

EHESS (Paris)

**PhD candidate 2010**

Doctorat

ANTROPOLOGIE

Crane Emmanuelle

**The social and racial  
stratification of New  
Caledonia (1853-1914) as  
seen per extent  
photography**

Thèse dirigée par : Alban Bensa

Soutenance de thèse: 13 janvier 2010

Crane Emmanuelle



# **La stratification sociale et raciale de la Nouvelle- Calédonie (1853-1914) vue à travers la photographie**

*La Nouvelle-Calédonie est intimement liée à l'histoire de France.  
Mise sans dessus dessous, pour proposer une autre histoire, un autre savoir.  
Bouleversement nécessaire, un impératif pour assurer aux jeunes  
une relecture de tout ce que nous avons appris.*

Thèse soutenue le 13 janvier 2010

Membres du jury :

Alban Bensa (Directeur de thèse, EHESS)

# Avant-propos

## Remerciements

J'exprime mes remerciements à mon directeur de thèse, le professeur Alban Bensa pour l'aide compétente qu'il m'a apportée, pour sa patience et son encouragement à finir un travail commencé il y a longtemps. Son oeil critique m'a été très précieux pour structurer le travail et pour améliorer la qualité des différentes sections.

Ensuite je tiens à remercier le professeur John Storey, qui fut mon premier directeur de thèse au Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology à Melbourne et qui m'a soutenu pendant plusieurs années avant de devoir quitter son poste suite à une maladie grave et soudaine. Il a su me faire bénéficier de ses connaissances photographiques et ses analyses systémiques en histoire coloniale.

Je remercie ma famille et mes amis pour leur patience, pour leur compréhension et leurs encouragements continuels pendant ces nombreuses années de recherche et d'écriture. Le professeur Max Quanchi et Tony Paice qui ont contribué à relire et remettre en forme mon anglais tout en faisant des remarques pertinentes sur les cinq premiers chapitres.

J'exprime aussi ma gratitude à Grant McCall, qui a su me conseiller et me guider et qui m'a fait suffisamment confiance pour me permettre de présenter un papier de conférence. L'aboutissement de cette thèse a aussi été encouragé par de nombreuses discussions avec des collègues de disciplines variées. Je ne citerai pas de noms ici, pour ne pas en oublier certains.

D'autres personnes m'ont encouragé à finir ce travail par des gestes d'amitié dont je suis reconnaissante. A titre d'exemple, je citerai tout particulièrement Anne Balavoine qui m'a permis de reformater le contenu de la partie écrite et photographique de cette thèse. J'exprime ma gratitude aux élèves du lycée Pétro Attiti de la Rivière Salée à Nouméa, qui ont partagé durant l'année scolaire 2000-2001 la connaissance de leur tribu, leur culture

qu'elle soit Kanak, Wallisienne, Asiatique, Vanuataise, Caldoche ou métissée. Je tiens tout particulièrement à les remercier pour les nombreuses marques d'affection qu'ils m'ont portée sachant que j'étais étrangère (Australienne) et leur professeur d'anglais au lycée. Je pense aussi très chaleureusement à la famille Wahéo et toute la tribu Wakatch à Wadrilla, qui m'a accueilli sur l'île d'Ouvéa en 2001. Des moments inoubliables, où, au-delà de la vie calme en tribu, nous avons partagé la date fatidique du 11 septembre. Ma reconnaissance va au pasteur Jacob Wahéo qui nous a tenu informé de l'évolution de la situation grâce à son transistor. Je leur suis profondément reconnaissante à tous.

Je ne peux pas non plus oublier l'aide sans faille de Mireille Mouilleseaux, que j'ai d'abord rencontré au fond photographique du CDP de Nouméa, une rencontre qui s'est révélée aux cours des années une très belle amitié. Merci à Max Shekleton de m'avoir donné l'autorisation de publier ici certaines photographies et cartes postales de sa collection. Je tiens également à remercier Jean-Claude Mermoud de m'avoir permis de reproduire les photographies de l'ancêtre de sa belle famille : le photographe Max Meyer.

Un hommage tout particulier au professeur Paul de Deckker, décédé cet été 2009, qui fut un ami et un soutien. Paul de Deckker est mort bien trop tôt, avant que je puisse avoir terminé ma thèse, mais j'honore sa mémoire aujourd'hui en rendant ce travail. Je lui suis tout particulièrement reconnaissante d'avoir été à l'initiative d'être l'élève d'Alban Bensa.

« Last but not least » je remercie également tous les membres de mon jury de thèse : les professeurs Alban Bensa, Grant McCall et Max Quanchi.

## Dédicace

Cette thèse est dédiée à Hélène Burgaud, ma grand-mère, qui, bien qu'elle soit décédée avant même le commencement de cette thèse, m'a donné le goût de la recherche dans tous les domaines. Elle-même entreprit des recherches sur nos ancêtres partis après les guerres

napoléoniennes en Louisiane puis à Cuba. Ces mémoires m'ont fortement aidée à comprendre l'importance de l'Histoire, de son histoire familiale, et m'ont permis de saisir toute la pertinence de raconter des histoires, comme celles que j'ai pu écouter en Nouvelle-Calédonie : des histoires d'ancêtres kanak, d'immigrés Javanais, de descendants de bagnards et toutes les abondantes et belles histoires qui font aujourd'hui la richesse de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

## Comment faire une thèse en onze ans

Le sujet de thèse a été déposé début 1998 et le mémoire préliminaire de thèse a été accepté à l'automne de cette même année et fut rédigé en anglais. A ce moment-là, j'étais étudiante à Melbourne à l'université de RMIT. En 2001 l'idée d'une co-tutelle avec l'EHESS se mit en place. Je quittais l'Australie à l'automne 2003 pour m'installer de façon définitive à Paris. Il fallut attendre 2005 pour que la co-tutelle soit signée entre les deux universités, la rédaction devait se faire en anglais et la soutenance devait se faire dans la même langue ainsi qu'en français, comme prévu dans les accords. La co-tutelle a dû être abandonnée pour cas de force majeure, alors que le travail d'écriture était engagé depuis plusieurs années. Je remercie l'EHESS d'avoir accepté que la thèse soit rendue en anglais bien que la co-tutelle ne soit plus d'actualité. Je fus profondément attristée de la décision de RMIT (Royal Melbourne Institut of Technology) de se retirer du projet, et de renoncer à être le lien d'une coopération internationale entre l'Australie et la France. Je me réjouis cependant de la présence de deux spécialistes australiens à Paris pour la soutenance.

Tout en regrettant aujourd'hui de ne pas avoir rendu ma thèse plus tôt, je suis persuadée que ce travail n'a pas vieilli, au contraire, il a mûri. De plus, l'évolution rapide dans la construction identitaire et le gain d'autonomie de la Nouvelle-Calédonie depuis la signature des Accords de Nouméa en 1998, m'ont permis de prendre plus de recul dans mon analyse



# Abstract

The purpose of my thesis is to examine how photography recorded colonial expansion and helped forge a Kanak image and identity. Portrayed in the nineteenth century as a victory of European expansionism and civilisation over a primitive and backward Kanak society, the colonial era has now been challenged by postcolonial discourses denouncing these Eurocentric beliefs. I challenge the revolutionary ladder found in nineteenth century New Caledonia, where a stratification of ethnic communities was present. Throughout my thesis I discuss the evolution of the techniques of photography from 19th century to our modern usage of the medium which has become utterly routinised and is deeply inserted into social practices.

The extensive collection of New Caledonia photographs dating back to as early as 1840 confirms beyond doubt photography's role in forming our national experience, documenting what was to be the emergence of New Caledonian identity. It is often that we ask photography to confirm our existence, old photographs becoming irresistible. They become mirrors of what we are, what we have been, reflecting our reality, our significance and ultimately our history. The photographs of the Kanak were stereoptic photographs and showed them with stiff expressions as in fear of their photographers. Photographs became fashionable through paper prints called cartes-de-visites which were mounted on cardboard and featured natives in various costumes and occupations. Individual photographs as well as the group collectively : colonial photography was a tool used in the efforts to control the indigenous population.

In my thesis I analyse the evolution of the Kanak identity and the process of acculturation brought by the French through the settlements by various communities, the Church and the growing economy of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The images are fundamental to the project, being a major source for research and critical evaluation. It is only over the last few decades that the importance of photography as a cultural manifestation has been addressed. My thesis tries to answer how photographic evidence surveyed reflect, deny or obscure the position of Kanaks within their own country and the process of acculturation and identity building in New Caledonia.

**Key words :**

Photography – New Caledonia – Oceania – Social classes – Transculturation – Diversity – Colonialism – Missionaries – Penal colony – Mining – International migrations – Indigeneity Sovereignty

**Mots-clés :**

Photographie – Nouvelle-Calédonie – Océanie – Classes sociales – Transculturation – Diversité – Colonialisme – Missionnaires – Bagne – Minerais – Migrations internationales – Autochtonie – Souveraineté

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1 Introduction .....	13
Chapter 2 Photography and colonialism .....	32
1. Photography from 1839.....	32
2.1.1. Changing formats: providing contemporaneity to images .....	33
2.1.2. Photography and its temporal and spatial processes .....	38
2.2. Photography as recording and documenting .....	46
2.2.1. Extracting the meaning of images: a product of culturally formed, agreed-upon and recognised codes and conventions.....	48
2.2.2. The intellectual possibilities of photographs.....	55
2.3. Marginalisation and Sexuality.....	60
2.3.1. The model: accessible, credible and profitable .....	63
2.3.2. Photography: a stealer of souls ?.....	72
2.3.3. Identification of self or other? .....	77
2.4 Perception of the ‘Other’ .....	78
2.4.1 Representing the ‘other’ through photography and the notion of ‘happy faces’ .	80
2.4.2. Capturing Otherness as reality .....	82
2.4.3. The case of ‘otherness’ in New Caledonian literature .....	87
2.5 Representing colonial possessions .....	94
2.5.1. Nationalism and exoticism .....	95
2.5.2. The performance of photographs : an enactment of colonial control .....	103
2.6. Captions and postcards.....	108
2.6.1. Invention of the postcard.....	109
2.6.2. The distorted role of captions.....	115
2.6.3. Formulaic captions and its restrictiveness.....	119
2.6.4. Postcards: bonding empire and propaganda.....	124
Chapter 3 French photography in New Caledonia: the expression of colonial rule .....	131
3.1. France in pre and 19 <sup>th</sup> century.....	137
3.1.1. The inheritance of Rousseau and Diderot .....	137
3.1.3. The collapse of Napoleon’s grand European dream: a severe blow to France’s expansionist desires.....	143
3.1.4. Turmoil and political instability.....	145
3.1.5. The Franco-Prussian war and the Commune .....	145
3.2. The colony of New Caledonia 1853-1914 .....	147
3.2.1. Phantasm and political agenda: the Kanak revolt of 1878 .....	147
3.2.2. European free settlers: a multicultural and heterogenous setting.....	158
3.3. The Kanak: defining indigeneity.....	164
3.3.1. Prior to European contact .....	164
3.3.2. Forced labour or contract labour? .....	167
3.3.3. Blackbirding and the Kanakas.....	169
3.4. Photographers.....	176
3.4.1. The non established: adventurers and navigators.....	179
3.4.2. Professional photographers and their studio settings .....	184
Chapter 4 Photography Convict period.....	189
4.1 The emerging use of photography with the Commune .....	192
4.1.1 Recording and documenting the insurrection of Paris .....	193

4.1.2. Introducing photography for police documentation.....	196
4.2. New Caledonia: land of convicts .....	201
4.2.1. Arrival and dispositions : a hierarchy among convicts .....	201
4.2.1. Photographic documentation of installations and camps .....	205
4.2.1. Perception through foreign eyes: novelist Beatrice Grimshaw .....	209
4.3. Convict press and illustrations .....	218
4.3.1. The evolving relationship between the press and photography .....	218
4.3.2. The escape of Henri Rochefort to Australia.....	223
Chapter 5 Photography Typologies and Cataloguing .....	230
5.1. Typifying diverse cultural groups in photographs .....	230
5.1.1. Preserving historical and social memory .....	230
5.2. Defining societal structure through interchangeable images: methods used to classify, hierarchies, and serialise .....	233
5.3. Fluidity and mutability: a Pacific ‘melting pot’ .....	235
5.3.1. The metis .....	239
5.3.2. Wallisians and Futunians .....	239
5.3.1. New Hebridians.....	242
5.3.4. The Chinese.....	244
5.3.5. The Tahitians.....	246
5.3.6. The Bourbons & Malabars .....	248
5.3.7. The Arabs .....	252
5.3.8. The Indochinese .....	254
5.3.9. The Japanese .....	255
5.3.8. The Javanese & Sundanese .....	257
Chapter 6 Photography: Settlers and Officials.....	262
6.1. Missionaries .....	262
6.1.1. The expansion of missionaries in the Pacific .....	263
6.1.2. Missionaries in New Caledonia: Catholics .....	264
6.1.3. Protestant missionaries in the Oceania.....	273
6.1.4. French missions in the Pacific.....	274
6.2. Recording and influencing in a Protestant and Anglo context.....	277
6.1.3. Religious-made iconography: debating pious and worthy intentions .....	280
6.2. Documentary and expeditionary aspirations .....	287
6.3. Modernisation and materiality .....	288
6.3.1. Settlers: attracting farmers .....	288
6.3.1. Mining.....	293
Chapter 7 Conclusion .....	298
Bibliography.....	303
Films.....	355
Archives .....	356
Interview.....	359
Photographic exhibitions.....	360
Annexes.....	361
Further photographs .....	362
Everyday life in Noumea.....	362
Description of ethnic differences between Melanesians and Polynesians .....	367
Census of the population of Bourail in 1906.....	368
Penal administration-booklet for freed convicts with periodic calls.....	369
WW1 Military recognition Wabéco Léon, Kanak from Maré.....	370
Camera Chronology .....	373
1826 Niepce camera .....	373
1839 Daguerreotype camera.....	374

1851 Heliographic processes.....	374
1853 Folding drawer chamber.....	375
1870 Laboratory tent with camera, Jonte & Domenech.....	376
1888 Hard camera sheet - Photosphère .....	377
1888 Eastman Kodak celluloid Film(soft film).....	377
1903 Lumière autochrom reversed emulsion .....	379
1914 Pocket Kodak camera.....	382
1916 Agfacolor 35 mm color negative.....	383
PHOTOGRAPHERS in New Caledonia.....	384



# Chapter 1 Introduction

*"The photograph defies history; it gives the impression of co-existent times" (Edwards, 1998:108)*



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 15  
E. Robin *"Une maison à Nouméa"*, vers 1869.

21x16,3 cm

The correlation between photography and colonial expansionism suggests that photography was used to record European successes in their colonies for an audience left at home. Photographs taken of New Caledonia (which became a French possession in 1853) shared the objective of attracting settlers to the newly acquired colony while promoting the grandeur of the French conquest in the Pacific over their English enemies. Photography in its official usage was perceived as free from aesthetic convention. That made it uniquely “true” and valuable as it portrayed the ethnographic ‘other’, as well as travel and

surveillance (convicts). Pinney (1997:76-77) asserts that “it was commonly held that its indexical quality of art inevitably removed it from the realm of the arbitrary and conventional within which art functioned” making it a source of reliable information for potential settlers. Within other spheres, however, photography’s relation to art was the subject of constant debate and negotiation. Film, was in its experimental phase.

Photography allowed Western nations like France to produce ‘exact’ descriptions to collect scientific data. Imagery makes claims to represent accurately and to communicate experience or behaviour which has cultural relevance to the subject. Edwards (1996:198) indicates that “the consumption of this imagery reveals underlying structures of the contemporary ‘exotic’, more so than overt stereotypes which so often attract attention”. Photography offered proof of newly discovered peoples and territories to anthropologists and confirmed theories of evolution. The extreme in terms of certainty and proof is fingerprinting, whose veracity is an unquestionable proof of visual figure/data. "In William J. Herschel’s account of the origin of fingerprinting (cited in Pinney, 1997:21), in which he notes the reassurance that the ‘penetrating certainty’ of fingerprints permitted after years of distrust in all evidence tendered in court". It is no coincidence that fingerprinting was first developed in India and exported by Herschel from Bengal to England, where it was taken up by Francis Galton. Galton argued that fingerprints were necessary for the identification of imperial subjects: ‘In India as in other British colonies the natives were illiterate, disputatious, wily, deceitful, and to the eyes of the European all looked the same’ (Ginzburg cited in Pinney, 1997:68-69).



Engraving 1 – Henri Rivière "Souvenirs de la Nouvelle-Calédonie" 1888

With the mapping of New Caledonia on September 4, 1774, by Captain Cook, writings and sketches appear recounting first encounters with the indigenous people (see engraving 1). This attraction of discovering the 'other' in art and literature took on new dimensions when photography was used to record the other and the 'new world' of Oceania. Many commentators have noted the pre-eminent role that visuality has assumed within modern societies. Pinney (1997:17) indicates that colonies were frequently the testing grounds for new techniques of visual control. When New Caledonia was annexed by France in 1853, France already claimed an overseas empire extending from the Americas to Africa and to the Indian Ocean. Throughout France's expansion, visual recordings were included in reports (such as sketches in early colonisation) etc... Lithographic reproductions and engravings tended to mutate as they were successively copied. Pinney (1997:20) further suggest that "one encounters time and time again in 19<sup>th</sup> century administrative and early anthropological literature the complaint that ... nothing is as it seems".



Engraving 2 – Henri Rivière “Souvenirs de la Nouvelle-Calédonie” 1888

It is in the 1890s that photographs began to be reproduced as photographs and not engravings coinciding with the development of films and *actualités* (news). The half-tone process allowed printing of photographs. French colonies on the American continent included the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon in North America, Martinique and Guadeloupe in the West Indies (colonised in the early 1600s) as well as the vast territory of Guyane on the South American continent. In the Indian Ocean, France possessed La Réunion (taken over in the 1600s), the island of Mayotte in the Comoros chain (which came under French rule in 1840) and bases on the island of Sainte-Marie and at Nossy-Bé in Madagascar. By 1830, France had established authority over coastal regions of Algeria and was expanding into the North African hinterland. Between 1880 and 1912, all of Africa was claimed by European powers. France ultimately acquired regions that came to be known as French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, and the French Cameroons, and established protectorates in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. Other French territories were French Somaliland, and French Togoland. France also held the cities of Pondichéry, Chandernagor, Yanaon, Karikal and Mahé in India (the *Comptoirs français*) as well as

trading posts in Sénégal and on the Guinea coast. In the South Pacific, the Tuamoto, Australs, the Society Islands and the Marquesas gradually merged after beginning as a French protectorate in 1842. The islands of Wallis and Futuna followed in 1887. The New Hebrides were governed under a French-British Condominium from 1906 to 1980.

Pre-photographic representations always depended on the trustworthiness of the author/artist. Many early volumes of lithographs included assurances of the closeness of fit between the image and the reality. W. T. Blandford in 1871 noted that illustrations do not "convey by any means a correct impression; like most lithographs of foreign scenes printed in England the characteristic features are lost... everything is Europeanised.' The same complaint of Europeanisation was also levelled at representations of India's peoples". Pinney (1997:18) points out that "William Ivin's claim that the problems associated with the visual syntax ('the lines, flicks, and dots that formed the convention for reproduction') in lithography and engraving disappeared entirely with the advent of photography". Photography as a tool was only accessible to the few and the wealthy. Prior to the illustrated media boom after 1890, printed photographs of New Caledonia reached middle class and lower class audiences in metropolitan France. The desire to diffuse photographic images in great number through the press had animated the photographic medium at a very early stage. During the period of 1870-1914, the goal was to exceed the limits of photography, which though reproducible, was not multipliable ad infinitum. Photography could not become the only "medium of mass production" necessary to 19<sup>th</sup> century Western societies. The development of feature films, classic Hollywood for the masses and act film for the middle-classes filled this necessity.

In New Caledonia, essentially, only the population in Noumea and settlers throughout la Grande Terre had access to photographs and could visualise prints. It is believed that the

Kanak, the indigenous people of New Caledonia, in isolated tribes had no access to the photographs of which they were the subject. However, prior to sending back photographs to their respective religious affiliations (Catholic or Protestant), missionaries present in New Caledonia might have showed them to the Kanak they were slowly converting.

The colonies provided France with raw materials (especially sugar and other tropical products), and markets and strategic bases for the French military and mercantile fleets around the world. Administrators, soldiers, traders, missionaries and a few French settlers completed the French colonial *présence*, including penal settlements in Guyane and New Caledonia. The 1848 revolution in France brought the abolition of slavery, changed the foundations of economic and social life in the old colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyane and Reunion, and freed its 262,564 slaves. Plantation owners subsequently brought in large numbers of contract workers from the Indian subcontinent. In India, photography was widely accepted. Pinney (1997:23) indicates that the British had "mobilised photography in [their] attempt to have knowledge of and control over, diverse and mobile urban workforces". Pinney (1997:23) adds that "the power relations developed through this process came to invest photography with an authority that could not be reduced to its technical and semiotic properties". Elsewhere in the empire, the indigenous populations benefited from the abolition of slavery, but gained little else. However, the reformists were not anti-colonialists until the French government tried to turn conquered territories into settler colonies. In 1851, Guyane became a penal colony. Two years later Napoleon III took over New Caledonia. His goal was in part to establish a new penitentiary in the Pacific (which lasted for four decades after 1864), thus providing free labour used to turn New Caledonia into a settler colony. By the time New Caledonia became a French possession in 1853, territories in the Pacific under the British Crown included the eastern half of Australia (1788) and New Zealand (1840). Neighbouring British Melanesia, Fiji, British

New Guinea and the Solomon Islands were to be annexed in 1875, 1884 and 1892 respectively and north-eastern New Guinea by the Germans in 1884. Photography from the French Pacific was therefore similar to the imaging that emerged from the British Pacific and Dutch Pacific colonies.

The newly acquired territory of New Caledonia was not founded under a deliberate colonial scheme, but by a slow process of settlement by private individuals: missionaries and commercial adventurers, sandalwooders and whalers. These were the first soft cross-cultural contacts. The French crossed cultural boundaries and adapted to their new environments – the French were sometimes called trans-culturites. They later adapted to local needs by employing foreign labour such as the Javanese, Tonkinese, Japanese and New Hebrideans. They also contributed innovations to their host society, but generally in ways that did not overtly disrupt that culture. These early French and other European arrivals were beachcombers who assimilated to their host communities while also using their linguistic and technical skills to mediate with foreign ships. Because these colonists were small in number, their very survival often required that they earn acceptance. It is only after these private individuals – traders, labour recruiters, passing merchant shipping - established a certain degree of presence in the territory did the government involve itself in the colonisation process. Metropolitan settlers arrived in increasing numbers after France officially took possession of New Caledonia and gradually gained control. According to Edwards (1996:203), “since the 18<sup>th</sup> century when illustrated books began to proliferate, the past had become an increasingly visual experience (Lowenthal, 1985:257-8) to the extent that ‘visualisation’ has become the predominant and distorting emphasis in patterning the past (Urry, 1990:112)”.

The Kanak people were resettled or confined to reservations (decree on land seizure January 20, 1855) while the French state conceded to settlers between 1,000 and 230,000 hectares of land to settlers. Within the confines of these reservations the original populations enjoyed partial or full local autonomy while outside the reservations they could not represent themselves politically. The economic systems, infrastructure and development projects of the settlers served their own needs exclusively. In many cases, land inhabited or used by original inhabitants was taken for the purpose of building roads, dams and power stations. These development projects not only did not benefit the original population but also often reduced them to poverty and structural dependence. As the “wilderness” was brought under cultivation by the settlers, the Kanak people lost their own independent means of subsistence. They were also subdued to forced labour (decree of May 6, 1871 and March 6, 1876). The Kanak were forced to compete with the settlers on terms introduced and imposed by the latter. As many of the Kanak were unable or unwilling to do so, they were pushed to the margins of society. The maintenance of colonial rule took very little effort. The firearms of the settlers proved far superior to the ‘*sagaies*’ (spears) and ‘*casse tête*’ (war club) of the original Kanak. After some initial fighting, a heavy French military presence was believed unnecessary. The rebellions of 1870 and 1917 belied this false sense of security. By 1900, New Caledonia was a hybrid colony, as it possessed both settlements and exploitation of its natural resources composed of chromium, nickel and cobalt. This brought successively Tahitian troops, New Hebridean workers, sugar planters from Reunion along with Indian labourers, Berber deportees, Japanese, Tonkinese/Vietnamese, Javanese, Tahitians, Wallisians and others. Although French settlers were ex-convicts, traders and government officials, they identified with metropolitan France and soon regarded New Caledonia as their home, no longer perceiving Paris as their primary capital.

The mapping of New Caledonia and the first impressions of the early Europeans were recorded, following observations and interactions with the newly discovered ‘strange’ peoples and the beginning of classification and stereotyping. Cook recounts the theft of a watch which was later returned in Rivière’s *Découverte de la Nouvelle-Calédonie* (Discovery of New Caledonia) into an ‘instinct that governs them’. Similar observations were added by Bruny d’Entrecasteaux in 1791 during his voyage to search for La Pérouse in 1788. After reaching Balade in 1793, his descriptions of the ‘Canaques’<sup>1</sup> were summarised by Rivière (1881): they had ‘hostile instincts and a taste for anthropophagy’. These first writings and drawings were the beginning of recording and documenting New Caledonia. They created the basis for categorising for the audiences in Europe. With the invention of the camera, the public came to accept photographs as vivid witnesses to “reality”. Banta (1986:7) indicates that “all too frequently, however, anthropologists and photographers were influenced by their own preconceptions and prejudices, presenting in their images stereotypical attitudes and portraying societies or individuals as depersonalised cultural artefacts”. Pinney (1997:68-69) further suggests “as authors Portman and Molesworth reveal, photography was to become but one of the means of producing evidence which could be termed, in Peircean terms, indexical”. A phenomenal amount of data collected by travellers, missionaries, government officials, settlers, anthropologists over the next 150 years was catalogued and analysed in order to represent New Caledonia as a new world.

This thesis asserts that iconographical representations of the Kanak were created from 1853 to 1914, from the start of New Caledonia’s becoming a French colony to the beginning of World War I. After WWI the photography of the Kanak changed as they were enrolled in the army and began to be photographed as French subjects and not as exotic

---

<sup>1</sup> Original spelling in the text

curiosities. Washbrook (1999:596) points out that “critical, discursive theory re-investigates the past with a view, not to establishing ‘scientific’ truths and narrating stories of progressive emancipation, but to exposing the particular conditions under which various types of knowledge were produced and authorised; the self-referential ways in which they ‘represent’ the subjects of their study; and the relations of domination by which their own constructs were imposed on those subjects, at the expense of the latter’s differing interpretations”.

The photographic representation of colonial settler subgroups, imported labour and convicts, will be used as a means of comparison. I will focus on the photographic similarities and differences of New Caledonia with other colonies, demonstrate the colonial nature of New Caledonian photography and the particularly French ways of imaging colonies.

Photographers have often seen their role as producing a record of a time and place. This is true for European photographers recording far away lands such as New Caledonia, as well as recording their own European society. For example, August Sander, in the 1930s in Germany, was criticized and finally hounded by the Nazis for his inclusive taxonomy of the German people, as he included all social classes. His work was restricted during The Third Reich because his interpretation of German society did not fit into the *Weltanschauung* (ideology) of the Nazis. Such inclusion was unacceptable to the prejudiced Nazis who saw Germany in terms of an ideal Aryan race. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, post WWI, Eugene Atget (1856-1927), went about alone producing books about Paris. He was isolated and was recognised first by the surrealists for his empty street scapes, direct shots of shop windows, parks, and gardens. His was a style out of kilter, out of tune with the community of his contemporaries. Though Atget's photographic recordings were at odd at the time with society's perception of space, they were later appreciated and

embraced. European photographers in Europe just as the French in New Caledonia saw their role as recording time and place.

The photographic representation of indigenous New Caledonians depended on a correlation between photography and colonialism. It was a coincidence that camera photography, after its invention in 1839, overlapped with a French interest in acquiring colonial territories. From this date on, photography and colonial territories see their histories entwine. From its conception in 1839, photography was a medium used as a means of recording and documenting, and by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century anthropologists were using photography systematically, which eventually led to controversial anthropometric photography and the classification of races resulting from Darwin's evolutionary scheme. Darwin's theories were also used to justify and satisfy agendas beyond his control and were often misquoted and misunderstood.<sup>2</sup> Scientific inventions, for example Darwinism, are often influenced by a larger social context. In 1871, Darwin exposed the natural selection and descendants of mankind. The main factors affecting society at the time were the urban poor, the Victorian sex roles of men and women, Adam Smith and laissez-faire individualism<sup>3</sup>, commercial breeding, voyages of exploration, the role of the British and the French navies<sup>4</sup> and Malthus's struggle over fecundity<sup>5</sup>. These social issues are in the foreground of 19<sup>th</sup> century photography and had an unquestionable impact on the selection and framework of photographers' mind sets and the composition of their photographs.

