Visions of Nature: Territoriality and Landscape Photography in Three Settler Sites, 1848-1900

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Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

(Signed)_____ Date: 1/3/2018

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JRH

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Introduction

Ancestral Ties, Visions of Nature and Settler Territoriality

In May 2017 the Australian Referendum Council convened a meeting at Uluru in Central Australia of over two hundred and fifty Indigenous leaders to discuss constitutional reform to recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. After four days of discussion the delegates resolved to call for the establishment of a "First Nations Voice" in the Australian Constitution and a "Makarrata Commission" to pursue reconciliation. These resolutions were detailed in the *Uluru Statement from the Heart,* a one-page declaration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history and sovereignty that pleaded for "substantive constitutional change" and "structural reform." The Statement pivoted on notions of ownership and belonging. It insisted on the link between Indigeneity, spirituality, and territory. The statement detailed the "ancestral tie" that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples share with "the land, or 'mother nature'" and maintained that those "peoples who were born therefrom" and "remain attached thereto" must "one day return thither to be united with our ancestors." This sovereign link, argued the convention, "has never been ceded or extinguished, and co-exists with the sovereignty of the Crown." In a tradition well established in Australian and settler colonial politics, the calls of the convention were sadly, and predictably, rejected by the Commonwealth government in October of 2017. In light of this "betrayal,"[1] two powerful questions within the *Uluru Statement* stand out: "How could it be otherwise? That peoples possessed a land for sixty millennia and this sacred link disappears from world history in merely the last two hundred years?"[2]

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[1] Tom Griffiths, "Compounding a Long History of Betrayal," *Inside Story,* October 31, 2017: http://insidestory.org.au/compounding-a-long-history/.

[2] Australian Referendum Council, "Uluru Statement from the Heart," in *Final Report of the Referendum Council* (Australia: Mutitjulu Community Aboriginal Corporation, 2017), i.

‘How could it be otherwise?’ is a question that haunts the settler nations of the Pacific Rim. In modern-day Australia, New Zealand and the Anglo Neo-Europes in North America the relationships between Indigenous peoples and settler newcomers continue to be a foundational puzzle. The Australian historian and theorist of settler colonialism Patrick Wolfe conceives of the problem – just as the Australian First Nations National Constitutional Convention did at Uluru in May 2017 – in geographical and sovereign terms. “Territoriality, the fusion of people and land,” Wolfe argued, “is settler colonialism’s specific irreducible element.”[3] However, the fusion of settler colonist and Indigenous land is an unstable and uncanny one that has involved constant maintenance and wary vigilance from settlers. Over the previous two centuries the “ancestral ties” with land that the Uluru Statement describes and that the Indigenous people of the Pacific Rim largely share have been obscured by a seemingly proliferating series of mechanisms that run the spectrum from paternalism, to displacement, denial, coercion, and genocide.[4] Many of these mechanisms are well understood, but the specifically spatial means through which Anglo colonists became ‘natives’ on Native land is a cultural process that has largely escaped significant historical attention.

The most powerful version of the spatial politics that delivered settler territoriality came together during the second half of the nineteenth century in the British colonies of southeast

[3] Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016), 34; Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 388.

[4] Wolfe, *Traces of History,* 1-60, 141-202, 271-272; Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Lyndall Ryan, *Tasmanian Aborigines: A History Since 1803* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2012); Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014).

Australasia and the settler destinations of the American West. Its prehistory, though, lies in the Atlantic world of the late eighteenth century. According to James Belich, these places were among the foundational sites of a "two-pair Anglo-World" that began to redistribute white Europeans from the Anglo metropolitan centres of Great Britain and the Atlantic United States to the American West and British Dominions after 1783. Belich calls this shift in the history of European expansion the "Settler Revolution" and argues that its demographic and economic advantages led to the proliferation of a number of transplanted Anglo communities across the American and British 'Wests' over the course of the early nineteenth century.[5] The colonisation of the American Midwest and the Australasian southeast during this period initially displaced and replaced Indigenous populations in incremental and sometimes temporary ways, but from 1815 the momentum of colonisation had "decisive" effects.[6] Between 1817 and 1830 the fine "creole" balance of colonial society in Van Diemen's Land was shattered by a population boom and the ensuing dislocations of pastoral agriculture.[7] Just two decades later similar local balances were disrupted by the European discovery of gold in California in 1848 and Victoria in 1851. Despite the global repercussions for the circulation of people, finance and resources, these changes in colonial society should also direct our attention to the two essential local foundations of the Settler Revolution: Indigenous dispossession and environmental transformation.

Both of these elements had explicit spatial dimensions. Like Angela Woolacott in the Australian context, many historians have observed that a "desire for land was at the very core

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[5] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 70, 79-85.

[6] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 177-185.

[7] Ryan, *Tasmanian Aborigines,* 74.

of settler society in the expanding Australian colonies."[8] In a rare comparative study, Stuart Banner concludes that similar desires pertained across the English-speaking settler colonies that composed the nineteenth-century "Anglophone Pacific World," where settlers faced the problem of "how to separate Indigenous people from their land" in the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.[9] This was primarily achieved through a range of legal technologies. Settlers in Australia and the North American West Coast developed legal regimes throughout the nineteenth century that rejected Indigenous law and property rights, and from the late nineteenth century Indigenous people in Australia and California were subject to increasingly coercive systems of confinement and surveillance.[10] In New Zealand, early recognition of Māori property rights was formally acknowledged in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi but the asymmetrical dynamics of land purchases (which were frequently conducted in contravention of the Treaty) favoured colonists and by the end of the nineteenth century large-scale land transfer had delivered most territory in the islands to British settlers.[11] The spatial outcome of all these policies was to separate Indigenous people from their ancestral lands and create sustainable white settlements in their stead.

White settlements were created through spatial exclusion, but they were sustained through the cultivation of new cultures of territorial affinity. These cultures bear the unmistakable marks of what Tom Griffiths has described as a "slow and fitful adaptation to a unique ecology and

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[8] Angela Woolacott, *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-Government and Imperial Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 206.

[9] Stuart Banner, *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2007), 1, 320.

[10] Lisa Ford, "Law" in *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land People,* eds. David Armitage and Alison Bashford (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014): 220-222.

[11] Banner, *Possessing the Pacific,* 84-127; for land sales and the Treaty of Waitangi see, Jim McAloon, "Resource Frontiers, Environment, and Settler Capitalism 1769-1860," in *Environmental Histories of New Zealand,* New Edition, eds. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013).

profoundly Aboriginal place."[12] Griffiths' observation is meant for Australia, but its focus on a spatial confrontation that left both ecological and historical impressions on colonists is equally pertinent to other settler colonies. New Zealand, too, Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking insist, has been a site in which the dramatic changes of settlement have left salient imprints on both environments and cultures.[13] And, according to Richard White the migrants who spread into the American West were harbingers of disruption, who also confronted existing "human communities" and ecologies.[14] In each of these locations settlers disrupted existing patterns and practices and adapted new ones based on the territorial imperatives of the Settler Revolution. The accretion of environmental and cultural adaptations in settler cultures during this period became "the critical sleight of hand" in the depiction of "themselves and their cultures as Indigenous."[15] These mythologies of nativity opened up a wealth of possibilities for settler colonies, which became strongly associated with the natural resources that 'providence' had delivered. In Belich's theorisation of the Settler Revolution these resources were grist for the mill of a global imperial system shifting from one mode of growth to another.[16] Settler resources were of course essential to this growth, but such an interpretation strips these products of their local spatial politics and isolates them from the cultural contexts in which they were produced.

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[12] Tom Griffiths, "Environmental History, Australian Style," *Australian Historical Studies* 46, no. 2 (2015): 170.

[13] Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking, "Introduction," in *Making a New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand,* New Edition, eds. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013): 17-18.

[14] Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 212.

[15] Walter Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 11-12.

[16] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 1-23.

This dissertation centres local settler cultures in a dialogue with global histories of the Settler Revolution in order to understand how these resource-producing appendages to Anglo-American Empire developed such close relationships to place. I argue that the concept of 'nature' was at the centre of a spatial politics that enabled settlers to create and sustain territorial affinities in new lands. In the Australian colonies of Tasmania and Victoria, New Zealand, and the American state of California, a remarkably similar vision of nature emerged during the late nineteenth century that helped defuse the problem of Indigenous sovereignty and reassure settler territoriality. At the intersection of Indigenous territory and imperial periphery, physical space became a settler asset and in these locales settlers created wilderness for inspiration, larders for supply, and archives for knowledge. Each of these transformations relied on settler landscape narratives that were as closely related to settler-Indigenous relations as they were with reckonings with the physical world. In other words, mythologies relating to settler nativity on Native land were equally structured by histories of Indigenous dispossession and environmental transformation.

This study aims to rearticulate these histories with a series of local spatial contexts around the settler Pacific Rim of the late nineteenth century. It employs a comparative methodology in order to chart the various similarities and departures of settler cultures of territorial affinity in Australasia and California. Sitting within a rich tradition of comparative studies of settler colonialism, it progresses and updates understandings of how settlers imagined colonial environments and where they placed Indigenous people within these imaginaries.[17] It traces

[17] Examples of this literature include: Banner, *Possessing the Pacific;* Belich, *Replenishing the Earth;* Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe 900-1900* (1986), 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Thomas R. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

the specific effects of these emergent cultures of territoriality in each local context and draws out the structural consistencies that led to remarkably similar settler cultures of territoriality in south-east Australasia and California. In this way, then, this dissertation offers an empirical analysis of settler colonial culture; it tests the theoretical assumptions of settler colonial theory against the historical, spatial and visual patterns of late nineteenth-century settler culture. These visual elements are key to this study. Various types of photography both reflected and enabled evolving settler relationships with land. Landscape photography worked in concert with colonial surveying, geological thinking, Indigenous portraiture, Romantic painting, regional boosterism and native nationalism to secure settler connection to territory around the Pacific Rim and obscure the ancestral ties of Indigenous possession. Uniquely, this comparative history places the photographic archive at the centre of a project aimed at identifying and exploring the constitutive relations between Indigenous dispossession, environmental transformation and settler territorial affinity in south-east Australasia and California between 1848 and 1900.

Settler cultures consistently engaged with the concepts of nature and nativity throughout the late nineteenth century. This dissertation mostly examines the foundations of these concepts through the medium of landscape photography in three different settler colonial sites. As the spatial politics of settler colonialism was crystallising in Tasmania, Victoria, New Zealand and California during the middle of the nineteenth century, photography was emerging as a reliable and practical technology of visual reproduction. In 1849 the British mathematician and physicist David Brewster developed a lens-based innovation of the mirror and box

1999); and Ian Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform 1860-1930,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

stereoscope that drastically reduced the instrument's size while maintaining its capacity to display three-dimensional scenes. This breakthrough was compounded by the development of Collodion Wet-Plate process in the 1850s, which enabled the reproduction of inexpensive paper copy versions of original negatives.[18] This had major implications for the depiction of landscapes; and imagery focused on all aspects of settler interactions proliferated from the 1860s onwards. If, as Jane Lydon argues, photography provides "a means for the radical interrogation of white privilege," then the spatial politics of settler colonialism should be readily apparent in images of landscape.[19] Throughout the late nineteenth century photography articulated neatly with the developing settler narration of landscape in writing, reporting, and poetry, seamlessly with the cartographic techniques of colonial land surveys, and uneasily with the existing visual modes of romantic painting. Settler landscapes, like those of the English Lake District, were produced through an exchange between image, text, impression, memory and experience.[20] In these dynamic and unstable geographies William Cronon's point that 'nature' is a "profoundly human construction" is abundantly clear.[21] This thesis takes up the task of reading these visual and written texts and revealing the structural influences of settler colonialism in their visions of nature.

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[18] Martin Lister, "Photography in the Age of Electronic Imaging," in *Photography: A Critical Introduction,* ed. Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 1997): 279; for local applications in the American West see, Peter Palmquist, "California's Peripatetic Photographer: Charles Leander Weed," *California History* 58, no. 4 (Fall 1979): 194-21; and, Kevin DeLuca and Ann Demo, "Imagining Nature and Erasing Class and Race: Carleton Watkins, John Muir, and the Construction of Wilderness," *Environmental History* 6, no. 4 (October 2001): 541-560.

[19] Jane Lydon, *Photography, Humanitarianism, Empire* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), xiv.

[20] David Cooper and Ian Gregory, "Mapping the English Lake District: a Literary GIS," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36 (2011): 89-108.

[21] William Cronon, "Introduction: In Search of Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature,* ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton and Co, 1995), 25.

Reading the cultural productions of settlers interested in landscape this way reveals that not only is 'nature' a 'human construction,' but also that 'nature' does important work for those who wield it in certain contexts. This is not to focus on the intention of individuals – a question that risks obscuring the broader conditions and realities of settler colonialism's reproduction – but to adequately describe the ways that structural factors worked to advantage complicit settlers. In Australia, New Zealand and California, settlers wielded their visions of nature in influential ways and constructed natural spaces that were (at least in the imaginations of other settlers) remote, ancient and empty. Like many other aspects of settler politics in the "White men's countries" of the Pacific Rim, this vision of nature was defined by the exclusion of various racial others, beginning with the essential marginalisation of Indigenous inhabitants.[22] The representatives of the Australian Indigenous community who met in Central Australia in May 2017 were alert to these historical and continuing exclusions; and the *Uluru Statement from the Heart* closed with an appeal: "In 1967 we were counted, in 2017 we seek to be heard." This thesis shares a recuperative agenda with the *Uluru Statement,* and in it I seek to unpack the intricate ways in which continued Indigenous presence influenced how 'nature' was constructed in the settler colonies of the Pacific Rim.

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Settler colonial nature is a cultural formation which depends on a series of relationships between people and the physical spaces they inhabit. As Simon Schama has observed, even 'natural' landscapes are created through human perception.[23] Examining how this perception functioned in Australia, New Zealand and California during the late nineteenth century

[22] Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2008), 1pp. 1-14 .

[23] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995), 9-11.

requires the consolidation of a two particular fields of historical study. Mirroring the twin foundations of the Settler Revolution, this thesis predominantly relies upon the fields of environmental history and settler colonial studies. Various other fields are implicated in my analysis of the spatial politics of settler colonialism, but they will be explicated as appropriate throughout the thesis. In what follows I set out the broad contours of these two fields, how they relate to one another and the major interventions that this thesis will pursue. In consolidating the fields of environmental history and settler colonial studies, I develop a model that reflects the importance that settlers gave issues of place and race throughout the late nineteenth century. These issues were inextricable in the visions of nature that developed during the Settler Revolution, and have been a focus of scholarship in Australian and American environmental history since the 1960s.

The key insight of environmental history has been an attention to the agency of the physical world within human history. As a field shaped in the 1960s and 1970s, environmental history sought to develop "Nature" as a category of analysis that could join class, race and gender in disrupting traditional historical practice.[24] Rather than just a scene, stage or setting, the physical world was theorised as an active element in historical change that deserved attention in its own right. The geographical boundaries of this thesis reflect the cumulative effects of this insight. By focusing on a set of "temperate zones" on the Pacific Rim that Alfred Crosby first identified in his narrower analysis of ecological imperialism and the Columbian Exchange, it is clear that a comparative spatial frame contains similar histories of settler legal

[24] Tom Griffiths, "The Transformative Craft of Environmental History, Perspectives on Australian Scholarship," in *Visions of Australia: Environments in History,* eds. Christof Mauch, Ruth Morgan, and Emily O'Gorman (Munich: RCC Perspectives, 2017): 115-24.

innovation, environmental policy and social change.[25] Chapter One argues for the inclusion of southeast Australia, New Zealand and California within this frame, yet remains suspicious of any overly reductive correlation between physical conditions and historical change. The specific physical conditions that settlers encountered in Crosby's temperate zones were never completely 'natural' anyway. In all cases they were initially the product of Indigenous land management strategies, and later they were remade during alternative imperial rule or the Settler Revolution.[26] Despite this, the "coming-to-terms" that the Australian historical geographer JM Powell insisted on was always a powerful force on settlers, albeit one that stemmed from man-made natures, not providential ones.[27] In these places, the very ways that 'nature' was understood were shaped by the physical and cultural imperatives of settlement. Indeed, Chapter One reveals that Indigenous dispossession was the central historical contingency of the Settler Revolution and the ways of life that it enabled around the Anglo Pacific Rim.

The American photographer Carleton Watkins, born in 1829 in Oneonta New York, established a career in the wake of this contingency, putting together an unmatched catalogue of photographs of the American Pacific Coast between 1851 and 1910. After travelling west with the future railroad magnate Hollis P. Huntington, Watkins broke through during the 1860s and quickly established himself as one of the most productive artists in nineteenth-

[25] Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism;* Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972); see also, Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora*.

[26] Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2009); Jared Farmer, *Trees in Paradise: The Botanical Conquest of California* (Berkeley: Heyday, 2017).

[27] J.M. Powell, "Environment Identity Convergences in Australia, 1880-1950," in *(Dis)Placing Empire: Renegotiating British Colonial Geographies,* ed. Lindsay J. Proudfoot and Michael M. Roche (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 117-118.

century American photography.[28] Watkins helped define conventional views of the Yosemite Valley, the northern Pacific Coast and the mountainous Sierra Nevada. He specialised in the depiction of remote highland landscapes of sublime beauty and of the expanding influence of settlement in the lowlands and valleys of California. Settlers across the United States came to know the western landscape through the imagery of Watkins and those like him. Landscape photography therefore, was part of "the mechanism" that smoothed over the shock of difference and assisted in the settler "coming-to-terms."[29] This mechanism, Joan Schwartz and James Ryan argue, attached new meanings to the existing spatial and temporal characteristics of places and widened the available contexts through which imagery could be read.[30] In settler colonies like California, this mechanism displayed a specific spatial politics of projected control. When deployed in the right circumstances, landscape photography reinforced possession by depicting isolation while preserving the illusion of access. Chapter Two grapples with these dynamic spaces and demonstrates that landscape photography like Watkins' was exemplary of a settler geographical imagination that reflected expectations and anxieties about the possession of land and the problematic of waste.

These expectations and anxieties were shaped by the histories of settlement – their success, failure or stagnation – in any given location. In this way the surfaces of settler landscapes were historicised but their temporal depths held interest too. Settler surveyors, geologists and writers found revelation within mountain passes and glacial valleys and encountered rupture

[28] Weston Naef and Charlotte Hult-Lewis, *Carleton Watkins: The Complete Mammoth Photographs* (Getty Publications: Los Angeles, 2011).

[29] Powell, "Environment Identity Convergences in Australia, 1880-1950," 117-118.

[30] Joan Schwartz and Chris Ryan, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (I.B. Tauris: London, 2003), 6.

in the shaky geologies of California and New Zealand. Eadweard Muybridge, a polymath who is remembered for his locomotion studies of Leland Stanford's horse Occident, engaged with both revelation and rupture in his forays into landscape photography in the American West between 1867 and 1878.[31] In this short career, Muybridge managed to develop an aesthetically significant album of Yosemite pictures, a documentation of the Modoc War in northern California, and a triumphal panorama of San Francisco. In all these projects – but especially the Yosemite high country photography – Muybridge was attuned to the various intersecting cycles of time acting upon the physical, social and civic development of California. His pictures are artefacts of a broader inscription of time in space; one that was a result of the metropolitan revolutions in natural history that Martin Rudwick has detailed.[32] However settlers were also, in the words of Thomas Dunlap negotiating a "framework that tied local and immediate experience to the Anglo and European worlds."[33] So while pictorial evidence of the glacial formation of the Yosemite Valley might have been of interest to European savants, various scientific inscriptions of time in place functioned equally well for settlers looking to understand and explain. Chapter Three focuses on the local contexts of European science to explore how the continued assembly of deep geological time in the colonies served settler belonging.

Despite the enthusiastic approach that settlers took to deepening their connection to place, the problem of Indigenous endurance haunted the cartographic and scientific apprehensions of

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[31] Rebecca Solnit, *River of Shadows: Eadweard Muybridge and the Technological Wild West* (New York: Viking, 2003); for a popular treatment of Muybridge and Stanford see, Edward Ball, *The Inventor and the Tycoon: The Murderer Eadweard Muybridge, the Entrepreneur Leland Stanford, and the Birth of the Moving Pictures* (Anchor, 2013).

[32] Martin Rudwick, *Bursting the Limits of Time: The Reconstruction of Geohistory in the Age of Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[33] Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 98.

the late nineteenth century. The New Zealand photographer Alfred Burton confronted this problem in 1885 when he ventured into the highlands of the King Country to photograph the nature and the inhabitants of the North Island's "last frontier." Burton had immigrated permanently to New Zealand in 1868 when he joined his brother Walter's photographic studio in Dunedin. Alfred took to landscape work and travelled extensively throughout New Zealand and the South Pacific until his retirement from commercial photography in 1898.[34] Burton's work (particularly in the King Country and on the margins of settlement) is a distillation of the two visual strategies that helped settlers manage the "anomaly" of continued Indigenous presence in a sovereign settler state.[35] On the one hand ethno-photography depicted Indigenous presence according to the "theme of savagery" that Lydon has identified in the photographs of Indigenous people at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station in Victoria.[36] On the other hand landscape photography relied on absence – effectively the erasure of "Indigenous spaces" that Tracey Banivanua Mar has noted was behind settler colonial "discourses of wilderness and nature."[37] Chapter Four exposes the connections between these two visions and positions landscape photography as an instrument that settlers relied on to manage continued Indigenous possession.

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[34] Hardwicke Knight, *Burton Brothers, Photographers* (Dunedin: McIndoe, 1980).

[35] Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010): 60.

[36] Jane Lydon, "Photography, Authenticity and Victoria's *Aborigines Protection Act* (1886)," in *Settler Colonial Governance in Nineteenth-Century Victoria,* eds. Leigh Boucher and Lynette Russell (Canberra: ANU Press, 2015); see also, Jane Lydon, *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[37] Tracey Banivanua Mar, "Carving Wilderness: Queensland's National Parks and the unsettling of Empty Lands, 1890-1910," in *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity,* eds. Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 85.

These histories demonstrate that the settler vision of nature was shaped by a range of cultural factors relating to the topographies, geologies and spatial fantasies of the Settler Revolution. For settlers in south-east Australia, New Zealand and California, 'nature' predominantly meant the remote and 'pristine' areas that Cronon has argued exemplify the paradox at the heart of the "myth of wilderness."[38] Three years after Cronon's essay was published in the first edition of the journal *Environmental History*, Mark Spence established that these very spaces were not only problematic figments of American imaginations, but they also "necessarily entailed the exclusion or removal of native peoples" all across the American West. Building on Cronon's observations about native dispossession in the Glacier National Park, Spence insisted that "uninhabited wilderness had to be created before it could be preserved."[39] It bears stressing now that wilderness had to be envisioned before it could be created and that settler visions of nature manifested in a range of environments and contexts outside those of the wilderness parks of the American West. In Australia and New Zealand, too, settlers assembled and maintained a vision of nature that was remote, ancient and empty. Importantly, settlers also put this vision of nature to work in service of the ideologies, appearances and politics of their societies.

By the end of the nineteenth century wilderness was furnishing a settler version of Romanticism that naturalised a transcendent, intuitive and sentimental experience of the physical world. These experiences were prepared and promoted by landscape photographers like the Tasmanian John Watt Beattie, who rendered the central highlands of the island (and

[38] William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (January 1996), 7-28.

[39] Mark Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4.

visions of its past more generally) as a space of melancholic antiquity. Between his arrival on the island in 1879 and his death in 1930 Beattie became a prominent figure in Tasmanian artistic and civic life but his most successful years as a landscape photographer were the 1890s, when Tim Bonyhady has identified a decline in depictions of wilderness in the medium of Australian Romantic painting.[40] Settler Romanticism had ideological as well as visual elements, and in the same way that Marlon Ross has argued that the British Romantic writers helped ready England as an imperial power, Chapter Five shows that Romanticism was adapted to various other colonial and imperial contexts.[41] Following WJT Mitchell, I develop a historical understanding of settler Romanticism by "exploring the ideological use" of Romantic conventions in late nineteenth-century Tasmania, Victoria, New Zealand and California.[42] Literary scholars Tim Fulford and Peter Kitson point out that these contexts were essential in the development of Romanticism, but equally, Romanticism also shaped the colonial world in certain ways.[43] This chapter argues that it was crucial in securing settler possession through an aesthetic and rhetorical reproduction of Indigenous absence and in the provision of a foundation for settler environmental affinity.

However, wild, Romantic nature was just one aspect of the settler spatial politics that spread around the world during the exhibitionary starburst of the late nineteenth century. According

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[40] Tim Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition: Australian Landscape Painting, 1801-1890* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985), 86; for an account of Beattie's career see Jack Cato, *The Story of the Camera in Australia* (Melbourne: 1955); Jarrod Hore, "'Beautiful Tasmania:' Environmental Consciousness in the John Watt Beattie's Romantic Wilderness," *History Australia* 14, no. 1 (2017): 48-66.

[41] Marlon B Ross, "Romantic Quest and Conquest," in *Romanticism and Feminism,* ed. Anne K. Mellor (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

[42] WJT Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape" in *Landscape and Power,* ed. WJT Mitchell (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002, 2nd ed.), 23.

[43] Tim Fulford and Peter Kitson, "Romanticism and Colonialism: Texts, Contexts, Issues," in *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1780-1830,* eds. Tim Fulford and Peter Kitson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 13.

to Peter Hoffenberg, the international exhibitions that followed the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851 provided a forum for the expression of the "imperial, national, and colonial identities" of the participants.[44] Despite settler colonies being among the most enthusiastic exhibitors and avid inheritors of the exhibitionary tradition, scholarship within the field predominantly focuses on the American and European cultures of display.[45] Chapter Six examines the circulation of imagery and narrative that asserted the spatial politics of settler colonialism within these global forums. Photographers like Daniel Mundy were either regular exhibitors or keen attendees at these exhibitions. Mundy, who had a peripatetic career as a photographer in New Zealand and Australia between about 1865 and his death in Victoria in 1881, attended at least two of these major events: the first New Zealand Exhibition in Dunedin in 1865 and the Sydney International Exhibition in 1879 (the first to be held outside of Europe or the United States).[46] Mundy was a close associate of the prominent New Zealand geologist Julius von Haast, who mapped the mineral and natural resources of several provinces between 1858 and 1887.[47] When displayed in piles of ore, bales of wool or bushels of wheat these resources were symbols of a spatial politics that stood for settler civilisation.

By the end of the nineteenth century settlers on the Anglo Pacific Rim were well versed in identifying with local natures. Settler territoriality included both the pride in resources displayed in international exhibitions and an older, more sentimental affinity with natural

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[44] Peter Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 20.

[45] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 2; see also, Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984).

[46] William Main, "Mundy, Daniel Louis," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1993-): https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2m62/mundy-daniel-louis.

[47] Peter Maling, "Haast, Johann Franz Julius von," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1990-. Updated October 2017): https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h1/haast-johann-franz-julius-von; see also, Heinrich Ferdinand von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast* (Wellington: 1948).

environments. The Victorian photographer Nicholas Caire negotiated this situation adroitly in his promotion of rural escape, communion with nature, and regional economic growth. After immigrating to Australia with his parents in 1860 and serving an apprenticeship as a photographer under Townsend Duryea, Caire cut his teeth in the Gippsland, the Strzelecki Ranges and the goldfields.[48] By the late nineteenth century Caire's photographs were apperaing in a number of guidebooks that promoted recuperative retreat in the 'natural' spaces on the fringes of Melbourne. Melbourne was an exemplary settler city and the intensifying nativist mood represented by the opening of Australia's temporary parliament in 1901 was matched by comparably divergent trajectories in California and New Zealand. By 1910, according to historians like Ian Tyrrell, the centripetal gravity of national integration had prevailed after and divided a powerful trans-Pacific exchange.[49] Chapter Seven contends that these interpretations give too much credit to the mythologies of national historiographies and posits settler nativism as a more fitting driver of integrationist settler politics. The nativist system of territoriality – itself founded on a vision of remote, ancient and empty natural spaces – weathered national integration and became the solid foundation upon which separate twentieth-century settler societies could rest.

Settler territoriality was a working version of the vision of nature that came together during the Settler Revolution. This spatial politics inflected the development of Romanticism in Australasia and the United States, where an intuitive and sentimental inhabitation of colonial space also meant the reproduction of Indigenous absence. It added local meaning to the

[48] Jack Cato, "Caire, Nicholas John," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969): http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/caire-nicholas-john-3139/text3683.

[49] Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods,* 14.

resources and material cultures displayed in booming settler cities across the world and provided a basis for colonial identity. This identity was expressed in the nativist politics that developed reliably throughout the late nineteenth century and resulted parallel national integrations in Australia, New Zealand and California from the turn of the twentieth century. In these ways visions and ideas of remote, ancient and empty natures were finally mobilised into a coherent spatial politics that has had an enduring influence on settler identity and history. What appeared to be a prolonged coming-to-terms with the colonial environment was simultaneously a reckoning with the spatial meanings of Indigenous dispossession. These settler cultures had dual foundations.

The dual foundations of the Australasian and California Settler Revolutions were captured in the landscape and nature photography of the late nineteenth century. These different colonial sites produced a landscape photography that made and remade visions of a remote, ancient and empty nature. The work of the six photographers introduced above – Watkins, Muybridge, Burton, Beattie, Mundy and Caire – therefore provide an archival guide to the excavation of the settler colonial vision of nature. As Liz Conor and Lydon have argued, cultures of visual representation exerted powerful effects on colonial societies in the ways that they reflected and defined relations of power.[50] This means that any history of late nineteenth-century colonialism should take visuality seriously. Through settler colonial landscape photography it is possible to trace the full implications of the cultures of territoriality that emerged during the Settler Revolution. Some landscape photographers, like Muybridge and Watkins were associated with the influential colonial surveyors and surveys

[50] Liz Conor and Jane Lydon, "Double Take: Reappraising the Colonial Archive," *Journal of Australian Studies* 35 no. 2 (2011): 137-143.

that charted California and the American West during the late nineteenth century. However, all were implicated in some ways in the processes of mapping and claiming that underpinned settler sovereignty. Others, like Burton and Beattie, paired their landscape work with a kind of ethno-photography but most of these photographers remained interested in Indigenous subjects at some level. This was tied both to their activities in local settler environments and their position in global imperial networks. For example Caire's work in the Gippsland and the Black's Spur consistently put him in contact with Indigenous people, and Mundy's proximity to international exhibitions in Dunedin and Sydney certainly would have forced him into a confrontation with displays of Indigenous culture. As a result of these intersections this dissertation ranges widely in terms of textual and contextual analysis, but always remains tethered to the visions of settler colonial landscape photography.

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Visions of nature had cumulative effects in the settler colonies of Australia, New Zealand and California. Here, at the intersection of Indigenous territory and imperial periphery physical space became a settler asset but this process did not occur instantaneously. The key period in this process was between 1848 and the turn of the twentieth century. During this period settlers wrought 'nature' into remote wilds where they became inspired. They turned native ecosystems into larders from which they supplied nations and empires. And they turned landscapes into archives where they read the past. These accumulations and many more like them go some way to answering the questions of the *Uluru Statement*. "How could it be otherwise?" Australia's Indigenous leaders asked "that peoples possessed a land for sixty millennia and this sacred link disappears from world history in merely the last two hundred

years?"[51] Part of the answer lies in the twin foundations of the Settler Revolution that shifted the trajectories and opened the possibilities of white settlement in Australia, New Zealand and California from the early nineteenth century. These foundations became clear in the late nineteenth century as the settler colonial vision of nature emerged as an enduring force on both sides of the Pacific. Its underpinnings were simultaneously related to Indigenous dispossession and environmental transformation and they functioned to disguise ancestral connections through displacement, spatial management and landscape alteration.

The most glaring examples of how this mechanism functioned were the early National Parks established around the Pacific Rim during the late nineteenth century. By 1894 Australia, New Zealand and California had all dedicated large parcels of land to settler leisure and protection.[52] Marcia Langton reflected on this history in the 2012 *Boyer Lectures* when she identified the divisions between contemporary environmentalists and "Aboriginal interests" in the Australian north. The endurance of the settler colonial vision of nature is vividly apparent in Langton's insistence that remote natures "are not wilderness areas' but "Aboriginal homelands."[53] This vision of nature was bound up in other settler endeavours also; their universities and scientific bodies were early adopters and encouragers of the science of ecology (the grammar for conservation biology), and the fields and paddocks of eastern Australia, New Zealand and California were pivotal sites in the working-out of

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[51] Australian Referendum Council, "Uluru Statement from the Heart," i.

[52] In California the Yosemite Valley was protected by order of the Federal Government in 1864. In Australia the first National Park to be established was the Royal National Park south of Sydney, which was protected in 1879. In New Zealand the Tongariro National Park was established in 1887.

[53] Marcia Langton, "The Conceit of Wilderness Ideology," Lecture Four in *The Quiet Revolution: Indigenous People and the Resources Boom,* The 53rd Boyer Lectures, December 9, 2012, ABC radio broadcast, transcript: http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/boyerlectures/2012-boyer-lectures-234/4409022#transcript; see also, Marcia Langton, "What Do We Mean by Wilderness?: Wilderness and *Terra Nullius* in Australian Art," *The Sydney Papers* (Sydney, Sydney Institution, Summer 1996).

agricultural sustainability.[54] These moments of settler innovation are often remembered with pride, but they represented an environmental dimension of Wolfe's oft-quoted "logic of elimination."[55] In the following comparative history of settler visions of nature between 1848 and 1900 I offer an account of the strained inner workings of settler endurance at the very historical moment that it seemed most promising.

[54] Libby Robin, *How a Continent Created a Nation* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2007); Don Garden, *Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific: An Environmental History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005).

[55] Patrick Wolfe, "Nation and MiscegeNation: Discursive Continuity in the Post-Mabo Era," *Social Analysis* 34 (1994): 93-152; Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetic of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999).

Chapter I

Settler Colonialism in Comparative Perspective: Imperial Economies, Local Changes and Indigenous Dispossession

During the nineteenth century a number of colonies of Anglo settlement flourished in parts of the world that had previously had limited contact with imperial powers. Among the most dynamic of these colonies were the southeastern Australasian colonies of Victoria, Tasmania and New Zealand, and America's Pacific colony: California. These colonies were all located in temperate zones and were enmeshed within broader imperial networks of influence and exchange. European settlers in these places violently (and successfully) displaced local resistance, transformed local ecologies and imposed foreign systems of environmental management and control. By the turn of the twentieth century settlements in each of these spaces – notably California and Victoria – were able to make substantial contributions to the wider economies of the regions in which they were located and to the broader Anglo-American world of which they were a part. This global dimension of significance was matched by a local equivalent: settlers in these spaces developed unique notions of territoriality in relatively short periods of time. They confronted environmental limits, improvised adaptations based on existing ideas and came to grips with new ecological dynamics in matching, innovative ways. These parallel trajectories can only be explained with recourse to the structural contingencies that produced them.

Any account of these structural contingencies must rely on a comparative approach that gives equal attention to the remarkable structural convergences of the Settler Revolution and the profound local effects of settler colonialism. Indeed, James Belich has made an important

intervention in arguing that the Settler Revolution was important because of the global reach of the economic and political structures that it relied upon, rather than the (usually intercolonial) transnational linkages and flows that followed the earlier Anglo explosion.[1] This insight justifies a comparative approach to the accretive effects of nineteenth-century settler colonialism in various sites – effects that can only be understood in the context of the rhythmic cycles of the Settler Revolution. The first part of this chapter explains how these cycles functioned in the broader context of European and American imperialism. The second part of this chapter refocuses on the intersections between global rhythms and local conditions and charts the parallel accretion of environmental knowledge in California, southeast Australia and New Zealand. By negotiating the possibilities and limits of settler colonial environments through various management strategies settlers created cultures of territoriality that bound them to place. The third part of this chapter reconsiders the emergence of settler territoriality in light of the dispossession of Indigenous people – the initial historical contingency of the Settler Revolution. Overall, this chapter develops a reading of environmental management during the Settler Revolution as a site through which settler colonialism unfolded and Indigenous dispossession was increasingly secured.

The Settler Revolution and the Anglo-American world

The development of the Anglo-American settler world from the late eighteenth century was defined by a divergence from established patterns of European colonial and imperial development. Relying on Fernand Braudel's concept of 'conjuncture' Belich has argued that a "resonant interaction" between the "American, French, and Industrial Revolutions and an underestimated Settler Revolution" led to unprecedented levels of growth in settler societies

[1] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

in, among other places, the American West and Australasia.[2] According to some estimates, over 50 million Europeans migrated to the New World between 1820 and 1930,[3] and many of these emigrants settled in New World cities like San Francisco, Melbourne, Sydney, Hobart, Dunedin and Wellington. These cities and their hinterlands were among the most dynamic spaces in the world during the nineteenth century. For example in 1835 a group of Tasmanian sheep farmers led by John Batman founded what was to become Melbourne on the shores of Port Phillip in the southeastern corner of the Australian landmass. By 1891, less than sixty years later, Melbourne had a population of 473,000 people and was the primary city of an increasingly assertive and integrated Australasian world.[4] This settler colonial dynamism was mirrored across the Pacific in California and indeed in other places in the Anglo-American world. It marked a new phase in the history of European empire and had enduring effects both locally and globally.

The establishment and rapid growth of these settler colonies is part of a more extensive history of European expansion. The success of settler colonies around the Pacific Rim became a constituent part of what Christopher Bayly has identified as an emerging interdependent and interconnected global political and economic order between 1780 and 1914.[5] The foundations of this world were established in a cyclical series of European expansions that refined the practices and structures of imperial and colonial influence. David

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[2] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 9.

[3] Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900 (1986),* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5.

[4] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 2.

[5] Christopher Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).

Abernethy has broken European expansion up into cycles of growth and contraction. The first of these cycles began with the Portuguese capture of Cueta in northern Morocco in 1415 and ended with a pivot to contraction in the 1770s with the outbreak of conflict in British North America. This contraction extended until the 1820s when Abernethy's second cycle of growth began with the establishment of European colonies in Asia, Africa and Oceania.[6] It is around this point – after approximately four centuries of *bona fide* European expansion – that Belich places the beginning of the Settler Revolution. He explains that of all the modes of European domination, it has been modern, industrial settlement that has been the most powerful.[7] While settler antecedents abound in world history – Alfred Crosby nominates the *Homo sapiens* of the Neolithic, the Scandinavians of the Middle Ages, and the Portuguese of the fourteenth century – nothing approached the scale of settlement after 1820.[8] This means that Belich's Settler Revolution is historically distinct.

The historical distinction of the Settler Revolution relied as much upon the technological advances of the Industrial Revolution as it did upon the imperial geographies established throughout the previous four hundred years of European expansion. In many respects the maritime empires that Europeans had established in the Atlantic during this period were fundamentally changed by the Industrial Revolution.[9] The historical specificity and peculiar dynamism of the Settler Revolution was defined by the ways that new industrial (and non-

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[6] David Abernethy, *The Dynamic of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415-1980* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 45-81; H.L. Wesseling, *Imperialism and Colonialism: Essays on the History of European Expansion* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997).

[7] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 21-23

[8] Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism,* 1-73

[9] John R. McNeill and William H. McNeill, *The Human Web: A Bird's-eye View of World History* (New York: WW. Norton, 2003), 237-238.

industrial) technologies reshaped existing imperial geographies after the Revolutionary wars of the late eighteenth century.[10] New practices and technologies had salient impacts in the temperate zones that Crosby dubbed the "Neo-Europes."[11] Along with North America, places like Australia and New Zealand provided "congenial climatic conditions" for Europeans, who promptly began the task of adapting local conditions to more familiar agricultural practices. [12] Through international economies of exchange and trade – the geographies of imperialism – the agricultural practices of the Neo-Europe's fuelled the continued industrialisation of the original European states, and given that most European emigrants settled in British colonies, this process drove the emergence of a dominant Anglo-American world with the international framework of the Settler Revolution at its core.[13]

On a global scale, the Settler Revolution appears to have enabled the emergence of an Anglo-American world with twin metropoles on either side of the Atlantic, supported by international networks of human capital, agricultural production and metropolitan consumption. However, this framework was rarely so orderly on the local scale. The development of separate settler colonies was "sporadic and frenetic" due to the pattern of boom, bust, and "export rescue" that governed settler economies. The meaning of booms and busts are readily apparent, but Belich uses the idea of 'export rescue' to explain how settler economies restarted this process through a protracted pivot to another resource and a reorganisation of economic and political relationships.[14] For many settlers this was a painful

[10] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 554-555.

[11] Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism,* 6-7

[12] Abernethy, *The Dynamic of Global Dominance,* 92.

[13] McNeill and McNeill, *The Human Web,* 234-235; Abernethy, *The Dynamic of Global Dominance,* 92.

[14] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 85-86, export rescue is neatly defined on pages 206-208.

process and involved shortfalls in expectations inflated by boom time predictions and an incessant booster promotional culture. One of the arenas in which these shortfalls were manifest was in James Beattie's concept of "environmental anxiety," which crept up on settlers when "environments did not conform to European preconceptions about their natural productivity."[15] In this way settler expectations bridged the scales of the global and the local when they projected their anxieties onto uncooperative environments. Despite these creeping worries expectations were largely met in the Pacific Rim settler colonies and environmental anxieties were usually calmed by the pivots that Belich identified.

The reassurance of export rescue and the compromise of new possibilities were rarely more apparent than in the Gold Rushes that reverberated around the Pacific Rim from 1848. In each of the Anglo-American world's most successful settler colonies, the discovery and exploitation of significant deposits of valuable minerals corresponded with the most dynamic boom periods. Both California and Victoria owed their mid-nineteenth-century dynamism to gold – the population of San Francisco exploded by a factor of twenty during the first 'rush' between 1848 and 1853, and the population of Melbourne by a more modest though still dramatic factor of five during the first stages of the Victorian scramble between 1851 and 1857.[16] Despite the reproduction of the pattern with other commodities like wool in Australia and meat in New Zealand, the Anglo-American gold rushes function as a neat metaphor for the broader boom and bust cycle of settlement. As Belich points out, gold fields themselves had two phases: the "open" phase of the "rush proper" – the boom – and the "closed' phase of

[15] James Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety: Health, Science, Art and Conservation in South Asia and Australasia, 1800-1920* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1-3.

[16] David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1994), ix.

capital-intensive consolidation by large companies" – the bust.[17] Throughout either of these stages the real financial opportunities existed in the networks of "supply and support" that sustained mining economies, not in the digging itself.[18] This is a remarkable reflection of the structures of nineteenth-century imperial capitalism as a whole, which relied on extensive networks of human capital as much as they did on colonial production or metropolitan consumption.

The pattern of boom, bust, and export rescue progressed according to the interaction between the productive capacity of local environments and the vicissitudes of global capitalism. Managed by extensive networks of merchants and an emerging set of financial instruments, the long-distance relationship between colonial production and metropolitan consumption defined the stage of imperial capitalism that emerged during the nineteenth century.[19] However, this long-distance dynamic was fundamentally unstable, and after each bust in an Anglo-American settler colony, continued wealth creation relied either upon the development of a new export industry or the resuscitation of an old one.[20] According to Belich, California progressed from gold, to timber, to grain and fruit. Southeastern Australia sustained growth by developing gold and then wheat export industries to supplement the original boom in wool. New Zealand also initially relied on wool, but was 'rescued' through the development

[17] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 306; for recent overviews of these patterns in North American mining see, John McNeill and George Vrtis, eds., *Mining North America: An Environmental History Since 1522* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2017); Andrew Isenberg, *Mining California: An Ecological History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005).

[18] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 306.

[19] Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 112.

[20] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 87-88.

of gold, timber, and then dairy export industries.[21] These shifts effectively started the cycle of boom and bust over again, which led to the continued growth of the Anglo-American settler colonies – places that would boast world leading standards of health, wealth, and productivity amongst settlers at the turn of the twentieth century.[22] In addition, local changes in resource production also assisted the long-term maintenance and continued development of networks of mass transfer that otherwise may have dissipated.

The continued growth of the Anglo-American settlements alongside the preservation of the imperial networks that they were embedded within constituted a new form of colonial relationship. For a variety of reasons, rather than seeking independence after the successful reproduction of Old World social and economic formations, settler societies tended to strengthen their ties to London, Chicago, or New York.[23] Belich calls this process "recolonisation" and argues that it "re-forged the shattered socio-economies" that were lefts after busts and reinforced settler colonies as the dislocated hinterlands of metropolitan centres.[24] Each time that this recolonisation occurred after a bust, it tightened the webs of communication and transport that had developed over the preceding cycles of expansion and secured the basis for continued transfer of commodities and labour.[25] These webs were reliant on the consistent operation of "mass transfer" – the circulation of material, goods, and people that began after the cessation of a century of endemic warfare in Europe in 1815 and

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[21] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 88-89.

[22] Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism,* 301-307.

[23] Dror Wahrman, "The Meaning of the Nineteenth Century: Reflections on James Belich's *Replenishing the Earth,*" *Victorian Studies* 53, no. 1 (Autumn 2010): 93.

[24] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 221.

[25] McNeill and McNeill, *The Human Web,* 258-267.

accelerated throughout the long nineteenth century.[26] In these ways the Anglo-American world was sustained through both the faithful transplantation and reproduction of colonial social systems, and the maintenance of existing imperial networks of exchange.

While this broad scale interpretation is compelling, it is important to remember that this seemingly inexorable development of an Anglo-American world based on imperial mass transfer was itself reliant on a far more tumultuous pattern of settler colonial boom and bust. As Alan Lester has noted, the diverse social and cultural developments of the colonial periphery have often been neglected in histories of the British Empire concerned with economic and political change.[27] Even recently the development of the American nation has taken precedence over the local and regional colonial relationships developed underneath the integration of states like California into the Union. Sven Beckert's recent analysis of the 'American Danger' in the late nineteenth-century European imagination makes much of the perceived territorial blessings of the American state, but neglects the colonial relationships that delivered these continental visions.[28] Beckert and Belich share a concern with the broader economic and political impacts of territorial integration that contributes substantially to global history; however, these new global histories often reimpose the blinders of traditional imperial and metropolitan history. Although Belich's history of the Settler Revolution is concerned with the Anglo-American periphery, the crucial mechanism of recolonisation or 'export rescue' that links the local with the global is considered mainly in

[26] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 106-107.

[27] Alan Lester, "Imperial Circuits and Networks: Geographies of the British Empire," *History Compass* 4, no. 1 (2006): 124-141.

[28] Sven Beckert, "American Danger: United States Empire, Eurafrica, and the Territorialization of Industrial Capitalism, 1870-1950," *American Historical Review* 122 no. 4 (2017): 1137-1170.

reference to the political and economic conditions imposed on the colony by the metropole. This neglects the local adaptations that settlers pursued in the midst of busts.

For Belich, the Settler Revolution was a disruptive event within a global political and economic system. Notably, this interpretation centralises the economic response to the 'problem' of colonial boom and bust – a problem that also posed local environmental challenges. These challenges necessitated the creation of specific practices of environmental management that were unique to the settler colonies. These practices evolved throughout the Settler Revolution as settlers developed increasingly reflexive models of environmental knowledge. In the development of these compromises and the knowledges that they reflected, settler colonial culture was shaped by both local conditions and the imperial system as a whole. An account that focuses on the economics of the Settler Revolution acknowledges the importance of settler colonial *economies,* but it misses the development of settler colonial *culture.* By no means is this an original concern: Dror Wahrman has expressed a similar anxiety about the extension of the Settler Revolution thesis into the domain of "culture."[29] While it is clear that the Settler Revolution was an influential global phenomenon, it is also an unwieldy concept with which to consider the particularities of how local cultures functioned. This may be true of the wide extent of settler colonies that Belich draws upon, but certain casts of them developed along similar lines. What follows in this chapter charts a compromise, developing a cultural history of the Settler Revolution in three sites. It keeps the broader structures and rhythms of the Settler Revolution in view and uses the concept of

[29] Wahrman, "The Meaning of the Nineteenth Century," 97.

territoriality to ground a comparative history of settler sites in the cultures of place that settlers developed.

Local environmental changes in the Settler Revolution

The boom and bust pattern of settler colonial economies had a cultural equivalent in the responses of settlers to the possibilities and limits of colonial ecosystems. As Ian Tyrrell has argued in the case of California and Australia, the development of an "environmental sensibility" was rooted in a "setting of colonial expansion."[30] This setting united settler colonies across the Pacific Ocean and shaped orientations to and practices in local environments. Indeed, it would seem that Tom Griffiths' reading of cultures of land management in colonial Australia as a "giant experiment in ecological crisis and management" could be applied across the Anglo-American settler world.[31] Such an interpretation owes much to Crosby's original observation that each of the settler colonial Neo-Europes shared a set of geographical and climatic similarities –temperate climates and high photosynthetic potential were among the most important.[32] In spaces that afforded vast opportunities for the extractive imperatives of imperial economies, settlers were engaged in a constant practice of apprehension and adaptation within the environmental limits of colonial growth and progress. As James Beattie, Edward Melillo and Emily O'Gorman have pointed out, the "interconnected experiences of imperialism inspired the production of new ways of understanding and using environments." Beattie, Melillo and O'Gorman develop the concept of "eco-cultural networks" to express the "deep dependencies between societies and their

[30] Ian Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform 1860-1930,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 1.

[31] Tom Griffiths, "The Nature of Culture and the Culture of Nature," in *Cultural History in Australia* ed. Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), 71.

[32] Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism,* 304-305.

environments" and insist that these relationships cannot be disentangled.[33] While this dynamic may resist disentanglement, it lends itself to comparative analysis. In late nineteenth-century settler colonies "eco-cultural networks" took remarkably similar forms. Settlers developed strategies of management and belonging that fitted within a broader pattern of colonial environmental reform that united Anglo-American settler colonies in California, South-Eastern Australia, and New Zealand.

California

Of the fifty million Europeans that migrated to the Neo-Europes between 1820 and 1930, the United States of America became home to approximately thirty-three million.[34] This Atlantic migration – composed predominantly of English, Irish and Germans migrants – was matched by an equivalent westward migration within the United States. To begin with, the majority of nineteenth-century arrivals in the USA settled in the Midwest, and not in the established eastern cities of New York, Philadelphia, or Boston. [35] Belich considers the westward migration within America as part of the wider Anglo diaspora of the nineteenth century, estimating that some twelve million American-born people, and many more English, Irish, and Germans, moved west of the Appalachians.[36] Although the Midwest was the site of a

[33] James Beattie, Edward Melillo, and Emily O'Gorman, "Introduction: Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire, 1837-1945" in *Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire, 1837-1945* ed. James Beattie, Edward Melillo and Emily O'Gorman (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 1. See also, James Beattie, Edward Melillo, and Emily O'Gorman, "Rethinking the British Empire through Eco-Cultural Networks: Materialist-Cultural Environmental History, Relational Connections and Agency," *Environment and History* 20 no. 4 (2014): 561-575.

[34] Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1-11; Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism,* 301.

[35] Patricia Kelly Hall and Steven Ruggles, "'Restless in the Midst of their prosperity:' New Evidence on the Internal Migration of Americans, 1850-2000," *Journal of American History* 91 no. 3 (2004): 829-845.

[36] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 67-68.

Settler Revolution earlier than California, the processes at play in either space matched one another despite the chronological differences.

The remarkable westward migration across the United States throughout the nineteenth century hints at how crucial territory, and with it, sovereignty was to the functioning of the Settler Revolution. Control over productive land was a crucial factor in the Settler Revolution in America due to the simple fact that most settlers were farmers or reliant on agricultural economies.[37] Throughout the nineteenth century, the western migration of native-born and naturalised Anglo-Americans was a pivotal process in the extension of a "political infrastructure" within which new settler cultures could begin to form.[38] The infrastructure of settlement in the American west was defined partly by existing European ideas about land ownership and 'improvement' and partly by how these ideas interacted with perceptions of native land use.[39] This arrangement created immense opportunities for individual settlers in the shifting liminal zones of state authority – places where white settlers held disproportionate power due to the assurances of the settler state and decades of native population decline. According to Stuart Banner, in California this led to a situation in which "early land acquisition practices … tended to harden as formal colonial policy in later years" as the government had little choice but to "comply with established local practice."[40] Thus,

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[37] Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A History of the American West* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 181-186.

[38] Mark Rifkin, *Settler Common Sense: Queerness and Everyday Colonialism in the American Renaissance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), xvi.

[39] John C. Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the making of the Modern World, 1650-1900* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press), 11-52.

[40] Stuart Banner, *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska* (Cambridge, Harvard University press, 2007), 318.

Californian land ended up being treated as *terra nullius* by the federal government of the United States because the rate at which migrants had settled in the New West far outstripped the capabilities of the government to purchase and distribute land in a more orderly fashion.[41] From this point, settlers went about establishing their own territoriality – fostering orientations to landscape that relied on profound associations with place – in a dispossessed California.

The booms and busts that shaped the prominent industries in mid-nineteenth-century California challenged and tempered the construction of territoriality by producing crises in land management. From 1845 until the 1920s, California had three separate booms and associated busts. In this period, Californian settlement benefitted from booms in gold and mineral extraction, then fruit and irrigated horticulture, and finally grain.[42] Gold rushes imposed a heavy toll on the environment and by 1870 up to a third of California's timber had been lost to the boom.[43] After the first boom Californian settlers responded to the disruptive economic and environmental consequences of the gold rush by remaking their physical environment in the form of a garden landscape.[44] Jared Farmer has argued that in the shadows of mining society and increasing number of settlers believed they could alter California through "*tree culture,*" which practically remade places through "afforestation, horticulture and landscaping."[45] These settlers went about applying new technological, scientific, and

[41] Banner, *Possessing the Pacific,* 163-194.

[42] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 88-89.

[43] Earl Pomeroy, *The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003), 126.

[44] Jared Farmer, *Trees in Paradise: The Botanical Conquest of California* (Berkeley: Heyday, 2017); Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods,* 6-7.

[45] Farmer, *Trees in Paradise,* xxi-xxxi.

biological practices to a degraded environment in order to produce new places for living and new commodities for export. In turn, the production of fruit and grain in the Central Valley and the stress that irrigated agriculture placed on environments characterised by a dry Mediterranean climate led to further challenges in land management.[46] As Californian settlers shifted between the mining, horticultural, and grain booms they had to refashion their relationship with the land.

This refashioning was dependent on constraints imposed by the local climate and geography, as well as those related to the rhythms of the wider Anglo-American settler world. To begin with, the boom of the Californian gold rushes was dependent on both modern forms of communication and the steady stream of westward internal immigration that had been established earlier in the century.[47] The same mass transfer of people and ideas that enabled the first boom in California helped bring about its bust as the North American economic system became more integrated.[48] California's boom was crippled in the 1870s when the increased connections of transcontinental rail that had been established in the 1860s made the West Coast more vulnerable to variability in national and global markets.[49] Interestingly, this enhanced integration made "export rescue" possible in California by linking eastern consumers with western producers. These linkages again came in handy for Californian settlers in the 1890s when the development of irrigation infrastructure was embarked upon as

[46] Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods,* 47-49.

[47] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 306-310.

[48] McNeill and Mcneill, *The Human Web,* 262.

[49] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 316-317; Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011).

a form of government investment during that decade's depression.[50] Fruit growers across the state responded to financial constraints and a disastrous cold winter by finding efficiencies in their organisational structures and logistical practices.[51] Each boom presented new challenges to Californian settlers, who had to develop new ways of capitalising on territory according to the interaction of local environmental constraints and imperial opportunities.

The result of this adaptation was that repeated local crises led Californian settlers to develop more intimate and environmentally conscious forms of territoriality. Over the course of half a century and a number of booms and busts settlers developed a colonial culture that attempted to balance productivity and preservation. As early as the 1820s settlers in the Midwest were registering that the American environment had limits. By the mid-nineteenth century Americans were challenging the myth of inexhaustibility due to the local disappearance of many fish, birds and mammals that were hunted for sport.[52] The cultivation of the land and the exploitation of resources took their toll too. Overall, it was through a protracted realisation that though settled land must do work to ensure a secure future, it also needed to be protected from the worst ravages of industrial exploitation; in response settlers in California developed interventionist, conservationist, and idealistic versions of environmental reform. This amounted to a culture of environmental consciousness that was characteristically settler colonial, not metropolitan or imperial.

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[50] Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods,* 103-107.

[51] Farmer, *Trees in Paradise,* 249-257.

[52] Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *Frontiers: A Short History of the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 176-190; see also Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

The first and most common response to environmental challenges was to bring new technologies and practices to bear on the land in order to maintain productivity. Throughout California the first agricultural pursuits revolved around cattle grazing, but as herds of cattle invariably tested and eliminated local grasses many settlers introduced sheep to eat the poor quality pasture that cows would pass over. In agricultural land that had become unsuitable for livestock, Californians used the plough to renew the soil, and irrigation to water it, in order to create fields of wheat and other grains. As elsewhere, these acts of intervention – the final one based on the conviction that 'rain followed the plough' – had dramatic consequences. Although the repercussions differed from the dust storms endured on the Great Plains of Oklahoma during the 1890s the alkalisation of soil and the destruction of biodiversity permanently affected regions like the Tulare Basin in southern California. Environmental crises like these forced settlers to develop new local strategies of land management. One such strategy was that of afforestation, which, following the work of the botanist George Perkins Marsh, sought to alleviate regional climatic variability and localised erosion through mass tree-planting schemes.[53] Indeed, Marsh and others of his ilk were advocates of an "improved nature," just like the ranchers and harvesters of the Central Valley and the coastal ranges.[54] Marsh's schemes intervened in local environmental systems and although they have been linked to later practices of conservation and preservation, they shared significant underpinnings with the agricultural interventions of pastoralism and the plough. Afforestation was located at the more sympathetic end of a series of interventionist schemes that

[53] White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own,* 232-235; Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods,* 17-21.

[54] Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods,* 19.

Californian settlers relied upon throughout the late nineteenth century to (unsuccessfully) manage environmental crises.

Despite its interventionist logic, forestry inspired many American conservationists. While ideas about forestry had a global reach, they were most successfully adopted and adapted in America.[55] For example the illustrious Gifford Pinchot, who became the first head of the United States Forest Service in 1905, initially learnt the craft in Europe and returned to set up a domestic system of universities and research stations. The professional basis of forest conservation intersected with the emergence of the science of ecology from the experimental field of plant geography.[56] Although mostly associated with the early twentieth century, settler ecology had deeper roots in western expansion. In Arizona during the 1880s the federally employed settler scientist C. Hart Merriam developed a comprehensive theory of biological communities that relied heavily on the holistic approaches to the environment that would come to define ecology as a science.[57] The local inflections of ecological ideas tempered the interventionist Euro-centrism of nineteenth-century forestry and translated it into the conservationist approach that Pinchot developed in the Forest Service. Eventually, conservationist ideas enabled settlers in the West to develop more intimate conceptions of territoriality that imagined settlers in a dynamic and reciprocal relationship with their environment.

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[55] Thomas R. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 98.

[56] Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 194-198.

[57] Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy,* 190.

A dynamic relationship with the environment allowed settlers to develop more sophisticated and scientific rationales than those of the folk-wisdom-informed interventionists, and this in part justifies grouping their environmental management strategies separately. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, scientific measurements of water pollution in San Francisco bay, debris in streams in the Sierra Nevada and increasing flooding in the Sacramento Valley provided evidence for political and legal arguments over mining regulation throughout the state.[58] In March of 1893 President Grover Cleveland turned to a collection of officers from the US Army Corps of Engineers to run the California Debris Commission, which was to protect Californian river systems and ideally, restore them to the "condition existing in eighteen hundred and sixty."[59] Among its other powers in organising the inspection, measurement, and restoration of river systems, the Commission also assumed authority over the distribution of hydraulic mining licenses.[60] While Marsh's interventionist afforestation could have been deployed anywhere, conservationist strategies were tied to place through their structures and the idea of restoration. As a regulatory device President Cleveland's Debris Commission was intimately linked to the local challenges of settler environmental regimes.

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[58] White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own,* 234.

[59] California Debris Commission Act of 1893, H.R. Res., 52nd Cong. (1893).

[60] Joseph J. Hagwood Jr., *The California Debris Commission: a History of the Hydraulic Mining Industry in the Western Sierra Nevada of California and of the Governmental Agency Charged with its Regulation* (Sacramento: U.S. Army, Corps of Engineers, Sacramento District, 1981), 31; See also, Karen O'Neill, *Rivers by Design: State Power and the Origins of U.S. Flood Control* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 91-96.

If conservation worked to manage environmental crisis through the deployment of local observational understandings of nature, preservation based on idealistic principles worked to ease popular anxieties about encounter and environmental crisis. Preservation was founded on a welcoming vision of the natural world that mitigated or minimised threats. The central figure of American wilderness romanticism Henry David Thoreau, conceived of nature "as a realm of innocence and integrity in stark contrast to the corruption, artificiality, and excesses of industrialisation, commercial agriculture, and bourgeois homemaking."[61] Later, this romantic ideal was especially resonant in the booming west in the late nineteenth century. Although he was little read in his own lifetime, Thoreau's ideas about wilderness did have a profound impact on advocates like John Muir, who played a pivotal role in the promotion of wilderness in the Yosemite National Park during the late nineteenth century.[62] Figures like Thoreau and Muir approached the concept of utility in a slightly different way to their conservationist contemporaries, and although they shared many of the social convictions of the conservationists, they nevertheless had arrived at a far more expansive notion of utility that made space for a sentimental valuation of natural scenery.

