researched using hard copies held by Christchurch City Libraries.
- ⁸³ Hearnshaw, "A Study in Black and White," 48.
- ⁸⁴ Jessie Buckland Collection,
https://www.canterburystories.nz/search?keys=Buckland&items_per_page=24
- ⁸⁵ H.C. Jacobson, *Stories of Banks Peninsula* (Akaroa: Akaroa Mail, 1884). Expanded, amended and reprinted in 1898 and 1917 as *Tales of Banks Peninsula*.

⁸⁶ The exception is where Taokaki (Bob) Paurini was photographed with 18 Pākehā of the Wainui Defence Rifle Club, a photograph published in *Canterbury Times*, June 23, 1909, 38; also in Akaroa Museum collection: AK:2009.10.2; Photo:339.

⁸⁷ This number refers to the immediate Akaroa Borough in the 1906 census. The Wainui Riding, which included Akaroa and Wainui (but excluded Māori who were enumerated separately), had 1260 people. The whole Akaroa County, comprising five ridings, totalled 3296 people (when Māori and “half-castes” are included). See https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1906-census/1906-results-census/1906-results-census.html#d50e577243.

⁸⁸ Smith, *Catching Shadows*, 26.

⁸⁹ *The Akaroa Mail*, March 15, 1907, 3.

⁹⁰ Joanna Mary Fountain, “Behind the Brochures: The (Re)Construction of touristic place images in Akaroa, New Zealand” (PhD thesis, Murdoch University, 2002), 78–90.

⁹¹ Smith, *Catching Shadows*, 26–32.

⁹² One of the earliest is “Sunrise, The Glen, Akaroa. 1903.” Hocken Collections, Album 211, 55. This print has a “B” in the lower right corner indicating it was one of Jessie Buckland’s early commercial prints. Hearnshaw, “A Study in Black and White,” 46.