---

<sup>2</sup> The famous sentence attributed to Darwin "the survival of the fittest" belongs to Herbert Spencer who used it in his essay in 1851 on the increase of human population.

<sup>3</sup> In his "Wealth of Nations", in 1776 Smith emphasised the effect of actions from numerous individuals following a common goal could lead to a harmonious and stable society. Revoked by Marx and Engels in 1862 as selfish intentions.

<sup>4</sup> Expansion of empires and cataloguing of nature were both aspects of a colonial mentality.

<sup>5</sup> In 1798 Malthus published his "Essay on the Principal of Population" showing the social progress was impossible over a certain point and that the egalitarian ideas of the French were not practicable as the increases of population would always use up resources provoking poverty. This influenced Darwin's concepts on overproduction, competition and survival of the minority.

The pressure of population growth and the poverty it entailed were of concern to most European nations. Although France was encouraging its citizens to settle in the annexed colonies, it faced less population pressure than Britain. In the early 1800s, France had 30 million inhabitants, a population that would grow to 41 million in 1940. During the same period, Great Britain and Germany had multiplied their population by four. If France had developed at the same rate, it would have had a population of 120 million by 1940, and perhaps totalling 150 million today. Should France have reached these figures, it would no doubt have affected the migration of its citizens to the colonial possessions. New Caledonia suffered from a lack of *colons* (settlers) on the islands; though Governor Feuillet believed and predicted otherwise. The French people would increase to such an extent that its population would feel constricted in New Caledonia and expand to surrounding islands including Australia. Mr Feuillet even added that within Australia the French migrants would be able to continue the traditions and interest of the *Métropole* (motherland). From 1885 to 1920 there were some 20,000 settlers with a slight decrease around the 1900s. Compared to tightly controlled migration with a slight increase but under the 10,000 figure, the Melanesians experienced a slump in 1885 (40,000) to 1890 (30,000), and maintained this number until the 1920s.

The administration was therefore constantly trying to promote its distant territorial possessions as attractive for settlement. Photography played its role in allowing New Caledonia to reach a mass audience, yet had little impact on its migration.

Interpreting photographs that were taken over a century ago can be very misleading as we have little or no knowledge of the photographer's intentions. However, by going back to the historical context of the nineteenth century, we can draw conclusions about the expectations and the audience at the time and the main philosophical and scientific

preoccupations. This reading is influenced by our tendency to project our own ideological preferences and prejudices onto our interpretations of the past. As historical documents, photographs are multifaceted (for example the sexual interpretations). According to Washbrook (1999:597) “the photograph not only conveys information but places it in a context: where people sat, how tools and utensils were stored etc...”

France, like other European powers present in the Pacific, “portrayed non-Europeans as humans without a history, having timeless societies and personalities” (Eric Wolf 1982). Lutz and Collins (1993:111) indicate that “colonial photography represented these ‘people of nature’ to evoke in readers the nostalgia for an imagined condition of humanity before the industrial revolution and environmental degradation broke the link between humans and nature”. Edward Curtis photographed the ‘vanishing race’ of Indians on the North American continent.<sup>6</sup> In Australia, Daisy Bates, described the whole notion of assimilation of Aboriginal people and their breeding out of existence (cf. Rabbit Proof Fence), thus, triggering nostalgia among viewers when no wars nor any land was left to be conquered. Daisy Bates played an important role in defining and describing Aborigines. She was not only recognised for her scientific findings and publications by anthropologists but was also appointed by the South Australian government as Justice of the Peace. Her influence reached city dwellers, reinforcing the strong belief she held of Aborigines as a dying race. She saw her mission as protecting them in their natural state, separate from white civilization. She produced a series of articles for leading Australian newspapers called ‘My Natives and I’ and wrote in 1938 “The Passing of the Aborigines”.

This thesis asserts the relative importance of captions, as in some cases they clearly underline the approach of both the photographer and the audience. However, captions were

often added later without the photographer's involvement. This point is often a reason for theoretical discussions of photography which I will explore in Chapter 2. It is therefore very difficult to assess the correlation between the intent of the photographer and the end result. Yet captions often reinforced the widely shared cultural experience of viewing women's bodies in particular in nineteenth century photographs. The latter drew on and acculturated the audience's ideas about race, gender and sexuality with the marked subcategory in each case being black, female and the repressed.

In order to emphasise particularities proper to 'the other' such as particular dressing or ritual costume, a photograph would be cropped so as to narrate a story about something typically 'native' such as styles of dress. The narrative structure of photographs was often organised around a pure (uncorrupted) display of indigenous dress, which indexed exotic cultural difference as in (see photographs of Kanak women in chapter *2.3 Marginalisation and Sexuality*). Local costume suggested something about the social stability and timelessness of the people depicted (Graham-Brown 1988, cf Lutz and Collins p. 92).

According to Edwards (1996:201) "sexual references are illustrated with the first inclusion of a bare-breasted woman in the pages of the National Geographic in 1896. Sensual desire was fed through the imagery of popular anthropology and travel literature such as National Geographic magazine, and films such as *Dances with Wolves*". Kevin Costner reinforces this idea of a lost world, nostalgic for a time that has passed, and the destruction that occurred. On the contrary, this longing for American Indian culture is not necessarily reinforced in other movies dealing with indigenous peoples such as the film "Rapa Nui". Although there has been no Hollywood film on New Caledonia (therefore no mapping of the country on the international scene) there is little chance that the longing for

---

<sup>6</sup> For further reading, see *Partial Recall: Photographs of Native North Americans* by Lucy Lippard. Lippard introduces essays by twelve Native American artists and writers on the complex relationship of photography to

a passing Melanesian culture would be depicted. A thriving Kanak community, both culturally and with a relatively high population, as well as a general ignorance of the territory by a larger audience combine to form this image.

Lutz and Collins (1993:111) indicate that “back in 1903, conscious of causing some uproar among National Geographic readers, Gilbert Grosvenor, editor, defended his selection of ‘provocative’ photographs as in the interest of science. To exclude them, he argued, would have been to give an incomplete or misleading picture of how the people really live”, reinforcing the notion that the photograph seizes the truth. Taking it a step further, Bryan claimed “the breast represents both a struggle against ‘prudery’ (Bryan 1987:89) and the pursuit of truth rather than pleasure”.

Washbrook (1999:597) adds on that “Jacques Derrida showed how through rhetorical devices, linguistic conventions and narrative structures, these texts represented Oriental subjects in arbitrary, demeaning, and inferiorising ways, while claiming to speak in the name of objective science and universal truth”.<sup>7</sup> Bare breasted women would not only be exposed in magazines in which photographs were selected by editors, but with the invention of postcards anyone could make his choice of what was exotic or new. The postcard reinforced the role of photography, allowing a free and wide movement of previously held photographs among a much smaller audience. The postcard movement highlighted the implicit connection between temporary colonial administration appointees, visitors and later tourists in New Caledonia and the undertaking of viewing 'the other'. The first New Caledonian postcard was published by William Henry Caporn in 1901. In arousing the curiosity back at home, *cartes de visite* (calling cards) as well as postcards played an essential role. Edwards (1996:197) points out that “this exoticism both influences

---

identity and the role played by images in shaping our ideas of "Indianness".

and is influenced by the central motivating structures in the touristic process itself, conspiring to create and sustain tourist desire and fantasy”.

The images of the Kanak posing and wearing full traditional costume and surrounded by studio props were designed to create an impression of what life was like in pre-colonial times. Edwards (1998:108) indicates that “the ‘primitive’ in performance of primitivist tropes such as dance, clothing, tattoo, was played out for the camera” to conform to audience expectations of the colonial frontier. France could therefore be seen to play an important role in preserving indigenous cultures by possessing New Caledonia, or alternatively France could justify its “*Mission civilisatrice*” (civilizing mission) by taking control in order to take the pre-colonial natives into the modern world. This thesis asserts that the ways in which the photographs were made and used was motivated by colonialism rather than simply seeing them as illustrations of expeditions.

On December 9, 1843, coming from Wallis Island, the first missionaries arrived aboard the *Bucéphale* (French navy vessel) which dropped anchor in the bay of Balade (North eastern coast of New Caledonia). It is under a huge banyan tree that four Marist monks celebrated their first mass where they disembarked. It was Christmas Day. Their expansion throughout the Grande Terre (mainland) and the Loyalty Islands required support from head office for funding and manpower. Very quickly, the missionaries understood the importance of photography in collecting funding to complete their tasks of conversion to Christianity and they wished to influence their audience in Europe to support the cause. A very similar marketing approach is used even today by Non Government Organisations (NGOs) such as the Starving Child Section, and World Vision which has added celebrities to influence the audience. This acculturation had to go both ways:

---

<sup>7</sup> Similar semiotics were found in films.

Christian missionaries learned indigenous languages to preach to the islanders but they also opposed indigenous religious systems. Polynesian style feasting was introduced into the Solomon Islands and other parts of Melanesia by Tongan missionaries, and has since become 'traditional'. Lal (2000:108) indicates that "Islander missionaries also taught new ways of using materials already familiar to local people, such as pandanus, coconut fibre and timber, which then became absorbed into local cultures".

In nineteenth century New Caledonia, the French government brought in workers from other French colonies such as Indochina, Reunion Island, and the New Hebrides, but also from nearby colonies under the control of other European countries, such as the Javanese and from independent countries such as Japan. Brought in due to shortage of local labour in the growing mining industry as well as coffee fields and sugar plantations, those peoples were photographed very differently from the Kanak. Interest in the 'exotic', 'natural' and 'primitive' was present but recorded in New Caledonia as essentially documentary.<sup>8</sup> They were imaged as part of the construction of a colony. Colonies which experienced similar movements of labour population, such as in Fiji, had similar photographic coverage. The Indian labour brought in by the English in Fiji was either photographed as curiosities or as anthropometric photography and rarely as a labour unit making a contribution to the economy. The tension between documentary and scientific discovery is illustrated in numerous colonial territories.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how photography recorded colonial expansion and helped forge a Kanak image and identity. Portrayed in the nineteenth century as a victory of European expansionism and civilisation over a primitive and backward Kanak society, the colonial era has now been challenged by postcolonial

discourses denouncing these Eurocentric beliefs. Rosaldo (1989) describes “photography in a tripartite scheme in which the evolutionary ladder has bottom rungs that are precultural (for example, the Tasaday or Papuans); more thoroughly cultural middle rungs, because some historical dynamism is attributed to their societies (India and Japan); and a top rung occupied by the Western observer, who is presented as post-cultural”. This evolutionary ladder is found in nineteenth century New Caledonia, where a stratification of ethnic communities is present.<sup>9</sup> According to Pinney (1997:23) “such uses of photography have become utterly routinised as part of modern experience and are so deeply inserted into social practice that they appear completely normal”.

I will also discuss in Chapter 4, the beginnings of photography in the press, concentrating on the local papers started in New Caledonia by settlers and the *communards* (French who rebelled against the government in Paris in 1871). Printing often used photographs to make engravings for newspapers.

My thesis is based on data obtained from the archives of New Caledonia, of the Musée de l’Homme, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and of the Mitchell Library, in Sydney among others. While doing field work in New Caledonia, I held the position of English Assistant at the Petro Attiti High School at the Rivière Salée in Nouméa. This proved to be an invaluable source of information for my research as the students came from all of New Caledonia. Petro Attiti is a TAFE (professional) school and is in the majority composed of the Kanak and Wallisian ethnic communities. With the approval of the teachers, I conducted surveys among the students on their ethnic background, language spoken at home, and ideas of whom they were in the emerging New Caledonian identity.

---

<sup>8</sup> Other far away places were recorded with similar exotism in photographs and films such Robert J. Flaherty's film on the Inuits, *Nanook of the North*, 1922. Nanook is cited by most film historians as the first feature-length documentary

<sup>9</sup> Present day Singapore's society reflects a similar ladder including the Chinese, Malays, Indians and other.

My stay at Petro Attiti coincided with the return of photographs from the Oxley Library, Brisbane, illustrating the labour indenture traffic between the Loyalty Islands and Queensland. Students found ancestors listed and their impressions and interpretations of the photographs were recorded. My field work also involved research within the Wakatch tribe in Ouvéa, to whom I am very grateful for welcoming and accepting me among their community.

“People prefer pictures in which this element [of human interest] is present. But perhaps more than anything else, they want to see something that stirs the imagination”.<sup>10</sup>



Emmanuelle Crane and students at the “Lycée Professionnel Petro Attiti”,  
Nouméa 2001

---

<sup>10</sup> Gilbert H. Grosvenor, cited in Abramson, Howard S., “Photography Blossoms”, in National Geographic: Behind America’s Lens on the World, (New York, Crown Publishers, 1987) pp.131.

# Chapter 2 Photography and colonialism



Max Meyer, Nouméa, family album Jean Claude Mermoud n°244

## 1. Photography from 1839

The correlation between photography and colonialism begins in 1839 with the medium's invention, its use as a reading/documenting tool and its impact on marginalisation of different groups and sexual identity formation.

With the invention of photography in 1839, the expansion of colonialism was given a considerable boost as the photograph allowed proximity to what was happening in distant

lands to a metropolitan audience avid to learn and know about strange peoples in freshly conquered territories. Photography which first competed with art, very rapidly adopted a documentary function. Pinney (1997:77) indicates that, “even Julia Cameron<sup>11</sup> confronted the dilemma of art as photography or not, as she sought to emphasise the pictorial and down play the documentary function of photography.”

### **2.1.1. Changing formats: providing contemporaneity to images**



Races in Noumea, photography by Max Meyer, Family album Jean-Claude Mermoud n°348

---

<sup>11</sup> Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-1879) British photographer. She was quick to gain mastery of the nascent art of photography and developed into one of its most noteworthy pioneers and innovators. With her hallmark soft-focus lens and dramatic lighting effects, she remains known for her unique portraits of famous men and her romantic, allegorical images of women.

France and England competed in colonial expansion and scientific discovery of photography. Both countries were quick to claim the discovery of photography. Yet, Banta and Curtis (1986:31) suggest that “the first permanent image produced by a photochemical process was made in France in 1826 by Joseph Nicéphore Niépce, who exposed a sensitised pewter plate in a camera obscura and later Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, working in partnership with Niépce, improved upon this technique and created the daguerreotype, also a direct-positive process”. Daguerreotype photographs were used in New Caledonia by French missionaries upon their arrival, in 1843, on an island, not yet claimed by France. Prior to the arrival of the catholic missionaries, the protestant London Missionary Society arrived in the Loyalty Islands in 1830. Tensions between the religious factions increased allowing the French Catholics to win control over the islands (see chapter 6).

On the other side of the English Channel and unaware of Niépce’s and Daguerre’s work, William Henry Fox Talbot in England described the first negative to positive process as early as 1835. Known as the calotype or Talbotype, it was the forerunner of the process by which most photographic images are made today. Talbot used paper negatives to make salted paper prints. Their fibrous quality gave the image a very soft appearance. Unlike the daguerreotype, the calotype could be used to produce multiple copies of an image. Glass plate negatives included collodion wet plates and gelatine dry plates. The collodion wet-plate process, introduced in the mid-1850s, used glass coated with collodion, a semiliquid substance that dried on the plate as a tough film, to produce negatives. Prints made from these negatives were less grainy than prints made from paper negatives, but the plates had to be sensitised, exposed, and developed before the collodion dried. Photographers in the field had to transport chemicals, glass plates, and the entire darkroom setup in order to create their images. Gelatine dry plates were a distinct improvement in photographic

technology. They could be purchased already sensitised, had a faster emulsion than wet plates, and once exposed, could be processed at a later time. Introduced in the 1870s, dry plates greatly increased the mobility and ease of field photography.

In 1839 Eastman introduced the first successful, flexible plastic support material: cellulose nitrate. Used for roll and sheet films, cellulose nitrate was not fragile like glass plates but was highly flammable and deteriorated with time due to its chemical instability. The daguerreotype process utilised a silver-plated copper sheet as its support material. It was sensitised with iodine vapour, exposed immediately, then developed in mercury vapour. The silver plate gave the image a beautiful luminous quality without graininess. Depending on how the plate was held to the light, both positive and negative images of the subject could be seen. The daguerreotype was difficult to produce and its lengthy exposure time limited its use to stationary subjects, particularly landscapes, architecture and portraiture. A direct positive, the daguerreotype was a unique image and could not be used to generate duplicates.

A variety of photographic paper appeared in the nineteenth century, but the great majority of photographs made from the 1850s to the 1890s were printed on albumen paper. An albumen (egg white) emulsion secured the photographic image on the surface of the paper rather than in the paper itself, producing a glossy, grainless print toned to a rich brown with gold chloride. Albumen prints tended to fade and turn yellow if not properly fixed and stored.

Gelatin silver prints were introduced in England in 1839 and started to overtake albumen prints in the market. An improvement over albumen prints, they did not fade or discolour as readily and required less time to print. Printing out gelatin papers (with warm

brown and purple tones) required no chemical developing. The image appeared as a result of being exposed to strong light. The paper was then toned, fixed and washed. Banta and Curtis (1986:31) indicate that “this type of paper was later replaced by gelatin papers with cooler blue and grey tones and these required liquid chemical developers like those used today to bring out the image”.

The fast improvement of technology was constantly making the medium more accessible to a wider public. Its reproduction capabilities therefore reached a wider audience. This change continues today with technology continuously transforming our lives such as with digital cameras. Because of the purchasing power of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century *bourgeoisie* they began practising amateur photography by recording ‘bourgeois’ activities such as cycling competition and horse races. In Nouméa these activities were recorded on photographic paper and after 1900 on postcards (see chapter 2.6.).

The introduction of photography highlights two powerful contexts of the mid nineteenth century: one intellectual, the other political. Edwards (1992) points out that “the first was with firstly perception of the ‘Other’, most powerfully manifested in theories of race, and second in the expansion and maintenance of European colonial power”.

It is certainly difficult in the early twenty-first century, in a society of mass communication constantly bombarded with thousands of images, to plunge into a world in the nineteenth century when illustrations were a new form of visual communication and the invention of photography was very rapidly opening new frontiers and scientific possibilities. It is important while reading nineteenth-century photographs to be aware of the significance of our current knowledge of the medium. In today’s world, colour and digital photography have become the language of consumption, and a vehicle of spectacle, while black and white photography reflects facts from the past. Although a focus on light

and shape is often interpreted as more artistic and creative as in 'movies'. As the technical medium has improved dramatically, the public today perceives photography as a manipulative tool. However, as Scherer (1975) indicates, in the nineteenth century, many believed photography to be a direct reflection of nature and reality and evidence in support of facts because it was mechanical. Photography was therefore embraced as an invention aimed at replacing reality, a reflection of 'truth', disregarding the manipulation of the photographic image which suited the needs of the photographer and/or audience by using technical tricks, verbal instructions to the model and visual props to change the content of the image. Printed captions could emphasize the stereotyping of the day. Today, 'realities' shows on television as well as documentary films fill in the same suggestion for 'truth'. According to Sontag (What Have We Done?, 2004) "ours is a society in which secrets of private life that, formerly, you would have given nearly anything to conceal, you now clamor to get on a television show to reveal". Reality shows allow us to have an intimate and direct link (a voyeuristic one) with the image we watch, a probably very similar feeling our ancestors had when photography emerged.

Photographers with monetary motives would have had a very clear audience in mind. Webb (1995:175) points out that "supply would meet demand and would create a composition and construct an image favourable to client and photographer". Throughout the nineteenth century, the role of photography constantly expanded due to its capacity to depict human behavioural diversity and habits of modes of life. The emerging new sciences such as anthropology, experimental medicine, psychology and sociology all benefited greatly from photography. The sciences and photography became intertwined.

The discovery of photography came at a time during the 1840s and 1850s when physiognomy had become an obsession in Paris and other European cities. Poole

(1997:110) indicates that “popular physiognomic handbooks flooded Europe offering their readers a technique for distinguishing a person’s socio-economic class on the basis of physical appearance”. The role of photography in recording, documenting, and capturing the moment travelled through time and bound past with present. The composition of the image was carefully orchestrated by the photographer as much in the Parisian salons as in the far away lands of exotic natives. The control exercised by the photographer in the selection and creating of the photograph soon got out of hand as they became of public usage. Public photographs were easily manipulated for whoever’s interests they served.

### **2.1.2. Photography and its temporal and spatial processes**



Amusement, photography Max Meyer, family album Jean Claude Mermoud n°359

Photography and ethnographic film were integral to the propaganda of empire. Quartermaine (1992:85) suggests that “photography became no mere handmaid of empire, but a shaping dimension of it: formal imperial power structures institutionalised the attitudes and assumptions necessarily entailed in viewing another individual as a subject for photography”. It was a hundred years later at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that previously disempowered indigenous peoples reclaimed authority when they accessed a technology that became available to all. Pacific peoples reappropriating the camera now stress the difference between the first colonial images static in their portrayal of a dying race, to that of a vibrant and dynamic society.

Between the first ethnographic film produced and today’s documentaries of indigenous people, a world of perceptions has evolved. The colonised ‘other’ has reappropriated its own image through numerous stages. The following dates outline such evolution. The first ethnographic film in the Pacific was shot in 1898 by a Cambridge expedition in the Torres Strait. Ten years later, Robert Flaherty inaugurated ethno-fiction, filming *Moana of the South Sea* in the Pacific thus reinforcing the romantic notion of the relationship between indigenous people and nature. In the 1940s, anthropologists such as CP. Mountford and then Ian Dunlop used film for anthropological means. The rigour they imposed in their visual art was as precise in their filming skills as in their anthropological and scientific approach. The contemporary film *Emma, tribu kanak aujourd’hui* (1998) (Emma, Kanak tribe today) by Emilio Pacull empowers the Kanak tribe thus “giving a voice to the voiceless”. Films became valuable visual archives used to reinforce anthropological findings and became significant primary sources themselves, while also being manipulative. Photography has not yet been granted such authority.

Due to the complicated techniques of the new medium, portraits were the first photographs to be taken. These portraits are condemned by contemporary Kanak (ADCK, 1995). The repatriation and exhibition of Kanak portraits taken by F. Sarasin in 1911-1912, “Kanak portraits, Kanak words”<sup>12</sup>, underlines the need to use historical photographs to reconstruct a colonial past. The photographs were exhibited at the Tjibaou Cultural Center in Noumea in July/August 1995 and a booklet was published. It included the reproduction of the images accompanied by comments of today’s Kanaks. At the time the Swiss photographer Fritz Sarasin came to the distant French colony, the Kanak population had decreased significantly and there was a general belief that the indigenous people of New Caledonia were a disappearing race. Comments of Sarasin’s photographs by Kanaks focused on several issues. Some revolved around the intention of the photographer: “When the foreigner comes with his photo, it impresses us, we do not know what it is for and what is the intention of this piece of metal that takes my shadow...”<sup>13</sup> There were also numerous comments regarding the subject photographed: “...it’s forbidden to look straight to someone ... It [photography] dared to do what kastom forbade: to look and stare...”<sup>14</sup> and descriptions of Kanaks’ perception of the medium in the nineteenth century: “As they don’t understand what photography is, they wonder what is going to happen, if something is not going to be removed from their intimacy. Here believe in the invisible world...”<sup>15</sup>

Webb (1995:178) reminds us that “one needs to remember the technical limitations of the medium which walking, performing, throwing and other bodily movements had to be

---

<sup>12</sup> Portraits kanak, paroles kanak

<sup>13</sup> By Netché Maré in ADCK, *Portraits Kanaks, Paroles Kanaks*, Centre Culturel Tjibaou, (Nouméa: ADCK, 1995) p. 20. « Quand l’étranger arrive avec sa photo, ça nous impressionne, on ne sait pas à quoi ça sert et quel est le but de ce morceau de fer qui prend mon ombre ».

<sup>14</sup> By Yambé Oubatche from Pouébo in ADCK, *Portraits Kanaks, Paroles Kanaks*, Centre Culturel Tjibaou, (Nouméa: ADCK, 1995) p. 26. « ...C’est interdit de se regarder fixement... Elle [la photographie] a osé faire ce que la coutume a interdit à l’œil : regarder et fixer... »

maintained for the duration of the exposure”. The unhappy faces of most if not all photograph subjects taken in the nineteenth century can be attributed to a certain extent to the concentration required to pose for long exposures. Women and men in studio portraits rarely appeared relaxed and friendly - which could also be due to the sittings which might have been physically and emotionally uncomfortable. In portraits, the exotic aspects of the Kanak and their culture were highlighted. The market demand for such images, was large.



Photography by F. Sarasin. Peng Lifou, 1912

The subjects photographed would probably have had a totally different attitude from what we might perceive in the photographs today. The power of the photograph lies in its immediacy. If the technology at the time had allowed instant processing, such as with a Polaroid, we could have expected the reaction to have been very positive. It is usually assumed and for good reason, that indigenous people were reluctant to have their photographs taken and believed the camera would capture their spirit. Yet I believe that

---

<sup>15</sup> By Maringou Canala in ADCK, *Portraits Kanaks, Paroles Kanaks*, Centre Culturel Tjibaou, (Nouméa: ADCK, 1995) p. 31. « Comme ils ne comprennent pas ce que c'est que la photographie, ils se demandent ce qui va se passer, si quelque chose ne va pas être retiré de leur intimité. On croit au monde invisible ici... »

today or in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with indigenous peoples or anyone else, the agreement between the photographer and subject is the key to cooperation. When I took photographs of my students at Petro Attiti (high school in the suburbs of Nouméa), the excitement of participating and seeing the end result overwhelmingly surprised me. I believe that in 19<sup>th</sup> century New Caledonia, the arrival of a new, sophisticated medium would have triggered excitement. Europeans were perhaps also perceived as 'exotic' by the Kanaks. The relationship established with subjects even as an authority (the teacher is in a position of authority, especially in the French educational system) was not necessarily an oppressive one. Immediacy is an important focus of power in the photograph. Despite the barrier between image and experience created by the camera, the easy immediacy of the photograph has none-the-less always allowed us knowledge without experience (Sontag, 1977:156).

Though early retouching techniques removed the flaws on photography plates and emulsions, nothing could hide imperfection and correct the consequences of slow exposure time. Webb (1995:175) indicates that “it was soon discovered by etching and using India ink with brush or pen that slight change or addition to the image could enhance or soften facial expressions, eyes could be intensified”. Photographers used this technique to better meet what the audience required. Harsh or direct lighting was used to emphasise physical characteristics and coarse features such as large flat noses, unrefined traits, voluminous lips and fuzzy hair. Poole (1997:118) further adds that “the same usage of light was employed to emphasise ‘primitive features’ of indigenous peoples worldwide such as high cheekbones and the broad noses of Andean Indians”. Photography even in its early stages was a manipulative tool.

With the invention of *the carte de visite* (calling cards) in 1854, Andre Adolphe Eugen Disderi patented a new photographic format (6 by 10 cm format) that transformed the use and perception of photography. Given its small size, ease of manipulation and printing, the possibilities it offered for mass production were determinant in making images of exotic places accessible and available to audiences everywhere, and accepted as ‘real’ and factual. Another advantage was their small size which allowed to eliminate expensive retouching and spotting operations. According to Schere (1975) “*cartes de visite* as photographs also reinforced a meaning to political, economic and social understandings, preconceptions and stereotypes by moulding and codifying them”.



Photography Max Meyer, Noumea

Photography became a necessary tool for recording and documenting the conquering of new lands and the civilizing process that the colonial government was achieving, reinforcing the idea of the supremacy of primitiveness. Amateur photographers would have to wait until 1910-1920 for good photographic equipment to become available and thus serve as an ancillary tool in fieldwork. By that time, New Caledonia had been a French territory for sixty years.

Photography in its early years involved the strict composition of the images in studios as well as in outdoor scenes.<sup>16</sup> Photographers carried the unpractical, heavy and fragile photographic equipment such glass plates, chemicals, large cameras, tripods, portable darkrooms in remote terrains bearing all types of inappropriate climates. Composition was carefully planned in outdoor scenes leaving little room for the subjects to interact. On some occasions to arouse collaboration from their subjects, Edwards (1998:124) indicates that “photographs were given (family groups or individual portraits) as presents for co-operation with scientific investigation”. Haddon noted “most of the Murray Island (Torres Straight Islands) photographs were developed on the spot, and in a considerable number of cases copies of the portraits were given to the sitters in consideration for their submitting to be psychologised” (Haddon, head-hunters, 28). Praised by anthropologists as a tool for collecting data, according to Malinowski, photography “remained a technique perceived as recording surface rather than depth which was the business of the anthropologist”(1934:461 in Edwards, 1992).



BNF Collection J. Club no. 37 Centre Tjibaou 1995.013.071  
Administrator and Kanaks in Kaouaoua

---

<sup>16</sup> This was also the case in the early days of 'movies'.