These notions were remarkably clear in the remote highlands environments that Californian settlers came to idealise during the late nineteenth century. Places like the Yosemite Valley came to be valued according to the very principles that Thoreau had distilled across the continent in his cabin in the woods outside Boston. Within less than twenty years from the discovery of gold in California, the Yosemite Valley and the nearby Mariposa Grove of

[61] Rifkin, *Settler Common Sense,* xx.

[62] Mark Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), *22*-23.

Californian Sequoias became the first formally protected 'wilderness' area in the world when President Lincoln signed the Yosemite Grant in 1864.[63] Kevin DeLuca and Ann Demo have argued that the images of Yosemite that were produced during this early period constituted the field in which environmental politics was initially carried out – Charles Weed, Carleton Watkins, Eadweard Muybridge and others were "creating a reality."[64] Weed's first photographic expedition into the valley in 1859 "triggered an ongoing series of photographic investigations of the Yosemite region."[65] And the photographs of Watkins famously informed the Act of Congress that first legislated for Yosemite's protection in 1864.[66] Unlike the conservationist Pinchot, who was known to claim that "wilderness is waste", these photographers and the western settlers invested value in their National Park in the Yosemite Valley not for any productive potential or utility, but for its 'invaluable' scenic features.[67] Preserved wilderness balanced out the destruction of nature in the booming urban, agricultural, and industrial areas of California. The recreational potential of preserved spaces like Yosemite eased the anxieties of those who, like Thoreau earlier in the century, felt more threatened by the constraints of a modern urban existence than the challenges of environmental encounter.

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[63] An act authorizing a Grant to the State of California of the Yo-Semite Valley, and of the Land embracing the Mariposa Big Tree Grove, 1864, H.R. 159, 38th Congress (1864).

[64] Kevin Michael DeLuca and Anne Teresa Demo, "Imaging Nature: Watkins, Yosemite and the Birth of Environmentalism," *Critical Studies in Media Communications* 17 no. 3 (September 2000): 242.

[65] Peter Palmquist, "California's Peripatetic Photographer: Charles Leander Weed" *California History,* 58, no. 4 (Fall 1979): 203-204.

[66] DeLuca and Demo, "Imaging Nature", 2000: 251.

[67] White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own,* 410-411.

Over the course of the period between 1848 and the early twentieth century, Californians changed the way they engaged with their physical environment. Settlers learnt through a series of trials and errors that if the land was to do work for them it would have to be managed in increasingly sophisticated and locally responsive ways. Although all environmental management has its roots in interventionist practices, the initial folk-knowledge inspired management choices of Californian settlers – attempting to mitigate damage with alternative grazing, cultivation, and arboreal practices – amounted to delaying tactics. Once intervention was supported by a local observational rationale it resulted in more sustainable outcomes. Late century conservation ideology took root amongst the forests and streams of California because of the rapid importation of damaging industrial and agricultural practices during the gold rushes and subsequent agricultural booms. While conservationist ideals slowly infiltrated the legal system and began to constrain irresponsible environmental damage and repair devastated woodlands, romantic advocates and urban reformers were promoting the preservation of wilderness areas that would eventually emerge as powerful (and alleviating) environmental symbols. Understood together, these three responses to the constraints of nature – intervention, conservation and preservation – were a part of the construction of settler territoriality in California. In the context of North American history, the Californian experience was in many ways remarkable – the archetype of the West. However, the same processes were operative across the Pacific in settler colonial contexts that were similarly dynamic.

Australia

Between 1828 and 1841 settlers in the southeast region of the Australian continent experienced a boom in population that matched those that were occurring contemporaneously in the American Midwest. According to Belich, the Settler Revolution in Australia

fundamentally altered the direction of settlement on the continent. By 1841, the mercantile outposts in the Australian colonies had transformed into a dynamic network of multiplying colonies. Population grew more than fourfold between 1828 and 1841.[68] Over the course of the next century or so the colonies located in the southeast of Australia developed along a remarkably similar trajectory to that of the American West. This was the result of similar patterns of settlement and land use, the treatment of land as *terra nullius* and therefore the emergence of similar cultures of territoriality, and a comparable series of booms, busts, and changes in resource extraction that positioned them in comparable positions within their respective imperial worlds. Furthermore, the settler colonies in southeast Australia responded to crises in environmental management in parallel ways – deploying a series of interventionist, conservationist, and idealistic strategies within the "giant experiment in ecological crisis and management" of settler colonialism. [69]

Between 1788 and 1828 the management of land distribution in the Australian colonies differed considerably from the early years of settlement in the American West. Land distribution patterns developed differently because of the greater distance between London and Sydney, and the cultural and social implications of Australia colonies penal origins. From 1828, however, the historical patterns of the land rush in the antipodes were forced into alignment with those of the American West. In the early years Australian governors had initially made large land grants to officers and other public officials but by 1820 they were starting to market these parcels of land to British capitalists.[70] Of course, from the beginning

[68] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 261-267.

[69] Griffiths, 'The Nature of Culture and the Culture of Nature,' 71.

[70] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 263.

the territory of the Australian colonies was placed under the sovereignty of Great Britain, and settled according to the principle of *terra nullius* – a policy reinforced with every allotment of land to a fresh colonist.[71] In line with these imperatives, the grants initially focused on the philosophy of 'improvement' however during the booming 1830s the colonial authorities lost control over the allocation of territory and settlement spread rapidly through a process of squatting.[72] By the 1860s a popular response to these developments fostered closer settlement and smaller scale pastoralism, and eventually a vision of a garden landscape that shaped land allocation and improvement strategies into the twentieth century.[73] For example, in 1905 Professor Elwood Mead from the University of California was appointed to guide the Victorian State Rivers and Water Supply Commission as it pursued the further development of agricultural yeomanry in that state.[74] This vision of closer settlement was characteristic of the schemes that had evolved over the course of the nineteenth century to manage the environmental collapses mirrored the patterns of the Settler Revolution.

The rhythms of settlement in southeast Australia were defined by the three major booms of the nineteenth century. Between 1828 and the 1890s settlers in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Victoria rode booms in livestock production, gold and mineral extraction, and wheat production.[75] The first of these booms was based in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land and relied on wool production. This boom prepared the antipodean settler colonies for a pattern of export-led growth that sustained a range of other urban

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[71] Stuart Banner, *Possessing the Pacific,* 13-46.

[72] Weaver, *The Great Land Rush and the making of the Modern World,* 11-45.

[73] Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods,* 155-6.

[74] Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods,* 155-61.

[75] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 89.

industries reliant on population growth and capital flows.[76] This boom spread across the Tasman to New Zealand and across the Bass Strait from Van Diemen's Land into the Port Phillip District. From 1835 the settlement at Port Phillip was expanding but by midcentury a new boom fueled its growth. The Victorian Gold Rushes occurred within the established boom-time framework that had emerged in the antipodes between 1828 and 1841 and stand (like California) as a condensed example of what Lynette Russell and Leigh Boucher have called the "creative destructions" of nineteenth-century British settler colonialism.[77] In this context the increased capital and human flows accelerated existing growth rates and created new industries and circuits of information.[78] After the decline of the rushes in the 1860s, rural exports again took centre stage as more professionally run agricultural operations fed another boom in wool, followed by significant improvements in wheat production and grain export.[79] Various forms of environmental extraction formed the basis of the success of the Settler Revolution in the southeast of Australia during the nineteenth century, with minerals and primary industries also playing equally important roles. In both cases extraction was reliant on the interaction between local ecological limits and imposed practices of management.

As settlers transitioned between boom and bust in southeast Australia they had to deal with the stresses that mineral extraction, cultivation and imported forms of agriculture placed on the antipodean landscape. Indeed, the changes in the global flow of goods and people –

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[76] Lionel Frost, "The Economy," in *The Cambridge History of Australia: Volume 1 Indigenous and Colonial Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 316-317.

[77] Lynette Russell and Leigh Boucher, "Introduction: Colonial history, postcolonial theory and the 'Aboriginal problem' in colonial Victoria," in *Settler Colonial Governance in Nineteenth-Century Victoria,* ed. Lynette Russell and Leigh Boucher (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2015), 1-16.

[78] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 314-319.

[79] Frost, "The Economy," 328-332.

including improvements in sailing and navigation which, according to Belich, precipitated growth in 1828 – had material effects on the Australian landscape.[80] Unlike the Americas, though, the landscape of Australasia had never been subject to hooved mammals prior to the arrival of Europeans, and as such the first pastoral boom had a particularly intense impact on local ecologies.[81] These impacts were exacerbated by the combination of drought and a global economic crisis in the early 1840s that imperilled English credit, halted land speculation, and eventually put an end to the first pastoral boom.[82] Explosive Australian growth was revived in the early 1850s but simple environmental limitation ended the gold boom in the mid-nineteenth century as costs mounted and individual digging declined. With alluvial gold mining peaking at midcentury, antipodean growth was saved by an export rescue based on renewed British demand for Australian wool, in combination with the contributions that wire fencing had made to limiting pastoral exploitation.[83] Both of these examples indicate that booms and busts occurred during the Settler Revolution according to the specific interactions of global and local forces in each settler community.

As each boom and bust revealed different aspects of environmental limitation, settlers in the southeastern Australian colonies responded to anxieties about environmental degradation through the development of more intimate and environmentally conscious forms of

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[80] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 263.

[81] Griffiths, "Introduction," 4; Andrea Gaynor, "Environmental transformations" in *The Cambridge History of Australia: Volume 1 Indigenous and Colonial Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 280.

[82] Lisa Ford and David Andrew Roberts, "Expansion, 1820-90," in *The Cambridge History of Australia: Volume 1 Indigenous and Colonial Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 130-133

[83] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 309-319.

territoriality. Colonial communities of science played a crucial role in this process. The practices of observation and recording that were initially refined within the outposts of the British Royal Society – the antipodean trailblazer being Tasmania's Royal Society established in 1844 – furnished substantial data within the natural scientific pursuits of botany, geology, and geography. [84] These societies were prone to considering the space between settler preconception and environmental reality because of their antecedence, and they constructed a record of the variabilities of the antipodean environment that fed into anxieties driving environmental reform.[85] In response to these anxieties, colonial agents advocated for more refined management strategies that aimed at balancing productivity and preservation. In Victoria, agents of the Indian Forests Department were employed by the government in 1887 to report on the standard of the states timber resources and resolve the tensions between development and management.[86] Through a realisation that colonial land needed to produce in-demand goods (and that this capacity had to be conserved so as to produce these goods into the future) settlers in Australia developed a set of environmental reform strategies. These strategies developed in parallel, and sometimes in dialogue with, contemporaneous efforts at environmental reform in the American West. The emergence of these strategies was a thus a local settler colonial phenomenon rather than an imperial one.

As in the United States, interventionist strategies of environmental management were the most readily deployed. These included both amateur and professional practices that drew

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[84] John Gascoigne and Sara Maroske, "Colonial Science and Technology," in *The Cambridge History of Australia: Volume 1 Indigenous and Colonial Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 447-449.

[85] Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety,* 4-38.

[86] Gregory A. Barton, *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2002), 111-114.

upon scientific rationales in order to argue for changing environments. Inspired by the irrigation programs of the American West, late nineteenth-century Victorian reformers under the leadership of the Victorian Chief Secretary and Commissioner for Water Supply Alfred Deakin, orchestrated an irrigation strategy in the states northern districts that resulted in the settlement of Mildura as a kind of irrigation colony.[87] Clothed in the authoritative language and symbolism of the imperial discipline of geography, these projects supported local environmental intervention. Imperial science also obscured the localized inflections of the botanist Baron Ferdinand von Mueller's strategy of acclimatisation. Advocating the introduction of new species alongside the preservation of existing environments, von Mueller's environmental engineering was an example of an intellectual "framework that tied local and immediate experience to the Anglo and European worlds."[88] In the case of the acclimatisationists, the local experience stimulated the development of the colonial science of ecology, which was then articulated through the "imperial administrative and political cultures" of the Royal Society and the Botanical Gardens.[89] In the context of irrigation and acclimatisation in late nineteenth-century Victoria, it is clear that colonial science, in both its amateur and professional forms, was characterised by local intervention and experimentation.

However, in most cases these interventionist strategies simply produced more environmental degradation rather than the desired increased productivity. Acclimatisation, for example, led to the embarrassments of unforeseen pest introduction, and the settlement of Mildura

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[87] J. M. Powell, "Enterprise and Dependency: Water Management in Australia," in *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies,* ed. Tom Griffiths and Libby (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997), 109-113.

[88] Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora*, 98.

[89] Peder Anker, *Imperial Ecology: Environmental Order in the British Empire, 1895-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1–2.

foundered during the Federation Drought.[90] The conservationist strategies that emerged to complement what were initially more popular interventionist practices represent another stage in the history of settler adaptation in the antipodes. Indeed, the expansion of fencing during the 1840s could be considered a conservationist measure in the way that it was a response to the environmental degradation that followed unregulated pastoralism. Fencing – and the 'permanent' alienation of land that it symbolised – resulted in more sustainable agricultural practices.

Division of land was also apparent in the development of Australian forestry conservation from the 1870s. During the expansion of the Australian railways the demand for hardwood sleepers put increasing pressure on local forests.[91] By 1900, New South Wales' forests had been reduced by over fifty percent, down from 10.1 million hectares earlier in the century to 4.5 million.[92] Calls for forest reserves that drew on this ongoing decline became prominent from at least 1865 and grew throughout the 1870s as anxieties about the interconnectedness of forestry, climate, and water began to infiltrate the settler consciousness through the public discourse of newspapers and periodicals.[93] Von Mueller, alongside a number of other European-educated scientists, was again a key protagonist in the process of adapting German and Indian forestry techniques to the antipodean environment.[94] The emergence of forest

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[90] Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods,* 121-140.

[91] Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety,* 137.

[92] T.A. Coghlan, *The Timber Resources of New South Wales* (Sydney: 1900), 1; See also, Michael Williams, "Ecology, imperialism and deforestation," in *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies,* ed. Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997), 174.

[93] Stephen Mark Legg, "Views from the Antipodes: The 'Forest Influence' Debate in the Australian and New Zealand press, 1827-1956,"*Australian Geographer* 49 no. 1 (2018): 41-60; Gaynor, "Environmental Transformations,", 285-286.

[94] Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety,* 137-143.

conservation in southeastern Australia in the late nineteenth century attests to the development of conservationist versions of management that were more likely to prioritise balance over improvement.

Idealistic cultures of preservation complemented, grew out of, and built upon the conservationist practices that emerged during the late nineteenth century. From at least the 1850s a serious colonial affection for antipodean nature was apparent. Eugene von Guerard's 1857 painting *Ferntree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges* popularised the Dandenong Ranges as an urban excursion destination.[95] Exposure to 'nature' in this way familiarised many urban-dwellers with 'wild' scenery and eventually led to official protection for the area in 1882.[96] The sense of wonder that antipodean nature could inspire in settlers became one of the motivations for the preservation of the environment in the late nineteenth century. During the 1880s the Victorian photographer Nicholas Caire capitalised on an interest in the protection of the colony's largest trees – the *Eucalyptus Regnans* – when he began photographing and promoting the ancient and impressive mountain ash of the Gippsland.[97] Photography was also central in sharing and promoting an environmental aesthetic in Tasmania, where John Watt Beattie campaigned for the preservation of swathes of land in the midst of his romantic displays of wilderness photography.

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[95] Tim Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2000), 105-107.

[96] Drew Hutton and Libby Connors, *A History of the Australian Environment Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 70; for a general overview of the wider context of Australian identification with nature see, Julia Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: how Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2005).

[97] Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth,* 250-275.

Of course, progressive advocates in the Australian colonies were among some of the world's most successful early environmentalists. Settlers in Australia were successful in including preservationist strategies in a range of colonial and then national institutions.[98] The Royal National Park on the outskirts of Sydney was established in 1879, making it, alongside Yosemite and Yellowstone, among the oldest national parks in the world. In Victoria Wilsons Promontory followed in 1898 and in Tasmania Freycinet and Mount Field in 1916. These developments attested to strategies of environmental management that surpassed balance or improvement by promoting familiarity with, pride in, and sensitivity to antipodean nature. Preservationist strategies of management, and the increased contact with antipodean nature that they were necessarily founded on, promoted identification with the Australian environment and constituted a peculiarly colonial culture of territoriality.

In the collisions between process and place, shifting environmental terms led to differing approaches to the problem of environmental management in the southeastern Australian colonies. Various strategies of environmental management drew upon evolving rationales to underpin a range of environmental projects that gradually became more responsive to the peculiarities of place. Settlers relied upon collections of imperial scientific knowledge and inspiration from the Pacific in an effort to intervene and improve the dry interior climate of northern Victoria. They drew again on these transnational networks when they were inspired to experiment with imperial forestry techniques in order to conserve diminishing resources of hardwood forests. Finally, the development of a colonial environmental aesthetic in the work of artists like von Guerard, Caire, and Beattie provided extra support for the preservation of

[98] Hutton and Connors, *A History of the Australian Environment Movement,* 19.

nature. These colonial cultures of management were worked out amidst the booms and busts of the Settler Revolution as local agents were forced to manage the local environmental effects of a volatile imperial economy.

New Zealand

The activities of settlers in New Zealand were ostensibly a part of the antipodean settler world based around Sydney until 1840. At this stage Edward Gibbon Wakefield's New Zealand Company began purchasing land in the North Island, which Belich recognises as a new stage in the colonisation in New Zealand.[99] Before this, Europeans in New Zealand fell into one of three categories: explorers, traders, or missionaries. Settlement was too susceptible to changes in commodity values and trading networks, and was volatile until the late 1830s when New South Wales and then London began to provide a steady stream of immigrants.[100] By the 1850s there were still only roughly 26,000 settlers in New Zealand but over the course of two booms that extended through to 1886, this population exploded to some 580,000.[101] Although it remained intimately linked with the southeastern Australian colonies, New Zealand's late nineteenth-century expansion more closely mirrored the Californian experience than it did Australia's – albeit on a smaller scale. Interestingly though, the foundations of European colonisation in New Zealand were remarkably different from those in California and Australia – the British were initially reluctant colonizers there and, notably, land was seized via treaty. Indigenous resistance was better organised and more effective than in either Australia or California, and some Indigenous areas remained

[99] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 263.

[100] J.M.R. Owens, "New Zealand before Annexation," in *The Oxford History of New Zealand,* 2nd ed., ed. Geoffrey W. Rice (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992), 28-53.

[101] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 263.

independent well into the 1880s. Nevertheless, the booms and busts of settlement changed native ecologies in familiar ways, and crises of management inspired a settler colonial territoriality just as they did across the Pacific Ocean and the Tasman Sea.

The settlement of New Zealand bears greater resemblance to the conditions of the American east coast than those that shaped dispossession in southeast Australia and the American West. In New Zealand, land was recognised as native property, British sovereignty was exercised under the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and territory changed hands initially through individual and then government purchase.[102] Despite the advance of the Settler Revolution, much of the nineteenth century in New Zealand was characterised by a "plurality in sovereignty" that reflected local balances of spatial and personal power.[103] Resilient forms of Indigenous control, exercised within a structure of plurality in sovereignty are apparent in the way that communities of Indigenous people continued to occupy and defend parcels of land like the King Country in the North Island. Despite the pluralities that formed in local circumstances though, the situation in New Zealand eventually matched "parallel situations in Australia and North America."[104] Immigration to New Zealand was boosted by the provision of free land grants, assisted passages, and a system of state promoted chain migration.[105] These three

[102] Banner, *Possessing the Pacific*, 13.

[103] Zoë Laidlaw, "Breaking Britannia's Bounds? Law, Settlers, and Space in Britain's Imperial Historiography," *The Historical Journal* 55 no. 3 (2012): 829.

[104] Paul Star and Lynne Lochhead, "Children of the burnt bush: New Zealanders and the Indigenous remnant, 1880-1930," in *Environmental Histories of New Zealand,* eds. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002), 133.

[105] James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2001), 275-280.

methods of migration relate to the very same intersection between colonial land and global capitalism that defined Indigenous dispossession during the Settler Revolution more broadly.

The relationship between colonial environments and global capitalism during the Settler Revolution in New Zealand produced crises of management connected to the booms and busts of settlement. New Zealand experienced two major booms: the first between 1855 and 1867 and the second between 1870 and 1886.[106] Both of these booms were heavily reliant on the provision of productive land. The first was reliant the export of wool – a commodity that became central to New Zealand's economy from the 1850s onwards.[107] Although it had less impact than in California or Victoria, the discovery of gold in the South Island in the 1860s boosted the growth of the provinces of Otago Canterbury and extended the first boom.[108] After the initial land rush and after the gold rushes were consolidated the first boom briefly stagnated. By about 1870 a recovery was led by staples exports and a reorientation from Melbourne to London. Following this, new opportunities in long-range refrigerated meat exports sustained another boom throughout the 1880s.[109] All of these transitions were reliant on the rabid exploitation of land that necessitated the pursuit of deforestation, the 'improvement' of native pasture, and the imposition of agricultural monocultures – not to mention the wholesale degradation related to the operation of transient goldfields communities. According to Beattie, the ongoing spatial and ecological demands of Settler Revolution in New Zealand "released a set of unintended environmental consequences that

[106] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 361.

[107] Belich, *Making Peoples,* 342-343.

[108] W.J. Gardner, "A Colonial Economy," in *The Oxford History of New Zealand,* 2nd ed., ed. Geoffrey W. Rice (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992), 65-66.

[109] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 365-368.

threatened colonial development."[110] Environmental consequences threatened environmental development by signaling unmet expectations and triggering anxieties. By the late nineteenth century some settlers were coming to realise how environments were not always responding to traditional European management practices and, in turn, began develop more environmentally responsive forms of management.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the environmental consequences of the Settler Revolution produced an anxiety among settlers, who organized into movements aimed at creating a more sustainable settlement. By the 1890s these movements had begun to help shape legislation, for example bodies like the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science had successfully campaigned for the creation of a series of island reserves in order to protect native bird populations.[111] The anxieties motivating these groups ultimately stemmed from the expectations of prosperity, plenty, and progression that supported the settler program both in Britain and in the settlements.[112] Colonisation in New Zealand was often driven by expectations of social comfort and agricultural productivity that if not matched by reality, produced substantial and enduring anxieties.[113] As in California, colonial geography played an important role as a framework within which anxieties around environmental degradation could be expressed. The work of the photographer-explorer Daniel Mundy was deeply related to this disciplinary apprehension of the effects of

[110] James Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety*, 17.

[111] Star and Lochhead, "Children of the burnt bush," 119-122.

[112] Belich, *Making Peoples,* 328-332.

[113] Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety,* 16.

settlement in New Zealand.[114] Between 1865 and 1875 Mundy travelled around the island capturing and categorising examples of environmental degradation and natural beauty in order to exhibit his productions in the fora of colonial and imperial exhibitions. [115] Mundy's documentary activities during this time helped form the foundation for the construction of new forms of territoriality later in the century that relied on more intimate and sympathetic relations with the colonial environment. As in other settler colonies, the intersection of colonial environmental limitations and global flows of migration and ideas led to the development of localised cultures and strategies of land management.

Throughout most of the nineteenth century settlers in New Zealand favored interventionist forms of land management. Confronted with the open native grasslands of the South Island pastoralists established wide ranging runs for sheep and other livestock along the same lines as the squatters in Australia. As pastoral practices became more intensive with continued immigration settlers responded to environmental limits with strategies of management like burning, which reduced native tussock and encouraged exotic pastures.[116] These processes led to more intensive land use, which, alongside deforestation, placed enormous pressure on local environments. As elsewhere in the settler world, this pressure was compounded by introduced species like the rabbit, which was combated in New Zealand through a combination of interventionist strategies including poisons, fences, and bounties.[117] Due to

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[114] Lissa Mitchell, "Promotional landscapes: D.L. Mundy's 'Photographic Experiences in New Zealand," *Tuhinga* 20 (2009): 67-80.

[115] Hardwicke Knight, *Photography in New Zealand* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1971), 34-35.

[116] Peter Holland, Kevin O'Connor, and Alexander Wearing, "Remaking the Grasslands of the Open Country," *Environmental Histories of New Zealand,* eds. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002), 69-83.

[117] Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora,* 86-87.

the collective pressures exerted on native ecosystems, from the 1870s settlers in New Zealand were confronted with the threat of erosion, siltation, and "shifting sands." In response they lobbied governments to sponsor land reclamation programs.[118] In Dunedin in the 1880s settlers founded the Ocean Beach Domain Board and gave it the power to levy rates in order to slow shifting sands through tree and grass planting.[119] By this time it had dawned on settlers like those in support of the Ocean Beach Domain Board that the colonial environment was not simply a neutral 'backdrop' on which the interactions of introduced and native species could be observed, but a dynamic system reflecting cause and effect.[120] Although these programs were ostensibly 'improving', 'rectifying' or even 'rehabilitating' colonial land, they nevertheless fit within the same philosophy of intervention that inspired other popular practices in California and Australia. Just like practices elsewhere in the settler world, interventionist management strategies failed to alleviate colonial anxieties about environmental degradation in New Zealand.

Conservationist strategies emerged from the failure of interventionist methods of land management in New Zealand. The difficulty that settlers had in alleviating problems like drifting sands made the development of more comprehensive efforts at maintaining environments necessary. This was most apparent in the early development of forest conservation. In the words of Graeme Wynn, "Nineteenth-century New Zealand was a

[118] Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety,* 182-190.

[119] Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety,* 189; see also, K.C. Macdonald, *City of Dunedin: A Century of Civic Enterprise* (Dunedin: Dunedin City Corporation, 1965): 200-201.

[120] Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora,* 87.

wooden world."[121] Settlers managed to fell a monumental volume of timber – some two million hectares of it – between 1886 and 1909.[122] Although this was probably the most intense period of deforestation in New Zealand history, it followed approximately fifty years of relatively unregulated settlement and environmental damage. Indeed, as early as 1843 the German naturalist Ernst Dieffenbach had expressed reservations about the impact of deforestation on soil fertility in New Zealand.[123] Later in the century the politician Julius Vogel spoke for the Forest Act of 1874 and attested to the interlocking dependencies of settlement and environment in New Zealand.[124] These measures went through a number of iterations after 1874 and eventually developed into a system that conserved forestry as both an economic resource and as catchment protection. Although Dieffenbach was too transient to make a substantial impact on forestry in New Zealand, the influence of perspectives like his is clear – another German naturalist, Ferdinand von Hochstetter, was an oft-invoked figure in early parliamentary debates about conservation and a central figure in colonial science.[125] As in California and the southeastern Australian colonies, conservationist measures like forestry were an early and pivotal response to the environmental degradation of settlement.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century the conservation of New Zealand's forests had established a precedent of environmental protection. The utilitarian basis upon which forest

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[121] Graeme Wynn, "Destruction Under the Guise of Improvement: The Forest, 1840-1920," in *Environmental Histories of New Zealand,* eds. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2002), 105.

[122] Star and Lochhead, "Children of the burnt bush," 119.

[123] Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety,* 143-144.

[124] Star and Lochhead, "Children of the burnt bush," 121.

[125] Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety,* 143-149.

conservation was based articulated neatly with the emergence of an idealistic appreciation of scenery. Progressively from 1887, the highlands around Mount Tongariro became protected as New Zealand's first National Park, and scenery preservation societies were active in all of the major settler cities.[126] Depicted photographically by the South Island settler Alfred Burton, the landscape of Tongariro was valued for its pristine wilderness and recreational potential, and like other romantic sites around New Zealand, was a site of pilgrimage for those seeking new forms of leisure in nature. [127] These processes were fueled by the accretion of a collection of photographic depictions of scenery that promoted certain spaces like Tongariro and the fjords of the South Island. These processes fit into a context where 'native flora, fauna and scenery were not merely appreciated' by settlers in New Zealand "but also filled a psychological need."[128] This psychological need is most often spoken of in terms of settler nationalism, but settler nationalism itself has its origin in a shifting relationship with land. The emergence of the public will to safeguard areas of scenery based on their 'wildness' or monumentality attests to the development of a form of territoriality based on more intimate connections between settler and nature.

The collision between the processes of the Settler Revolution and the local ecologies of New Zealand was stark. Within half a century environmental damage stemming from the processes of settlement had impacted on the agricultural foundation of the New Zealand economy – threatening the staples exports that sustained the explosive levels of growth. These shifting

[126] Star and Lochhead, "Children of the burnt bush," 124.

[127] Jillian Wallis, "Transformative Landscapes: Postcolonial Representations of Uluru-Kata Tjuta and Tongariro National Parks" *Space and Culture* 17 no. 3 (2014): 285.

[128] Starr and Lochhead, "Children of the burnt bush," 131-132.

environmental terms led to the development of new strategies of land management at the colonial level. Initially, interventionist forms of management attempted to mitigate the environmental encounter by rectifying or rehabilitating colonial land. By the 1870s conservationist ideas had infiltrated the governing classes of New Zealand and the proto-ecological approaches that developed elsewhere within the settler empire were imposed upon the environment of New Zealand. More sensitive approaches to place laid the groundwork for the preservation of areas of monumental or romantic scenery and the development of nature leisure in wilderness areas. These strategies were mobilized alongside one another in dealing with the booms and busts of the Settler Revolution. Considered together they amount to the development of a colonial culture of territoriality that emerged from the local interactions produced in the collision between process and place.

Dispossession and the Settler Revolution

The range of colonial management strategies that emerged as a response to the environmental impacts of the Settler Revolution displays a remarkable degree of consistency. The Settler Revolution acted upon California, southeast Australia, and New Zealand in similar ways. It transformed each space from an outpost of empire into a dynamic, self-sustaining society within less than fifty years. Each site experienced a number of land-based booms throughout the nineteenth century, a number of collapses in the economy of territory, and a number of export-based revivals. The growth of each site was accelerated by the operation of a Gold Rush economy at some stage throughout the nineteenth century. And each settler polity grappled with the difficulties that stemmed from the interaction between process and place – an interaction shaped by the cyclical rhythms, binary economic structures and dual foundations of the Settler Revolution.

In California, southeast Australia and New Zealand settlers responded to the environmental crises precipitated by a boom and bust economy by developing parallel interventionist, conservationist, and preservationist measures. Many of these measures were informed by the experiences of other settler colonies, however these circuits were uneven. For example, Deakin's interventionist dreams of an irrigated Northern Victoria were inspired by schemes initially developed in the American West, but due to a different climate and topography settlers in New Zealand did not develop comparable schemes. The ideas of Marsh and the influence of European educated naturalists resonated strongly in the construction of conservationist strategies in all three contexts, but the naturalists themselves seemed to have more power in California and Victoria than they did in New Zealand, where the Premier Julius Vogel was the figurehead of environmentalist conservation. Most compellingly, each settler polity seemed inspired by the establishment of the Yosemite National Park in 1864, with a comparable taste for the preservation of wilderness developing during the late nineteenth century on both sides of the Pacific. Nineteenth-century environmental consciousness, it seems, was a settler mindset.

As a number of scholars have ably demonstrated, settlers in California, southeast Australia, and New Zealand developed these management strategies as a response to common environmental problems stemming from the Columbian Exchange. And of course, the development of these strategies was in some cases aided by the exchanges of information and

people that flowed through the circuits of empire.[129] However, the similarities apparent in responses to the environmental ramifications of the Settler Revolution were not simply the result of cross-fertilisation. These similarities emerged according to an initial structural consistency between the sites of Settler Revolution – a history of Indigenous dispossession. Indeed, the histories of Indigenous dispossession and of the development of settler environmental consciousness are *shared* histories that deeply relate to one another in myriad ways.

Existing interpretations of the Settler Revolution understand it as a binary with the metropolitan society on the one side, and the colonial society on the other. Within the framework that Belich erects around the Settler Revolution, Indigenous groups are effectively subsumed into the 'settler' group of the binary. Such a structure may be suitable when charting the economic dynamics of this period of European imperialism, but it obscures the central, triangular power structure that characterised settler colonialism.[130] Indeed, Belich's Settler Revolution was founded on the very *availability of land.* This land had to be captured, appropriated, and transformed in order for it to do the economic work that it did throughout the mid nineteenth century in California, southeast Australia, and New Zealand. This territory, upon which the Settler Revolution progressed, was always Indigenous land, and the fact of Indigenous ownership, inhabitance, and endurance was of principal concern in each of these settler societies during their nineteenth-century heydays.

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[129] Lester, "Imperial Circuits and Networks," 130-136; for the authoritative account of the Columbian Exchange see, Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972).

[130] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 16-18.

Furthermore, the construction of economic and affective ties to Indigenous land was a central aspect of the Settler Revolution. As Patrick Wolfe pointed out, Indigenous policy in settler colonies is organised according to the "overriding imperative of territorial acquisition."[131] However, the acquisition of this territory necessitated a transfer of sovereignty – something that, according to Wolfe, was achieved through the "imposition of regimes of private property" and the operation of a "logic of elimination."[132] Both of these strategies worked to encourage affinities between settlers and the land on which they had settled, and the construction of this territoriality percolated throughout all aspects of settler discourse.[133] As I have explored above, the construction of this territoriality was one of the chief outcomes of the Settler Revolution. Indeed, land and landscape were always at the centre of the economic shifts that Belich describes and the environmental and social changes charted by Tyrrell, Griffiths and White. Here, landscape was what WJT Mitchell called the "dreamwork" of imperialism. It constituted both the "utopian fantasies of the perfected imperialist prospect" and the "fractured images of unresolved ambivalence and unsupported resistance."[134] In all cases this "dreamwork" was attached to the very products of imperial and colonial exploitation. However, despite the different resources mobilised by the cyclical pattern of boom, bust, and export-rescue, what was really being exported from the colonies to the

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[131] Patrick Wolfe, "After the Frontier: Separation and Absorption in US Indian Policy," *Settler Colonial Studies* 1 no. 1 (2011): 32.

[132] Patrick Wolfe, "Race and the Trace of History," in *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity and Culture,* ed. Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 272; Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387-390; Patrick Wolfe, "Nation and MiscegeNation: Discursive Continuity in the Post-Mabo Era," *Social Analysis* 34 (1994): 93-152.

[133] Patrick Wolfe, "Recuperating Binarism: A Heretical Introduction," *Settler Colonial Studies* 3 no. 3-4 (2013): 269.

[134] WJT Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape" in *Landscape and Power,* ed. WJT Mitchell (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002, 2nd ed.), 10.

metropoles over the course of the Settler Revolution never changed – it was always land. As another product of these intersecting global and local forces, settler environmental consciousness, too, was a function of territoriality and primarily concerned with land.

In its concern with land and territoriality, settler environmental consciousness was uniquely positioned in relation to the ambivalent sovereignties produced by settler colonialism. Lisa Ford has suggested that the endurance of Indigenous people in settler colonies was a "logical anomaly" that represented "an embarrassment to the sovereign settler state."[135] In this way Indigenous dispossession haunted certain spaces of the settler imagination, and it stands to reason that settler cultures most associated with land were particularly susceptible. In this context, it is essential to consider the environmental management strategies that emerged as a part of settler colonial culture in the late nineteenth century alongside those other social formations that enacted Wolfe's "logic of elimination."[136] On the basis that race was "an invisible structuring presence" manifest in all texts produced in societies that privileged white identity, then it becomes important to 'read' race into the cultures of environmental consciousness that emerged within late nineteenth-century Anglo settler colonies. [137]

In light of all this, an analysis of the construction of value in Indigenous lands, and consequent preservation of certain natures in Anglo-American settler colonies during the

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[135] Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010): 60.

[136] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 387-390.

[137] Martin Berger, "Overexposed: Whiteness and the Landscape Photography of Carleton Watkins," *Oxford Art Journal* 26 no. 1 (2003): 4.

nineteenth century has distinct value in that it integrates existing environmental, imperial and settler colonial histories. 'Wilderness' was an idea that was irrevocably shaped on the settler colonial peripheries of the British and American empires. It was a settler landscape – inflected and shaped as much by histories of dispossession and exclusion, as by the disruptive economic shifts of the Settler Revolution. In a way, the two processes of dispossession and revolution worked in unison. The development of interventionist, conservationist, and preservationist forms of land management had an underlying rationale – the construction of settler territoriality on Indigenous land. This rationale fitted neatly within the 'logic of elimination' that guided the culture of settler colonialism. The following chapters will consider the complicated operation of settler territoriality in greater detail by combining elements of environmental history and settler colonial theory to examine the cultures of value that have been constructed around settler colonial natures in California, southeast Australia and New Zealand.

Chapter II

Space and the Settler Geographical Imagination: The Survey, the Camera and the Problematic of Waste

In 1870 the landscape photographer Carleton Watkins temporarily joined Clarence King's 40th Parallel Survey to photograph Mount Shasta in California. While King climbed around the newly named Whitney Glacier and charted the pine forests that clung to Shasta's lower ridges, Watkins patiently waited for the haze to disperse and reveal what was then considered the tallest peak in the United States of America.[1] The 40th Parallel Survey was conducted between 1867 and 1872 and it charted a route through northeastern California, Nevada and into Wyoming. In 1870, Watkins only joined King and his entourage for a short period – the official photographer attached to the Survey was Timothy O'Sullivan, who after documenting the American Civil War made thousands of photographs of the greater American West alongside King and in Lieutenant George Wheeler's Geological Survey.[2] After capturing Shasta and the Whitney Glacier (Figure 2.1), Watkins returned to San Francisco to open his lavish new Yosemite Art Gallery and to continue exhibiting and promoting his most popular photographs.

Watkins' experiences with surveying were not limited to those of the 40th Parallel. Like other settler photographers, Watkins' photographs were used in the published accounts of various surveys. Watkins' imagery of the American West inspired new geographical and geological

[1] Clarence King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada* (Boston: James Osgood and Company, 1871), 107-116.

[2] Rod Giblett, "Wilderness to Wasteland in the Photography of the American West" *Continuum* 23 no. 1 (2009): 43-52; Robin Kelsey, "Viewing the Archive: Timothy O'Sullivan's Photographs for the Wheeler Survey, 1871-74" *The Art Bulletin* 85 no. 4 (December 2004): 702-723.

missions and the images that he produced throughout his career served as crucial access points between the geological findings of state and federal scientists and wider understandings of the western landscape. Both Watkins and King participated in the development of a settler "geographical imagination" – a concept that Joan Schwartz and James Ryan have used to describe "the mechanism by which people come to know the world and situate themselves in space and time."[3] While Schwartz and Ryan have broader imperial processes in my mind, King and Watkins were producing a vision of the physical environment based in the local contexts of the American West. Nevertheless, consistencies between the American settler context and other settler colonies pertained and the visions of nature that King and Watkins created displayed bore striking similarities with others produced contemporaneously in Australia and New Zealand. In these places the structural conditions shaped during the Settler Revolution clearly produced consonant geographical imaginations.

Figure 2.1 Carleton Watkins, *Mount Shasta and Whitney Glacier in California, Seen From the Crater (Shastina),* 1870, black-and-white Photograph. Source: US Geological Survey Exploration of the 40th Parallel (King Survey) © US Geological Survey.

[3] Joan Schwartz and Chris Ryan, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (I.B. Tauris: London, 2003), 6.

Existing work in historical geography has argued that this settler geographical imagination drew on the development of two types of knowledge about landscape. One type of knowledge concerned cultural understandings of space and might be called the "imaginative" and the other related to the physical properties of settler space and might be termed the "material."[4] These two types of knowledge developed in concert during the nineteenth-century settler exploration of territory. Indeed, the intimate relationship between the imaginative and material aspects of the field of discovery were laid bare half a decade before Watkins joined King on the slopes of Mount Shasta. Watkins' 1861 photographs of Yosemite had prompted the federal protection of the valley by an Act of Congress, which had in turn sent King to California in 1864 to "make a survey defining the boundaries of the new grant."[5] This is perhaps the clearest example of the way that, to borrow again from Schwartz and Ryan, "photographic facts generated meaning, and gave rise to action."[6] It underlines the ways in which "the geographical discovery of the New World was both a material *and* a metaphorical exercise."[7] These insights, derived primarily from historical geography, provide a way of reading landscapes as texts that can inform environmental histories and open ways of considering how the histories of settler colonialism are legible in place.

Thinking geographically about settler colonial landscapes generates a more thorough understandings of the cultures of territoriality that settlers in California, southeast Australia

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[4] Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 9.

[5] King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 65.

[6] Schwartz and Ryan, *Picturing Place,* 8.

[7] Charles Withers and David Livingstone, "Thinking Geographically About Nineteenth-Century Science." *Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Science,* ed. Charles Withers and David Livingstone (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 14.

and New Zealand adopted between 1848 and 1900. Therefore the identification of slippages between the categories of the material and the imaginative in settler colonial visions of space is a productive position from which to begin. Initially, this chapter adopts a reciprocal framework inspired by historical geography to explore the relationships between the physical processes of settler colonial survey operations and the imaginative dimensions of photography, cartography and reporting. I argue that settlers disciplined and imagined colonial space in a range of ways that influenced patterns of settlement throughout the nineteenth century. Settlers clearly responded to different types of space in different ways according to contextual cultural assumptions – such as the potential productivity of a cultivated space, regional histories of environmental degradation, or even hierarchies of scenery. In most instances, these assumptions were the product of a reciprocal negotiation between the physical features of a place and the imaginative visions of its use.

However, under sustained investigation the categories of the material and the imaginative threaten to collapse. Indeed, at some level the approaches of historical geography maintain an attachment to the categories of the material and the imaginative that cannot explain the fluidity of settler colonial spatial politics. Once the discursive category of the imaginative is taken seriously it disrupts neat distinctions between nature and culture. In the examples of the settler colonial geographical imagination to follow, the 'natural' characteristics of a particular space as it was understood were occasionally remarkably vulnerable to the local cultural shifts appended to the Settler Revolution. At different times a productive field could be despoiled by exploitation: a 'wasteland' of forest might be cleared for cultivation if enough labour was available, or 'barren lands' may be imbued with beauty through literary description. Iterations of this volatility served numerous ends: they dissuaded settlers from

taking on risk at inopportune times, maintained space for future expansion and objectified threatening landscapes. Importantly, this volatility continued to conceal the territorial realities of settler colonialism in much the same way that more simple projections of cartographic control did. Even though these spaces were on the margins of settlement and sometimes inhabited by Indigenous peoples, they were nevertheless understood by the settler geographical imagination as within the bounds of settler dominion.[8] Indigenous absence and erasure – in either case real and imagined – were imprinted on representations of secure and marginal settler space.

This chapter will begin by explaining the settler colonial use of photography as a technology of settlement. From the 1840s photography emerged as a globalising technology that hastened Schwartz and Ryan's reconfiguration of the European geographical imagination. As an instrument of '"spatial and temporal collapse" photographic technology was linked to other examples of "mechanical genius" even as photographs as objects recorded this shift.[9] Of course, photography was grafted onto other forms of apprehending landscape and became "embedded in a system of conventions and limitations."[10] In the spaces that I am concerned with, the conventions of representation were deeply related to the priorities of the Settler Revolution – that is, the control of Indigenous land and its environmental transformation. On

[8] Dominion refers to the specific rights to space that could only be exercised by a Euro-American sovereign power under international law, as opposed to the rights to space conferred by 'occupancy' that guaranteed use without title. See Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016), 141-146; for more substantial considerations of this dynamic see, Robert A. Williams, Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); for an earlier account see, Mark F. Lindley, *The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law* (London: Longman, Green and Company, 1926).

[9] Schwartz and Ryan, *Picturing Place,* 2.

[10] Johnathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990), 6.

the other hand, the limitations of landscape photography reflected local constraints of topography and settlement. Through the interaction of these conventions and limitations ideas of landscape began to hinge on a number of categories – lowlands, highlands and coastal being the predominant ones under consideration here. Despite all of these spaces being subjected to the common territorial discipline of settler surveys, they were imagined in strikingly different ways. The divergent aesthetics of certain spaces in the settler geographical imagination served to delineate them from one another in terms of potential settler use. Overall, this chapter considers the differing ways in which lowlands, highlands, and coastal natures were encountered, measured, mapped, photographed, promoted and eventually brought into settler colonial control.

The concept of 'waste' factored heavily for settlers attempting to bring land under control and it occasionally disrupted the settler colonial geographical imagination. In southeast Australia, the American West, and New Zealand unsettled space was a 'wilderness' – variously referred to in terms like 'primeval' and 'undeveloped.' Mark Spence has explained how the American wilderness ideal in particular relied on an association with "uninhabited land."[11] And many other environmental historians of North America, Australia and New Zealand have noticed the peculiar conditions of "remoteness" or inaccessibility that produced wastelands and wildernesses.[12] I take no issue with these interpretations, but in this chapter I am more

[11] Mark Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 5.

[12] Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 260; Eric Pawson, "The Meanings of Mountains" in *Making A New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand* ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013), 172-173; see also Mick Abbott & Richard Reeve, *Wild Heart: The Possibility of Wilderness in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011); for an overview of the North American literature see, Richard White, "From Wilderness to Hybrid Landscapes: The Cultural Turn in Environmental History" *The Historian* 66 no. 3 (2004): 557-564.

interested in how wastes and wildernesses worked beyond providing the basis for modern conservationist movements. In settler colonies land not subjected to European cultivation practices was idle country that both excited and threatened settlers. Wastes were identified in lowlands, highlands and coastal environments because the deployment of these terms relied on the gaps that emerged between native dispossession and settler consolidation. Here, the twin processes of dispossession and cyclical settler development *produced* the settler concept of waste and imbued it with a particular spatial politics.[13] In this way, a problematic of waste emerged that spoke to a configuration of space and race that was constantly under maintenance. The instability of the concept of waste was both a symptom of and structured by an ambivalent settler colonial territoriality.

Intellectually, this notion of waste took shape as a result of the British encounter with new worlds. According to Alison Bashford and Joyce Chaplin, the term was transformed from the seventeenth century onwards as the idea of *"wilderness"* became attached to emptiness, and previous connotations of 'wildness' were tempered. In the 1700s, new worlds were assumed to have a "low person-to-acre ratio" that, in addition to the terminal decline of Indigenous population, would deliver settlers dominion and profit. These "instrumental" ideas about land, population and appropriation informed American territorial expansion west of the Mississippi and, in the word of Bashford and Chaplin, generated "a model for succeeding new world colonies in Australian and other parts of the Pacific."[14] These particular intersections of population and territory in North America and Australasia have shaped the

[13] Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011), 140-178.

[14] Alison Bashford and Joyce E. Chaplin, *The New Worlds of Thomas Robert Malthus: Rereading the Principle of Population* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 2-3.

spatial patterns of colonisation, settler hopes for development and ideas about possession since at least the late eighteenth century.

While these common intellectual origins date to the seventeenth century, the notion of waste became inflected in slightly different ways in late nineteenth-century settler colonies. In New Zealand for example the term 'waste' was belatedly associated with lands that were resistant to settler improvement or byproducts of limited use. Waste was a problem as well as an opportunity. In this vein, Paul Star argues that during the 1860s Thomas Potts, the British-born New Zealand naturalist and early conservationist sought to reduce waste through ethical and rational resource use.[15] This instrumental attitude predominated in other Australasian settler colonies too.[16] Often these attitudes related to the issue of "concentration", which informed analysis of settlement patterns and prospects throughout the nineteenth century. From the 1830s architects of settlement schemes like Edward Gibbon Wakefield adopted and adapted Thomas Malthus' stadial argument that concentrated population equated to civilisation.[17] It was in areas where this concentration dropped that sentimental attitudes to the environment often found fertile ground, thereby providing a welcome instrumental solution to the inconsistencies of settlement.

[15] Paul Star, "Thomas Potts and the Forest Question: Conservation and Development in New Zealand in the 1860s" *International Review of Environmental History* 1 (2015): 173-206.

[16] For an overview of how early Otagoans approached the promises and pitfalls of their environment see, James Beattie, "Looking for Arcadia: European Environmental Perception in 1840-1860," *ENNZ: Environment and Nature in New Zealand* 9, 1 (2014): 40-78; for Victoria see Raymond Wright, *The Bureaucrat's Domain: Space and the Public Interest in Victoria, 1836-1884* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[17] Bashford and Chaplin, *The New Worlds of Thomas Robert Malthus,* 227.

While the application of sentimental attitudes to nature and the institutional development of National Parks provided some solutions, the notion of waste retained a threatening connotation. This is why it is appropriate to speak of waste a problematic within the broader structure of settler colonial territorial appropriation. The intrusion of the problematic of waste in the settler colonial geographical imagination was nevertheless a kind of fracture in an attitude to land that sought to label, categorise, organise and possess. In this the physical processes of settler colonial survey operations departed from the restless advance of explorers and were alternatively a means to "characterise the country" as a place "where the imagination might be enticed to settle."[18] For those working on the first Geological Survey of California under Professor Josiah Whitney between 1860 and 1868 this "conquest of a great terra incognita" was carried out by measurement, impression and observation.[19] King's language of terra incognita recalls Paul Carter's assessment of surveying in early nineteenth-century Australia "as a strategy for translating space into a conceivable object" through the mechanisms of "map, sketches and journal."[20] The advent of photography was nestled within these mechanisms as it "expanded human powers of observation and extended the range of observable space."[21] Although surveyors and publishers tended to deploy maps as representations of data and photographs as embellishments of narrative accounts, by the end of the nineteenth century photographs and other promotional material were nevertheless part of a broader set of cultural practices that spanned both the material and imaginative dimensions of the geography of settlement.[22] In these cultural practices photography became

[18] Paul Carter, *The Road To Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 112-113.

[19] King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 4.

[20] Carter, *The Road To Botany Bay*, 113.

[21] Schwartz and Ryan, *Picturing Place,* 8.

[22] Matt Dyce, "Canada Between the Photograph and the Map: Aerial Photography, Geographical Vision and the State," *Journal of Historical Geography* 39 (January 2013): 73-75.

a powerful technological force in settlement even as it bore witness to the fractures that emerged in the settler colonial geographical imagination.

Photography as a technology of settlement

Watkins' landscape photography enacted an imaginative possession well out of the reach of many observers because it was a technology of settlement that brought distant spaces into colonial control. The patterns of this process were well established by the 1860s when the popularisation of photographic technology began to aid and alter settlement. According to Schwartz and Ryan, from "the late 1840s the photograph was record, instrument and result" of a series of shifts in "the experience of space and time."[23] As the consumers of Watkins' photographs hung them on their sitting room walls, framed them for their galleries, or passed by them in an exhibition, they were participating in a geographical rearrangement of space and time that aided and accelerated the project of settler colonialism. As Susan Sontag pointed out, modern photography has helped "people take possession of a space" by positioning the viewer at the center of a system of power and knowledge.[24] When Watkins' 1861 stereograph views of Yosemite were sold, they were printed on distinctive orange and yellow cards that provided additional information for the viewer. They were all marked out as part of "Watkins' Pacific Coast," which meant that they were to be understood alongside his "Photographic views of California, Oregon, and the Pacific Coast." Ostensibly, Watkins' photographs were positioned within a knowledge system anchored in the natural characteristics of the West – each card also named the "Big Trees, Geysers, Mount Shasta"

[23] Schwartz and Ryan, *Picturing Place,* 2.

[24] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 4-9.

and "Mining City" as notable features of Watkins' Pacific Coast.[25] By placing this information in the margins of the cards, Watkins' unfamiliar views were embedded within an established geography of Western scenery.

Watkins' 1861 series of one hundred Yosemite stereographs reaffirmed this geographical logic in the way that they were ordered. The series proceeds as though the viewer was circling the rim of the valley, depicting Yosemite Falls, Vernal Fall, Bridal Veil and the Nevada Cascades. Watkins then switches perspective and continues with a number of views from the floor of the valley that feature the granite edifices of the Three Brothers, Half Dome, and El Capitan. It concludes with some depictions of camp life, a single portrait of an unnamed woman, and some images of the giant Californian Sequoias.[26] Watkins' 1861 series was essentially a survey in the way that it used multiple perspectives of the same objects to communicate the dimensions of a place – it was a visual triangulation of Yosemite's landmarks. The sequence of the photographs also roughly corresponded with the progression of the later 1864 King survey of the area for the Yosemite Grant. King's survey skirted the cliff walls "following through forests and crossing granite spurs" in order to study "the fine sculpture of cliff and crag."[27] After this, though, King, like Watkins, made his way to the bottom of the valley, which was to him "a park of green, a mosaic of forest, a thread of

[25] Carleton Watkins, *View of the Valley from the Foot of the Mariposa Trail. El Capitan on the Left, Cathedral Rocks on the Right, Yosemite Valley, Mariposa Co.,* 1861, Stereograph Card, 8x7.8cm, California State Library – STEREO 1168.

[26] Watkins numbered the images 1 to 100: the Yosemite Falls feature numerous times between 1 and 14, Vernal Fall features between 15 and 22, Bridal Veil 23 to 28, and Nevada Falls 29 to 31. The granite features are apparent in many of the photographs numbered 32 through 49 and return between 60 and 70. Camp scenes are apparent from 60 onwards but are especially striking from 85 to 91, which features the sole portrait in the album. The sequoias dominate the final images from 97 to 99.

[27] King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 69.

river."[28] In this manner it is possible to see Watkins' 1861 series as "a functioning tool of the geographical imagination" that informed and mediated "engagement with the physical and human world."[29] Watkins' 1861 series was imbued with the same geographical logics that brought unknown space under control through mapping, measuring and reporting.

In some circumstances the technology of the camera was a more effective way of reordering space than the state-run surveys and expeditions. Indeed the camera, as it was deployed by individuals like Watkins, mirrored other technologies that reshaped spatial politics in the American West. One such technological change that radically altered experiences of space in the American West was the rapid development of railroad infrastructure from 1860s to the 1890s. Richard White has pointed out that during this time, the railroads "made space political by making the quotidian experience of space one of rapid movement." This made "spatial politics" dynamic in both material and imaginative ways as route construction, timetabling and pricing systems functioned to isolate or include places previously shaped predominantly by their physical geography.[30] Because of the ways that new railways reshaped landscapes, they were frequently subjects for late nineteenth-century landscape photographers. In an 1867 trip up the Columbia River in Oregon, Watkins was drawn to the railway in his large photograph *Cape Horn near Celilo* (Figure 2.2). In it the straight lines of the railway tracks complement the winding course of the Columbia River and the imposing

[28] King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 73.

[29] Schwartz and Ryan, *Picturing Place,* p. 3.

[30] White, *Railroaded,* 14, 150-165; White gives the example of Lathrop, which was favourably located on the San Joaquin River, which provided access to barge transportation for grain. After the arrival of the railroads in the Central Valley Lathrop's relative distance to urban markets was extended because the railroad was further away than the river, and railroad competition undercut river transportation. The spatial politics of the railroad, therefore, reshaped the geography of the Central Valley.

mass of Cape Horn. This composition reveals the spatial politics of the image, which renders settler activity in nature in an aesthetic style – an idea at odds with the alleged violence of "the machine's sudden entrance onto the landscape" that Leo Marx found in nineteenth-century American literature.[31] In Watkins' image the machine – or at least the basic component of the tracks – is not necessarily a disruptive force. The complementary operation of the camera in this context affirms it as an object that supported and enhanced the changes in spatial politics brought about by other technologies of settlement like the railroads.

Across the Pacific in New Zealand, Daniel Mundy's landscape photography was implicated in a similar set of geographical and technological processes. The work of Mundy, who was active in New Zealand between 1864 and 1875, was deeply related to the scientific apprehension of the colonial environment.[32] Mundy's *Photographic Experiences in New Zealand,* presented to the Photographic Society of Great Britain in 1874, exhibited this perspective in the way that it divided the views into historical, natural, Indigenous, and cultural categories.[33] In Mundy's hands the camera became a tool of measurement just like the mechanical devices used by surveyors and geographers elsewhere. According to Matt Dyce, settler surveyors used tools like "the theodolite to measure angles, the clinometer to gauge elevation, Gunter's chains to assess distance, and chronometers and astrological readings to assess positions," and these measurements were then transposed into logbooks for

[31] Leo Marx, *Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 343.

[32] Lissa Mitchell, "Promotional Landscapes: D.L. Mundy's 'Photographic Experiences in New Zealand,'" *Tuhinga* 20 (2009): 67-80.

[33] Mitchell, "Promotional Landscapes," 72-73.

the final compilation of the report.[34] Mundy's 'report' on the geysers of Rotomahana and Lake Taupo catalogued these "grand geographical and geological features of the country" in a series of twenty four photographs.[35] The foreword to *Rotomahana – the boiling spring of New Zealand (1875)* was written by Mundy's associate Ferdinand von Hochstetter – a German naturalist, geologist, and geographer who connected Mundy to imperial networks of forest conservation and European science.[36] Like Watkins in Yosemite, the photographic measurements that Mundy took while in the field in New Zealand were imbued with and partly understood according to geographical principles.

Despite the strong backing of imperial science, geographical principles hardly crowded out the artistic, aesthetic, or political dimensions of settler colonial landscape photography. Mundy's photographs were noted for their artistic merit in the *Wellington Independent* of July 1872, which stated that his upcoming exhibition was a "remarkable instance" of "blending… the useful with the beautiful." For the correspondent, Mundy's "beautiful and instructive landscapes" functioned as an incentive for the accelerated settlement of New Zealand, which would progress rapidly once the "thousands dwelling in the various countries of the Southern Hemisphere" recognised the advantages of Northern New Zealand's "genial climate" and "healing springs."[37] In this instance the settler colonial geographical imagination in Mundy's exhibition was an evolution of the methodical format of Watkins' 1861 Yosemite

[34] Dyce, "Canada Between the Photograph and the Map," 71.

[35] Daniel Louis Mundy, "Photographic Experiences in New Zealand," *The Photographic News* (December 18, 1874): 602.

[36] James Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety: Health, Science, Art and Conservation in South Asia and Australasia, 1800-1920* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011),144-146.

[37] "New Zealand Illustrated," *Wellington Independent* 27, no. 3542, 5 July 1872, http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18720705.2.11.

series in that it was explicitly connected to further settlement. In providing an aesthetic and scientific basis for this Mundy's exhibition was a site of spatial and temporal collapse where the correspondent could fantasise about a settler colonial reordering of spatial politics.

Figure 2.2 Carleton Watkins, *Cape Horn near Celilo,* 1867, Albumen Silver Print from Glass Negative 40x52.4cm. Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The way that the camera functioned for Watkins and Mundy was as a tool that facilitated the reordering of spatial politics. The parallels between new ways of making images and other revolutionary technologies of the nineteenth-century settler world were established during a time of acceleration. Indeed, as Schwartz and Ryan have suggested, "at a time when steamships, railways and the telegraph made the world physically more accessible,

photographs made it visually and conceptually more accessible."[38] Without reducing these matters to the deterministic constraints of "changing technical and mechanical practices," the photographic reordering of spatial politics was on one level obviously reliant on technical expertise. [39] To be sure, while sitting across from Mount Shasta in 1870 Watkins was waiting for the right aesthetic conditions for a good shot of the mountain, but these conditions had as much to do with the mechanics of his Mammoth-Plate camera as they did with a set of purely artistic choices. Likewise for Mundy to set his glass plates – which were slightly smaller than Watkins' – he had to manage a number of variables including the quality of the water sourced for the solution, the amount of moisture on the inside of the camera, and of course the length of the exposure.[40] In these ways the technology of the camera mediated between the technical and the aesthetic aspects of an artist's operation in the field even as it produced objects that reordered spatial politics.

Importantly, though, the technical application of the camera was not the only factor that shaped the types of images that settler colonial landscape photographers captured and disseminated. Schwartz and Ryan remind us that although they "are bound up with myriad forms of power" photographs "are also continually negotiated." Despite the claims to truth that their association with European science lent them in the nineteenth century, they "have never been an uncontroversial practice of reporting."[41] The ideas that photography

[38] Schwartz and Ryan, *Picturing Place,* 2.

[39] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer,* 8.

[40] Mundy, "Photographic Experiences in New Zealand," *The Photographic News,* 603.

[41] Schwartz and Ryan, *Picturing Place,* 7.

communicated then, were inherently unstable and the encounter with landscape that they documented varied according to the contingencies of settlement.

Photographers on different sides of the Pacific used different modes to manage these instabilities and communicate settler control over landscapes. The practices of mapping and distributing land in these spaces also differed according to the likelihood of expeditious settlement. Broadly, these photographers depicted land according to its adherence to three types: lowlands, highlands and coastal. In a sense, none of these categories were necessarily determined by the physical properties of the subject space. Instead they relied on existing and anticipated patterns of environmental change that were extended or limited according to the possibilities of settlement. The concept of waste cut across all categories; in some cases it was a focus for transformative settler labour, in others an unnerving space on the margins of settlement and in others a symbol of pristine nature. A consideration of how lowlands, highlands and coastal areas were surveyed and photographed, and then how concepts of waste figured in each category, works to illuminate how the settler geographical imagination reflected and managed the instabilities of encounter during the late nineteenth century.

Transforming lowlands

Settlers in lowland environments divided up the land on the basis of a shared settler colonial geographical imagination. Settlers constructed lowland environments out of colonial space that was available to be rapidly transformed into productive agricultural settlements. For example, from about 1840 settlers in New Zealand progressively carved towns and farms "from the forest" in what was considered at the time a part of the "march of 'improvement.'" Where possible, this created a lowlands environment that was pastoral, settled and newly

transformed. It was also often subdivided in a rectilinear pattern. According to Carter, up until 1825 the favoured system of surveying in Australia was the "American-style rectilinear grid system" which meant that as long as a surveyor noted the boundary longitudes and latitudes of a space they could subdivide a space without ever inspecting the land in person.[42] Similar practices prevailed in New Zealand, where New Zealand Company surveys were initially administered from London even though the company had local agents.[43] These foundations of land distribution in accessible lowland environments had an ongoing influence on settler geographies.