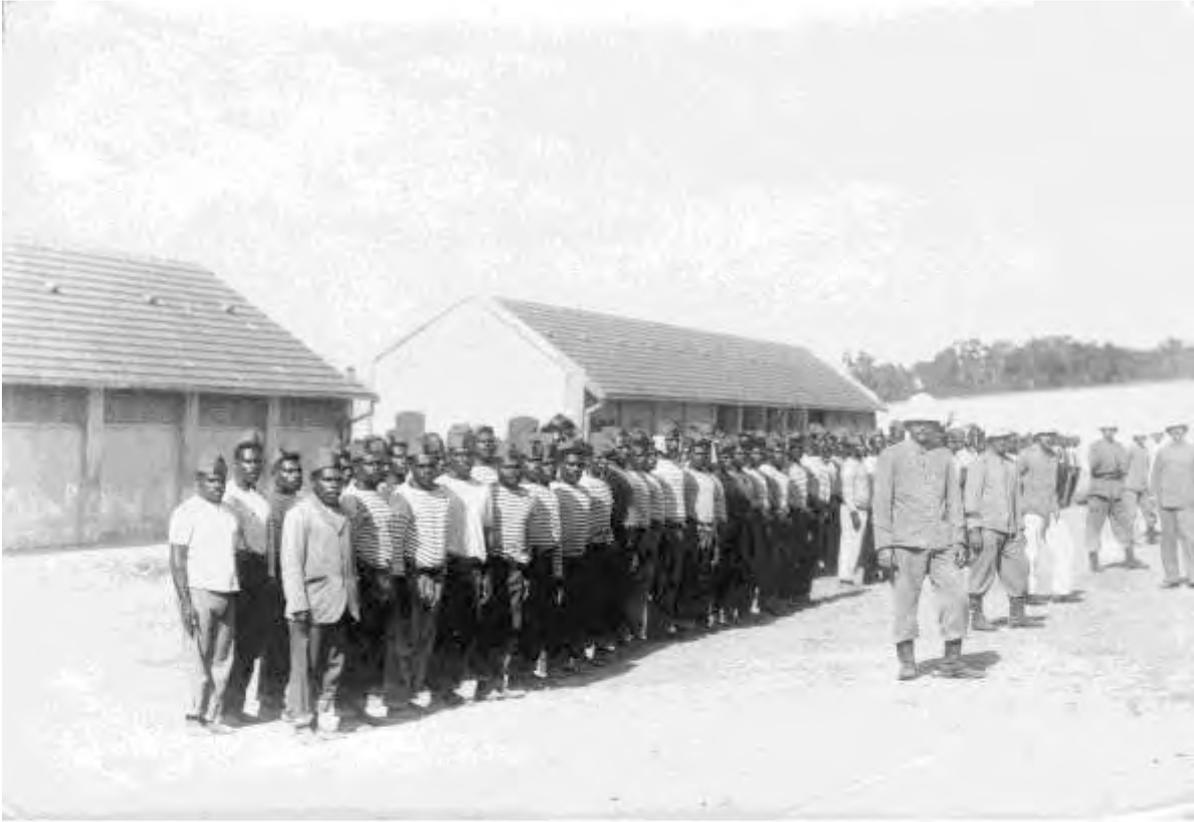
In 1871 the Englishman Richard Maddox abandoned collodion by sensitising with silver nitrate the emulsion composed of bromure of cadmium, gelatin and water that was spread on glass and dried. In 1878, Bennet obtained through this means shots at 1/25<sup>th</sup> of a second. Starting in the 1880s, humid collodion was replaced by dried gelatino bromure which allowed shots to be taken at 1/1000<sup>th</sup> of a second. By increasing emulsions speed (sensitivity to light), the grain quality also improved, enhancing tonal fidelity. It was both technical transformations through chemical inventions and smaller sized cameras, that allowed by the turn of the century, a wealthy class avid for luxury and fun to photograph the new trend of the time: an unusual interest in the working class and the poor.

Initially photographic plates had to be processed directly after exposure. The wet-plate process, which used glass plates prepared with collodion and other chemicals needed to take place before the collodion dried. The technique became more facile as the negative support changed from glass to celluloid in 1888. These advances in photographic technology made photography more portable and practical. Poole (1997:119) suggests that the “increasing numbers of photographers began to travel abroad and photograph the exotic or native type”. Photography became a necessary tool for recording and documenting the conquering of new lands and the civilizing process that the colonial government was achieving, thus reinforcing the idea of the European supremacy over primitiveness. According to Edwards (1992) “amateur photographers would have to wait until 1910-1920 for good photographic equipment to become available and become an ancillary tool in fieldwork”. By that time New Caledonia had been a French territory for sixty years. The photographs of New Caledonia therefore fall into the experimental or early amateur period of photography.

Early New Caledonian photographs were typically portraits. They allowed for scrutiny of the person, the search for and depiction of character where facial expression and gesture could be read. While stressing and searching for cultural difference, portraiture also allowed a commonality. Cartier-Bresson said of portraits: “they enable us to trace the sameness of man” (Galassi 1987, cf Lutz and Collins p. 97). In the nineteenth century, portraits were very popular as a remembrance of the past. Close ups could sometimes amplify the namelessness and exoticism of the photographed non Europeans accentuating types rather than individuals. However there is very little evidence of war and resistance from the Kanak, no atrocities, no depiction of suffering, no negative impacts of colonialism are photographed just the fascination, the excitement, the success and finally the glory of colonialism.

## **2.2. Photography as recording and documenting**

*“The traveller has to knock at every alien door to come to his own” (Rabindranath Tagore, Gitanjali {Song Offerings}, 1912).*



Archives de Nouvelle-Calédonie Album Ch.B. Nething 2 Num 222

The extent to which photography was employed as another technique for collection becomes apparent only on inspection of the wider range of negatives from existing collections. Birds, insects, or live or even dead mammals, had been collected for example, by the Musée de l'Homme, thus, almost the only subjects deemed appropriate for photography were those that could not otherwise be collected: humans and landscapes. While photographers were documenting their journey in the colonies, they were also documenting culture.

## 2.2.1. Extracting the meaning of images: a product of culturally formed, agreed-upon and recognised codes and conventions



Archives de Nouvelle-Calédonie 108FI 2 Num 10-21- Tontouta passage (Mr Guiraud's family) Autochrom photograph<sup>17</sup>

We can draw many parallels between the recording and documenting of conquered colonies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In India a photographic idiom emerged of the 'savage' paradigm, which was applied to what were perceived to be fragile tribal communities. In the 'savage' paradigm a scientific and curatorial imperative was dominant – 'fragile' and 'disappearing' cultures and communities had to be recorded ('captured') before their

---

<sup>17</sup> The autochrome process was invented by the Lumière brothers who began marketing it in 1907. It was the first industrial process for true-colour photography, and was unusual in that it used potato starch tinted in three colours in its chemical composition.

The autochrome plate revolutionised photographic practice at the time and still retains a considerable potential to astonish viewers. Colour photography changes the perception of a past which has been habitually "known" to us only in black and white. It gives an impression of proximity, of reality, tempered by the posed appearance of the subjects (it was not possible to take snapshots without complex processing).

With autochromes used to reproduce the colours, and film to reproduce movement, an image of the country visited was preserved – a living memory of humankind.

extinction. The second obsession which Christopher Pinney calls a 'detective' paradigm, commonly manifested when colonists were faced with a more vital caste society. Pinney (1997:45) indicates that the 'detective paradigm', presumed the continuing vitality of sections of Indian society and stressed the value of anthropological depictions and physiognomic observations as future identificatory guides. India was often singled out as peculiar in this regard when native peoples died away before the eyes of the coloniser, while in India they flourished.

To a certain extent we can draw a parallel between the casting system in India and New Caledonia's stratified society including at the bottom of the scale the indigenous Kanak, followed by foreign labour and white settlers at the high-end of society.

With colonialism expanding throughout the world, photography became the new tool of collecting data through recording and documenting. Photographers included all the subgroups of the colonial machine, from religious representatives to government officials, anthropologists, travellers and commercial photographers. The themes that appear in their albums are of natural man, of societies with no historical dynamism of their own and themes that are continuous with other long-standing anxieties about the sexuality of the racially different. Lutz and Collins (1993:116) suggest that "this view can be evaluated in a variety of ways - as innocent/kindly/relativistic, as naive/out of touch, as a special kind of neo-colonial discourse, which ultimately degrades its subjects, or as humanistic/liberal". Through deciphering the intentions of the photographers, they each had their own motivations in selecting what would be recorded. The striking commonality is the success of civilization over primitiveness. Maxwell (1994:320) indicates that "although it was at first thought that photography as a documentary form would supersede the frailties of human observation, the new medium soon became entangled in aesthetic and ideological

codes of representation”. Yet Lutz and Collins argue that the evaluation should be based not on the intentions of the photographers but on the consequences of its photographic rhetoric. In what ways do these photos change or reinforce ideas about others held by their viewers?



Musée de Chartres, Fonds Bouge, Album Dubain no. 96 and 65. (photography by Hughan) no title and New Caledonian mask

Missionaries frequently contrasted the native represented as primitive or uncivilised and the power of conversion to bring about ‘civilisation’ and often used such photographs as propaganda as evidence (Brown 1981: Malmshemer 1985 in Scherer, 1997). In a story drawing attention to the social transformation of a people (as seen in the above pictures),

changes from native to western-style dress were often highlighted by mission photographs that set indigenous people in two styles of dress in explicit contrast. A central story of the picture, told through dress, is of an encounter or passage between an exotic cultural pattern and a familiar one. The French audience was likely to see western dress as saying something about the mind-set of the person wearing those clothes and draw the conclusion that the Kanak in western dress (*robe mission*, missionary dress) might desire social change, material progress, and westernisation as a whole. While exotic dress could stand for a pre-modern attitude, Western dress could stand for a forward-looking western orientation, reinforcing the idea of positive missionary work in the Pacific.

Although artists on discovery trips were sponsored by governments, Scherer indicates that “photography was soon used to prove the existence of the discovered natives or as proof of their ownership by government representatives”. Maxwell (1994:320) further emphasises that “drawing, inscribing and photographing were part of the tradition of scientific recording which, through its realism, could explain the real world where drawing and photography represented alternative routes to the revelation of truth”. According to Poole (1997) “the immediate effect of this technological innovation was a spectacular expansion of both the quantity and the accessibility of images, as photographs were mass-produced in *carte de visite*, postcards and - after the perfection of half-tone processing in the early 1880s - in popular magazines and newspapers”. Visual images became a fantastic means of promoting and intersecting with political ideologies as well as idealizing the non European and nature.



Photography by Sarasin Tiaoué Koné 1911

Photography as a research methodology in anthropological enquiry was recognised a means of highlighting cultural difference and analysing rituals. Photography accentuated the 'other'. The 'other' was framed visually as less beautiful or mockingly different (see above picture). The exotic other was by definition attractive. Edwards (1990:235) suggests that "portrait photography referred to by contemporaries as a 'type' was used in an attempt to define and classify the physical nature and origin of human races and, by implication, of their culture". Photography as a method and technique of recording scientific truth was to be used as a convincing instrument in validating Darwin's evolutionary theory. By the 1860s and 1870s, this theory of acknowledging the Caucasian as the highest and the Negro as the lowest, was widely known. By the time *carte de visite* were in wide demand in the 1860s, Poole (1997:111) indicates that "physiognomy had passed from being a fashionably new and scientific past-time to forming part of every Parisian's inventory of commonsense knowledge". These founding racial theorists were read by a rather limited number of

people, but photography allowed this racial discourse to boost its influential ideas as they became widely available and circulated extensively. Classification by races, and therefore ‘types’, was part of the viewer’s interest in the new theory. Yet, according to Edwards (1990:235), “within the evolutionary structure, the fixity of races had particular importance in the establishment of the notion of ‘types’ which were the essence of classificatory method”.

The obsession with the different “types” that could be recorded and documented all around the world did not prevent European colonial countries from taking a relativist approach and photographing their own people. Exotic stigma was attached to peasants in France, Eastern Europe and Russia. Those photographs depicting strangeness can also be considered voyeuristic as the “camera is an obtrusive instrument, especially during its first introduction to a society ‘when the image is defined as something that can be stolen from its owner’<sup>18</sup>” (Sontag 1973:171 in Scherer, 1975).



Photography by Max Meyer, Family album Jean-Claude Mermoud  
n°400

---

<sup>18</sup> Such as with stills of inmates of concentration camps.

Post-colonialism has been dominant since most colonies have achieved independence, though there seems to be a condemnation of the megalomania of past European empires, photography has been heavily denounced in the belittling of conquered countries. Photography's voyeuristic approach to primitive, half nude bodies is part of the voyeuristic fascination of the nineteenth century. The photographs that circulated in the nineteenth century in Europe, of non-European peoples and places, "supposed ways in which their material nature as image objects lent support to an emerging idea of race as a material, historical and biological fact" (Poole, 1997:15). The image in studio photographs including props, indigenous clothing, false background, poses and probably models who had been in contact with Europeans and probably had adopted European customs. These practices change photographs, supposed to represent truth and reality into a constructed, "false" image, as it did in 'movies' by reconstruction of reality. According to Webb (1995:175) "tableaux recreating daily life, occupation, or social status were constructed from scratch in those theatrical spaces". These studio images denounced today for their voyeuristic tendencies entered the world of fantasy and desire that production and consumption of visual images responded to, in a commercial and personal sense. Photographs tell different kinds of stories, ranging from the jungle fecundity of a sexualised other and innocence in which pictorial representations are susceptible to characterological interpretations, to estimates about the degree of civilization of a region. The focus on exotic differences is still very contemporary as Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins (1993:111) have argued in their 'reading' of National Geographic photographs that portray only two worlds, the traditional and the modern.

Colonial images of non European peoples in the late nineteenth century seem to have in common the recording of what they believed were a 'vanishing race'. Documenting existing tribes, their customs, their race, became a means of capturing the last glimpses of

what was soon to be gone. Edward Curtis's work was fully sponsored by the American government to keep a trace of the last Native Americans, romanticising a crushed nation. In his 1904 image, 'The Vanishing Race', depicted a line of mounted Navajos riding away from the camera, receding in perspective, to be swallowed into the deep shadows of canyon walls. This conveyed to audiences 'the thought of Indians as a race, already shorn of their... strength and stripped of their primitive dress, are passing into the darkness of an unknown future' (Gidley, 1992:130).

## 2.2.2. The intellectual possibilities of photographs



Photography by Max Meyer, Family album Jean Claude Mermoud, n°406 and detail

Reading an image that was produced over a century ago can be extremely subjective. In the above photograph dated 1909, Max Meyer recorded a family day out. There is no

obvious racial nor social barrier that can be depicted from this image. The Kanak woman seems to be considered like a member of the family. The reader of the photograph gets a very different feeling reading this photograph compared to Sarasin's photographs (see p. 54 & 198) though he took them in 1911, two years later than Meyer. The composition is therefore extremely important, studio or set ups compared to documentary convey a different tone. Gombrich (1972:86) notes the 'correct reading' depends on the understanding of the code, the caption, and the context. The purpose for which the image was made can be drawn from the audience for which it was produced. As we have seen above, voyeuristic images such as women with bare breasts accompanied with props to recapture their primitiveness circulated on the *carte de visite* or later postcards. These were produced by commercial photographers selecting images for an audience keen to witness 'sexually accessible people'. In the early twenty-first century, postcards for tourists in countries (considered today as exotic) still have a selection of images that highlight otherness - with traditional clothing. At a time in which people moved far less and travel photography was only possible for the adventurous and wealthy, photographs 'changed the way in which people saw the world and played a vital role in the demystification of the physical world in the wake of rapid European expansion' (Edwards, 1990:237). The world suddenly became much smaller, a world in which was inaccessible came within reach through photography and by possessing, accumulating, circulating and exchanging those images they accrued value. Audiences may have felt connected to that place because it could be visualised. The image made it real as a 'representation' of a reality out there, beyond the image, but also conformed to contemporary understandings of racial difference and cultural evolution as well as to the civilizing missions (1997:12).

Just as the internet has become the information revolution of the late twentieth century, the invention of photography was a revolution as a means of recording reality. Not too long after the invention of the camera, it was claimed,

*“the photographer is bound by simple truth – happily that is an important, if not the all important principle in representation , he [the photographer] can neither add anything to adorn his picture, nor remove anything that is offensive.... appearing as the exact transcript of nature [Bourne 1859]<sup>19</sup>”.*

Yet, for anthropologists, the accuracy of photography was limited. It was used to record data to increase the depth of their scientific findings. In addition to anthropometric photography, there was scientific photography. Anthropologists were probably more aware that some photographs did not represent the truth per se. Science meant truth. Photography, though considered a scientific invention and tool, did not always match reality that could be used as infallible data.

Despite their aura of fortuitous objectivity, photographs are always cast in specific and deliberate terms. Photographs of New Caledonia that were taken by administrators and officials can be considered as propagandist images - photographs expressly designed to persuade – where the newly acquired territory was portrayed as a success in bringing in French civilization. These terms are the clearer because more urgently pronounced. However it is difficult to measure the extent of the influence of the photographs that were circulated in New Caledonia itself. Even today, as a comparison, much debate focuses on how exactly the media helps shape public opinion remembering that this circulation of postcards and photographs in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe assumed handling the role of today’s mass media.

---

<sup>19</sup> Article in ‘Photographic news’ of 1859 cited in Edwards (1990:237)

Although the first photograph to be mechanically reproduced in a newspaper appeared in 1880 (Jacques Durand, 'Rhétorique et image publicitaire' rhetoric and advertising image), in Communications 15, 1970, p.71), it was not until 1904 that Britain's Daily Mirror became the world's first newspaper to be illustrated exclusively with photographs. Brothers (1997:5) indicates that in France, the use of press photographs was only gradually accepted before 1930, with most pictures still restricted to two-column width. Comparatively, full page with photographs were used widely from 1890 in the United Kingdom and Australia.

The ever-increasing influence of the image hit a high when in 1931, "Paris-Soir" broke with convention. A change of ownership led to a revolution in the paper's layout. Williamson (1978:178) suggests that the image has become "the queen of our time: we are no longer happy to know, we want to see". After all, 'seeing' is 'believing'. Williamson further adds that "every important information newspaper tends to place beside the news a photographic document that not only authenticates it, but gives its exact physiognomy".

Should they have had the facilities to demonstrate or exemplify their revolutionary ideas through what was later known as press photography, the photograph's transparency to the real would have allowed the ideological to pervade the visual. Considered up until recently to be a direct representation of what 'really happened – see for yourself', news photographs, just as portrait photography, disguised the degree of selectivity that defined them.

Brothers (1997:2) indicates that "the continuous dialogue between image and culture – not the culture of the photograph's subjects but of the society which produces and consumes the image – offers insights both into the way these photographs transmit meaning

to their public, and into the collective imagination of that society at that time”. The way 19<sup>th</sup> century photographs are “read” today by the Kanak may be different that of from New Caledonian settlers and still more distant is that of the French in the *métropole* (motherland). Though the former will recognise ancestors in a direct emotional link, those detached in France can feel emotions of exotism, shame for past events ... It would take a whole research to analyse how indigenous people in reacted to the return of photographs to the tribes and the descendants of other ethnic communities (descendants of convicts, settlers, forced labour...) composing New Caledonia. In other words, how a message is read in a photograph depends upon who is reading it and the time, and milieu, it is being read.

No image has a single message. When published and surrounded by headings, captions, associated texts, adjacent images, the character of the publication itself and representations encountered elsewhere all helped determine a specific reading. However, this can be totally overthrown if the photograph is divorced from its original context, for example where documentary photographs can be used for metaphorical purposes. Photographs can be interpreted in ways that have nothing to do with the lives of the subjects pictured and serve as symbolic objects for referents that are completely divorced from the original intent of the photograph.

New Caledonian photographers, like nineteenth century photographers elsewhere, had high technical standards – care in composition, respect for accuracy and seeking after visual information. This includes retouching, cropping, montage or any other technique considered to enhance the clarity of presentation.

Willis (1987:262) states that “photographers throughout the world respected the medium as vehicle for communication for which fidelity of rendition was of paramount importance”.

While it is believed that there is a direct correlation between the number of images published and their influence on the viewing public, the influence as such can never be precisely measured. As photographs of New Caledonia were printed and copied over and over to be distributed among a local public (New Caledonia itself), the *Métropole*, and overseas, the their influence in forging an idea of New Caledonia extended. Contact with images portraying life on a far away exotic Pacific island, meant influenced and educated people. Billboards in Paris are advertising New Caledonia as an exotic destination and the public still is titillated by far away exotic people and places. A central part of ideology is the constant reproduction of ideas which are denied a historical beginning or end, which are used or referred to because they already exist in society (Williamson, 1978:99).

## **2.3. Marginalisation and Sexuality**

*(Photography) leads me to distinguish the “heavy” desire of pornography from the “light” (good) desire of eroticism, Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida.*



Photography by Alan Hugan, studio "three Kanak women" Musée Chartres

Historic photographs of Kanak women have been used as a source of ethnographic and historical information in the documenting of women in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Photographs of women in colonial territories have reinforced across time and space, the idea of women as

sexual objects. I intend to highlight and then examine the voyeuristic approach by nineteenth century photographers of their subjects.<sup>20</sup>

Reading a photograph involves identifying as many aspects of the cultural context of the images as possible: the photographer, date, and photographic technology used to produce the image, as well as the purpose (if known). The “artifice” (that is, props, backgrounds) are highly culturally charged and their influence on the truth of an ethnographic image is immense. Studio photography of kanak women, photography of Melanesian kanak women as opposed to Polynesian women, missionary images and today’s subjective interpretation of 19<sup>th</sup> century photography draw out several theoretical approaches to analysing old photographs.

I have wanted to omit any visuals for this chapter as I wish to avoid the charge of selectiveness and perpetuation of colonial views. However, for the purpose of the discussion of this thesis I believe it is necessary to illustrate my discourse with some images. Can one not illustrate and only describe what one aims to condemn without bringing in the problematic in choice of words?

I also wish to distance myself from such writers as Malek Alloula<sup>21</sup> who fiercely condemn the male voyeuristic approach to Algerian women. He believes the photographs did not represent Algerian women but rather the Frenchman’s fantasies of the Oriental female and her inaccessibility behind the veil in the forbidden harem. His detailed description of a particular photograph: "one odalisque is lying down with her blouse indecently wide open, exposing alluring breasts that entice the eyes as surely as they cause them to avert their gaze. A pornography that does not yet own up to its true nature

---

<sup>20</sup> For recent feminist perspectives on films see film writer Laura Mulvey and Barbara Creed for Australian feature films. Laura Mulvey has been regarded as one of the most prominent feminist film critic. Her critique of mainstream cinema is built on Lacanian psychoanalysis, in which the differences between male and female spectatorship becomes a key component.

<sup>21</sup>Alloula, Malek, *The Colonial Harem*.

ostentatiously begins to supplant an eroticism whose only excuse is that it was never there in the first place" (Alloula, 1986:78). Yet by publishing those photographs in his book, The Colonial Harem, he reinforced for some of his readers what he aimed at condemning.<sup>22</sup>

### **2.3.1. The model: accessible, credible and profitable**

A strong mental image of the indigenous people from conquered colonies had been forged back home. Portrayed and believed to be naïve and primitive, idealized through their perfect osmosis with nature, these peoples aroused curiosity for their exoticism and sexualized portraiture. Stoler (1997:33) indicates that “the competing and converging myths of the sexualized other that riddled French *belles-lettres*, colonial official texts and the sub disciplines of nineteenth century science have been the subject of contemporary critical tradition”. With the wide demand for visual images of the far away colony of New Caledonia, commercial photographers grasped very rapidly the demand for the exotic other. Studio photography of kanak women served the purpose of arousing sexual fantasies and ideas among the audience. Wanting to create an authentic image, kanak women were staged in their traditional grass skirts and surrounded by traditional artefacts but bare breasted. Those studies were based in Nouméa, at a time when the Kanak in the city had already adopted European clothing. Yet it was not assimilation and kanak appropriation of western habits that interested potential buyers, but difference. Edward Curtis did the same in recording indigeneity among Native Americans, preventing Indians to wear any western clothes or show any signs of Americanisation.

---

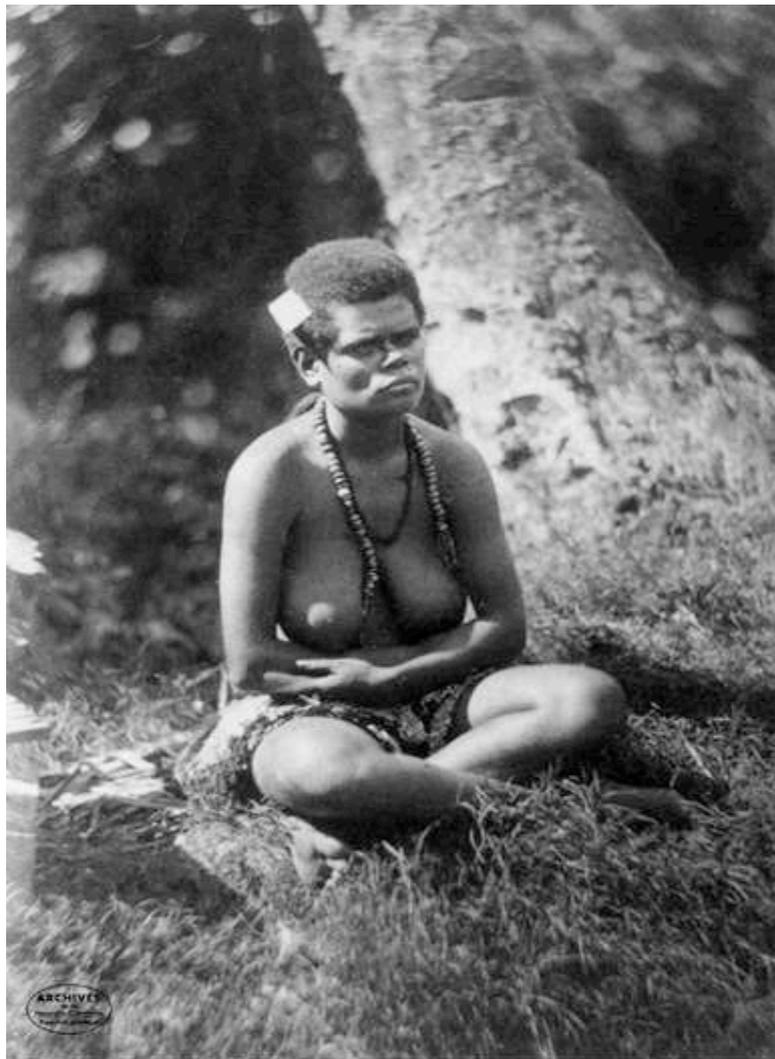
<sup>22</sup>For further reading on perception of the Orient, see Edward Said's *Orientalism* and "Orientalism 25 years later: Worldly Humanism vs. the Empire Builders".



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 8 12,9x17,9 cm  
Attribuée à A-L Candelot "*Femme de Chépénéhé, Lifou*", vers 1865.

The erotic was further emphasized through the Darwinian influence on types which “expressed a range of variation within a race or population, the development of variants being central to the process of evolution” (Edwards, 1990:240). Of extensive interest to the anthropologist, sexual customs were analysed and recorded, such as in Malinowski’s *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (1927) and *The sexual life of savages in North Western Melanesia* (1929), which confined a wide readership among viewers well informed of the ‘types’ being recorded at the time, given the wide circulation of *carte de visite* (calling cards) and postcards.

The kanak female type created curiosity in the unknown and exotic other. The partially clothed kanak model became more objectified and more of a stereotype within a studio setting in which reality or a sense of reality was manipulated. The photographer would strip them off their clothing, exposing their alluring bodies to the camera. The accessibility of these women reinforces the voyeurism of the camera operator.



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan I Num 1 - 10 12,4x18 cm  
E. Robin "*Femme de la Tribu de Houagape, Côte Est*", 1867.

The experience of and knowledge about the sex of ‘others’ were both shaping the definition of sexuality in the West. Discourses on sexuality and races affected the much debated interracial sexual and reproductive relations in the colonies. Jolly (1997:142)

indicates that “a climate of obsession with the question of race in the 1860s and the increasing emphasis on the distinctness of races meant an ever greater fixation on the scientific question of hybridity and the imaginative phantasm of racial mixing which lay behind it”. Though far from being accepted, hybridity was not fully condemned and positive attributes to a metis population were outlined, yet remained very condescending. In ‘The West Indies’ (1859), Anthony Trollope argued:

*“My theory.... Is this: that Providence has sent white men and black men to these regions in order that from them may spring a race fitted by intellect for civilization, and fitted by physical organization for tropical labour” (Young, 1995:142).*



Album Anthony Meyer, unknown photographer

Photography reinforced the cleavage between Melanesian women and Polynesian women. French colonies in the Pacific rarely escaped this duality. Indeed the photographic representations of kanak women differed considerably from their Tahitian counterparts.

The photographs representing Polynesians are based on a foundation of 16<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> racial and gender subordination. They are perhaps the most significant in French colonial imagery in their seductive exotic beauty and uninhibited sexuality. Beginning in the nineteenth century, then later reinforced in the 1940s and 1950s through Western popular culture - particularly in movies and novels - the stigma has remained. Even today, tourism continues to portray the South Pacific as a site for romance (one just needs to flick through the contemporary Polynesian Airlines brochure).