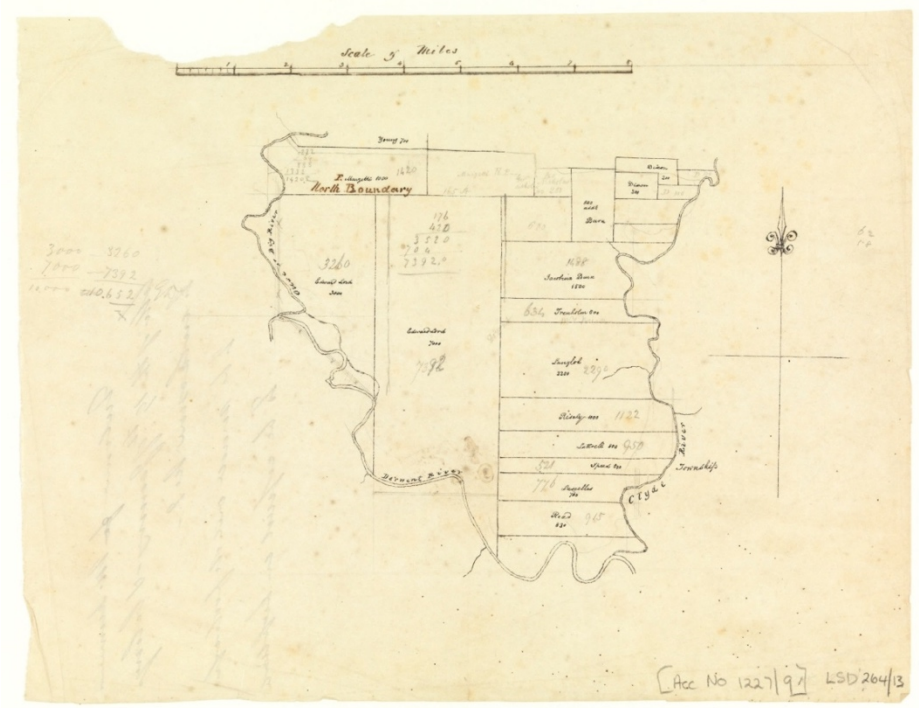

Figure 2.3 *Map – Hamilton and Ouse Area Showing Landholders Between Derwent, Ouse and Clyde Rivers.* January 1, 1836. Maps and Survey Charts 1833-1878: LSD264/1/13. Tasmanian Archives and Heritage, Hobart.

[42] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay,* 112.

[43] Jim McAloon, "Resource Frontiers, Environment, and Settler Capitalism'" in *Making A New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand* ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013), 61.

In Tasmania, the southernmost of the Australian colonies, practices such as these shaped the river valleys that settlers followed inland from the north and east coasts. Rectilinear subdivision was made essential by the lag between the granting of land and government surveying that stemmed from rampant speculation in the early nineteenth century.[44] The surveyors were inheritors of the "cartographic eye" that Simon Ryan has attributed to the white explorers who established the blank spaces on the edges of maps of Empire and precursors of the Australian politicians and writers who projected "a nation for a continent."[45] On top of these distortions settler surveyors imposed a distinct linear geometry despite the mad rushes of land speculation. A survey of the holdings between the Derwent, Ouse and Clyde Rivers in the upper Derwent Valley from 1836 (Figure 2.3) shows the perpendicular boundary lines of agricultural subdivision and notes the sizes of the grants. Beyond plotting the area's rivers the map offers no recognition of the geography of the space or its physical relief – an indicator of the priorities of the surveyor. While these practices were challenged by more locally responsive and organised forms of surveying as the nineteenth century wound on, the rectilinear grid had endured as the primary form of land subdivision in the Tasman world. Together, these historical factors meant that lowlands environments became rapidly transformed spaces of pastoral order with the newly imposed settler possession of land clearly inscribed in environmental transformations and cartographic representations.

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[44] James Boyce, "An Environmental History of British Settlement in Van Diemen's Land: The Making of a Distinct People," (PhD diss., University of Tasmania, 2006), 281-284; James Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2008).

[45] Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Robert Dixon, "'A Nation for a Continent': Australian Literature and the Cartographic Imaginary of the Federation Era," *Antipodes* 28 no. 1 (June 2014): 141-154.

These transformed environments were captured and reproduced according to the stable conventions of pictorialist photography. According to Rod Giblett and Juha Tolonen, these conventions shaped a mode of photography that imagined the land as "ripe for settlement."[46] In settler colonies this meant that landscape had already been slightly altered by the displacements of Indigenous dispossession, and was simply 'ripe' for further environmental transformations. An examination of contemporary pictorialist photography bears this point out. By the late nineteenth century Tasmania, for instance, was well known for the ways in which it epitomised an ideal 'harmony' between river, settlement and mountain.[47] John Watt Beattie's photograph, *Hop Garden, New Norfolk* (Figure 2.4) of the mid-1890s is a good example of a pictorialist image. In it, Beattie depicts a pastoral scene in the lower Derwent Valley, where a river winds underneath wooded hills and around carefully cultivated flats. In his printed and public material Beattie frequently described the Tasmanian landscape as "picturesque," seemingly asserting for a vision of harmony in Tasmanian nature in image, prose and speech.[48]

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[46] Rod Giblett and Juha Tolonen, *Photography and Landscape* (Bristol: Intellect, 2012), 87-88.

[47] Julia Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: how Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah press, 2005), 40-42.

[48] John Watt Beattie, Papers, 1859-1930, RS29/5 (2) – RS29/11, Royal Society Collection, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Hobart.

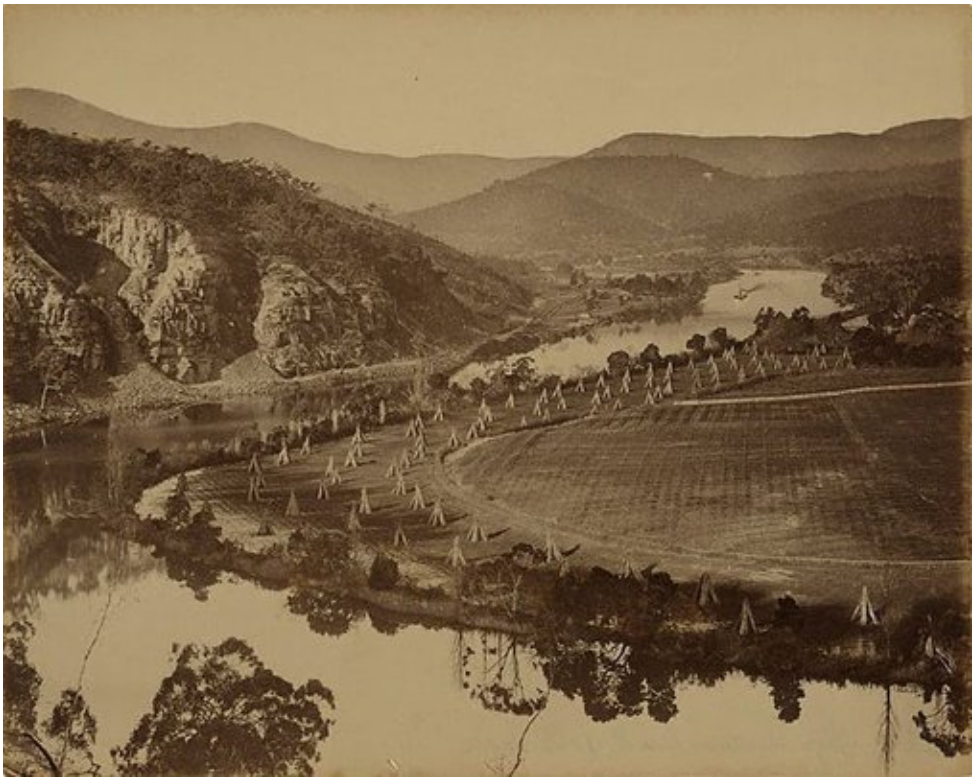

Figure 2.4 *John Watt Beattie, Hop Garden, New Norfolk, 1895-1898, Albumen Photograph, 21.2x26.7cm. Source: Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney.*

Across the Pacific Watkins also depicted the land as ripe for settlement. In images like *Panorama of San Jose and the Santa Clara Valley* (Figure 2.5) Watkins focused on horticultural productivity in detail and documented both the environmental transformations and spatial rearrangement of settlement. Taken between 1861 and 1874, this image relied on the metaphor of the garden paradise and all of the positive moral and social implications associated with it in contemporary California.[49] According to Jared Farmer, the Santa Clara Valley – known in the late nineteenth century as the "garden of the world" – was the major Californian producer of apricots, cherries, prunes and eventually lemons.[50] Watkins' image

[49] Ian Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform 1860-1930,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 103-109.

[50] Jared Farmer, *Trees in Paradise: The Botanical Conquest of California* (Berkeley: Heyday, 2017), 425, 434.

shows a budding orchard under the early stages of horticultural cultivation, but the introduced flora, tended rows and linear fence lines nevertheless announce the disciplinary intention of the settler geographical imagination. Importantly, such images erased markers of Indigenous land use that did not align with settler landscape narratives.[51] The landscapes of Californian and Tasmanian pictorialist photography promoted further settlement by rendering colonial landscapes as harmonious and productive – thereby constructing the lowlands in these settler colonies.

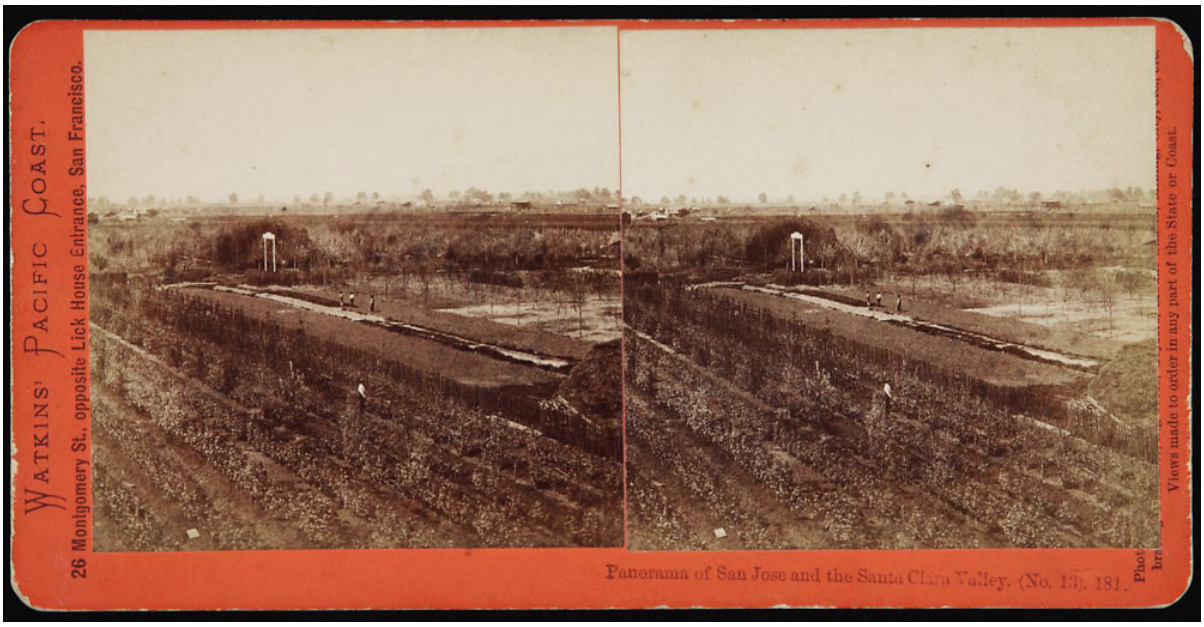

Figure 2.5 Carleton Watkins, *Panorama of San Jose and the Santa Clara Valley,* circa 1863, Stereograph Card, 8x7.8cm. Source: Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

New Zealand's lowlands were similarly transformed by the flows of the Settler Revolution and the actions of settlers. Herbert Guthrie Smith, who immigrated to New Zealand in 1880

[51] Adam J. Barker, "Deathscapes of Settler Colonialism: The Necro-Settlement of Stoney Creek, Ontario, Canada," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* (2018): 1-16.

and took over a sheep station in Hawke's Bay in the North Island in 1882 observed and reflected on these transformations at length. In 1921 Guthrie-Smith mused in the preface to his book *Tutira,* that "so vast and rapid have been the alterations which have occurred in New Zealand during the past forty years, that even those who, like myself, have noted them day by day, find it difficult to connect past and present."[52] Guthrie-Smith's elegiac tone was unusual among the boosters and promoters of New Zealand's "Grasslands Revolution," however he identified the critical environmental and political moves of the settler geographical imagination in the lowlands.[53] The pace of these moves was an essential element in the successful construction of settler territoriality. Transformation was the point and the erasure of previous environmental regimes and patterns secured settler dominion in the lowlands through spatial and economic reorganisations.

Encountering highlands

While lowland spaces were created in areas where nature could be rapidly transformed, highlands were areas where this transformation was impeded by environmental and social constraints. By 1871, when King recalled his experiences of the Sierra Nevada highlands in the American West, he was an experienced geologist and surveyor, having worked with such figures as the first leader of the California Geological Survey, Josiah Whitney. Remembering his first expeditions in the field in 1864, King noted the physical impediments to settlement in the highlands of the American West, comparing the "sharp granite aiguillies and crags" and regions of "rock and ice lifted above the limit of life" in the Sierras with the environments on

[52] Herbert Guthrie-Smith, *Tutira: The Story of a New Zealand Sheep Station,* 4th ed. (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1969), i.

[53] Tom Brooking and Vaughn Wood, "The Grasslands Revolution Reconsidered" in *Making a New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand* ed. Tom Brooking and Eric Pawson (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013), 204-205.

its western edge. In contrast to the Sierra Nevada, the Central Valley was "level, fertile, well-watered" and "half tropically warmed." For King, the Sierras were certainly not the "region of great industrial future" that lowlands represented in nineteenth-century California.[54] The highlands could be redeemed in certain circumstances, though – the key to settlement was of course the movement of populations. For instance many of Mundy's photographs of New Zealand were of sparsely populated and physically forbidding highland spaces but if only for settlers who might "flock to those parts," they might also be transformed into lowlands-style cultivated pastoral space.[55] However, when the immigrants did not come settlers were pressed to develop new imaginative geographies to secure possession. In doing this King, back in California, relied more heavily on the notion of scientific value, a measure in which the Central Valley was (from this perspective) comparatively lacking – being a place "quite without charms for the student of science."[56] Highland landscapes became subject to different visions of nature to those of the lowlands because of the unique pressures that settlement in these areas faced.

Unlike the lowlands, settler colonial highland environments appealed to scientists and geographers as outdoor laboratories because of a perceived isolation. Like the Scottish Highlands at the turn of the nineteenth century – which was a focus for naturalists interested in "intricate interdependencies between creatures and plants of only indirect economic value" – settler colonial highlands displayed a high degree of what modern scientists call

[54] King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 11.

[55] "New Zealand Illustrated," *Wellington Independent* 27, no. 3542 (5 July 1872), http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18720705.2.11

[56] King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 11.

biodiversity.[57] The diversity of flora and topography had been a compelling subject for American surveyors earlier in the nineteenth century too. For example, Robin Kelsey has shown how Arthur Schott's scientific illustrations for the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey drew heavily on notions of Romantic science. Both in his adherence to personal observation and reporting and his exploitation of expansive spaces of the sublime vision, Schott composed imagery filled with botanical and topographical detail.[58] This boundary survey was mostly concerned with the arid environments to east of the Sierra Nevada but Schott's botanical pictures and use of exaggerated relief share an organic appearance with King's mountain work. Indeed, in contrast to the rectilinear surveys in the lowlands, King's sinuous 1865 map of the Yosemite Valley in the Sierras forgoes any measured perpendicularity (Figure 2.6). Instead it focuses on the geological features of the space, using shading to indicate relief and naming the prominent granite formations.[59] This more responsive scientific apprehension of space abandoned the imperative to quickly transform environments and instead possessed them through gradual knowledge-making projects.

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[57] Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, *Enlightenment's Frontier: The Scottish Highlands and the Origins of Environmentalism,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 93-102

[58] Robin Kelsey, *Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 35-49.

[59] Clarence King and J.T. Gardner, *Map of the Yosemite Valley, from Surveys made by Order of the Commissioners to Manage the Yosemite Valley and Mariposa Big Tree Grove.* Source: Josiah Whitney, *The Yosemite Book: A Description of the Yosemite Valley and the Adjacent Region of the Sierra Nevada, and of the Big Trees of California* (New York: The New York Lithographing, Engraving and Printing Company, 1869).

Figure 2.6 Clarence King and J.T. Gardner, *Map of the Yosemite Valley, from Surveys made by Order of the Commissioners to Manage the Yosemite Valley and Mariposa Big Tree Grove*. Source: Josiah Whitney, *The Yosemite Book: A Description of the Yosemite Valley and the Adjacent Region of the Sierra Nevada, and of the Big Trees of California* (New York: The New York Lithographing, Engraving and Printing Company, 1869).

The scientific apprehension of highland space was complemented by an increasing number of artistic depictions of settler highlands. Objects like King's map amplified the accessibility of places like the Yosemite Valley, where photographers were predominantly concerned with the artistic appeal of unsettled space. When confronted with remote, seemingly untouched landscapes settler colonial photographers comfortably switched from the pictorialist tradition into the sublime. In Yosemite, a number of photographers who followed in Watkins' footsteps continued to focus on what Martin Berger has identified as an "identical set of traits," the articulation of which relied upon the romantic framing of "the sublime spectacle."[60] Eadweard Muybridge, an Anglo-American polymath, spent most of 1872 in the

[60] Martin Berger, "Overexposed: Whiteness and the Landscape Photography of Carleton Watkins," *Oxford Art Journal* 26, no. 1 (2003): 5; Kevin Michael DeLuca and Anne Teresa Demo, "Imaging Nature: Watkins,

Yosemite Valley where he composed a series of landscape studies in which "water and rock" were his "principal subjects."[61] Muybridge depicted highland space by constructing it as independent of humanity and as unsettling in the tradition of the sublime. In images like *Mirror Lake, Valley of the Yosemite* the conventional mirror view emphasises human absence through stillness and reiterates the scale of the valley stretching off into the distance.[62] In his views from the heights of Valley Muybridge instead appears to have chosen "innovative composition over familiar subjects."[63] *Yosemite Creek, Summit of Falls at Low Water* (Figure 2.7) is riven with diagonal vectors that stretch off beyond the edge of the cliff face to the other wall of the valley to produce the effect of a vertiginous sublime. The same Romantic features that attracted settler scientists to remote environments defined landscape photography in the Yosemite Valley.

Yosemite and the Birth of Environmentalism," *Critical Studies in Media Communications* 17 no. 3 (September 2000): 548.

[61] Rebecca Solnit, *River of Shadows: Eadweard Muybridge and the Technological Wild West* (New York: Viking, 2003), 84.

[62] Eadweard Muybridge, *Mirror Lake, Valley of the Yosemite,* 1872, Albumen Silver Print from Glass Negative 42.8x54.3cm. Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[63] Solnit, *River of Shadows,* 86-87, 203.

Figure 2.7 Eadweard Muybridge, *Yosemite Creek. Summit of Falls at Low Water (no. 44),* 1872, Albumen Silver Print 42.9x58.4cm. Source: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

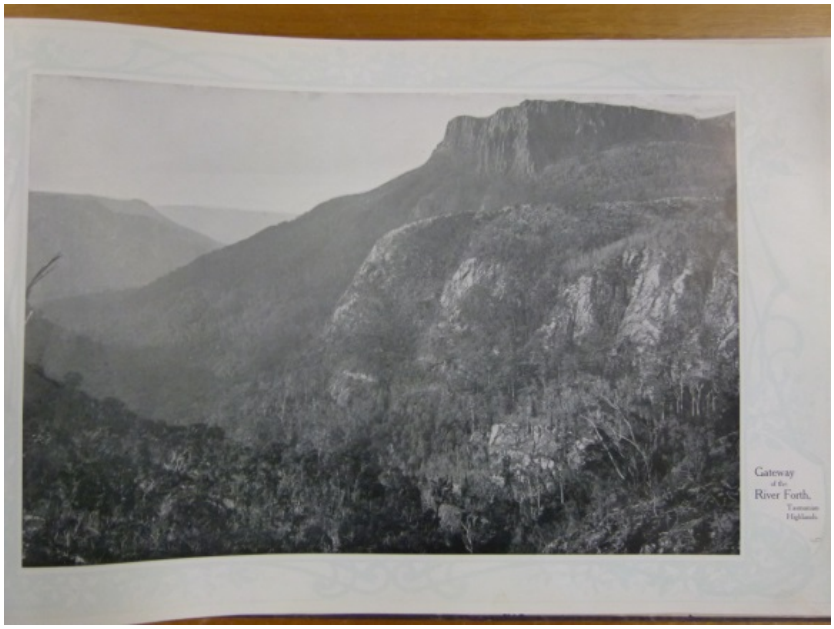

Figure 2.8 John Watt Beattie, *Gateway to the River Forth,* c. 1890s, Photograph on Paper. Source: Private Album.

The collapse of perspective that enabled the exaggerated reliefs of Schott and the vertiginous sublime of Muybridge surfaced too in photographs of remote scenery on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. In the Tasmanian highlands Beattie produced images like *Gateway of the River Forth, Tasmanian Highlands* (Figure 2.8), which depended on a surveyors eye for space but abandoned the harmonious compositional qualities of pictorialism in favour of unrelenting distance and scale. The lack of human figures in all of these images is deceptive, though because these photographs enacted the very colonial possession that they masked by making remote space "visually and conceptually more accessible."[64] The aesthetic and the scientific values of highlands developed through various encounters with space and laid the foundations for a geographical imagination that included sparsely settled remote landscapes within the boundaries of settler society. These spaces were settled, but in ways that differed from lowlands. As pointed out in Chapter One, many of them became reserves or parks based on the ideal of human absence. In the lowlands, the relationships between dispossession and environmental transformation were relatively straightforward because of their visibility. In the highlands the invention of the sublime as a strategy of environmental transformation was more subtle, but it relied on Indigenous dispossession in equally fundamental ways.

Understanding coasts

Coastal environments raised a similar set of questions within the settler colonial geographical imagination as highlands environments did. Like the highlands, coasts were liminal spaces in which settlers were confronted with the physical limits of territorial control. Coasts were also often sites of striking landforms where rock and water interacted in the same dramatic ways as they did in spaces like the Yosemite Valley and the Tasmanian Highlands. In coastal areas

[64] Schwartz and Ryan, *Picturing Place,* 2.

the settler geographical imagination focused on different symbols of development and control than the cultivation and transformation of environments favoured in lowlands landscapes. While many coastal environments conformed to the tradition of the sublime as it was deployed in the highlands, new permutations of it were tested and refined in the work of landscape photography. Despite these differences in the way that they were imbricated in settler colonial territoriality, coastal environments were apprehended through land (and sea) based surveying in much the same ways that other environments were.

In Victoria's Gippsland region the photographer Nicholas Caire played a central role in the promotion of tourism among the coastal lakes wedged between lowland flats and forests and Ninety Mile Beach. Caire's late nineteenth-century photographs illustrated a 1907 travel booklet called *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves* that was produced by the Cunninghame Progressive Association and supported by Victorian Railways. *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes* opens with a map charting the extent of the navigable parts of the lakes and the environments that they sit amongst (Figure 2.9). These include marshes, woodlands, lakes, rivers, inlets and entrances and of course the expanse of the Southern Ocean. It is clear from this map that the Gippsland Lakes, while clearly a coastal environment, are liminal in the senses that they include and are positioned amongst lowland type environments. A collage of photographs in the guide makes this clear (Figure 2.9).[65] Lake Tyers is the subject of all four photographs but in each case the image is framed by Gippsland's famous forests – the highland sections of which had been substantially reduced by 1916, partly to construct the

[65] Frank Whitcombe, *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves* (Gippsland: Cunninghame Progressive Association, 1907), 17.

railways that were (ironically) promoting nature leisure.[66] This symbolic linkage to the highlands of the Gippsland would not have been lost on tourists, who were well-acquainted with the range of highland retreats situated on the edges of Melbourne and further afield in Victoria.[67] Caire himself had made a career promoting highland environments in the Yarra Valley and Mount Buffalo, as well as the forests of the Strzelecki Ranges in West Gippsland.

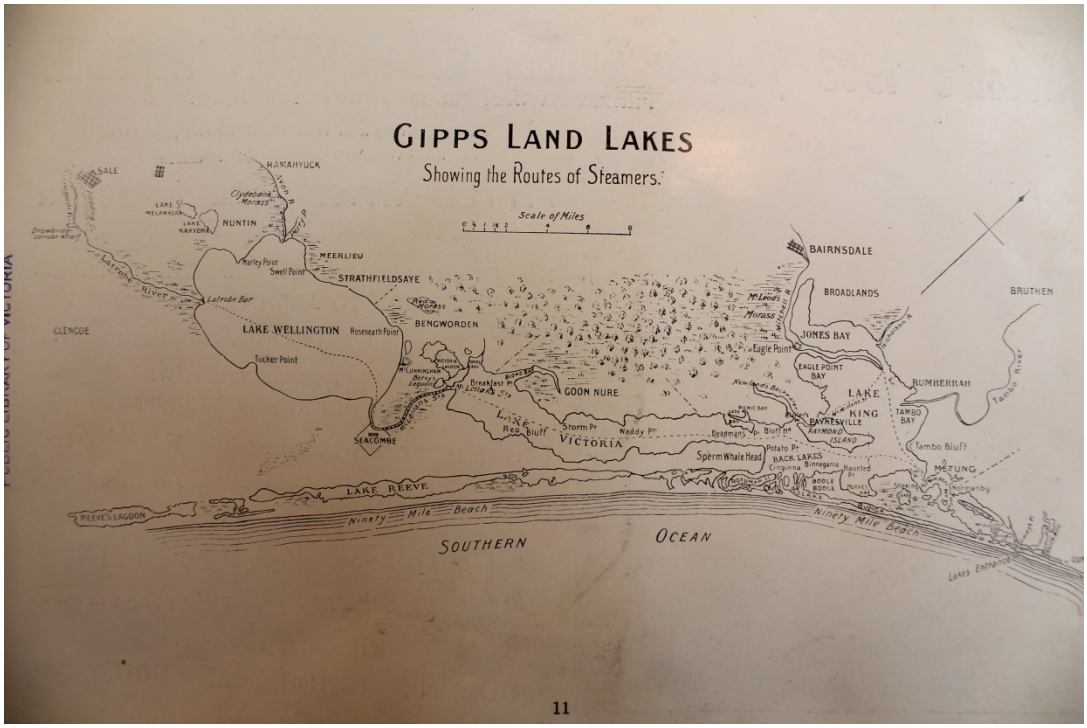

Figure 2.9 *Gipps Land Lakes: Showing the Routes of Steamers,* 1907. Source: Frank Whitcombe, *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves* (Gippsland: Cunninghame Progressive Association, 1907).

In *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes* though, the primary purpose of Caire's landscape photography was as an illustration of the evocative textual exploration of the coastal environments of southeast Victoria. Tourists in the area were urged by the journalist Frank

[66] W. H. C. Holmes, "Scrub Cutting" in *The Land of the Lyre Bird: A Story of Early Settlement in the Great Forest of South Gippsland,* ed unknown (Korumburra: The Korumburra & District Historical Society, 1998).

[67] Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors,* 126; Tom Griffiths, "'The Natural History of Melbourne': The Culture of Nature Writing in Victoria, 1880-1945," *Australian Historical Studies* 23 no. 93 (1989): 339-365. Caire's attachment to the natural spaces on the edges of Melbourne can be observed in his textual and photographic contributions to, John W. Lindt and Nicholas Caire, *Companion Guide to Healesville, Blacks' Spur, Narbethong and Marysville* (Melbourne: Atlas Press, 1904).

Whitcombe to appreciate the interaction between forest and coastal lake by characteristically exaggerated prose. In paying homage to Lake Tyers Whitcombe collapsed a powerful series of contemporary concepts into the one sentence by celebrating the "cloisters of the great gums," which "in the dim green light of the arborescent solemnity of primeval nature" the forest was presented in a "phase of grandeur and sublimity" of manifestation."[68] In this passage the concept of sublimity is relied upon to conclude the reflection and it is important to note that while the sublime was rarely invoked in relation to conventional lowlands environments, it could slip back in when settlers were describing the coasts.

Just less than fifty years earlier Muybridge took a series of photographs of the Californian coast that relied on imagery of the sublime in the same way that the author of *Guide to Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves* had relied upon its language. In 1871 Muybridge was contracted by the Lighthouse Board of the United States Coast Guard to travel up the west coast and photograph Californian lighthouses. While his photographs were used by the Lighthouse Board, Muybridge also sold copies of them imprinted on familiar photographic cards marking them out as space of the American west coast. A photograph of the lighthouse at Point Reyes (Figure 2.10) just outside of San Francisco, which became a National Park during the twentieth century, is an example of the ways in which Muybridge included artistic elements in his documentary survey photography. Reminiscent of some of Muybridge's renowned Yosemite images, the photograph features a figure peering over the cliff-face down to the sea while standing on a newly graded platform alongside the lighthouse. Other images

[68] Whitcombe, *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves,* 69. The (almost incomprehensible) full sentence cited, "the cloisters of the great gums, in the dim green light of arborescent solemnity of primeval nature in her forest phase of grandeur and sublimity of manifestation."

within this set also deploy figures to accentuate the scale and atmosphere of these coastal spaces. On the Farallon Islands just off the coast of San Francisco Muybridge trained his camera onto a landscape that satisfied many of the requirements of the sublime. In *South Farralone Island, Point Shubrick, Light-House, Parrot Rock and Gull Peak, from Abaloni Trail* (Figure 2.11) Muybridge used two figures at the ocean's edge to emphasise the jagged landscape of the island and evoke a sense of danger and awe. In the background sits the lighthouse on the highest point, looking over the tiny figures and the exposed lodgings at the foot of the ridge. Watkins also photographed the Farallon Islands, finding in the coastal landscape the same rugged sublimity that Muybridge did and including them in his "Watkins' Pacific Coast" series of stereoviews.[69] The great space of the Pacific Ocean and the imposing cliffs that Muybridge and Watkins were able to access on their trips furnished them with imagery and symbolism that echoed photographic apprehensions of settler highlands.

Figure 2.10 Eadweard Muybridge, *Point Reyes, Light House, Looking West,* 1871, Stereograph Card. Source: California and the West, ca. 1867-1902 – Stereoviews. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[69] For example see, Carleton Watkins, *Sugar Loaf Islands,*c. 1867, Stereograph Card. Source: Gift of Weston J. and Mary M. Naef. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles: http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/82672/carleton-watkins-sugar-loaf-islands-farallone-sic-islands-pacific-ocean-american-about-1867/.

Figure 2.11 Eadweard Muybridge, South Farralone (sic) Island, Point Shubrick, Light-House, Parrot Rock and Gull Peak, from Abaloni Trail, 1871. Source: Muybridge (Eadweard), Lone Mountain College Collection of Stereographs. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

In Tasmania Beattie also found coastal environments to be productive spaces for the representation of a sublime nature. In his album *Tasmanian Views* Beattie included depictions of a number of coastal environments. Beattie's interest in the monumental scenery of the Tasmanian coast is apparent in his focus on Tasman's Arch, a natural land bridge on the Tasman Peninsula just outside of Hobart. In the 1890s and 1900s Beattie took a number of photographs of the landform and each photograph emphasized different elements and dimensions of the liminal coastal space. Like Muybridge, Beattie used figures of settlers posing in the grotto to accentuate the scale of the gothic arch. *Tasman's Arch from Below, Sunrise, Eaglehawk Neck* (Figure 2.12) fits within a tradition of cave touring and subterranean interest for Australian settlers in the nineteenth century and depicts the arch according to these prevailing cultural forces.[70] In contrast, Beattie's later *Tasman Arch* forgoes this framing in order to communicate a brighter alternative aspect – the monumental

[70] Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder,* 232-233.

span of the arch at high tide.[71] Further down the Tasman Peninsula Beattie captured the image *Coast Scenery, Looking Towards Tasmans Island from Arthurs Peak,* which, in attentively allocating most of the frame to the Southern Ocean and the Tasmanian bluffs fading into the distance, effectively communicates a feeling of isolation.[72] Beattie's views of the Tasmanian coastline express sublimity through their appeal to romantic convention, monumental scale and remoteness.

There were few places more suited to the development of this vision in the settler Pacific than the fjords and inlets of southern New Zealand. The Dunedin photographer Alfred Burton traversed these scenic locales in 1882, and captured numerous views around Lake Ada, Milford Sound and Mitre Peak. New Zealand's southern fjords were both accessible (by steamer) and remote (in that settlements were sparse) and so were a popular destination for settler photographers.[73] In *Milford Sound, Harrison Cove, Lion Rock* (Figure 2.13) Burton distilled the essence of coastal photography skirted by the images of Australian and Californian photographers. The monumental glacier-formed walls of the fjord are reflected perfectly in highlands-style still water as Romantic clouds accumulate in the lee of Lion Rock. The liminality of the scene is divulged in the presence of a single rowboat, reminding the viewer of the in-between state of coastal environments. This allusion to human presence delineates coastal environments from those of the highlands and lowlands. Within the settler

[71] John Watt Beattie, *Tasman Arch, Tasmania, ca. 1900s,* c. 1900, black and white Photograph. Source: Beattie's Snapshots, Tasmania, ca. 1900s – PIC P1764/1-23 LOC C2. National Library of Australia, Canberra: http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-143296532/view.

[72] John Watt Beattie, *Coast Scenery Looking Towards Tasmans Island from Arthurs Peak,* 1894, black and white Photograph. Source: Photograph Album: 'Tasmanian Views,' LPIC 54 1/18. Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office, Hobart.

[73] "The Wonders of Milford Sound," *Hawkes Bay Herald* 21, no. 6234 (27 April 1882), http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18820427.2.23

geographical imagination coasts were possessed in ephemeral ways – unlike the highlands they were reasonably accessible but remained impervious to the rapid transformations that marked lowlands environments.

Figure 2.12 John Watt Beattie, *Tasman's Arch from Below, Sunrise, Eaglehawk Neck,* 1890s, Private Album.

Figure 2.13 Alfred Burton, *Milford Sound, Harrison Cove, Lion Rock,* 1882, black-and-white Gelatin Glass Plate. Photography Collection. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/18807.

The problematic of waste

Unsettled territory across lowlands, highlands and coastal landscapes was susceptible to being labelled as waste according to the various patterns of settlement that emerged during the Settler Revolution. Chapter One argued that this Settler Revolution was partly defined by the cyclical patterns of expansion and contraction; patterns which drove transitions between James Belich's two phases of "explosive colonization" and "export rescue" or "recolonisation."[74] These cyclical economic patterns were effectively reified in the settler landscape, in which "land and the organised spaces on it… narrate the stories of

[74] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 9, 221.

colonisation."[75] One of these stories centred on population and depopulation and waste was on the whole an unpeopled landscape due to gaps between native dispossession and settler consolidation. In this way, the twin processes of dispossession and cyclical settler development *produced* the settler concept of waste and imbued it with a particular spatial politics. Indeed, waste was an ephemeral concept that emerged and faded across multiple types of landscape at difference times – that is to say it has a history. Our attention to its incarnations across lowlands, highlands, and coastal spaces in the late nineteenth century reveals that the spatial politics of settler colonialism was at times a fragile structure imbued with anxiety and doubt.

When King published his memoir *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada* in 1871, unsettled land fitted neatly into a structure that considered the lowlands as developed and developable, the highlands as pristine wilderness and the desert as waste. King's Sierra Nevada stretched from Southern California all the way up to British Columbia in the north, and was defined – apart from its mountain peaks – by the extensive forests that covered its flanks.[76] Despite not covering coastal spaces, King's memoir indicates that liminality was a feature of inland environments too. In the zones between the highland forests and the cultivated lowland flats of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers were the outposts of settlement – mining towns and inconsistent ranching.[77] On the western side of the Sierra Nevada, King only saw a desert "utterly opposed" to the settled western aspect and picturesque forested parts of the range. In

[75] Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds, "Introduction: Making Space in Settler Colonies," in *Making Settler Colonial Spaces: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity,* ed. Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2-3.

[76] King, *Mountaineering the Sierra Nevada,* 7-16.

[77] King, *Mountaineering the Sierra Nevada,* 10.

this way King's understanding of the physical environment of the Sierra Nevada was an incarnation of an understanding of landscape that categorised it according to its relation to prospective or existing settlement. Nevertheless, at different times the concept of waste seeped into the liminal spaces between these categories and helped shape transformations of the physical environment. This process was apparent not just in the Sierra Nevada, but in other settler spaces in southeastern Australia and New Zealand.

It is important to note that lowland landscapes in these colonies were constructed by settlers and Indigenous people over varying timescales. For example, many of the productive agricultural spaces of New Zealand were physically carved from existing forests. Graeme Wynn has pointed out that the task of clearing was so embedded in settler New Zealand that by 1840 "it measured everyday existence."[78] Before 1840 New Zealand's forests were implicated in a transnational resource economy that transformed the landscape of the colony. Throughout the transition into a more intensive agricultural settler economy, cultivated space was created by logging the "Indigenous remnant" thereby extending the prior lowlands environments that were themselves partially created by the resource economy before the mid-nineteenth century.[79] In both southeastern Australia and California lowlands environments corresponded with European ideas about cultivated landscapes before the arrival of settlers. In Australia this was due to the regimes of fire management developed by the Indigenous

[78] Graeme Wynn, "Destruction under the guise of improvement?: The Forest, 1840-1920" in *Making a New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand,* ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2002), 105.

[79] Paul Star and Lynne Lochhead, "Children of the Burnt Bush: New Zealanders and the Indigenous Remnant, 1880-1930," in *Making and New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand,* ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2002); Jim MacAloon, "Resource Frontiers, Environment, and Settler Capitalism 1769-1860," in *Making a New Land: Environmental Histories of New Zealand,* ed. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2002), 66.

population and in California it was due to this and the established ranch system and horticultural patterns established by Spanish missionaries and settlers.[80] Nevertheless further deforestation was pursued vigorously in both spaces. The booming populations of Australasian colonies consumed vast quantities of timber for heating, railway construction and agricultural uses.[81] In California, even many of the extensive forests King mentioned that ran along the lower western foothills of the Sierra's – the once liminal zones between lowland and highland landscapes – were cleared after 1871.[82] Variously, lowlands environments were constructed and extended by settlers and remained in states of flux throughout the entire period of settlement. Waste was transformed into cultivated landscapes and new spaces were designated as wilderness.

Figure 2.14 Carleton Watkins, *Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, Estab. June 13 1798,* circa. 1880, Stereograph Card. Source: California History Section Picture Catalogue – STEREO-0790, STEREO COLLECTION: MISSIONS: SAN LUIS REY: WATKINS, #4613. California State Library.

[80] Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 2012); Farmer, *Trees in Paradise,* 356-357.

[81] Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety,* 136-143.

[82] Farmer, *Trees in Paradise,* xxi, 136-137.

Often, these newly designated spaces of waste were previously settled or developed sites that had fallen into decay. In images like *Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, Estab. June 13 1798* (Figure 2.14) Watkins turned his camera upon the abandoned Spanish missions to articulate the vulnerability of settlement in California. Watkins' series *California Missions* was shot between 1876 and 1883 and fits within a longer history of American fascination with the deteriorating mission structures of Spanish Alta California.[83] The fluid relationship between waste and environmental transformation in the lowlands also appears to have interested Muybridge, who in 1876 published an album that included similar photographs of deteriorated settlements in nearby Central America and Panama. In Guatemala, Muybridge photographed a number of churches being taken over by vines, trees and grasses. *Ruins of a Church, Antigua, Guatemala* is an example of the ways in which Muybridge depicted settled spaces in states of transition. In his image, the church is crumbling under the pressure of the natural world while storm clouds brood overhead.[84] While Muybridge's photographs were taken in Central America and Watkins' series occasionally strayed into highlands environments, they were both nevertheless displayed and sold in the artists' showrooms in San Francisco – indicating a Californian settler familiarity with the precariousness of settlement, the shifting boundaries of waste and the fluidity of lowlands development.

The precariousness of settlement in the Californian lowlands was strikingly apparent in King's appraisal of the town of Visalia in Tulare County. Although it was positioned in the

[83] Michael K. Komanecky, "Jo Mora and the Missions of California," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas,* 91 (2007): 207-217.

[84] Eadweard Muybridge, *Antigua, Ruins of the Church of El Carmen, Destroyed by Earthquake in 1774,* 1875, Albumen Silver Prints from Glass Negatives, 26x40cm. Source: Central America, Illustrated by Muybridge – Flat Folio $BE//M98. Boston Athenaeum Digital Collections: http://cdm.bostonathenaeum.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16057coll10/id/84.

promising Central Valley, doubt nevertheless haunted King's memories.[85] Camping at Visalia in 1864 as an aide on Whitney's survey, King observed that there was "about these fresh ruins, these specimens of modern decay, an air of social decomposition not pleasant to perceive. Freshly built houses, still untinted by time, left in rickety disorder, half-finished windows, gates broken-down or unhinged, and a kind of sullen neglect staring everywhere."[86] According to contemporary United States Census data, population growth in Tulare County had declined by one hundred people in the 1860s. This was an uncommon occurrence in the California of the 1860s, which was in the midst of post-Civil War population boom. While King was in the field between 1864 and 1871 California grew by approximately one hundred and eighty thousand people, which represented a moderation of the mining-related boom that occurred between 1850 and 1860, and was slightly faster than the ten years that followed between 1870 and 1880.[87] This population data suggests that settler growth in California was well-assured but more detailed analysis of the county population shows just how much the population growth in California was limited to certain regions.[88] During the time of King's expeditions counties like Madera and Sierra were not even founded, counties like Mariposa and Shasta had less than five thousand settlers, and even counties that were rich in mineral deposits like Nevada and Placer had fewer than twenty thousand permanent residents.[89]

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[85] King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 11.

[86] King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 18.

[87] Californian population proceeded as follows: 1850: 92,597, 1860: 379994, 1870: 560,247, 1880: 864694, 1890: 1,213,398. California Department of Finance, *1850-2010 Historical US Census Populations of Counties and Incorporated Cities/Towns in California,* (Sacramento: State Data Centre, Demographic Research Unit, 2011).

[88] This population was essentially limited to San Francisco and the closest areas of the Central Valley – essentially the major city of the West and its immediate hinterland.

[89] United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington D.C.: 1975); California Department of Finance, *1850-2010 Historical US Census Populations of Counties and Incorporated Cities/Towns in California.*

Indeed, the emergence of the declensionist spectre of waste alongside the diminished possibility of settlement in Visalia was hardly an isolated case.

In other circumstances degraded environments related to the environmentally damaging processes of settler colonial improvement. Indeed, the interventionist forms of land management that were set out in Chapter One were intimately involved in shifting the boundaries of waste in settler colonies. In New Zealand sand drifts were considered to be a result of the "indiscriminate destruction" of another type of waste – the native forests – and posed a problem of reclamation for settlers like J.C. Crawford and William Keene. [90] These settlers argued for the reconstruction of pastoral space by encouraging the growth of certain grasses in order to fix the unstable soil.[91] Although, in this case Keene was frustrated by the time taken to "alleviate the nuisance" because the process was "extremely slow" and required "constant attention.'[92] Keene's concern with labour and time reveals the fundamental basis of the control or transformation of waste in settler space – that of the flows and possibilities of settlement. That Keene's local environment could change from the waste of the primeval forest, to productive pastoral acres, to the wastes of the shifting sands, and even then retain a possibility of reclamation demonstrates the fluid nature of the concept of waste in the settler imagination.

[90] Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety,* 182.

[91] William Keene, communicated by JC Crawford, "Notes on the Fixing of Sand Hills," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand 1868-1961* 6 (1873).

[92] Keene, communicated by Crawford, "Notes on the Fixing of Sand Hills."

The concept of waste functioned differently in the highlands for the reason that flows of settlement were less reliable than in the lowlands. These unreliable flows helped produce a "plurality of sovereignty" in the highlands.[93] In these isolated highland regions the possibilities of transformation and reclamation were more marginal and the environmental effects of settler practices more obscure. In the western regions of Tasmania the predominant settler agent in the landscape during the late nineteenth century was the Mount Lyell Mining and Railway Company, which extended a railway into the highland regions near Queenstown in order to more effectively service the Mount Lyell copper mine.[94] In November 1896 Beattie gave a presentation to the Royal Society of Tasmania about Queenstown and the Mt Lyell copper mine. He described the area as a "miserable place," where "already trees all around are dead or dying."[95] Indeed, Beattie warned that within just a "few years the highlands of Lyell will be bare desolate wastes."[96] In the image *North Mount Lyell Mine from North* (Figure 2.15), Beattie captured a mountain gully littered with dead and burnt trees and strewn with broken down machinery. On Mount Lyell there was little that settlers could do to reclaim the environment in the style of Keene's pastoral grasslands, and instead Beattie used it as a symbol for the wider disastrous effects of modern industrial overreach within the colonial landscape.

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[93] Zoë Laidlaw, "Breaking Britannia's Bounds? Law, Settlers, and Space in Britain's Imperial Historiography," *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 3, (2012): 829.

[94] Henry Reynolds, *A History of Tasmania* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 196; see also, Geoffrey Blainey, *The Peaks of Lyell* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1954).

[95] John Watt Beattie, Papers, 1859-1930, RS29/5 (1), Royal Society Collection, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Hobart.

[96] Beattie, Papers, 1859-1930, RS29/5 (1).

Figure 2.15 John Watt Beattie, *North Mount Lyell Mine from North,* circa. 1900. Photograph. Source: Photo Album of Views of Early Mount Lyell – NS3289/1/43. Tasmanian Archive and Heritage, Hobart.

Within the settler geographical imagination the concept of waste did not need to be singularly associated with a declensionist recognition of human impact on the natural environment. In King's description of the Sierra Nevada it was the desert country to the east of the range that was most consistently imagined as waste:

> From the Mexican frontier up into Oregon, a strip of actual desert lies under the east slope of the great chain, and stretches eastward sometimes as far as five hundred miles, varied by successions of bare, white ground, effervescing under the hot sun with alkaline salts, plains covered by the low, ashy-hued sage-plant, high, barren, rocky ranges, which are folds of metamorphic rocks, and piled-up lavas of bright red

> or yellow colors; all over-arched by a sky which is at one time of a hot, metallic brilliancy, and again the tenderest of evanescent purple or pearl.[97]

Moving down into the Great Basin, King traversed 'barren spurs' and 'sterile flats' interpolated amidst a collection of 'irregular forests' and 'hills, which ramify in many directions, all losing themselves beneath the tertiary and quarternary beds of the desert.'[98] Descending the eastern edge of the Sierra Nevada, King found himself in a liminal space that defied neat categorisation as waste, and in his phrase "the tenderest of evanescent purple or pearl" he even attributed the Colorado Desert a sliver of settler possibility.

* * *

The geographical imagination of settlers in the American West, the Australian southeast and New Zealand was linked to the possibilities of executing settlement – both real and imagined – over recently claimed territory. At first this might seem a painfully obvious fact to point out, but it had definitive effects on the development of Anglo territoriality in settler colonies. These settlers were engaged in a process of situating "themselves in space" by mapping, recording, photographing and narrating landscapes.[99] Through this process a series of categories emerged: settlers viewed developed and developable lowlands environments as distinct from those highlands environments that were sparsely populated by new settlers, and both lowlands and highlands were considered differently to the coastal environments approached from the land or from the sea. Unlike the lowlands where landscape was divided, cultivated and transformed, the aesthetic of the highlands was that of human absence.

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[97] King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 11.

[98] King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 9.

[99] Schwartz and Ryan, *Picturing Place,* 6.

Befitting their liminal status, human presence was compromised in coastal landscapes where human bodies and activities served to accentuate the natural features of the scene and the isolation of the spaces. Unsettled in both the physical and imaginative senses, spaces that defied or challenged the possibilities of settler control were articulated in all three categories through the spectre of waste. Among the mechanisms that produced this fracture that ran through ideas about lowlands, highlands and coastal environments were the gaps between dispossession and settlement. Most apparent in King's account of Visalia, these gaps fed doubt about settlement, revealed the fragility of the Settler Revolution, and threatened to disrupt the settler geographical imagination.

Considered together in a set of contemporary cultural products, the practices, orientations and processes that constituted the settler geographical imagination coalesced into a particular spatial politics. Although the ideas that photography communicated were always dynamic, the way that photography enabled imaginative proximity and possession nevertheless produced a stable practice of settler colonial power. This spatial politics actually related to the relationships between landscape and a group of people who were both physically and imaginatively *outside the frame*. The key feature of this formation then was absence. Lesley Head has argued that "Aboriginal people, the land, and the past are inextricably linked" in Australian understandings of landscape.[100] Head is concerned mainly with Australia's arid interior but I argue that what she has identified is a settler condition that holds in other Anglo colonies like those in California and New Zealand. This chapter has established the extent to which the settler geographical imagination was shaped by the spatial histories of local

[100] Lesley Head, *Second Nature: The History and Implications of Australia as an Aboriginal Landscape* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 5.

settlement patterns. In the next chapter I will turn to the temporal characteristics of the settler geographical imagination before completing Part I by addressing to the concept of absence through a direct investigation of the politics of race in settler colonial landscape photography in Australia, California and New Zealand

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Chapter III

A 'Clock for Seeing:' Revelation and Rupture in Settler Colonial Landscapes

Yan-o-pah, meaning little cloud to the native Miwok and Paiute people of the Sierra Nevada, is a waterfall on the fringes of the Yosemite Valley in the Sierra Nevada, California. Vernal Falls – as it was renamed in 1851 by Lafayette Bunnell of the Mariposa Battalion – is about two kilometres from the floor of the valley and during spring the sound of the water roaring over the one hundred metre drop overtakes the flow and echoes off Panorama Cliff down toward Sierra Point. Like many of the waterfalls in the Yosemite Valley, the spectacle of Vernal Falls is a result of its geological character as a hanging valley. These formations were carved out by the tributary glaciers attached to the massive body of ice that lay across the valley for much of the past million years. For nineteenth-century Anglo-American settlers encountering the valley for the first time, the hanging valleys that these glaciers produced were some of the most notable and exciting features of the landscape in Yosemite. According to John Muir they produced "probably the most glorious assemblage of waterfalls ever displayed from any one standpoint in the world."[1] These artefacts of glaciation were understandably one of the most heavily photographed sites during the late nineteenth century and many photographers hauled their equipment up the rocks and through the mist to the base and then the top of Vernal Falls.

Among these photographers was Eadweard Muybridge, who in 1872 captured Vernal Falls from a ridge running off Clark Point on what is now part of the John Muir Trail (Figure 3.1).

[1] John Muir, "The Treasures of Yosemite," *The Century Magazine* 40 no. 4 (1890).

Muybridge's shot depicted the falls in typical early summer flow – the curtain of water slackening in places as spring's snowmelt ebbed after months of feeding the Merced. Rebecca Solnit had observed that although landscape photography is clearly concerned with space "its deepest theme is time." According to Solnit, over a number of months in Yosemite "water and rock became Muybridge's principle subjects." Water and rock interested Muybridge because their interaction evoked the "slowing down" of time that occurred when surrounded by nature.[2] While Muybridge was especially concerned with time – the motion studies that he spent most of his life on attest to this – the depiction of time in space was a common characteristic of landscape photography in general. Across the late nineteenth-century settler colonial world, photographers were experimenting with exposure, subject and detail in their apprehension of landscape – and, notably, often at sites of geological controversy.

Figure 3.1 Eadweard Muybridge, *Pi-Wi-Ack (Shower of Stars), Vernal Fall, 400 Feet, Valley of Yosemite,* 1872, Albumen Print 43.18x31.75cm. Source: SFMOMA: https://www.sfmoma.org/artwork/2004.99.

[2] Rebecca Solnit, *River of Shadows: Eadweard Muybridge and the Technological Wild West* (New York: Viking, 2003), 84.

In his reflections on photography the French literary theorist Roland Barthes pointed out that the first cameras were related to the contemporary development of other "machines of precision" – referring implicitly to clockwork.[3] In his analysis of portraiture and documentary photography Barthes extended this point and claimed that "cameras were clocks for seeing."[4] In landscape photography, the relationship between time and subject was reordered to include the extra plane of space. In depicting time in space, artists like Muybridge created more meaningful places by adding depth to scenes absent of any apparent human activity. Photographers in the nineteenth century were especially well positioned to depict time in space because of the necessity of extending or shortening shutter speed to regulate exposure. In this way photographers were capturing seconds or minutes as well as views.

Of equal importance was that these landscape artists were operating in a context defined by the newly established timescales of nineteenth-century stratigraphical geology. Earlier, the revelation of deep time in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had humbled existing human-centred chronologies and alternatively positioned the earth at the heart of history.[5] In the early nineteenth century a cast of European naturalists and thinkers assembled the new science of geology, which, through the study of stratigraphy, approached the features of the earth as a record past changes and provided a revolutionary grammar for the communication of time in space.[6] In this context, landscape photography took on further

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[3] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography,* trans. Richard Howard (London: Vintage, 1993. First published 1981), 15.

[4] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida,* 15.

[5] For a brief overview of the key moments in this drama see, Martin Rudwick, "Geologists' Time: A Brief History," in *The Story of Time* ed. K Lippincott (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), 1-7.

[6] Martin Rudwick, *The Great Devonian Controversy: The Shaping of Scientific Knowledge Among Gentlemanly Specialists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 42-45; see also, N. Jardin, J.A. Secord and E.C. Spray, eds., *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

temporal meaning as a representation of the physical archive of the earth's history. Each photographic image of landscape captured the physical symbols of time in space – hanging valleys linked scenic summer cascades to a freezing past, peaceful valley meadows were also the residue of violent glacial accretion, and dramatic landforms became the simple result the operation of physical laws over vast periods of time.

These examples were enclosed within different sections of the settler temporal imagination and were gradually made sense of in relation to two patterns: in this chapter I rely on the terms 'revelation' and 'rupture' to organise the key ways in which settlers apprehended evidence of geological time in colonial space. In some instances, this inscription of time in space served to distance European observers, scientists and surveyors from the intimacy of settler landscapes. In the historical context of Indigenous dispossession, this distancing takes on the appearance of erasure. The revelation of time in space through the discovery of glacial origins and their linking to sites of striking beauty helped configure a sublime landscape by equating monumentality with age, beauty and scientific significance. On the other hand moments of rupture – felt most literally in the instability of the earth in place like California and New Zealand – provided canvasses on which settlers projected anxieties about the fate of colonial enterprise when it seemed particularly threatened by erratic Settler Revolution economies. Settlers deepened and extended their relationships to place through revelation but in moments of rupture they were alternatively confronted with the doubts and unknowns of new places. While these moments of rupture could arouse the expression of wider vulnerabilities, it is important to note that in the histories of California, New Zealand and Australia these expressions were exactly that – momentary. Overall, the inscription of

geological time in settler space was an instrument allowing deeper European connection to land and a more secure settlement.

Revelation

During the late nineteenth century the Anglo-American settlers of the Pacific Rim developed a reading of landscape that linked the physical features of highland and lowland environments with the effects of long-extinct glaciers. This practice amounted to one of the most effective ways of attaching scientific importance to the various spaces under settler dominion. In California, New Zealand and Tasmania, settler poets, scientists and explorers identified the artefacts of extinct glaciers, traced their impact across highland and lowland environments, and mounted arguments against those insisting on alternative histories of formation. For these settlers, glacial landscapes were where time in space was laid bare, and where they could begin to construct and then maintain a configuration of time, beauty and space that attracted naturalists, geologists, photographers and tourists alike. This construction and maintenance cut across the boundaries between scientific and popular discourse – attesting to the broader importance of these spaces in the settler colonial imagination. Importantly, revelation has had an enduring impact on modern understandings of post-glacial settler landscapes in the ways that they remain sites of science as well as sites of wilderness pilgrimage. Noting this, it is important to situate the origins of this peculiar configuration in the nineteenth-century Anglo settler world.

The revelation of deeper geological timescales in settler California was at the forefront of attempts to explain the formation of the distinctive canyons of the Sierra Nevada and especially the renowned Yosemite Valley. From the mid nineteenth century the question of

the topography of the Yosemite Valley occupied generations of geologists and nature writers.[7] Josiah Whitney, the decorated Harvard geologist and head of the first California Geological Survey, was among the first to weigh in after conducting field-work in the mid 1860s and publishing *The Yosemite Book* in 1869. It is Whitney's description of the Vernal Falls which gives the first clue as to his understanding of the valley's formation. After introducing the reader to the range of Yosemite's wonders as if entering the valley on horseback from the Mariposa Trail, Whitney notes "how little the eroding effect of the river" has "had on the formation of the cañón and fall." Drawing on observations of the "perpendicular surfaces" of El Capitan and Bridal Veil Rock Whitney concluded that "erosion could not have been the agent employed to do any such work." Interestingly, Whitney explicitly rejected theories of glacial formation by arguing that a "more absurd theory was never advanced" based on a comparison to the glacial valleys of the European Alps.[8] Whitney also rejected theories reliant on faults or folds because of the width of the valley and the direction of the faults – conventional faulting or folding had not produced a landscape as dramatic as Yosemite anywhere else in the known world. These observations led him to a theory of catastrophic subsidence.

Whitney's theory was a dynamic and disruptive one. He imagined that "during the process of upheaval of the Sierra" sections of territory had collapsed or slipped as the walls of the valley were driven upwards. This was a logical and rational exposition for Whitney, who suggested

[7] Tracy Salcedo-Chourré, *Historic Yosemite National Park: The Stories Behind one of America's Great Treasures,* (Guilford, Connecticut: Lyon's Press, 2016), 159-162.

[8] Josiah Whitney, *The Yosemite Book: A Description of the Yosemite Valley and the Adjacent Region of the Sierra Nevada, and of the Big Trees of California* (New York: The New York Lithographing, Engraving and Printing Company, 1869), 60, 75-78.

that at some time in the past "the bottom of the valley sank down to an unknown depth, owing to its support being withdrawn from underneath, during some of those convulsive movements which must have attended the upheaval of so extensive and elevated a chain. The evidence he relied on for this were the "lines of 'fault' or fissures crossing each other somewhat nearly at right-angles."[9] Many factors could have accounted for the distinctive landscape of the Yosemite Valley but Whitney landed on an explanation that relied on one pivotal moment. This corresponded with the unique features of the valley in comparison to the European Alps or the rest of the Sierras, but it omitted any precise fixity in time. For Whitney, this subsidence could feasibly have happened at any stage since the beginning of the Tertiary epoch sixty-six million years ago, the time, he noted, when the volcanic deposits that mark the rim of the valley were laid down.

In the theory of catastrophic subsidence the topography of the Yosemite Valley was ambiguously placed in relation to other dominant cultural referents of the sublime. This has echoes in the work of Carleton Watkins, whose early photography framed the ways in which Yosemite was understood as a "sublime site" par excellence.[10] It is fitting then that Whitney's account of the Yosemite was illustrated with photographs taken by Watkins in 1865 and 1866. While the relationship between these two men is unclear, the resonances are telling. Watkins' early photographs offer visualisations of the "vertical walls" and "angular forms" that make Yosemite so distinctive.[11] In the context of Whitney's book images like *El Capitan and Cathedral Rock, View down the Valley* (Figure 3.2) can be read as provocative

[9] Whitney, *The Yosemite Book,* 78-79.

[10] Kevin DeLuca and Ann Demo, "Imagining Nature and Erasing Class and Race: Carleton Watkins, John Muir, and the Construction of Wilderness," *Environmental History* 6, no. 4 (October 2001): 547.

[11] Whitney, *The Yosemite Book,* 78-79.

articulations of Yosemite as a space apart from other monumental landscapes in America and Europe.[12] In the image reproduced in Whitney's book the frame is cropped closer than Watkins' own stereogram and accentuates the open expanse of the sky in between El Capitan and Cathedral Rock.[13] This kind of framing is rare in Watkins' images, which usually evoked a "domesticated sublime" of even pictorialist ratios.[14] While there is a foreground in this photograph its function is diminished by the dominant sky. This unusual cropping attests to the extraordinary topography of the Yosemite Valley and harmonises with the dramatic tone of Whitney's hypothesis.

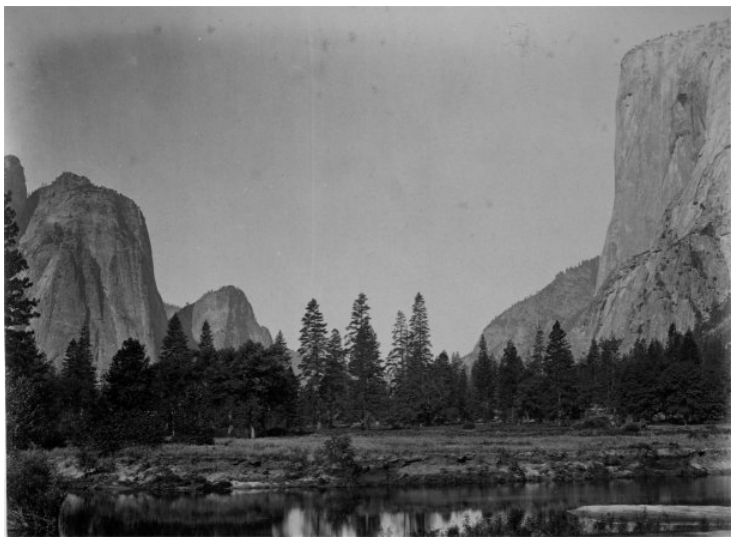

Figure 3.2 Carleton Watkins, *El Capitan and Cathedral Rocks. View Down the Valley,* 1865-1866, in *The Yosemite Book: A Description of the Yosemite Valley and the Adjacent Region of the Sierra Nevada, and of the Big Trees of California* (New York: The New York Lithographing, Engraving and Printing. Company, 1869), colour plate 4.