Young (1995:236) suggests that “Polynesians were not considered as a familiar beauty despite the constant classical allusions in depicting the bodies of Polynesian women and men as akin to the bodies of ancient Greeks or Romans”. The representations of Polynesians that appeared around the turn of the century were pushed further from reality by the baggage of the photographers. Visitors to the South Pacific came with a store of ready-made images and expectations. Maxwell (1994:315) further indicates that “the voyeurism that relied on women’s reputation for uninhibited sexual activities was translated into photographs of bare-breasted, smiling young Tahitian women that liberally decorate books”.

The erotic qualities of the ‘native’ however were the result of photographers’ presentation of their bodies for close examination. However, genitals are rarely photographed (but a few photographs of kanak men with abnormal genitals exist), even

where full nudity was customary. Jolly (Jolly & Manderson, 1997:9) suggests that “pre photographic images, visuals such as the painting of the Polynesian woman Poedura in the context of her kidnap by Captain Cook reflects colonial coercion and voyeurism to be closely linked”. Yet, Stoler (Manderson, 1997:9) suggests that “the story of the powerful, white male subject looking upon native women as sexual objects is too simple”. Assumptions about male voyeurism can be challenged a step further as these images were also circulated in France where many of the consumers were females. Why was there such interest by European women? This fact opens the whole notion of sexual voyeurism in colonial photography.

Curiosity in the exotic other was not limited to French (European) males. The interest those photographs triggered remains genderless. The general repression in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century of women’s covert sexuality could have sparked an interest in those images of uninhibited bodies freed from the highly folded and meticulously made dresses of middle class 19<sup>th</sup> century, which, although they had their own sexual references, were nonetheless repressive.

Can images play a voyeuristic role without a sexual connotation? It would seem so given the compulsion of the white female market to circulate these photographs. Male voyeurism is also challenged by the travel writings and photographs left by Beatrice Grimshaw who wrote about Papua New Guinea and visited New Caledonia. The assumption of a male audience combined with a prejudicial photographer taking pictures of a victimized female native has been condemned by contemporary postcolonial critics, yet according to Jolly (1997:108), Beatrice Grimshaw’s images challenge the male sexual line of argument. Grimshaw, though she sexualized Polynesian women, did not disempower them but celebrated the power, the dignity of older Polynesian women such as Queen

Makea of Rarotonga. But is she really empowered fully dressed in a 'Mother Hubbard' covering her body from head to toe? Grimshaw's novels and photographs were being published at a time when missionaries had succeeded in getting Pacific Islander women to cover up. Again it is important to note that Grimshaw's wide, popular audience was among women in Europe, USA, Australia and New Zealand. Yet her fully clothed subjects could be seen as a challenge to the perennial theme of the nude woman as an object of artistic endeavours in Western fine arts. Many of her images were rendered through pose and lighting so as to suggest artfulness.

In Western cultural rhetoric, women have been seen as objects of beauty and commerce. This rarefied reverence for the beauty and purity of women was reserved for the wealthy and the middle classes. It was ironically the very wealthy, who through their social power may have led promiscuous lives or broken social convention, and yet still retain their status of beauty and purity. At the lower end of the social strata, servants and housemaids were often seen as sexually available, impure and having a beauty which was implicitly of the underworld. This connotation becomes even more acute as the notion of an upper class prostitute.

Photographs of women play a central role in allowing the art of photography to exist silently beneath a scientific agenda, thereby increasing readership and further legitimating the project as one of both beauty and truth. Although Melanesian women were rarely accorded such classical beauty as Polynesian women, they were represented as licentious. Photographs of unclothed women confirmed the theories of anthropologists. However, the diversity of images and image-objects found in the Pacific speak against any simple relationship among representational technologies and power. Ethnographers as much as

photographers reinforced stereotypes of lustful indigenous behaviour and compounded the prevailing cultural objectification of the subject.

While Anne Maxwell suggests nineteenth century photographic images were *soft pornography*, Margaret Jolly (Manderson & Jolly, 1997:8) stresses prior sexual exploitation in the “constructs of Polynesian women in the Pacific from the exploratory voyages of the eighteenth century onwards regularly conferred them the propensity for sexual excess, although usually in the image of the exotically beautiful rather than the grotesque”. Describing portraits of Polynesian women, Anne Maxwell assumes that the photographer was enticingly presenting a sexual message for a male audience and society as a whole, repressed in its sexuality, denounced by Foucault as a *carceral* (imprisoned) society and argued by Freud in his *repressive hypothesis*. Foucault challenged the repressive hypothesis positioned by Freud, arguing that the alleged repression of the Victorian period was in fact an excitation of desire produced through discursive excess (Manderson & Jolly, 1997:24). Colonialism itself was a sublimation of sexuality, the colonies as places where desire repressed in Europe can be released and the projection of the desires and fears of the colonizer onto the colonized, who is imagined as licentious and unrepressed (Stoler in Manderson & Jolly, 1997:7).

If the photographer had been a woman would the composition of the image have been any different? Was there a female audience for those type of images? Given the fact it is extremely subjective to read an image, I do not believe that it is possible to know if the subject was coerced to pose or not. Nor do I believe differentiating between soft pornography and erotism is possible as it remains a very subjective issue. Anne Maxwell adds “Some women didn’t always appear so relaxed as in Arthur Iles portrait of the Reclining Maori maiden because of women’s unhappiness about undressing in front of the

camera". Again drawing conclusions from what one sees in a photograph can be misleading. We can cite several problems. First, we do not know the relationship between the subject and photographer. Second, it was probably the photographer's intention to have an unsmiling subject as part of the composition of the photograph, and third the long exposures made those photographed look usually rigid due to technical constraints. The photographer remains in control of the representation of his subject. Malek Alloula insists on the responsibility of the photographer in his attempts at unveiling women:

*"The feast of the body is, first of all, a show for only one individual: the viewer-voyeur, namely the photographer. (note: it is as if the postcard photographer had been entrusted with a social mission: put the collective phantasm into images). He is the first to benefit from what he accomplishes through this delegation of power. The true voyeurism is that of the colonial society as a whole. The postcard photographer is not important as an individual. He never goes beyond the stereotype. He is a wage earner of the phantasm. An obscure and scruffy attendant. And, as such, he disappears in anonymity. Hence, in this essay, the recourse to generality: I always speak of the photographer and never of photographers" (Alloula, 1986:86).*

Sarah Graham-Browne argues, "Whatever the woman's status, as a studio model she would have little control over the resulting photographic image. Graham-Browne (in Maxwell, 1994:319) indicates that "only facial expressions give any indication of (her) feelings, frequently vacant and alienated... or ill at ease". However, very rarely has the subject control over the photographic image. It is up to the photographer himself as an artist to compose the image. Is it not more the fact that indigenous people have believed that the camera steals the soul of the person photographed?

### 2.3.2. Photography: a stealer of souls ?



ANC Album Robin - de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 1  
E. Robin "*Titéma dit Watton, Chef de Tribu*", 1866.

13,3x18 cm

Photography in its infancy was considered a rival to painting. Artistic photographs of nudes were being taken and yet were not believed to be pornographic. Is it then the photograph or the circulation of the photograph that makes it pornographic? Anne Maxwell adds that in those photographs taken of Maori women they ‘were asked to adopt unnatural-

looking poses' and ' these photographs represent Maori women as available for sexual intercourse, signify the less glamorous side of tourism, one that reflects the new colonial government's dream of forcibly possessing Maori land for commercial profit' (Maxwell, 1994:318). Manderson & Jolly (1997:7) further suggest that "objectification of Maori women was reinforced by the idea that natives were portrayed as promiscuous beings, driven by *insatiable instincts*".

Though Melanesian women were considered a lower scale of beauty than Polynesian women, they were accordingly also represented as licentious. Lavater suggested that individuals' moral beauty could be judged on the basis of external characteristics, what he called their 'corporeal beauty', and he "went back to the ancient search for occult analogies between physical characteristics, moral qualities and animal forms, attempting to reduce physiognomics to an exact science" (Entry on 'Physiognomics' in T.A. Sebeok (ed.), "Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Semiotics", Berlin, 1986:725 cited in Pinney, 1997:51). (Johann Casper Lavater's work, who between 1774 and 1778 had published 'Physiognomische Fragmente.' This book was to cause a sensation in Europe - by 1810 fifty-five editions had been published, and it remained a best-seller until 1870 (Margaret Cowling, 'The Artist as Anthropologist', Cambridge, 1989:19)).

Yet Reed (Manderson & Jolly, 1997:8) suggests that in the Massim region in Papua at the turn of the century, adults and children alike were portrayed as promiscuous, and women were singled out for their licentiousness and irresponsibility as mothers. This idea of unrepressed sexuality was stressed through photographs of unclothed women.<sup>23</sup> They confirmed to the viewer theories by anthropologists. However, the diversity of images and image-objects found in the Pacific speak against any simple relationship among

---

<sup>23</sup> Similar to the financial coercing of young women to pose today.

representational technologies and power. Ethnographers were indeed revealing indigenous lustful behaviour and reinforcing objectification. For example, Malinowski, was “a zealous ethnographer of the sexual customs of Melanesia who strongly contrasted the *sexual lives of savages* with those of his own allegedly repressed Europe” (Manderson & Jolly, 1997:22). Reed argues that Malinowski objectified his subjects as much as the authors of parallel studies of physical anthropology and anthropometry, and the sexual sciences of doctors and medical researchers (Gilman 1985, 1988, Stoler 1995; Manderson 1996). He then adds that this objectification was enhanced by Malinowski’s own sexual silences, at least until the publication of his diaries (Malinowski, 1967) in which his *brazen fantasies* were revealed (Kulick & Willson 1995:2) with shocking detail of infantile promiscuity, Tobriand love magic, and of erotic positioning to titillate European audiences with their exoticism as well as physicality (Manderson & Jolly, 1997:23). Vance (1991:875) has challenged the way in which anthropologists have portrayed themselves as fearless investigators of sexual custom and mores throughout the world (Manderson & Jolly, 1997:7).



Unknown photographer, Anthony Meyer's album

The caption in the above photograph mentions that the portrait is of a Kanak woman. It is highly sexually suggestive with no cultural props to give a sense of authenticity of a people or a race. Though this type of image is rare, it is all the more disturbing that the caption mentions the word "girl" and could be considered pornographic in today's society.

Missionaries denounced this overt visual sexuality. They promoted Christian values and notions of monogamy. Despite failure, missionaries wanted to record their Christian

efforts through photographs. Those images were used as a political weapon to argue that the civilizing process was successful.

Progress was recorded in images portraying kanak women dressed in European clothing and huts converted into churches adorned with crosses. However, much remained to be accomplished before obtaining full conversion, and eradicating indigenous sexual excess. Missionaries complained of the huge task facing them as “these children of nature can become devils of horrible sensuality” (Burton 1926:25-26 in Reed 1997:48). However, the blame was put on women who in the eyes of both missionaries and colonial officers, ‘nearly always tempts the man’ (Great Britain 1904, 25 cf. Reed 1997) and leads him into infidelity. Yet, it is not suggested by missionaries that it is the female’s iconic physical beauty that leads to temptation, more the sexual perversion of the European visitor.

The dichotomy in photographs between the controlled sexuality of the civilized white and unrestrained and dangerous ‘native’ appeared repeatedly in missionary discourses. However, the division white/black was more complicated than civilized/savage cataloguing when it came to sexual matters. Missionaries portrayed white males who participated in sexual relations with black women as ‘low whites’ - sexually aggressive, and potential exploiters of the indigenous woman’s childlike vulnerability (Burton 1926, in Reed, 1997:50). These men were considered by the clergy to be against Christianity and men who imposed their low moral values and vices onto an indigenous society inclined naturally to licentious behaviour. Missionaries tried to enforce monogamy - the highest achievement of a successful conversion. Restrained sexuality was considered morally ‘right’ and a protection from the spreading of venereal diseases that were of concern to both missionaries and colonial officials. The former insisted on the trilogy: sexual excess, disease and sin, as direct causes for an alarmingly decreasing population.

The recorded statements we have of missionaries and colonial officials highlight the dissonance between two confronting cultures, one that abhors precociousness among children and one that accepts the fact that children are sexual. Yet Malinowski interpreted it as indigenous parents being completely indifferent to infantile sexual indulgence (Malinowski 1929, 56 Reed 1997 p.62). Photographers' romanticizing of childhood was often reflected in the lyrical photographic treatment of children as a means of preserving and portraying their innocence.

### **2.3.3. Identification of self or other?**

*« How can we be Kanak in today's society » Jean-Marie Tjibaou, 1988*

Photography in New Caledonia reflected the dominant genres of the era: self portraits for the rich, *cartes de visite* for middle to working class, and propaganda to promote colonial possession. In the scientific world, kanak photographs were not objective. That is to say, instead of providing a taxonomy or register of the Kanak (native groups), the photographic practice fell back onto traditional styles of representing women and men as objects of desire, exoticism and commerce. The model becomes a figure of the symbolic appropriation of the body, and the studio a figure of the symbolic appropriation of space. This double movement of appropriation can reflect a violence conveyed by colonial photography.

The new use of photography as a tool in scientific investigation and social enquiry was, on reflection, driven by the prevailing understanding of gender. Native women could be shown bare breasted, but this was a reflection of the sublimated sexuality of the

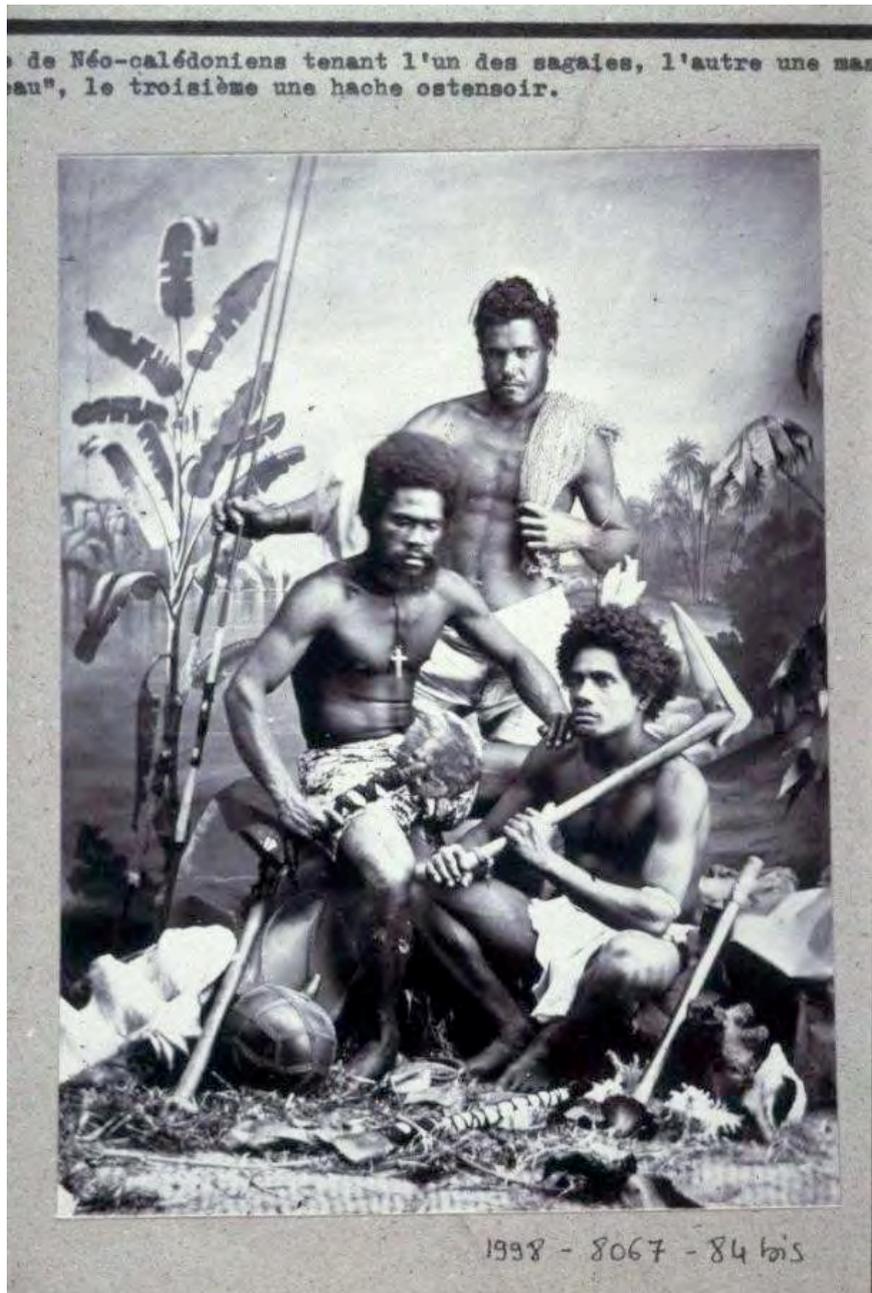
scientific project. In other words, photographs of kanak women were a form of pseudo-scientific investigation that masked voyeurism, an objectification, of men and women.

There was an assumed distance to this sexual voyeurism. However, when men and women not under those restraints engaged in sexual activity with natives, it was often criticized as weakness of colonial character, a lack of responsibility and of good citizenship. This attitude masked several interesting observations:

Perhaps those relationships between white and native that were so frowned upon in colonial society were rich and rewarding relationships. Audiences and contemporary researchers make little attempt to understand the subtleties of the subject's feelings. Were companionship and agreement disregarded because they refuted imperial colonial propaganda of the native as primitive, noble, innocent or childlike? Did audiences, or the sitters and in situ subjects have any knowledge of what the photographs were going to be used for? Did they in fact manipulate and perform for the photographer in an act of subversive compliance? Were they aware that by posing as model and exposing their bodies, they were at the same time by virtue of exemplariness exposing an image of kanak woman as a whole?

## **2.4 Perception of the 'Other'**

*"The popular imagery of the 'primitive other' is remarkably tenacious" (Edwards, 1996:205)*



Collection musée de l'Homme, A. Huguhan 2 .2- 1998-8067- 84B

The supposition of consistency in European thought about the colonial 'other' is obsolete. Much recent research has shown substantially greater difference in European perception than colonial discourse theory would normally allow - including many views favourable to non-Europe and hostile to colonialism. Colonial discourse theory becomes a new mechanism of imperialism in an age of multicultural, globalized capitalism (K.N.

Panikkar, "In Defence of "Old" History', International Congress on Kerala Studies, Abstracts, I (Thiruvananthapuram, 1994), pp. 16-21).

### **2.4.1 Representing the 'other' through photography and the notion of 'happy faces'**

Photography was popular as a technique for recording other cultures precisely because it held out a scientifically validated promise of exactness, enabling the reproduction of the 'other'. Photographers retained a selective preservation of what was left of the Kanak culture and thus considered authentic. Fragments selected as interesting are still today in museums worldwide (often omitting the historical record on alternative representations of what actually occurred).

For the modern viewer, the sense of Otherness in Alan Hughton's (see chapter 3.4) photographs is derived partly from their formal quality. The lengthy exposures necessary, the prevailing social and aesthetic conventions, and Hughton's tendency to compose in a painterly manner gave them a highly posed look. The majority of photographs of Kanak facing the photographer look straight into the camera, making eye contact with the 'reader' of the photograph. The tendency for most portraits taken until the 1920s was either frontal, profile or side in the colonies and in Europe. Following the post colonialist discourse that Kanaks were often photographed against their will (including monetary gain or following authority within the tribe) it is often accepted that the subjects photographed looked unhappy, sad, and coerced. In a world today that equates smiling with happiness and an ideal of life, there is no doubt we do not find any smiling faces among the photographs of Kanak. However, smiling at the camera was not an accepted and valued characteristic for a society that privileged respectability. Indeed no portraits of the *colons* (colonists) or of middle and upper class Frenchmen of that time show any smiling faces. It was not until the

1920s that new cultural values bring a change in the rigid positions found in portraits to a more flexible one, showing a certain engagement with the photographer. Smiling is therefore a purely cultural value imported from the USA, through advertising (Kodak ads for example) and the illustrated press, and embraced by western societies. Popular songs celebrating 'joy' participated in the change of way of thinking. Photographs slowly captured this cultural change and authentically reflected the evolutionary role of the previous model of authority for men. When photography was invented, studio portraits reproduced painted portraits which radiated respectability dominated by seriousness and dignity.

Portraits of women and children were different. Women were allowed to smile, and were encouraged to do so. Manuals of '*savoir vivre*' guided codes on what was acceptable for women in society and what wasn't. In René Schwaebler's « Do you want to remain pretty and young? The art of pleasing, hygiene, beauty and youth recipes », (*Voulez-vous demeurer belles et jeunes? L'art de plaire, hygiène, recettes de beauté et de jeunesse* (1922) Paris- H Billy, p. 3-4), the importance of smiling is explicitly emphasised while laughing is considered in bad taste. Photography, just as painting, kept elements of *pudeur* (decency), keeping women from uncovering shoulders, legs and any body part considered too daring. *Pudeur* was all but forgotten when it came to Kanak women whom, as I mentioned previously, were photographed in grass skirts and bare breasted at a time when they had opted for the *robe mission* (mission dress, see Chapter 8). Children were also painted and photographed differently as they were the only subjects allowed to have a frank smile.

Portrait photography included artificial backgrounds and objects that were associated with the subject. The portrait photography of Kanak always included an exotic landscape in the background. Photographers never omitted to surround the subjects with artifacts. The

European subject had more discrete references of appropriation such as cigarettes, walking sticks, etc... for males.

A very important difference between today's photography and 19<sup>th</sup> century photography is time. The pace of life was slow in 19<sup>th</sup> century New Caledonia. Portraits were taken when the life of Kanak evolved slowly. Today we catch the 'moment', our approach to time is *intemporel* (beyond time).

## 2.4.2. Capturing Otherness as reality



ANC Album Nicolas-Frédéric HAGEN 1 Num 3 – 25  
"Baie de l'Anse-Vata, près Nouméa"

12,5x19 cm

Were Hughan and his New Caledonian contemporaries aware of the role that the camera could and should play in recording, as accurately as possible, the events of contemporary history? New Caledonian photographers were recording stereotypes just as

photographers elsewhere in conquered lands, wanting to capture otherness and combining a sense of reality depicting aspects of their varied life. Albers and James (1990:343) indicate that the “Great Basin ‘real’ Indians were photographed as the equestrian, the buffalo-hunting, tipi-dwelling and war-bonneted Indians of the historic Plains”. Images have changed little as traditional cultures are sold today as tourist commodities. Edwards (1996:199) suggests that “the motivations of cultural and ethnic tourism are in themselves are an area of complex subjectivity, motivated by culturally determined, often self-referential, Western notions of the exotic combined in many cases with a genuine desire to know”. Overall, themes in imagery have been well defined by the tourist industry of New Caledonia, emphasising in brochures, contemporary postcards, billboards, internet travel sites, photographs which appear as culturally authoritative statements about the kanak culture. It is an invitation to experience and consume in terms of exotic and romantic notions of the ‘Other’ based on an authority drawn from what is purported to be anthropological truth. Photography does seem to fulfil its role as a natural conduit and natural icon to the tourist's expectation and experience.

Armed with the camera, anthropologists just like tourists, can probe, scan, magnify, reduce, isolate, contrast, debase, or idealise their subjects. Through photography, they can create, disseminate, and forever seal in time their own interpretations of humankind. No matter that the subject becomes an object to be consumed by the viewer.

Photography helped define visually what had been written about for centuries about otherness. Foucault argues that the forceful exclusion and exorcism of what is ‘Other’ is an act of identity formation, and elaborates on the historical case of the exclusion of unreason and madness as part of the self-definition of the rational humanistic ideal, which thereby suppresses and denies a part of the human personality (Corbey & Leerssen, 1991:xxi). Defining the Kanak helped in defining what was not French and a need to reinforce through

studio photography a sense of non assimilation, of uniqueness of local indigenous specificity. However, there has been an appreciative mode of viewing Otherness: the appreciation of artlessness, of innocence, of freedom from social constraints. This formulation of cultural values has also marginalised a number of human types including strangers, children, women, rustics, brutes, the physically deformed and those who cannot control their passions.

The modern scholar can feel comfortably different from the objectionable discourse s/he studies. The temptation exists to define one's methodological justification in terms of an ethical quality to denounce and to expose. 'Otherness', provides the articulations of cultural identity including ethnic and sexual differences, reinforcing what is meant by civility, therefore excluding otherness. However,

*"It would be questionable to see the very topic of alterity in primarily ethical terms, as something which contains an inherent moral danger-signal. Otherness, whatever the social implications it may have elicited, is a categorical fact of life and as such ethically neutral. Otherness will not go away: we know the world by subdividing it in spheres that we do or do not identify with. We have values and express them in endorsing or rejecting parts of our experience – or in selecting the type of topic we feel is worth studying. We are all ineluctably implicated in the world of human experience and cannot transcend its patterns either to pass judgement on them or to define their limitations" (Corbey & Leerssen, 1991:xviii).*

In the Accord de Nouméa (Noumea Accords) signed in 1998, the specificity of otherness was heavily emphasised. The Accords state that the local indigenous people were not the only ones to suffer from France's recognising the specificity of the new populations which make up the territory:

*"La relation de la Nouvelle-Calédonie avec la métropole lointaine est demeurée longtemps marquée par la dépendance coloniale, un lien univoque, un refus de reconnaître les spécificités, dont les populations nouvelles ont aussi souffert dans leurs aspirations"<sup>24</sup>*

The relationship between New Caledonia and metropolitan France remained for a long time one of colonial dependence, having a one-way bond, a refusal to recognise local specificities, from which the new populations also suffered in their aspirations (my own translation)

Photography of the Kanak was specifically different to the other populations brought to New Caledonia. Wright (1997:46) indicates that “this process of re-inscription suggests a series of connections between ethnographic curiosity and desire: an aesthetics that combines ‘recording’ and voyeurism”.

Yet otherness also applied to a certain extent to the colonists who “went native”:

*The anti-colonialist movement recoiled from the ‘metamorphosis of the expatriate European’ with ambivalent horror: Diderot, as one might expect, described settlers who went native in terms analogous to those in which he conceived of transgressive geniuses (Raynal 1783, 3, p.1). Yet settler becoming-another could revert to self-spectacularisation. Although settler becoming-another through going native never gained widespread metropolitan or colonial approval at the level of public culture, it did remain attractive to certain advanced intellectuals and later, avant-garde artists like Loti and Gauguin, who moved from ‘self-othering’ through self-spectacularisation to becoming another by making ‘savages’ of themselves, ‘going native’ to enter the timeless order of victorious western culture at a later stage of colonialism (During, 1994:64).*

There are few examples in photography retracing settlers dressing as natives, men wearing grass skirts and imitating kanak women, for fun, for a joke and maybe from disdain for such primitive cultures. The 'other' is ridiculed through imitation. However, kanak men dressed in European clothes signified a sense of respect and honour. The chief takes pride in wearing a jacket, trousers, medals, and yet often omits shoes or details that a French colonist would not forget or omit.

---

<sup>24</sup> Préambule de l'Accord de Nouméa, signé le 5 mai 1998 (paragraphe 2)

Indeed, otherness is not tied only to indigenous cultures. Otherness defines also what it is to be French (the beret, the baguette...) and indeed all cultures. It is used to define one group from another, in the past, but also in today's societies. The surge of nationalism defining differences, and therefore otherness, is a very present matter reinforced by a desire to break away from globalisation or Americanisation. According to Edwards (1996:201) "the exploitation of the tourist industry emphasises the promising 'journey of a lifetime', suggesting the transformation of the self upon return to the ordinary". This goal is for those seeking destinations that are still difficult to access, exotic and distant. Indigenous cultures still often fall into this category.

Armed with a camera, anthropologists could and can photograph their subjects to bear out their own beliefs. If he wants to capture the otherness of the Kanak, and how they differ dramatically from the French, the photographer could contrast, magnify, and idealise the subject, thus reinforcing his written scientific analysis, and sealing in time his own interpretations of humankind. This approach reveals a reluctance to acknowledge the fundamental irreducibility of the 'Other' to the self (Corbey & Leerssen, 1991:xii).

### 2.4.3. The case of 'otherness' in New Caledonian literature



Kakou collection "Caledonian native curiositys", photograph by the Dufty Brothers around 1880

Contemporary emerging authors in New Caledonia were going to transcribe in their text, the representation of the Kanak by the idea and image of what had been passed on from explorers in Oceania. This was frequently seen to resort to either the notion of the noble savage or the opposed ignoble type. Engravings of New Caledonian indigenous Kanak by Cook (1777) ennobled or at least presented them sympathetically. Jacques-Julien Houtou de Labillardière was one of the great traveller-naturalists of the eighteenth century. He is most famous for his account of his voyage to the South Seas (1791-1793) with Bruny

d'Entrecasteaux in search of La Pérouse. Images of New Caledonia in Labillardière's book portray its inhabitants in full figure, where the head seems disproportionately small, has a malevolent expression and the emphasis is on the physical. Engravings of New Caledonia from Labillardière can be found at the Mitchell Library (N.S.W.).