[12] For an account of how Western scenery was considered in relation to European and other North American scenery see, Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience,* 4th ed. (Plymouth: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2010).

[13] For the differing stereogram see, Carleton Watkins, *El Capitan and Cathedral Rocks. View Down the Valley. Yosemite Valley, Mariposa Co, Cal.,* Stereogram, BANC PIC 1965.027:04--STER, Stereographic Views from the Eugene Compton Collection by Carleton E. Watkins, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

[14] Kevin Michael DeLuca and Anne Teresa Demo, "Imaging Nature: Watkins, Yosemite and the Birth of Environmentalism," *Critical Studies in Media Communications* 17 no. 3 (September 2000): 548.

Opposing, and eventually displacing Whitney's hypothesis was a theory relying on the necessarily gradual processes of glacial erosion. Muir took up this argument in his first published article for the *New York Tribune* in 1871. Like Whitney, Muir conducted his fieldwork in Yosemite throughout the 1860s but unlike Whitney he concluded that "the great valley itself, together with all its domes and walls, was brought forth and fashioned by a grand combination of glaciers, acting in certain directions against granite of peculiar physical structure."[15] Whitney's protégé, Clarence King, who had conceded that much of the evidence of glaciation had been worked away by "the attrition of sands," reached the same position as Muir by at least 1871 when he published *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada.*[16] Where Whitney saw only the valley floor, King observed a monumental moraine that filled the entire Yosemite Valley with "varying rubbish of angular boulders," "slopes of glacier-worn granite," and crucially, "sienitic granite from the summit of Mount Hoffman."[17] The glacial theory of the formation of the Yosemite Valley became the favoured explanation in the 1930s when the United State Geological Survey returned to the Sierras and settled the debate with updated scientific techniques.[18] The glacial theory remains the accepted explanation for the striking features of the Yosemite Valley today, which abounds in informational place-markers detailing the extent of the Sherwin Glacier. However, the eventual triumph of the hypothesis of glacial formation in the 1930s obscures some of the nuanced differences and the broad underlying consistencies that the two approaches shared.

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[15] John Muir, "Yosemite Glaciers," *New York Tribune* (December 5, 1871).

[16] Clarence King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada* (Boston: James Osgood and Company, 1871), p. 70.

[17] Whitney made an argument against glacial formation that pointed out the lack of moraines below the valley, which assumed that the Valley floor was in a similar position during glaciation as it was in the 1860s. In fact the Valley Floor *is* the collection of moraines that formed and accumulated like a dam behind another ridge at the terminal end of the glacier. Whitney, *The Yosemite Book,* 78-79; King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 70.

[18] Salcedo-Chourré, *Historic Yosemite National Park,* 159-162.

There are many potential reasons why the viewpoints of Whitney and King diverged in the 1860s. The most obvious difference was generational – Whitney was born in 1819 and King was born over twenty years later in 1842. Whitney encountered the Yosemite Valley in the 1860s in his appointment as the State Geologist for California and may not have been able to escape the idea of Yosemite's idiosyncrasy because of the thrill of encounter. This was at a very early point in its history as a site of Anglo-American pilgrimage. By the time King was tasked with surveying the boundaries of the area in 1864 Yosemite was well entrenched in the national and regional consciousness, not to mention its wider geographical context in the Sierra Nevada. Whitney and King understood the Yosemite Valley in relation to different geographical scales. Indeed it is instructive to note that while both surveyors had much to say about the origins of the Yosemite Valley, Whitney's book was focused singularly on the Yosemite Valley, and King's on the Sierra Nevada as a whole. Despite the differences between the two hypotheses, both theories were attempts to answer an historical question about geological change. In doing so Whitney and King were reading time in place – albeit in different ways. This perspective frames the geological disagreement about the formation of the Yosemite Valley as an appendage that serviced the spatial politics of settler colonial territoriality by cultivating a deeper knowledge of place.

Whitney's catastrophic event and King's gradual process both occurred in the distant past, and evidence for this was sought in the rocks and soils of the valley. This was a revelation of inordinate time in space. King even read the valley as an archive: "to-day their burnished pathways are legibly traced with the history of the past. Every ice-stream is represented by a feeble river, every great glacier cascade by a torrent of white foam dashing itself down

rugged walls, or spouting from the brinks of upright cliffs."[19] Characteristically, Muir was even more poetic in evoking the metaphor of a worn book. In his 1871 article "Yosemite Glaciers" he claimed that the valley was a "great open book" whose pages had been "blotted and storm-beaten," "stained and torn," but were still readable in their proclamation "in splendid characters the glorious actions of their departed ice."[20] Interestingly, Muir's literary flourish and King's antiquarian nostalgia both disguise the fact that neither of them could come close to placing the formation of the Yosemite Valley in geological time. Whitney fared only slightly better by noting the Tertiary character of the Sierra Nevada.[21] In contrast, modern assessments of glaciation in Yosemite hold that most of the major features date from the last glacial maximum – the Tioga – about twenty-one thousand years ago.[22] Whitney, King and Muir all accepted the equation of monumental scenery (however it came to be) and ancient timescales that enhanced the topography of settler landscapes.

The enhancement of the setter landscape of the Yosemite Valley was conveyed in visual terms through contemporary photography, as well as through the reports and reminiscences published by the official surveyors. These elements were intricately entangled in 1872 (the year of Muybridge's excursion in the valley), which in Rebecca Solnit's account was a year of "glacial fever," when "artists and scientists saw themselves as alike in their mission of understanding nature."[23] No doubt Muybridge identified with the theory of glacial formation:

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[19] King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* 73.

[20] Muir, "Yosemite Glaciers."

[21] Josiah Whitney, *The Yosemite Book,* 1869, 76-77.

[22] N. King Huber, *The Geologic Story of Yosemite National Park: A Comprehensive Geologic View of the Natural Processes that have Created – and are Still Creating – the Stunning Terrain we Know as Yosemite* (Washington D.C., United States Government Printing Office: 1987), 45-52.

[23] Solnit, *River of Shadows,* 95.

he gave one photograph the title *Glacier Channels, Valley of the Yosemite* (Figure 3.3) and declared in one of his Yosemite catalogues that "at no very remote period a vast area of these mountains was covered with glaciers on the grandest scale."[24] However, Muybridge only took a passing interest in the Yosemite landscape – in contrast to King's enduring passion. This indicates that Solnit's glacial feverhad a different kind of hold on the photographer.[25] For Muybridge the revelation of a glacial landscape may have been one way to differentiate his photographs from the existing Yosemite albums that abounded in the 1870s. The determined assertiveness of Muybridge's introductory text enhanced the geological relevance of his 1872 series but it also lent the clichéd monumentality of the Yosemite Valley the pathos of time. In his second and final Yosemite series, Muybridge had 'revealed' the nature of time in Yosemite and done his share in deepening the settler connection to landscape.

Figure 3.3 Eadweard Muybridge, *Glacier Channels. Valley of the Yosemite. From Panorama Rock, No. 41,* Photograph. Source: California Heritage Collection – BANC PIC 1962.019:41—ffALB. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[24] Eadweard Muybridge quoted in Solnit, *River of Shadows,* 96.

[25] Solnit, *River of Shadows,* 95.

Glacial fever had a rather different set of symptoms in late nineteenth-century New Zealand. Not only was New Zealand's South Island unmistakably marked by glacial action, but the rivers of ice were in clear view and not disguised in the clefts of mountain peaks as they were in the Sierras. In settler New Zealand, the revelation of deeper geological timescales in the late nineteenth century had less to do with solving the historical puzzle of monumental scenery and more to do with extending the effects of glacial action into more prosaic topographies. The pivotal scientific figure in New Zealand's period of glacial fever was Julius von Haast: a German-born geologist who emigrated from Frankfurt in 1858 and duly explored and mapped much of the provinces of Nelson, Canterbury and Westland during the 1860s.[26] In 1879, Haast published his *Geology of the Provinces of Canterbury and Westland, New Zealand,* which presented an assessment of the "Physical Geography and Geology of the Southern Alps." By this stage von Haast had been the Director of the Canterbury Museum for about a decade and the report was composed from his field journals, previous publications and recollections of the "grand features of the Southern Alps."[27] Importantly, von Haast also weighed in on a number of objections surrounding his views on glacial action and the physical geography of the Canterbury Plains.

The Canterbury Plains are an area of low relief to the south of Christchurch, with gravelly soil and a number of braided rivers. During the late nineteenth century geologists debated how the area was formed, with some scientists claiming that the plains were created from an

[26] Peter Maling, "Haast, Johann Franz Julius von," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1990-. Updated October 2017): https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h1/haast-johann-franz-julius-von; see also, Heinrich Ferdinand von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast* (Wellington: 1948).

[27] Julius von Haast, *Geology of the Provinces of Canterbury and Westland, New Zealand: A Report Comprising the Results of Official Explorations* (Christchurch: Printed at the 'Times' Office, 1879), i-iii, iv.

uplifted sea bed and others who identified glacial origins in the region's alluvial gravels. Von Haast surmised that the "whole of the plains were formed by the deposits of huge rivers issuing from the frontal end of gigantic glaciers." He identified "the morainic matter" of "shingle, gravel, sand and glacier mud" that rivers like the Ashburton, Rakaia and Rangitata distributed in great fans across the plains and traced the different depths of these river channels to the varying sizes of the glacier valleys that they issued from. In contrast to the scientific contention surrounding the formation of the Yosemite Valley across the Pacific Ocean in California, geological debates about the formation of the Canterbury Plains frustrated any attempt to locate geological processes in ancient time periods. Von Haast acknowledged this by pointing out that "no exact boundary can be drawn between the Great Glacier, and the Quarternary" period that runs until the present.[28] Nevertheless von Haast was reading time in landscape, just like Whitney, King and Muir were. His Canterbury Plains could not be the result of a dramatic uplift event as others insisted, but of gradual and ongoing glacial erosion.

In New Zealand, the lowlands of the South Island were the main site of the puzzle of glacial action – any observer could note the presence and force of glaciers in the highlands. However, this did not mean that the glacial landscapes of the highlands and the fjords of the southwest escaped attention. During the late nineteenth century a number of glaciers were captured by photographers associated with the Burton Brothers studio in Dunedin.[29] During the 1880s and 1890s sites like the Franz Joseph Glacier (Figure 3.4) and the Tasman Glacier

[28] Haast, *Geology of the Provinces of Canterbury and Westland, New Zealand,* 396-397, 398-401, 407.

[29] Christine Whybrew, "'Reading Photographs': Burton Brothers and the Photographic Narrative," *The Journal of New Zealand Studies* 12 (2011): 77-89.

(Figure 3.5) became sites of photographic interest that served as a sublime landscape counterpart to the cultivated pastoral arcadia of Pākehā colonial mythology.[30] Indeed, just like mountainous landscapes across the settler world, New Zealand's Alps were compared to the monumental scenery of Europe as an assertion of settler identity.[31] Of course, the European Alps serve as von Haast's 'true north' when explaining the meteorological and topographical features of the Southern Alps.[32] Just as the "colonising crusaders" of the mid nineteenth century had promoted settlement by favourably comparing life in New Zealand with other the Anglo-colonies and the conditions of the metropole, scientists like Haast reinforced settler territoriality in the highlands of the South Island by way of integrating them with well-known European landscapes like the Alps.[33] While von Haast's revelation in the

Figure 3.4 Burton Brothers Studio, *Francis Joseph Glacier,* 1870s, Wet Collodion Negative, black-and-white Negative. Source: Photography Collection. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/20118.

[30] James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders, From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2001), 278-312

[31] Alfred Runte, *Scenic Nationalism,* 1-10.

[32] Haast, *Geology of the Provinces of Canterbury and Westland, New Zealand,* 196-199.

[33] Belich, *Making Peoples*, 278-312

lowlands stemmed from piecing together the puzzle of the Canterbury Plains, in the highlands his revelation took on broader political significance as an assertion of settler space.

Figure 3.5 George Moodie (Burton Brothers), *Mount De La Beche from the Tasman Glacier,* 1893, Gelatin Silver Print on black-and-what Photograph, 28x21cm. Source: Photography Collection. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/182647.

The articulation of monumental scenery and settler territoriality was reinforced by travelling photographers like Alfred Burton who promoted isolated parts of New Zealand through their writing and photography. In late 1889 Burton published a syndicated series of articles in the *Otago Daily Times* that detailed his winter expedition to the lakes of Te Anau and Manapouri.[34] The lakes of Te Anau and Manapouri are of course, essentially inland fjords –

[34] Burton's trip was published in three parts: Alfred Burton, "Wintering on Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri," *Otago Daily Times,* no. 8605, 21 September 1889, Supplement, http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18890921.2.39; Alfred Burton, "Wintering on Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri," *Otago Daily Times,* no. 8611, 28 September 1889, Supplement, http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18890928.2.51; and Alfred Burton, "Wintering on Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri," *Otago Daily Times,* no. 8617, 5 October 1889, Supplement, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18891005.2.47.

formations that share a common origin with Yosemite's hanging valleys. Burton's series, titled *Wintering on Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri: A Photographers Diary,* explored and orientated a reader in this landscape. Burton adhered to the conventions of late nineteenth-century travel writing, which functioned to bring unfamiliar colonial environments within the knowledge system of literate European settlers. Travel writing attempted to balance the "paired bourgeois forms of authority" – science and art – that drove the construction of European colonial belonging.[35] And while Burton professed a "horror" of "dropping into the 'guide book' style," he nevertheless included conventional geographical description alongside his more evocative narration. Burton's cursory "geography lesson" left out any mention of the formation of the South Island's lake landscape in favour of simple details about the "giant" mountains and praise of "charming islets" of the lakes and fjords.[36] For Burton, time was laid bare in the glacial landscape of the southern lakes in ways that complemented von Haast's conspicuous geological revelation. If Auckland had reminded Lady Diamantina Bowen of ancient Corinth, argued Burton, then the scenes of the southern fjords would be indescribable for even the classical lyric poets.[37] Although these efforts at imbuing colonial landscapes with the gravitas of time lacked the detailed geological rationales of von Haast, they were nevertheless grasping at the same fundamental argument – that places of monumental scenic beauty were necessarily ancient.

In New Zealand, as in California, grand scenic beauty was found in the glacial landscapes formed during the last glacial maximum. Here, the literary and photographic engagement

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[35] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation,* 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 4.

[36] Burton, "Wintering on Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri," 21 September 1889.

[37] Burton, "Wintering on Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri," 21 September 1889.

with this landscape eschewed much of the scientific impulse of glacial fever in the Yosemite Valley. Scenic value was impressed onto the negatives of the many photographs that Burton took of the glacial valleys surrounding Mount Mackenzie – a "most important feature of the landscape" and "photographic favourite" of the touring party.[38] Burton's artistic representations neglected the rich geological stimulus apparent in the South Island. One photograph, *Mount Mackenzie – Clinton River – Head of Lake Te Anau* clearly displayed a similar "morainic accumulations" of shingle that Haast identified in the "remarkably glacialised" landscape of Canterbury and the Burton Brothers captured in *Francis Joseph Glacier* (Figure 3.4).[39] In other images Burton produced his own version of the reflective photography of Watkins and Muybridge in Yosemite. Lake Hankinson was nominated by Burton as one of the "points of greatest beauty" around Te Anau and his photograph *Lake Hankinson, North West Arm, Middle Fjord, Lake Te Anau* (Figure 3.6) displays a pleasing harmony of water and rock.[40] It is worth noting though that this harmony was made possible by glacial formation: Lake Hankinson is situated in between two glacial moraines which shelter its waters from the open Middle Fjord and the higher Lake Thompson. This created the conditions for the mirror-like surface that reflected the high mountains on either side and so attracted photographers like Burton who framed the view as scenic and imbued it with a peaceful tranquility.

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[38] Burton, "Wintering on Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri," 28 September 1889.

[39] Alfred Burton (Burton Brothers), *Mount Mackenzie – Clinton River – Head of Lake Te Anau,* 1889, black-and-white Print. Source: Photography Collections. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/195195; Haast, *Geology of the Provinces of Canterbury and Westland, New Zealand,* 1878, pp. 213-214

[40] Burton, "Wintering on Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri," 28 September 1889.

Figure 3.6 Alfred Burton (Burton Brothers), *Lake Hankinson, North West Arm, Middle Fjord, Lake Te Anau,* 1889, Albumen Print, 14x19cm. Source: Photography Collection. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/651049.

Figure 3.7 John W. Beattie, *Mount Olympus Lake St Clair from Narcissus River*, 1890s Source: Private Album.

Across the Tasman Sea John Watt Beattie was exploiting the same conditions to compose strikingly similar photographs of the Tasmanian Highlands. Beattie's photograph of Mount Olympus reflected in the waters of Lake St Clair (Figure 3.7) was taken in the mid 1890s and is based on the same compositional principles of reflection, balance and contrast as Burton's Middle Fjord image. While Burton most likely knew that the fjords of southern New Zealand had a glacial origin because of the presence of contemporary glaciers down the spine of the Southern Alps, Beattie had no such point of reference in Tasmania. As a wilderness photographer, though, he was similarly active in constructing a romantic view of the sites shaped by glacial action in much the same way as his colleagues were in New Zealand and California. While Beattie was a photographer working across the categories of lowlands, highlands and coastal natures he has become best known for shaping the 'accepted visual image of Tasmania' – that of the "wildly romantic aspects of the island's beauty."[41] In terms of geographical distribution these romantic aspects were disproportionately found towards the central and western parts of Tasmania, which during the last glacial maximum were covered by a sixty-five square kilometre ice cap. That is to say that despite Beattie's ignorance of the impact of glacial geology in Tasmania, his views relied on it as much as Burton's did in Tasmania and Muybridge's did in California.

Beattie may have been ignorant but settler scientists in Tasmania were in the midst of their own glacial revelation. A nascent understanding of glacial geology in Tasmania was emerging at the time that Beattie was conducting his expeditions into the inland of the island.

[41] Michael Roe, "Beattie, John Watt," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979): http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/beattie-john-watt-5171/text8687; see also, Jack Cato, *The Story of the Camera in Australia* (Melbourne: 1955).

Indeed, the mountain range just west of where Beattie took his photograph of Mount Olympus is the Tyndall Range, named after the mid nineteenth-century scientist, alpinist, and glacial theorist John Tyndall, whose name also adorns the tenth highest peak in California and glaciers in Colorado and Chile. In the 1890s the Tyndalls became a focus of scientific attention in Tasmania when Thomas Bather Moore – a Tasmanian explorer and prospector – suggested in a paper given to the Royal Society of Tasmania that they were formed by glacial processes.[42] By this stage Beattie was Fellow of the society, which played a critical role in establishing a "framework that tied local and immediate experience to the Anglo and European worlds."[43] Glaciation in the Tyndall Range is a neat symbol for this, binding as it did Tasmanian nature to an Irish alpine scientist, a peak in settler California, and a process first studied in the European Alps and then 'discovered' across the Anglo-settler world.

As I have set out, the discovery of the glacial history of the Tasmanian Highlands happened at a comparatively late juncture in the history of glacial fever in the Anglo settler colonies of the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it is a representative example of the ways that settler territoriality was extended through the linkage of time, beauty and place in the isolated regions of California, New Zealand and Tasmania. In these spaces a settler revelation of geological time was linked to the appeal of remote alpine areas that shared a common history in the last glacial maximum – this equation was understood in relation to the aesthetic and

[42] Ian McShane, "T.B. Moore: A Bushman of Learning," (PhD diss., University of Tasmania, 1982); see also, Ian McShane, "Moore, Thomas Bather," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986): http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/moore-thomas-bather-7642/text13361.

[43] Thomas R. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 98.

scientific values established by British scientists and artists in European fieldwork.[44] Photography reinforced this formation by enabling wider publics to view sites of revelation they otherwise may never have been able to access. Some photographers – Burton and Beattie especially – assisted in this revelation by publishing extensive travel narratives that buttressed the equation of time and beauty in settler space. In other circumstances, nature writers like Muir wrote capably of this revelation and the poetics of time in space.

This all goes to show that while these landscapes were conventionally scenic because of their geography – the glacial origins of their formation – their beauty was also stridently maintained. The scenic sites of the settler world were imbued with significance through the professional practices of geology, amateur articulations with antiquity, and poetic appraisals of beauty. These practices registered in place names, scientific endeavours, debates and publications, photographic reproduction and literary pilgrimage. Drawing together a wide range of individuals and practices, the obsession with glacial environments clearly escaped the boundaries of scientific debate and seeped into the register of settler colonial politics. Despite Whitney's confusion that Muir had challenged his thesis in Yosemite, it was the resonance of glacially formed environments that made sense of a "mere sheepherder" confronting the Wests preeminent geologist.[45] This mixing of scientific and popular discourse relating to landscape had a comparative dimension. Indeed, Solnit's Californian glacial fever

[44] Martin Rudwick, "Travel, Travel, Travel: Geological Fieldwork in the 1830s," in *The New Science of Geology* ed. Martin Rudwick (Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004).

[45] Whitney quoted in Mary Hill, *Geology of the Sierra Nevada: Revised Edition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 348.

turned out to be a symptom of a wider settler revelation of time in space that broke out on opposite sides of the Pacific Ocean during the late nineteenth century.

Rupture

If revelation is enduring, then rupture was temporary. The second part of this chapter contrasts the gradual construction of settler territoriality through the revelation of geological time in space with the temporary rupture of this configuration in moments of terrestrial instability. Whitney himself understood shifts in the cluster of faults underneath the Sierra Nevada as disruptive events that temporarily revealed "dormant" and "subterranean" features of the landscape.[46] These shifts were apprehended as ruptures in the 'settled' landscape of the California. Whenever these clusters of faults moved in California or in similarly 'shaky' New Zealand an earthy equivalent of glacial fever emerged. Settlers in Australia too had their own instabilities to worry about. Cameron Muir has charted how, at the turn of the twentieth century the challenges of soil erosion resisted linear explanations and therefore neat solutions. The extended timescales of Australian dry periods and the complicated histories of land-use that shaped the problem of soil erosion meant that settlers struggled with their disappearing soils and shifting geographies.[47] These concerns were certainly matched in other colonial contexts, but this section is concerned with ruptures induced by seismic instability and therefore focuses on the geological contexts of California and New Zealand.

In these contexts settler reactions to rupture punctuated the bouts of glacial fever that drive geologists and photographers into the remote regions of the Sierra Nevada of the Southern

[46] Whitney, *The Yosemite Book,* 1869, 29.

[47] Cameron Muir, *The Broken Promise of Agricultural Progress: An Environmental History* (London: Routledge, 2014), 109-139; erosion also played on the minds of settlers in New Zealand and imperial agents in South Asia. For an overview of these dimensions see, James Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety: Health, Science, Art and Conservation in South Asia and Australasia, 1800-1920* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Alps. These reactions were of course of a different temerity – where glaciers sliced through landscapes leaving grand voids, earthquakes cleaved, shifted, and broke landscapes. Instead of revealing giant cross sections of the physical archive of the earth like glaciers did, earthquakes threatened to confuse the geological archive of rocks that had been so painstakingly constructed. In this way rupture threatened settlement at certain times and in certain places by revealing the vulnerability of settler knowledge systems as they applied to landscape. Rupture then, is reminiscent of the problematic of waste explored in Chapter Two. It raised its head according to the intersections of environmental change and the settler economy. Indeed, like the problematic of waste, moments of rupture were eventually resolved – broken landscapes were resettled, images of damage became popular reminders of settler tenacity, and new knowledge was worked into the corpus of European science. Nevertheless, these moments of rupture gesture at alternative trajectories that were altogether more troubling in their original historical contexts.

Californian geologists and naturalists had prodigious opportunities to study earthquakes and their geographical effects. Over the course of the half-century leading up to 1906 there were three earthquakes in California that had a magnitude over seven on the Richter scale.[48] These were the 1857 Fort Tejon earthquake, the 1872 Owen's Valley earthquake, and of course the famous 1906 San Francisco earthquake. By about the 1890s settlers in California had deduced the existence of the San Andreas Fault and the precarious positioning of Californian settlement along a series of interlocking fault lines.[49] The 1872 Owen's Valley earthquake,

[48] Most geologists accept that an earthquake with a magnitude of over 7.0 is considered a major event.

[49] John McPhee, *Assembling California* (New York: Strauss and Giroux, 2010); see also, John McPhee, *Annals of the Former World* (New York: Strauss and Giroux, 1998), 435.

which levelled the mining town of Lone Pine, was a pivotal event in this process. The Owen's Valley earthquake was significant in that it was the second major Californian earthquake within two decades, but it was also important because the proximity of the epicenter to Lone Pine provided an early opportunity to observe and record the effects of rupture in a settled landscape.

The Owens Valley runs north to south for about one hundred kilometres through the heart of the Sierra Nevada between Death Valley in the east and the San Joaquin Valley on the western side. The Owens Valley is the westernmost graben (a sunken area of land between two faults) of the desolate Basin and Range Province named by the eastern geologist Grove Karl Gilbert and surveyed by King in the late 1860s. While the Basin and Range Province – King's "barren spurs" and "sterile flats"[50] – was formed from uplift and extension about twenty million years ago, the geological changes that led to the 1872 quake began about ten million years ago.[51] At this stage a block of crust between the coastal range and the interior tilted to the west as a long-term consequence of the Nevadan Orogeny that has gradually built the Sierra Nevada since the Late Jurassic Period. About one hundred and fifty-six million years after these physical mechanisms began to work, at two thirty in the morning of the 26th of March, 1872 the faults around the Owens Valley corridor gave way and a major geological and seismic rupture shook the state of California.[52]

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[50] King *Mountaineering the Sierra Nevada,*

[51] King *Mountaineering the Sierra Nevada,* 9; A.S. Janko, "Miocene-Pliocene Uplift Rates of the Sierra Nevada, California." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Geological Society of America, Portland, OR, 18-21 October 2009.

[52] Susan E. Hough, "Keeping the History in Historical Seismology: The 1872 Owens Valley, California Earthquake," *AIP Conference Proceedings* 1020 (2008): 294.

Two hundred kilometers north of the Owen's Valley in Yosemite, the quake woke Muir from his sleep in a cabin underneath Sentinel Rock. The Owens Valley quake occurred less than six months after Muir published his rebuttal of Whitney's theory of the formation of the Yosemite Valley, and while it initially seemed impossible to Muir that "the high cliffs should escape being shattered," he had nevertheless again rejected the theory of "cataclysmic origin" by sunrise. The next morning Muir joked with fellow travelers at Hutchings' Hotel that Whitney's "wild tumble-down-and-engulfment hypothesis might soon be proved" and that "the domes and battlements of the walls might at any moment go roaring down" into a "mysterious abyss."[53] Aside from the initial doubt and fear of Muir – a temporary rupture – the only effect of the Owens Valley earthquake in Yosemite was the continued accrual of scree at the bottom of the valley walls. Lone Pine however was the site of more meaningful disruption.

Needing to pass through the Owens Valley in his work for the Geological Survey, Whitney made arrangements to inspect the area around Lone Pine and Independence in May 1872. Although he never published an official analysis of the Owens Valley earthquake, he did give an account in *Overland Monthly* – a Californian literary magazine that also counted Muir and King among its contributors. Upon arriving in the valley on the 21st of May, Whitney drily noted that seismic events were still taking place. Indeed, "there were usually several during each twenty-four hours."[54] At Lone Pine – where every house in the town had been "entirely

[53] John Muir, *Our National Parks* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1901), 181-201.
[54] Josiah Whitney, "The Owen's Valley Earthquake, Part I," *Overland Monthly* 9, no. 2 (August 1872): 134.

demolished" – the party found themselves "in the midst of a scene of ruin and disaster."[55] All up the valley the geological effects of the earthquake were manifest in the "fissures in the soil or rocks; alterations of level in different parts of the valley" and "changes in the water-courses."[56] Twenty-three people were found dead among the ruins and four others succumbed to their injuries within a few days, livestock were set loose and found dead, and almost all adobe houses in the valley were seriously affected.[57] In the Owens Valley Whitney encountered a landscape marked by the social and physical effects of rupture.

Interestingly, Whitney did not relate the Owens Valley event to his theory of the formation of the Yosemite Valley – despite the publication of Muir's rebuttal only months before. Instead Whitney placed the 1872 earthquake within a global context. Whitney sought to explicate an "earthquake cycle" over the winter and spring of 1872 and cited "a season of extraordinary seismic disturbance" with events in "North America, Iceland, Europe, Africa, Asia, the Japanese, the Philippine, and the East India Islands, as well as Australia."[58] In the first part of his article Whitney had argued for the distinctiveness of the geology of the Owens Valley,[59] but in the second these local factors escaped his concern in favour of placing the Californian experience of instability in a global context. The global hypothesis of the "earthquake cycle" linked the Californian highlands with other peopled landscapes across the world. Whitney was careful to note that his list would be "extended considerably, as detailed news reaches us

[55] Whitney, "The Owen's Valley Earthquake, Part I," 135.

[56] Whitney, "The Owen's Valley Earthquake, Part I," 136.

[57] Whitney, "The Owen's Valley Earthquake, Part I,"135-40.

[58] Josiah Whitney, "The Owen's Valley Earthquake, Part II," *Overland Monthly* 9, no. 3 (September 1872): 271-272.

[59] Whitney, "The Owen's Valley Earthquake, Part II," 130-140.

from the far-off regions of the earth,"[60] thereby inferring that California was situated more toward the centre than the periphery. For Whitney, it was not just California that was in a "rather unstable condition of equilibrium."[61] Indeed the whole world seemed to be changing due to the earthquake cycle of 1872. His reading of the Owens Valley earthquake and his understanding of seismology was riven with the concept of disruption.

Just as Whitney's earthquake cycle was composed of a series of lithospheric and geological relationships that had certain effects in California's Sierra Nevada, so too was the continued growth of settler colonies like California disrupting existing global geo-political relationships. Notably, in May 1872 California was in between the 1869 correction brought on by transcontinental rail and the Panic of the 1873 bank runs.[62] Socially and culturally, "the whole world seemed to be in motion" in 1872, and San Francisco and California were manifestations of this exciting disruption.[63] Linking these social and cultural contexts to Whitney's account of the Owens Valley earthquake was its publication in a Californian literary magazine founded and edited by a group of booster-poets. *Overland Monthly* went through a series of iterations over the course of the late nineteenth century but it was always primarily "an exponent of the literature of the Pacific coast."[64] Publication in a periodical like *Overland Monthly* casts "The Owens Valley Earthquake" in a literary hue. While Whitney's chief objective in part two of his article on the Owens Valley earthquake was undoubtedly to

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[60] Whitney, "The Owen's Valley Earthquake, Part II," 272.

[61] Whitney, "The Owen's Valley Earthquake, Part II," 276.

[62] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). 317.

[63] Solnit, *River of Shadows,* 72, 27-39.

[64] "Overland Reminiscences," *The Overland Monthly* 1, no. 1 (January 1883).

mount an argument about seismology, his emplotment of it in the 1872 "earthquake cycle" might also be read as a metaphor for settler California's confident geo-political position in 1872.

However, not all contributors to *Overland Monthly* fitted into this category, and not many of them displayed the same equivocal scientific eye as Whitney did when writing about the Owens Valley earthquake. Writing after the earlier 1868 Hayward earthquake, Leland Stanford's personal physician, co-publisher of *The Horse in Motion* and forty-niner, Jacob Stillman diagnosed California as "*earthquake country*" and warned settlers that "in vain we invoke philosophy to our aid" because "the earthquake is a matter of fact after which philosophy gropes in obscurity."[65] It is hard to escape the impression that Stillman was anticipating the bust of 1869 when he alleged that willful settler ignorance of the geological history of the Bay Area was motivated by a "fear that the prospect of damage will check the rise in real estate, and that the credit of the State will suffer." He continued that while few geologists and planners were exploring the landscape's unstable intricacies, most settlers had been "speculating in stocks, trading jack-knives, or growing rich by the advance in water-lots."[66] This concern over instability, reified in Stillman's obsession with both material and economic ruin, also surfaced in Muybridge's Yosemite photography.

[65] J.D.B. Stillman, "Concerning the Late Earthquake," *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* 1, no. 5 (November 1868): 474.

[66] Stillman, "Concerning the Late Earthquake," 475.

In his Yosemite high country photography, Muybridge tapped into this concern with rupture by cultivating what I called in Chapter Two a sense of the vertiginous sublime. This is perhaps no surprise given that at this time, Muybridge was another of Stanford's favourites and worked (somewhat uneasily) with Stillman when producing the photographs for *The Horse in Motion.*[67] In Muybridge's landscape photography, the sense of the vertiginous sublime extends beyond *Yosemite Creek, Summit of Falls at Low Water* and into images like *Contemplation Rock, Glacier Point* (Figure 3.8). This image featured Muybridge himself perched on an outcrop high above the valley floor. The cracks in the ledge appear as dark scars in the granite and Muybridge's posture peering over his feet into the abyss invites an empathetic response of vertigo in the viewer. Solnit has read in images like these a "disorientation'" that indicates for her that Muybridge had little interest in "the inexorable march of progress in the wilderness."[68] In the context set out above, Muybridge's high country photography might also be read as disruptive and destabilising – articulating concerns about the unstable foundations of California's economic vigour. Of course, there was no single economic trajectory in settler California – only competing trends that in aggregate approximated James Belich's cyclical pattern of boom and bust. Depending on their positioning vis a vis these competing trends, individuals came up with different narratives of the possibility of settlement in California. And in terms of positioning, it appears that Muybridge was closer to Stillman than Whitney.

[67] Solnit, *River of Shadows,* 203.

[68] Solnit, *River of Shadows,* 86-87.

Figure 3.8 Eadweard Muybridge, *Contemplation Rock, Glacier Point,* 1872, Stereograph Card. Source: California Historical Society.

Like California, the continental landmass of New Zealand is located astride an active plate boundary – although, in the case of New Zealand the character of the boundary is that of subduction rather than the grinding transform boundary of the San Andreas Fault. Despite these underlying tectonic differences, the settler understanding of rupture in New Zealand would have been familiar to a nineteenth-century Californian. From the very beginning of settlement, Pākehā settlers heard stories from Māori about the god Rūaumoko who shook the land and ignited volcanoes.[69] Indeed, Wellington's reputation for geological instability earned the young colony the now-tired epithet, the 'shaky isles' amongst Britons across the Empire.[70] Between the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and the turn of the twentieth century there were six earthquakes with magnitudes above seven on the Richter scale. The most significant

[69] Bruce MacFadgen, *Hostile Shores: Catastrophic Events in Prehistoric New Zealand and their Impact on Maori Coastal Communities* (Auckland University press: Auckland, 2007).

[70] Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety,* p. 57.

of these were the 1848 Marlborough earthquake, the 1855 Wairarapa earthquake (the largest in the history of European settlement in New Zealand), and the 1888 North Canterbury earthquake.[71] Of these the Wairarapa and North Canterbury earthquakes were the most important – the Wairarapa event was the largest in the history of European settlement in New Zealand and the North Canterbury earthquake damaged buildings in the provincial center of Christchurch at an important time in the development of the South Island.

The Wairarapa earthquake occurred on the 23rd of January 1855 as a result of movement along the Wairarapa Fault that underlies the Rimutaka Range just east of Wellington. During the main shock (which lasted for about fifty seconds) an area of land the size of Trinidad was lifted up and tilted west towards Australia.[72] The Wairarapa earthquake had the largest effect on the city of Wellington – the first official settlement of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's New Zealand Company.[73] Indeed, on the date of the earthquake the city of Wellington was nearing the end of a two-day holiday marking fifteen years since the first European settlers stepped ashore at Petone on the other side of Wellington Harbour.[74] Contemporary accounts confirm that there was little damage to the town of Wellington but noticeable changes to the landscape. In the *New Zealander* Captain Byron Drury of the surveying ship HMS Pandora

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[71] Eric Pawson, '"Environmental Hazards and Natural Disasters," *New Zealand Geographer* 67 (2011): 143-147; Rodney Grapes, *Magnitude Eight Plus: New Zealand's Biggest Earthquake* (Victoria University Press: Wellington, 2000); Rodney Grapes, *The Visitation: The Earthquakes of 1848 and the Destruction of Wellington* (Victoria University Press: Wellington, 2011).

[72] Gaye L. Downes, "The 1855 January 23 M8+ Wairarapa Earthquake – What Contemporary Accounts Tell Us About It," *The 1855 Wairarapa Earthquake Symposium Proceedings* ed. John Townsend, Rob Langridge, and Andrew Jones (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2005), 1-10.

[73] André Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier: The Creation and Demise of New Zealand's Provinces, 1853-76* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016), 25-26

[74] Downes, "The 1855 January 23 M8+ Wairarapa Earthquake – What Contemporary Accounts Tell Us About It," 1.

reported that no changes had "been made in Lambton Harbour beyond the elevation of the land to the extent of two feet." This according to Drury was a "matter of congratulation to the inhabitants that they have gained or can easily redeem a large tract of building ground."[75] Wellington's Basin Reserve was initially transformed from a lake into a swamp as a result of the rupture along the Wairarapa Fault and was further reclaimed during the 1860s.

This optimism was tempered by settler reactions to changes in the landscape in the highlands above the Wairarapa Fault. Although damage to the built environment was concentrated on the "lower ground" this was most likely due to the distribution of population in these areas in 1855. While the effect to the landscape was nonchalantly dismissed around Wellington, changes along the Rimutaka range "where the shocks were very severe" and "whose flanks, from the summits" were "chequered with land slips," functioned as threatening alternatives in Drury's account.[76] These admissions appear to be uncommon in contemporary reports (especially those sent back to London). A syndicated article from the *Wellington Independent* from May 1855 suggested that a visitor "would not know there had been on, so rapidly have all its effects been effaced." Establishing the stakes of terrestrial stability, the article went on to promote cheap agricultural settlement, the financial health of the colony and the efficient chain migration arrangements of the newly adopted "Loan System."[77] By way of contrast an early report of the earthquake in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of the 12th of March linked the 1855 event with the Marlborough Earthquake of 1848 and set the conditions of the Shaky

[75] Byron Drury, "Wellington," letter to the editor of the *Wellington Spectator,* 24 February, 1855, republished by the *New Zealander* 11, no. 930, 14 March 1855: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZ18550314.2.11.

[76] Drury, "Wellington," 14 March 1855.

[77] "The State of the Province of Wellington," *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* 24, 9 June 1855: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NENZC18550609.2.9.

Isles against the "seeming stability of the present surface of New South Wales."[78] These three reports mobilised the Wairarapa earthquake in varying ways in order to disguise or exaggerate the effect of rupture on settlement around Wellington.

In the context of European science, the most important mobilisation of the Wairarapa earthquake was at the hands of Charles Lyell, who immediately realised that this rupture had important implications for the ideas he initially put forward in his influential *Principles of Geology*. Rodney Grapes and Gaye Downes have argued that the 1855 earthquake "provided Lyell with the first unequivocal evidence" of the "relationship between earthquakes and fault rupture" and that the same event buttressed the "Uniformitarian principle that geological features" were the "cumulative sum of small… incremental changes."[79] In a lecture on the earthquake to the Royal Institution of Great Britain (usually a venue for applied science) Lyell stressed the vast extent of the geological disruption of the Wairarapa earthquake and the positioning of the altered landscape vis a vis "the junction of the newer and older rocks constituting a line of fault, running north and south." For Lyell, the information he received about the Wairarapa earthquake built on Charles Darwin's observations of coastal uplift and subsidence in Chile in 1835 – notes that contributed to Darwin's receipt of the Geological Society of London's Wollaston Medal in 1859. The 1855 event however was even better: "yielding to no other in magnitude of its geological and geographical importance." It was "impossible not to be led into geological reflections on the effects of the recent earthquake."[80]

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[78] "The Earthquake in New Zealand, of 23rd January 1855," *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 12 March 1855, 3: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page1503206.

[79] Rodney H. Grapes and Gaye L. Downes, "Charles Lyell and the great 1855 earthquake in New Zealand: First Recognition of Active Fault Tectonics," *Journal of the Geological Society* 167 (2010): 35.

[80] Charles Lyell, "On the Successive Changes of the Temple of Serapis," *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* 2 (1856): 207-214.

For Lyell the Wairarapa earthquake represented a genuine rupture with previous ways of understanding geological change. It further buttressed the Uniformitarian model of gradual (if not gentle change) that must have provided intellectual succour for those settler agents trying to disguise the threat of shifting ground in a fledgling colony.

The threat of rupture was posed again in 1888 when another major earthquake struck one of New Zealand's burgeoning settlements on the 1st of September. The North Canterbury Earthquake was the result of movement along the Hope Fault in the foothills of the Southern Alps and came after more than three weeks of foreshocks. The North Canterbury earthquake had its most noticeable effect on the landscape in the rural areas abutting the Hanmer Plain, which was, of course, one of the South Island's gravelly expanses that had been a site of glacial revelation for Haast just a decade earlier.[81] Another geologist, the self-taught Alexander McKay, conducted an inspection of the area around the Hope Fault in the aftermath of the North Canterbury Earthquake. At Glynn Wye station near Hanmer Springs McKay noted the rupture that occurred in the landscape on the 1st of September: "the recently formed fractures are on the face and brow of the high terrace, and a little to the west on the upper flat itself, where over nearly a quarter of a mile, the whole surface is a network of fractures, fissures, slips, and dislocations."[82] The fences on the station allowed McKay to measure horizontal movement, which was at the time a controversial subject among geologists and seismologists.[83] According to the report published on the 7th of November,

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[81] Haast, *Geology of the Provinces of Canterbury and Westland, New Zealand,* 396-401.

[82] "The Late Earthquakes: Mr McKay's Report," *Press* 45 no. 7198, 8 November 1888: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP18881108.2.46.

[83] Rodney Grapes, "Alexander McKay and the Discovery of Lateral Displacement on Faults in New Zealand," *Centaurus: An International Journal of the History of Science and its Cultural Aspects* 48 no. 4 (October 2006): 298-313.

some fence lines in apparently undisturbed ground were shifted "five feet out of the true line" and other lines closer to fissures were "thrown to the east a distance of eight feet and six inches."[84] Though the strength of the earthquake was somewhat mitigated one hundred kilometres further south in Christchurch, settlers responded to rupture with more worry than those in Wellington in 1855.

This difference can be partly explained by the stage at which New Zealand had reached in the cycle of the Settler Revolution. By 1888 the optimism that tinged accounts of rupture in Wellington had turned to doubt. Throughout the 'black' 1880s New Zealand had suffered through a series of financial crises that amounted to a "great bust."[85] These economic conditions provided a lens of doubt through which settlers understood their interactions with landscape. Furthermore, the 1888 North Canterbury earthquake was the major seismic event after the conclusion of the New Zealand Wars, which were a persistent feature of settler colonial life between 1845 and 1872. In a way that the residents of Wellington could only have imagined in 1855, native Cantabrians in 1888 would have been familiar with the whole trajectory of this conflict. Belich has argued that in registering this reality of "Maori resistance" settlers found "evidence that the civilising mission had failed, or even that it had always been doomed to fail."[86] As these realisations set in amidst the economic trouble of the 1880s, the expressions of melancholy that peppered the press in Christchurch in the wake of

[84] "The Late Earthquakes: Mr McKay's Report," 8 November 1888.

[85] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 364.

[86] James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986), 328.

the earthquake may be read as further ruptures in the confidence of the settler project in New Zealand.

In Christchurch in 1888 the interaction between settlers and place was a threatening one. On the 3rd of September the *Timaru Herald* published a collection of reports that described houses creaking and rocking "like vessels at sea." Though it appears that no one was seriously injured, the earthquake damaged important municipal landmarks in the centre of town.[87] Newspapers like the *Lyttleton Times* published melodramatic descriptions of the damage to Christchurch Cathedral, which lost the top six metres of its spire: "The spire of the Cathedral has come to grief. Its tapering, graceful outline… no longer cuts the sky. Twenty-six feet of the upper spire have given way, and the melancholy appearance of the wreck strikes every eye."[88] The wreck of the cathedral also became subject to photographic attention. The Burton Brothers captured the damage in *Christchurch Cathedral, injured by earthquake, September 1888* (Figure 3.9), which appears to have been taken on the day of the event. Imagery of the damaged spire proliferated in the aftermath of the earthquake and these simple black and white or hand-coloured images often depicted milling crowds in the same fashion as the Burton Brothers. In the absence of large-scale damage or massive landscape change, the collapse of the spire took on symbolic meaning for the settlers of Canterbury.

[87] "The Earthquake: Christchurch Cathedral Spire Seriously Damaged," *Timaru Herald* 48, no. 4327, 3 September 1888: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/THD18880903.2.22

[88] "A Severe Earthquake," The *Star* no. 6332, September 1, 1888; "The Earthquakes," The *Lyttelton Times* 70 no. 8579, September 5, 1888.

Figure 3.9 Burton Brothers Studio, *Christchurch Cathedral, Injured by Earthquake, September 1, 1888,* 1888, black-and-white Gelatin Glass Negative. Source: Photography Collection. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/19983.

Although the melancholy sentiment expressed in the *Lyttleton Times* appears to have been mitigated as the image of the fallen spire was transformed into a symbol of settler tenacity, this was necessarily a repair – imbued as much with the rupture of the event as the optimism of new beginnings. Over the course of the late nineteenth century California and New Zealand were the sites of a series of major terrestrial disturbances that were interpreted in varying ways by local settlers. These variances were produced by the patterns of the Settler Revolution. In times of expansion optimistic settlers like Muir found inspiring sublimity in

the rupture that earthquakes induced. Distant metropolitan scientists like Lyell delighted in events like the Wairarapa earthquake of 1855, and so did settlers in Wellington, who were able to reclaim land as a result of geological shifts. In times of more vulnerable economic conditions authors like Stillman read earthquakes as a threat that property speculators in the Bay should be more mindful of. Muybridge expressed this in his own way during the photographic rush in Yosemite in the summer of 1872 when produced a whole sub-genre of landscape photography that relied on instability and disruption. Later in the century, after a series of economic shocks had repeatedly rocked the Anglo settler world and after New Zealand's own black decade, Cantabrians could not bring themselves to respond to the 1888 earthquake with the same optimism as their kin in Wellington in 1855. Even though it was temporary, rupture played an important role in revealing the vulnerabilities of settlement. Indeed, it seems that Whitney's subterranean features extended far beyond the mountain chain of the Sierra Nevada – rupture revealed them in stranger settler contexts across the Pacific.

* * *

In the second half of the nineteenth century the revelations of geological time and the ruptures of seismic disturbance profoundly shaped settler landscapes on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. The accumulation of settler territoriality through – and in the face of – these processes was inscribed onto landscapes and reified in photography. Geological time figured prominently in these inscriptions: in addition to the multiple landforms named after John Tyndall during the nineteenth century, mountains and towns were also adorned with Charles Lyell's name. The ties between settler colonial territoriality and the revelation of geological time were realised in these naming practices that continue to mark landscapes in Tasmania's highlands, New Zealand's South Island and in California's Yosemite National Park. Settler

photographers could not help but participate in the extension of geological time in the monumental and prosaic landscapes that geologists were combing for evidence of deep time. They were witnesses to and participants in the construction of the settler temporal imagination – an accrual of awareness that took place simultaneously with the formation of the settler geographical imagination.

In these ways settler territoriality became both spatialised and temporalised according to the patterns and rhythms of the Settler Revolution and local interactions with Indigenous people and the environments that they inhabited. While in many locales the forces of the Settler Revolution appeared to be an irresistible force, there were moments in which ruptures revealed the vulnerabilities of settlement – just as the spectre of waste haunted projections of settlement in certain geographies. In some cases accounts of rupture hinted at the anxieties of economic ruin and in others Indigenous resistance may have haunted settlers but as Chapter One demonstrated, these dynamics were necessarily co-constitutive. When outlined in a way that remains attentive to both the economic and Indigenous contexts the settler temporal imagination appears to rely as heavily on the spatial contingencies and histories of settlement as it did on the temporal revelations effected by geologists and naturalists. The settler vision of nature was ancient as well as remote. Importantly, visions of nature were also empty, and the next chapter examines how landscape photography managed the presence of Indigenous people on the frayed edges of the settler geographical and temporal imaginations.

Chapter IV

Tanga Whaka-ahua or, the Man who makes the Likenesses: Managing Indigenous Presence in 'Empty' Landscapes

In 1887 Chief Horonuku Te Heuheu Tukino of the Ng*ā*ti Tūwharetoa handed over a parcel of land including the peaks of Tongariro, Ngauruhoe, and Ruapehu to the British crown under the condition that the area be dedicated as a National Park for New Zealand. Situated in the King Country in the geographical centre of the North Island, the scenic area was finally protected in legislation in 1894, when the government of the day passed the *Tongariro National Park Act.*[1] In 1885, just before the decisive Native Land Court judgement that would leave Chief Horonuku no option but to 'gift' the land to the Crown, the South Island photographer-explorer Alfred Burton made a trip into the King Country to document the landscape and peoples of the remote interior. Burton's trip became famous for the striking ethnographic portraits of Māori life that he produced, but he also captured some of the first photographs of the highland scenery that was preserved with great fanfare in 1894.[2] Burton's impressions of the volcanic plateau are placed almost precisely at the midpoint of the photographic album composed during the trip and published later in 1885, *The Maori at Home.*[3] While this positioning may be explained by the chronology of the trip, the emplotment of these vacant landscapes at the heart of an album otherwise full of the faces and homes of the King Country natives demands further explanation.

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[1] Tongariro National Park Act of 1894, General Assembly of New Zealand, 58 VICT, no. 55 (1894): 472-474.

[2] After a number of hearings "the Tongariro National Park Bill was committed and finally passed" in October 1894. "General Assembly," *Otago Daily Times* no. 10181, 16 October 1894: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18941016.2.21

[3] Alfred Burton, *The Maori at Home: A Catalogue of a Series of Photographs, Illustrative of the Scenery and of Native Life in the Centre of the North Island of New Zealand. Also, Through the King Country with the Camera: A Photographer's Diary. This will Serve in Some Measure as Descriptive Text for the Photographs* (Dunedin: Burton Brothers, 1885).

The Maori at Home was an artefact of a settler vision of nature in New Zealand that simultaneously documented Indigenous cultures through ethno-photography while laying claim to territory by depicting a disembodied landscape. These twin practices, though, were rarely exercised in the same image. Burton appeared to capture the inhabitants of the villages and settlements along the river valleys of the King Country to construct a rendition of Indigeneity that embellished settler culture. But in some images taken on the expedition their presence was ignored. It is as if at the very moment that a monumental landscape was delivered to him to 'capture,' Burton drew the cloth around the rear of his wet plate camera, opened the aperture, and smoothly enacted the imperatives of settlement by rendering the landscape as an empty wasteland to be claimed. In doing this, Burton – and settler photographers like him – avoided the embarrassment that Indigenous presence by managing depictions of landscapes on the margins of settlement. Patrick Wolfe has noted that "the role that colonialism has assigned to Indigenous people is to disappear" and in places like the King Country, which was no wasteland, settler writers and photographers had to do extra work in the service of this imperative.[4] In these ways Indigenous presence structured settler visions of nature.[5] When Indigenous presence was managed efficiently in these texts visions of nature embellished the settler order, but when Indigenous presence was mismanaged, alternative territorialities could embarrass settler projections of control.

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[4] Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016), 2; rather than a wasteland, the King Country was until the early 1880s an aggressively and proudly independent kingdom. It was a crucial theatre in the New Zealand Wars and along with war in the Waikato it profoundly shaped the national history of Aotearoa New Zealand, Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato, 1800-2000* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016).

[5] This notion draws on Patrick Wolfe's assertion that, "the logic of elimination marks a return whereby the Native repressed continues to structure settler-colonial society." Wolfe, *Traces of History,* 33.

These tensions manifested in various ways in the liminal spaces of the central North Island of New Zealand. The incorporation of the King Country and the highlands around the Tongariro National Park into a settler polity is a prime example of how, according to Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds, "wilderness was violently, legislatively and spatially produced before it could be preserved."[6] While composing *The Maori at Home* in the late nineteenth century, Burton was ostensibly emphasising the native presence in this space through ethno-photography, even as he was naturalising another form of native absence central to the colonial project in New Zealand. He did this through his photographs and through a contemporaneous series of report that were published and syndicated in New Zealand's newspapers and periodicals. The dynamic relationship between presence and absence that emerged in *The Maori at Home* and *Through the King Country with the Camera: A Photographer's Diary*, was shaped in a colonial context defined by the fresh memory of the New Zealand Wars – which had triggered anxiety about the possibilities of settlement in New Zealand.[7] However, these patterns were not just redolent in the photography of Burton. They helped organise Anglo visions of Indigenous people and landscape across the late nineteenth-century settler world. In order to apprehend these patterns, this chapter traverses visions of nature and Indigeneity in the King Country, the Yosemite Valley, Victoria's Gippsland, and the Tasmanian Highlands.

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[6] Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds, "Introduction: Making Space in Settler Colonies," in *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity,* eds. Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 7; Tracey Banivanua Mar, "Carving Wilderness: Queensland's National Parks and the unsettling of Empty Lands, 1890-1910," in *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity,* eds. Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 73-94.

[7] James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986).

Photographers in these spaces articulated a vision of landscape that featured an imposed Indigenous disembodiment. This process, whereby the visual presence of Indigenous bodies was resisted in landscape photography, was the key visual practice through which settler nature became possible and reproducible as a genre in its own right. The settler obsession with land necessitated its presentation as empty and available, which in turn put pressure on the depiction of certain types of bodies in landscapes. Indigenous people bore the brunt of this pressure in the ways that their existence in areas of both sparse and healthy settlement was continually and surreptitiously obscured. Photographers like Eadweard Muybridge certainly took photographs of Native Americans places like the Yosemite Valley – many of these were collected in his 1872 album *The Indians of California* – however such people were seldom pictured in the landscape. If they were, certain features mitigated against their presence and made exceptions to the rule of Indigenous disembodiment. Even considering these exceptions, settler presence in the landscape was framed in much more apparent and confident ways. Muybridge himself featured prominently in images like *Contemplation Rock, Glacier Point* (Figure 3.8), in which he appears lost in a Romantic reverie that underlines the acceptable communion of settler and nature.[8] Indigenous disembodiment was also crucial for settler photographers in southeastern Australia. In Victoria, Caire began his career photographing Indigenous people at the Lake Tyers Mission, but was mostly known for his profoundly disembodied images of picturesque highland wilderness.[9] In Tasmania, John Watt Beattie's images of Tasmanian Aboriginals on the Cape Barren Island Reserve and at Oyster Cove were divided from the rest of his work, with advertisements for the pictures of

[8] Eadweard Muybridge, *Contemplation Rock, Glacier Point,* 1872, Stereograph Card. Source: California Historical Society.

[9] Jane Lydon, "Photography, Authenticity and Victoria's *Aborigines Protection Act* (1886)," in *Settler Colonial Governance in Nineteenth-Century Victoria,* eds. Leigh Boucher and Lynette Russell (Canberra: ANU Press, 2015), 151.

Indigenous people featuring on the back covers of his landscape collections.[10] This division of Native and nature was a prevailing feature of settler colonial landscape photography.

To be sure, settler landscape photographers and their audiences categorised their work on the basis of formal difference, subject and aesthetics, and to some extent this is the point. Categorisation did certain kinds of cultural work in late nineteenth-century settler colonies. Specifically, the trope of disembodied landscape articulated with the ethnographic portrait in ways that reinforced Indigenous dispossession. Wolfe has explained how his "logic of elimination" was not simply enacted through frontier violence but was (and is) replayed in the wake of colonial contact according to a multi-faceted cultural script.[11] In the terms of Banivanua Mar and Edmonds, settler landscape photography was a "managed discourse" that featured "various constructions of emptiness."[12] In the texts under consideration here, settler colonial photography worked to manage the embarrassment caused by Indigenous alternatives to sole settler territoriality. This visual mechanism was active in the myriad iterations of Indigenous presence and absence that photographers like Burton, Muybridge, Caire and Beattie produced in the late nineteenth century.

At one time or another in their careers these settler photographers were all known for their skill in representing landscapes. Despite this they were all nevertheless drawn to Indigenous

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[10] John Watt Beattie, *Album of Tasmanian Views,* call No. 986/B, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

[11] Wolfe, *Traces of History,* 5; for an introduction to the role that notions of governmentality played in the management of Indigenous people in nineteenth century Victoria see, Leigh Boucher and Lynette Russell, "Introduction: Colonial History, Postcolonial Theory and the 'Aboriginal Problem' in Colonial Victoria," in *Settler Colonial Governance in Nineteenth-Century Victoria,* eds. Leigh Boucher and Lynette Russell (Canberra: ANU Press, 2015), 16-22.

[12] Banivanua Mar and Edmonds, "Introduction: Making Space in Settler Colonies," 7.

subjects under certain circumstances. What these circumstances were, and how they intersected with various spatial and racial contexts, are central problems for this chapter and this thesis. Like their colleagues in New Zealand and California, Caire and Beattie were drawn to places like Lake Tyers and Cape Barren Island, where they photographed Indigenous people who were already disassociated from their lands. Contrastingly, artists like Burton and Muybridge captured their Indigenous subjects in spaces more defined by what Zoë Laidlaw has called a "plurality in sovereignty" that reflected unstable configurations of spatial and personal power.[13] No matter the particular stage of settlement, though, these photographers subjected Indigenous people to a kind of ethnographic framing that accentuated difference and disguised connections to territory. It was this rendering of Indigenous presence that enabled the composition of a disembodied landscape in the photography of New Zealand, California and Australia. This configuration is a prime example of what Leigh Boucher and Lynnette Russell have identified as the "volatile discursive and psychic position" of Indigenous people within "the settler imaginary."[14] In settler colonial visions of nature this volatility "haunted the dreams" of landscape photographers and their audiences.[15] As a result the 'empty' natures of settler colonialism were always shaped by the very presence of those who they denied.

The previous two chapters have shown that when Anglo settlers inhabited space it was understood as deeply temporalised, and when they imagined time, it was deeply spatialised. The settler colonial appropriation of landscape, then, was a grand spatio-temporal drama that

[13] Zoë Laidlaw, "Breaking Britannia's Bounds? Law, Settlers, and Space in Britain's Imperial Historiography," *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 3 (2012): 829.

[14] Boucher and Russell, *Settler Colonial Governance in Nineteenth Century Victoria*, 17: "Because settlers came to stay, Indigenous peoples had to be incorporated within settler regimes of sovereignty."

[15] Bernard Smith, *The Spectre of Truganini,* (Sydney: ABC Boyer Lectures, 1980), 17

drove the movement of European peoples across reappearing frontiers and induced new versions of territoriality.[16] While the previous chapters have introduced the foundations of this process, the following confronts head-on the racial implications of the spatio-temporal transformations of settler colonialism. The investigation into the settler practices of management that follows is inspired by Lisa Ford's suggestion that the very presence of Indigenous people is a "logical anomaly in settler polities – an embarrassment to the sovereign settler state."[17] When Indigeneity was divorced from landscape it could embellish settlement, but when Indigeneity and landscape were conflated, this embellishment could quickly turn embarrassing. It was from these circumstances that the division between Indigenous bodies and the settler landscape came to be under constant management in late nineteenth-century California, southeast Australia and New Zealand.

The potentially embarrassing resistance of Indigenous peoples in settler polities was limited by the discipline of ethno-photography. This type of photography emphasised a particular type of presence and left the territorial setting of the photograph as an extra-textual trace – recoverable through the relationships between photograph, album and context. However, in times of heightened violence and conflict over landscape, Indigenous agency sometimes challenged the limits of ethno-photography as a mechanism of management. In these times the recognition of violent contexts unsettled the divisions between portraiture and landscape, and forced settler photographers to devise new ways of depicting territory that was at once inhabited by Indigenous people and idealised by settlers as available. The enduring response

[16] The term "spatio-temporal" is borrowed from Ross Gibson's appraisal of William Dawes' ambition, the motor of which was, 'time and space' while Dawes' research into Eora language was also spatio-temporal.' Ross Gibson, *26 Views of the Starburst World: William Dawes at Sydney Cove, 1788-91* (Perth: UWA Press, 2012), 79.

[17] Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010): 60.

to this embarrassment was the development of the trope of disembodied landscape within wilderness photography. It turned settler embarrassment into an embellishment of the settler economy by reversing the politics of ethno-photography and making Indigenous presence (rather than territory) extra-textual. Although by 1885, when America, Australia and New Zealand had all founded their first National Parks, this mode of wilderness photography was clearly ascendant, it was by no means inevitable. Indeed, at the level of the album or the series, particular photographs regularly oscillated between presence, absence and the middle ground in between. The eventual endurance of absence instead marked a reset in the conditions of settlement in particular geographies.