Very early on, otherness was reproduced by colonial travellers and ethnological writers, accentuating their concern with not only white superiority but with the superiority of some indigenous peoples over others:

*Lieutenant John Elliot: "Tahiti appeared to us to be the Paradise of these Seas, the men being all fine, tall, well-made, with humane open countenances, the women beautiful, compared with all those that we had seen, of the middle size, zingy, supple figures, fine teeth and eyes, and the finest formed hands, fingers, and arms that I ever saw, with lively disposition... when we were on shore here we felt ourselves in perfect ease and safety" (Elliot & Pickersgill 1984, 19)*

While describing the Kanak of New Caledonia:

*"Here [New Caledonia] we stayed a few days... the people, both men and women, are tall, robust, and generally well made, but large limbed and heavy looking, the men generally approaching six foot... the women in proportion but wild, humane, and civil"*

In the emerging local literature, these first descriptions made by explorers will continue to have a strong impact on the perception of the other. Sontag (2002) indicates "the 'objective', the 'literal' - these austere, minimalist ideas of literature are in fact Barthes's ingenious recycling of one of the aesthete's principal theses: that surface is as telling as depth".

One of the most prominent New Caledonian novelists is George Baudoux. Several of his novels include first contact between Europeans and the Kanak, illustrating mutual perception of both ethnic communities. Baudoux arrives in New Caledonia in 1874 at the age of four. He first spends his youth in the Ile des Pins (island of pines), as the son of a supervisor at the political prisoner camp, and then in Nouméa. After his father's death and

at the age of only seventeen, he leaves the capital to go inland, to the bush, earning a living as a fisherman and stockman before becoming a miner. This new adventurous life leads him to better understand the Kanak. His novels reflect a profound misunderstanding of the indigenous culture by European settlers. Baudoux brings into several of his stories, the character of the *métis*, and explains his intermediary role in the cultural gap that exists between Europeans and Kanak. According to Gasser (his analysis of Baudoux), (1992) the *métis* is physically more appealing to look at for the European, making contact easier to establish. However, Gasser adds that the *métis* remains tied to the kanak way of life and under the influence of ancestral superstitions.



Postcard, Collection Shekelton/CDP- photographer Alan Hughan, 83-MEL-15B-

In imagery representations in New Caledonia, the *métis* is prominent. This is particularly the case in the Loyalty Islands where the population was in contact with

Europeans at an early stage of colonisation (essentially due to commerce). The *métis* was considered on a higher level on the racial ladder and their photographs were used opportunistically for various ends.

In his books *Ils avaient vu des hommes blancs* (They had seen white men) (1927), *Légendes canaques* (Kanak legends) (1928), Baudoux's short stories evoke first contact between Kanak and Europeans. 'L'invasion sournoise' (deceitful invasion), 'ce vieux Tchiao' (Old Tchiao) and 'Le trou symbolique' (the symbolic hole), are all fictitious stories. However, the fact that Baudoux includes historical facts, such as the arrival in Balade (north-eastern coast of Grande Terre) by Captain Cook and his encounter with Chief Ti Bouma, it gives more credibility to his stories. The relationship and misunderstandings that arise between both communities lie essentially, according to him, in the fact that Europeans are technically far more advanced and the Kanak have retained a primitive mentality. Through literature just as through photography, the mistrust that existed between the two communities since their first contact remained until the political tensions of the 1980s which nearly brought New Caledonia to civil war.

The first contact is repetitively counted in similar manner in notes taken by the actors of that time. Rivière (1881:35)<sup>25</sup> indicates Bruny d'Entrecasteaux's encounter in 1791 with the Kanak and describes their "hostile instincts and their taste for anthropophagy". Bruny d'Entrecasteaux (in search of La Pérouse) followed Cook in visiting New Caledonia and the central Pacific. D'Entrecasteaux's description of indigenous Kanak expanded previously recorded ethnographic contrasts existing between the more primitive Melanesians and the more appealing Polynesians.

---

<sup>25</sup> Henri Laurent Rivière born 12 July 1827, entered naval school in October 1842. First campaign in the Pacific on the *Brillante* and then in February 1847 on the *Virginie* in the South seas. End of 1875 was ordered commander of the *Vire* in New Caledonia. Rivière commanded the Uraï area (north of Nouméa) during the 1878 Kanak rebellion.

Literature, just like photography, contributed to the objectification of indigenous culture. The cultural dynamics of colonisation infiltrated all aspects of art. However, we do not have any records of regional colonialism and the inter-social contact that occurred before European contact. Nor do we have testimony of the cultural dynamism that sprung from this. It is therefore necessary to recognise the uneven and heterogeneous character of colonialism.

Although colonial superiority is a very common perception in the nineteenth century, Baudoux records both perspectives: the Kanak as a story teller, and the adventurous settler keen to experience life in the bush. However, readership remains essentially European. Baudoux intends to identify the ‘other’, an exercise aimed at understanding oneself. To study the Kanak ‘our non evolved cousins’ is to ‘study oneself’ and our most obscure instincts says Bernard Gasser (Gasser, 1993).

Baudoux did most of his writings before 1919. By the time Baudoux started his literary career, he was newly retired and a wealthy prospector. In February 1919, *Le Messager de la Nouvelle-Calédonie* (The Messenger of New Caledonia - local newspaper in Nouméa) publishes Baudoux’s «Kaavo», «Histoire canaque» under the pen name Thiosse. In one of his first works, «Sauvages et civilisés» (Savage and civilised), Thiosse was tempted into a possible imitation of the Kanak in the manner he relates to nature: «Les canaques valent mieux que vous» (Kanak are worth more than you). However the audience was not ready for this confrontation, the equality of black and whites. They suggest overall a possible path of coexistence in the future in a very humoristic way.

Another well-known New Caledonian writer is Jean Mariotti. Born on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1901, in the little village of Farino, on the west coast of New Caledonia, Mariotti spent most of his life in Paris where he died in 1975. His most well known stories are: *Les Contes de Poindi* (Stories from Poindi) (1939), *A bord de l'Incertaine* (On board the Incertaine) (1942). Just as his protagonist Jean-Claude in *A bord de l'Incertaine*, Jean Mariotti is brought up by a Kanak woman. When he leaves the colony at the age of twenty-one for Paris, he publishes numerous novels exposing colonial failures (*Tout est peut-être inutile*, Everything is probably useless - 1929, *Remords*, Remorse - 1931). Through the achievements of his kanak protagonist, Poindi (*Les Contes de Poindi*, 1939, *Les Nouveaux contes de Poindi*, New stories from Poindi - 1946, *La Conquête du séjour paisible*, The Conquest of a peaceful stay - 1952), the author describes the traditional and spiritual life of the indigenous New Caledonians. For the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrating the takeover of New Caledonia by France, Mariotti is asked to write le *Livre du centenaire*, (Book of the centenary), a novel aimed at the French in the motherland to increase their knowledge of their fellow countrymen.

Alin Laubreaux is another contemporary writer of Baudoux and Mariotti. He also leaves New Caledonia at an early age and is most famous for *Le Rocher à la voile*, (The Rock with sails) which heavily criticises the process of colonisation. His novels illustrate the relationships of the different social groups in New Caledonia: a freed convict and his son *métis* (Yan le Métis, Yan the half-caste; 1928), the submissive Kanak, caledonian captain and the native Frenchman (*Le Rocher à la voile*, 1930) and the impossible love affair between a *métis* woman, daughter of a convict and a young bourgeois (Wara, 1932). A paternalistic attitude toward the Kanak is found throughout his work. This approach was similarly taken in photography.

Nature is a common theme in New Caledonian literature. The attachment Kanak have to their land as well as the cultural devastation they have experienced through continuous loss of land, are discussed in Mariotti's *A Bord de l'Incertaine*. Land remains a theme of inspiration for contemporary New Caledonian writers such as Nicolas Kurtovitch's *Forêt, terre et tabac* (Forest, land and tobacco).

In the 1980s a new generation of writers emerges who are specifically New Caledonian and less under the direct influence of France. Indeed, Baudoux and Mariotti are often referred to as writers in exile. The emerging literature reflects the search for a New Caledonian identity, where Kanaks are sometimes in exile in their own land and the settlers, the Caldoches, search for their identity after many generations on the island. The most prominent of these new writers include: Déwé Gorodé, the first Kanak writer and Nicolas Kurtovitch, Caldoche (white originating from New Caledonia). While both writers attest to the period of instability referred to as 'les évènements' (the 'events'), the confrontation between the two communities between 1984 - 1988, they do so differently. Their approach reflects the emotional tensions prior to the 'events' and the increasing anguish and tension among the inhabitants of the country.

French is the chosen language for cultural expression by the Kanak, such as in the publication *Mwà Vée*, the Kanak cultural magazine published by ACDK, and in Déwé Gorodé's poetry and short stories. Kanak society is heavily stratified. The rules and conventions of ancient society are well developed and individuals follow mores according to their social status. For example, before talking to a person of higher rank and even before looking straight into his eyes, one needs to wait to be authorised to speak. While teaching at Petro Attiti high school in Nouméa, I experienced this social behaviour in the classroom. As previously stated, the majority of the students were Kanak and Wallisians. Kanak

students came from all over the territory, the *Grande Terre* (mainland) and the Loyalty Islands. Some were fairly new to city life. It did not take me long to realise that I could not divide my class into three homogenous groups: Kanak, Wallisian and European.

Although I was missing many cultural references, I quickly understood that tensions existed among the kanak group and it was influencing the functioning of my English teaching. For example, I asked a kanak student, (I will call him Jimmy), to repeat the pronunciation of a new English word. He did not reply. I asked a second time the same question and still his attitude did not change. After the third time I came to believe that my authority was questioned and as this was a difficult lycée (called ZEP for highly troubled high schools) and essentially male, I raised my voice for his lack of cooperation. One student then stood up and said it wasn't Jimmy's fault if he could not answer. The reason was that he was not allowed to do so. Later on, other students and teachers explained that this often happened in class when students from the same tribe, or clan, were in the classroom and one had a higher rank. Jimmy could not speak up as the little chief's son was in the same room. That day I learned not to insist.

## **2.5 Representing colonial possessions**

*"The reading of public photographs is always, at bottom, a private reading" (Barthes, Camera Lucida)*



Postcard -Serge Kakou collection (photograph by Charles Nething)

### **2.5.1. Nationalism and exoticism**

In analysing the representation of French colonial possessions, it is easy for me as a French woman to fall into what Sontag (2002:86) calls “intellectual terrorism”.

*“Intellectual terrorism is a central, respectable form of intellectual practice in France - tolerated, humored, rewarded: the “Jacobin” tradition of ruthless assertion and shameless ideological about-faces; the mandate of incessant judgment, opinion, anathematizing, overpraising; the taste for extreme positions, then casually reversed, and for deliberate provocation.”*

Keeping in mind Sontag’s wise words, I will try to keep away from condemning or embracing, from taking extreme positions, on the means of collecting photographic records. New Caledonia, just like any other colony, did not escape its colonial representation through photography. The prestige attached to holding overseas territories was France's pride in competing with the British. Compared to France’s neighbouring Algerian colony, New

Caledonia remained mostly inaccessible. The military, civil-servants, and permanent settlers were the essential linkage between France and the colony. Very few travellers came to the island. Leading 19<sup>th</sup> century painters such as Delacroix and Renoir portrayed the exoticism of Algeria, while Gauguin brought Tahiti to Parisian *salons* and galleries. No well-known painter stopped or lived in New Caledonia. Photography therefore played a leading role in forging the awkwardness and exoticism of its people.

The colonial situation gave rise to certain distinctive types of knowledge and relations of domination at a time when two key issues dominated in nineteenth century France: photojournalism was soaring and new territories and peoples scarcely known to westerners were discovered. In order to demonstrate France's colonial expansion, its possession and grip over the territory through the clearing of land, Port-de France's expansion (later named Nouméa June, 2, 1866) was heavily photographed. Tardy de Montravel (1811-1864), Captain of the French Navy vessel "*la Constantine*", chose the site of Port-de France for strategic reasons to be New Caledonia's military headquarters. To accommodate Port-de France as the territory's capital and main settlement for France's new *colons* (colonists), was going to prove difficult. The penal workforce - the convicts (see chapter 5), brought in by the French authorities - was essential in adjusting the emerging city to infrastructure projects. One of the main problems facing Port-de France was its lack of fresh water, a problem that was accentuated in seasons of rain shortage. Lack of water had a direct correlation with the capital's slow progress in population increase, a constant concern and objective for successful colonisation. In 1854, Port-de-France was only a military headquarters (called *Fort Constantine*) surrounded by swamps. By 1887, thanks to town planning and equipping, Nouméa's population reached 8000 inhabitants, including settlers, convicts and the indigenous population. The installation of water pipes in 1875 allowed the pressure for water supply to ease off.



#### Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie 1 Num 10-39

Although there are photographs recording these public works, they emphasise the achievements of the projects and are not a photojournalistic approach to the workers who participated in the projects. Water pipes were constructed by both free labour and the penal workforce. The latter, known as ‘chapeaux de paille’ (straw hats) which was part of their uniform when working in the ‘free’ world, are discretely photographed. There is no emphasis on them, no close ups. The photographs are essentially administrative records of accomplishments of the colony heading towards civilisation. Just as missionaries (see chapter 7) recorded their successful attempts at Christianisation, the administration was keen to display its success in reaching its colonial objective of its ‘*mission civilisatrice*’ (civilising mission).

Colonial representation in literature (see chapter 2.4.3) accentuated perception and understanding by the general public of the success or failure of colonial attempts. Twentieth century French writer Marguerite Duras (1914-1996)<sup>26</sup>, brought up in French Indochina and

---

<sup>26</sup> Duras belongs to the movement new novel (le nouveau roman) which is the application to the naturalist novel with surrealist technics which allows the reconstruction of the atmosphere of dreams: subjectivity, series of “autistic” facts (the story does not evolve according to chronology nor logic, plurality of the events (each episode can signify several things simultaneously) in Quid, Robert Laffont 1993.

well-known for her anti-colonial political position and communist party membership, broke the ideology of the accomplishment of a better life for the thousands of settlers who left France in hope of improving their lives. Her autobiographic narratives develop the harshness and misery of colonial life for poor settlers like her family (see *Un barrage contre le Pacifique* – Dam across the Pacific). Yet in nineteenth century France, a majority of the nation had very little knowledge about colonies, but an exotic idea of their destinations and vagueness about their geographical positions. The administration opened the French Institute of the Far East in Indochina and Marcel Griaule (the pioneer of French ethnographic field work) taught the elite the complexity and strength of indigenous cultures which had been ignored for so long.

Washbrook argues that ‘the colonial situation gave rise to certain distinctive types of knowledge and relations of domination’ (1999:596). New Caledonia’s highly stratified society included a complex level of domination. While the Kanak were the lowest on the scale, the numerous ethnic groups brought into the territory due to a shortage of labour were divided into a hierarchy based on a series of stereotypes (see chapter 5). Depending on which level of the social scale (Charles Darwin’s “The Origin of Species” appeared in 1859), these New Caledonian ethnic groups were photographed accordingly. Portraits of the ‘Kanak type’ were similarly photographed in Java recording the ‘true’, ‘realistic’, indigenous ‘Javanese type’. On the contrary, Javanese labour in New Caledonia was not photographed as ‘type’ but in family pictures often posing as maids or workers in the fields. The context of consumption of the image by the audience was clearly different.



Collection Serge Kakou "colonel Gally-Pafsebosc killed at la Foa 3 July 1879

Expanding European control over newly conquered territories became a popular subject and 'standard practice for the enterprising photographer to document both the landscape and peoples of these acquisitions' (Peter Lyon, 1982:9). Photographs taken of Kanak in their natural surroundings (photographed as 'objects' of nature) have a very paternalistic approach to the child-like indigenous subject. Photographs of landscape and of its original people became possessions of mother country France, for an audience at home proud to 'see' the unlimited power and strength of the Republic; for the audience within the colony, it remained the new frontier. Photographic colonial representations had similar objectives in British colonies such as Lindt's photographing Australian Aborigines, for whom the "pleasurable 'possession' and contemplation of distant and exotic countries in photographic form both reflects and reaffirms an imperial world view (in "The Scotsman", 20 December 1888, quoted Lindt, "Notes", p. 36). Photography proved to be a successful tool in manipulating the public at home. Photographic propaganda circulated in 'imperial exhibitions', school texts, popular juvenile literature, and the cinema (MacKenzie, 1984:10).

Nineteenth century European colonial expansion followed the dynamic of three centuries of discovery of the New World. Visual material on newly discovered territories and peoples was systematically produced by artists. Painting played the leading role until the invention of photography, but served the same purpose. Quatermaine (1992:87) indicates that “photography was affected differently from painting for distinctions were in any case made between what was suitable for depiction in high (graphic) and in low (photographic) art”. Exotic subjects were depicted and influenced by the brush of an artistic painter. The artist had direct influence in composing a scene given his natural inclinations and the audience was aware of such intrusion into reality. Painting was not necessarily associated with ‘truth’. Photography on the other hand entered the domain of ‘reproducing’ exactness of ‘what was’. In other words manipulation of setting and composing (obvious in a painting) was not necessarily reflected upon by the photographer. However, both recording methods, painting and photography, represented Melanesians at the lowest stage of human existence. Did indigenous models pose for the painter as they had to for the photographer? What was the time constraint for the production of a painting? How much of the portraying of the Kanak was left to the imagination of the painter? For the audience, photography in its early stages cancelled the difference between imagination and reality as it believed photography reproduced reality accurately.

Colonial expansion was not merely a nineteenth century phenomenon, nor was it solely a European obsession. The Pacific had experienced waves of migration long before Europeans sailed in the region. Perceptions of newly discovered peoples would have probably had the same impact as it did on European explorers. Domineering newcomers most likely recorded the estranged people they encountered in their own cultural style. Pharaonic Egypt recorded successful battles won against the Hittites and their subjugation,

in paintings decorating their temples. What remains however typically European is using photography as the method of recording newly conquered territories.

Contemporary criticism of systematic photographing of exotic nations by Europeans includes all geographical regions. Algeria which was colonised by France in 1830 (only twenty three years before New Caledonia) experienced methodical documentation by the French. The Orient triggered astonishing interest, attracting leading nineteenth century artists lacking inspiration in their home country. Algerian ‘types’, ceremonials, way of life, children, women, men, peasants, city dwellers, were all topics which triggered photographic interests. Contemporary Malek Alloula (1986:37) argues that “Algerian society generally loathes to let itself be photographed, *a fortiori*, even more loathes to do so in the case of couples”. His approach seems very subjective, is it not his personal reading of the photographs that transpire? Bringing in generalities and global condemnation prevents closer analysis of the numerous situations that appeared between the photographer and the subject photographed. If this relationship as well as the awareness of the audience for which the image is photographed is not taken into account, we fall into the simplistic analysis of domineering and dominated.

Does Alloula not fall into what Sontag (2002:83) calls “the aesthete’s ideal of detachment, of the selfishness of detachment, [which] allows for avowals of passionate, obsessed involvement: the selfishness of ardour, of fascination”?

The problem in taking moral stands is to determine who holds responsibility over what. Considered for a long time ‘a simple photographic act’ (Alloula, 1986:38) the liability of the photographer has been pointed out repeatedly in postcolonial discourse. The accountability of the photographer increases depending on if he is considered amateur or professional. This is still very true today. Alloula (1986:38) denounces the representation of

Algerian women and men, photographed individually or as a couple condemning the “symbolic violence perpetrated upon Algerian society” where space and structure are rearranged on the basis of foreign norms. It is not because photographers rendered a scene of local exotic people surrounded by props in studio photographs that their meanings are not alien to the subjects photographed. Photographs are not solely dependent on their content but the context that goes along with the photographer’s motivation, local and foreign audiences and awareness of the subject photographed. It becomes almost impossible to determine if the gesture of taking the photograph is either innocent or manipulative and this for all parties concerned in the production of the photograph.

Representing colonial possessions in French colonies or other European colonies has similar approaches. Australian Aborigines proved to be as popular a subject, to painters and then photographers, as the Kanak were to the French. Photographic conventions were shared by professional photographers outlining a particular set of codes in portrait photography. Although indigenous figures were often asked to pose in exotic, primitive ways, many portrait photographs of chiefs and others follow similar settings as were found in bourgeois Parisian family portraits. Photographers throughout the Pacific shared similar conventions in conceptualising their photographs. German, English or French photographers therefore illustrated in a very similar form their perception of representing colonial possessions, perfectly adjusting to an audience familiar with the set of established rules. Studio portraits required long exposures, and the sittings must have been uncomfortable; the women and men in the photographs rarely appear relaxed and friendly, indigenous and non indigenous subjects alike. However, the photographer asserted the Kanak’s exotic aspects and their culture to be fully represented and embodied.

## 2.5.2. The performance of photographs : an enactment of colonial control



ANC Album Nicolas-Frédéric HAGEN 1 Num 3 – 13  
"Place des Jeux, à Nouméa"

19,5x13,5 cm

Impact of white settlement on colonial territories was regularly recorded as a means of showing progress accomplished in distant and remote areas. Technological advancement in the nineteenth century enabled a vision of domination over nature and successful enterprises in modernising transportation, livelihoods and general well being. The photographer Johannes Lindt recorded the impact of white settlement on Australia's aborigines. However, Quartermaine (1992:92) points out that "Lindt's images are invaluable photographic 'examples' of that impact, not raw 'evidence', they illustrate process, not product". The rapid and dramatic economic changes experienced through contact led to an emphasis on the juxtaposition of European and indigenous modes of life. While wanting to retain what was authentic and indigenous, photography was being used not so much as a documentary tool

but as a means as preserving a disappearing world. By including key symbols in studio photography, photographers focused on representing emblematic indigenous practices. Looking at those photographs today, in the early twentieth century, we cannot describe photographic records as raw data. The idea, reason, is elsewhere. Sontag (2002:71) states that for “Barthes, as for Nietzsche, the point is not to teach us something in particular. The point is to make us bold, agile, subtle, intelligent, detached. And to give pleasure”.

I intend to follow in Barthes and Nietzsche’s steps as I do not believe one can ‘teach’ per se the meaning of photographs, yet one can enhance the multitude of facets of an image. Alloula’s words of ‘colonial bad taste’ are void as they do not go underground in understanding the complicated social interactions – spider web - that happened at the time. Taking a moral stand, as previously stated, is falling into a fundamentalist evil vs. good attitude, falling into the axis of evil line so dear to George Bush. However, to quote and agree with Alloula (1986:64), in the sham often set up by photographers, “ the *algériennes* (Algerian women), bedecked like revellers, are themselves but simulacra (that is, phantoms) even if some fragments of truth manage to fasten themselves to them and remain afloat”. There is no doubt that the success encountered by an ever increasing audience was heavily due to not withholding ‘reality’ but rather persisting in the conservation of what was ‘different’ and therefore ‘exotic’. The audience’s request can not be limited to “soldiers, colonisers, and visitors from the mother country in search of local colour” (Alloula 1986:64), as viewers hungry for images depicting Algerian women included more than those who had direct or some kind of contact with the colony. The audience today is still hungry for images representing ‘otherness’. European or Western perceptions seem to trigger similar areas of focus, however we do not have any records of perceptions of indigenous peoples. It would be interesting to know how Kanaks would have criticised, or admired, images of the *Algérienne* type.

Rebellious Algerian chiefs sent into exile in New Caledonia after the upheaval in 1871 are the closest testimonies we have of two indigenous groups, both under French rule, meeting. These Algerian political prisoners (see chapter 4) were forbidden to return to their home country and put down roots in New Caledonia, many intermarrying with the local Kanak.

I wish once more to distance myself from Alloula's belief of 'colonial euphoria'. The Algerian author states that "the exotic postcard is the vulgar expression of colonial euphoria just as much as Orientalist painting was, in its beginnings, the Romantic expression of the same euphoria" (Alloula, 1986:29). The excitement generated by France's colonial expansion into Algeria, can be compared to the opening of new frontiers Europeans found in the Americas. Artists in search of new inspirations, men and women aspiring to better economic lives, and the general adventurer keen to leave behind highly stratified societies, were all induced to undergo the colonial experience. Gyan Prakash has put it, 'Orientalism was a European enterprise from the beginning, the scholars were European, and audience was European; and the [Orientals] appeared as inert objects of knowledge (Prakash, 2000:384).

Algeria was culturally rich and therefore attractive. References used in describing culture in anthropology have included key symbols, myths, rituals, behaviours, relatedness, values and structures. Photographers have intended to reveal and impose these sets of references focusing on 'indigenous labels' through 'cultural grids'. Photography records: we perceive. There is no mediator to access reality. The photograph suggests 'reality' bringing an illusion of closeness and participation for the viewer to inaccessible lands. Peterson (1985:165) suggests that 'both photography and the western appropriation of tribal man brought distant things close', defining the 'framing' of 19<sup>th</sup> century conventions.

To a similar extent photography became a very useful tool in documenting scientific practices such as concentrating on ‘labels of madness’ in psychiatric institutions. The photographer Albert Londe (1858-1917) was hired in 1882 by Jean-Marie Charcot, one of the fathers of modern psychiatry. Londe was appointed and responsible for one of the earliest medical photographic workshop, at La Salpêtrière’s almshouse (part of Paris’s General Hospital). The distance that exists between the photographer (the observer) and the patient (the observed) in psychiatric photographic documentation is in a particular way similar to the coloniser (the photographer and observer) and the colonised (the subject photographed and observed). To Sigmund Freud “it is not a matter of believing what one sees, as what remains essential is invisible to the eyes” (Sicard, 1994:24 – my translation). Freud was able to break away from understanding hysteria by solely observing symptoms. His research concentrated on a general theory of psychic life relying more heavily on listening to his patients than their observation through photographs.

Photographers have tried to ‘catch’ the notion of alterity in representing colonial possessions. The historical value of the records they brought back with them or that circulated throughout the Pacific are questioned. Historical events, testimonies, through time become controversial themes. Anthropologists have tried to ‘codify’, ‘justify’, playing the role of a mediator, an agent. Nineteenth century missionaries were not anthropologists. In New Caledonia and early in the twentieth century, Maurice Leenhardt was referred to as an anthropologist. Professional anthropologists only started to emerge after WWII. The ethnologist arrived after the disastrous consequences of the ‘ethnology of safety’. The collection of the story is in itself an event, an act of research, a narrative event. Emmanuel Néhouna (a Kanak who shared his story of the clans in 1973 with Alban Bensa) gives to his narrative another destiny. He became Kanak memory and cultural inheritance. During a class Bensa taught at the E.H.E.S.S. (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales), he said

that it is not a structural analysis but a socio-historic one, with authenticity provided by the story through a problematical present.



Médiathèque ADCK, FAT 950165, photograph by Fritz Sarasin

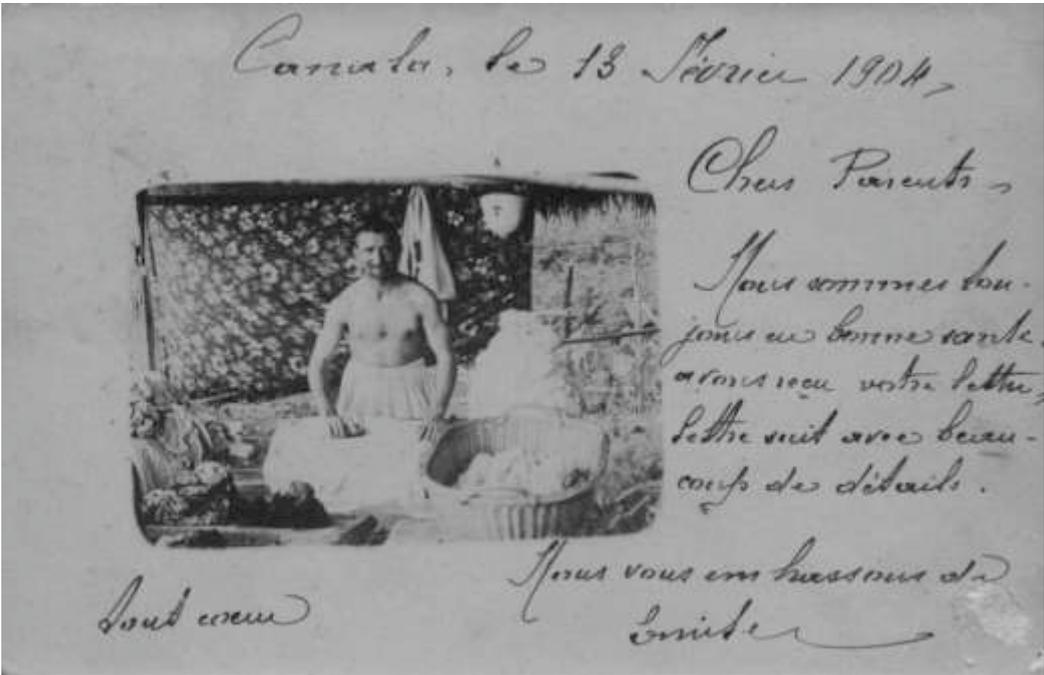
Even before the Kanak lost sovereignty over their territory, they lost sovereignty over the way they were represented in text and photography alike. With the invention of postcards at the turn of century, the loss of control was all the more exacerbated by the misuse of photographs and captions out of context. The astonishing circulation of postcards worldwide brought kanak life into the homes of thousands who had no understanding of and

no access to information to better understand and learn about a distant people. Postcards became a tool of misinformation that took on a role never previously attained: the premise of education in stereotyping the Kanak and indigenous people worldwide.

## 2.6. Captions and postcards



Postcards Max Shekelton collection



## **2.6.1. Invention of the postcard**

The invention of postcards, first patented in Philadelphia in 1861, brought a staggering new way of communicating. It touched every stratum of society, linking millions of individuals from near villages to distant colonies. The postcard was given official status in France on December 20, 1872, although previous uncovered documents had previously circulated. They did not however hold the official status of 'postcard'. In the National Assembly, Deputy Louis Wolowski favoured the lowering of prices through the creation of the postcard. This initiative will have the desired outcome of increasing the amount of mailed documents and bringing more funding to a government wiped out financially by the Franco-German war of 1870. Postcards were sold for 10 cents (centimes) and followed the success already achieved in England.

By the time France made official its postcards, other countries had already adopted the new correspondence. Austria is considered the birth country for launching the postcard on October 1, 1869 though its inventor is Heinrich von Stephan, a German secretary of state. One side of the card was used to write the address of the receiver, since at their creation, postcards were not illustrated and had a stern aspect. By 1883 a government decree allowed figures and elements on the back of the card and a new law in 1904 in France allowed the division of the card - usually reserved to write the address of the receiver. This new law enabled illustrations to occupy the whole surface of one side of the postcard and from then on stamps were be required to be put on the written part of the card.

It is believed that the first illustrated and commercialised postcard was edited in 1889 for the Universal Exhibition in Paris, picturing a drawing of the Eiffel tower by Léon Charles Libonis. The Universal Exhibition indicates the consecration of new industrial printing methods. Photography and its quick technical development as well as the

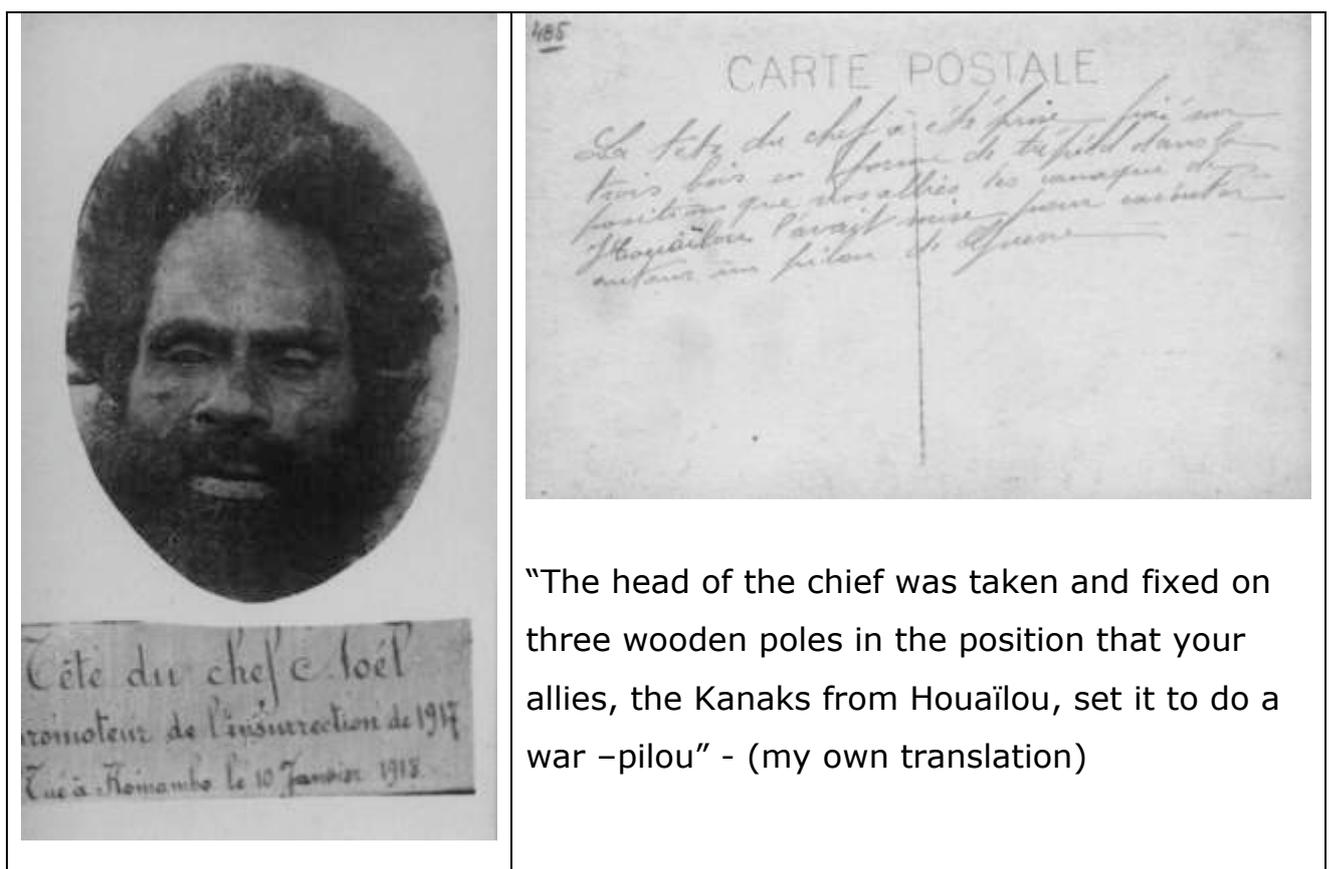
improvement of lithograph printings were important prerequisites to the invention of the postcard. The conception of categorising what photography was per se evolved as well. Photography was first referred to as 'Independent Art' at the 1861 International Exhibition in Melbourne, Victoria. The new invention started to expand in different exhibition categories including portraiture, pictorial, documentary and photojournalism (Haworth-Booth, 1997:78-79). By the time postcards were invented, there were no restrictions to having all these categories printed. International exhibitions became the abounding ground in selling billions of postcards.

Photographic illustrations started to emerge in France by 1891, giving birth to the phototype postcards early in the twentieth century, which eventually became the favourite printing method of photographic illustrations. However, postcards with photographic illustrations remained a fairly rare phenomenon until the end of the nineteenth century. Drawings remained a much easier method of reproduction.

The introduction of colour postcards was made possible by the technique of the stencil key, making it possible to reproduce a drawing or photograph on a surface as many times as required. Black and white photographs are reproduced using the stencil key method, increasing a variety of choice to the buyer. Both black and white, and colour, have different impacts on the viewer, changing her/his conception of the subject photographed. According to Geary and Webb (1998:3) "photographs that were used in postcards produced for tourists and collectors underwent frequent transformations and manipulations, and they were elaborately colourised to attract attention in the competitive market".

The postcard became an original way of writing and helped those on the receiving end to forge an opinion and an emotional reaction to photographs exhibited on the back of the

postcard. Often, yet not always, the buyer and writer would give their own analysis or opinion of the photograph and the people it portrayed. These opinions sometimes had humoristic comments that would today be considered totally unacceptable and racist. A new law was introduced in 1887 to try to prevent defamation from circulating through postcards. Privacy was giving way to total accessibility as anyone could see and read the postcards. The objective of the new law was to keep moral grounds high and prevent insults and ‘pornography’. However, by using appropriate photographic paper, amateurs could also produce their own postcards, avoiding any enforced law.



“The head of the chief was taken and fixed on three wooden poles in the position that your allies, the Kanaks from Houailou, set it to do a war –pilon” - (my own translation)

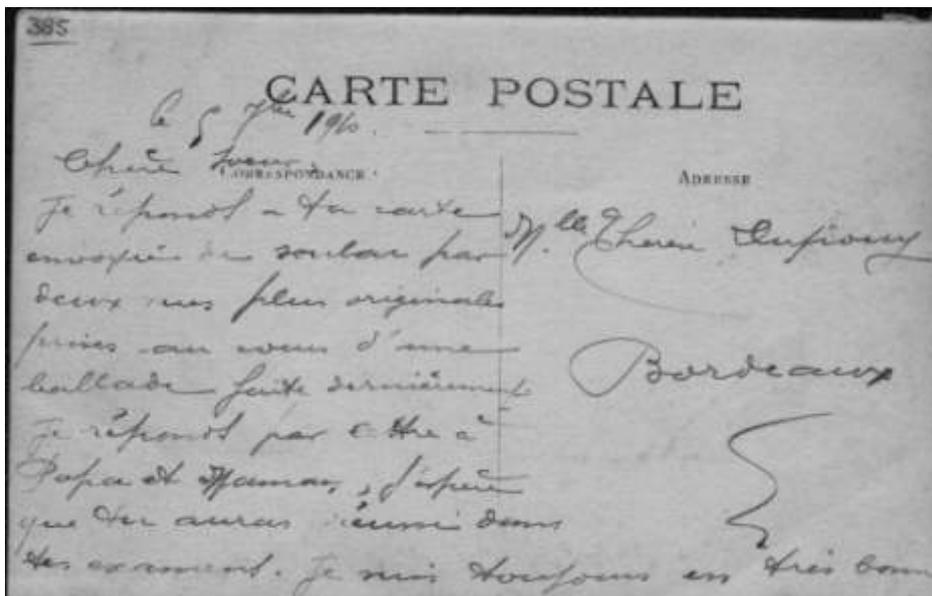
Postcard Max Shekelton collection, “Head of Chief Noel, responsible for the 1917 insurrection, killed in Koniambo 10 January 1918

Reading messages on the back of postcards today, allows us to understand the mentality and the way of life that many settlers wanted to share with loved ones who had remained in their home country and could not access remote colonies. The golden age of the

postcard lay between 1900 and 1920, with millions of purchasers and senders engaged in this forensic activity. Howard Woody noted that ‘surprisingly post cards were not considered historically significant during their golden age and most of the information on this novelty item was not collected, catalogued or housed like other historical materials’ (H. Woody, 1998:23). It is estimated that the French distributor Beret (well known for its production of photographic and illustrated postcards) in Nancy, produced up to 300,000 units a day (in 1909 Beret produced 100 million postcards, one quarter of all French postcards). By 1904, the annual postcard production in France reached 750 million units. At first cards were produced for the local market but the enthusiasm they created flowed beyond the national borders reaching out to distant French colonies. During the 1890-1940 period, it is estimated that the production of cards for the French colonies of New Caledonia and Reunion Island amounted respectively to 4,000 and 2,500-3,000 (Quanchi & Shekelton, 2001:321). Proportionately to Metropolitan France, the production of postcards of its colonies remained extremely low. According to Quanchi & Shekelton, in remote and distant lands, postcards were not extensively used as cheap postal service as they were in Europe and America, “but as a record of a life experienced and a culture observed”. British Pacific island colonies experienced similar low production figures as it was the case with Fiji’s 6,000 postcards produced in a record fifty year period (1890-1940). Foucher (1984: no pagination) notes that New Caledonian postcards can be classified in four broad categories: urban (images of Nouméa), ethnographic (of villages), scenic (topography and fauna), and European activities (such as agriculture, festivals; military, mining and other activities).



*“In Calédonia -09-1910, Group of Chiefs tribe from Maré” (my own translation)*



*“Dear sister, I am replying to your card from Toulon with two more original images taken lately while going for a walk. I will respond by letter to Dad and Mom, I hope that you passed your exams with much success. I am still in very good...”*

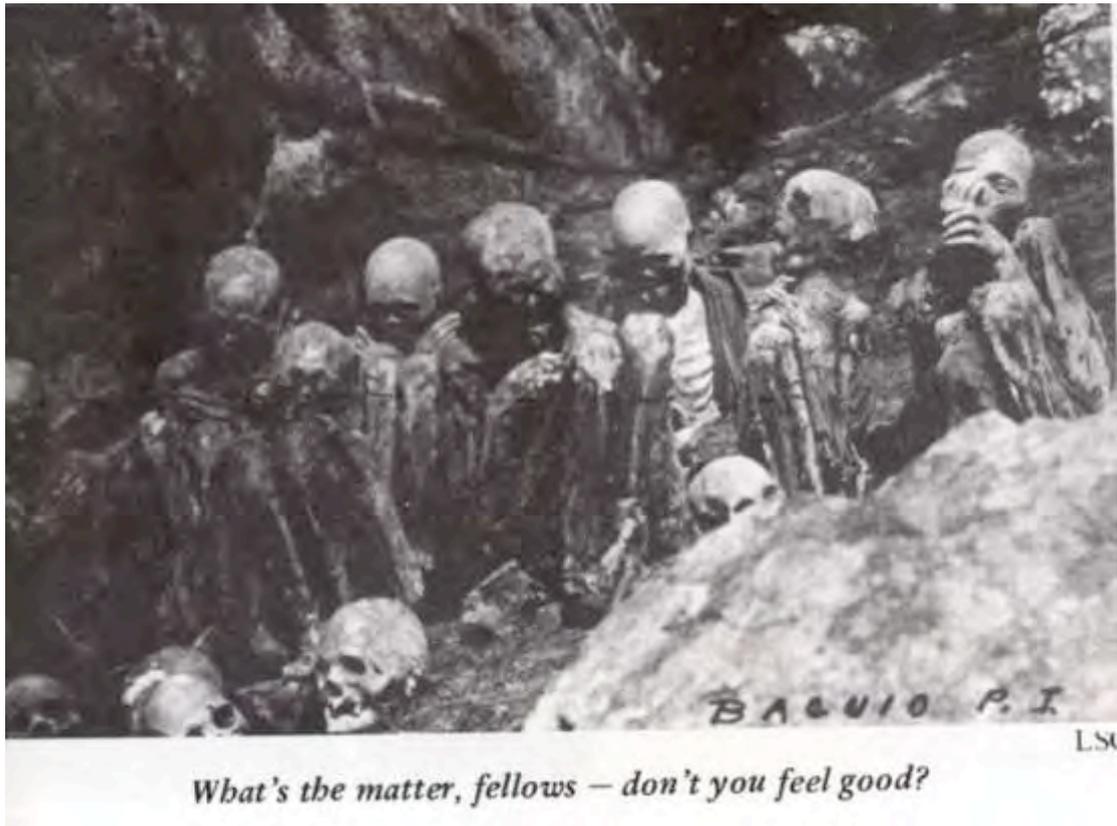
Postcard Max Shekelton collection “Group of Chiefs Tribe of Maré”

Geary and Webb (1998:2) identify two forms of postcard production: one by the international printing companies marketed to the tourist industry (enforcing stereotypical images) and the other by the local supplier for residents (depicting ‘themes of immediate importance to consumers’). While the biggest distributors were in Europe and the United

States, the Pacific also had its own distribution companies though the information about production, distribution and use is usually scarce. In New Caledonia, William Henry Caporn was the main editor and distributor of postcards. Charles Brilliard (1866-1947) known as “Nothing” was principally a photographer in Nouméa (see chapter 3.4.) whose images were reproduced by Caporn, yet he edited himself a series of twenty postcards around 1914. The name of the editor and the city where the card was produced was usually printed on the illustration, underneath the caption. However, at times the name of the collection is cited with no reference to the editor. This is the case with the postcard ‘Nouvelle-Calédonie – Coutume Indigène’ (New Caledonia – Indigenous custom), which only states above the caption ‘Collection Barrau’. The first New Caledonian postcard appeared in 1901 by Talbot. Distributors across the Pacific took root and for each a variety of Pacific islands were edited and distributed. According to Nordstrom, (1995:107) by 1908 “the Sydney distributor Kerry and Company had a catalogue listing fifty series of postcards, including twelve cards in a Pacific ‘Reef and Palm’ series and two other series on Fiji and Samoa”. Due to the high circulation of postcards and a lack of information regarding their production, it is difficult to ‘appraise, interpret and assign historical, scientific and aesthetic worth’ to postcards (D. Poole, 1997:10-11).

Postcards were truly a means of communication for the masses: a great tool for propaganda during colonisation, and also a means for government to promote France’s vigour during World War One.

## 2.6.2. The distorted role of captions



Filipino postcard<sup>27</sup> using a sarcastic, mocking and non informative caption

Postcards were often accompanied with captions. Most of the time, captions were included by postcard producers, yet hand-written captions were also added by senders themselves, adding individual and personal impressions. Do captions add useful and valuable information to the reader to interpret the photographic illustration? Quanchi (1996:172) argues that photographs are best read without captions printed below images, asking the reader to make an opinion himself without any interference. Artists as well are often reluctant to guide the viewer of their art form and for that matter name their work 'no title', leaving full spin to imagination. In the photographic exhibition I have myself held on photographing traditional Navajos, I have also avoided naming or guiding the audience for

certain of my images. However I am not convinced that photographs should or could ‘stand alone’ on a general basis. I believe it all comes down to the audience and the message one wants to pass on. This is a crucial point as it entails direct contact between the postcard writer and its reader.

There are numerous interpretations possible. Quanchi (1996:172) states that postcards have ‘multiple trajectories and multiple histories’. Indeed, photographs were reprinted often with no knowledge to the photographer concerned and captions did not scrupulously follow historical facts. This is how captions state ‘false’ identities, confusing at times a Fijian woman with a Kanak woman. We are able to ‘discover’ such shams by retracing originals and the photographer’s notes or any information regarding the author of the image. Sontag (1978) clearly defines the ambiguous interpretation of photographs as “like other photographic reprints, postcard pictures can be interpreted in myriad and often contradictory ways depending on who is viewing the picture and in what context”. Captions, just as postcard pictures, play a similarly uncertain role and are interpreted on a very subjective level. During my research I interviewed numerous people from varied backgrounds on their impressions, interpretations and general opinions of nineteenth century New Caledonian postcards. Interviewees included researchers from anthropological, historical, political backgrounds to professional corporate photographers with no particular knowledge of New Caledonian history nor of any historical photographic familiarity. I interviewed a history professor in Melbourne, kindly acting as a guinea pig for my research, on his ‘reaction’ and ‘interpretation’ of a photographic postcard showing two Kanak men having a glass of wine. The caption identifying the two characters on the photograph stated: ‘two small chiefs’. The professor condemned such paternalistic comments and denounced the abuse of French colonialism. While he gave some very subjective and very valuable comments, I later

---

<sup>27</sup> Carpenter, Frank G., *Through the Philippines and Hawaii*, (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1925) p. 158.

explained that the caption ‘little chiefs’ (petits chefs) had nothing demeaning as ‘little’ only meant that they were not ‘big chiefs’ (grand chef) in the social stratification of Kanak culture. These terms, ‘petit chef’ or ‘grand chef’, are still in use by the Kanak and have no pejorative connotation. Given this piece of information, the professor re-evaluated his understanding of and comment on the photograph. The caption here did not ‘play’ its role as informative as the viewer of the postcard did not have a background knowledge of the local culture. Such lack of understanding proves the unreliability of reading photographic illustrations and their captions and the impossibility of drawing generalisations and interpretations as well as supposing the intent of the production company which probably added the caption on the photograph. Quanchi (1996:172) says ‘it’s too easy to follow the given interpretation of the caption’ and he encourages ignoring the captions where given. I do not believe that captions are a question of ‘easiness’ but are more of an individual matter and his or her individual knowledge. The subjectivity of one’s experience helps us to interpret photographs and captions. Yet, this bias does not prevent the fact that photographs, ‘like other historical evidence, must be challenged and be subjected to a reader’s inquires, predilections and ideologies’ (Quanchi 1996:172).

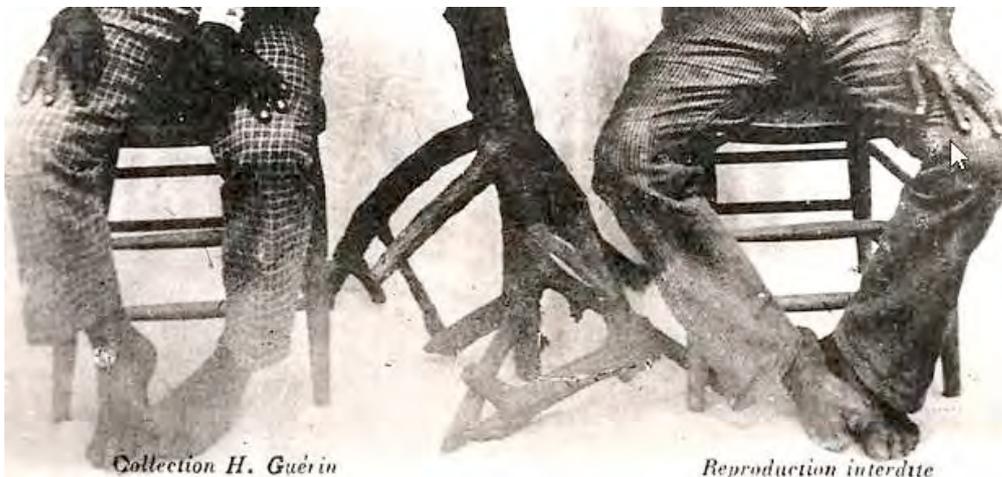


Postcard, Fonds Bouge, Musée de Chartres, «meeting between two small Chiefs from the Northern tribes»<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The printed caption of this postcard does not intend to be demineering towards both Chiefs. Indeed “petits Chefs” or small Chiefs only refers to the kanak hierarchy and is not pejorative.



Cropped images convey very different meanings : in the above, the focus is on successful acculturation (wine drinking) whereas underneath, we get the opposite feeling. Indeed, beyond taking on European clothing, those two Chiefs are still grounded in their own culture.



### 2.6.3. Formulaic captions and its restrictiveness

Captions are really only a brief description accompanying an illustration. They do not pretend to do more and it seems unrealistic to expect that from a few words we would be filled with valuable and 'authentic' information helping us to decipher a photograph. The caption takes on a very different role when it illustrates a photograph or drawing within a

text. The audience is then filled with sufficient (not necessarily correct) information allowing interpretation of a not so well-known subject. However, captions of postcards were totally void of context. What is then the meaning of those few words under a photograph? Probably not much but most important, is it really its role to give information? Is it not instead to provoke a reaction, therefore being more an emotional trigger than information open for expressions of opinions? Some captions are void in helping to decipher the image. For example, 'Iles Loyalty – Canaque avec son chien et casse-tête' (Loyalty Islands – Canaque with dog and war club) or 'Costume Indigène' (indigenous costume) are captions that tells us what we automatically already know and see except that it specifies the origin of the subject. Standardised captions such as 'Tahitian Belle', are not used to provoke a better understanding of Tahitian women, their values, beliefs, ways of life. Rather the objective is to put forward her qualities forthrightly as a beautiful woman. It is the image, the idea of beauty that prevails. Just as today, the fashion industry and commercials 'teach' us what are the characteristics that define a beautiful woman.

The idea of beauty was granted to Polynesian women, not to Melanesian women (see chapter 2.3). Captions therefore rarely referred to 'Canaque belle' but instead 'Femme Canaque' (Kanak woman) or 'Indigène de la Nouvelle-Calédonie' (Indigenous woman from New Caledonia). Kanak women were often photographed in grass skirts with breasts exposed, at times carrying weapons or utensils. The caption 'type', such as 'Type Canaque', was used worldwide to define each particular ethnic group. As a consequence differences are obscured and local characteristics simplified. The subject photographed was referred to as particularly representative of a Kanak.

Due to intensive European activity in New Caledonia, such as farming, penal settlement and mining, the number of postcards representing Kanak women and tribal life is

small. Postcards of the territory were essentially illustrated with (22.8%) urban development (30.1%) and aesthetic views, while only 30.5% were of tribes and villages (Foucher, 1984 no pagination). Only one third illustrated indigenous life in New Caledonia compared to 53% in Papua and New Guinea (Quanchi, 2001). I do not believe that the difference in percentage is due to a lack of interest in Kanak culture but more due to the fact that French settlers had come to New Caledonia not on a temporary basis as explorers, but more so to start a new life firmly motivated to build a new country. The construction of Port-de-France (later called Nouméa) involved intensive labour. The comparison between Port-de-France and the village was perhaps the most popular photographic signifier of European and indigenous culture. Postcards therefore may have played an ethnographic and an educative role in the French public understanding of New Caledonia. However, the percentage of postcards recording European activities being much higher, it can be assumed that the audience (postcard purchasers) was more interested in communicating the Europeanisation of their territory than focusing on indigenous specificity. It is probable that both sender and recipient did not bother to find out more about the colonial policy regarding its Melanesian population in New Caledonia.

Captions, just as photographs, do not need to be examined in depth where the argument is that the most real is “latent and submerged”, as argued by Barthes (Sontag 2000:81). Sontag states that Nietzsche’s work constitutes “the largest statement of this position” where the philosopher argued strong “criticism of fixed antitheses (good versus evil, right versus wrong, true versus false)”. I do not intend to contrast the combination that photography and anthropology had on tourism and propaganda. We can argue that picture postcards gave access and knowledge to Europeans by informing them of the geographical, cultural, colonial, and ‘strange’ worlds that made up their country’s empire experience. I do not believe that postcards and photographs worked as motivators to come to and colonise

New Caledonia. The government had immense difficulty in convincing Frenchmen to settle in the new colony. There was little information and almost no possibility of return should immigration have taken place, and the potential French settlers knew that. I am not either convinced that those receiving postcards in Metropolitan France were that interested in finding out much information about the photographs. It seems more realistic to say that it brought curiosity into the homes but with no real desire to find out more about the strange places they had had a glimpse of. Wright (1997:57) insists that “we want to see the image literally contextualized, captioned, surrounded by text and ‘backed-up’ by thorough historical footnotes”. I believe that Wright omits the pleasure of the aesthetic. While conducting an interview with Andrew Hobbs, professional photographer in Melbourne, I concluded that some of us are aesthetically driven. His observations regarding nineteenth century photographs of New Caledonia, were essentially visual and not historical. We can safely assume that many viewers were also seduced visually and did not seek more meaningful information.

The use of a caption reinforces emotions associated with beauty. This is not necessarily pornographic and male orientated. We still today call ‘une belle femme’ (a beautiful woman) that which strikes our emotions of beauty. I personally relate to such comments on different levels depending on a variety of circumstances: who makes the comment, tone of voice, motivation. I do not see any degrading or demeaning approach to such a statement as I often use it and refer to women in such a way. Beauty is still celebrated in today’s society as it was for many previous centuries although its definition has evolved over time.

Maxwell (1994:316) argues that “the absence of any accompanying commentary in postcards, places the women who feature in the photographs on the receiving end of a

controlling and objectifying male gaze, the spectator is encouraged to live out ‘his’ desires, to fantasize about possessing that which in real life is prohibited”. Although it is hazardous to depict nineteenth century Frenchmen’s reactions to and potential desire for a half naked Pacific Islander woman, this point of view seems limited to me as we have the certitude that such postcards and photographs were also circulated among female viewers (see chapter 2.3). Women might have envied the freedom of Kanak women, their uncomplicated lifestyle and autonomy while they were contrived in uncomfortable dresses, and caught in tight moral codes. It would be interesting to draw a parallel with women fully covered by burkas under the Taliban and their reaction to photographs of European women sunbathing in bikinis. Although this is an extreme example of tight social codes, it highlights the fact that women or men can gaze at undressed women without only focusing on potential sexual desire. Maxwell’s comments reflect, in my opinion, a society uneasy with bodily exposure. In today’s western societies, selling nudity in commercials seems to me more related to the subtle message delivered in publicity using nudity as potential sexual activity rather than a celebration of the beauty of bodies.

It is difficult to determine the impact on the viewer, receiver of a postcard, of the given interpretation of the caption. It can certainly be misleading or totally false as mentioned above, yet the caption might help in scrutinising the illustration instead of focusing mainly on the written side of the postcard. After all, the principal role of the postcard is to communicate a message, the photographic illustration plays a secondary function. I am not convinced that captions on postcards illustrating indigenous life in the Pacific and focusing on its ‘primitive’ cultures, were meant to defeat and abolish the original culture and stress the superiority of western civilisation. I assume it was, instead, a demonstration of longing for the loss of a simple yet happy life at a time when life in Europe was becoming increasingly competitive and complex. The appeal for Rousseau’s

noble savage in America could be relocated to the Pacific. Today's tourist industry and local postcards still highlight Pacific islands as exotic destinations. Photographic illustrations as well as captions are used to trigger the same feelings and emotions as they did in the nineteenth century. They reinforce exoticism and escape, to a clientele dissatisfied with the excess of modern life and hungry for novelty.

#### **2.6.4. Postcards: bonding empire and propaganda**

The new invention of the postcard allowed the government to use this new mode of communication which enabled one to reach the masses in Metropolitan France and its worldwide colonies. Mackenzie (1984) identified many uses for postcards including 'propagation of personality cults, propaganda for issues of the day, advertising, reinforcement of contemporary attitudes on architecture, transport and new economic enterprises, news dissemination, and education'.