Presence in portraiture: The Indigenous subject in ethno-photography

During the late nineteenth century, Indigenous presence in the work of settler colonial landscape photographers was predominantly limited by the adoption of an ethnographic frame. According to the scholar Elizabeth Edwards, photographs "gave concrete form" to "anthropological representation" in the ways that they constituted the trace of ethnographic fieldwork.[18] The presence of Indigenous people in the work of settler photographers like Burton, Muybridge and Caire especially show how Indigenous populations were incorporated into imperial regimes according to certain cultural scripts – in these cases those dictated by the tenets of evolutionary science.[19] The reification of this discipline in photography was vulnerable to certain forms of Indigenous resistance, however, and Indigenous people developed various strategies for exerting agency under the ethno-photographic gaze. The full

[18] Elizabeth Edwards, "Anthropology and Photography: A Long History of Knowledge and Affect," *Photographies* 8, no. 3 (2015): 240-243.

[19] Lydon, "Photography, Authenticity and Victoria's *Aborigines Protection Act* (1886)," 139-140; see also Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 2004).

range of ethno-photographic representations and Indigenous strategies was displayed in Burton's photographic and textual engagement with the King Country.

Burton's incursion into the King Country began at Upokongaro about five kilometres inland from Whanganui on the South Taranaki Bight. From there, the New Zealand photographer joined a survey party headed by John Rochfort. The party of eight "stalwart" Māori and six Pākehā set off "pulling, paddling and poling" up the Whanganui River.[20] The river is a central element in Burton's two texts and it provides both scenic backdrop and narrative structure. Art historian Christine Whybrew likens the use of the Whanganui River to the tropes invoked in such contemporary literature as Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) and of course Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899).[21] In newspaper articles promoting his photographs and prose, Burton's centre of the North Island was a place that had been one of the dark places of the earth. For New Zealanders, the King Country was a scene of murder and conflict – a "*terra incognita*" shrouded in mystery and danger.[22] Although this sense was tempered by the Pauline names of some of the lowland settlements – Jerusalem, Corinth, Galatia – any familiarity had dissipated by the time the party reached "the very centre of Maoridom" in the highlands. Descending from the highlands through Te Kuiti and Kihikihi, Burton became relieved to see the "three-railed fences," "ploughed fields" and "farms" that signified lowlands settlement.[23] Burton's incursion into the King Country took on a particular pattern marked by the names of the settlements he passed, the experiences of

[20] Alfred Burton, *Through the King Country with the Camera – A Photographers Diary* (Dunedin: Printed at the 'Daily Times' Office, High and Dowling Streets, 1885), 8.

[21] Christine Whybrew, 2010 "The Burton Brothers Studio: Commerce in Photography and the Marketing of New Zealand, 1866-1898," PhD diss., (University of Otago, 2010), 212.

[22] "The Camera in the King Country," *Otago Daily Times* no. 7277, 13 June 1885: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18850613.2.15.

[23] Burton, *Through the King Country with the Camera,* 9, 18, 22.

isolation within a territory defined by its difference, and his return to the settled environs of the Waikato.

Figure 4.1 Edward Payton, "Photographs in the King Country. 'Shooting' a Native; An Anxious Moment," Wood Engraving 63 x 97mm, in *Illustrated London News* 91, 3 September 1887, 275. Source: National Library of New Zealand - Reference Number: PUBL-0033-1887-275-1: http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/detail/?id=25983.

Billed as an illustration of "the scenery" and "native life in the centre of the north island of New Zealand," Burton's photographic narrative exemplifies the dual vision applied to Indigenous people and the lands that they continued to inhabit in late nineteenth-century settler societies.[24] The billing of *The Maori at Home* explicitly echoed a number of other ethnographic travel narratives of the 1880s, among them James Henry Kerry-Nicholls' 1884

[24] Burton, *The Maori at Home.*

The King Country; Or Explorations in New Zealand.[25] Whybrew has argued that these accounts placed a "considerable emphasis on the social and political conditions of the Maori population," as well as the "purely scientific" objectives of exploration and surveying.[26] While it is clear that the success of Burton's trip hinged upon the assistance of the surveyor and engineer John Rochfort, *The Maori at Home* was primarily an expression of the settler fantasy of the Indigenous encounter.[27] A series of engravings published in the popular *London Illustrated News in* 1887 by Burton's companion on the trip Edward Payton made light of the native encounter with the cyclopean traveller (Figure 4.1).[28] In it Burton is hidden under the focusing cloth with a Māori man in traditional attire posing in front of him – the other Māori in the scene recoils from the exchange taking place. Although Burton was no anthropologist, his works expressed a contemporary fascination with the ethnographic encounter that was driving and had driven similar incursions into Indigenous territory across the late nineteenth-century colonial world.

The portraits of Māori that Burton captured in the King Country wound a population on the fringes of settlement in New Zealand more tightly into a settler polity. This photographic incorporation was an operative process in settler peripheries across a late nineteenth-century Anglo imperium.[29] Indeed, the ways in which a "Western society defined and managed Indigenous people through a widely circulated and effective visual language" have been

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[25] J. H. Kerry-Nicholls, *The King Country; or, Explorations in New Zealand: A Narrative of 600 miles of Travel through Maoriland* (1884; repr., Christchurch: Capper Press, 1974).

[26] Whybrew, "The Burton Brothers Studio," 196.

[27] Burton, *Through the King Country with the Camera,* 7-10.

[28] Edward Payton, "Photographs in the King Country. 'Shooting' a Native; An Anxious Moment," Wood Engraving 63 x 97mm, in *Illustrated London News* 91, 3 September 1887, 275.

[29] Manu Vimalassery, Juliana Hu Pegues and Alyosha Goldstein, "Introduction: On Colonial Unknowing," *Theory & Event* 19, no. 4 (2016).

thoroughly examined by scholars in various settings around the Pacific Rim.[30] However, Whybrew understands Burton as apart from this context and argues that unlike many of his contemporaries in the American West and the Australian Southeast, Burton foregrounded his Māori subjects "as individual agents rather than exemplifiers of their ethnicity."[31] While this may be the case in some instances, Burton was hardly a conduit for settler colonial dissent – in *Through the King Country* he consistently neglected the Indigenous labour that propelled him upstream. The "pulling, paddling and poling" that Burton mentioned early in his report was predominantly work done by the Māori members of the expedition, who were cursorily inventoried in comparison to the introductions afforded that Rochfort or Edward Payton.[32] In this light, reading an "individuation of human subjects" and "affinity with Indigenous people" into Burton's photography in the King Country, as Whybrew suggests, jars with the prevailing cultures of management that guided the settler colonial framing of Indigenous subjects according to historians of settler photography like Jane Lydon.[33] In contradiction to Whybrew, close analysis of Burton's portraits indicates that they fit neatly within the contemporary culture of ethnographic data collection.

The way that Burton made the Māori of the King Country visible was built, rather, upon settler strategies of surveillance and control. Borrowing from the visual historian Martin Jay,

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[30] Jane Lydon, *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 2; in addition to Lydon's work in Victoria and other part of Australia, this visual language has been examined in the southwestern United States in, James Faris, *Navajo and Photography: A Critical History of the Representation of an American People* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), in northern California in Rebecca Solnit, *River of Shadows: Eadweard Muybridge and the Technological Wild West* (New York: Viking, 2003), and in New Zealand in, Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolfe, eds., *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011).

[31] Whybrew, "The Burton Brothers Studio," 210

[32] Burton, *Through the King Country with the Camera,* 8.

[33] Whybrew, "The Burton Brothers Studio," 211; Lydon, "Photography, Authenticity and Victoria's *Aborigines Protection Act* (1886)," 139-140.

Lydon has suggested that these strategies produced an "objectifying mode of perception" that "constitutes an inherent feature of modern 'scopic regimes.'"[34] Images like *Topine Te Mamaku – (100 Years Old) – Tawhata – King Country* (Figure 4.2) were engineered to provide a managed sense of Indigenous presence. These photographs were "privileged sites for communicating a feeling of cultural immersion" that, while negotiated, was nevertheless "asymmetrical."[35] Importantly it was Chief Topine staring into the device, his difference marked by the extraordinary age inscribed in text on the photograph and his covering in a blanket – an object of clothing that Burton lamented "must soon give place to shirt and pants all over the country" in his published diary.[36] Other images like *Te Hauhau – At Te Kuiti – King Country* also indulged in the inscription of cultural difference. In this case Burton captured a grizzled Māori man wrapped in another blanket holding a ceremonial tao (spear) and standing in front of an elaborately carved whare. [37] Portraits like these proliferate in *The Maori at Home* and they are one "of the most obvious aspects of colonial New Zealand photography."[38] Urgently inscribed with markers of difference, these images constituted a settler rendering of Indigeneity as a relic to be observed though the asymmetrical lens of the ethno-photographers camera.

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[34] Lydon, *Eye Contact,* 2; see also, Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[35] Edwards, "Anthropology and Photography," 241.

[36] Burton, *Through the King Country with the Camera,* 22.

[37] Alfred Burton (Burton Brothers), *Te Hauhau – at Te Kuiti – King Country,* 1885, Albumen Print, 19.6x14.3cm. Source: Courtesy of the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.

[38] Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolfe, "Introduction: Photography, Materiality and History," in *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays,* eds. Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolfe (Otago University Press, 2011), 13.

Figure 4.2 Alfred Burton (Burton Brothers), *Topine Te Mamaku – (100 Years Old) – Tawhata – King Country,* 1885, Albumen Print, 19.7x14.3cm. Source: PAColl-3055. Burton Brothers (Collection) – Reference Number: PA7-05-07. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

These photographic conventions developed along similar lines in comparable late nineteenth-century settler contexts in Australia and the United States. A decade before Burton's trip into the King Country, another ethno-photographer, the German-born Fred Kruger developed a number of photographs illustrative of the "theme of savagery" at the Coranderrk Aboriginal Station in 1875.[39] This theme was taken up contemporaneously by Nicholas Caire, who published a series of images of Indigenous Australians at the Lake Tyers Mission in Gippsland in 1886 as part of his album *Gippsland Scenery, Victoria, ca. 1886*.[40] Lake Tyers was a favourite subject of Caire's and in addition to images like *Native Bark Canoes* and

[39] Lydon, "Photography, Authenticity and Victoria's *Aborigines Protection Act* (1886)," 160.

[40] Nicholas Caire, *Gippsland Scenery, Victoria, ca. 1886* (1886): PIC/9266/1-13 LOC Box PIC/9266, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

Native Civilization in Gippsland, he published closer examinations of Indigenous presence there. *Aboriginal Australian Woman and Baby Outside Shelter* (Figure 4.3) was omitted from the album but published in the same year. It shows an Indigenous woman standing in front of a gunyah with a child on her back. Two spears stand near the open shelter and she is cloaked in a woollen blanket like Burton's Chief Topine. The compositional similarities between this image and the two Burton images from the previous year are remarkable. Difference is inscribed in the image in myriad ways – it is as though this image is a composite of the two Burton portraits. The gunyah is a midpoint between the calico tent and whare, the spears leaning up against the entrance are an equivalent to the tao in *Te Hauhau*, and like both of Burton's subjects this woman is also clad in a woollen signifier of savagery. The single departure of Caire's image is the inclusion of the child – a concession to the gender of his subject that poses little threat to the established theme of savagery. This theme though was never entirely stable and we can see in all three images how elements of post-contact life – blankets, calico tents, and indeed, the camera itself – could signify and coexist within renditions of Indigeneity regardless of their contradictory symbolism.

Figure 4.3 Nicholas Caire, *Aboriginal Australian Woman and Baby Outside Shelter,* 1886, Albumen Silver Print, 24x29cm. Source: Accession no: H96. 160/1818 – State Library of Victoria, Melbourne: http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/53809.

Figure 4.4 Eadweard Muybridge, *Albert Bierstadt's Studio,* 1872, Stereograph Card. Source: Lone Mountain College Collection of Stereographs – BANC PIC 1971.055:1586--STER. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

While the themes of savagery and contact were popular if unstable methods of rendering the Indigenous subject in late nineteenth-century portraiture, they also influenced the depiction of Indigenous subjects in other types of photographs. A crucial image from Muybridge's 1872 trip to the Yosemite stands out because of the way that it depicted native subjects in this more expansive way. The image was embedded within Muybridge's album *The Indians of California* despite many of the photographs having been taken on the same Yosemite excursion in 1872 that produced most of the images in the stereograph album *Valley of the Yosemite.* The difference, of course was that these images were concerned with the native inhabitants of the valley, rather than 'nature'. One of them, *Albert Bierstadt's Studio* (Figure 4.4), shows the eminent Romantic artist observing a native camp scene with an Ahwahnechee man sitting astride a log directly opposite him. The Hudson River School trained painter has his materials unfolded before him and is looking distractedly away toward the camp while the Indigenous man stares right down the barrel of Muybridge's lens. In this image the theme of

savagery is not so much inscribed into the imagery of individual Indigenous bodies as it is set out in the relationships of power that Muybridge has managed to lay bare. This asymmetry was reinforced in the title under which Muybridge and his publishers marketed this image - *Albert Bierstadt's Studio.* Despite this space being marked as 'savage' by the built forms of the camp, the Indigenous bodies in the frame, and the title of the album, the settler assumes primacy and the image becomes a kind of parlour scene where the politics of settler colonialism could take centre stage.

Back in New Zealand, Burton's ethno-photography also relied on the depiction of an empowered settler in its articulation of colonial politics. The settler inhabitance of a noticeably Indigenous space in the photograph *'Our Whare' Taumaranui – King Country* (Figure 4.5) announces dominion through an articulation of entitlement.[41] Although it is well established that Burton and his retinue are guests in the King Country, the photographer occupies the doorway to the whare with an air of ownership, just as his colleague Edward Payton is at ease against the front of the structure. Furthermore, there is little doubt that despite being the subjects of the photograph, the caption to the image was produced from the perspective of the travelling photographer and not the Māori of Taumaranui. Nonetheless, it is clear that Burton and Payton's inhabitance of the Taumaranui whare is not a permanent affair. Like their incursion into the King Country, this was a temporary exercise in which their actions were bookended by an arrival from and a return to more secure settler spaces. The entitled mobility of these settler photographers stands in stark contrast to the expectations that Burton imposed on his Indigenous subjects – who were to be fixed in

[41] Having used this term to refer to the legal implications of settlement in lowland environments in Chapter Two, this use of dominion predominantly refers to the assumption of cultural (rather than legal) entitlements that accompanied projections of settlement. Legal settler dominion was harder to enforce in highland environments like the King Country, which is why confident declarations of territorial control were so important to settlers.

‘traditional’ garb and on ‘ancestral’ lands – thereby revealing the asymmetrical structure of settler colonial spatial politics as it operated in the late nineteenth-century King Country.

Figure 4.5 Alfred Burton (Burton Brothers), *“Our Whare,” Taumaranui, King Country,* 1885, Albumen Silver Print, 14.8x21.1cm. Source: Photography Collection. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/268373.

The politics of representation allowed settlers like Burton and Payton to play in the margins of Indigeneity but imposed harder limits on how Indigenous subjects were represented. In Kruger’s photographs at Coranderrk, in the southeastern Australian colony of Victoria, Lydon has identified an “oppositional relationship” between the image of the “uncivilised ‘native,’ on the one hand, and the docile subject making satisfactory progress towards a European lifestyle on the other.”[42] In *The Maori at Home*, the New Zealand responses to the meanings of these two categories of Indigenous representation were reversed. As discussed earlier, Burton’s portrait of Chief Topine used Indigeneity to emphasise the ethnographic aspect of the encounter. In his diary Burton described the Chief as “venerable” and wished he

[42] Lydon, “Photography, Authenticity and Victoria’s *Aborigines Protection Act* (1886),” 159.

was more of an artist so as to do the scene in front of him more justice.[43] For Burton, Chief Topine stood in for the '"ancient" Indigenous heritage that it was his job in the King Country to document – the Chief could not play with the categories of representation in the same way that Burton and Payton did at Taumaranui. Topine's lack of 'civilisation' was his virtue as long as he adhered to the boundaries of Burton's representative practices.

If they resisted this framing some of Burton's Māori sitters became subject to more dismissive attitudes. In the Kruger images from Coranderrk Lydon argues that the assumption of European dress was a kind of settler triumph of manners, respectability and reputability.[44] Alternatively, in the King Country Burton understood the refusal of traditional Indigenous identity on the part of the Māori around Whatiwhatihoe as a travesty rather than a triumph. In this mode, Payton derisively likened the appearance of one of these men to "a Methodist parson out for a holiday."[45] This was presumably Tawhiao, dressed "in a pot hat and a suit of solemn black," who when he appeared like this disappointed Burton because he had changed from the "*more* Maori" clothing that he was wearing earlier in the day.[46] Interestingly, this dismissiveness did not manifest in Burton's portrait of the "Maori Machiavelli" Wahanui in *The Great Ngatimaniopoto chief Wahanui at his House, Alexandra* (Figure 4.6). Perhaps reluctantly, Burton depicted Wahanui as regally as he did Topine in the highlands and kept his derision for the ways in which these Māori resisted the conventions of settler representation for his diary and reportage.

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[43] Burton, *Through the King Country with the Camera – A Photographers Diary,* 13.

[44] Lydon, "Photography, Authenticity and Victoria's *Aborigines Protection Act* (1886," 159.

[45] E.W. Payton, *Round About New Zealand: Being Notes from a Joournal of Three Years' Wanderings in the Antipodes* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1888), 288.

[46] Burton, *Through the King Country with the Camera – A Photographers Diary,* 24.

Figure 4.6 Alfred Burton (Burton Brothers), *The Great Ngatimaniopoto chief Wahanui at his House, Alexandra,* 1885, black-and-white Gelatin Glass Negative. Source: Photography Collection. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/22240.

The asymmetry at play in Burton's politics of representation was a result of a range of conditions imposed on the representation of Indigenous people in late nineteenth-century ethno-photography. It is clear that while Indigenous people in the King Country, Victoria and the Yosemite Valley were subject to various constrictions on their agency within the visual categories of settler photography, the fact that these categories did not apply to the representations of settlers is telling. As a structure of the encounter, the "lingering persistence of ethnographic stereotypes" influenced not only Burton's photography in the King Country but similar depictions of Indigenous people across the late nineteenth-century settler colonial

world.[47] Ethno-photography, as Lydon summarises, was sometimes a "blurry" expression of "settler colonial vision."[48] Indeed, Indigenous agency could come into focus as triumph or travesty according to varying local conditions, but this could not shift the entitled mobilities of the settler artist or a dismissive attitude to Indigenous resistance. These features retained their clarity in the work of Burton, Caire and Muybridge.

Presence in mixed works: Indigenous subjects troubling territoriality

While most images composed by these photographers adhered to the conventions of ethnographic portraiture or landscape, the two categories occasionally mixed and Indigenous people appeared in certain landscape settings. While occasionally present in ethno-photography, Lydon's "blurry" settler colonial vision is most apparent in mixed works because of the ways that Indigenous presence troubled assertions of settler territoriality. Images characteristic of this instability were either captured in territory marked by Laidlaw's "plurality in sovereignty" – spaces of conflict where a frontier shaped the possibilities of settler control — or those where "a refractory alternative sovereignty… persists in its midst."[49] In sites of conflict like Northern California and the certain parts of the King Country the evidence of Indigenous people resisting the settler expropriation of space explicitly threatened the settler colonial project. In certain circumstances this threat could be limited and the settler "requirement for legitimacy" could be managed.[50] In 'post-frontier' spaces like Victoria's Gippsland the threat of embarrassment was limited by the imagery of control and assimilation that Indigenous people were frequently depicted according to. In

[47] Whybrew, "The Burton Brothers Studio," 210.

[48] Lydon, *Eye Contact,* 4.

[49] Laidlaw, "Breaking Britannia's Bounds?," 829; Julie Evans, Ann Genovese, Alexander Reilly and Patrick Wolfe, "Sovereignty: Frontiers of Possibility," in *Sovereignty: Frontiers of Possibility.* Eds., Julie Evans, Ann Genovese, Alexander Reilly and Patrick Wolfe (Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, 2013), 3.

[50] Evans, Genovese, Reilly and Wolfe, "Sovereignty*,"* 3.

sites of immediate conflict and where conflict was consigned to the past, settler photographers were more troubled by the threat of embarrassment that stemmed from the persistence of alternative Indigenous territoriality.

When Indigenous people were depicted in readily identified sites of conflict their very presence in landscapes could be a sign of resistance against settler control. Even though photographers who depicted conflicts were not ostensibly doing landscape work they were nevertheless producing identifiable visions of nature. For example, in May 1873 Muybridge travelled to Northern California to document the Modoc War, not to capture the Tule Lake lava beds, but the two components were inseparable in the photographic series that he put together.[51] The Modoc War was emblematic of a series of settler-Indigenous conflicts that marred the history of the American West during the late nineteenth century. During the late 1860s the Modoc were removed from their ancestral lands straddling the California-Oregon border and forced onto the Klamath Reservation alongside their traditional rivals.[52] After a number of frustrated attempts at establishing their own communities, the Modocs began returning in earnest to their lands in Northern California from 1870, and despite the best efforts of government agents, had reestablished themselves around the Tule Lake region by 1871.[53] By November 1872 the assertive settler government was ready to abandon negotiation and dispatched the United States Army to the Lost River in a show of force.[54] Over the ensuing seven months the Army struggled to come to grips with the Modoc, who inflicted numerous embarrassments on the settlers from a series of basalt caves on the

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[51] Solnit, *River of Shadows,* 103-120.

[52] Peter Palmquist, "Imagemakers of the Modoc War: Louis Heller and Eadeard Muybridge," *The Journal of California Anthropology* 4, no. 2 (1977): 206-207.

[53] Solnit, *River of Shadows,* 105-109.

[54] Palmquist, "Imagemakers of the Modoc War," 207-208.

southern end of Lake Tule, until the final splintering and surrender of the Modocs in June 1873. Interestingly, Muybridge's series gave far less attention to the political trajectory and human drama of the Modoc War than it did to its setting.

What Muybridge seemed to grasp during his limited time on this frontier is that the struggle over the lands of Modocs – from their dispossession to their dispersal – had an intimate relationship with the landscape of Northern California. In her study of Muybridge, Rebecca Solnit suggests that, fresh from Yosemite, Muybridge depicted the Modoc War in the same style as the celebrated Civil War photographers. He showed "not a war unfolding but a war's raw ingredients: participants and locations."[55] Even so, in Muybridge's vision of the Modoc War the most striking motif is that of the landscape. In a series well suited to dramatic poses and soft-power re-projections of settler control, it is as though the terrain of Northern California continually intrudes. In images like *Captain Jack's Cave in the Lava Beds* (Figure 4.7), and *Panorama of Lava Beds from Signal Station at Tule Lake, Camp South,* the spaces framed by Muybridge dominate the settler figures. The landscape ended up being the primary focus of the series.[56] Landscape was so dominant that the few photographs claiming to depict Modoc warriors were shams – the subjects were friendly native scouts framed as rebels.[57] These images were visually arresting and dramatically titled set-pieces like *A Modoc Brave on the Warpath* (Figure 4.8) that featured Indigenous people posed in rocky landscapes. Yet they are identifiably false; contemporary accounts eviscerated the federal Army for its

[55] Solnit, *River of Shadows*, 104.

[56] Muybridge's publisher Bradley and Rulofson relied on geography rather than history to sell his photographs: "The extraordinary system of natural fortifications known as the Lava Beds, are situated in the northern part of the state, on the borders of Oregon. A few miles to the south of Tule Lake are several extinct volcanoes…" Solnit, *River of Shadows*, 104.

[57] Solnit, *River of Shadows*, 119.

inability to effectively engage the Modoc rebels, making the prospect of a photographer having "A Modoc Brave on the Warpath" sit for him patently absurd.[58]

Figure 4.7 Eadweard Muybridge, *Captain Jack's Cave in the Lava Beds,* 1873, Stereograph Card. Source: Lone Mountain College Collection of Stereographs – BANC PIC 1971.055:1602—STER. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Figure 4.7 Eadweard Muybridge, *A Modoc Brave on the Warpath,* 1873, Stereograph Card. Source: Lone Mountain College Collection of Stereographs – BANC PIC 1971.055:1627--FR. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[58] Palmquist quotes from the Yreka Journal in 1873: "In truth it was a gallant sight, To see a thousand men of might. With gun and cannons, day and night Fight fifty dirty Indians." Palmquist, "Imagemakers of the Modoc War," 208.

Even if the prospect of having a Modoc warrior before him was out of the question, Muybridge did not choose to take any long-distance action photographs of battles or even attempt to recreate them in ways that would disguise the figures and make the prospect of realism plausible. Solnit's observation that "Muybridge depicted no battles, no dramas unfolding" is right in identifying the stilting pace of the album's articulation of human drama.[59] But it misses the creeping sub-textual drama of settler colonial dispossession. In depicting this site of conflict, the landscape did all the work for Muybridge because its imagery was riven with latent settler anxiety about the persistence of an alternative sovereignty.[60] Granted, Muybridge was funnelled into these choices by the peculiar local conditions of the Modoc War and the guerrilla style tactics that the rebels employed. Still, he was able to forgo verisimilitude and include blatantly staged photographs because the meaning of the album was produced in its landscapes. In this way the Modoc War was not centred on the bodies of Indigenous rebels, nor was it focused on the purely physical features of the landscape. In a unique manner, it focused on the embarrassing ways in which the Lava Beds were both haunted by Modoc possession and threatened by Indigenous presence despite the full ideological and military force of the newly unified American state.

Muybridge's documentary purpose in Northern California was rarely duplicated in the settler world. Indeed, most photographers who depicted Indigenous people in landscapes were doing so in places where the most intense conflict was associated with the past. Thus, photographers like Burton in the King Country were working with images, memories and alternative imaginations rather than the stark realities of the Modoc War. The military

[59] Solnit, *River of Shadows*, 104.

[60] Evans, Genovese, Reilly and Wolfe, *Sovereignty,* 3.

contests over land that defined the King Country during the New Zealand Wars (1845-1872) were paramount in Burton's understanding of the landscape. In his publications, the spectres of plural sovereignty and the embarrassment of Māori territoriality broke out according to the ways that the New Zealand Wars were revisited in settler history.

Figure 4.9 Alfred Burton (Burton Brothers), *Te Kumi – King Country – Scene of the Hursthouse Outrage,* 1885, black-and-white Negative. Source: Goldie, Mr: Three Negatives, Reference Number: PAColl-6581. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/detail/?id=16890.

For example, Burton was particularly drawn to an incident of kidnapping that occurred in the wake of hostilities that reminded settlers in New Zealand of the provisional nature of their sovereignty. In 1883 the Māori prophet Te Mahuki captured the surveyor Charles Woodhouse and imprisoned him for two days at Te Kumi.[61] Provincial press immediately referred to the incident as "the Native Outrage in the North" and celebrated the intervention

[61] Whybrew, "The Burton Brothers Studio," 226

of a friendly Māori force, which succeeded in rescuing Hursthouse and his party.[62] Burton recounted the "indignities" of these events in his diary and "made a view" of the "whare where Mr Hursthouse was imprisoned." Burton made a portrait of the "archscoundrel Te Mahuki himself" but it is the photograph *Te Kumi – King Country – Scene of the Hursthouse Outrage* (Figure 4.9) that is the more striking image in the context of the album because of its mixture of portraiture and landscape. Māori figures are littered amongst the whares, which sit above a small creek and below a series of ridges. Unlike Muybridge's shots of Modoc warriors, there is nothing sub-textual about the persistence of an alternative sovereignty in the visual language of this image. Instead, Burton evokes the instabilities of settler embarrassment by referring to the "Hursthouse Outrage" in the very title of the photograph – animating the seemingly inert Māori in the image with a history of conflict.

Mixed works featured renderings of Indigenous presence in different ways according to how settings could be identified with histories of conflict. Muybridge's 1872 photographs of native people in the Yosemite Valley were taken in one such site. While the Ahwahneechee had resisted attempts at removal from the 1850s, their continued presence in the valley was predicated on an adaptation to settler encroachment rather than the armed defiance of the Modocs.[63] Of all the early Yosemite photographers Muybridge appears to have been least interested in the depiction of a "transcendentally uninhabited landscape."[64] This lack of interest might be explained by the ethnographic conventions apparent in *The Indians of California* – Muybridge was shooting portraits and scenes rather than landscapes – but other

[62] "The Native Outrage in the North," *Marlborough Express* (Blenheim) 19, no. 69, 27 March 1883: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MEX18830327.2.30.

[63] Mark Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 101-113.

[64] Solnit, *River of Shadows*, 91-92.

photographs explicitly depict an Indigenous territoriality. *A Summer Day's Sport* (Figure 4.10) shows four Indian boys bathing in an eddy of the Merced River. However, emphasising the ease in which these boys inhabit the foreground risks overlooking other elements in the image: a fenceline scoring the middle ground and the façade of a permanent structure bursting through the tree line. Notably, there are more reminders in this photo of settler sovereignty than there would be in either Burton's shot of Te Kumi or Muybridge's later images of the Modoc War. While Muybridge's work revealed a Native presence in Yosemite that had been disguised or erased in much contemporary landscape work, it is important to weigh this against the ways in which Native inhabitance remained circumscribed within his own photography.

Figure 4.10 Eadweard Muybridge, *A Summer Day's Sport,*1872, Stereograph Card. Source: Lone Mountain College Collection of Stereographs – BANC PIC 1971.055:1579—STER. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Managed correctly, as in Muybridge's Yosemite images, Native presence could again serve as an embellishment to the settler order. In the Yarra Valley in southeastern Australia Indigenous people on the Coranderrk Mission were depicted in ways that emphasised their assimilation and distanced them from the conflict of the frontier. In her analysis of Kruger's work at Coranderrk, Lydon argues that the depiction of "tranquil Aboriginal arcadias …

worked to disguise the dispossession of the Indigenous people." Elements of these politics are most evident in Muybridge's imagery in *The Indians of California.* In these images Indigenous people, while present and active in landscapes, were nevertheless "secluded from the present and its conflicts" through a visual strategy that denied the battles for autonomy that were ongoing throughout the late nineteenth century.[65] Even in contexts where these battles were inescapable, like Northern California and the King Country, settler photography was engaged in a balancing act that held a volatile social order in place. In these spaces cultures of representation in photography were accordingly more tentative in their reflection of local power but they always sought to manage the threat of Indigenous territoriality. The failures and successes of settler photographers in balancing the instabilities summoned by Indigenous presence reveal the limits of ethno-photography as a strategy of management and contextualise the emergence of powerful images of landscapes in which Indigenous people were totally absent.

Former presence: Indigenous absence and wilderness photography

The most stable strategy of managing the embarrassment of alternative Indigenous territoriality relied on the disembodiment of colonial landscapes and their depiction as sites of wilderness. The enduring aesthetics of absence addressed many of the instabilities that Indigenous presence incited in images that mixed elements from portrait and landscape photography but this outcome was hardly effortless. As Mark Spence has noted in respect to wilderness areas in the American West, Indigenous people frequently endured long after immigrants began attaching Romantic values to natural landscapes undisturbed by the settler economy.[66] This presence of Indigenous people – and the problems of representation of

[65] Lydon, "Photography, Authenticity and Victoria's *Aborigines Protection Act* (1886," 159.

[66] Mark Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness,* pp. 3-8

wilderness that it posed – was common in most settler contexts, albeit with some important mutations. These differences aside, what was consistent among all these contexts was a melancholic construction of Indigenous absence. As a mode of colonial occupation, this construction of absence enabled "a place to be narrated or occupied as nature," which Mark Rifkin insists was a vital step for Henry David Thoreau's influential version of naturalism.[67] It seems this was an important step too for the Victorian journalist Donald MacDonald, whose nature writing, Tom Griffiths has suggested, was infused by a mournful attitude toward Indigenous "disappearance."[68] Ironically, this registration of absence is a trace of Indigenous presence and it was as foundational to late nineteenth-century settler wilderness photography as it was to contemporary Romantic naturalism.

'Emptiness' too, therefore, was always a depiction of absence. While it may seem obvious, it is worth reiterating that the photographers who produced both ethnographic and landscape work were interested in both Indigenous and natural subjects and worked assiduously to categorise and divide their oeuvres. The question then must be: what did this absence add to the landscape? As hinted at earlier, Indigenous absence did the most work in images strictly focused on wilderness. Indeed, if Indigenous presence and landscape were occasionally mixed in spaces characterised by a "plurality in sovereignty," then the absence of those figures may denote spaces that were beyond the domain of settler control – at least as it was imagined and expressed by landscape photographers.[69] The kind of absence that prevailed amongst images tasked with the construction of wilderness was one marked by a diverted

[67] Mark Rifkin, *Settler Common Sense: Queerness and Everyday Colonialism in the American Renaissance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 107-108.

[68] Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 118-120.

[69] Laidlaw, "Breaking Britannia's Bounds?," 829.

gaze. In many cases Indigenous people were patently occupying the picturesque and sublime territory that attracted landscape photographers. Therefore, Indigenous absence in these photographs can be read as an active disembodiment of the corporeal symbols of alternative sovereignty beyond the settler colonial frontier. In any case, it was a disembodied landscape that came to define photographic renditions of wilderness across the late nineteenth-century Anglo settler world. This mode of representing space emerged contemporaneously in the King Country, Yosemite, the Gippsland and the Tasmanian highlands.

Across all of these spaces the appropriation of Indigenous territory and its transformation into 'productive' colonial space was an enduring motif of nineteenth-century settler landscape photography. Just over two decades before Burton's trip into the King Country, the photographer Daniel Mundy was active capturing landscapes for the scientific and political elite of New Zealand. According to the historian of New Zealand photography Wayne Barrar, Mundy was a methodical photographer who embodied the geographical drive to document the "realities of a freshly accessed but awkward landscape." This made Mundy an outlier among his contemporaries when it came to the depiction of Indigenous subjects. Indeed, while Mundy did not seek out the Indigenous encounter in the way that Burton did, and his style was rarely Romantic, his reproductions of landscape nevertheless allowed his audiences and benefactors to identify resources and assess their value in isolation.[70] Even though later photographers expanded the conceptual vocabulary that suffused Mundy's depiction of the natural environment in New Zealand his utilitarian visions of settler space were characteristic

[70] Wayne Barrar, "Daniel Louis Mundy and the Public Works: Photography and the West Coast Road," in *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays*, eds., Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolf (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011), 39-44

of an influential field of landscape photography. More importantly, this vision provided the foundation on which absent natures were to be coveted in later landscape work.

For Mundy and many of his contemporaries the resources of New Zealand were overwhelmingly spatial. His photographs were part of the scientific apprehension of the colonial environment and featured wide horizons, budding townships, and sober renderings of roads and rivers.[71] Burton's landscape work in the King Country was also spatial, but it was attentive to racial difference in a way that Mundy's photographs appear to have stubbornly avoided. Ironically, it was Mundy's photographs that could be read as displaying

Figure 4.11 Alfred Burton (Burton Brothers), *Ngauruhoe (Tongariro), Active Volcano,* 1885, black-and-white Print. Source: Source: Photography Collection. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/195137.

[71] Lissa Mitchell, "Promotional landscapes: D.L. Mundy's 'Photographic Experiences in New Zealand,'"*Tuhinga* 20 (2009): 67-80.

a '*terra incognita'* as opposed to Burton's disembodied landscapes – surrounded as they were by literal and visual reminders of Māori occupation.[72] In contrast to Mundy's sly avoidance of anything remotely Indigenous, Burton's wilderness relied on the elusive presence of the native elsewhere in the consciousness of settlers (and the text of the album) even as they were absent from the landscape frame.

Wilderness, or disembodied landscape, was one of the crowning discoveries of late nineteenth century settler society. Burton's impression of the dramatic scenery near Lake Taupo, *Ngauruhoe (Tongariro), active volcano* (Figure 4.11), provides a fine example of contemporary settler wilderness photography. It features a monumental volcanic cone rising from an undulating plain of tussock foregrounded by copses of pine and a rocky alpine stream. The image is classically composed in thirds and Burton's landscape is deliberately and emphatically empty. However, the scene was only empty of Indigenous people in one direction. Burton's shot was made during a short excursion from the village of Taumaranui, where the party swiftly returned to after having "swept the whole of the grand panorama below and around." In 1885 this part of the King Country was associated with the 1880 execution of William Moffat after he disobeyed an expulsion order from the local Māori. This recent history, which Burton referred to, indicates that Taumaranui was an identifiably Māori settlement, and confirms that the highlands around Ruapehu, Ngaruahoe and Tongariro were anything but empty in 1885. Indeed, even though the plateau is disembodied in this photograph, the intricacies of Indigenous naming were curiously retained and boasted about in Burton's syndicated diary.[73] The presentation of an ostensibly abandoned space in this way

[72] "The Camera in the King Country" *Otago Daily Times* no. 7277, 13 June 1885: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18850613.2.15

[73] Burton, *Through the King Country with the Camera – A Photographers Diary,* 16.

illustrates how disembodiment allowed photographers to appropriate Indigenous space while rendering it as wilderness.

This nexus between disembodied imagery and a reliance of Indigenous occupation was also central to the construction of wilderness imagery in the Yosemite Valley of California. In their understanding of the intersection of race and wilderness in the Yosemite Valley, Kevin DeLuca and Ann Demo concluded that the images of Yosemite that were produced during this time constituted the field in which environmental politics was carried out – Charles Weed, Carleton Watkins, Muybridge and others were "creating a reality" for their influential urban audiences.[74] In particular these scholars nominate the imagery of Watkins and the prose of the naturalist John Muir as articulations of a "raced notion of sublime wilderness" that stood in for "Nature" and defined what was worth preserving.[75] According to Muir and influential Californian promoters like Thomas Starr King this definition excluded the Indians of the Sierra region who they felt disturbed the wilderness aesthetic of the valley, even though most early visitors appreciated the Native presence as an authenticating factor.[76] In contrast to this prevailing interest (either criticism or celebration), Watkins' first Yosemite series (1861) has a complete absence of Indigenous subjects. This compositional choice is most apparent in an image like *View from Camp Grove* (Figure 4.12), which depicts the Merced River winding through flats of black oak and ponderosa pine. While Watkins' framing neglects Indigenous bodies, other inscriptions hint perhaps at what is absent. Indeed the "Camp Grove" of the title may refer to the location of the bivouac of the photographer

[74] Kevin Michael DeLuca and Anne Teresa Demo, "Imaging Nature: Watkins, Yosemite and the Birth of Environmentalism," *Critical Studies in Media Communications* 17, no. 3 (September 2000): 242.

[75] Kevin DeLuca and Ann Demo, "Imagining Nature and Erasing Class and Race: Carleton Watkins, John Muir, and the Construction of Wilderness," *Environmental History* 6, no. 4 (October 2001): 541.

[76] Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness,*101-113.

and his retinue, but it may alternatively be read as a reference to one of the many encampments that the Ahwahneechee set up along the length of the Merced in high summer. The configuration of disembodiment was volatile in Watkins' photography but it remained central to his construction of wilderness and effective in its communication of settler territoriality.

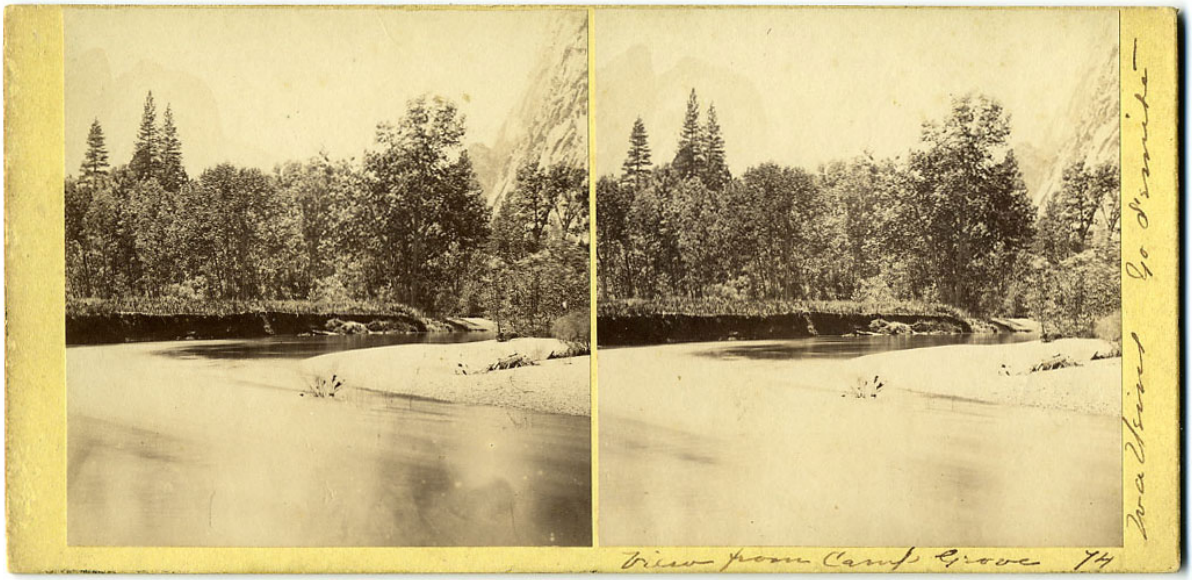

Figure 4.12 Carleton Watkins, *View from Camp Grove,* 1861, Stereograph Card. Source: Image Courtesy of Phil Nathanson and http://www.carletonwatkins.org/index.php.

Six years later in 1867 and again in 1872 Muybridge took up the trope of absence in his photographs of the Yosemite Valley. Although Muybridge seemed far more interested in the Ahwahneechee than Watkins did – he explicitly featured their river camps in his *The Indians of California* – he nevertheless put together a largely disembodied vision of Yosemite. Solnit celebrates this depiction of Native Americans as a departure from the nationalist fantasies of Watkins and Muir, and notes that in Muybridge's photographs "it is the Indians who are in the foreground and purposeful, the whites who wander small in the distance." According to Solnit Muybridge's work was "estranged from the photography of the time" and this is clear in both his high country photography and in images like *Mirror Lake, Valley of the Yosemite*

(Figure 4.13) which improves the clarity of the still water reflection by switching the orientation of a Watkins favorite from a portrait to a landscape.[77] Disembodiment is clear in both instances though – both in terms of the rare figures featured in Muybridge's high country photography and in the motif of the undisturbed surface of Mirror Lake. Moreover, Muybridge's photographs of the Indigenous people of California were mostly sequestered off into a separate album while his more celebrated landscape series were composed with a more narrow geographic and thematic specificity. Like Watkins, the traces nonetheless remain in the inscriptions; for example Muybridge's publishers gave preference to the native "Pi-Wi-Ack" over the settler "Vernal Falls" and "Tutokanula" over the "El Capitan."[78] In this way Muybridge's disembodied landscapes are comparable to Burton's in that they were thoroughly embedded within, although not entangled amongst, a system acknowledging Indigenous presence. Muybridge's wilderness was not empty, but absent.

Figure 4.13 Eadweard Muybridge, *Mirror Lake, Valley of the Yosemite,* 1872, Albumen Silver Print, 42.8x54.3cm. Source: Image Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[77] Solnit, *River of Shadows,* 93.

[78] Eadweard Muybridge, *Pi-Wi-Ack (Shower of Stars), Vernal Fall, 400 Feet, Valley of Yosemite,* 1872, Albumen Print 43.18x31.75cm. Source: SFMOMA: https://www.sfmoma.org/artwork/2004.99; Eadweard Muybridge, *Valley of the Yosemite, Tutokanula, (the Great Chief) "El Capitan," 3,300 feet high,* 1872, Stereoview Card. Source: California Heritage Collection – BANC PIC 1971.055:1169--STER . The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Figure 4.14 Nicholas Caire, *Sylvan Dell, near Loutitt Bay,* circa 1876, Albumen Silver Photograph, 18.9x13.4cm. Source: Richard Ledgar Collection of Photographs, 1858-1910 – PIC3313/PIC3373 LOC Drawer Q102-Q105 – National Library of Australia, Canberra: http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-146734950.

Caire was another who traversed the fine line between embeddedness and entanglement in his landscape photography in the Gippsland. Notably, Indigenous populations in southeastern Victoria were subject to a regime of segregation that would have been unrecognisable to the Māori of the King Country or the Ahwahneechee of the Yosemite. Indeed, Boucher and Russell have held Victoria up as "an historically condensed example of the creative destructions of nineteenth-century British settler colonialism." After a series of crises and conflicts that littered the early nineteenth century, settlers erected a system of governance in the 1860s that "forcefully moved Aboriginal people onto the missions and reserves" and

secured "settler access to Indigenous space."[79] Caire, who was active from the 1870s to the early 1900s, produced texts that reified Indigenous absence in a landscape that was already mostly disembodied. Most of Caire's work involved a scenic rather than a wilderness aesthetic, and some of his most renowned work, including the 1886 album *Gippsland Scenery* evenly turned an eye to settler life on the selections and Native life around the Lake Tyers Mission.[80] Like Burton and Muybridge this made the absence of Indigenous people in wilderness imagery all the more noticeable. The photograph *Sylvan Dell, near Loutitt Bay* (Figure 4.14) is one of a number of images of disembodied nature that were scattered throughout Caire's album *Views of Victoria,* which was published in the 1890s and featured townscapes, scenic photography, and Kruger-esque scenes of Aboriginal agricultural arcadias. In Caire's landscape work, just as in settler colonial photography elsewhere, wilderness was coded in ways that reiterated Indigenous absence.

This coding was even more apparent in Beattie's wilderness photography in Tasmania. While Burton and Caire both included wilderness imagery amongst photographs of Indigenous people (or vice versa), Beattie's subjects were more often separated along thematic lines. Like Muybridge, Beattie's albums tended to focus on either disembodied landscape or portraiture. Unlike Muybridge, though, Beattie was operating in a profoundly segregated context – Tasmanian racial politics having been shaped by the settler conflict with and attempted expulsion of the Tasmanian Aborigines.[81] Two of Beattie's albums, one published

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[79] Boucher and Russell, "Introduction: Colonial History, Postcolonial Theory and the 'Aboriginal Problem' in Colonial Victoria," 1-13; see also, Coral Dow, "'In Search of the Picturesque': Aborigines and Tourists in 19th Century Gippsland," *Tourism Culture and Communication* 2, no. 2 (1999):111-122.

[80] Nicholas Caire, *Native Civilisation in Gippsland,* circa 1886, Albumen Print, 18.4x22.4cm. Gippsland Scenery - PIC/9266/11 LOC Box PIC/9266 – National Library of Australia, Canberra.

[81] Lyndall Ryan, *Tasmanian Aborigines: A History Since 1803* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2012), xvii-xxix

during the 1880s and the other during the 1890s illustrate the division of the Native and nature in late nineteenth-century settler Tasmania. The first, *Aborigines of Tasmania,* mostly featured engraved portraits by Thomas Bock that Beattie had reproduced for sale out of his Hobart shopfront.[82] Tellingly, these faces and upper bodies all appear in front of blank backgrounds – they are symbolically alienated from any setting. The second album, *Photographs of Tasmania,* was published in the mid-1890s and focused on the very backgrounds missing from the Bock portraits.[83] It imagined a Tasmanian wilderness in accordance with the settler fantasy of Indigenous extinction.[84] *Photographs of Tasmania* is composed predominantly of photographs of sublime highland landscapes like waterfalls, lakes and mountains, which are complemented by scenes of settler progress in the lowlands around Hobart and Launceston. These scenes of progress appear to have been subtly questioned by images capturing the environmental impacts of colonial agriculture on ring-barked hills or denuded mountain glens.[85] Of all the photographers considered in this chapter, the trope of absence is strongest in Beattie's work. While his disembodied landscapes were embedded within a history of racial conflict and genocide in Tasmania, this remained largely extra-textual due to the way that Beattie maintained the division between his subjects.

Beattie's maintenance of this division was made easier by the distinctive history of colonisation in Tasmania. However there are enough similarities between Beattie's work and

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[82] John Watt Beattie, *Aborigines of Tasmania,* 1880s, Photograph Album Featuring the Engravings of Thomas Bock. PIC Album 391 Row23 Bay 6 Shelf 9 #PIC/9188/1-32 – National Library of Australia, Canberra.

[83] John Watt Beattie, *Album of Photographs of Tasmania,* 1890s, Photograph Album. PIC/3313-PIC3373 LOC Drawer Q102-Q105-Richard Ledgar Collection of Photographs – 1858-1910 - PIC/3313 LOC Album 956 – National Library of Australia, Canberra: https://nla.gov.au/nla.cat-vn1585511.

[84] Lesley Head, *Second Nature: The History and Implications of Australia as Aboriginal Landscape* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 54.

[85] Beattie, *Album of Photographs of Tasmania,* 1890s: 1858-1910 - PIC/3313 LOC Album 956.

other settler photographers to suggest that absence was a prevailing structure that shaped settler colonial representations of landscape. While this task was more complicated in the King Country and in California than in the Australian colonies, the power of reification that photographers like Caire and Beattie engaged in should not be underestimated. In New Zealand, California, Victoria and Tasmania, wilderness photography relied on the cultivation of a distinct sphere based on a disembodied landscape. This was important because of the varying levels of resistance exhibited by local Indigenous populations. It also responded to the inevitable ways in which landscape photography was embedded within wider systems that acknowledged Indigenous presence. Imagery of wilderness, then, was organised through various kinds of Indigenous absence. Settler colonial landscape photography was one of the "technologies of temporality" that narrated the "end" of Indigenous existence according to Alissa Macoun and Elizabeth Strakosch.[86] In these photographs Indigenous absence was an active disembodiment of the symbols of occupation that posed alternatives to the continued extension of settler territoriality.

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More than any other factor, Indigenous absence structured settler colonial visions of nature during the late nineteenth century. However, absence was not emptiness and as part of Wolfe's "logic of elimination" that shaped settler colonies this condition of absence "marks a return whereby the Native repressed continues to structure settler colonial society."[87] In these ways the reproduction of disembodied landscapes was just another form – albeit a more sophisticated one – of settler management. Settlers managed representations of Indigenous

[86] Alyssa Macoun and Elzabeth Strakosch, "The Ethical Demands of Settler Colonial Theory," *Settler Colonial Studies* 3 no. 4 (2013): 429; see also, Elizabeth Povinelli, "Indigenous Politics in Late Liberalism" in *Culture Crisis: Anthropology and Politics in Aboriginal Australia* eds. Jon Altman and Melinda Hinkson (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2010): 17-31.

[87] Wolfe, *Traces of History,* 33.

people in landscapes because of the threat that alternative territorialities posed to the new versions of spatial politics that settlers were imposing on colonial space in the wake of the Settler Revolution. This chapter has surveyed how these systems functioned and adapted to the circumstances that limited strategies of management designed to embellish the settler order and diminish the threat of embarrassment to settler territoriality.

In portraiture Indigenous presence was managed through the development of ethno-photography, which split Indigenous subjects from landscape settings. Ethno-photography was a stable and enduring mechanism of management that, while it allowed some space for Indigenous agency, mostly reinforced the stereotypes and asymmetries of encounter after the Settler Revolution. The politics of representation was more volatile in places where the narrow framing of portraiture could not be applied. When Indigenous people were depicted in landscapes at sites of conflict or where memories of struggle persisted, settler photography animated alternative territorialities. Managing Indigenous presence in these images was a fraught affair. While some photographs left settler territoriality intact, others, like those of the Tule Lake lava beds and the Hursthouse Outrage, were embarrassing mismanagements of Indigenous presence.

Perhaps the problems raised in these mixed images contributed to the development and popularity of disembodied landscapes, which managed Indigenous presence in landscapes by creating absences. These images embellished settler territoriality and reinforced the settler geographical and temporal imaginations. Analysing the arc that united ethno-photography, mixed images and disembodied landscape demonstrates how settler depictions of Indigenous people and nature in the late nineteenth century all shared a certain set of characteristics

relating to the management of Indigenous presence. This imperative makes a mockery of cosmetic differences between images and accounts that presented Indigenous disappearance in a melancholy way and those that depicted it in a celebratory manner. The settler visions of nature that emerged during the late nineteenth century relied above all on assumptions, which completed an idealisation of the natural world in the colonies as remote, ancient and empty.

Chapter V

Colonial Encounter, Epochal Time and Settler Romanticism throughout the Nineteenth Century

John Watt Beattie's disembodied wilderness photography in the Tasmanian Highlands might be the most striking aspect of his work to a modern observer, but among his contemporaries it was the imagery of the human landscape of Port Arthur that anchored his fame. Beattie famously ran a museum of Port Arthur's settler antiquity, wrote popular histories of the convict prison settlement, and contentiously exhibited and marketed a wide range of relics from the Tasman Peninsula.[1] Even after his death in 1930, the publishers of the widely distributed mid twentieth-century tourist guidebook *Port Arthur, The Penal Settlement in Tasmania: Glimpses of its Stirring History* relied on Beattie for both the introduction and many of the photographic plates that illustrated the volume.[2] Beattie encountered a Romantic garden on the Tasman Peninsula as a result of the neglect of the settlement since its abandonment in 1877. In images like *The Church, Port Arthur (Tasmania)* (Figure 5.1), Beattie depicted Port Arthur as a collection of "ruinous tombstones," "a neglected old graveyard" – all giving "evidence of the magnitude of its past."[3] Port Arthur induced in Beattie a reflective state in which he channelled the affective and intuitive values that the European Romantics had promoted a century earlier.[4] For Beattie – and others like him in the

[1] Michael Roe, "Beattie, John Watt," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979): http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/beattie-john-watt-5171/text8687; see also, Jack Cato, *The Story of the Camera in Australia* (Melbourne: 1955).

[2] John Watt Beattie, *Port Arthur, The Penal Settlement in Tasmania: Glimpses of its Stirring History, Compiled from Authentic Sources* (Hobart: Oldham, Beddome & Meredith, between 1946 and 1957).

[3] John Watt Beattie, "Foreword," in *Port Arthur, The Penal Settlement in Tasmania: Glimpses of its Stirring History,* ed. John Watt Beattie (Hobart: Oldham, Beddome & Meredith, between 1946 and 1957), 2.

[4] John Morrow, "Romanticism and Political Thought in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Political Thought,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 39.

settler colonies of southeast Australia, California and New Zealand – Romanticism provided a store of existing aesthetic and moral values they could attach to various landscapes.

Figure 5.1 John Watt Beattie, *The Church, Port Arthur (Tasmania),* 1900s, Glass Lantern Slide, 8.5x8.5cm. Source: Lantern Slide Views of Tasmania – State Library of Victoria, Melbourne: http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/68561.

As clear as its influence appears to be in Beattie's evocation of Port Arthur, Romanticism stubbornly defies simple ideological and historical categorisation. Inquiring into the word "romantic" in his 1976 book *Keywords,* the cultural critic Raymond Williams discerned a wide range of possible meanings for a term that spans from seventeenth-century European folk traditions to more recent evocations of sentimentality. Where Williams converges with most historical scholarship is in his recognition of the attachment of the capitalised "Romantic" to a series of interconnected "literary, artistic and philosophical" movements

during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[5] The sociologist Colin Campbell concurs and argues that these movements that emerged "between 1790 and 1830" were organised around "an impulse" rather "than a unified system of ideas." Allowing the development of a new kind of affective or intuitive self, Romanticism necessarily had the "effect of casting the individual of true virtue in the role of an opponent to society." According to Campbell, the proof of a Romantic's singular "genius and passion" was secured through the creation of "cultural products" marked, ironically, for mass consumption.[6] So while contemporary political historians like John Morrow might suggest that the idea of "community" was one of Romanticism's principal concerns, it was of a second order in comparison to individualism.[7] Romanticism may have relied on communities of consumers unwittingly united by their common taste but creatively, the movement emphasised individualism. This emphasis on the individual was epitomised in the lonely historical figure of the settler photographer, who eagerly set out into the wilderness in order to produce Romantic visions for popular consumption.

The Romantic settler photographer was also a child of imperialism and, importantly, the Romantic period roughly encapsulated the emergence of the modern Anglo world in the wake of the American and French Revolutions. However, the histories of Romanticism, modern imperialism and colonialism share more than just a common timeline. Indeed, just as the literary scholars Tim Fulford and Peter Kitson argue, Romanticism cannot be understood

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[5] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society,* Revised ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 274-276.

[6] Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 179-180, 205.

[7] According to Morrow community was the third principal concern of Romanticism after "feeling and imagination" and the "notion of the individual." Morrow, "Romanticism and Political Thought in the Early Nineteenth Century," 39.

without an investigation into colonialism, nor can the colonial world be understood without an examination of its Romantic foundations.[8] Certain elements of the relationship between Romanticism and colonialism have received substantial scholarly attention from both historians and literary theorists. Following Edward Said and Raymond Schwab, scholars have understood "Romanticism as Europe's response to the overwhelming experience of finding its civilisation not unique but merely one of many."[9] Romanticism is best interpreted as an ideology of imperial encounter that negotiated difference in evolving ways. While it reached its maturity as a cultural development that served the "political and moral agenda" of Britain's "free-trade empire,"[10] earlier iterations shunned the explicitly economic or political and instead turned toward the natural world. Noting the use of romantic terms like "sublime" and "rapture" in survey reports from the 1720s, Thomas Dunlap has insisted that the encounter with American environments helped shape Romanticism from at least the early eighteenth century.[11] Dunlap's point hints at the geographical as well as historical mutability of Romanticism, which is a recurrent feature of the movement by virtue of its extensive history.

It is hardly surprising that Romanticism had already manifested in a range of iterations by the time that settler photographers and artists came to invoke its language and symbols in the late

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[8] Tim Fulford and Peter Kitson, "Romanticism and Colonialism: Texts, Contexts, Issues," in *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1780-1830,* eds. Tim Fulford and Peter Kitson (Cambrdige: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 13.

[9] Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880,* tr. Gene Patterson Black and Victor Reinking (New York, 1984); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

[10] Fulford and Kitson, "Romanticism and Colonialism," 3.

[11] Thomas R. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 40; for a discussion of how modes like the sublime were constructed in the United States, see, Mark Fiege, *The Republic of nature: An Environmental history of the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012) 288.

nineteenth century. Indeed, the variances of Romanticism are captured in the fact that it "cannot simply be seen as univocal in its support" of the imperial project. In various ways it articulated "resistance to, and/or anxiety about, cultural imperialism, even as it also, in other areas, remains complicit with it."[12] Like landscape – another idea that emerged out of European modernity that "does not usually declare its relation to imperialism in any direct way"[13] – Romanticism was an adaptive and ambivalent tradition. These features are the manifestations of what Brian Jay Wolf calls the "subversive" tendency at the heart of Romanticism that not only reproduces its own "structure but *criticizes* it as well."[14]

Like many other intellectual products of the late eighteenth century, the ambivalence at the heart of Romanticism stemmed from the unprecedented rates of encounter that characterised European empire. According to Dunlap, exchange repeatedly reshaped ideas on Anglo peripheries. He understands that the "Americans, for example, adopted and adapted Romanticism as a way to view their land, but Romanticism was itself, in part, a product of the idea of North American wilderness in American minds."[15] This American movement then, formed in the crucible of an "empty" and "hostile" nature, was always marked by its complicity with the political imperatives of Patrick Wolfe's "logic of elimination" in that it

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[12] Fulford and Kitson, "Romanticism and Colonialism," 5.

[13] WJT Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape" in *Landscape and Power,* ed. WJT Mitchell (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002, 2nd ed.), 9.

[14] Brian Jay Wolf, *Romantic Re-Vision: Culture and Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century American Painting and Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 3.

[15] Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora,* 308; for a review of how arguments like Dunlap's have been neglected by traditional political histories of Romanticism due to the prioritisation of a canon of writing and writers, see Carol Bolton, *Writing the Empire: Robert Southey and Romantic Colonialism* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007).

formed a cultural appendage to the overall structure of dispossession.[16] While Romanticism as a whole may not have been totally complicit with the imperial project, this chapter argues that it was crucial in the ways that it helped secure territorial possession in settler colonies, where Romanticism was in fact univocal in its support of Indigenous dispossession.

In this way we might conceive of settler Romanticism as an iteration of the Romantic tradition that flowered on the late nineteenth-century Anglo periphery. Echoing the scholar Marlon Ross, who assessed the impact of the writers of the Romantic canon as helping "prepare England for its imperial destiny," this chapter asks how Romanticism helped settlers prepare and enact their role in appropriating Indigenous space.[17] In characteristic fashion, it is noticeable that an ambivalent Romantic formation was an enduring feature of settler attitudes to landscape in Australia, New Zealand and California. Though this concern with landscape was also apparent amongst the Lake Poets and the German Romantics, these elements were heightened on the settler periphery where there was more at stake in the cultivation of cultural ties to nature. Settler Romantics, therefore both borrowed from existing cultural traditions and carved out new directions. Paul Millar, a scholar of New Zealand literature, has previously used the term "settler Romanticism" to refer to the "rustic" cultural politics of the early twentieth century in Australia and New Zealand.[18] But the term might rightly be extended further into the shared pasts of Anglo settler colonies. In fact, the cultural parameters of settler Romanticism were set well before the "post-colonial" twentieth

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[16] Patrick Wolfe, "Nation and MiscegeNation: Discursive Continuity in the Post-Mabo Era," *Social Analysis* 34 (1994), 93-152; Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999).

[17] Marlon B Ross, "Romantic Quest and Conquest" in *Romanticism and Feminism,* ed. Anne K. Mellor (Bloomington: Indiana university Press,1988), 31.

[18] Paul Millar, "Poems to Statues: Robert Burns, Henry Lawson, James K. Baxter, and the Matter of Memorials," *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 30 (2012): 132-149, 136.

century.[19] Indeed, the nineteenth-century context of settler expansion was the culmination of the apparently isolated historical events of the late eighteenth century that Fulford and Kitson identified as the background to the emergence of Romanticism in Europe.[20] These events instigated major historical trajectories – some marked the beginning of the Settler Revolution in the Antipodes, and others heralded the first stirrings of the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny in North America. Though these contexts may appear national, a comparative perspective shows that settler Romanticism was born an imperial ideology, before developing a nativist variant.