In nineteenth century New Caledonia, visuals of France and its colonial territories were not readily available. Mostly through photographs, postcards and illustrated newspapers was any image of the empire available. How did a settler in remote New Caledonia know what African colonies looked like? Postcards became the most widely circulated visual of the time allowing direct connection with the home country left behind. However, due to the possibility of purchasing postcards of distant places, senders were purchasing views of places where they had never set foot. What is then the motivation of their choice and what does this tell the receiver? We can assume that captions were the only reference at times in putting in context the location of the illustration. As Elizabeth Edwards pointed out, postcards were "dislocated both temporally and spatially" making it very

difficult to identify a rationale in the buying and sending procedure. The gap between the taking of the photograph and its use as a postcard could extend to 30 years or more, making its use historically distorted. Quanchi & Shekelton (2001:315) further accentuate the difficulty and unreliability in the analysis of picture postcards, as a postcard's trajectory involves considerable guesswork "as a postal message, inclusion in a travel album or use as a swap-card, bookmark, or office and kitchen decoration".

Virginia-Lee Webb noted that 'many images were used to help construct pejorative myths that served colonial interests in the Pacific Islands'. Yet, do those myths match and intertwine between the Western colonial powers in the Pacific? Do French, British, German, or American colonists who purchased postcards and images of the distant islands in the Pacific and sent them to Europe actively participate in the construction of such pejorative myths? I do not believe that images and especially postcards serve a purpose much beyond wanting to communicate and probably educate metropolitan audiences, about the 'unknown world and cultures' settlers were living. Using postcards as a form of communication helped connect far away territories of the same empire, reinforcing a sentiment of belonging and defining France's domain.

Mass-produced cards for the international market essentially removed modern influences in images representing indigenous subjects and studio photography in particular. By eliminating the visual effects of acculturation and absorption of European ways of life, the Kanak indigenous culture was, according to Edwards, "exoticized by being moored in the past" and postcards helped "construct, disseminate and perpetuate stereotypical images of non-western peoples" (Geary and Webb, 1998:9). These stereotypical images were enhanced due to the popular fascination with physical appearance, including clothing and decoration. Although we can criticise the stereotypical approach of photographs of the

Kanak, it also seems like a natural human desire to 'see' what the unknown looks like. At a PHA (Pacific History Association) conference in Apia, Samoa (2002) I gave a talk on voyeurism in photographing Kanak women. I had decided not to show any photographs of half naked women in my talk. A Samoan man who was in the audience complained about not seeing any photographs as he wanted to know what a Kanak woman looked like. He had never seen one, and his desire to know was not motivated by a voyeuristic approach. I believe that many receivers of ethnographic picture postcards had probably the same reaction. It was just by interest, to know.

While we have no confirmation on the motivations associated with the choice of a particular ethnographic postcard, the sender's text on the back of the postcard gives some evidence of his/her perception of the local culture. The writer's opinions and attitudes towards the subject photographed come out from the text. At times comical (mockery), at times sentimental and artistic, or political and commercial, choices of postcards were determined by the message the sender wanted to put forward. His or her choice of the illustration was usually accentuated by the text that followed on the verso. Captions became then almost irrelevant while the notion of the public's association with empire was accentuated.

The picture postcard and its captions are all the more unreliable in validating the original representation sought by the photographer. The photographer had no control over the misuse of his initial photograph. Through cropping, re-captioning, colouring, re-framing, the primary image could have lost the intention the photographer tried to portray. The original photographic image was decontextualised. According to Edwards (1996:216), images that reached the public domain "cohere into apparent wholeness, standing for irreducible truth". Do these nineteenth century photographs help in forging a Kanak identity

of what culture was like early on in the colonisation process? While living on the Navajo reservation among the Blackrock family (Arizona, USA, 1999) I was surprised to hear one of the teenage boys state that he wanted to be like the Indians in Hollywood movies. To him, the image of the warrior Indian riding his horse, proud, in Monument Valley was objectified as what came the closest to being a 'true' Indian. Steve reappropriated what I could have believed to be only stereotypical images. Albers (1990:343) states that photography "distorted images of the American Indian", yet no matter how photography misrepresents 'reality' or 'truth', it can still be a point of reference to indigeneity. It then becomes extremely difficult to categorise what entails a picture to be misleading or authentic.

The mass production of postcards could have been a financial gain to the photographer if today's copyright laws had been in place. This was not the case and often postcards did not acknowledge the photographer. It is therefore excessive to imply that the photographer intentionally and extensively participated in the visual propaganda of colonial empire. I believe that professional photographers based in Nouméa, such as Alan Hughan, had no concept that their images often taken in small studios would have such repercussions. In a way they were victims of their own success. They lived very modestly and did not reap the benefits of their work. When Hughan died (1883), the first New Caledonian postcard would not be printed till nearly twenty years later (1901). Their photographs were propelled to the level of myth through mass production and consumption on a vast scale.

Postcards did not only help to promote government colonial rule but were also very useful to religious organisations. Missionaries were skilful photographers technically and in capturing successful Christianisation. They campaigned for the building of new schools,

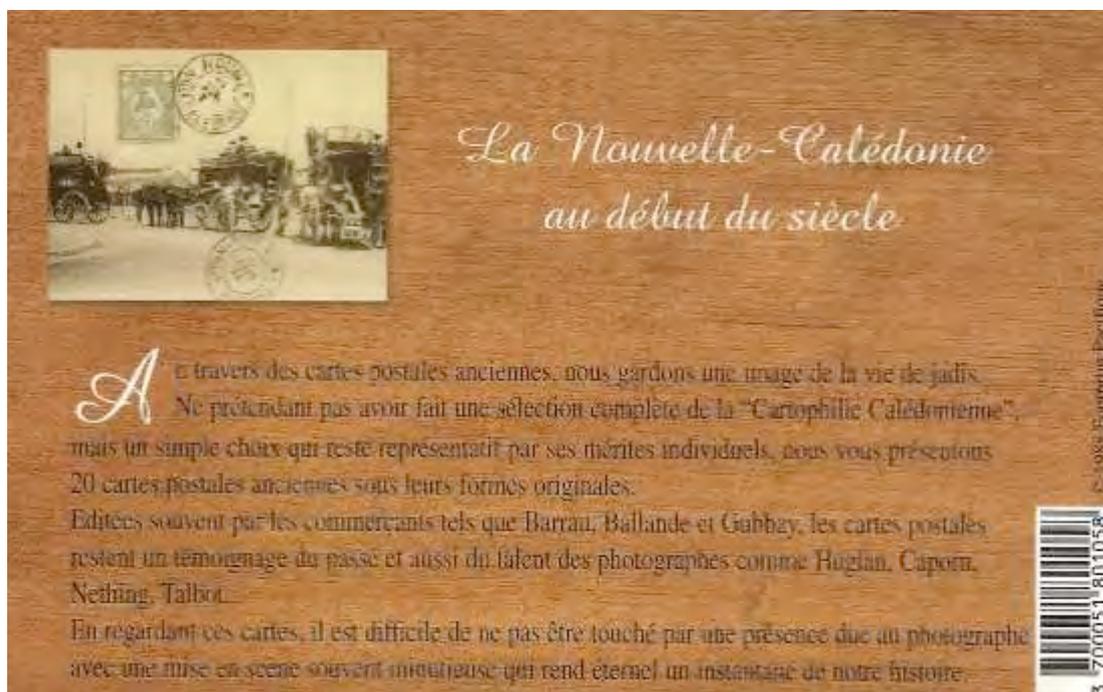
churches and Europeanising their congregations. Contrary to ethnographic photography which focused on the exoticism of the subject, missionaries were proud to show their success in civilising indigenous and often ‘savage’ populations. This is why very early photographs show women dressed in knee-long outfits. These images became very successful in raising funds at home. Mission propaganda went beyond the French empire borders as both Catholic and Protestant missions were present in the territory. Collecting funds involved a number of countries including England and Italy.

Staged line-ups of either French colonial or indigenous law enforcers publicised the idea of order and stability. Circulating images or postcards of French rule being enforced accentuated a belief in superiority and security. Although New Caledonia had two major rebellion movements in 1878 and 1917 (I do not include here the major upheavals of the 1980s as they do not fall into my period of study). It was important to show that France was in control no matter how rebellious the indigenous locals were, and it was all the more crucial to accentuate that the penal colony was in order. Photographing indigenous law enforcers was a clever way to demonstrate that the rebellious movement only represented a minority of the Kanak population. The military was successful indeed, in to subduing the rebels with Kanak law enforcers. Propaganda, through photography and postcards, was helping in the formation of French empire.

According to Quanchi & Shekelton (2001:317) postcards had a variety of uses: “in situ or le flaneur images snapped of actual people, places and objects, mythical/stereotype images including edited, cropped, staged, or posed images and third, news images recording unusual or special newsworthy, current events”. Postcards served a tri-dimension role as the precursor connecting the creator of the picture card (photographer and producer), the buyer (souvenir card, or local interest recording) and the receiver (curious about the strange world)

in a formidable way of communication that telephone, television and the internet were to follow later.

Photographic postcards, were only one of the visual materials that helped forge an ‘anthropological truth’ and a general idea of what the colony of New Caledonia was for the distant reader. While there was an intention on behalf of the sender (this is where I live and here is what a local looks like) and a meaning attached to the picture postcard to the receiver (I wish I could experience a similar adventure or on the contrary, how good I am in a civilised world), there was probably no symbolic meaning for the Kanak photographed. Engravings, artwork, *cartes-de-visite*, photographs, images reproduced in newspapers, magazines, journals, encyclopaedias, and books, all participated in the masses accessing a visual idea of the territory. These images actually allowed New Caledonia to be put on the map. Visuals are still today the main tool used to inform of New Caledonia’s existence. A large majority of Metropolitan French still have no clear idea where New Caledonia is situated, only that it is far away, foreign and almost out of reach.



Twenty reproduced 19<sup>th</sup> century postcards, published in 1988 (Max Shekelton collection)<sup>29</sup>

These postcards are all from the Shekelton collection. They are all historical postcards and there is still very much today a market and a nostalgia for 19<sup>th</sup> century photographs.

# **Chapter 3 French photography in New Caledonia: the expression of colonial rule**

Even before France took possession of New Caledonia on September 24, 1853, photographs had been taken of New Caledonia by adventurers, missionaries and the military. All were amateur photographers. Western presence in the rest of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was acknowledged through two key agents of European domination: religion and government. Missionaries photographed churches and converts while the government recorded images of its government offices and penal installations. Although a proportion of the photographs were commissioned, offered for sale, recording the colonial presence and its success in subduing the indigenous Kanak, was a strategic gesture to reinforce France's presence and her possession of New Caledonia. Given the competition among European colonial powers in the Pacific at the end of the century, ownership of New Caledonia allowed the French government to have a presence in Melanesia. Strategically isolated from other French colonies, New Caledonia under colonial rule was also isolated from the German, British and Dutch colonies in Melanesia.

Colonial exhibitions succeeded in promoting the Empire, allowing the general public to access the reality of French colonies. These exhibitions helped educate the French public about distant lands, necessarily stereotyping the indigenous way of life and its

---

<sup>29</sup> Out of the twenty published postcards, twelve are on Nouméa, six on tribal life and two on convicts (including the executioner). Settlers outside Noumea have been omitted as well as all other ethnic populations

characteristics. The emphasis on its exotic nature helped draw many sightseers. Visiting the mock villages helped validate the photographs received from the distant colonies. The same 'indigenous' characteristics revealed in the photographs had to be carefully replicated in colonial exhibitions in order to reinforce a preconceived image of the French colonies. According to Mark Haworth-Booth "looking at photographs was a recreation like television viewing today" (cited in Morton, 1998:18), allowing images to have an impact on the viewers' memories. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, two of the major colonial exhibitions in France were the Marseille national exhibition in 1922 and the colonial exhibition in Paris in 1931. Jean-Louis Miège<sup>30</sup> argues that colonial exhibitions were an ideal expression of colonial rule:

*«Exhibitions are privileged places and moments for colonial discourse and for the image(s) proposed, and finally for the public's receptivity of this discourse and these images. (...) Furthermore, these colonial exhibitions present the advantage of freezing at a given moment in time what might be termed vertical slices and panoramic views».*<sup>31</sup>

Postcards and photographs were sold as souvenirs and promotional items to diffuse the event nationally and worldwide. The ideological catalyser behind the image was essentially triggered by creating an emotional reaction, at times even passionate, not a rational one. It is the scrutiny of the subject, the Kanak, studied closely in his environment, which creates an interest in what is different, new, other and non European. The curiosity aroused was also surrounded by weariness. Intriguing yet repulsive subjects, somewhat aggressive, are found in studio portraits. This trait is hardly represented in documentary photographs, in which Kanak are often seen lying or sitting in the grass, appearing relaxed

---

that made up New Caledonia in 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>30</sup> History Professor at the University of Provence

<sup>31</sup> (My own translation). In French in the text: «Les expositions sont des lieux et des moments privilégiés à la fois du discours colonisateur, de l'image qui est proposée ou des images et enfin de la réceptivité de l'opinion à ce discours et à ces images. (...) Ces expositions coloniales présentent, d'autre part, l'avantage de fixer à un moment donné ce qu'on pourrait appeler des coupes verticales et des visions panoramiques » (Miège, 1973).

and at ease with the photographer. These documentary photographs reinforce another stereotype of the Kanak: laziness.

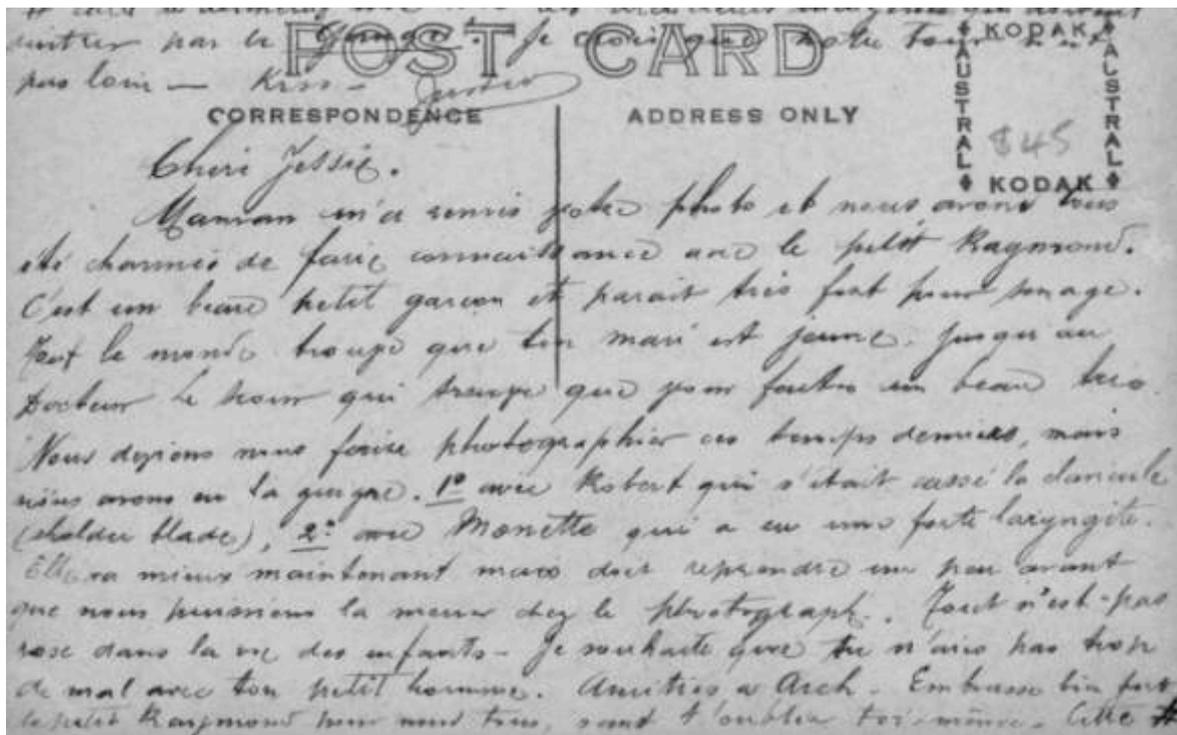
Stereotypes tend to remain. Photography, while creating stereotypes, was also a victim of its own success. Thus photographs of Kanak evolved very little from the first daguerreotype to the turn of the century. Studio photographs still had the same props, approximately the same poses and postures, and the same clothing. The lack of variety in Kanak portraiture helped to forge and reinforce stereotypes. The diffusion and labelling of primitive 'Kanak' identity, fortified the superiority of French colonial rule, technologically and culturally. Photographers have often taken the bulk of the blame for the end result in the conception and perception of their photographs. However, the gap between the objective sought by the photographer and the perception of the general public surely existed.

Political intentions and the expression of colonial rule in photography varied. A key date is World War I. I have purposely decided to end my study in 1914, as from 1914 to 1918 on, indigenous subjects were photographed not as individuals but as soldiers fighting for France. Propaganda reflected a change in colonial rule. Propaganda photography shifted as images of indigenous Kanak revealed them as assimilated Frenchmen fighting for a common cause: to save the motherland. These photographs were intended not only for the French but for the colonised Kanak themselves. WWI is an important moment in New Caledonian history as the French were losing control over their indigenous populations. Early on, signs of dissatisfaction among the Kanak appeared. The rebellion of 1917 showed the extent of political instability in the territory. Colonial iconography echoed the break up of the French empire. Two opposing worlds started to emerge. Yet, photographs of enlisted Kanak in WWI generated a more fraternal image, presenting the 'Kanak' as a brave soldier ready to die for the homeland. Gradually the imagery of the naked savage was superseded

by that of the Kanak in French army uniforms collecting medals and dying for the liberation of France. Nevertheless, the images of colonial troops highlighted the particularity of these coloured fighters. Some military images had a 'soft' ethnographic feel, as some captions revealed African soldiers by classifying them as 'types'.



Postcard Max Shekelton collection "Soldiers from the Loyalty Islands"



The first contingent to leave New Caledonia for the war left on 23 April 1915. It included more than one thousand soldiers. A year later, 3 June 1916, the Mixed Battalion of the Pacific<sup>32</sup> was formed and included Kanak and Tahitian volunteers. While Caledonians fought in the regions of Aisne, Oise and Champagne, the Kanak participated in the second bataillon of the Marne. Some twenty two Kanak from the Loyalty Islands were even sent to Siberia on an espionage mission.<sup>33</sup>

Little by little, the context of colonial and imperial ideology in which colonial iconography developed, started to disintegrate. However, photographs taken as early as the 1880s maintained their commercial viability well into the 1920s. Only the change of format adjusting to contemporary fashion gave these images a sense of contemporaneity while the content was out of date. The audience was still eager to view stereotypes that suited their conception of 'how it was out there'. The empire was still thriving and powerful.

<sup>32</sup> Bataillon Mixte du Pacifique

<sup>33</sup> Out of the 1234 Caledonian soldiers sent to war, 185 died. Out of the 1039 Kanak soldiers, 359 died of which 140 came from the islands and 132 from the East coast. See Sylvette Boyer, PhD thesis, « De la première guerre mondiale en Océanie, Les guerres de tous les Calédoniens, 1914-1919 »

Understanding the multiple histories of a photograph, from its first conception, re-usage (trajectories) and misuse, is necessary if we want to privilege depth over breadth.

Decades of engravings in travel newspapers assisted the French in building a positive idea of the colonial enterprise. Myths of discovery, progress, conquest, courage, nationalism and civilisation in barbarian societies were illustrated through photographic records. At the end of the 1890s, France controlled a vast colonial empire which included much of eastern Polynesia, New Caledonia and in association with Britain, the New Hebrides. Iconography participated in the belief in and fantasy of holding power and controlling the indigenous populations.

New Caledonia's capital, Noumea, was built and photographed as a manifestation of colonial rule. Named Port-de-France by Tardy de Montravel, and founded on 25 June 1854, New Caledonia's capital changed its name to Noumea in 1866 to avoid confusion with Fort-de-France in Martinique. France took possession of New Caledonia on 24 September 1853 in order to strengthen the presence of French Marist priests at Balade and Pouebo. In over half a century (between 1854 and the 1920s) Noumea grew from a few wooden houses scattered between Artillery Point and Semaphore Hill, to a small town of 10 000 inhabitants in 1927. Convict labour helped to develop the city. Noumea had no local water supply so water was pumped some distance from the Yahoue and Dumbea Rivers. The cathedral was also built by convict labour in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Construction and/or physical changes in the territory were recorded as the French government understood the importance of registering its colonial muscle. Wright (1997:44) describes "the act of taking the photograph, including the physical space of its site, becomes a performance, in many ways an enactment or

---

playing out of colonial control".

The use of photography was thought essentially to record 'facts' and to exercise its manipulative impact. Photographs were believed to be less than works of art, as art was considered 'imaginative'. Photographs of vanishing indigenous people, predestined to disappear, recorded them as long-suffering beings, fragile, passing, but not heroic. After having been dispossessed, the Kanaks were indeed not photographed as heroes but as subdued by a greater power, leaving their cultural artifacts and customs as a colourful painting of their culture. Heroism was left for explorers and settlers who conquered not only the 'light' resistance of the indigenous people but also that of nature.

## **3.1. France in pre and 19<sup>th</sup> century**

Louis de Bougainville was responsible for the awakening of French ambitions in the Pacific following the expedition he led in 1768. At that time, France and the monarchy had been weakened by defeat in the Seven Years War (1756-63). The Pacific opened new doors to an imperialist government which had lost its colonies in America and sought to establish its domination elsewhere in the world. The eighteenth century was also the Age of Enlightenment in France, a society fascinated by scientific knowledge and the 'other'.

### **3.1.1. The inheritance of Rousseau and Diderot**

Mid eighteenth century France was the centre of European intellectual and cultural life as well as Europe's leading industrial power. Thanks to an increase in its colonial

commerce, French trade expanded dramatically, fostering a stronger navy. However, the British Navy reached an advantage over France of two ships of the line to one by 1750 (Woloch 1982:46). With a bigger navy, Britain won decisive victories over France in Europe as well as in empire building.

France's new ambitions to discover and conquer territories in the Pacific met head-on with 'enlightenment' ideas, thus uncovering the tensions and contradictions associated with the rise of capitalism and mass culture which were already making themselves felt at home. Discovery and exploration were important themes debated in the intellectual life of this period. By observing and investigating the accounts of other societies and nature, French thinkers started to question their own. Earlier on, Michel de Montaigne, preoccupied with the subject, described Brazilian Indians as follows:

“I think there is nothing barbarous and savage in that nation, from what I have been told, except that each man calls barbarism whatever is not his own practice; for indeed it seems we have no other test of truth or reason than the example and pattern of the opinions and customs of the country we live in.”

During the second half of the eighteenth century the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and Denis Diderot (1713-1784) displayed a manifest awareness of the negative side of "enlightenment" and "progress." Rousseau and Diderot exposed in their writings the themes of individual freedom and moral autonomy, the growth of a consumer market, alienated social relations, the split between the public and private spheres, and the appearance of commodification. They articulated their concerns over the crisis tendencies associated with capitalism and a consumer market similar to those diagnosed by the writers of the Frankfurt School. Diderot and Rousseau endorsed Montaigne's point of view. Diderot believed 'savages' had reached a higher concept of freedom than 'civilised' men. Rousseau,

on his side, claimed that private property and technological progress were at the root of an unequal and inhumane society.

In the late 1740s and early 1750s both philosophers, who were close friends, debated new and controversial ideas and deplored the low status of artisans while promoting social and intellectual change. Their paths and views diverged in the 1750s, revealing very different social and philosophical attitudes which gave birth to the most famous quarrel of the Enlightenment.

Rousseau's main purpose was to develop the individual as well as promote better social relations and mutual respect among people over the promotion of technical progress. Diderot's main goal was to stimulate technical change and economic progress.

Enlightenment anti-imperialist thinkers argued over human nature, cross-cultural moral judgements, cultural diversity and political obligations. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, a significant group of European political thinkers began to attack the imperial colonial enterprise. Yet, the philosophical and political debates condemning the hypocritical role played by European powers, the cruelties perpetrated in the new lands as well as the romanticising of the noble savage, generally decried the abuses of imperial power but not the imperial mission itself. This atmosphere will have a long-term impact on nineteenth century ideology in its empire building and in the colonial expansion to New Caledonia.

The romanticising of the noble savage in travel, literary and philosophical texts dehumanised indigenous people. Long before photography was invented, paintings and drawings were setting the pace for what photographers would bring to a much larger audience. Susan Sontag adds "The painting is not just the view of something but (like a photograph) something as viewed" (Sontag, 2002:143). Critics of the violence perpetrated

by Europeans in the New World did not however oppose the civilising mission which included economic and commercial benefits, and religious conversion. All these factors helped to trigger the imperialist conquest (and was criticised only by the postcolonial movement in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century).

The necessity and justice of imperialism as defended among political thinkers in nineteenth century France was dominated by notions of race and nation and recalled the pre-Enlightenment discourse on empire.

With Louis de Bougainville (1729-1811) embarking in the Pacific in January 1768, France could fulfil its quest to lay the foundations of power and prestige in newly discovered territories. Before Louis de Bougainville headed to the Pacific, Charles de Brosses<sup>34</sup> had been advocating the exploration of and expeditions to the Southern continent from Pondicherry or Ile de France (Mauritius), by producing the first great collection of Pacific 'Voyages' in 1756 (Salmond, 1991:307). Traditionally competing with the English and in the wake of the Dutch, Bougainville's triumphant return to France, promised the even more great French expeditions in the Pacific at the end of the century. Bougainville reached Tahiti in early April (only ten months after Wallis) which he named La Nouvelle Cythere (or New Paradise). Bougainville and the botanist/surgeon Philibert Commerson, recorded many detailed scientific notes of Tahitian customs, flora and fauna. Though the published accounts of the expedition provided valuable information for increased understanding of the Pacific, Commerson's romantic view of Tahiti was probably very much influenced by Rousseau's Noble savage. These notes reinforced stereotypical images of an idealised South Seas paradise that would last till today. The fleet then headed westward in its expedition,

---

<sup>34</sup> Member of the Dijon Academy, president of the burgundian parlement and shareholder in the French India Company

reaching the New Hebrides in May 1768.

Following Bougainville's steps, a sequence of expeditions sponsored by the state followed. In 1769 an expedition was led by Jean-François-Marie de Surville, at the same time as Cook, but going west to east. Surville set out in the St Jean-Baptiste originating from Pondicherry, India, and sailed from the Philippines into Melanesia and along the coasts of New Zealand. Jean-François-Marie de Surville was the first French explorer to reach the shores of New Zealand with the objective of giving his sick crew members a rest and to obtain fresh supplies. Pottier l'Horme of the St Jean Baptiste expedition described the Maori of 'Lauriston Bay' as:

*“fairly tall in general, without being giants; even quite small people are found, as witnessed by the one we captured. They would be well built, if they did not have legs so fleshy as to look swollen. In general their colour is not black, but a deep tan. Their faces are far from unpleasant and their features are fairly regular; I even saw some children who had charming faces and really beautiful eyes. What I say here of the men must not be applied to the women: in general they are very ugly, and if a few passable ones are to be found, they are considered beauties compared with the rest. Nevertheless I did see one pretty woman, with fairly regular features, although her eyes did not match the rest of her face.” (cited in Salmond, 1991:343)*

Recordings of newly discovered people by Europeans varied enormously. While the French on the St Jean Baptiste described in their journals Maori women being of poor morals and unattractive, the English on the Endeavour celebrated their delicate shyness. It is apparent that explorers were projecting their own fears and prejudices over newly discovered people. What is interesting is how different the French perceive Maori women compared to the English. This probably says a lot about the French and English cultures themselves. The difference in perception could also be that the English had had previous encounters with Polynesians and therefore had a better appreciation of Maori.