The fitting contextual scope of settler Romanticism, then, includes both the beginnings of the movement in late-eighteenth-century Britain and its emergence as a distinct iteration of imperial ideology in late-nineteenth-century settler colonies. Such considerations shape the broad historical parameters of this chapter, which initially considers the origins of Romanticism in imperial culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It then explores Romanticism in the New World until the mid-nineteenth century through a survey of Romantic painting in North America and the antipodes. Finally, it examines the development of settler Romanticism and romantic wilderness during the late nineteenth century at a time when photography was taking over as an important visual culture across the Anglo world. Each section features examples of how settler photographers drew on established and emerging conventions. Settler photographers and artists were at once and at various stages inheritors of an existing tradition, contributors to its vitality, and creators of new Romantic

[19] Millar switches to "post-colonial Romanticism" as an alternative to settler Romanticism upon introducing the concept. While this serves to more accurately date the phenomenon under analysis in his article, it is worth remembering that as settler colonies Australia and New Zealand can never be truly post-colonial. For an explanation of this and how settler colonisers "come to stay," see, Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999), 2.

[20] Fulford and Kitson, "Romanticism and Colonialism," 3.

movements. To be sure, this Romanticism related to and channelled approximately two hundred years of literary, artistic and philosophical history, but for settlers Romanticism was an ideology about land and landscape. This chapter will follow their lead, and accentuate the territorial aspects of the ideology.

Inheriting Romantic time: Shifting epochs and the origins of Romanticism

Romanticism was prone to adaptation as a landscape ideology in late nineteenth-century settler colonies because it was, at the point of its foundation, a movement shaped by writers and thinkers driven by contextual historical events. Generations of Romantic scholars have identified "the great sweep of political events in France" as "the intellectual focus of the Romantic epoch in Britain."[21] Like many others, the French Revolution served as a stimulus for William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who were "drawn to reflect upon their own earliest experiences" as a means to understand "revolutionary failure." The culmination of Wordsworth's reflections became apparent in his writing about the English Lake District – a storied landscape where memories of his childhood collided with an awareness of the "tempestuous public events" of post-Revolutionary Europe.[22] However, while the European context is central, Nigel Leask argues for an extension of the scene, insisting that "Romantic studies in Britain… have been slow to address the imperial components of the culture."[23] Indeed, Coleridge and Robert Southey's youthful enthusiasm for Pantisocracy and settlement in post-revolutionary North America indicates just how linked the various metropolitan and imperial contexts were during the foundation of the

[21] Alison Yarrington and Kelvin Everest, "Introduction," in *Reflections on Revolution: Images of Romanticism,* eds. Alison Yarrington and Kelvin Everest (Routledge: London, 1993), 1.

[22] Michael Roe, *The Politics of Nature: William Wordsworth and Some Contemporaries* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) 3.

[23] Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 11.

Romantic Movement in the 1790s.[24] All these Romantic visions revolved around an epochal idea of time. Coleridge and Southey's anticipated utopian beginnings in the 'New World' – not to mention Wordsworth's Lake District reverie – were only possible because of the endings that the French Revolution signalled.

The threat of endings induced a kind of historical consciousness and sensitivity in original Romantics that was echoed by settler photographers in the late nineteenth century. Beattie's invocation of the motif of the storied landscape in the ruins of Port Arthur nearly a century after Wordsworth's *Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey* (1798) attests to the enduring centrality of ties between historical consciousness and landscape in Romantic ideology. And ruins, as they were for Wordsworth on the banks of the Wye, were paramount. Writing about the survey photographer Arthur Schott in the American southwest in 1846 and 1847, Robin Kelsey considers the ruin as "the principle Romantic emblem for the ineluctable disintegration wrought by the passage of time and the sense of belatedness and incompletion that historical consciousness brings."[25] Ruins were therefore manifestations of historical consciousness, representing, in the words of Tom Griffiths, the "gentle subsidence of one state into another."[26] In antebellum New England ruination was supplemented with the symbols of "autumnal decay" in symbolic spaces like the popular Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts.[27] The temporal consciousness that these processes of decay

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[24] Nigel Leask, "Pantisocracy and the Politics of the 'Preface' to *Lyrical Ballads,*" in *Reflections on Revolution: Images of Romanticism,* eds. Alison Yarrington and Kelvin Everest (Routledge: London, 1993), 39-57.

[25] Robin Kelsey, *Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 53.

[26] Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 103.

[27] Aaron Sachs, "American Arcadia: Mount Auburn Cemetery and the Nineteenth-Century Landscape Tradition" *Environmental History* 15 (April 2010): 211.

symbolised featured a wistful and reflective tone aligned with the "affective values" defining the "spirit of romanticism" between "1800 and 1850."[28] Aesthetically, the decaying artefacts of settlement or nature added "melancholy tenor" to many depictions of landscape.[29] Whether it was through literary acknowledgement of turbulent contexts or symbolic visions, these iterations of landscape relied upon the shifting epochs of Romantic time.

Figure 5.2 Carleton Watkins, *The Ruins, Big River Mill,* 1863, Stereograph Card, 8.9x17.8cm. Source: Courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Figure 5.3 Carleton Watkins, *Mission, San Juan Capistrano. Los Angeles County, California, Established Nov. 1st, 1776. View from the West,* 1870s. Source: Franciscan Missions of California Photographs – BANC PIC 1972.008:11—ffALB. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[28] Morrow, "Romanticism and Political Thought in the Early Nineteenth Century," 39.

[29] Kelsey, *Archive Style,* 53.

Approaching their own fin de siècle, landscape photographers were similarly drawn to sites of ruin across the Anglo settler world. During the 1860s and 1870s Carleton Watkins captured three separate images that span the range of settler visions of ruin. Sensitivity to the passing of time is conspicuous in all of these photographs, in which "the ruin" stands alternately "for the gradual erosion of eons or for a cataclysmic destruction."[30] The first and second of Watkins' ruins are linked to cataclysm. *The Ruins, Big River Mill* (Figure 5.2), was captured in Mendocino County north of San Francisco in 1863 and shows the fire-ravaged remains of a timber processing operation. The second image swaps Northern California redwoods for Bay Area warehouses. Taken in the aftermath of the 1868 Hayward seismic event, *Effects of the Earthquake, Oct. 21, 1868, Cal. St, South Side,* depicts the shattered façade of the Coffey and Risdon workshop near the San Francisco waterfront.[31] The third image relies on a more gentle vision of change. It was likely taken while returning from a trip to Southern California in 1876, when Watkins began a catalogue of the decaying California missions constructed during the Spanish colonial period between 1769 and 1821.[32] *Mission, San Juan Capistrano. Los Angeles County, California, Established Nov. 1st, 1776. View from the West* (Figure 5.3) focuses on the crumbling apse of the chapel across a rubble strewn foreground. Ruins were convenient symbols for immigrants sensitive to the depth of their own local histories and Watkins worked with images of damage and decay to narrate and extend settler territoriality by making his viewers witnesses to epochal change.

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[30] Kelsey, *Archive Style,* 53.

[31] Carleton Watkins, *Effects of the Earthquake, Oct 21, 1868 Cal. St., South Side,* 1868, Stereograph Card. Image courtesy of Jim Crain and http://www.carletonwatkins.org/index.php.

[32] Carleton Watkins, *The Franciscan Mission of California,* 1876-1882, Photograph Album, 35 Albumen Prints. BANC PIC 1972.008—ffALB. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Settlers inscribed time in place in both aesthetic and scientific ways that each relied heavily on Romantic principles. For example, the ruinous nostalgia apparent in the work of Beattie and Watkins complemented other forms of representing the natural world. One influential method was that of natural history, which during the nineteenth century defied hard divisions between science and art. Exemplified by Gilbert White's Romantic description of the English countryside in *The Natural History of Selborne* in 1789, natural history inspired networks of artists, naturalists and natural historians to tie "local and immediate experience" back "to the Anglo and European worlds."[33] Examples included the proliferation of Royal Societies around the globe. The primary forum for an artist like Beattie's public appearances was the Royal Society of Tasmania, which was founded as "The Society" in 1841 by a group of settler men interested in nature and science that included the Governor of Van Diemen's Land Sir John Franklin.[34] When Beattie was elected a Fellow in 1890, The Society was spanning the paths of natural history and art as the former splintered into the professional scientific study of the natural world and the popular naturalism of amateurs.[35] In contrast to this differentiation, Beattie's arguments for conservation on the highlands around Mount Lyell's copper mine relied on both scientific understandings of human health and hygiene, as well as scenic considerations of landscape preservation.[36] Romanticism relied on a unity of aesthetic and scientific dimensions established in and conveyed through the tradition of English natural history.

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[33] Tom Griffiths, "'The Natural History of Melbourne': The culture of Nature Writing in Victoria, 1880-1945," *Australian Historical Studies* 23 (1989): 340; Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora,* 98.

[34] Royal Society of Tasmania, (1841) 'Minutes of "The Society" Van Diemen's Land, 1841,' RS 147/1, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Hobart.

[35] Nicholas Drayson, 1997 "Early Development in the Literature of Australian National History: Together with a Select Bibliography of Australian Natural History Writing, Rrinted in English from 1967 to the Present," Ph.D., diss., (University College, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, 1997) 68.

[36] John Watt Beattie, Papers, 1859-1930, RS29/5 (1), Royal Society Collection, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Hobart.

Landscape photography was understandably well positioned as an aesthetic response to the colonial encounter; however, colonial photographers relied equally on scientific representations of nature. These responses to colonial difference have been understood in terms that erroneously divide settler landscape photography from its Romantic context and associate it instead with a harder division between science and nature. Exhibiting in the metropolitan context of London in 1874 and 1875, Daniel Mundy's photographs of New Zealand were shown alongside views of the "English countryside and life." Historian of New Zealand photography Lissa Mitchell argues that, in contrast to these "Romanticised" ideals, Mundy's photographs simply offered "accurate illustrations of their subject."[37] While views from the colonies no doubt differed from those of the counties, Mitchell errs in placing them in a strict binary. The scientific 'accuracy' that drove Mundy's illustration of the "geographical, floral and economic features of New Zealand" is better understood as an imitation of "Romantic science" – a fusion of observational and artistic reactions to place that was a product of the second scientific revolution of the late eighteenth century.[38] After a century of Romantic scientific reporting in London beginning with the voyages of the *Endeavour*, Mundy's photographs and report were neither artistic, nor scientific: they were simply Romantic, deriving powerful sustenance from the encounter with colonial environments.

[37] Lissa Mitchell, "Promotional landscapes: D.L. Mundy's 'Photographic Experiences in New Zealand,'" *Tuhinga* 20 (2009): 69.

[38] Daniel Louis Mundy, "Photographic Experiences in New Zealand," *Photographic News*, December 18, 1874: 602–03; Richard Holmes, *The Age of Wonder: How the Romantic Generation Discovered the Beauty and Terror of Science* (London: Harper Press, 2008), xv.

The encounter with colonial environments that produced Romantic Science was invariably matched with a native encounter. In Mundy's presentation of *Photographic Experiences in New Zealand* at the Photographic Society of London in 1874 he positioned the Māori of New Zealand as "native guides," figures of danger, and of course, "ethnological" subjects.[39] The ethnographic fascination with the natives of colonial contact zones was another inheritance of the eighteenth century. From the point of Louis Antoine de Bougainville's encounter with the Tahitians in 1768, the South Seas (and their inhabitants) assumed a prominent position within the Romantic imagination.[40] As the work of Mundy's contemporary Alfred Burton in the King Country amply demonstrates, the settler appeal to ethnography a little over a decade after Mundy's London presentation both accentuated racial difference and disguised connections to territory. Mundy's Māori served literary, scientific and political purposes as they were positioned for the European audience as markers of difference, objects of scientific interest and historical relics. Importantly, this configuration drew upon Romantic precedents from the late eighteenth century.

Mundy's invocation of New Zealand's Indigenous people in 1874 serves as a neat example of the ways that settler photographers adopted century-old Romantic traditions in their visions of colonial peoples and landscapes. These photographers used the symbol of the ruin to add historical depth to landscapes, they aped Romantic science in order to differentiate their images from the English pastoral, and they positioned Indigenous people according to enduring traditions of the Romantic encounter. These enduring features link the settler

[39] Mundy, "Photographic Experiences in New Zealand,"602-603.

[40] Peter Kitson, "Romanticism and Colonialism: Races, Places, Peoples, 1785-1800," in *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1780-1830,* eds. Tim Fulford and Peter Kitson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 29-34.

Romanticism of the late nineteenth century back to the origins of the movement, but the colonial encounter also produced a range of departures and local adaptations. In these ways the period between the 1830s and the 1870s was a crucial stage of negotiation when settlers used Romanticism in new ways and attached their own spatial politics to older notions of landscape appreciation and depiction. The key question that Romantics in the New World faced during this negotiation was how to reconcile the continued presence of Indigenous peoples in representations of colonial landscapes with the imperatives of settler control.

From inheritors to contributors: Romanticism on canvas in the New World

While late nineteenth-century settler Romanticism relied heavily on conventions established during the eighteenth century, it also contributed to a version of European Romanticism that fermented in colonial contexts from the 1830s. In North America the painters of the Hudson River School composed scenes rich in Romantic symbolism at a historical moment when the balance between settler and nature was tipping inexorably toward the newcomer.[41] Dunlap has suggested that these scenes of wilderness and the march of settler progress were "the first popular American paintings," – creating a national landscape out of an inherited vision of sublime nature and an endemic pioneer mythology.[42] Thomas Cole's 1836 painting, *View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm* or *The Oxbow* rightly receives much attention in accounts of Romanticism and landscape in American history.[43] His series *The Course of Empire* (also completed in 1836) best illuminates the specific divergences between European and New World Romanticism. Cole's series makes

[41] William Cronon, "Telling Tales on Canvas: Landscapes of Frontier Change," in *discovered Lands, Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West,* eds., Jules Prown et al. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1992), 42-44.

[42] Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora,* 40-41.

[43] Cronon, "Telling Tales on Canvas," 37-86.

the connections between the Romantic imagination in the New World and the natural world clear. Mixed in among Romantic metaphors speaking to ruination and an epochal idea of time were more intimate reckonings with "The Savage State" – the subject of the first painting – and the transformation of wilderness into "Arcadian" or settled space.[44] Interestingly, while depicting the emergence and decline of an Empire, Cole also positioned the 'savages' (coded unsurprisingly as Native Americans) that inhabited "The Savage State" as collateral. Fittingly, the final painting depicts a scene lacking any human presence and attests to the role of imperialism in creating wilderness in the New World.

In *The Course of Empire,* Cole makes a series of moves that reverberate in the landscape photography of Eadweard Muybridge. Although not expressed with the purity or strict order of Cole's heptaptych, images of savagery, Arcadia, ascension, destruction and wilderness nevertheless punctuate Muybridge's oeuvre. His 1872 album, *The Indians of California* featured renditions of Native Americans in both 'The Savage State' and as willing participants in an Arcadian renaissance brought about by European settlement. Titles like *Indian Encampment on the Merced* were worded in order to present Native American ways of life as primitive, just as *A Morning Concert on the Merced* presented Native life in an idealised Arcadian tone.[45] In 1873 Muybridge hinted at other stages in Cole's series. 'Destruction' is apparent in his series *The Modoc War,* and 'Desolation' was captured in

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[44] Thomas Cole, *The Course of Empire,* 1836, oil on canvas, 'The Savage State,' 'The Arcadian or Pastoral State,' 'Destruction,' and 'Desolation' 100x161cm, 'The Consummation of Empire' 130x193cm, New York Historical Society, Museum and Library – 1858.1, 1858.2, 1858.3, 1858.4 and 1858.5. In the following discussion the full title of *The Course of Empire* will be italicised and the individual paintings within the series will be enclosed in single quotation marks.

[45] Eadweard Muybridge, *Indian Encampment on the Merced,* 1872, Stereograph Card. Lone Mountain College Collection of Stereographs – BANC PIC 1971.055:1573--STER. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Eadweard Muybridge, *A Morning Concert on the Merced,* 1872, Stereograph Card. Lone Mountain College Collection of Stereographs – BANC PIC 1971.055:1575--STER. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1875 when he took numerous photographs of Spanish ruins in tropical Guatemala. In 1878 Muybridge created his *Panorama of San Francisco* (Figure 5.4), which was captured from the turret of Mark Hopkins' mansion on Nob Hill.[46] It was to be his last work of genuine landscape photography, but it provided a vision of San Francisco as a spectacular western metropolis – a fitting pair to Cole's triumphant 'Consummation of Empire'.[47] The themes distilled by Cole in the 1830s were maintained throughout the nineteenth century even though they were subject to changes stemming from the western expansion of American dominion.

Figure 5.4 Eadweard Muybridge, *Key to Muybridge's San Francisco Panorama,* 1877 Advertisement. Source: Courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

This westward expansion produced new instances of settler Romanticism in American visual culture. Muybridge's serendipitous final work represented a brightening of the Romantic

[46] Eadweard Muybridge, *Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill,* 1877, Photograph – Eleven Albumen Printed Sheets, 17.7x218.4cm. Collection of the Sack Photographic Trust – Image Courtesy of SFMoMA: https://www.sfmoma.org/artwork/ST1998.0349.A-K.

[47] Rebecca Solnit, *River of Shadows: Eadweard Muybridge and the Technological Wild West* (New York: Viking, 2003), 155.

worldview that chimed with the works of the prominent inheritors of Cole's landscape legacy. In the West, artists were continuing the development of a visual culture of Romanticism that was more intimately related to place and social conditions, and this meant representing the golden booms of California, Nevada, Colorado, Wyoming and Montana.[48] The wilderness that formed the final desolate image in Cole's *The Course of Empire* was adapted to this new reality by his disciples in the Hudson River School, Thomas Moran and Albert Bierstadt. These artists both produced extensive bodies of work that relied on depictions of disembodied wilderness in the American West from the middle of the nineteenth century. While the "glorious, sun-drenched, self-congratulatory works" of these painters and their "spectacular" Wests may be read as a divergence from Cole's darker vision of imperial destiny, the trope of the disappearing native remained consistent.[49] According to William Cronon, this trope was consolidated in the late nineteenth century by artists like Moran and Bierstadt in the ways that they composed "prehuman" landscapes "fresh in the morning of God's creation." However, the clear visual articulation of racial politics in the Romantic visions of the American West was not solely a product of the historical moment in which most Western "Indians were losing control of their land."[50] Colonialism had been couched in Romantic terms since the late eighteenth century, but it was during the mid-nineteenth century that the aesthetics of Romantic fantasy in the New World acquired a distinctive settler hue.

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[48] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 307.

[49] Sachs, "American Arcadia," 223.

[50] Cronon, "Telling Tales on Canvas," 81.

Figure 5.5 Albert Bierstadt, *Looking Down Yosemite Valley, California,* 1865, oil on canvas, 165x245cm. Source: Courtesy of the Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama.

Artists and photographers alike were united in this moment. One example lies in Muybridge's 1872 trip into the Yosemite Valley, which was spurred by demand for a more artistic photographic treatment of the valley and funded by a collection of subscribers from the burgeoning West Coast and the established art world.[51] Bierstadt – a friend of Muybridge's – was one of these subscribers, who subsequently accompanied Muybridge into the valley and directed some of the pictures of Indians that the photographer captured in 1872.[52] Bierstadt was following his own artistic paths in the valley by making sketches for two close-up

[51] Mary Jessup Hood and Robert Bartlett Haas, "Eadweard Muybridge's Yosemite Valley Photographs, 1867-1872," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 42 No. 1 (March 1963): 15-18.

[52] Solnit, *River of Shadows*, 90-91.

pictures of Native American life.[53] These works might be understood as the shadowy inverse to his earlier, astoundingly popular visions of Yosemite that surged with morning light and lacked any human trace. These images were characteristic of the generation of Romantic painters that looked west for their inspiration and specialised in depicting "the moment just before the incursions of an alien world." Cronon has argued that although they initially included Native American figures in the tradition of the plains landscapes of George Catlin and Karl Bodmer, their most influential visions either utilised Indigenous people as markers of the age of the landscape, formalised them as scaling devices, or omitted them altogether (Figure 5.5).[54] While Bierstadt and Muybridge were both interested in Indigenous subjects, it was landscape that held their attention. Accordingly, their work serves as evidence of a settler Romantic fantasy whereby it was possible to separate Indigenous people and the landscapes through an artistic sleight of hand.

The possibilities of Romantic fantasy were apparent, too, in the antipodean settler colony of Tasmania. From at least the date of Governor Lachlan Macquarie's trip to Tasmania in 1811, the island was well-known for the ways in which the harmony of river, settlement and mountain satisfied European expectations of the scenic. [55] Although the Australian colonies lacked any figure with the gravity and imagination of Cole, John Glover's immigration to Tasmania in 1830 initiated a new era in Australian colonial landscape painting. Glover never composed a piece with the grand ambitions of *The Course of Empire,* but his Australian

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[53] Albert Bierstadt, *California Indian Camp,* 1872, oil on canvas. Collection of the Oakland Museum of California; see also, Albert Bierstadt, *Indians in Council,* 1872, oil on canvas. Collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum.

[54] William Cronon, "Telling Tales on Canvas," 80-81.

[55] Julia Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: how Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2005), 40-42.

paintings were similarly concerned with landscape, settlement and (more circuitously) their New World corollary, Indigenous presence. Although some art historians have remembered Glover as a relative innocent in the settler colonial struggle over Indigenous possession in Tasmania, Tim Bonyhady has accentuated how "Glover's static vision of the Tasmanians" fed into the contemporary European appetite for the exotic.[56] Placing Glover's personal attitudes toward Indigenous Tasmanians aside, his scenes of corroborree, beginning with *The Western View of the Mountains* in 1833 and continuing through *Natives on the Ouse River* (Figure 5.6), could all be transplanted into the middle ground of Cole's 'The Savage State' without much adjustment.[57] The strain of American Romanticism also featured "memorials" to native peoples that were "embedded" in the work of Cole and Charles Bird King.[58] Like these Americans, Glover's Indigenous subjects were inhabitants of "other Golden Ages" whose heights were reached before the epochal shift of European settlement.[59] These fantasies – specifically those of racial decline – were indulged from the beginning of Romantic landscape painting in Australia and while they pivoted on the conception of epochal time explored earlier, they also diverged from European Romanticism in the ways that they implicitly justified settler colonialism.

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[56] David Hansen argued that "there was a directness, even an innocence, in Glover's encounters with the Aborigines." David Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque* (Hobart: Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, 2005), 109; Tim Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition: Australian landscape painting, 1801-1890* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985) 5-6, 25-34.

[57] Glover displayed sympathetic attitudes to Indigenous people, which would be expected in the 1830s, after the point at which the Black War had been 'won' and Indigenous resistance no longer seriously threatened settlement in Tasmania. He also criticised other landowners like John Batman due to their "vile" treatment of Indigenous Tasmanians. As shown elsewhere in this thesis, these admirable attitudes served to legitimise settlement and ease responsibility for dispossession.

[58] Anne Mcgrath, *Illicit Love: Interracial Sex and Marriage in the United States and Australia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 217

[59] Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition,* 30-31.

Figure 5.6 John Glover, *Natives on the Ouse River, Van Diemen's Land,* 1838, oil on canvas, 78x115.6cm. Source: Courtesy of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney.

Glover's painting served the interests of settlers in Tasmania and investors in England just as Cole's landscapes did in North America. Like Cole, Glover was also situated at the beginning of a lineage of Romantic landscape artists. In addition to his images of Indigenous people, Glover developed complementary pastoral and wilderness visions in his work that endured throughout the nineteenth century. Glover produced his most striking landscape paintings around the 1840s, which was interestingly also a "high point of American Romanticism."[60] In his pastoral work, like the 1840 painting *Patterdale Farm,*[61] he depicted the verdant and domesticated hills of his property at Mills Plains in northern Tasmania – a landscape in which the balance between settler and nature was thoroughly "tipped" toward the European.[62] Just

[60] Mcgrath, *Illicit Love*, 217.

[61] John Glover, *Patterdale Farm,* circa 1840, oil on canvas, 76.6x115.2cm. Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney.

[62] Cronon, 'Telling Tales on Canvas," 42-44.

as important though was the 1837 image, *Mount Wellington with Orphan Asylum – Van Diemen's Land* (Figure 5.7), which places a tiny asylum in the shadows of a thickly forested Mount Wellington surrounded by clouds and flanked by a rainbow. Glover seems to have only approached the sublime in this one painting, but this rendering of colonial nature as wilderness became more popular later in the nineteenth century and reached an apogee in the 1860s and 1870s.

Figure 5.7 John Glover, *Mount Wellington, with the Orphan Asylum, Van Diemen's Land,* 1837, oil on canvas, 76.5x114.2cm. Source: Courtesy of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

During this period the symbolism of wilderness became central to a group of settler artists. These artists produced a series of paintings in the landscape tradition that circulated not only within their local colonial contexts, but also in the broader Tasman world. Prominent Australian artists such as Nicholas Chevalier and Eugene von Guérard and New Zealanders like John Gully and Alfred Sharpe relied on circuits that traversed the Tasman Sea. In 1879 Von Guérard, having established his reputation in the 1850s and 1860s by painting

picturesque and sublime scenes in the Australian wilderness, completed a masterful painting of Mitre Peak reflected in the still waters of Milford Sound (Figure 5.8). However, New Zealand provided more than just inspirational settings for Australian artists; John Gully's views of the pleasingly conical Mount Egmont in Taranaki endeared him to Von Guérard's own Victorian arts fraternity.[63] Sharpe, influenced in by the Romantic Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, was an active writer, preservationist and painter in northern New Zealand and New South Wales in the 1870s and 1880s and channelled many of settler colonial influences that defined the work of Cole North America and Glover in Tasmania. His participation in colonial art circles, according to James Beattie, hinged on expressions of "environmental nostalgia and anxiety" and a commitment to the natural world.[64] Gully and Sharpe were both mostly watercolourists though and there is a noticeable difference between their softer style and the grand oils of the Australian Romantics. Nevertheless, the subjects that these artists were drawn to were consistently those befitting the moniker of wilderness – a genre of settler Romantic painting exemplified in the work of the Tasmanian William Charles Piguenit.

Figure 5.8 Eugene von Guérard, *Milford Sound, New Zealand,* oil on canvas, 99.2x176cm. Source: Courtesy of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney.

[63] Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition*, 80.

[64] James Beattie, *Empire and Environmental Anxiety: Health, Science, Art and Conservation in South Asia and Australasia, 1800-1920* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 79-89.

Figure 5.9 W.C. Piguenit, *Mount Olympus, Lake St Clair, Tasmania, the source of the Derwent,* oil on canvas, 69x107cm. Source: Courtesy of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney.

Piguenit was the consummate settler Romantic painter and the antipodean equivalent to Bierstadt and Moran in the United States. Piguenit was born in Hobart in 1836, in the same year that Cole completed *View from Mount Holyoke* and *The Course of Empire* in New York. He was trained as a draughtsman in the Tasmanian Survey Office from the age of fourteen and developed his painting in the Tasmanian Highlands before relocating to Sydney in 1875 as his work steadily increased in popularity.[65] Tim Bonyhady names him as both the first major colonial artist born in Australia and the "last major Australian romantic landscape painter."[66] In his paintings of wilderness, Piguenit deployed a range of Romantic conventions

[65] Neil Smith, "Piguenit, William Charles," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976): http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/piguenit-william-charles-4400/text7173.

[66] Tim Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2000), 1.

including the picturesque and the sublime, but his most significant works were grand visions of imposing escarpments, dark lakes and swirling clouds. Piguenit's striking Romantic style is apparent in the 1875 painting: *Mount Olympus, Lake St Clair, Tasmania, the source of the Derwent* (Figure 5.9). This painting stands as an example of Piguenit's development of a darker, more dramatic style of landscape painting organised around the depiction of an "overpowering nature."[67] The development of this aesthetic necessarily diminished the position of human figures in Romantic paintings, leaving little space for European observers, let alone the Indigenous figures that occasionally featured earlier in the century.

These racial politics were a feature, too, of both the European Romanticism of the late eighteenth century and Cole and Glover's work in the 1830s. Indeed, the development of the conceit of wilderness was mostly a settler phenomenon that accelerated as painters pushed west in the United States and as the Australian colonies reached maturity in the late nineteenth century. This conceit was consolidated in visual culture between the 1830s and 1870s by the development of a strand of settler Romanticism. This remarkable cultivation of a pristine nature in settler contexts represented a crucial divergence from European Romanticism. Whereas Wordsworth's ruinous Tintern Abbey represented an inaccessible pre-industrial past, the ruins of Cole (while referencing Wordsworth in the same way that later photographers did) represent something altogether more powerful – the erasure of Indigenous presence. In a generational process that had an antipodean equivalent, Bierstadt and Moran built on this conceit while largely doing away with Cole's ruinous sign. These later artists thereby produced slightly different aesthetics that did the familiar cultural work of erasure and dispossession. In the late nineteenth century a new generation of artists – this

[67] Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition,* 83-86.

time photographers – layered their contributions atop those of the Romantic painters. From the late 1860s to the early twentieth century settler photographers took advantage of technological advances in image-making to distribute visions of nature that reinforced the settler Romantic conceit of wilderness.

Settler Romanticism and photographic wilderness in the late nineteenth century

If the settler Romantic conceit of wilderness was established in colonial landscape painting, it was secured through the medium of wilderness photography. Settler photographers consolidated the rough trajectory of the disappearing native that marked the development of colonial landscape painting during the nineteenth century. They effectively disseminated a vision of nature rooted in the traditions of Romanticism and driven by the politics of settler colonialism. In colonies like those in the American west and the antipodes, artists produced images of settlement and sentiment that reflected the reciprocal exchange of territorial appropriation.[68] For settlers, this reciprocity was spatial and involved the effects that immigrants had on the land, and in reverse, the impact that new landscapes had on immigrants. The cycle excluded local Indigenous populations as a matter of course – collapsing them into either side of the exchange. Chapter Four outlined the range of formal mechanisms that settler photographers deployed to manage Indigenous presence and absence in settler colonial space. It argued that the visual representations of landscape that these settlers created were marked by erasure by way of concealed and conspicuous disembodiments. Such visions also constituted settler colonialism's singular contribution to Romanticism. Settler colonies were spaces where fantasies of Romantic landscape could be entertained in various modes. They were sites where movements based on this conceit could

[68] Patrick McCaughey, "Likeness and Unlikeness: The American-Australian Experience," in *New Worlds from Old: Nineteenth Century Australian and American Landscapes,* eds., Elizabeth Johns, Andrew Sayers, Elizabeth Mankin Kornhausier; with Amy Ellis (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1998), 16.

prosper, and they boasted a literate and wealthy citizenry eager to consume the images of disembodied nature that photographers created.

The juncture between Romantic landscape painting and landscape photography in settler colonies was a lingering one. The two media initially coexisted but from the moment of Abraham Lincoln's approval of the Yosemite Grant in 1864 the imaginary powers of photography were ascendant. Importantly, it was the 1861 photographs taken by Watkins that Lincoln had before him as he signed the legislation, and not Thomas Ayres' drawings of the valley from the 1850s.[69] These timelines were only slightly delayed in colonial Australia: from the 1860s New South Wales' Eccleston Du Faur sought to establish artists' camps in the Blue Mountains and the Grose Valley in order to explicitly recreate Watkins' famous Yosemite plates in the antipodes.[70] The 1860s also marked the emergence of serious landscape photography in New Zealand when the pioneering daguerrotypist William Meluish's studio in Dunedin was taken over by Mundy.[71] These photographers and their fine art counterparts coexisted until the 1890s in Australia, when according to Bonyhady, "the wilderness lost importance" in the medium of "Australian landscape painting" just as it had declined in popularity in the United States in the 1870s and 1880s.[72] Although it took almost three decades, by the 1890s landscape photography was the ascendant medium for the articulation of the settler Romantic conceit of wilderness.

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[69] Kevin Michael DeLuca and Anne Teresa Demo, "Imaging Nature: Watkins, Yosemite and the Birth of Environmentalism" *Critical Studies in Media Communications* 17, no. 3 (September 2000): 241-242.

[70] Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth,* 193-194.

[71] Hardwicke Knight, "Photographers in Colonial New Zealand," *History of Photography* 9 no. 3 (1 July 1985): 175-177.

[72] Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition,* 86.

Figure 5.10 John Watt Beattie, *Lake Marion, Du Cane Range (Tasmania),* 1890s, Albumen Print, 17.4x22.3cm. Source: PIC/3313/59 LOC Album 956 – National Library of Australia, Canberra: https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-146732854.

The fullest expression of this conceit formed the central element of Beattie's most successful years as a promoter of nature in fin de siècle Tasmania. Between 1896 and 1906 Beattie conducted regular presentations in the urban centres of Hobart and Launceston that accentuated the Romantic features of the Tasmanian landscape.[73] Beattie's high wilderness was articulated in images like *Lake Marion and the Du Cane Range* (Figure 5.10) and *Mountains Byron, Cuvier, Manfred and Marion, and Lake St. Clair*, which feature monumental highland scenery more readily associated with the American West than the

[73] Jarrod Hore, "'Beautiful Tasmania:' Environmental Consciousness in the John Watt Beattie's Romantic Wilderness," *History Australia* 14, no. 1 (2017): 48-66.

Australian scrub.[74] In *Lake Marion* Beattie framed Lake Marion "under the rugged shelter" of the Du Cane Range, which rose precipitously out of a misty middle distance.[75] Photographs such as these traded in the sublime, which in this case evoked a settler mountaintop transcendentalism that moved Beattie to wordlessness: "I am struck dumb, but oh! my soul sings."[76] While the sublime sentiments of settlers drew upon the "grand passions" described in Edmund Burke's mid-eighteenth century treatise on the sublime *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime,* they rested just as heavily on experiences of space in settler colonies. These experiences of space relied on absences – both of Indigenous peoples and in this case other settlers. The absence of human figures in the high wilderness imagery of Romantic settler photography supported the fantasy of wilderness and delivered reproducible, enduring symbols of the natural world.

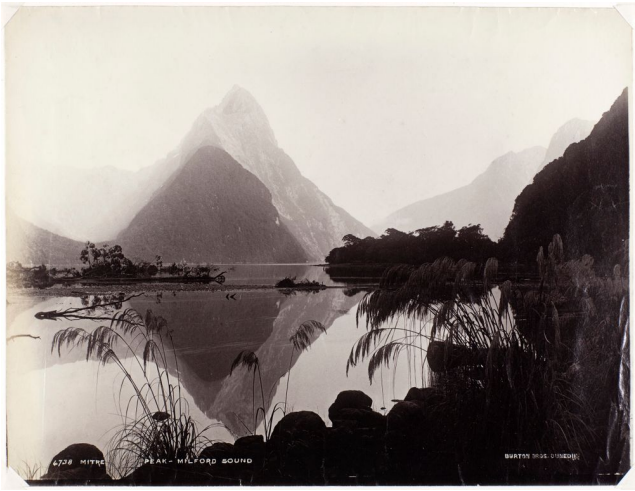

Figure 5.11 Alfred Burton (Burton Brothers), *Mitre Peak – Milford Sound,* 1889, Albumen Print, 15.4x20cm. Source: Photography Collection. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/192979.

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[74] Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience,* 4th ed. (Plymouth: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2010), 7.

[75] John Watt Beattie, Papers, 1859-1930, RS29/7 (2), Royal Society Collection, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Hobart.

[76] John Watt Beattie, quoted by Jack Cato in The Story of the Camera in Australia (1955), 2nd edition, (Melbourne: Institute 27 of Australian Photography, 1977), 82. For mountaintop transcendentalism see William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, ed., William Cronon (New York: Norton, 1995), 9–12.

Figure 5.12 Alfred Burton (Burton Brothers), *Sutherland Fall, 1904 feet, near Milford Sound. One of the Highest Waterfalls in the World,* 1888, Albumen Print. Source: Photography Collection. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/194891.

Burton's photographs of remote areas in New Zealand during the 1880s also channelled a Romantic vision of wilderness tempered in the crucible of the Settler Revolution. The landscapes of southern New Zealand in particular offered a similar but enhanced version of the Tasmanian lake and river scenery that so satisfied European tastes, and Burton or his

representatives made nine photographic expeditions to Milford Sound between 1874 and 1888.[77] The objective of these expeditions was to capture photographs like *Mitre Peak – Milford Sound* (Figure 5.11) which distilled the grandest components of Romantic scenery in its depiction of the sheer walls of the fjord plunging into the mirrored surface of the sound. In 1888 Burton participated in the Sutherland Falls expedition, which was pivotal in opening Milford Sound to overland tourism.[78] His photograph of the Sutherland Falls (Figure 5.12) enacted this shift by positioning the camera amongst the gravel at the very bottom of the cascade. This was a natural view for a walker but it was impossible to capture from the deck of a steamer. Like Beattie's photography in the Tasmanian highlands, Burton's work in the remote regions of New Zealand traded in the sublime and emphasised human absence even as it sought to promote and commercialise these wildernesses through tourism.[79] All this indicates that for settlers, landscapes were political spaces that were Romanticised in order to deliver possession.

Romanticism, possession and promotion had coexisted from the popular beginnings of this type of settler colonial wilderness photography in the American West. In the early 1860s, the various geological survey agencies that initially sustained landscape photography in the West, and secured settler control over Indigenous lands, were forced to balance the "value of photography for generating publicity" with "its limitations as a tool of science."[80] Outside the bounds of surveyors and government officials, though, the photographs of Yosemite by the

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[77] Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder,* 37-44.; Christine Whybrew, 2010 "The Burton Brothers Studio: Commerce in Photography and the Marketing of New Zealand, 1866-1898," PhD diss., (University of Otago, 2010), 277.

[78] Whybrew, "The Burton Brothers Studio," 310.

[79] Whybrew, "The Burton Brothers Studio," 307-317.

[80] Kelsey, *Archive Style,* 77.

luminaries Watkins and Charles Weed were not subject to the same rigorous questioning and won considerable acclaim at international exhibitions in the 1860s.[81] For the judges and viewers at these exhibitions the photographs were evidence of the condition of wilderness in the New World. In 1867 the *Illustrated London News* said of Weed's photographs: "In none of these pictures do we see the least signs of man; not a log hut nor an axe-felled tree to indicate his presence; all seems wild, primitive."[82] Clearly, the ways in which wilderness photography represented space in Yosemite as a "sublime site" devoid of human presence resonated throughout the late nineteenth-century settler world.[83] Although these photographers were in many instances bound up in the imperatives of survey work, Romanticism lent their most popular pictures an authenticity stripped of the instrumentality of survey imagery.

Picturesque and sublime images of wilderness may have been the most potent symbols of settler colonial politics in landscape photography, but these images were nevertheless embedded within a range of other landscape modes that did similar political work. The settler conceit of wilderness was necessarily balanced alongside equally Romantic visions of improvement and control in a hybrid landscape photography that, like landscape painting, flitted between positions in order to satisfy the colonial eye. These positions were those of "order" and "creation" – the two opposing principles according to which the "idea of Nature

[81] Peter Palmquist, "California's Peripatetic Photographer," *California History* 58, no. 3 (1979): 197; Peter Palmquist, *Carleton Watkins: Photographer of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 18-20, 32-33.

[82] *Illustrated London News,* September 14, 1867.

[83] Kevin DeLuca and Ann Demo, "Imagining Nature and Erasing Class and Race: Carleton Watkins, John Muir, and the Construction of Wilderness," *Environmental History* 6, no. 4 (October 2001): 547.

was held and transformed" in modern Europe.[84] Order was best communicated in the mode of the pictorial, which was a photographic style dating from the 1870s that combined a melancholic soft focus, fine art aspirations and a global outlook.[85] Pictorialists drew on a range of influences but mostly depicted nature as "ripe for settlement."[86] While in London and New York these pictorialist Arcadias might have evoked a distant rural past, for settlers the images were much more immediate. The "order" of a pictorialist landscape was not inherited but hard-won. In late nineteenth-century Gippsland this process involved the wide-scale clearing of "primeval forest" by selectors and sawmillers.[87] Throughout the 1870s and 1880s the artist Nicholas Caire intermittently documented this process through his highland photography and promotional efforts.

Figure 5.13 Nicholas Caire, *Scene at the foot of Mt. Strzlecki [i.e. Strzelecki ,* 1886, Albumen Silver Print, 15x20.5cm. Source: Gippsland Scenery no. 7 – State Library of Victoria, Melbourne: http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/295532.

[84] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973), 127.

[85] Hope Kingsley and Dennis Reed, "Pictorialism," *Grove Art Online* (1 August 1996, updated and revised, 11 February 2013).

[86] Rod Giblett and Juha Tolonen, *Photography and Landscape* (Bristol: Intellect, 2012), 87-88.

[87] Nicholas Caire, *The Primeval Forest,* 1886, 15x20.5cm. Source: Gippsland Scenery no. 2 – National Library of Australia, Canberra.

Gippsland in the 1880s was settler colonialism in microcosm and Caire's application of pictorialism in this rapidly changing geography was a neat instance of settler Romanticism. Caire approached photography in a "sensitive and artistic" manner and imposed exacting standards on his pictures of settlement amidst the giant trees, damp ferns and languid coastal lagoons of the Gippsland and eastern Victoria.[88] The spatial tensions of the colonial landscape are expressed in Caire's 1886 photograph *Scene at the foot of Mt. Strzlecki* (Figure 5.13), which looks across a cleared and settled meadow onto a slope of defoliated eucalypts surrounded by remnant forest. Like other Gippsland photographs by Caire, this image seems to link the stark white timber on the mountainside with the symbols of its "productive use" – in this case the proud dwelling that inhabits the focal point of the shot.[89] In depicting the tension between the preservation and transformation of the natural world in the Gippsland, Caire was hitching his photography to one of the great historical struggles of the imperial age.[90] Like the pictorial mode in which he worked, Caire romanticised this transformation in various ways.

Settler colonial photographers made landscapes Romantic by attaching this process to conceptions of epochal time that had characterised Romanticism since the late eighteenth century. This allowed the presentation of a contingent and political historical process as inevitable and justified the melancholy tone of pictorialism. These images of transition were

[88] Jack Cato, "Caire, Nicholas John," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969): http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/caire-nicholas-john-3139/text3683.

[89] Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth,* 252.

[90] Alan Bewell, "Romanticism and Colonial Environmental History," *European Romantic Review* 23 (2012): 397.

consistently deployed alongside the more 'natural' modes of the picturesque and the sublime but were all organised around nature, and the mastery of the settler photographer over it. One of the finest examples of this might be the series 'Watkins' Pacific Coast' which was marked out on bright orange stereoscope cards declaring the organising subject matter. This series united "Photographic views of California, Oregon, and the Pacific Coast generally – embracing Yosemite, Big Trees, Geysers, Mount Shasta, Mining City, etc., etc."[91] Clearly, the nature of western geography imposed an abiding influence on Watkins' photographic organisation and was a meaningful mark for his consumers. However, these easily reproducible stereoscope cards were nevertheless optimised for individual sale.[92] These photographs document the epochal transformation of the natural world that the Settler Revolution heralded in the Anglo. It was by virtue of this temporal characteristic that settler photographers can be said to have worked in the tradition of Romanticism despite their interest in a wide range of subjects. Settler Romanticism resisted the human-nature divide.

In Watkins' stereoscope cards settler Romanticism was articulated through a kaleidoscope of shifting moments concerned with the transformation of wilderness. For Watkins and his customers, the Romantic struggle between the preservation and the transformation of natures was mostly rendered temporally and visually. Watkins worked with image and wilderness, but other settlers worked with prose. Indeed, the relationships between wildernesses and the word was a central historical dynamic of Romanticism. The British poets of the late

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[91] The geographic emplotment of Watkins' work is apparent in an image like, *Post Office, San Francisco (California). Watkins' Pacific Coast.* Stereograph Card. Zelda Mackay Collection of Stereographic Views. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[92] Interestingly, certain clusters of photographs (usually Watkins' views of Yosemite) proliferate in private collections across the American West and indeed the globe, indicating that Watkins' commercial preferences allowed his consumers to negotiate his catalogue and begin to establish their own orientation toward Californian nature.

eighteenth century relied on even older expressions of the wilderness story like those in John Milton's epic poem Paradise Lost (1667), which fixed human-nature relations at the centre of the English Romantic tradition as expressed by Wordsworth, Lord Byron and Percy Bysshe Shelley. The nostalgia for Eden that Milton articulated became a powerful lens through which settlers and travellers responded to the Yosemite Valley in the nineteenth century and continue to exert influence on the ways that wilderness areas are imagined today.[93] Similar currents are redolent in the work of the mid-nineteenth-century settler philosopher Henry David Thoreau, who leaned on nostalgia when he claimed that "in wildness is the preservation of the world."[94] The idea that wilderness is an "antidote for the poisons of industrial society" was a Romantic "presumption" that drove the prose of John Muir – himself among the "founding fathers of modern environmentalism."[95] As this chapter has argued, though, there were important differences between the Romantic natures imagined by Milton, Wordsworth and Byron and those of Muir and Thoreau. Principally, these fantasies differed due to the intimate colonial histories of Indigenous dispossession that framed the "condition of possibility for the sense of settler escape into the wilderness."[96] What endured was the relationship between wilderness and the word, a relationship that settler photographers took up in various ways.

The finest example of this relationship between wilderness imagery and more logocentric forms of expression in the Anglo settler world may have been articulated once again in fin de

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[93] Mark Stoll, "Milton in Yosemite: Paradise Lost and the National Parks Idea," *Environmental History* 13 no. 2 (April 2008): 237-274.

[94] Henry David Thoreau, "Walking,"*The Atlantic,* 1862.

[95] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Random House, 1995), 7.

[96] Mark Rifkin, *Settler Common Sense: Queerness and Everyday Colonialism in the American Renaissance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 139.

siècle siecle Tasmania. Indeed, Beattie was unique amongst settler colonial photographers in that he combined the promotional activities of nature writers like Muir with the artistic eye of an aesthete like Muybridge. This was partly due to the local context of colonial Tasmania. In both Hobart and Launceston photographic clubs like the Tasmanian Photographic and Art Association and the Northern Tasmanian Camera Club became institutions that encouraged wilderness photography and rhetorical engagement.[97] Contemporaries of Beattie like Stephen Spurling II and the Anson brothers participated in a vibrant culture of photographic promotion that relied on public appearance, skilful oratory and canny advertising.[98] One of the more powerful mediums that these photographers communicated in was the Magic Lantern Show, which packaged photography, narrative and argument together in an immersive and illusory experience. Although these performances relied on the immersive power of projected images, the incantations of the magician sustained the illusion. Between 1896 and 1906 Beattie regularly filled auditoriums of "seventy or eighty people", who consumed tightly packaged vignettes of Tasmania's Romantic scenery.[99] Although they were more likely both a consequence of and an impetus to changing leisure patterns, according to Beattie, his performances were pivotal in the popularisation of Tasmanian nature and gave him "no end of pleasure" as a promoter.[100] In the hands of Beattie the Magic Lantern Show functioned as a link between wilderness and the word and distilled many of the traditions and mutations of settler Romanticism.

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[97] Nic Haygarth, *The Wild Ride: Revolutions that shaped Tasmanian Black and White Wilderness Photography* (Launceston: The National Trust of Australia, 2008), 35.

[98] Christine Burgess, 2010 "The Spurling Legacy and the Emergence of Wilderness Photography in Tasmania," PhD diss., (University of Tasmania, Hobart, 2010), 1–2.

[99] Jack Cato, *The Story of the Camera in Australia* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1955), 82.

[100] John Watt Beattie quoted in, "Death of Mr. J.W. Beattie: Widely Known Photographer,"*The Mercury,* June 25, 1930, 7.

Beattie's Magic Lantern Shows, like Romanticism in general, were deeply concerned with the contest between the preservation and transformation of natures. At various stages Beattie rehearsed fantasies of colonial surveying and exploration despite conducting the majority of his presentations well after Tasmania had been mapped and measured. In these performances the "caves and blowholes," the "water and timber resources," and the specifics of weather never escaped his keen observation.[101] The principal purpose of employing the "the explorer's backward view" in this fashion was not to accurately convey the natural characteristics of the landscape but to inhabit the persona of the settler explorer, and thereby convey the sentimental immersion of the self in nature.[102] This relied on the transcendental tradition pioneered by John Burroughs and Muir in the United States.[103] Together, these forces drew Beattie's audiences into an imaginary wilderness immersion experience that he maintained using rhetorical techniques. In a lecture on the Hartz Mountains he confessed that "this great storm-swept plain" had claimed the life of his companion Arthur Geeves. Having raised the dangers of the Hartz wilderness, Beattie immediately underscored the proximity of this space: "one can hardly realise how, within twelve miles of a temperate climate there can exist contemporaneously, such wild and intemperate conditions."[104] This move invoked both the rational observation of science and the immersive sentimentality of anecdote. Importantly, though, this immersion only took Beattie's audiences so far. The transcendental experience of nature that was valuable in the context of fin de siècle Tasmania could only be

[101] Cato, *The Story of the Camera in Australia,* 83.

[102] Paul Carter, *Living in a New Country: History, Travelling and Language,* 2nd ed. (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1992), 48.

[103] Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora,* 106–7.

[104] John Watt Beattie, Papers, 1859-1930, RS29/7 (2), Royal Society Collection University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Hobart.

imperfectly reproduced in a dimmed hall. Beattie's photographs of the gorge of the Forth River failed "sadly in impressing the vast depths of the gorges and the cliff, which can only be realised and appreciated by a direct inspection of the actual scene."[105] In Beattie's Magic Lantern Shows Romanticism inhered in the promise of the immersion of the self in nature and in the failed connection that left an illusion of inexpressible wonder intact.

The material equivalent of the Magic Lantern Show was the annotated album, which combined the contained narrative of the public performance with Watkins' marked stereoscope cards. Though lacking the ephemerality of a public performance, these objects exuded Romanticism in their own right. Like the settler landscape photography of Watkins or Mundy's exhibition in London in 1874 and 1875, photographic albums displayed settler Romantic characteristics that defied understandings of these objects as either reliable sources of scientific information or as whimsical fantasies.[106] Beattie's contribution – *Beautiful Tasmania: The Garden Island* – was published between 1900 and 1909 and featured a number of his scenic, picturesque and sublime photographs along with a short essay on Tasmania's natural virtues. *Beautiful Tasmania* began with a two page introduction that explained the climatic and scenic attractions of Tasmania as they would appear to mainland tourists. Fitting alongside much of Beattie's early twentieth century promotional activity, the text focused on the natural features of Tasmania and the opportunities for leisure in the island. The author sought to prove 'that there are attractions in Tasmania that appeal to a very

[105] John Watt Beattie, Papers, 1859-1930, RSA/A17B Royal Society UTAS Library.

[106] François Brunet, "Nationalities and Universalism in the Early Historiography of Photography (1843–1857)," *History of Photography* 35 (2011): 98–9.

wide range of tastes.' Importantly, the introduction was capped by a romantic link, quoting Byron's Childe Harold:

> There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,
>
> There is a rapture on the lonely shore,
>
> There is society where none intrudes
>
> By the deep sea, and music in its roar.[107]

Linking Tasmanian scenery back to Byron, considered by some as *the* poet of high Romanticism, identified the territorial priorities of settler colonialism with the Romantic traditions with which they were linked.

Across the Bass Strait Caire's photographs of the Gippsland Lakes were used in a publication that refined the hybrid structure of settler Romanticism. Composed during the late nineteenth century and published a number of times from 1907, *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves* simultaneously furthered a Romantic vision of nature and a clear settler colonial politics. The guide was written by the country journalist and "pioneer enthusiast" Frank Whitcombe who, by the 1920s, was melancholically remembering the turn of the century as a golden age of "Victorian pioneers."[108] According to Whitcombe these pioneers had the run of a landscape that was empty, "unvisited," "primeval" and "sacred" only "to

[107] *Beautiful Tasmania the Garden Island*, LPIC139 (1900-1909), Launceston Local Studies Collection, Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office, Launceston.

[108] Helen Doyle, "Local History and Decline in Country Victoria" in *Struggle Country: The Rural Ideal in Twentieth Century Australia,* eds., Graeme Davison and Marc Brodie (Clayton: Monash University ePress, 2005); Frank Whitcombe, 'History of Donald', *Weekly Times*, c.1929–30, in his 'Weekly Times "Country Towns" Series (Scrapbook)', held by the State Library of Victoria.

bush birds and wallabies."[109] In the Gippsland was "the tangled wilderness, silent, secluded and solemn; unvisited by the foot of man; unseen by the wombat or the bandicoot; deaf to all but the crack of the whipbird and the cry of the warning plover."[110] These renderings had political implications and if "images of a pastoral, and pastoralist, country helped create a theory and practice of land use, a way of seeing and doing," then so must have these guides and albums help create a settler Romantic wilderness.[111] Sponsored by various businesses including the Victorian Railways, civilisation was by no means invisible in Whitcombe's guide – it just never impinged on the wilderness. Likewise, the Indigenous inhabitants of the Gippsland were physically confined to the Lake Tyers Mission while their presence lingered as a spectre over the landscape: Lake Tyers, according to "native legend" was formed when "the ocean fell asleep among the trees."[112] The Romantic vision of nature in the Gippsland had a settler colonial political edge.

If Beattie's Magic Lantern Show distilled the traditions of settler Romanticism into a single powerful tool of promotion in fin de siècle Tasmania, the mobilisation of Caire's photographs in *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves* laid bare the imperative behind this formation's hybrid vision. Objects like these and Watkins' annotated stereoscope cards were simultaneously Romantic in their high regard for a pristine nature and beautiful landscape, and settler colonial in their spatial organisation of Indigenous peoples and the markers of

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[109] Frank Whitcombe, *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves* (Gippsland: Cunninghame Progressive Association, 1907), 14.

[110] Whitcombe, *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves,* 65.

[111] Rod Giblett, "Shooting the Sunburnt Country, the Land of Sweeping Plains, the Rugged Mountains Ranger: Australian Landscape and Wilderness Photography," *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 21 no. 3 (September 2007): 343.

[112] Whitcombe, *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves,* 61.

their possession. Nearly a century in the making, settler Romantic photography bound territory and politics together in the symbol of wilderness. In North America and the antipodes, photographic wilderness fulfilled the nascent promises inherent in Romantic imagery dating back to at least the 1830s. With Indigenous possession and presence adequately concealed in the imagery of Watkins' Yosemite, the ambience of Beattie's Magic Lantern Shows and Whitcombe's ebullient prose, settlers could finally approach the disembodied landscape foreshadowed in Cole's *The Course of Empire* in 1836.

* * *

Settler Romanticism came together for Whitcombe and his readers among the "cloisters of the great gums" on the Gippsland Lakes. The "arborescent solemnity" that these settlers felt, the "sublimity of manifestation" that they witnessed, was a product of over a century of cultural development within the Romantic tradition.[113] These ideas about landscape could only be effectively expressed in specific places; these places were sites where the Romantic tradition and settler colonial politics came together in equal parts. For Victorians and Tasmanians and their cousins across the Tasman Sea in New Zealand and over the Pacific Ocean in North America, experiences of nature were equally dependent on Romanticism and settler colonialism. In fact, wilderness (itself a vision of nature as remote, ancient and empty) became Romantic in these settler colonies as the immigrants who displaced Indigenous societies attached existing cultural values to swathes of disembodied territory.

Romanticism prepared settlers to appropriate Indigenous space by providing a store of existing moral and aesthetic ideas that could be attached to colonial landscapes. In various

[113] Whitcombe, *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves,* 69.

ways settlers were both inheritors of and contributors to the European Romantic tradition. However, by the end of the nineteenth century a variant of settler Romanticism emerged in Australia, New Zealand and America that combined the traditional ideology of encounter and epochal conception of time with a nativist settler colonial politics. The enduring feature of this variant was its melancholic conception of time, which settlers used to create antiquity in newly colonised landscapes. Settler Romantic time relied partly on the rendering of decaying settler ruins like Port Arthur but it also positioned Indigenous people as ethnographic curiosities as per the eighteenth-century Romantic traditions of imperial encounter. Other features of settler Romanticism developed organically in settler painting between the 1830s and 1870s. During this period generations of landscape artists on either side of the Pacific Ocean established the conceit of wilderness by erasing and sequestering Indigenous presence on canvas. From the 1870s a cast of photographers replaced the painters and secured the same settler Romantic conceit of wilderness by way of a flood of imagery in various mediums. By the turn of the twentieth century settler photographers had thoroughly imbued the European Romantic tradition with a settler colonial politics of spatial and aesthetic exclusion.

If the proof of a Romantic imagination hinged on the "passion" evoked through the creation of "cultural products" marked for mass consumption, then these settler photographers were models of the movement.[114] In the way that settler photographers reproduced a Romantic imagery of place that was profoundly affected by the colonial politics of environmental transformation, Indigenous dispossession and settler territoriality they established new variants of European Romanticism by making these local conditions do cultural work. The power of these cultural changes is profoundly clear during the late nineteenth century.

[114] Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism,* 179-180, 205.

Indeed, at the very historical moment that the colonial medium of landscape painting moved away from a Romantic depiction of nature, these settler photographers were individually setting off into the mountains, valleys and hinterlands of their world to strengthen and renew affective ties the remote, ancient and empty landscape of the Settler Revolution

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Chapter VI

Noble Cities from Primeval Forest: Settler Territoriality on the World Stage

When Daniel Mundy set up his photographic practice in Dunedin in January 1864 the province was booming. In the same issue of the *Otago Daily Times* that announced the opening of Mundy and Company in Princes Street, tenders for the extension of existing thoroughfares to the north of the town grid were opened up by the Town Board. [1] Another article cited prospectors from Tinker's Gully who were calling for capital investment in pursuit of "the hidden treasure with which the province abounds." [2] And an editorial eviscerated the ex-Premier William Fox for his rejection of Otago-based calls for the political separation of the South Island from the north of New Zealand.[3] Preparations for the upcoming 1865 New Zealand International Exhibition were in full swing too. Since 1863 a Commission led by the Otago politician John Hyde Harris had been working toward the inauguration of the first World's Fair to be held in New Zealand, following humbly in the tradition of those "esteemed" events held in the imperial metropoles of Great Britain, France and the United States.[4] This was a momentous event for a self-conscious settler colony like New Zealand, and Mundy was on hand to photograph the laying of the corner-stone for the exhibition building on the 17th of February 1864. [5]

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[1] "City of Dunedin," *Otago Daily Times* no, 645, January 12, 1864: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18640112.2.3.1.

[2] "A Voice from the Diggings," *Otago Daily Times* no. 645, January 12, 1864: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18640112.2.18.

[3] "Invenium Viam aut Faciam," *Otago Daily Times* no. 645, January 12, 1864: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18640112.2.15; for an account of Otago's enthusiasm for South Island separatism in the nineteenth century, see, André Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier: The Creation and Demise of New Zealand's Provinces, 1853-1876* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016), 149-163.

[4] "New Zealand Exhibition, 1865," *Otago Daily Times* no. 715, April 2, 1864: https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18640402.2.30.

[5] Mundy's advertisement for views of the laying of the corner-stone was coupled with information about photographs of a new monument in Dunedin; "The Late Sargeant Garvey" *Otago Daily Times* no. 685, February 27, 1864: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18640227.2.38.6.

The settlers of Dunedin in 1864 related the felicity of securing an international exhibition to the bountiful landscape that they inhabited. Indeed, the same ideas of nature that so compelled Anglo settlers around the world ensured that their World's Fair would be a success. The commissioners' work would "assist to raise New Zealand to a place worthy of her climate, position, and resources."[6] In the minds of its promoters, the 1864 Dunedin International was to be a confident expression of settler New Zealand's qualities. Notably, these qualities, however much they were extolled by enthusiastic locals, were never unique. On the contrary, the many corner-stones laid across the Anglo settler world were the common seeds of "Exhibition mania." Bursting into life in 1851, this mania was triggered by England's Crystal Palace, or Great Exhibition, and came to shape cultures of consumption throughout Europe, North America, and the British Empire.[7] In this way, then, the settler colonial territoriality evident in the pride of Otagoans readying Dunedin to host an International Exhibition drew upon the assets of modern Anglo imperialism.

These two elements intersected in various ways during the exhibitionary starburst of the late nineteenth century, as settlers participated in global events and appropriated the medium for their own local purposes. Exhibitions animated the imaginations of settlers and subjects at every position on a spectrum of scales that ranged from the local to the global; and settler items were presented and interpreted differently according to the prevailing conditions of their display. Enthusiasm for exhibitions provided for not only the global circulations of

[6] "New Zealand Exhibition, 1865," *Otago Daily Times* no. 715, April 2, 1864: https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18640402.2.30.

[7] Peter Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), xiii.

goods, ideas, people and technologies that underpinned settler forays into nature, but also a framework through which settlers could promote and disseminate their local territorial affinities. As early as the market carnivals of Early Modern Europe, the Utopian displays of post-Revolutionary France and the commercial fairs of the Industrial Revolution, exhibitions had been venues for the articulation of certain ideologies.[8] And like other ideas expressed in the exhibitionary form, settler ideology "reduced complex imperial economic, scientific, and cultural interactions" into a narrow collection of "objects and ideas."[9] The sheer popularity of international exhibitions peaked in the 1880s, but representations of various trans-imperial, racial, colonial and local identities were common well into the first decades of the twentieth century.[10] The intersecting geographies of imperialism and colonialism were written in these events, which made them dynamic simulacra for the emergence of political identities and ideologies.

Settler commodities were essential to the development of the cultures of display that defined international exhibitions. Not only this, but the settler colonies were among the most enthusiastic exhibitors and avid inheritors of the exhibitionary tradition, using them to display their share of the material and imaginative assets of Anglo imperialism. It was not simply timber, minerals and produce that were valued at exhibitions but colonial space, which was reproduced through photography and reporting. Settler photography aligned neatly with the importance of visuality in modern exhibitionary culture, which after its emergence in 1851

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[8] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 3-10.

[9] John Mackenzie, "General Editor's Foreword," in *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, Paul Greenhalgh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), ix-x, ix.

[10] Hoffenberg: *An Empire on Display,* 20.

was accompanied by a surge in images of exhibitions.[11] As both an advanced industrial technology and as a medium for the production of landscape views, photography fulfilled two settler necessities. First, it attested to the advancement of settler civilisation, and secondly, it served as an efficient way to reproduce imagery that accentuated territorial control. In the imagery that settler photographers composed and in the photographs that they exhibited, a remote, ancient and empty vision of nature was conveyed in such a way as to emphasise settler colonial possession and promote the appropriation of Indigenous territory. This chapter builds on Part One's detailed work in outlining the specific ways in which landscape photography enacted setter territoriality by considering the presentation and reception of these visions of nature within international exhibitionary culture. It also builds on Chapter Five's connection of settler visions of nature to the Romantic tradition by examining how settler territoriality was produced and reproduced in imperial and global contexts.

Although exhibitions were collectively and primarily imperial spaces, from the perspectives of those like the Otago Commission – who organised settler contributions – they were intimately linked to place. Most scholarship on the exhibitionary moment has examined the phenomenon within the context of European imperialism. Prominent exhibitions and their cultural importance have been fertile subjects of study since the 1980s, when Robert Rydell published *All the World's a Fair* about the American exhibitions of the late nineteenth century.[12] Since then a vibrant sub-field has developed that focuses on the influential exhibitionary cultures of Britain, France and the United States of America. Other historians

[11] Alexander Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 248.

[12] Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984).

have built on these northern hemisphere-focused insights and constructed accounts of how the imperial politics of the exhibitionary moment intersected with a range of Australasian colonial, urban and cultural contexts.[13] The imperial focus of much of this work is warranted because, as Paul Greenhalgh notes, "these nations were responsible for defining the shape and scope of events everywhere."[14] Despite this broad historiography, however, there is little concern with the settler colonial aspects of late nineteenth-century cultures of exhibition, let alone any work discerning a common foundation of settler display. This chapter, then, also provides a history of how these foundations were established, how they changed over the late nineteenth century and how they provided a rich contextual base for the circulation of imagery and narrative that asserted the territoriality of settler colonialism within global forums of empire.

Focusing on settler colonial territoriality at international exhibitions addresses two significant weaknesses in the existing literature on late nineteenth-century Anglo exhibitionary culture. The first weakness is hinted at by the historian Peter Hoffenberg, who argues that these events fostered a kind of nascent Anglo-imperial community expressed in contemporary calls for imperial federation and the legacy of the Commonwealth. Even though this community was unstable it nevertheless established enduring "social links between the Commonwealth's politically diverse national units." Further, in the metropole, international exhibitions fostered

[13] For Australasian examples of this work see: Kate Darian-Smith et al., *Seize The Day: Exhibitions, Australia and the World* (Clayton: Monash University ePress, 2008); Graeme Davison, "The Culture of the International Exhibitions" in *Victorian Icon: The Royal Exhibition Building Melbourne,* eds. David Dunstan and Mimi Colligan (Melbourne: The Exhibition Trustees in Association with Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1996); Graeme Davison, "Festivals of Nationhood: The International Exhibitions" in *Australian Cultural History,* eds. F.B. Smith and S.L. Goldberg (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1988):158-177; Peter Proudfoot et al., *Colonial City, Global City: Sydney's International Exhibition 1879* (Sydney: Crossing Press, 2000); Penelope Edmonds, "The Le Souef Box: Reflections on Imperial Nostalgia, Material Culture, and Exhibitionary Practice in Colonial Victoria," *Australian Historical Studies* 37, no. 127 (2006): 117-139.

[14] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 2.

the emergence of "imperialism as the national culture or civil religion" of Britain.[15] Hoffenberg's interpretation clearly captures the complexity of exhibitionary culture within an imperial system but it neglects a range of other angles due to its embrace of the "fluid identities" of the "New Imperialism" that emerged in Britain between 1851 and 1914. While fluid, these identities did not necessarily match those developing in the settler colonies according to the rhythmic processes of colonisation and recolonisation that James Belich has identified.[16] Settlers vacillated between neglecting and embracing imperial identities even as Hoffenberg's jingoistic imperial culture was building reliably in the metropole. Accentuating perspectives of exhibitionary culture from colonies leads to a more complex history of the development of this imperial culture.

Second, like many others, Hoffenberg's account of exhibitionary culture mostly concerns the metropolitan meanings of international exhibitions. As a result imperialism and colonialism are often conflated or insufficiently specified. Patrick Wolfe reminds us that during the nineteenth century, imperialism was not necessarily an extra-national project like colonialism. In its strictest senses imperialism "connotes the use of state power to secure… economic monopolies for national companies."[17] An imperial focus makes sense in the early nineteenth and late eighteenth centuries rather than in the late nineteenth when the exhibitionary medium reached its historical high-water mark. Interestingly, this zenith occurred precisely when imperial investments ceased to provide better returns for ordinary

[15] Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, xiv, 2-21.

[16] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009),548-559.

[17] Patrick Wolfe, "History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (April 1997): 388.

British investors than similar stakes in the domestic economy.[18] While elements of company promotion and imperial jingoism endured through the decline of the medium, it is likely that, from a metropolitan perspective, international exhibitions provided a false impression of unity in "imperial diversity."[19] To be clear, these events were clearly and historically imperial phenomena but by the late nineteenth century earlier models of empire were fading. The vitality of the established settler colonies was one result. International exhibitions provided a space for these younger polities to assert their visions. What they asserted was settler colonial territoriality.

The most notable feature of this politics at international exhibitions was its localism. Settlers were proud of the commodities that their landscapes could produce, were fascinated by the artefacts that anthropologists had taken from the Indigenous peoples they had dispossessed, and embraced the "dioramic purview" that created colonial order.[20] Like the hundreds of buildings that housed international exhibitions, settler colonial territoriality was built from the ground up during the late nineteenth century. It was a territorialised, intimate, place-based politics that had its most important effects in the colonies, where it turned Indigenous lands into colonial landscapes. Together, this signified the arrival of 'civilisation.' These connections are vivid in a letter sent to Alfred Eccles, the Secretary of the Exhibition Committee of the New Zealand International by the founder of the New Zealand Geological Survey James Hector. In a letter outlining the unexploited bounty of nature in New Zealand's various sub-regions in a way that only a surveyor could, Hector declared that "the exhibition

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[18] Lance E. Davis and Robert A. Huttenbeck, *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Political Economy of British Imperialism, 1860-1912* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[19] Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, xv.

[20] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 1-9; the phrase "dioramic purview" from Wolfe, "History and Imperialism," 409.

may be expected to indicate the value of the internal resources of the Colony, and its present advancement in the Arts of Civilisation."[21] This formation was characteristic of the settler colonial spatial politics that developed in imperial exhibitionary culture during our period.

The forced connections between colonial landscapes, raw commodities and settler civilisation were strikingly apparent in the varied exhibitions held in settler communities in New Zealand, Australia and the United States throughout the late nineteenth century. Taking their cue from pivotal events in London and Paris, these local exhibitions meant colonies and settlements could competitively position themselves "within a national and imperial economy," just as the colony of Queensland did at the Brisbane Intercolonial in 1876.[22] Such political and cultural jostling is a marked feature of contemporary newspaper reports focusing on exhibitions in both the antipodes and the American West. The natural features of these colonial spaces (rather than industrial manufacture) were the primary devices in this jostling and settlers put their visions of nature to work by exhibiting raw commodities, 'primitive' Indigenous artefacts, and importantly imagery of 'empty' landscapes.[23] Industrial manufacture was more important in some places than others. For example the industrial aspects of the American exhibitions were consistently more prominent than those in Australasia; however claims of manufacturing progress tended to fall away when exhibits travelled to London, Paris or the American northeast. These tendencies took shape within the exhibition movement as it was approaching its zenith in the 1880s and had an enduring

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[21] Eccles, Alfred: Letter, 30 July 1864, from James Hector, Dunedin, New Zealand – MS0366, Hocken Collections, University of Otago Library, Dunedin.

[22] Joanne Scott and Ross Laurie, "'Within her Own Boundaries': Queensland's First 'at Home' Intercolonial Exhibition," in *Seize The Day: Exhibitions Australia and the World,* eds. Kate Darian-Smith et al. (Clayton: Monash University ePress, 2008): 6.1-6.15.

[23] Kate Darian-Smith, "'Seize The Day:' Exhibiting Australia," in *Seize The Day: Exhibitions Australia and the World,* eds. Kate Darian-Smith et al. (Clayton: Monash University ePress, 2008): 1.5.

influence even after the medium fractured as a result of changing economic conditions and national politics.

In order to examine the work that settler visions of nature did at various local, regional and global levels, this chapter offers a selective history of settler displays at international exhibitions. It will provide a general survey of the reception and positioning of settler landscape photography within the broader context of general exhibitions. This means that specific shows like the 1893 Photographic Exhibition in London have been overlooked in favour of events that displayed images alongside other settler commodities and products. Like most studies of exhibitionary culture, my interpretation begins with The Great Exhibition of 1851 and the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1855 and considers settler territorial vision during the emergence of the medium. As international exhibitions developed during the 1860s and 1870s settlers became reliable participants and avid imitators, all the while developing and perfecting the vision of territoriality that defined their displays. Settlers took advantage of this during the 1880s, when the exhibitionary movement was at its most influential. During this decade settlers in Australia both capitalised on the movement to hold massive local events, and retreated from the medium later in the decade. Finally, as the European enthusiasm for the types of events inaugurated in the 1850s faded in the 1890s, the settler articulation of territoriality receded into locally organised events. By the end of the 1890s international exhibitions were no longer the central forum for imperial modernity; rather they endured as ornaments to national progress or as imperialist apologias. Settler colonial territoriality though, endured in spite of the collapse of this imperial exhibitionary framework.

Settler territoriality at early exhibitions

The essential characteristics of modern exhibitionary culture were unveiled by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in May 1851 at the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London. The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations has become a touchstone for the Victorian age due to both its contemporary popularity and its gravity as a historical subject.[24] Indeed, the Great Exhibition has proved to be as attractive to historians examining the multiple facets of Victorian culture as it was for the tens of thousands of attendees who thronged its galleries between May and October 1851. Accounts of the Great Exhibition have described it variously as a reflection of British domestic unity, a product of middle-class cultural dominance, a testament to the virtue of the working class, a crucible in which Britain's "past, present, and future" was contested, and importantly, a site of global pilgrimage with commodities at the centre.[25] In most of these interpretations the national importance of the Great Exhibition for Britain is clear; it was a global event subsumed under Britain's budding self-awareness as a modern nation. Such national myopia artificially separates the Great Exhibition from the era of transnational display that it helped usher in – the Great Exhibition may have been held in Hyde Park, but it was a truly global event.

On the floor of the Crystal Palace in 1851, settler colonial exhibits supplemented the familiar manufactured goods from the eastern and southern United States, Western Europe, the Middle East, India and China. The Australian colonies mostly supplied raw materials and the *Official Catalogue* noted the quality and quantity of the wool in particular.[26] All three

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[24] Jeffrey Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 1-5.

[25] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 1-5; Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (London: Verso, 1991), 17-22.

[26] *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations,* 1st ed. (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851), 988-999.

colonies supplied "barrels of fine wheat and flour," South Australia provided "specimens of the rich copper mine of Burra Burra," and the Vandemonian Commissioners sent "the jaws of the sperm whale" as a symbol of the whaling wealth accessible from the island.[27] The settler exhibits were situated in the southwest quarter of the nave on the ground floor of the exhibition building with only New South Wales having a dedicated gallery amongst the West Indian, Canadian and Cape Colony courts. The settlers of New Zealand, too, sought the "advantages to be derived from the favourable opportunity presented" by the Great Exhibition and the Commissioners exclusively aimed to transport items of raw minerals, commodities and other agricultural items.[28] The American displays were located in the southeast corner of the building near the European exhibits and featured patented machinery, other industrial products, and samples of fine art.[29] The British press initially dismissed these exhibits with ridicule – America was attributed the second largest amount of space for a foreign nation (after France) but only fill "a fraction" of it.[30] However the ingenuity of the American settlers shone through in exhibits like the McCormick reaper, which, according to *The Economist,* would "repay all the trouble" that the agricultural section of the Exhibition had cost.[31] The most successful of the American exhibits articulated neatly with the raw materials and produce shipped from the Australasian settler colonies even though they were separated by their positioning in the Crystal Palace and the order that they were featured in

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[27] "Australian Contributions to the Great Exhibition" *The Courier,* syndicated from the *Illustrated London News,* September 20, 1851: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2960198.

[28] "The Great Exhibition in London" *New Zealander* 6, no. 452, August 14, 1851: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZ18500814.2.6.

[29] *Great Exhibition: Official Descriptive and illustrated Catalogue,* Part V (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1851), 1438-1457.

[30] Marcus Cunliffe, "America at the Great Exhibition of 1851," *American Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1951), 119.

[31] "Reaping By Machinery," *Economist*, August 16, 1851: 899. The Economist Historical Archive, 1843-2011.

the *Official Catalogue*. In this case, the Great Exhibition reinforced an association of settler spaces with the natures in which they were situated.

While it is fair to conclude, with Paul Greenhalgh, that the scope of the Great Exhibition "rendered all previous exhibitions redundant" it is more problematic to go one step further and sever it from the exhibitions that followed.[32] Indeed, the essence of the Crystal Palace imbued every major exhibition that was to follow it, establishing circuits through which settlers could reiterate the foundations of their societies. The products of nature were again a central element of Australasian displays at Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1855. Commissioners from New South Wales appealed for exhibits showing the colonies capabilities in mining, farming and wool growing. Alongside this were sent numerous samples of timber, colonial artworks, wines and a range of ethno-historical samples collected from around the colony, capped off by the unexpected donation of two of L.E. Threlkeld's grammars of Aboriginal languages from the 1830s.[33] In the absence of sophisticated agricultural innovation the settler colony of New South Wales sought to represent itself in relation to the natural bounty that it possessed. These were trophies for the settlers seeking to display the environmental transformations they had wrought on the antipodean landscape.

Similarly, the Victorian contribution was organised to provide examples of 'the natural and artificial productions of the colony' and included a wide range of mineral specimens and of course, wool, flour and wheat. Unlike New South Wales, Victoria sought samples of

[32] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas,* 12.

[33] Elizabeth Willis, "'The Productions of Aboriginal States:' Australian Aboriginal and Settler Exhibits at the Paris Universal Exhibitions of 1855," in *Seize The Day: Exhibitions Australia and the World,* eds. Kate Darian-Smith et al. (Clayton: Monash University ePress, 2008), 02.4-02.5.

"Aboriginal industry" from the outset. Elizabeth Willis has argued that these displays were intended as evidence of the "common humanity" of settler and Indigenous industry and not exotic objects.[34] Although a range of items exhibited in Paris in 1855 were shipped to Europe in ways that foreshadow the trade in Indigenous artefacts that created late-nineteenth century anthropology, the conditions of their display indicated the workings of a less rigid racial ideology. In 1855 the most influential Australian anthropologists – Baldwin Spencer and Henry Belfour – were yet to be born and Augustus Pitt Rivers' career as an archaeologist was in its infancy.[35] However, even though the "thirteen native weapons" sent to Paris may have been shown alongside specimens of wool, wheat and flour in ways that would have horrified cataloguers two decades later, they were nevertheless intimately tied to the natural world.[36] For the same reason that Threlkeld's grammars were included in the New South Wales contribution, the, Indigenous weapons and implements of cultivation sent by Victoria did little to contradict the overall narratives of plentiful bounty and benign providence that settlers sought to project in London and Paris. Ethno-historical exhibits too were trophies that conveyed a mastery of the landscape and control over territory.

These displays at early international exhibitions were the result of conscious efforts to represent the foundations of settler colonial society. The American agricultural ingenuity on show in London and the products that New South Wales and Victoria sent to Paris worked to

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[34] Willis, "'The Production of Aboriginal States,'" 02.1-02.5; see also, Elizabeth Willis, "Exhibiting Aboriginal Industry: A Story Behind a 'Re-Discovered' Bark Drawing from Victoria," *Aboriginal History* 27 (2003): 39-58.

[35] Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 66-69. Rebe Taylor, *Into the Heart of Tasmania: A Search for Human Antiquity* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2017), 69-70.

[36] Willis, "'The Production of Aboriginal States,'" 02.6; "Paris Exhibition," *The Argus,* February 7, 1855: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4804080.

depict a particular relationship between settlers and nature. This relationship was based on the commodification of nature and space and it was an ongoing theme in settler exhibits and exhibitions throughout the late nineteenth century. Through what Thomas Richards has called "spectacle," a sophisticated system of consumption developed in exhibitionary culture that relied ultimately on a "mythology of abundance."[37] This mythology served to encourage consumers to purchase goods at international exhibitions in much the same way that had been used to entice settlers to emigrate since the early nineteenth century.[38] Settlers were not simply selling new reapers, higher quality produce or bountiful resources at these exhibitions, but the natural world itself. As the Victorian commissioners were putting together the colonies displays in 1854, the *Argus* made these stakes crystal clear, "never, then, had Victoria such an opportunity for advertising herself." Indeed "one good solid lump of Bendigo gold will silently read an emigration lecture, rivalling in eloquence, surpassing in effect, the best of those of Dr Lang."[39] Displays at international exhibitions were organised according to the same mythologies that sustained settler colonial boosters. These exhibits constructed an abundant commodified natural scene in order to promote emigration.

In the marketplace of the international exhibition, nature and space were key advantages for the settler colonies, but opportunity could also be signified through technological means. In 1851 the exhibits featuring the heavy machinery of Europe's industrialised west were among the most popular as visitors were excited by the promise of new products and lower costs.[40] The emerging techniques of photography also provided technological promise even though

[37] Richards, *Commodity Culture of Victorian England,* 251.

[38] Belich dates the 'explosion' in booster literature at 1815: Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 153.

[39] "The Paris Exhibition," *The Argus,* June 30, 1854: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article4794526.

[40] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 105-106.

they were scattered throughout the displays in the Crystal Palace. The most admired photographic innovation consisted of Charles Brook's scientific device applicable to meteorological observation which was awarded a Council Medal.[41] Many photographic entries were considered for their instrumental qualities however the medium could also "unite art and science on the same plate" as it did Antoine Claudet's hand coloured daguerreotype portraits.[42] Landscapes were less common than portraiture, however, prominent entries were often praised for their truth to nature.[43] Popular subjects among the jurors included the sublime North American site of Niagara Falls, which was captured by the travelling English photographer John Mayall and the American Jesse Whitehurst.[44] Outside of competition, exhibitions themselves became the focus of pictorial representations as the documentary and communicative possibilities of visuality became an integral element of exhibitionary culture.[45] Photography then was well positioned to become central to the sophisticated cultures of display, intricate promotional strategies, and obsession with industrial technologies that drove the medium of the international exhibition through its golden years in the 1860s and 1870s.

Settler natures in an expanding medium

In the decade between the 1855 Paris Exposition and the New Zealand Exhibition of 1865 the elements that marked the emergence of exhibitionary culture in the 1850s had become a reliable formula. By 1865, Eccles could claim in his promotion of the imminent Dunedin fair that "Industrial Exhibitions" have contributed handsomely to "the commerce of the world"

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[41] *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations,* 422.

[42] *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations,* 600.

[43] *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations,* 839.

[44] *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations,* 1461.

[45] Geppert, *Fleeting Cities,* 248.

through their display of the resources, inventiveness and genius of man.[46] The New Zealand Exhibition is emblematic of the way that colonial agents adopted exhibitionary culture in the wake of the 1850s. This relationship was made explicit by the Superintendent of the Otago Province John Hyde Harris during the opening, as he compared the regional and Anglo-imperial displays on offer in Dunedin with the "magnificent prototypes in England and France."[47] Nevertheless, Eccles surmised that such an event would have a greater influence "in a new country" than '"an old one."[48] Through the process of holding an exhibition New Zealand's natural resources would be "exemplified," its character "attested," industries "created" or "revived," its morality "elevated," and position within the Empire "promoted."[49] This is to say that New Zealanders used the Dunedin exhibition of 1865 to assert a settler colonial spatial politics just as settlers around the Anglo world would do throughout the heyday of nineteenth-century exhibitionary culture.

When exhibiting displays relating to the natural world settlers tended to divide and classify exhibits in ways that corresponded with the territorial priorities of settler colonialism. At the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition settlers in Otago understood their polity according to its foundational position in a system that transformed the "raw material of the newly occupied country" into the "finished manufactures of the old."[50] The importance of resources explains

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[46] Alfred Eccles, "The New Zealand Exhibition," *Otago Daily Times,* no. 715, April 2, 1864: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18640402.2.30.

[47] John Hyde Harris quoted in, "Opening of the New Zealand Exhibition," *Otago Witness,* no. 686, January 20, 1865: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18650120.2.24.

[48] Eccles, "The New Zealand Exhibition," April 2, 1864: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18640402.2.30.

[49] Hyde Harris quoted in, "Opening of the New Zealand Exhibition," January 20, 1865: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18650120.2.24.

[50] Major John Richardson quoted in, "Opening of the New Zealand Exhibition," *Otago Witness,* no. 686, January 20, 1865: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18650120.2.24.

the preference on write up in *Press* in 1866 gave to mineral products, wool, agricultural commodities and implements, examples of colonial engineering (railways) and specimens of natural history.[51] This focus notwithstanding, the exhibition also featured a collection of fine arts – watercolours, oils and photographs – aimed at both emulating metropolitan examples and encouraging colonial culture.[52] In contrast to the works sent to Paris by the Victorian colonists in 1855, though, Indigenous and settler art was split, with one review of the fine arts collection identifying a "wide gulf" between the "painful and rude results of Māori art, as seen in other parts of the building, and the beautiful scenes… of the room specially devoted to the Fine Arts." Having emptied the pictorial landscape and exhibitionary space of Indigenous presence, visitors were clear to view the "gems of the exhibition:" a series of "masterly productions" of the "romantic scenery" of the North Island.[53] The New Zealand Exhibition effectively deployed a spatial division of primary resources, displays of Indigenous culture and settler fine art.

Photography, too, reinforced this division. The amateur photographer Joseph Perry was the main exhibitor of photographs in 1865, and his one hundred images in the Otago Court included "specimens of the striking peculiarities of the bold and very varied scenery of the Province."[54] Compared to the watercolours Perry's photographs were altogether more orthodox – according to Hardwicke Knight his photography documented patterns of land use,

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[51] "New Zealand Exhibition 1865," *Press,* no. 9, February 28, 1866: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP18660228.2.12.

[52] Rebecca Rice, "Creating Culture in a Colonial Context: Fine Art at the 1865 New Zealand Exhibition," *Anti-po-des Design Research Journal* 2 (August 2013): 11-23.

[53] "No. VII. Fine Arts Collection – No I.," *Otago Witness,* no. 692, March 4, 1865: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18650304.2.5.

[54] "New Zealand Exhibition," *Otago Witness,* no. 698, April 15, 1865: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18650415.2.18.

colonial development and the clearing of natural vegetation.[55] Perry was an associate of the geologist Hector and exhibited photographs of "the neighbourhoods of well-known homesteads on important runs," "famous diggings" in the Otago highlands and the development of port infrastructure at Moeraki north of Dunedin, described hopefully as "the Brighton of Otago." In amongst these were views of the "more strikingly artistic beauties" of the Province like the "famous boulders" of Moeraki Beach and the Upper Taieri Lake. The only appearance of Indigenous subjects was in a photograph of the Māori village behind Moeraki, which was presumably selected because of the existence of a "new church, which stands out prominently" as symbol of the civilising mission.[56] Displays of primary resources, Romantic paintings and Perry's photographs all stubbornly reiterated settler colonial spatial politics. In them, the settler possession of an ancient, remote and empty landscape was rendered as completely natural in a powerful interlocking way.

Just a year later, this settler colonial politics also helped organise exhibits at the Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition. However, the positioning of Indigenous subjects was all the more apparent. This might be partly explained by the comparative stages of settler colonialism in New Zealand and Victoria. We might expect the exhibitors at Dunedin to have disguised the Māori control of the North Island that caused the New Zealand Wars spanning from 1845 to 1872, but in post-frontier Victoria a different set of concerns motivated the settler elite.[57] In 1866 the Public Library on Swanston Street was expanded and festooned with the familiar set of primary resources, agricultural staples and colonial manufactures; although the exhibition

[55] Hardwicke Knight, *Photography in New Zealand: A Social and Technical History* (John McIndoe: Dunedin, 1971), 64.

[56] "New Zealand Exhibition," April 15, 1865: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW18650415.2.18.

[57] James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986).

also gave cause for debate over the "substitution of one race for another."[58] In Victoria, as in the United States, the grim "contingencies" that hung upon the "onward march" of the "Australasian nation" posed different questions than the endurance of Indigenous groups did in New Zealand.[59] Nevertheless, similar logics found their way into displays of material culture in Melbourne. The range of objects that ostensibly memorialised pre-contact Indigenous life were suffused with an "imperial nostalgia" that made "racial domination appear innocent and pure."[60] The stubborn ignorance of Indigenous subjects in settler fine art displays in Dunedin and the idealised presentation of pre-contact Indigenous life in Melbourne articulated the same politics in different ways. Both types of exhibit naturalised the substitution of one race for another and reinforced settler territoriality.

Over the following decade the promotion of a natural settler order in Australasia resonated with similar efforts in California. These attitudes were reinforced in three major exhibitions held on the global stages of Paris and Philadelphia. The first of these was the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris, which, under the organisation of Frederic Le Play, envisioned society as a delicate piece of engineering that could resolve social tensions and command the resources of the natural world.[61] It is fitting, then, that this was the venue where Carleton Watkins'

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[58] "The Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition," *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser,* November 1, 1866: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18726570; *Intercolonial Exhibition 1866: Official Catalogue: Victoria, new South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Western Australia, Mauritius, New Caledonia, Batavia* (Melbourne: Blundell and Ford, 1866), State Library of Victoria: http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/80102 ; see also, Emily Harris, "Race and Australian National Identity at the 1866-1867 Intercolonial Exhibition," in *Seize The Day: Exhibitions Australia and the World,* eds. Kate Darian-Smith et al. (Clayton: Monash University ePress, 2008): 03.1-03.16; quote on the debate from, "The Condition of the Aborigines," *The Australasian,* August 11, 1866: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article138048505.

[59] "The Condition of the Aborigines," August 11, 1866: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article138048505.

[60] Edmonds, "The Le Souef Box," 127, 117-139, 124; Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 107.

[61] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas,* 20-35.

views of Yosemite were first displayed to the world. Famously, Watkins' mammoth-plate images of the sublime highland site in the Sierra Nevada of California were awarded a medal at the exhibition; Watkins consistently drew upon this honour in advertising ephemera that was distributed to hotels around San Francisco in the wake of the exhibition. Well into the 1870s his work was advertised as "the finest photographs that have been seen in Europe" and as the recipient of "the only Medal awarded by the Paris Exposition for California Photography."[62] Watkins displayed images from his 1861 album of Yosemite views rather than the characteristic stereographs. These images measured forty-five by fifty-five centimetres and included the hazy *Up the Valley*, which framed a view of the valley floor between the imposing cliffs of El Capitan and Cathedral Rocks and was discussed in Chapter Two.[63] In an exhibition devoted to command over the natural world a settler photograph of the remote and empty Yosemite Valley was clearly an ironically fitting prize-winner.

Settler confidence during the exhibitionary boom

Wilderness landscapes continued to feature prominently at the two most significant exhibitions of the 1870s but the photography of working and urbanised environments also played a central role in the promotion of settler places. The Centennial Exhibition of 1876, held in Philadelphia in the eastern United States, was a wildly successful celebration of American material progress that featured a series of exhibits organised by racial category.[64] In such a context advanced manufactures like the Centennial Corliss Engine, which powered all of the exhibits at the fair, could be contrasted with the ethnological display of Native

[62] Carleton Watkins, Drawing of Palace Hotel, trade card c. 1873. Image courtesy of Jim Crain and http://www.carletonwatkins.org/index.php.

[63] Carleton Watkins, *Up the Valley,* 1865-1866, Albumen Print. Photographs of California Scenes: A Mammoth Plate Miscellany – BANC PIC 19xx.198 v.4:02—fffALB – The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[64] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 9-37.

American artefacts.[65] Exhibitors from New South Wales like Bernhardt Holtermann, a prospector turned photographer, provided works that illustrated the progress of the Victorian Age in the antipodes. Holtermann debuted his "full panoramic view of the city, suburbs and harbour of Sydney" on a series of huge one by one-and-a-half metre glass plates.[66] Stretching over ten metres the panorama was 'admitted to be the best landscape photograph in the Exhibition' and charmed the visitors who observed the Australasian courts.[67] Two years later Holtermann exhibited again at the 1878 Exposition Universelle in Paris, where he was awarded a silver medal for the same panorama.[68] This was meaningful exposure for New South Wales. Settler exhibitors and commissioners sought to "make it known" that their communities were at the forefront of technological progress. Indeed, the *Evening News* article that announced the departure of Holtermann's photographs went to great lengths to describe and reinforce the technical achievements of the panorama.[69] In both its depiction of a growing colonial city and its technical proficiency, Holtermann's panorama signified and promoted settler progress as a mastery over the natural world.

While the commissioners were dismantling the exhibits in Paris in 1878, agents from New South Wales and Victoria were in deep negotiations about their own international exhibitions in 1879 and 1880-81. The wave of settler colonial promotion that inspired Holtermann had

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[65] John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republic Values in America* (New York: Grossman, 1976), 162-167; Rydell, *All The World's a Fair,* 24-27.

[66] "Mr. Holtermann's Photographs," *Evening News,* February 11, 1876: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article107190752.

[67] "International Exhibition," *The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser,* August 5, 1876: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article162677301.

[68] "The Paris Exhibition," *The Sydney Morning Herald,* September 6, 1878: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13416745.

[69] "Mr. Holtermann's Photographs," February 11, 1876: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article107190752.

clearly also influenced the governments of Britain and France, who held the keys to the official exhibitionary tradition. Sydney was selected to hold the first of the two exhibitions, which opened in the city's specially constructed Garden Palace in September 1879.[70] A decade after the opening of the Suez Canal and in the context of the "scramble for the Pacific," European manufacturers had begun taking more notice of the Australasian settler colonies as a market for their wares, rather than simply as a source of primary resources and outlet for surplus population.[71] Again, photography was used as a measure of civilisation: *The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser* was startled at the images displayed by New Zealand, remarking that "a country which but a few years back was a stranger to the arts of civilisation" now rivalled those "in which a refined taste has been cultivated for centuries."[72] This referred to the French, German and British photography that most impressed the judges in the curious absence of a meaningful American contribution.[73] Present at the exhibition though was Mundy, the prodigal landscape photographer who witnessed the 1865 New Zealand International Exhibition, had landed in Sydney in 1880 after working in Victoria and London.[74] Although he does not appear to have exhibited, Mundy included the exhibition building and grounds in his album *Views of Sydney,* published in 1880.[75] In this Mundy gave the Garden Palace – a name that consciously echoed the famous Crystal Palace and

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[70] "The International Exhibition," *The Sydney Morning Herald,* September 17, 1879: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13444807.

[71] Barrie Dyster, "Sydney 1879: Colonial City, Global City," in *Colonial City, Global City: Sydney's International Exhibition 1879,* eds., Peter Proudfoot et al. (Sydney: Crossing Press, 2000), 1-13.

[72] "Photographic Art," *The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser,* April 3, 1880: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article161880015.

[73] Roslyn Maguire, "Preserving the Memory of the Garden Palace in Print," in *Colonial City, Global City: Sydney's International Exhibition 1879,* eds. Peter Proudfoot et al. (Sydney: Crossing Press, 2000), 255; "Sydney International Exhibition," *The Mercury,* September 1, 1879: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article8980804.

[74] William Main, "Mundy, Daniel Louis," *Dicitonary of New Zealand Biography* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1993-): https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2m62/mundy-daniel-louis.

[75] Daniel Mundy, *The Sydney International Exhibition at the Garden Palace viewed from the Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney,* 1880, Albumen Print, 13.4x21cm. In Views of Sydney, New South Wales – National Library of Australia, Canberra.

accentuated a settler colonial desire for control over the natural world – a fittingly prominent place among the civic and natural landmarks of Sydney.

Pride in these civic landmarks tied into the forces of promotion and the geographies of imperial exchange that encouraged New South Wales and Victoria to put colonial rivalry aside and hold consecutive international exhibitions in southeast Australia. Consecutive exhibitions appealed to northern hemisphere exhibitors who could double their exposure due to the short six month turnaround between Sydney and Melbourne.[76] In October 1880 the Melbourne International Exhibition was opened in its own ornamental building, which was larger than the Garden Palace but shared the conventional architectural characteristics – aisle-and-transept topped by a dome – of Classical Victorian civic buildings.[77] The Royal Exhibition Building was decorated with murals featuring progress in all its late nineteenth-century forms. These included allegorical depictions of white British civilisation and the prominent display of the exhibitions motto: "Victoria Welcomes All Nations."[78] On the day of the opening *The Age* declared the ceremony "a demonstration of which this colony may feel proud" and compared the occasion to Britain's own golden moment in 1851.[79] This was an event in celebration of the technological, manufacturing, social, and by extension racial, progress of the settler colony.

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[76] Dyster, "Sydney 1879," 1-13.

[77] Linda Young, "'How Like England We Can Be': The Australian International Exhibitions in the 19th Century," in *Seize The Day: Exhibitions Australia and the World,* eds. Kate Darian-Smith et al. (Clayton: Monash University ePress, 2008), 12.6-12.7.

[78] Darian-Smith, "'Seize The Day,'" 01.2.

[79] "Opening of the Exhibition," *The Age,* October 2, 1880: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article202151068.

Catherine Shaw, of Wooriwyrite in the Western District, made these symbolic connections explicit in the poem *From the Southern Cross,* which she composed for the opening of the exhibition. Announcing a remote, ancient and empty Australia to the world, Shaw wrote:

> Long years she lay unconscious, unknowing and unknown;
>
> Over her radiant features a veil of darkness thrown;
>
> By lo! a bright winged spirit from distant Northern Isle,
>
> Breathed gently o'er her slumbers, and waked her with a smile.[80]

While the Melbourne exhibition has become known for its display of technological progress in the form of local manufacture and booming small business, it was gold that the colony of Victoria was renowned for.[81] In this way the Melbourne International repeated familiar patterns of settler display relating to primary resources, agriculture, natural history, and botany.[82] This connection to land was not lost on Shaw:

> Now flocks and herds are roaming upon her grassy sod,
>
> And golden grain is waving where late the savage trod;

Finally, the ancient minerals of the earth were connected with the settler colonial project that clearly inspired the poem:

> And happy homes are rising beneath the clust'ring vines,
>
> Where stalwart arms are wresting rich treasures from her mines.
>
> And children's merry voices are ringing loud and clear,

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[80] "Commemoration Poem," *Camperdown Chronicle* (Victoria), September 28, 1880: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article34471128.

[81] Young, "'How Like England We Can Be,'" 12.7.

[82] Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display,* 48-49.

Where dusky warriors brandished the boomerang and spear;

And where primeval forest stood, now noble cities rise,

Whose palaces, and domes and spires are towering to the skies. [83]

Shaw's vision of a remote, ancient and (effectively) empty Australia breathed into life by British civilisation and cultivated through the vitality of settlers was an extension of the settler colonial pride expressed at the Melbourne Intercolonial of 1866 and throughout the Settler Revolution. Clearly, the first Australian international exhibitions were a high-point of celebratory settler colonial triumphalism, but the ideas expressed in Shaw's poem also framed the outward face of settler displays at international exhibitions throughout the late nineteenth century.

As in Sydney, photography did much to illustrate the description of a flowering settler civilisation advanced by Shaw. Proliferations of the various photographic methods were scattered throughout the Royal Exhibition Building, with "silver printing" and carbon printing most prominent of the "art-science" on display. Tasmania submitted views of "scenery and public buildings," New Zealand again sent a "large contingent of photographs" which included numerous "picturesque" views of Lake Wakatipu, images of public works, and a demonstration of carbon printed photography from the Burton Brothers of Dunedin. These made worthy documentary contributions, but *The Argus* concluded that more artistic works depicting "the beauty of Australian scenery" were at that time "a work in progress." In a familiar expression of the cultural cringe, Australian landscape work was outshone by the British and especially the Germans. Australian photographers did not have to suffer the

[83] "Commemoration Poem," September 28, 1880: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article34471128.

further indignity of being positioned under the Americans, because their exhibits mostly featured portraiture.[84] Whether or not the critic writing for *The Argus* approved of the Australasian landscape photography, it was certainly circulating en masse in Melbourne. The Victorian photographers Nicholas Caire and John Lindt were listed among those earning the First Order of Merit (which included images of buildings) in February 1881 and Holtermann earned a Third Order alongside the Burton Brothers of Dunedin.[85] As far as the advancement of a visual settler colonial spatial politics goes, these photographers were playing their part by sharing and exhibiting images that reified settler control over Indigenous land at major international forums.

The two Australian international exhibitions at the turn of the 1880s displayed a triumphal and independent settler attitude. Civic pride in the development of Sydney and Melbourne and their hinterlands was clear in the range of exhibits and the buildings erected for the events. This bullish attitude was challenged during the 1880s as the Australian colonies were forced to negotiate their place within the British Empire. At the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in Kensington, London, the colonial progress industry was corralled into a model of international economics with the imperial state as its centre and its limits.[86] In contrast to the Great Exhibition of 1851, the ideals of global free trade were dismissed in Kensington in 1886 in an event designed to reinforce a more rigid imperial economic and cultural system.[87] Although there were murmurs of resistance from colonial nationalists in

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[84] "Photography," *The Argus,* January 6, 1881: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5977442.

[85] "Melbourne International Exhibition Awards," *The Argus,* February 3, 1881: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article5968406.

[86] Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display,* 101-2.

[87] Louise Douglas, "Representing Colonial Australia at British, American and European International Exhibitions," *Recollections* 3, no. 1 (March 2008): 4.

Australia,[88] substantial commercial opportunities remained for colonial exhibitors and in the main, colonial newspapers supported what the Prince of Wales disingenuously described as an exhibition of "National and Imperial character, differing entirely from its precursors in which trade and profit had been the paramount feature."[89] The Melbourne Centennial adopted this positioning two years later in 1888**.** Held less than a decade after the Melbourne International in the same building, Victorian development was recast in an imperial light.

The Melbourne Centennial took place during a pivotal moment in Australian attitudes to the international exhibitions that had gripped the European and American world since 1851. The assent given to British political needs to shore up empire in 1886 – as opposed to the settler connections to America and Japan that had been forged in the 1870s – might be read as an early indicator that change was afoot. In the lead up to the Centennial the logical host colony, New South Wales, wavered in its support and was overwhelmed by Victorian interests.[90] The organisers faced immediate setbacks in following the example of Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial and the hostility of New South Wales, the refusal of an invitation by the Prince of Wales in 1887 and the surfacing of doubts over the composition of the Commission all threatened the event. Nevertheless, the success of the 1880 Melbourne International, the new steamship lines serving Australia, and an insatiable appetite for imperial capital prevailed.[91] The event was considerably less successful than the Melbourne International though: 1888 had been a red letter year in Europe with major exhibitions held in Barcelona, Brussels and

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[88] Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display,* 102.

[89] "The Indian and Colonial Exhibition," *Star*, no. 5273, March 31, 1885: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18850331.2.9.1.3.

[90] Young, "'How Like England We Can Be,'" 12.10.

[91] "Friday, January 21, 1887," *The Argus,* January 21, 1887: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article11587101; "The Influence of Exhibitions on National Progress and International Relations," *The Age,* August 1, 1888: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article196001095.

Glasgow, many exhibitors were likely looking toward the 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle, and only seventeen nations and colonies made official contributions to the Centennial (the Melbourne International attracted twenty-three).[92] This difference was reflected in the design of the Royal Exhibition building. The murals that had depicted the vigorous progress of the Australasian colonies in 1880 were covered over in 1888, seemingly a step toward their full redesign as articulations of white Australia's place within the British Empire at Federation in 1901.[93]

Settler territoriality in a shifting exhibitionary culture

While 1888 may have been a watershed in relation to major international exhibitions held in emerging colonial centres, the promotion of settler spaces and the encouragement of environmental transformation in more local exhibitionary forums continued apace. The 1889 New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition in Dunedin was conceived in this vein. Formulated as a response to the 1887 Adelaide Jubilee Exhibition, the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition was organised by Jules Joubert and Richard Twopenny, a pair of entrepreneurs who had made their careers throughout the 1880s in the Australasian exhibitionary industry.[94] Joubert and Twopenny specialised in the promotion of regional events that mobilised all the rhetorical devices of the exhibitionary complex. This promotional discourse served as the organising principle behind the *Official Programme* for the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, which indicated that the exhibitions chief purpose was to "illustrate the

[92] Young, "'How Like England We Can Be,'" 12.11.

[93] Darian-Smith, "'Seize The Day,'" 01.2.

[94] Erika Wolf, "The Eiffel towers in Dunedin: Stereo Photography and Modernity at the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, 1889-1890," in *Early New Zealand Photography: Images and Essays,* eds. Angela Wanhalla and Erika Wolfe (Otago University Press, 2011), 92-97, 93.

development of the resources of New Zealand."[95] The official guidebook, the *Strangers Vade Mecum,* went a step further. Equal parts advertisement and booster description, the guide introduced the province of Otago with a familiar overview of its natural assets. The provinces goldfields, known mineral deposits and timber reserves featured prominently but the guide also made note of the remote fjord and lake scenery of the West Coast, should the visitor want to escape "from the hum of cities and the wrath of human life" to "be alone with Nature."[96] In these official documents the South Island of New Zealand was expressed in accordance with the established elements of settler colonial visions of nature. It was remote, ancient and empty.

Local settler boosterism inflected the display of photography in Dunedin too. Stereographs of the exhibition were a popular souvenir among visitors and the rights to document the exhibition photographically were hotly contested by the major studios operating out of Dunedin.[97] The exhibits themselves, comprising portraiture and landscape, could "only be regarded as surpassing excellence" and the local exhibitors reinforced Dunedin and indeed New Zealand's reputation as a site of photographic innovation.[98] Popular subjects followed a pattern defined by the earlier photographers – Mundy among them – who set out overland from Dunedin on the West Coast Road.[99] Alfred Burton's display filled one of the five bays

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[95] *Official Programme,* New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition 1889-1890, Scrapbook relating to the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition 1889-1890 – MS-0451/038, Hocken Collections, University of Otago Library, Dunedin.

[96] *The Stranger's Vade Mecum or South Land Guide,* published in connection with the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin, 1889-1890 – MS-2989/002, Hocken Collections, University of Otago Library, Dunedin.

[97] Wolf, "The Eiffel Towers in Dunedin," 92-97, 93.

[98] "Photography," *Otago Daily Times,* no. 8679, December 17, 1889: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18891217.2.53.12.

[99] Lissa Mitchell, "Promotional landscapes: D.L. Mundy's 'Photographic Experiences in New Zealand,'" *Tuhinga* 20 (2009).

dedicated to the photography at the exhibition, and featured "views illustrative of Māori life, of the Hot Lakes district, of the Coral Islands" and the "Southern lake and sound scenery."[100] Burton's photography was lauded for its scope because the display contained "scenes in all parts of New Zealand, extending to the islands in the South Seas." Burton's technical nous was admired also; his views were "nothing short of works of art" and his "sky effects and the representation of snow on the mountain tops" were "among the finest things to be seen in the exhibition." The Burton Brothers' collection of portraiture from the King Country was on display too, and this was admired due to the selection of "the least civilised of the Māoris: those who have not yet abjured the blanket for the tweed or abandoned any other of their ancient habits."[101] The highly regarded display of the Burton Brothers neatly expressed the various elements of settler colonial territoriality and mobilised them in the service of regional promotion.

Regional promotion provided the impetus behind the 1891 Tasmanian International that was held in Launceston after nearly a decade of local agitation. In typical booster fashion the first Tasmanian International celebrated the local impact of the Mount Bischoff Tin Mining Company but it also sought to affirm the international position of Tasmania by attracting exhibits from France, Germany, Britain, Austria and Switzerland, the United States, and the rest of the Australasian colonies.[102] Fresh from the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, Joubert continued to circulate through the management structures of secondary Australasian

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[100] "New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition," *Evening Star,* no. 8074, November 26, 1889: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ESD18891126.2.21; "Photography," December 17, 1889: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18891217.2.53.12.

[101] "Photography," December 17, 1889: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT18891217.2.53.12.

[102] Young, "'How Like England We Can Be,'" 12.11-12.12.

exhibitions, lending his experience to the Commission as the General Manager of the Launceston event.[103] The photographic exhibits were considered in amateur and professional classes, and further divided according to whether they came from British, foreign or Tasmanian photographers. Landscape was by far the most popular subject in the amateur category, "Tasmanian scenery" featured in seventy percent of the awards for Tasmanian and British amateur photography. Portraiture was comparatively more prominent in the professional category even though exhibitors from New Zealand and New South Wales still managed to win three first place awards for photographs of scenery in their respective colonies.[104] A popular exhibit at the exhibition reproduced the dioramic mimicry of photography in real life. "The Fernery" was among the first exhibits mentioned in the Official Record of the exhibition, and according to the *Launceston Examiner* it "transported" visitors "to some quiet cool sylvan glade in the depths of the forest primeval." Like photography and exhibitions in general, the Fernery was engineered in order to create this feeling, rejecting local specificity for an amalgamation of samples from Sydney, Victoria, Queensland and even New Zealand.[105] In The Fernery these settler sites had the same territorial basis: a 'primeval' natural environment ripe for settlement.

While the Australasian colonies seemed keen to exhibit their wares at the first Tasmanian International in 1891 they were less eager to participate in exhibitions on the other end of the local-global spectrum. The World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 was the Great Exhibition of American fairs and dwarfed all previous international exhibitions in extent,

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[103] *Official Record of the Tasmanian International Exhibition, Held at Launceston, 1891-92* (Launceston: Printed for the Commissioners at the "Launceston Examiner" Office, 1891), 12-13.

[104] *Official Record of the Tasmanian International Exhibition,* 64-69.

[105] *Official Record of the Tasmanian International Exhibition,* 49.

including the recent Exposition Universelle of 1889 which spawned the Eiffel Tower and attracted thirty-two million visitors.[106] Like other major exhibitions in the settler world throughout the late nineteenth century, the Columbian Exposition sought to explicate the progress of American civilisation by displaying its historical achievements, affirming its position through international comparison and articulating evolutionary and stadial ideas about race.[107] Local conditions in the Australian colonies caused division among the Commissions and in the end New South Wales was the lone exhibitor in Chicago.[108] Primary resources and agricultural products were well received but American tariffs and regulations frustrated exhibitors seeking to sell their produce at the exhibition.[109] Despite this, the cost that New South Wales incurred by sending exhibits to Chicago fell short of the estimates that initially worried the Commission and the colonial press, however the return of six hundred packages of exhibits gave currency to the reluctance of the other colonies.[110] The natural objects that settlers from New South Wales put on display at the World's Columbian Exposition elicited the familiar positive response from jurors in 1893, but divided from the promise of free trade that excited exhibitors in 1850s, and a decade after celebrations of progress in Sydney and Melbourne, the celebration of the potential of settler colonial territoriality in Australasia was far more tentative.

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[106] William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1992), 341-345.

[107] Rydell, *All The World's a Fair* 38-71.

[108] Douglas, "Representing Colonial Australia at British, American and European International Exhibitions," 5.

[109] "New South Wales at the Chicago Exhibition," *The Daily Telegraph,* July 15, 1893: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article236023782; "New South Wales and the Chicago Exhibition," *The Sydney Morning Herald,* October 18, 1893: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13921322.

[110] "The Cost of the Chicago Exhibition," *The Daily Telegraph,* March 9, 1894: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article236099390.

As if to accentuate this ongoing shift in Australasian settler colonial orientation to international display, the second Tasmanian International Exhibition, held in Hobart in 1894 enticed an array of exhibits from the local colonies. Industrial and manufacturing exhibits were thin though, with the global slump of the early 1890s constraining the efforts of Britain, the United States, and even the closer colonies in New Zealand, the Australian mainland and Asia. Joubert again took on an organisational responsibility, this time engineering the subscription shareholding company that funded the event, although in contrast to Launceston two years earlier, the Hobart event fell short of expectations.[111] It was redeemed somewhat by the artistic accomplishments on display. *The Australasian's* Special Reporter noted that the "pictures are the 'exhibits' best worth seeing" and the Fine Arts Court featured studies of scenery ranging "from the bold rocky headlands of inhospitable coasts to the more sublime works of nature."[112] John Watt Beattie was appointed the exhibitions official photographer and tasked with photographing season ticket holders and officials and the documentation of the event.[113] In 1895 Beattie framed a view of the temporary exhibition buildings between the gums that lined the drive through Hobart's Domain to the grand entrance. In this image the Victorian façade fades because of the effect of the late afternoon sun on the exposure, while settlers are clearly depicted relaxing in the grounds. In some ways this image might be read as an expression of the endings that the Hobart International itself represents in terms of thirty years of exhibitionary activity in the Australasian settler colonies that was coming to a close in the 1890s.

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[111] Young, "'How Like England We Can Be,'" 12.11-12.12.

[112] "Hobart Exhibition Notes," *The Australasian,* December 1, 1894: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article139703147; "Tasmanian International Exhibition," *The Tasmanian* (Launceston), November 24, 1894: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article201291370.

[113] "Tasmanian International Exhibition," *The Mercury,* January 13, 1894: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13290436; "Exhibition Notes," *The Mercury,* November 10, 1894: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article9333479.

It was not just in Tasmania that this decline was being felt. Accusations of "exhibition fatigue" score the historiography of European exhibitions from about the turn of the twentieth century, but the efforts to exhibit in Chicago in 1893 and the response to Hobart's invitations in 1894 indicate that this malaise set in earlier in the Australian settler colonies.[114] However, for settlers in the antipodes this disease had limitations. James Belich has argued that a marker of a settler colony under recolonisation was racial exclusion in immigration policy – policies with origins in the 1880s in Australia.[115] We might add to this a selectiveness in exhibitionary participation. If the Australasian colonies were being recolonised from the 1880s their selective participation in international exhibitions and careful self-representation at the 1888 Melbourne Centennial are products of the rhythmic configurations of the Settler Revolution.[116] The settler colonies assented to participate in the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition for the same reasons that they were reluctant to ship manufactures to Chicago in 1893: because settlers were increasingly tying themselves to the "Greater British system" that secured their political existence.[117]

* * *

From a settler colonial perspective, the exhibition fatigue of the 1880s and 1890s appears to be a result of changes in the alignment of the different scales that exhibitions made sense within. As events slipped toward the extremities toward the end of the nineteenth century, it became harder and harder to justify the grand, centralised celebrations of commodities that

[114] Geppert, *Fleeting Cities,* 206-221.

[115] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 466.

[116] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 548.

[117] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 467.

took place in the metropoles from the 1850s to the 1870s. In Australasia this meant a reorientation toward local events but in the United States the exhibitionary medium took off in the wake of the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. In 1901 Buffalo hosted a specifically Pan-American Exhibition. In 1904 the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase was celebrated in St Louis with another major exhibition. In 1909 and 1912 Seattle and San Francisco held International Exhibitions that, while giving lip service to the idea of the Pacific, actually had more to do with an American celebration of national continental integration. This, along with the contemporaneous pivot of the Australasian settler colonies to racial exclusion and economic protectionism, spelled the end of the international exhibition as a meaningful forum for the expression of a unique settler colonial territoriality. For a brief period between the 1850s and the 1880s there were few better sites to witness the confident emergence of a new type of territoriality in the international sphere.

Despite the decline of the medium, though, some structural consistencies between these formerly enthusiastic exhibitors remained. Even if the energetic apparatus of a genuinely international exhibitionary culture was fading in Europe and the Anglo settler colonies, settler colonial territoriality continued to drive the cultural representation of nature in the Australasian colonies and the United States. For example, it is no coincidence that Frederick Jackson Turner first presented his frontier thesis at the 1893 American Historical Association meeting timed to coincide with the Columbian Exposition.[118] Turner's description of the historical battle with a remote, ancient and empty nature had an equivalent in every settler colony and provided the fundamental logic behind the displays that Commissioners put

[118] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 47; Frederick Jackson Turner ''The Significance of the Frontier in American History" Paper Presented at the 9th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Chicago, Illinois, July 12, 1893.

together at every opportunity between 1851 and 1894. Some components of these displays were more effective than others. Exhibits of raw materials and agricultural staples were the stock in trade of the settler colonies, but landscape photography turned out to be a perfect medium through which settlers could express both their advancement in the arts of civilisation and demonstrate their control over territory on a global stage. In displays at each and every position on the local-global spectrum of international exhibitions, in times of emergence and decline, a durable settler colonial territoriality was articulated and celebrated around the world.

Chapter VII

Nature, Native and Nation: Settler Polities and Environments in the Late Nineteenth Century

In 1904 Nicholas Caire, with his fellow photographer and nature writer John Lindt, published a guide to the mountain scenery of the Healesville district of Victoria. In the *Companion Guide to Healesville, Blacks' Spur, Narbethong and Marysville* the two friends combined a local knowledge of the Yarra Ranges with their own wilderness photography and a concern with the moral and physical health of the colony of Victoria. Melbourne, located eighty kilometres down the Lilydale railway line that was extended to Healesville in 1888, was a city of approximately five hundred thousand, host of the temporary federal parliament, and the political and cultural capital of an incipient Australian Commonwealth. In the mountains of Healesville, Lindt was the local, having established a cross between an English Inn and Swiss Chalet which he named *The Hermitage* in between the terminus of the railway and the small community of Narbethong in 1895 (Figure 7.1). However, despite Lindt's intimate knowledge of the hills around his home and his greater standing as a photographer, Caire was the expert.[1] By the turn of the twentieth century he had spent roughly forty years in Victoria photographing the forests and lakes of the Gippsland, the goldfields around Bendigo, the rolling hills of the Strzelecki Ranges and the vistas of Mount Buffalo.[2] Caire and Lindt shared a common understanding of the landscape covered in their *Companion Guide*, though. To them, just as to the many other settlers stretching back to the "good old coaching days"

[1] Valerie Frost, "Lindt, John William," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1974): http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lindt-john-william-4023/text6385.

[2] Jack Cato, "Caire, Nicholas John," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969): http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/caire-nicholas-john-3139/text3683.

Figure 7.1 J.W. Lindt, *Lindt's Hermitage,* 1894, Gelatin Silver Photograph, 30x60.7cm. Source: PH72-1975, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne: https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/8134/.

before the railways, the Yarra Ranges were a site of "marvellous beauty," an "ideal" position for a "retreat in which to rest and recuperate."[3]

During the preceding twenty-five years a culture of urban escape had taken hold in Melbourne and a variety of rural and semi-rural sites surrounding the city emerged as popular weekend and holiday havens for city workers and their families. The 1880s and 1890s in Australia's largest city were characterised by rapid growth, increasing industrialisation and intense social and political change.[4] As Tom Griffiths has observed, from the 1880s a cast of Victorian journalists and writers promoted the virtues of the countryside and cultivated an

[3] John W. Lindt and Nicholas Caire, *Companion guide to Healesville, Blacks' Spur, Narbethong and Marysville* (Melbourne: Atlas Press, 1904), 29, 34, 15.

[4] Stuart Macintyre and Sean Scalmer "Colonial States and Civil Society," in *The Cambridge History of Australia,*Vol. 1, *Indigenous and Colonial Australia,* eds. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 211; see also, Melissa Bellanta, "Rethinking the 1890s," in *The Cambridge History of Australia,*Vol. 1, *Indigenous and Colonial Australia,* eds. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 241.

understanding of the bush as a place of recuperation.[5] The culture of nature leisure that developed in the Yarra Ranges was a response to the peculiar pressures of the modernising settler colonial metropolis. By the turn of the twentieth century cities like Melbourne, San Francisco and Dunedin had become progressively and sometimes stubbornly integrated into larger national economies and polities. Between 1876 and 1907, New Zealand's provinces were abolished in favour of centralisation and dominion status, Australia's colonies decided to federate, and California's economy and society became more thoroughly integrated with the markets of the American east.[6] In this context natural places were not solely antidotes to industrial enervation, but countervailing symbols of the local in increasingly national societies. By consolidating these traditions of escape, the cultivation of settler identity in nature fortified fin de siècle settler nationalism.

An analysis of the cultural products of settler nationalisms in Australia, New Zealand and California reveals a set of common nativist trajectories. Indeed, the fact that settlers in all these places became more integrated into national formations at a similar juncture in colonial history indicates that each site shared significant structural foundations. These foundations ran deep and related to the nexus between the two structural forms from which Anglo settler

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[5] Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 126; see also, Tom Griffiths, "'The Natural History of Melbourne': The Culture of Nature Writing in Victoria, 1880-1945' *Australian Historical Studies* 23, no. 93 (1989).

[6] André Brett, *Acknowledge No Frontier: The Creation and Demise of New Zealand's Provinces, 1853-1876* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016); Libby Robin and Tom Griffiths, "Environmental History in Australasia," *Environment and History* 10, no. 4 (November 2004); Helen Irving, "Making the Federal Commonwealth, 1890-1901," in *The Cambridge History of Australia,*Vol. 1, *Indigenous and Colonial Australia,* eds. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013); John Hirst, "Nation Building, 1901-14," in *The Cambridge History of Australia,*Vol. 2, *The Commonwealth of Australia,* eds. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011); Leon Fink, *The Long Gilded Age: American Capitalism and the Lessons of a New World Order* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

society derived its strength: Indigenous dispossession and environmental transformation. As a politics of replacement, national cultures were sustained by an idea of settler nativity – a kind of assumed birthright for territory that upheld claims for white colonial self-government in the antipodes and North American Manifest Destiny. Nativity, of course, helped settlers assume sovereignty, which was maintained through internal and external practices of integration, segregation and exclusion as applied to Indigenous people and non-white immigrants. Related systems of spatial organisation were applied to the physical world as natures were examined, categorised, and divided according to imperial and then national regimes of value extraction and preservation. These cultures, practices and systems developed in synchronicity. Despite the ways in which these contexts consistently bled into one another in the works of nature-advocates like Caire, scholars rarely approach them as their own political and cultural system. The nativist system of spatial politics – itself founded on a vision of remote, ancient and empty natural spaces – weathered national integration and became a suitable basis upon which both settler colonial and settler national societies could rest.

The endurance of nativism as a structural influence on settler colonial nationalism has implications for existing understandings of national integration in Australasia and the United States. Most scholarship emphasises the divergent trajectories of settler nationalism and in the American case argues that national feeling was first expressed during the late eighteenth century after the War of Independence and solidified in the early nineteenth century.[7] In the

[7] Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789,* 2nd ed. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 11-22; see also, Mary Beth Norton, *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States,* 7th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 181-229.

wake of the foundational conflicts that broke the United States away from Britain and established it as an international entity, the modern American flag was established as a symbol after the War of 1812. Whether we accept an earlier or a later date, settler nationalism in the United States was established well before self-government arrived in the antipodes in the 1850s. At the very latest it slightly predates William Wentworth's early pleas for "native" liberty in Australia by about ten years.[8] Conceding that American settler nationalism has a longer tradition than its Australasian counterpart is straightforward, but if we consider national integration in the American West as a distinct historical process then divergent interpretations settler nationalisms are harder to sustain.

Despite the longer history of nationalism in the United States, formal Anglo settler control over the continental extents of North America and Australia was achieved in a rough parallel. California, for example, was part of Mexico until the Mexican-American War of 1848 and the Pacific Northwest states of Oregon and Washington became part of the Union even later. Even though regional and pre-statehood settler identity in the west was influenced by existing notions of Anglo racial and cultural superiority derived from eastern sources, we might easily compare Californian settler culture to those separate colonial identities that developed in Victoria, Tasmania and Otago (even as these colonies coalesced into larger national formations themselves). In both American and Australasian cases too, the federal state failed to develop to any significant extent until the early twentieth century.[9] This left space for the maintenance of regional and local identities even as a prevailing context of national

[8] Peter Cochrane, *Colonial Ambition: Foundations of Australian Democracy* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006), 1-39.

[9] Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation,* 140; Hirst, "Nation Building, 1901-14,"16-21.

integration began to influence settler politics. Independent twentieth century nationalisms might have been the end point but their trajectories throughout the nineteenth century were by no means consistently separate. Instead, local territorial claims of settlers – those that were conveniently incorporated into various independent nationalisms in the twentieth century – grew reliably and in parallel throughout the colonial period and therefore form the basis of a more compelling analytical frame.

Transnational and imperial scholarship tends to make use of this parallel framing in more productive ways but it can also neglect the importance of local identities in favour of an emphasis on connections. For example, Ian Tyrrell has noted that the Australian colonies and California were drawn together in increasingly intricate ways following the gold rushes of the mid nineteenth century.[10] In the wake of the mining booms that began in California in 1848, Australia in 1851, and New Zealand in 1861, a system of exchange developed that both reflected and encouraged an outward looking settler colonial disposition. As Tyrrell established, this period was a high-point in trans-Pacific exchange, but local nativism was flourishing in both spaces too. Judith Brett understands the early Australian liberal reformer and Prime Minister Alfred Deakin as an exemplar of this paradox. Deakin's public life was shaped by the endurance of an outward looking settler colonial nationalism and inward looking Australian nativism. According to Brett, Deakin's pivotal contributions to the federation of the Australian colonies and the early Commonwealth took place within a transnational setting – the global world of the "Anglo White-Man."[11] An interpretation like

[10] Ian Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform 1860-1930,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

[11] Judith Brett, "Subjects and Readers: National and Transnational Contexts," in *Transnationalism, Nationalism and Australian History* eds. Anna Clark, Anne Rees and Alecia Simmonds (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 121-123; see also, Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's*

Brett's lands closer to the mark because its focuses on resonance rather than connection. In Tyrrell's reckoning the centripetal gravity of American capitalism encouraged California to turn away from the Pacific after 1910 and forced eastern Australia to chart a new course.[12] This is true of the connections between Australasia and California that were established during the late nineteenth century but resonant cultures of settler nativism both predated and survived national integration.

This chapter argues that settler nativism formed the basis of nationalism in Australasia, endured national integration in California, and was a structural foundation of settler politics in both sides of the Pacific since at least the 1880s. It predominantly draws on evidence from the Australian colonies of Victoria and Tasmania and the American state of California, with some divergences into comparable social and environmental phenomena in New Zealand. Like Brett, the chapter is concerned with the resonances but, unlike Brett its examination of settler cultures reveals that different national trajectories shared significant structural foundations. These trajectories did not unfold in identical ways, but they were inspired by the same fundamental nativist assumptions and priorities. The chapter begins by setting out the historical contours and implications of settler nativity before unfolding in two parts. The first part engages specifically with the relationships between settler nativity and the politics of race in late nineteenth-century settler colonies. And the second part considers the natural symbols and formal structures of state nativism as it applied to the natural world during its gestation through the turn of the twentieth century. The remote, ancient and empty vision of

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Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2008), 1-12, 137-138.

[12] Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 14.

nature that sustained new territorialities throughout the Settler Revolution also supported these more advanced assertions of settler control.

Taken at face value, though, settlers like Caire and Lindt set up their affinity with nature in direct opposition to the markers of national integration in Australasia and California. The *Companion Guide* promoted a space in which "city folk" could "escape the enervating effects" of the urban metropolis – a site of both draining social conditions and, in the case of turn-of-the-century Melbourne, vigorous political debate.[13] In positioning the Yarra Ranges as a site of leisurely recuperation Caire and Lindt were drawing on an extensive tradition of colonial rural retreat that had antecedents in the hill stations of British India and various other sites in Australia including the Blue Mountains of New South Wales and Victoria's Mount Macedon.[14] What made these sites valuable as retreats from the physical challenges of urban life also bound them more strongly into the nativist projects that were under construction in colonial cities. The creation of wilderness retreats and National Parks that guaranteed settler mobility in the natural world depended on the elimination of Indigenous presence.[15] Settler nativity, and eventually the settler nation, relied on the same thing. While it remained a commercial imperative that wilderness photographers and advocates for nature position their work in opposition to urban processes, they shared a central symbolic relationship that only strengthened as colonies became more nationally integrated. It was in wilderness

[13] Lindt and Caire, *Companion Guide,* 54.

[14] Julia Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: How Australia's Landscape was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah press, 2005)*,* 110-139.

[15] Tracey Banivanua Mar, "Carving Wilderness: Queensland's National Parks and the unsettling of Empty Lands, 1890-1910," in *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity,* eds. Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 73-94.

photography in particular – a genre marked by localism – that the settler vision of a remote, ancient and empty nature was most clearly put to nationalist uses.

Settler nativity and national integration

By the end of the nineteenth century the identification with colonial nature was established as an important component of cultural life in settler colonies. The prominence of pioneer myths in the Australian colonies and North America are telling in this instance, and Lorenzo Veracini has related these myths to anticipations of "substantive sovereignty" and expectations of "settler domination."[16] The deliverance of both of these conditions has been most commonly described in relation to the "transformative capacity" of settler environmental regimes.[17] However, other practices could be equally powerful. Pioneers were stylised as part environmental antagonist and part child of the soil. 'Nativity,' which bound settler belonging to natural places through an imitation of Indigeneity, was important to both components because it enabled settlers to either celebrate the transformation of 'their' colonial space or find delight in its primeval wildness. Side by side in Lindt and Caire's *Companion Guide* were cries for the continued preservation of the natural forests of the upper Yarra Valley and for the alteration of the slopes – the clearing of logs for ski runs and the creation of lakes for skating – so as to maximize its attractiveness as a winter destination.[18] Importantly, settler sovereignty was assumed in both cases. Indeed, nativity functioned as a settler birthright to space that helped stabilise the alternative visions of nation, nature and

[16] Lorenzo Veracini, "The Imagined Geographies of Settler Colonialism," in *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity,* eds. Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 180-191.

[17] Veracini, "The Imagined Geographies of Settler Colonialism," 182.

[18] Caire and Lindt, *Companion Guide,* 84-85.

history that materialised during the integration of continental nations in the United States and Australia.

In the American West nativity was expressed in the powerful phenomenon of Manifest Destiny. Throughout the nineteenth century the persistent incursions of American settlers into the lands between the Appalachian Mountains and the Pacific Ocean were popularly rendered as a "virtually inevitable fulfilment of a moral mission delegated to the nation by Providence itself."[19] According to Anne Hyde, these providential landscapes were initially understood as a wilderness to be tamed, but by the 1880s American settlers and tourists embraced what had previously been coded as threatening and adopted the Western wilds as a quintessentially American space.[20] This adoption was clear in Yosemite where a large granite peak above Nevada Falls was renamed Cap of Liberty by Leland Stanford in 1865 because of an apparent resemblance to the famous American Revolutionary symbol. Over the course of the late nineteenth century other sites in the valley were named after figures from the Spanish-American War like Admiral George Dewey, settler scientists and thinkers like Louis Agassiz and artists of the West like Thomas Moran.[21] These practices reinforced the notion that the American West was available for environmental transformation, nationalist celebration and settler reimagining. All three processes, according to William Bauer Jr., helped Indigenise settler experience in California, where popular terms like "frontier" and "pioneer" accrued

[19] Albert Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1935), 1-9.

[20] Anne Farrar Hyde, *An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1820-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1990).

[21] Richard J. Hartesveldt, "Yosemite Valley Place Names," *Yosemite Nature Notes* 34 no. 1 (1955).

powerful spatial and environmental dimensions.[22] However, while the doctrine of Manifest Destiny was most stridently and vocally asserted by American settlers throughout the nineteenth century, the same structures of territorial entitlement supported colonial expansion in Australia too.

The same conditions that supported Manifest Destiny in America led to the development of an equivalent colonial entitlement to territory in Australia even though it was seldom expressed as confidently or in the same terms. Peter Cochrane suggests that this entitlement was also an important political concept in early Australian history.[23] Indeed, according to Veracini all settlers carry "sovereign entitlements" of both territorial and political kinds.[24] This concept sheds meaningful light on Wentworth, who was more than just a powerful advocate for the political rights of settlers in colonial New South Wales; he was also one of the first white men to cross the Great Dividing Range and a proud squatter.[25] Wentworth neatly embodied the multiple dimensions of nativity through his commitment to independent settler society in New South Wales, his mobility in and stubborn possession of colonial space, and his identity as a 'native-born' Australian. In each of these dimensions it is clear that the political concept of colonial entitlement was deeply spatialised. As Angela Woolacott has demonstrated, even though settler reformers clothed their arguments in the language of "disciplined reason" their cry for self-government was intimately related to settler colonial

[22] William Bauer Jr., *California through Native Eyes: Reclaiming History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 33.

[23] Cochrane, *Colonial Ambition,* 8.

[24] Veracini, "The Imagined Geographies of Settler Colonialism," 190.

[25] Cochrane, *Colonial Ambition,* 371

"claims to land and the dispossession of Indigenous inhabitants."[26] For agents of Manifest Destiny like Wentworth, empty space was a settler colonial birthright that had both territorial and political implications.

The national integration of the Anglo settler colonies around the Pacific Rim was underwritten by the entitlement to space associated with settler nativity and justified by the territorial implications of extinction discourse. In the American West this process began in the early 1840s with the opening of the Oregon Trail and was formalised in 1848 when Mexico and America signed the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and ended the Mexican-American War. According to John Bowes, this was the first time that an intruding nation had laid claim to the entire western landscape, and throughout the rest of the nineteenth century American colonial authority was strengthened at the expense of Latino and Native American control.[27] Continental claims made powerful politics in the Australasian colonies too. Banners strung up in halls across the colonies confidently predicted "a Continent for a Nation, and a Nation for a Continent" and the rhetoric of late-nineteenth-century Australian nationalism was marked by a spatial politics that organised colonial dreams, territory and community.[28] Contrary to perspectives of Australian nationalism lacking a sense of place, the continental projections of statesmen and the transformation of natural imagery indicate that national claims had a healthy spatial politics.[29] In both the United States and Australia

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[26] Angela Woolacott, *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-Government and Imperial Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 7, 176-178

[27] John P. Bowes, "US Expansion and Its Consequences," in *The Oxford Handbook of American Indian History,* ed. Frederick E. Hoxie (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 98-101.

[28] "Mr Barton at Narrabri," *The Sydney Morning Herald,* May 28, 1898: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article14155344; Robert Dixon, "'A Nation for a Continent:' Australian Literature and the Cartographic Imaginary of the Federation Era," *Antipodes* 28, no. 1 (2014): 141.

[29] Libby Robin, *How a Continent Created a Nation* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2007), 12.

national integration relied on confident settler imaginations and their ambitious spatial projections.

Settler nativity, the white man and the politics of race

As detailed in Chapter Four, the empty spaces on colonial frontiers so prized by nationalists were produced through a number of discursive and visual strategies. Once produced, 'empty' space was physically inhabited by agents of Manifest Destiny or colonial entitlement, and occupied imaginatively through the construction of cultures of settler nativity. Indeed, Patrick Brantlinger has demonstrated how the very notion of settler progress was intimately connected to both these incursions. According to Brantlinger, in imperial and colonial spaces across the world, white social progress was understood as reliant on the "inevitable disappearance" of Indigenous civilisation.[30] In places like Tasmania the final disappearance of Indigenous people was central to the discursive construction of settler identity. By the end of the nineteenth century colonial intellectuals like James Backhouse Walker and anthropologists like Henry Roth had concerned themselves with the intricacies of blood quantum and miscegenation in an effort to confirm the disappearance of the Tasmanian Aborigines.[31] Settler intellectuals operating in the margins of racial science may have shaped extinction discourse but amateur collectors, antiquarians and photographers also played important roles in the reproduction of the stadial ideas that emptied territory in the settler imagination.

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[30] Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourses on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 1-16.

[31] Rebe Taylor, *Into the Heart of Tasmania: A Search for Human Antiquity* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2017) 122-123.

Figure 7.2 John Watt Beattie, *Tasmanian Aboriginals, Oyster Cove: The Last of the Race. Wapperty, Bessy Clarke, Maryann,* 1860s, Albumen Print. Source: State Library of Victoria, Melbourne: http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/290980.

In most cases photography complemented the elegiac narratives of settler historians and anthropologists. The Tasmanian wilderness photographer John Watt Beattie regularly corresponded with Walker and Roth and was an insatiable and opportunistic collector of photographs of the "last" Tasmanian Aborigines.[32] Beattie sought out old photographs from a number of sources across the island, reproduced them in his Hobart studio, retitled them and put them up for sale. Reproduced around 1890, the image *Tasmanian Aboriginals, Oyster Cove: The Last of the Race. Wapperty, Bessy Clarke, Maryann* (Figure 7.2), was taken before 1867 (Beattie arrived in Tasmania in 1878), when both Wapperty and Bessy Clark passed

[32] Taylor, *Into the Heart of Tasmania,* 94-95.

away.[33] The three women in Beattie's reproduced photograph were witnesses and victims of the period of displacement in which their communities and kin were systematically attacked and removed from their land by settler colonists. Homi Bhaba argues that it was in voids like this that nations turned "loss into the language of metaphor."[34] The Tasmanian genocide took place well before the federal movement in Australia cohered but it provided an essential basis for settler politics. Analysed in the context of Australian settler colonialism, Beattie's imagery is clearly an example of the powerful metaphors that linked extinction discourse with the founding of the Australian nation, and the first steps in this process were linked to the historical fictions of settler nativity rather than the political dreams of nationalism.[35] Aside from his interest in the Tasmanian Aborigines, Beattie was primarily a photographer of untouched wilderness and Tasmanian settler and convict heritage – the two most reliable income streams for his business. In this way Beattie's grimly titled portrait helped empty Tasmanian space of Indigenous presence and set the scene for the nativist stories that supported settler nationhood in both his Hobart studio and the wider colonial context.

Assertions of settler territoriality were accompanied by more than cartographic projections, discursive constructions of Indigenous extinction, and confident revelations of the availability of land. Settler nations were made through the development of regimes of Indigenous removal and the refusal of native claims to land. Between the declaration of American dominion over California by Commodore John Sloat in Monterey in 1846 and the last major

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[33] Lyndall Ryan, *Tasmanian Aborigines: A History Since 1803* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2012), 264.

[34] Homi Bhaba, "Dissemination: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," in *Nation and Narration,* ed. Homi Babha (London: Routledge, 1990), 291; for an argument on how the "spatial geography of settler colonialism… represents a *void* that needs to be filled" see, Veracini, "The Imagined Geographies of Settler Colonialism," 190.

[35] Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings,* 3.

military campaign against a group of California Indians in the Modoc War of 1872-73, settlers on the ground and in military, state and federal legislatures engineered the violent displacement and elimination of California's Indian tribes.[36] Treaties negotiated in the 1850s were left unratified by the United States Senate after settler resistance, and native people were either forced onto reservations or into asymmetrical wage labour markets.[37] At similar stages in the Tasmanian and Victorian histories of Indigenous dispossession colonial governments developed policies of elimination, systems of displacement, instruments to restrict mobility and logics of blood quantum which had the cumulative effect of erasing Indigenous sovereignty and disguising endurance.[38] The removal of Indigenous people from their lands following the incursion of settlers and the refusal of legal rights created spaces in which cultures of nativity could flourish. Whether it was in southeastern Australia following the Gold Rush, California after the 1870s or post-Land Wars New Zealand, national integration took place within a context of compromised Indigenous presence.

Across the nineteenth-century settler world the spatial mobility of Indigenous people within colonial societies was systematically managed. In Australia and California Indigenous people were confronted with a system that combined the forced migration of Indigenous people into marginal territory and the establishment of concentrated settlements called reserves. In the Australian colony of Victoria this process developed swiftly throughout the 1850s and 1860s

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[36] Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 1-15.

[37] William Bauer Jr., "California" in *The Oxford Handbook of American Indian History,* ed. Frederick E. Hoxie (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 286-289.

[38] Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016), 31-60; see also, Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in Nineteenth-Century Pacific Rim Cities* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); for a more detailed discussion of Indigenous mobility as a "problem" within colonial governance see, Amanda Nettelbeck, "Creating the Aboriginal Vagrant: Protective Governance and Indigenous Mobility in Colonial Australia," *Pacific Historical Review* 87 no. 1 (2018): 79-100.

as the colony was undergoing its foundational boom.[39] Although Indigenous people regularly circulated between town and city in colonial Victoria, the influx of settlers that followed the discovery of gold in the 1850s created new challenges for Indigenous economies and shaped their patterns of movement and resettlement.[40] By 1861 the newly created Central Board Appointed to Watch Over the Interests of Aborigines recommended that a system of "permanent reserves should be made for the blacks" and that "they should be confined as closely as possible to these reserves… for their better management and control."[41] Within a decade Victorians had created the most comprehensive system of Native reserves in the Australian colonies consisting of at least seven reserves, complemented by more than twenty smaller camps and depots.[42] By creating what Penelope Edmonds has called an "illusion of British cognate space," this system managed the spectre of ancestral Indigenous ownership through physical segregation and enabled settler fantasies of nativity.[43]

Caire had visited two of these Aboriginal reserves in his work as a photographer in Gippsland and in the Yarra Valley. Caire and Lindt's *Companion Guide* identified the Coranderrk Aboriginal Mission Station as an area of interest to travellers, who could visit the reservation, purchase traditional hunting and ceremonial implements, and observe demonstrations of boomerang and spear throwing.[44] Coranderrk and its inhabitants had been a site of interest for

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[39] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 306-330.

[40] Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers,* 154-159.

[41] *First Report of the Central Board Appointed to Watch Over the Interests of the Aborigines in the Colony of Victoria* (Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer, 1861), 11.

[42] Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Victorians: A History since 1800* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 2005), 126.

[43] Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers,* 159.

[44] Lindt and Caire, *Companion Guide,* 43-45.

photographers, tourists and scientists since the 1860s and in the 1880s the mission had figured prominently in a series of political struggles over the entitlement of Indigenous people to reside on reservations.[45] Caire and Lindt left special instruction in their 1904 publication for tourists looking to replicate the images of Fred Kruger and others, noting that "permission to photograph" was no longer necessary from the government but that responsibilities to native subjects remained.[46] Coranderrk was considerably closer to Melbourne than many other reserves, including the Lake Tyers Mission, which Caire had photographed earlier in his career and which was identified as another place of interest in Frank Whitecombe's early-twentieth-century guidebook to the Gippsland lakes.[47] Whitcombe understood the reserve at Lake Tyers as a measured response to the "troublesome" history of Indigenous resistance in the Gippsland from the 1840s onwards, and just as this resistance was met by systems of segregation, the imagery of Indigenous people at Lake Tyers and Coranderrk was subject to cultures of management that supported the reservation system.[48] This kind of imagery also created spaces of natural wilderness – areas that were also understood as 'reserves' – that were, as in the case of the Gippsland Lakes and the Black's Spur, in close proximity to Indigenous missions. In this linguistic convergence and the geographical realities of government policy, racial segregation in colonial Victoria had an intimate relationship with the natural spaces where settlers exercised and celebrated their nativity.

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[45] Jane Lydon, "Photography, Authenticity and Victoria's *Aborigines Protection Act* (1886)," in *Settler Colonial Governance in Nineteenth-Century Victoria,* eds. Leigh Boucher and Lynette Russell (Canberra: ANU Press, 2015), 139-164.

[46] Lindt and Caire, *Companion Guide,* 63.

[47] Frank Whitcombe, *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves* (Gippsland: Cunninghame Progressive Association, 1907), 59.

[48] Whitcombe, *Guide to the Gippsland Lakes and Buchan Caves*, 55; Jane Lydon, *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 2.

Racial segregation in California also worked to mediate Indigenous presence throughout the nineteenth century. During the period of most intense settler-Indigenous conflict between 1846 and 1873, federally and locally organised violence, the confinement of Indigenous people in federal reserves and the reiteration of settler nativity in popular discourses functioned in concert to attack Native connections to territory.[49] Bauer Jr. has outlined how these discursive strategies were deployed from the 1840s as amateur and professional organisations across the west lionised the "pioneer" or the 49er as the essential figure of Californian history.[50] This marginalisation of Indigenous people within Californian popular culture in favour of white settler pioneers accelerated after 1873. In 1875 the Californian periodical *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* published a wide ranging article on "Californian Indian Characteristics" that surveyed the settler-Indigenous relations of the previous quarter of a century. Just as in Victoria settlers considered that Indigenous people were overcome "by the fierce energy which the boundless lust for gold inspired" and according to the author – journalist and ethnographer Stephen Powers – "never before in history" had "a people been swept away with such terrible swiftness."[51] Powers, who published a reworked collection of similar articles as *The Tribes of California* in 1877, made little of the system of reserves and Indian farms (not to mention Indian settlements outside of Federal control) that had developed sporadically since the 1850s and he failed to consider the changes in Federal reservation policy that were developing under President Ulysses Grant.[52]

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[49] Madley, *An American Genocide,* 346.

[50] Bauer Jr., *California Through Native Eyes,* 22-23.

[51] Stephen Powers, "Californian Indian Characteristics," *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* 14 no. 4 (April 1875), 301.

[52] Bauer Jr., "California," 286-289.

For him the Californian Indians were simply doomed to extinction. The assured dominion projected by Powers was a conceit that indicates that reservation policies disguised continued Indigenous presence in California, even for those apparently interested in studying Indian communities. This is an example of how effectively segregation created the discursive or imaginary spaces for settler fantasies of dominance and possession.

At the same time that large populations of Indians were being segregated into reservations across California, marginal landscapes on the fringes of settlement became natural reserves and eventually, National Parks. By the 1860s spaces like the Yosemite Valley were often the last holdouts of independent Indian communities and they were only haltingly integrated into the Federal system of the United States; the heady days of the 1850s boom had subsided and settler inflows had slackened. Nevertheless remote territory was claimed as American land, and throughout the late nineteenth century a "patriotic transubstantiation" altered "the essential nature of the region."[53] Noting this fluidity in settler colonial landscapes, Veracini suggests that "the spatial geography of settler colonialism… represents a void that needs to be filled."[54] This spatial geography serviced the settler birthright of nativity. It made Powers blind to the contemporary living conditions of the Californian Indians and it created the illusion of an empty space that needed to be filled in Yosemite. Chapter Four explored the techniques that photographers and nature writers used to encode Native absence in natural spaces, but here it is important to accentuate how that empty space was filled. Rather than Indigenous homelands or regional ornaments, the empty natures of the American West

[53] Mark Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4.

[54] Veracini, "The Imagined Geographies of Settler Colonialism," 190.

became sites of national importance through Federal legislation. According to Mark Spence, National Parks like Yosemite enshrined "recently dispossessed landscapes" as places where citizens could "celebrate their national identity and appreciation for natural beauty."[55] As places like Yosemite received increasing visitor numbers throughout the late nineteenth century, white American national identity became more tightly tied to the racial and spatial conceits of settler colonialism in California and the American West.

Clearly, the illusion of Native absence in the American West was secured through a series of strategies and policies aimed at alienating Indigenous people from their land and managing their presence in settler imaginations and depictions of nature. However, a functional white "cognate space" was also reliant on the development of systems of managing external threats to the settler order. In this way systems of managing the internal Indigenous presence became complemented by a restriction on non-European immigration.[56] To stay with Veracini's image of the "void," having created space for a settler nativity to exist through dispossession it was necessary to protect its sovereignty.[57] This demanded an aggressive politics that simultaneously disguised Indigenous claims, restricted certain types of immigration, and cultivated local attachment to place. A powerful combination, this politics was largely successful throughout the late nineteenth century in the settler colonies that surrounded the Pacific Ocean. As Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds have pointed out, the creation of imagined communities of white men in Australasia and the West Coast of the United States

[55] Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness,* 4-5.

[56] Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers,* 159.

[57] Veracini, "The Imagined Geographies of Settler Colonialism," 190.

had "nationalist outcomes" as immigration restriction strengthened settler sovereignty.[58] Ironically, these nations also had transnational and imperial foundations. Anti-Chinese feeling was commonplace on the Californian and Victorian goldfields from the beginning of the Gold Rushes and inspired a raft of discriminatory and exclusionary policies that coalesced under the broad term of "nativism."[59] Nativism focused on external threats to the white settler order but it nevertheless served the same settler colonial spatial politics that impelled Indigenous segregation and the preservation of landscapes.

In his *Overland Monthly* article, Powers explicitly compared the Californian Indians with the Chinese that were by the 1870s mostly labouring on the state's railroads and ranches. Powers' analysis relied on labour market patterns, where he asserted the Indians were worth more per day than the Chinese. As labourers, both groups were subordinate to white masters – be they railroad corporations or settler farmers – who would do well to remember that physically, "the Californian Indians are superior to the Chinese."[60] Powers saw these groups working in the service of American national integration and environmental transformation. This may have tempered the apparent contradiction between anti-Chinese nativism and the value of highly-skilled low-cost Asian labour in the horticultural industries that emerged during the 1860s in California's Central Valley. However, the contradiction deepened as Californian labour markets swelled with Chinese and European migrants and the larger agricultural corporations that relied on Chinese workers began to compete with independent

[58] Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line,* 1-12.

[59] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925,* 2nd ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 3-12; Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line,* 15-45.

[60] Powers, "Californian Indian Characteristics," 299.

settler farmers.[61] As a result anti-Chinese racism escalated throughout the 1870s and 1880s, culminating in the federal Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which reinforced the measures passed by Californian legislatures over the preceding three decades by suspending Chinese immigration.[62] While these developments also affected Chinese workers already in California, many of them continued working in settler businesses. Elizabeth Logan has shown how men like Wong Ah Hem and Henry Ohn continued to be essential workers in Charles Morse's Santa Clara seed company even as its products were presented as objects of white civilisation.[63] In much the same way as Indigenous ownership over land and endurance in space was disguised through the development of the reservation system, the nativist policies put in place by local and federal governments combined with the narratives used to market agricultural products, effectively managed the presence of immigrants in the fields and workshops of California.

The irony of this familiar concealment was that Chinese immigrants played important roles in the conversion of Indigenous landscapes into places of settler productivity and profit, thereby participating in the environmental transformation of natures that accompanied settler colonialism. All around the Pacific Rim, Chinese immigrants worked as miners, market gardeners and agricultural labourers and, as James Beattie has explored in the context of New Zealand, were especially adept at hydrological engineering.[64] Many Chinese immigrants

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[61] Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods,* 118.

[62] An Act to not Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to Chinese (Chinese Exclusion Act), 1882, Pub. L. No. 136, Sections 1-15 (1882); see also, Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods,* 187.

[63] Elizabeth Logan, "Sweet Peas of Civility: The Cultural Politics of Environment in California," *California History* 92 no. 2 (Summer 2015): 14-17.

[64] James Beattie, "Dragons Abroad: Chinese Migration and Environmental Change in Australasia," in "Visions of Australia: Environments in History," eds. Christof Mauch, Ruth Morgan, and Emily O'Gorman, special issue, *RCC Perspectives: Transformations in Environment and Society,* no. 2 (2017): 59-62.

originated in Guangdong Province where they borrowed practices of water manipulation and adapted them to conditions in California, Australia and New Zealand. According to Beattie, these technologies were gradually introduced to the gold-fields of Otago throughout the 1860s and 1870s by miners like Choie Kum Poy and entrepreneurs like Choie Sew Hoy.[65] Like elsewhere on the Pacific Rim in the late-nineteenth-century Chinese migrants were subject to animosity when settlers perceived that their influence threatened Anglo control. Despite these social tensions, the manipulation of water flows was essential to gold mining in the nineteenth century and European settlers relied on Chinese expertise when it came to the construction of the extensive water races, dams, dredges and pumps that enabled companies to make the most out of a particular field. These operations "left a lasting legacy of environmental disturbance" wherever they were pursued.[66] Indeed, the aggressive tactics of hydraulic mining that were pursued around the Pacific Rim rarely escaped criticism. However, the 'altered landscapes' that they produced eventually became signifiers of settlement. Even though some settlers were horrified at the environmental degradation that followed poorly regulated mining booms, Gold Rushes were enthusiastically commemorated as pivotal moments in settler history.

The incorporation of these landscapes in the 1880s and 1890s into a proud settler history further reinforced a vision of the colonial landscape as the domain of the white settler. The articulation of this vision at the end of the nineteenth century was reliant on a series of discursive and physical displacements that managed the presence of Indigenous people and

[65] James Beattie, "Hungry Dragons: Expanding the Horizons of Chinese Environmental History – Cantonese Gold-Miners in Colonial New Zealand, 1860s-1920s," *International Review of Environmental History* 1 (2015): 110-114.

[66] Beattie, "Dragons Abroad," 62-63.

non-European immigrants in Australia, California and New Zealand. Lake and Reynolds make it clear that the idea of "the white man's county emerged in the context of nineteenth century imperialisms" and the concomitant dispossession of Indigenous people in temperate zones around the world.[67] These racial reorganisations were crucial for the development of settler territoriality because they disguised the continued presence of Indigenous people in colonial landscapes and the meaningful impacts that Chinese immigrants had on the environmental transformations that serviced settler economies. These two mechanisms were so persuasive that settlers like Powers could write explicitly about Indigenous and Chinese labour without having to explain that it took place in a settler (not an immigrant or an Indigenous) space.

Importantly, Indigenous dispossession and the reassurance of settler territoriality through racial exclusion took place in phases and at each point in this history European immigrants progressively created the spaces in which white settler nations could be imagined. In southeast Australia for example, where Patrick Wolfe asserts that "settler colonialism practically approximated its pure or theoretical form," these steps were remarkably successful.[68] Between the establishment of the first settler camp on the banks of the Yarra in 1835 and the publication of the first report of the paternalistic Board for the Protection of Aborigines in Victoria in 1861 the Indigenous people of the Kulin nation had suffered displacement, disease and demographic collapse in the face of a destructive and violent settler land grab.[69] From 1861 many remaining Indigenous people were confined in an evolving

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[67] Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line,* 6.

[68] Patrick Wolfe, "Land, Labor and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race," *The American Historical Review* 106 no. 3 (June 2001): 871.

[69] Wolfe, *Traces of History,* 37-45.

system of reservations that concentrated Indigenous groups in small pockets of territory and disguised their territorial claims. Complementary measures aimed at external threats to the settler order were put in place from 1855, when the first Immigration Restriction Act was passed following popular unrest on the goldfields and the development of anti-Chinese sentiment in the committee rooms of Melbourne.[70] Although these efforts were evaded by canny smugglers and eroded by imperial diplomacy, new measures were introduced in the 1880s as trade unions resurrected the nativist animus and by 1901 "the Commonwealth of Australia was inaugurated in an act of racial expulsion."[71] Throughout all this Indigenous people and Chinese immigrants circumvented legislation in various ways but this mattered little to the white settlers who, encouraged by their leaders aggressive politics, self-consciously created modern settler nations based on an their own nativity.

As they were constructing national discourses and political institutions settlers assumed the mantle of Indigeneity through a process of management and exclusion. Voids were created, defended and eventually filled by the settlers of California and Australia. Benedict Anderson has argued that nationalism should be understood as an "imagined community:" a "large cultural system" related and derived from the systems that preceded it.[72] In this way settler nationalisms cannot be understood apart from the deeply unequal systems of settler colonialism that preceded it. Bhaba's notion of the "locality" of national culture is amplified in this analysis because of the peculiar relationships with territory and space that prevailed in

[70] Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line,* 17-20.

[71] Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line,* 17-20, 137.

[72] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 19.

settler colonies.[73] Such contingencies produced a series of problems for self-conscious settler communities that related to Indigenous people and non-European migrants especially. As a response, these communities sidelined Indigenous people with the help of extinction discourse and sought to either integrate or segregate Native populations as a means of eliminating Indigenous culture. This internal process was complemented by an external system of management that restricted immigration to certain groups of white Europeans and limited the mobility of Chinese and Asian immigrants. This created a space for the performance of settler nativity. In this space European and American immigrants in southeast Australia, New Zealand and California strengthened their control over territory and created affinities with nature that bolstered their societies.

The common stem of natus: nativism, nature and the settler nation

In Victoria, California and New Zealand a range of metaphors were developed to articulate the affinities to place that filled the voids created by settler colonialism around the Pacific Rim. Some of these affinities manifested in local celebrations, flags, songs and sayings, but others were hitched firmly to the national destinies that beckoned to settlers from promising futures.[74] Certain species of trees – usually those displaying great height or girth – were popular arboreal canvasses for settler photographers seeking to project politics onto nature. Trees made irresistible metaphors for young nations. With hope for a grand national future, Henry Parkes planted an Algerian Oak in the grounds of the Victorian Parliament shortly after the first Australasian Federal Convention in 1890.[75] Native species too were a source of

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[73] Homi Bhaba, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation," in *Nation and Narration,* ed. Homi Babha (London: Routledge, 1990),4.

[74] Tyrell, *Transnational Nation,* 135.

[75] "Thursday, March 27, 1890" *The Sydney Morning Herald,* March 27, 1890:http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13764928.

pride; Tim Bonyhady has explored how Melbourne's botanical and artistic circles were drawn to the measurement, depiction and protection of a scattering of giant mountain ash trees in the forests around the city.[76] The imagery of trees established settler colonies as living communities with deep ties to the past and the soil.

Carleton Watkins was similarly drawn to arboreal imagery. Watkins was one of the first photographers of the towering sequoias in the Mariposa Grove near the Yosemite Valley. In his Yosemite trip in 1861 Watkins captured the Grizzly Giant, the "patriarch of the Mariposa Grove" (Figure 7.3).[77] In a style familiar to the Victorian settlers, Watkins made sure to capture the entirety of the tree and contrasted its crown against a bright sky. Galen Clark, the first American guardian of the Yosemite Valley, and a host of others were scattered around the Grizzly Giant's twenty-eight metre base as an indication of scale. Clark saw the sequoias as a regional asset and published a book entitled *The Big Trees of California* in 1907, but a negotiation between regional and integrationist priorities was also apparent. The largest sequoia, General Grant, was named in 1867 after the Union General (and later President) Ulysses Grant and another prominent specimen was named in 1879 after Grant's successor as Commander of the United States Army, William Sherman. In the Mariposa Grove, Californian affinity to place reinscribed the imperial mythologies of American continental integration on local redwood.

[76] Tim Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2000), 249-280.

[77] Galen Clark, *The Big Trees of California* (1907).

Figure 7.3 Carleton Watkins, *Grizzly Giant Mariposa Grove – 33ft Diam.,* 1861, Albumen Print, 52.1x39.7. Source: Courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Figure 7.4 Muir and Moodie Studio, *Kauri,* 1890s. Source: Photography Collection. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/195318.

Settlers in New Zealand also found affirmation in the native species that populated the forests that surrounded most colonial settlements. From the 1880s Pākehā embraced the silver fern as a national symbol despite that fact of its limited distribution in the South Island. Photographers and artists were also drawn to the large Kauri trees growing in the northern reaches of the North Island. Although these trees were only about two thirds of the size of the mountain ash of Victoria or the sequoias of California, they compared favourably because of the way they stood out above the canopies of the northern forests. From the beginning of settlement in New Zealand Kauri trees were valued for their timber and were implicated in a trans-Tasman trade to provide New South Wales with softwoods, but they became a focus of conservation efforts by the turn of the twentieth century because of ecosystem destruction and their scenic potential.[78] In the lead up to New Zealand becoming a Dominion in 1907, measures for the protection (under certain circumstances) for vegetation like the Kauri trees were legislated for in 1903 in the *Scenery Preservation Act.* During the 1890s the Burton Brothers studio and its successor, Muir and Moodie, published many scenic images but they also regularly featured depictions of Kauri logging and some photographs of the trees that compare to the styles of Caire and Watkins. One photograph, *Kauri* frames a large gum in front of a gully, some scrub and a road (Figure 7.4). The broad, straight trunk is the salient feature of the Muir and Moodie photograph and the tree is scaled with a human figure and set in contrast with a clear sky in the same manner as Watkins *Grizzly Giant.* Although the Kauri trees were not as cherished as the sequoias or as controversial as the mountain ash, perhaps because of their early exploitation, they were nevertheless mobilised as nationalist metaphors.

[78] Brett J. Stubbs, "Forest Conservation and the Reciprocal Timber Trade between New Zealand and New South Wales, 1880s-1920s," *Environment and History* 14 no. 4 (November 2008): 497-522; Michael Roche, "'Seeing Scenic New Zealand:' W. W. Smith's Eye and the Scenery Preservation Commission, 1904-1906" *International Review of Environmental History* 3 no. 1 (2017): 175-195; see also, Michael Dunn, "Frozen Flame and Slain Tree: The Dead Tree Theme in New Zealand Art of the Thirties and Forties," *Art New Zealand* 13 (Spring 1979) .

In southeastern Australia, New Zealand and California, these images of trees appeared to be potent metaphors for the emerging nation during the crucial periods leading up to step changes in national integration. The emergence of conservation movements in each space and the continued colonial obsession with resource exploitation are both relevant contexts for the popularity of large native trees but there are more powerful explanations. Considering these images in the light of national politics provides an alternative view that makes sense of diverging interpretations. Whether these trees were objectified as convenient appendages to scenic landscapes worthy of preservation or as financial value in the form of lumber, they were always being presented as a resource that formed an asset for an incipient national grouping. The extent to which organic matter was mobilised in these systems varied. Bonyhady observes that in Victoria, the naming of trees never approached the levels of nationalist commemoration evident in the Mariposa Grove and the General Grant Grove.[79] This is certainly the case but in focusing on these prominent organisms settlers were rereading common nationalist scripts. In naming a mountain ash The Baron after the prominent colonial botanist and public figure Ferdinand von Mueller, and a blackbutt Uncle Sam in homage to the United States, Caire was establishing the outlines of the polity he and other settlers expected to construct in Australia. Like the strand of nationalist thinking in settler cultures itself, the settler identification with certain types of natural imagery was a layered phenomenon. Settler nativity formed the foundation of both traditions and conveyed a birthright to territory that shaped the cultural productions of landscape photographers through the turn of the twentieth century.

[79] Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth,* 260.

These landscapes were made through exclusion and regulation and the Anglo settler nations of the Pacific Rim were world leaders in effecting the spatial reorganisations that reinforced new regimes. The creation of new spaces was justified according to the language of protection and preservation and these reserves were then promoted as wildernesses. The landscapes that became protected and admired during the late nineteenth century were usually encoded as remote, ancient and empty, and were valued according to existing traditions of Romantic aesthetics and imperial exploitation. Importantly, these landscapes and many others of varying value to the settler state were also subjected to increasingly sophisticated systems of control. Reminiscent of the instruments of Indigenous segregation and foreign exclusion, these systems were applied to the physical world as natures were examined, categorised, and divided according to nativist regimes of protection and value extraction. This project had been an ongoing concern for settler explorers, botanists and naturalists throughout the nineteenth century but during the 1890s the field of ecology emerged out of the administrative and political culture of the British Empire and assumed relative primacy among the sciences of the natural world.[80] As Thomas Dunlap has explained, the development of ecology was directly tied to the institutions of the national state: the universities and research centres of Great Britain and the eastern United States.[81] Ecological science approached natural spaces with a newly developed disciplinary framework that

[80] Peder Anker, *Imperial Ecology: Environmental Order in the British Empire, 1895-45,* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University press, 2001), pp. 1-2.

[81] Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora,* pp. 142-143, see also Eugene Cittadino, "Ecology and the Professionalization of Botany in America, 1890-1905," *Studies in the History of Biology, 4* (1980): 171-98; Alan Gilbert, "State and Nature in Australia," *Australian Cultural History* 1 (1982): 9-28.

complemented the various affinities with nature that settlers had cultivated throughout the late nineteenth century.

Settler landscape photographers were aligned with the older conventions of nature study but their positioning in relation to the emerging disciplines like ecology at the turn of the twentieth century is indicative of the complementarity of the two traditions. The interest of Caire and Lindt in the big trees of Victoria was firmly hitched to the romantic ethics of nature leisure and natural history; at the core of their appreciation of nature were the virtues of settler "pride," itself connected to boasts about the wildness of the ranges, the ancient age of the trees and the "refreshing" seclusion of the forest.[82] Lindt adopted the tone of the nature writer when he wrote that the allure of the Yarra Ranges inhered in its capacity to "carry you back to the morning of time."[83] Nevertheless, Caire was an associate of von Mueller, the former government botanist and director of Melbourne's Royal Botanic Gardens with whom he shared an appreciation of Victoria's forests. As a representative of one of the centralised institutions that cultivated ecological thinking though, von Mueller's attentions were cast on the scientific importance of the Mountain Ash and the giant trees of the Victorian bush.[84] It was the professionalisation of science within organised institutions that enabled ecological thinking, but it is also important to note that during the late nineteenth century the development of ecology – essentially a natural science of the local – was not solely the domain of professionals.

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[82] Lindt and Caire, *Companion Guide,* 8, 27, 72, 12.

[83] Lindt and Caire, *Companion Guide,* 11.

[84] Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth,* 256-259; Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diapora*, 142-143.

Von Mueller himself was a member of many forums concerned with colonial nature. He was well aware of the wide range of amateur and developing interests in nature in Victoria throughout the middle of the nineteenth century; indeed, he was the first President of the Royal Society of Victoria when it received its Royal Charter in 1859.[85] In these networks he was just one (albeit prominent) scientist among a cast of imperial actors who, according to Mary Louise Pratt, "asserted an urban, lettered, male authority of the whole of the planet," and von Mueller's own global mobility and his formidable correspondence were reliant on the concomitant assembly of "a new kind of eurocentred planetary consciousness."[86] As stated earlier, these groups faced ecological adaptation with a "framework that tied local and immediate experience to the Anglo and European worlds."[87] Learned and scientific societies proliferated in Europe and around the world from the eighteenth century but by the late nineteenth century they were beginning to adapt to local political contingencies; in the settler colonies and this meant a more inclusive remit. In Tasmania, the Royal Society straddled the sentimental and the scientific in its encouragement of the settler "geographical imagination."[88] The work of members like Beattie, who was elected as a Fellow in 1890 and

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[85] Deirdre Morris, "Mueller, Sir Ferdinand Jakob Heinrich von," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1974): http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mueller-sir-ferdinand-jakob-heinrich-von-4266/text6893; see also, R.W. Home, A.M. Lucas, Sara Maroske, D.M. Sinkora, J.H. Voight and Monika Wells, "Introduction," in *Regardfully Yours: Selected Correspondence of Ferdinand von Mueller, Volume III: 1876-1896,* eds. R.W. Home, A.M. Lucas, Sara Maroske, D.M. Sinkora, J.H. Voight and Monika Wells (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006), 1-45.

[86] Mary Lousie Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation,* 2nd edition, (Routledge: New York: 2008), 37.

[87] Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora*, 98.

[88] A subject covered most comprehensively in Chapter Two of this dissertation. Joan Schwartz and Chris Ryan, *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (I.B. Tauris: London, 2003), 6. For more information on how Australian natural history included both popular amateur naturalism and professional scientific study see, Nicholas Drayson, "Early Developments in the Literature of Australian Natural History: Together with a Select Bibliography of Australian Natural History Writing, printed in English, from 1697 to the Present," (Ph.D., University College, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, 1997).

established the historical and geographical section in 1899, accentuated settler belonging by complying with the objective "to investigate the Physical Character of the Island, and to illustrate it's Natural History and Productions."[89] This objective served settlers in reinforcing possession of the island of Tasmania through a greater understanding of its local ecology, while also encouraging identification with scenery and landscape. Nativity, in this case expressed by the natural science of the local, was bound up in the powerful forces that gave rise to ecology. Together the cultural and scientific traditions were implicated in the creation of national natures in places like Tasmania and Victoria in the decades after 1900 – they were put to work.

By the turn of the twentieth century the cultural value of natural landscapes in the settler colonies was roughly matched by their ecological value to the institutions of settler science. Importantly, both valuations of nature were increasingly bound together by national politics. In the decade after Australian Federation the white settler organisation the Australian Natives Association led the promotion of gardening and native nature study in schools at the same time that the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science (founded in 1888) was finding its feet and arguing for a comprehensive biological survey of the continent.[90] Such endeavours were already well underway in the United States. American Ecological science is often linked with the prairies of the Midwest and the University of Wisconsin, Madison, where an ecological section was first established within the 1893 meeting of the Botanical Congress. Ecological consciousness, meanwhile, had been ramifying west since at least the

[89] John Watt Beattie, Papers, 1859-1930, RS30/1, Royal Society Collection, University of Tasmania Library Special and Rare Materials Collection, Hobart.

[90] Robin, *How a Continent Created a Nation,* 18-21, 201-204.

1880s when Clinton Hart Merriam began building the Bureau of Biological Survey within the United States Department of Agriculture.[91] Nature, nation and science were linked in popular bodies too: the American Civic Association made the preservation of scenery a top priority during the leadership of J. Horace MacFarland after 1904. Alfred Runte argues that MacFarland's equation of the scenic parks with national productivity in 1909 proved to be a forceful and influential move.[92] While bodies like the American Civic Association and John Muir's regional Sierra Club seldom gave more than lip service to the science of conservation, the fact that the cultural and ecological values of nature were became conflated in such forums from the turn of the twentieth century is significant. In both Australia and America, a state nativism coalesced from the turn of the twentieth century that incorporated longstanding cultural and scientific approaches to local natures.

In America, state nativism culminated in the passage of the Organic Act in 1916, which created the National Park Service. According to Runte, this act was simply a "logical extension of national park idea" that "came entirely from American culture."[93] However, in the context of state nativism and its settler colonial foundations the cultural origins of the orientation to land enshrined by Woodrow Wilson in 1916 seem altogether broader than Runte's North American frame allows. Upon his appointment in 1917 the first director of the National Park Service – the San Francisco born industrialist and Sierra Club member Stephen Mather – was tasked with the promotion and regulation of "the Federal areas known as

[91] Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora,* 142-145.

[92] Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience,* 4th ed. (Plymouth: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2010), 77-82.

[93] Runte, *National Parks,* 94-97.

national parks" so as to "leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[94] Read in the context of settler nativity, the Organic Act was a statement of intent – it filled real and imagined voids with a declaration of settler colonial possession in perpetuity.

While no such official proclamation supported Lindt and Caire's efforts to promote nature leisure in the Black's Spur in 1904, the measures aligned insomuch as they shared a foundation in settler nativity. Nevertheless, it is indicative to consider that Caire and Lindt framed their promotional booklet in the terms of the Australian nation. Despite being a "Victorian" pride the "Giant Trees" that attracted visitors to the Yarra Ranges were examples of the "gigantic growth of forest timber in Australia," "glory" was found in the "Australian bush," and the pleasures of "solitude" inhered in the "Australian forest."[95] These were overwhelmingly sentimental drawcards, meaning that the specifics of conservation science escaped the attentions of Caire and Lindt – this despite the crucial role of preservationists and conservationists within the fight for the American National Park Service.[96] However, on closer inspection the natural landscapes of the Yarra Ranges were partially shaped by the economic priorities of centralised governments. Ease of access from Melbourne was guaranteed by the Victorian Railways, who partnered with the Healesville Tourist and Progress Association to offer a seven-day trip for three pounds, and the hills harboured a series of weirs and aqueducts "constructed to meet the growing needs of the Metropolis" of

[94] An Act to Establish a National Park Servie and for Other Purposes, 1916._U.S.C., title 16, sec. 4, 38th Congress (1916). .

[95] Lindt and Caire, *Companion Guide,* 8, 71, 62, 52.

[96] Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness,* 115.

Melbourne.'[97] What Lindt and Caire framed as colonial nature was, in the scheme of things, another resource for the temporary national capital.

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In the settler colonies of Australasia and California, national natures have colonial histories. Libby Robin has observed that settler societies tended to develop sciences well suited to delivering efficiencies in primary production. Biology, geology and agriculture all flourished within dependent settler economies and in these sciences, Robin argues, "nature and nation" are "co-managed."[98] These scientific disciplines certainly took on new forms within the government agencies and professional associations of the settler state, but they also owed their existence to a longer history of colonial settler nativity – an idea that inflected the functions of settler science as much as the sentiments of settler photography. Over the course of the nineteenth century the birthright of nativity supported settlers in advancing substantial territorial and continental claims based on arguments like providence and sovereign entitlement. Nativity structured the narratives that filled voids created by assumptions of Indigenous disappearance and large-scale efforts at managing and segregating surviving Indigenous people. From the middle of the nineteenth century these internal strategies were complemented by external ones that restricted non-white immigration and specifically marginalised existing Chinese and other Asian immigrants. It was in this specific context of internal and external management that settlers learnt to identify with colonial nature and began to reinforce their control over territory through the construction of a sentimental attachment to landscape.

[97] Lindt and Caire, *Companion Guide,* 68.

[98] Robin, *How a Continent Created a Nation,* 203.

In remote, ancient and empty landscapes settlers used the two most powerful discourses available to them in fin de siècle Anglo societies. First, settlers continued attaching nature to the cultural projects that national integration was impelling in the American West, continental Australia, and to a lesser extent, the islands of New Zealand. These projects were closely aligned with a flourishing professional scientific interest in the utilitarian value of well managed environments. In some cases, as separate colonies became part of integrated states, their natures were subjected to the increasingly sophisticated control of federal bodies and state nativism emerged as an evolution of settler nativism. In other cases, the infrastructure of more centralized control natural resources was imposed without fanfare. Scenery and science, both inflected in various wars by settler nativity, were yoked to swelling national structures during the same era. The strides that settler nations made during this period in bringing scenery and science together through state nativism represented the coming together of settler identity and spatial politics that had been dreamed of since the Settler Revolution.

Conclusion

Settler Colonialism, Reconciliation and the Problems of Place

In the settler cultures of the late nineteenth-century Anglo Pacific Rim, Indigenous dispossession and environmental transformation were inextricably linked. Settler societies sustained themselves with landscape narratives that cultivated ties to place and diminished existing Indigenous territorialities. In southeast Australia, New Zealand and California white settlers managed this precarious balance in ways that inspired emerging fields of science, framed new visions of nature and made sense of increasingly independent political communities. Despite the readily apparent ascendance of this characteristic settler formation, it was never entirely successful in disembodying colonial nature or seeing off Indigenous presence. The sovereign declarations of the *Uluru Statement from the Heart* that framed the beginning of this dissertation are a culmination of an Indigenous resistance that has existed as long as settler colonialism itself. Like the settler territoriality outlined in this dissertation, Indigenous resistance in Australia, New Zealand and North America has also been shaped by reciprocal engagement and strengthened through recognition of common oppressions.[1] Like visions of nature, Indigenous resistance, too, has been deeply concerned with space and place and has an undeniable environmental element.

This environmental element makes the questions of the *Uluru Statement* all the more pertinent to the subject of this dissertation. The "ancestral ties" that the Indigenous people of Australia claimed with "the land or 'mother nature'" simultaneously link them to a history of

[1] Australian Referendum Council, "Uluru Statement from the Heart," in *Final Report of the Referendum Council* (Australia: Mutitjulu Community Aboriginal Corporation, 2017), i; for a review of the ways that Indigenous resistance has drawn from this transnational history see, Miranda Johnson, *The Land is Our History: Indigeneiety, Law, and the Settler State* (New York: Oxford university Press, 2016).

resistance against settler colonialism on the Pacific Rim and mark out the specific spatial dimensions of the dispossession at the heart of Australian settlement.[2] As I have argued throughout this dissertation these histories haunt the settler societies of the Pacific Rim. So how might these historical wrongs be addressed? The easy answer to the questions raised in the *Uluru Statement* is to look to other settler colonies such as those in New Zealand and North America. There, the popular argument goes, Australians will find a legal model of reconciliation that guarantees a more equitable national settlement. This is a reassuringly bureaucratic solution for many Australians but it grossly underestimates the entanglement of settler colonial structures in contemporary Australian society, not to mention its generous appraisal of alternative settler colonialisms in New Zealand and North America. In the intertwined histories of Indigenous dispossession and environmental transformation that this dissertation has traversed, we can see the fundamental inadequacy of popular notions of reconciliation. This "utopian politics" *might* lead to new national unities but due partly to the ongoing existence of settler colonialism it can make no promises to disentangle the complex spatial consequences of settler territoriality.[3]

In the notions of settler territoriality explored throughout this dissertation the fictions and follies of simple approaches are especially clear. This is what makes the questioning of the *Uluru Statement* – "How could it be otherwise… that peoples possessed a land for sixty millennia and this sacred link disappears from world history in merely the last two hundred years?" – so transgressive.[4] It calls out the very foundations of settler identity. If, as Patrick

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[2] Johnson, *The Land is our History,* 5-6.

[3] Penelope Edmonds, *Settler Colonialism and (Re)Conciliation: Frontier Violence, Affective Performances, and Imaginative Refoundings* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 1-2.

[4] Australian Referendum Council, "Uluru Statement from the Heart," i.

Wolfe argues, "the fusion of people and land" is also the ultimate objective of settler culture, then we must understand colonial history in southeast Australia, New Zealand and California as the product of a fundamental environmental struggle.[5] Although these seemingly intractable terms may strike a dismaying note, colonial histories should resist the "disavowal" of troubling pasts that, according to Bain Attwood, are "especially pronounced in settler societies."[6] As a result of this study we might begin to understand the environmental dimensions of settler colonial history in at least three settler sites in more comprehensive ways and accept its unsettling realities more fully.

This dissertation has consolidated the fields of environmental history and settler colonial studies to expound the historical conditions and local implications of the accumulation of settler territoriality. It has shown that the "place-based" landscape thinking that developed amongst settlers in southeast Australia, New Zealand and California was deeply related to the local contingencies of the Settler Revolution.[7] This finding has important implications for both environmental history and settler colonial studies. The interpretations set out in this dissertation indicate that environmental history can afford to deploy a more theoretical vocabulary when analysing colonial power structures, and that settler colonial studies might fruitfully embark on a more comprehensive examination of spaces and natures. Environmental history and settler colonial studies make a productive pair; one adds a critical edge to another even as this is reciprocated through a reminder to centre studies on the

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[5] Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (London: Verso, 2016), 34; Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 388.

[6] Bain Attwood, "Denial in a Settler Society: the Australian Case," *History Workshop Journal* 84 (Autumn 2017): 39.

[7] Alison Bashford, "The Anthropocene is Modern History: Reflections on Climate and Australian Deep Time," *Australian Historical Studies* 44 no. 3 (2013): 348.

geographies of power. In showing how ancestral Indigenous connections to land were disguised and new ones forged, this history of settler territoriality has illuminated two scholarly spaces that are rarely placed in dialogue.

This dissertation has traced the significant local implications of settler visions of nature through a wide comparative framework. Both environmental history and settler colonial studies help to negotiate the various scales that moderate and recast the territorial concepts that developed in the wake of the Settler Revolution. Both fields have developed ways of thinking comparatively that have informed the arguments and methods of this dissertation even though the specific combination represented in my analysis of settler visions of nature is rare. Interestingly, environmental history, which has long used comparative frames to contextualise certain human regimes and natural ecosystems, and settler colonial studies, which has been at the forefront of a recent revival in comparative history, have rarely been placed in dialogue. This is the kind of contextually sensitive "detailed" comparative history that Indigenous scholar Lynette Russell pointed towards in 2001 when thinking about the future of settler colonial history.[8] This dissertation, then, shows the way for comparative histories of settler colonial environmental thinking.

The settler colonial vision of nature took form in spaces at the intersection of Indigenous territory and imperial periphery. Here, newcomers in the transplanted societies that took root around the Pacific Rim during the Settler Revolution progressively attached new values to nature as they came to grips with foreign ecosystems and challenging environmental

[8] Lynnette Russell, "Introduction," in *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies,* ed. Lynette Russell (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2001), 3.

conditions. Chapter One established a comparative frame that encompassed southeast Australia, New Zealand and California and argued for a more thorough local analysis of James Belich's Settler Revolution.[9] All three sites shared numerous characteristics that developed in step between 1848 and 1900. These included the development of parallel innovations in legal culture, environmental practice and social engineering, but a focus on consonant local conditions reveals that the central and original historical contingency of settler civilisation in these places was the imperative of Indigenous dispossession. Despite its cascading global implications, Belich's Settler Revolution was founded on the local availability of land. The Setter Revolution, to extend the work of Patrick Wolfe, was organised according to the "overriding imperative of territorial acquisition" and pursued through a "logic of elimination."[10] Settler mythologies relating to their belonging on Native land may have been pursued through environmental encounter and transformation but they were structured by histories of Indigenous dispossession.

This dynamic became apparent in the geographical imaginations of settlers as they mapped, wrote and especially photographed colonial environments. Settlers developed a categorisation of colonial space that communicated the extent and reach of settlement in lowland, highland and coastal spaces. Chapter Two argued that at any one time, these settler understandings of space varied according to the histories of settlement – their success, failure or stagnation – in

[9] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[10] Patrick Wolfe, "Race and the Trace of History," *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity and Culture,* ed. Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 272; Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387-390; Patrick Wolfe, "Nation and MiscegeNation: Discursive Continuity in the Post-Mabo Era," *Social Analysis* 34 (1994): 93-152; Patrick Wolfe, "After the Frontier: Separation and Absorption in US Indian Policy," *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011): 32.

any given location. Sites of Indigenous resistance or settler reluctance on the remote frontiers of colonies could induce the spectre of waste to be cast over visual and textual articulations of landscape. Nevertheless, the dynamic tensions inherent in landscape photography held together and supported a stable practice of settler colonial power over space.

Likewise, the exercise of reading time in place that was the assembly of geological time in the colonies of southeast Australia, New Zealand and California served settler territoriality. These geological timescales, which were manifest in discourses about geological formations and natural disasters, were inflected by specific approaches to place. Monumental highland landscapes were accepted as ancient more readily than their quotidian lowland counterparts, and settlers read geological instability differently according to the local vicissitudes of wider imperial economies. Chapter Three followed the ways in which the accumulation of territoriality through the discoveries of revelation and the challenges of rupture was inscribed onto landscapes through settler scientific practices and reified in photography.

Despite the range of ways that new spatial and temporal regimes were imposed on colonial landscapes, the continued endurance of Indigenous people in these spaces was a problem for settlers. As a response to this problem the remote and ancient natures that settlers coveted were also rendered as empty through the development of a series of visual and imaginative conventions that managed Indigenous presence in colonial space. The first of these instruments – photo-ethnography – depicted Indigenous presence according to stadial ideas about savagery and civilisation. The second – settler landscape photography – effectively disembodied colonial landscapes and erased the corporeal markers of Indigenous space. Chapter Four exposed the relationships between these two discreet photographic traditions and explained the basis of their contextual appeal to settlers around the Pacific Rim.

As a whole, Part One of the dissertation demonstrated that the vision of nature that emerged after the Settler Revolution in southeast Australia, New Zealand and California inhered in the topographies, geologies and spatial fantasies of Anglo settlement. In other words, this vision of the natural world originated in the Settler Revolution. In Part Two the dissertation pivoted toward the uses to which this new remote, ancient and empty vision of nature was put. Over the course of the nineteenth century settlers mobilised a range of ideological, material and moral resources to further this vision of nature through a working version of settler spatial politics.

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, settler visions of nature became intertwined with the older tradition of Romanticism. In this way Romanticism functioned as a crucial precondition for the dispossession of Indigenous people because, as an ideology of encounter, it provided a framework for settlers constructing affinities with unfamiliar environments. Chapter Five focused on the singular Romantic figure of the settler photographer-explorer, who set out into the wilderness to produce sublime imagery for the communities of urbanites back in Hobart, Dunedin or San Francisco. In these actions settler Romantics both hitched their imagery to long-standing European traditions and developed new visions of nature based on the particular local conditions of environmental transformation, Indigenous dispossession and settler territoriality that prevailed after the Settler Revolution.

Settler Romanticism was disseminated through a range of artistic and literary practices but it was also put on display during the international exhibitions that lit up European imperialism during the late nineteenth century. Settlers used exhibitions as forums to display and celebrate

a confident territoriality that was intimately associated with the natural resources that they could mobilise. Landscape photography was a particularly powerful medium for the display of territorial control and settlers used it to express both their technical advancement in the arts of civilisation as well as their mastery over nature. Chapter Six put together a selective history of the reception and presentation of settler landscape imagery in a cross-section of late nineteenth century international exhibitions. It showed how settlers participated in these global networks through their display of natural resources and argued that the exhibitions provided a prominent stage on which to perform settler colonial territoriality.

Settler territoriality was built around nativity, which Chapter Seven argues was the primary political concept behind the separate national integrations that redefined southeast Australia and California from the 1880s onwards. Nativity was a kind of settler birthright to territory that upheld claims for self-government and justified the internal and external practices of integration, segregation and exclusion that were applied to Indigenous people and non-white immigrants. In this context settlers resurrected the scenic and scientific appreciations of the natural world that had aided them throughout the nineteenth century and welded them to the emerging frameworks of settler states. As these settler states became increasingly integrated into continental nations, nativity firmed as a base that articulated directly (if intricately) to the original foundations of the Settler Revolution. Though tempered throughout the late nineteenth century, Indigenous dispossession and environmental transformation were preserved as constitutive parts of the twentieth century settler state.

Between 1848 and 1900 settlers around the Pacific Rim composed a vision of nature that reinforced their own territoriality at the expense of local Indigenous people. In these five

decades settlers consolidated their hold on land and strengthened their connections to place by producing and reproducing imagery suffused with a particular spatial politics. This imagery articulated with various other technologies and instruments of settlement to categorise natures, apprehend space and time and diminish or disguise Indigenous ownership. The advantages of photographic technology enabled these visions to be reproduced and disseminated on truly global scales but they had their most salient impacts on the local level. In places like Melbourne, Dunedin and San Francisco urban settlers cultivated their affection for natural places by viewing the images of photographers like Nicholas Caire, Alfred Burton or Carleton Watkins. These settlers put visions of nature to work in their Romantic appraisal of colonial landscapes, in the objects that they chose to represent themselves with at international exhibitions and finally in the racial composition of the settler nations they imagined. The Settler Revolution may have provided these settlers with the economic structure through which independent societies could be sustained, but the cultural work of establishing settler territoriality was a more intimate affair. The various components of this culture – its orientation to the natural world and its specific settler colonial history – are vividly apparent in the visions of nature that coalesced in the late nineteenth century.

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