Banks from the Endeavour describes the Maori women :

*"their lower garments were at all times bound fast round them and they never exposed to view any thing even in the neighbourhood of those parts which nature conceals, except when they gathered lobsters and shell fish in which occupation they were frequently obliged to dive, but then they were never meant to be seen by men and when once or twice accidentally met by us showed the most evident signs of Confusion, veiling as well as they could their naked beauties with sea weed."* (cited in Solmond, 1991:344)

Which contradicts with Pottier L'Horme:

*"How is one to explain the shameless behaviour we saw them exhibit, inciting sexual arousal with the most brazen gestures, showing themselves naked at the slightest invitation, offering to let themselves be caressed in front of everyone, or to follow wherever we would like to take them. And when we made signs to say that we did not want to in front of everyone, they indicate that it was all the same to them."*(cited in Solmond, 1991:344)

We could probably explain such harsh judgements on behalf of Pottier L'Horme by referring to Susan Sontag who refers to the French 'intellectual terrorism':

*"Intellectual terrorism is a central, respectable form of intellectual practice in France- tolerated, humored, rewarded: the 'Jacobin' tradition of ruthless assertion and shameless ideological about-faces; the mandate of incessant judgment, opinion, anathematizing, overpraising; the taste for extreme positions, then casually reversed, and for deliberate provocation."* (Sontag, 2002:86)

The following expedition in 1771 saw Marc-Joseph Marion du Fresne sail from Port Louis with Ahutoru in the Mascarin and Marquis de Castries. Both expeditions disenchanted France. La Pérouse (1785-88) was a major voyage but disappeared mysteriously and its fate remained unknown until forty years.<sup>35</sup> Jean-François de Galaup known as Comte de la Pérouse made a significant contribution to French exploration of the Pacific. He led a major survey expedition into the Pacific with the personal support of King Louis XVI. Sailing from Brest in August 1785 on the 'Boussole' accompanied by the 'Astrolabe' under the

---

<sup>35</sup> A Noumea association has discovered the skeleton of one of the sailer in 2004 in Vanikoro, Salomon Islands

command of de Langle, they went from Chile in March 1786 to Easter Island then to Maui in the Hawaiian group.

Following the disappearance of La Pérouse, Antoine Raymond-Joseph de Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition was approved by Louis XVI to search for La Pérouse. D'Entrecasteaux who commanded the 'Recherche' and was accompanied by the 'Esperance' under the command of Huon de Kermadec, made several discoveries in the Louisiade Archipelago in 1793 followed by Nicolas Baudin who explored Tasmania and South Australia in 1801.

While France's interests in the Pacific remained strong though its position was weak compared to England which had already established itself in Australia in the early nineteenth century and whose zealous missionaries and whalers were becoming active and influential in the region.

### **3.1.3. The collapse of Napoleon's grand European dream: a severe blow to France's expansionist desires**

France was relinquished to fifth-ranking colonial power after the battle of Waterloo (1815) and saw its aspirations of extension massively diminish. Behind England, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands, France could no longer pretend to play a leading role in imperial Europe.

The main drive behind the Western concept of Imperialism was economic. The wars devastating France's economic strength also prevented expanding into new markets, providing opportunities for investment, and acquiring much needed raw materials. France

was also strongly motivated to civilise non-Europeans which it saw as backward and lacking sophistication. Economic and civilisation motivations were both notions shared by powerful countries such as, Britain, France and Germany which benefited industries and the militarily inducing them on a program of colonial conquest.

With the discovery of nickel in 1873 New Caledonia could fulfil France's demand for this much needed raw material. The Société le Nickel was founded in 1880 and accounts today for 80 per cent of the territory's exports. It is the world's fourth largest producer of nickel ore and has large deposits of chrome, iron, manganese and cobalt. Imperialism did not limit itself to the purchase of commodities. It entailed a profound action inflicting on the original inhabitants a western education and justice system which has proved till today unsuccessful. One could also argue that the transformation brought by the mother country includes opening to foreign merchandises, capital, engineers, overseers and emigrants. This leads the colonists to retain for a long time the tastes of the mother country, and their relations with her have a degree of intimacy which she rarely has with other nations....

The public however was for the most part completely ignorant of the territories of the French Empire, and especially of New Caledonia. Principles of its government, as well as the economic dimensions of the imperial connection were often met with indifference and ignorance.

The romantic tendencies implicit in the 18th century had become dominant by 1830 and could be found in every area of French art, from poetry to drama, novel, history, and criticism. While the novel was the most suitable genre to record social upheavals poetry also played a flamboyant role. Popular themes covered first the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, and then evolved to denounce the expansion of capitalism and the

industrial revolution. Literary giants such as Zola, Hugo and Balzac were able to criticise display in their writings the century-long conflicts which existed between reactionaries and liberals including the church and the bourgeoisie.

### **3.1.4. Turmoil and political instability**

During the 19th century, France faced political instability characterised by series of incompetent government, unrealistic wars and the founding of the Third Republic (1870). The importance of the army and the church was reduced, and separation of church and state was instituted. Around the same time, the Entente Cordiale ended colonial rivalry between France and Britain in Africa, creating a spirit of cooperation.

### **3.1.5. The Franco-Prussian war and the Commune**

The Franco-German war (1870-1871) opposed France to Prussia allied at the time to the German states of Bavaria, Sax, Wurtemberg. France declared war on July 19, 1870, following the offer of the Spanish crown to prince Leopold de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Napoléon III also hoped that going to war would bring him a new popularity. In 1870 France has no alliances and the military interventions outside of its borders from 1854 to 1867 (Crimea, China, Cochinchine, Mexico, Algeria) has left the country with only 250.000 men while Prussia has at its disposal 800.000 fighters as well as good artillery. The Emperor Napoléon III is defeated in September 1870 and surrenders to Prussia. After missed attempts Paris surrenders as well on January 28, 1871. In the peace treaty in Frankfurt on May 10, 1871 which ended in hostilities, France gave up most of Alsace and the north-eastern part of Lorraine to the German Empire and the inhabitants could only retain their nationality if they

left the area. France is also condemned to pay huge war reparations amounting to five billion gold francs.

The insurrection of the Commune starts under the new government of President Thiers. The Prussians surrounded and besieged Paris during the terrible winter of 1870-1871, beating off French armies raised in the rest of the country. Parisians suffered starvation, bombardments and disease, and balloons and pigeon post provided the only contact with the outside. Paris was surrendered and the Prussians entered the city on March 1, 1871. The Thiers government passed legislation demanding rents from Parisians and withdrawing the pay of the National Guards. The government was established at Versailles. It tried to seize the cannon belonging to the city. The insurrection in Paris began in March when the Parisians kept their cannon by force. The Commune was proclaimed on 28 March, with its seat in the Hôtel de Ville, and its symbol the red flag. A civil war was fought between the Commune and the troops of the Versailles government. May 21, 1871 the 'Versaillais' (government troops) penetrate the city and engage in bloody battles known as 'la semaine sanglante' (the bleeding week). Parisians fought in vain at barricades, and many were shot without trial. Repression followed during many months, with death sentences and deportations. The palace of the Tuileries, situated at the eastern end of the Louvre, the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, the Palais de Justice, the Finance ministry and police headquarters were burned down. One hundred and forty seven Communards were shot in the Père Lachaise cemetery, and hundreds of Communards were buried in a ditch there. Many more were shot after courts-martial. Between 20,000 and 30,000 Communards were killed, and after a further 35,000 arrests, 4,500 were deported to New Caledonia in the Pacific until their pardon and amnesty in 1879 and 1880.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> A few issues of newspapers published in Paris during the war and the Commune: *Le moniteur des Gardes nationales*, 12-15 oct. 1870, *Courrier de la guerre*, 5 and 18 sept. 1870, *La caricature politique*, fév. - mars 1871, *Caïn et Abel*, 1-3 avril 1871, and *Corsaire*, 8-16 mai 1871.



Louise Michel in a Federated suit, photography by Fontange, 1871  
Montreuil, musée de l'histoire vivante

## **3.2. The colony of New Caledonia 1853-1914**

### **3.2.1. Phantasm and political agenda: the Kanak revolt of 1878**



Satiric engraving Kanak rebels beheaded 1878 insurrection, Musée de Chartres<sup>37</sup>

The 1878 insurrection came about after years of frustration dealing with European intruders. It took over a century for the French government to formally recognize the illegal seizing of New Caledonia. Indeed the Kanaks waited until the *Noumea Accords* signed May 5, 1998 to have the authorities acknowledge the dishonest confiscation of their land:

*Lorsque la France prend possession de la Grande Terre le 24 septembre 1853, elle s'approprie un territoire selon les conditions du droit international alors reconnu par les nations d'Europe et d'Amérique, elle n'établit pas des relations de droit avec la population autochtone. Les traités passés, au cours de l'année 1854 et les années suivantes, avec les autorités coutumières, ne constituent pas des accords équilibrés mais de fait des actes unilatéraux.*

*When France takes possession of the Grande Terre on September 24, 1853, it usurpates a land according to international law then recognised by European Nations and America, and does not establish relations of rights with the indigenous population. Past treaties, during 1854 and the following years with customary authorities, do not constitute fair accords but unilateral acts.*<sup>38</sup>

Archaeologists have revealed that the Kanaks' first settlements possibly dates back 6000 years and they must have migrated from the west and north, from New Guinea and Vanuatu. To the Kanaks in the nineteenth century, there was no doubt of them originating from New Caledonia. Myths and legends related their origins back in prehistoric times. Scientists tell us that the patterns of settlement brought about isolated communities reinforced by a rugged mountain terrain which divides the main island and is known as 'la chaîne'. Disparate language groups coexisted and later Polynesian migration to Ouvéa<sup>39</sup>, added to the linguistic and cultural diversity. Kanak traditional society was based on an agricultural economy, in which the cultivation of the yam played a significant symbolic and social function.

Following the passing through of explorers, further contact with Europeans continued. From the 1840s the whaling trade moved into Melanesia, opening up a labour market in the Loyalty Islands. In Melanesia the development of the labour trade was overwhelmingly a male affair. Intensive labour was also required to extract and process commodities which commanded high prices in East Asia, particularly sandalwood and beche de mer. The sandalwood trade made its initial impact between 1804 and 1830 in Fiji, Marquesas, Cook Islands and Hawaii, and by the late 1820s in New Hebrides. The trade revived between the early 1840s and mid 1860s in New Caledonia, New Hebrides and Solomon Islands. Chiefs and big men were important in raising and controlling the necessary labour force, in return

---

<sup>37</sup> Henri Rivière, *Souvenirs de la Nouvelle Calédonie*, 1988 p. 213

<sup>38</sup> My own translation

<sup>39</sup> The northern island of the Loyalty Islands

receiving trade goods, particularly guns. As the sandalwood trade shifted into Melanesia, the role of European labour recruiters increased. The first recruitment of southern Melanesian labour for Queensland in the 1860s developed from the hiring of gangs for the sandalwood trade.

The beche de mer trade lasted from 1804 in Fiji, 1812 in Hawaii and from 1814 in the Marquesas, up to the 1820s and was then revived between the 1830s and 1840s when there was a slump in the sandalwood trade. By the 1860s and 1870s the beche de mer trade had moved to Torres Strait and the southern coast of New Guinea.

The French introduced labour regulations, land reserves and restricted mobility; and imposed a head tax system in New Caledonia to help harness local labour to their enterprises and especially to mining. Disruptions to the Kanak way of life due to these progressive and continuous movements of population were further enhanced by the political agenda the French had in wanting to have a stronghold in this newly acquired territory.

French authorities recognise their responsibility is ostracising the Kanaks on their own land:

*Les Kanak ont été repoussés aux marges idéographiques, économiques et politiques de leur propre pays, ce qui ne pouvait chez un peuple fier et non dépourvu de traditions guerrières, que provoquer des révoltes, lesquelles ont suscité des expressions violentes, aggravant les ressentiments et les incompréhensions.<sup>40</sup>*

*The Kanak were pushed to ideographic, economic and political margins in their own country, which could only provoke – in people who are proud and non deprived of traditional wars - rebellions, bringing about violent expressions, worsening the resentments and incomprehension.<sup>41</sup>*

---

<sup>40</sup> *Préambule de l'Accord de Nouméa signé le 5 mai 1998*

<sup>41</sup> My own translation

The Kanak rose against their French colonists in a desperate and ultimately tragic revolution in 1878. The insurrection was driven by the drought of 1877. In a meeting with the Governor, Olry, the rebel leader Atai acted out a graphic explanation of his people's grievances. He carried with him two sacks, the contents of which he emptied at the Frenchman's feet. The first contained soil. 'This', said Atai, 'is what we had before you came'. The second contained pebbles. 'And this is what we have now'. By June of 1878 Atai's rebellion was over after a slash and burn policy had reduced hundreds of Kanak villages to ash. Atai himself was captured and decapitated, his head sent back to Paris as a trophy of war.

The frustration experienced by the Kanaks in the colonisation process, seeing their land confiscated and their authority diminished to reserves, was increased tensions between the two communities. According to Admiral Bergasse du Petit-Thouars's letter dating May 22, 1879, it was felt by some that the causes for this rebellion needed to be properly addressed. Admiral Bergasse stated the lack of respect the French had shown to the Kanaks, (and the constant humiliations they faced), was the result for the 1878 uprising.<sup>42</sup>

*« Quand à l'insurrection canaque elle a été des plus graves, et Mry(?) a rendu à son pays un service de tout ordre qu'on ne reconnaît pas assez à mon avis. Rendre Pritzbuere<sup>43</sup> responsable de ce qui s'est passé après serait injuste et absurde, toute fois la révolte a été la résultante d'une série de vexations d'injustices, comme aussi de faiblesses vis-à-vis des canaques et ces causes d'insurrection existaient depuis longtemps. Ces gens-là ne nous craignaient pas, nous méprisaient et nous détestaient; de fait, l'île n'était pas conquise ».*<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> His letter was written in the South of Tahiti and on his way to Peru:

“Je vous écris assez loin, dans le Sud de Tahiti. Si nous étions encore au temps des dieux marins, il y en aurait bien sur qui se dérangeraient pour nous voir passer, car assurément la “Victorieuse” n’était pas faite pour courir ces aventures, et rien ne ressemble moins à un cyclone que cette lourde caraque!”

<sup>43</sup> Governor of New Caledonia

<sup>44</sup> Bergasse du Petit-Thouars Amiral, Lettre de l’amiral Bergasse du Petit-Thouars, 22 mai 1879. Aquisition, 1J20. Archives Nouméa

*Regarding the kanak insurrection, it was very serious, and Mr Orly has been of most service to his country, which I do not believe he is recognised enough for. To make Pritzbuier responsible for what happened would be unjust and absurd, however, the insurrection has been the result of a sequence of unjust humiliations, as well as being repetitively weak towards the kanaks and the reasons for the insurrection had been there for a long time. These people were not afraid of us, they despised us; for this reason the island was not conquered.<sup>45</sup>*

The fantasy the French had of operating a colony which demonstrated very little resistance proved wrong. Admiral Bergasse du Petit-Thouars brings to our attention the critical role played by colonial institutions instead of only focusing on ‘personalities’ like the administration did. Colonial institutions had not adapted to dealing with the difficulties New Caledonia represented as a new colony. Even today one can wonder if the French institutions based in the territory best served the interest of the Kanaks. When I taught at the local high school Petro Attiti in 2001, it seemed fairly obvious that the French education system was and is still today proving not to address the needs of the Kanak students. The very low numbers of Kanak graduating from high school highlights this ongoing problem. French institutions in the Pacific in the nineteenth century were also not adapted to the special needs of the settlers. The rigidity of these institutions is still present today and amending them to give them a more local flavour is very difficult. For example, for the Noumea Accord, the French constitution had to be amended as under the French Republic there could be no New Caledonian specificity. This is a similar debate to the Islamic 'headscarf' issue in metropolitan public schools. France is not a community organised society.

Amiral Bergasse du Petit-Thouars explained the inefficiency of French institutions.

Words that are still valid today :

*Aujourd'hui tous les échafaudages de colonisation à grand orchestre, de banque, de nickel, sont par terre – la situation est bien simple: il faudrait donc se demander, ce qu'on veut, et surtout du passé*

---

<sup>45</sup> My own translation

*conclure ce qu'on peut. On m'a à plusieurs reprises demandé de dire tout ce que je pense de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, et je ne m'en suis pas gêné – malheureusement dans notre pays, tout tourne à la personnalité, et jamais on ne veut s'en prendre aux institutions.*<sup>46</sup>

*Today all the large scale structures of colonisation, of banks, nickel, are all down – the situation is really simple: we should really ask ourselves what we want and especially conclude from the past what we can. Several times I have been asked to speak my mind about New Caledonia, and I was not shy about it – unfortunately in our country, everything revolves around personality, and never does one confront institutions.*<sup>47</sup>

Institutions are direct reflections of policies established by government. In 19<sup>th</sup> century New Caledonia, they had a direct influence in the setting and framework of what was to be photographed.

This is a contemporary problem as Susan Sontag illustrated in her analysis of the Abu Ghraib images. To her, "the issue is not whether a majority or a minority of Americans performs such acts but whether the nature of the policies prosecuted by this administration and the hierarchies deployed to carry them out makes such acts likely" (Sontag, *What Have We Done?*, 2004). The colonial government in Noumea set the parameters of what was acceptable and the individual (ie the photographer) followed accordingly. Nineteenth New Caledonian photographers had very similar approaches in their selections of content. At times 'private' or 'professional' photographers covered stories on behalf of the French government. This was the case for Alan Hughan who documented the convicts.

Following her interpretation of photographs representing 'us', Sontag adds that photographs are "representative of distinctive policies and of the fundamental corruptions of colonial rule. The Belgians in the Congo, the French in Algeria, committed identical atrocities and practiced torture and sexual humiliation on despised, recalcitrant natives". The French in New Caledonia probably committed similar violence and should the

---

<sup>46</sup> Bergasse du Petit-Thouars Amiral, Lettre de l'amiral Bergasse du Petit-Thouars, 22 mai 1879. Aquisition, 1J20. Archives Nouméa

administration in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had had easy access to a camera like today, maybe would they have recorded their idea of 'victory'. Colonial rule allows corruption, although not openly. Behaviour does change according to situations of power which is reinforced in order to subjugate the 'inferior other'.

The 1878 Kanak insurrection received attention in metropolis France thanks to the famous Louise Michel who was deported among other Communard to New Caledonia. Louise Michel actively supported the Kanak rebellion, defending the same ideals of liberty and dignity she had done during the Commune. She was not followed by the overwhelming majority of her co-patriots (the deported Communard) who supported the French government and the colonists and helped in the putting down of the rebellion.

Louise Michel wrote in her *Mes Mémoires et Légendes et chants de gestes canaques*: "The hope of liberty and bread was in the hearts of the Kanaks. They rebelled in 1878 seeking liberty and dignity ... the same liberty we had sought in the Commune."

Louise Michel's support for the indigenous Kanak and interest in Kanak oral culture can also be attributed to her acquaintance from an early age with oral songs and legends from her native Haute-Marne. She was probably conscious and sensitive to the rich cultural holdings of oral tradition and aware that they would disappear if not recorded. She probably identified with the Kanak as she relied herself on spoken words as a primary mode of communication. Indeed, Louise Michel understood very quickly the importance of being a good orator which brought her a socially significant role in defending the oppressed.

In Alice Bullard in *Exile to Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific* makes an interesting connection between the political deportees and the Kanaks in New Caledonia. She identifies the degree to which Communards and Kanaks

---

<sup>47</sup> My own translation

were both viewed as 'savages' needing to be transformed into civilised beings. The Communards were considered by the emerging government of the Third Republic as savage destructors of civilisation sent to the distant colony of New Caledonia home to the local Kanak savages. Bullard describes the meeting of the 'political savages' and the 'natural savages' and analyses the moral concept of the Third Republic and its belief that the Communards could export civilisation to New Caledonia. The return to France of the political prisoners and their assimilation back into society shows how these 'savages' re-integrated the civilised world which the Kanak never succeeded to. I believe that this comparison is solely metaphoric. In images it is clear that the comparison stops there. There were no communards were photographed as 'savages'. It was their mind that was questioned but not their integrity as a person. The way they dressed, though poor, was still European. There was no need to undress them and portray them as 'animally savaged'.

The making of history and writing about the Kanak insurrection of 1878 is constantly evolving. How the elderly Kanak tell the story that has been passed on from their ancestors as well as how it is orally transmitted brings different versions to the same event. In the recently published book of Michel Millet *1878: Carnets de campagne en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, the gap between victims and story tellers is obvious. The first section called 'La Guerre d'Atai' was recorded by Alban Bensa in 1973. It is a story told by Téa Henri Wênêmuu. It is the memory of the Kanaks. The second section of the book is notes taken by Michel Millet when he was sent to New Caledonia to fight as a simple artilleryman. He witnesses burnt huts in villages, murdered settlers, Kanak heads chopped off... A similar event, yet different stories.

It is interesting to note that the pictures collected by Michel Millet and still in possession of his descendants are mostly photographs by Alan Hughan. They are well known images that were circulating in Noumea. Millet probably went to purchase 'his

collection' at Alan Hughan's photographic store. We can assume that Millet was himself an amateur photographer. His descendants have a photograph of his room in Noumea, showing his collection posted on the wall. No other images were found.

The 1998 Noumea Accord has appealed for the acknowledgment of 'the shadows of the colonial period'. How this will occur is still being debated. At the Pacific History Association in Koné, New Caledonia in December 2004 emerged a lack of common basis for making history among academics. The anthropologist Bronwen Douglas suggested there could be 'several' histories, a Kanak one and a Caldoche one. However, if the country is wanting to build a peaceful future and defining a New Caledonian identity, citizenship, one common history needs to be written that satisfies all parties.





ANC Album Robin – de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 41  
E. Robin "*Poindalou près Gatope*", 1867.

13,8x18,1 cm

### 3.2.2. European free settlers: a multicultural and heterogenous setting



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 44  
E. de Greslan "*Ferme Pion et Albaret à Canala*",  
entre le 21 octobre 1866 et le 25 février 1867.

16,6x11,3 cm

The obvious wealth that one sees when wondering the streets of Noumea in 2005 (the capital holds more yachts per head than any other island in the Pacific) is no reflection of the beginning of the colony of New Caledonia. Settlers who came in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries came essentially from poor backgrounds. Men and women wanting to improve their lives, obtain a better life that the French government was promising. The destination was far away yet hope to return to the mother country close to impossible. There was often nothing to return to.

It would be misleading to convey an idea of homogeneity among settlers. The proximity with Australia which was rapidly expanding economically and technologically meant that movements between the two colonies were more frequent than between New

Caledonia and the métropole. This bonding has only increased and in the most recent years with the twinning of Nouméa and Brisbane. Many New Caledonians identify more with Australia today than they do with Paris. It is a way of life more than cultural values that attract Caledonians.

Many English settled in New Caledonia, at least for some time. Alan Hughan, probably New Caledonia's most prolific 19<sup>th</sup> photographer, was among one of them. Free settlers came from all over France and brought with them local customs and beliefs. Although France had been heavily centralised since Louis XIV, regional specificities in 19<sup>th</sup> century France were still strong.

European free settlers included missionaries and adventurers as well. Each brought their own motivations and aspirations. Without knowing it, they were setting the basis of a new identity, creating a new country, bringing rapid changes as they were free of many traditional constraints left at home.



Archives NC 106Fi133 Album Robert Laubreaux

This a beautiful picture of three Alsatian women dressed in their traditional dress and toque<sup>48</sup> which was taken in Nouméa. The heavy clothing would have been totally inappropriate to the New Caledonian climate. Unfortunately we do not have any records of what the Kanaks would have thought of these charming Alsacienne women.

These women show the importance settlers gave to bringing their roots and identity to New Caledonia. It is possible that this need was accentuated by the distance separating settlers and their land of origin.

---

<sup>48</sup> Traditional Alsatian hat

With migrants coming from metropolitan France and its regions, from France's overseas territories and from surrounding new colonies in the Asia/Pacific region, it is not surprising that each community tried to hold on to its cultural specificity.



#### Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie 1Num10-35

Colonial institutions and New Caledonia's dependence on France helped to retain control. Recognising cultural diversity was not in 19<sup>th</sup> century France part of the social and political agenda. In the Noumea Accord, the French government recognises its inability at the time, as a colonial empire, to acknowledge the specificities making up New Caledonia:

*Des hommes et des femmes sont venus, en grand nombre aux 19 et 20ème siècles, convaincus d'apporter le progrès, animés par leur foi religieuse, venus contre leur gré ou cherchant une seconde chance en Nouvelle-Calédonie. Il s'y sont installés et ont fait souche. Ils ont apporté avec eux leurs idéaux, leurs connaissances, leurs espoirs, leurs ambitions, leurs illusions et leurs contradictions.*

*(...)*

*La relation de la Nouvelle-Calédonie avec la métropole lointaine est demeurée longtemps marquée par la dépendance coloniale, un lien univoque, un refus de reconnaître les spécificités, dont les populations nouvelles ont aussi souffert dans leurs aspirations.<sup>49</sup>*

---

<sup>49</sup> Préambule de l'Accord de Nouméa signé le 5 mai 1998

*Men and women have come in large numbers in the 19th and 20th century, convinced they were bringing progress, liven up by their religious faith, brought against their will or having come to have a second go in New Caledonia. They settled and founded families. They brought with them their ideals, knowledge, hopes, ambitions, illusions and their contradictions. (...)*

*The relationship between New Caledonia and the far away metropolis has remained for a long time one of colonial dependency, a univocal link, a refusal to recognise the specificities of which the new populations also suffered from in their aspirations.<sup>50</sup>*

Much of today's debate still revolves around the large numbers of settlers coming to New Caledonia. Who will vote in the referendum for an independent New Caledonia, in other words the legitimate electorate, is still questioned by many Kanaks. The government is vague on this issue, and the flow of French (or European) migrants to the Pacific island is not under control. Alain Christnacht, High Commissioner to New Caledonia and special adviser to Michel Rocard,<sup>51</sup> recently acknowledged at a conference<sup>52</sup> that there was no legal undertaking on behalf of the French government to prevent new settlement. He reinforced that migrants could potentially create new employment in a country with very high unemployment rates. My next question followed on to find out if there was a system in place that could select such migrants. The answer I got was negative. With the Accord de Nouméa, the French Government has come to the closest it ever has in admitting past wrongs. However, it does seem like history is repeating itself. In its immigration policies, the government does not recognise different rights to the Kanaks from its French citizen living in the métropole.

And yet the preamble of the Accords does identify the suffering of the Kanaks:

*Une importante colonisation foncière a entraîné des déplacements considérables de population, dans lesquels des clans kanak ont vu leurs moyens de subsistance réduits et leurs lieux de mémoire perdus. Cette dépossession a conduit à une perte des repères identitaires. (...)*

---

<sup>50</sup> My own translation

<sup>51</sup> Formally Prime Minister during the Matignon Accords in 1988

<sup>52</sup> Conference at DEFAP (Département Evangélique Français d'Action Apostolique, January 21, 2005.

*Les mouvements de population l'ont déstructurée, la méconnaissance ou des stratégies de pouvoir ont conduit trop souvent à nier les autorités légitimes et à mettre en place des autorités dépourvues de légitimité selon la coutume, ce qui a accentué le traumatisme identitaire.*

*Simultanément le patrimoine artistique kanak était nié ou pillé.<sup>53</sup>*

*An important colonisation over land has brought considerable relocations of the people, in which some kanak clans have seen their means of subsistence reduced to and their place of memory lost. This dispossession has led to a loss of identity marks. (...)*

*Movements of the populations have deconstructed it, failure of recognition or strategies of power have too often led to deny the legitimate authorities and to put in place the authorities deprived of legitimacy according to the custom. This has accentuated the identity trauma.*

*Consequently, the artistic inheritance was denied or looted.<sup>54</sup>*

The 1878 insurrection was later followed by the rebellion of 1917 when Kanaks were being enrolled to fight in WWI under the French flag. Not only were Kanaks not recognised as citizens, they left gave their blood to a war that had no meaning to them. They will need to wait for the Noumea Accords to be formally recognised and acknowledged for participating in WWI:

*A cette négation des éléments fondamentaux de l'identité kanak se sont ajoutées des limitations aux libertés publiques et une absence de droits politiques, alors même que les Kanak avaient payé un lourd tribut à la défense de la France, notamment lors de la première guerre mondiale.*

*Not only denied from their fundamental Kanak identity, the Kanaks experienced limited public liberty and an absence of political rights, although the Kanak had paid a heavy toll for defending France, essentially during the First World War.*

Former French colonies have also been acknowledged recently for WWI and WWII. The Harki, indigenous Algerians who fought for France against their brothers, established

---

<sup>53</sup> Préambule de l'Accord de Nouméa signé le 5 mai 1998

<sup>54</sup> My own translation

themselves in France after colonial France lost its former. Only today their contribution to the war has been recognised.

## **3.3. The Kanak: defining indigeneity**

*"L'exactitude n'est pas la vérité"<sup>55</sup> Matisse*

### **3.3.1. Prior to European contact**

The first settlements of Kanaks (which possibly date back 6000 years) probably migrated from New Guinea and Vanuatu. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the indigenous population is estimated at 60000. History and the formation of the islands of New Caledonia were transmitted among clans and tribes through oral myths and legends. In 1952 scientific findings altered all of this.

The discoveries conducted by Professor Gifford<sup>56</sup> with the assistance of R. Shutler Jr. on the northwest coast of the *Grande Terre*<sup>57</sup> gave birth to what has come to be known as Lapita.<sup>58</sup> "Lapita," refers to the first human settlement of remote Oceania (a period far older than the then-supposed date of first human colonisation of the Pacific<sup>59</sup>). At a beach excavation the archeologists called "Site 13", near the Foué peninsula (Northern Province),

---

<sup>55</sup> Exactness is not truth (my own translation)

<sup>56</sup> University of California at Berkeley (Archeology)

<sup>57</sup> New Caledonia's main island

<sup>58</sup> The local Kanak tribes were also involved in the project 50 years ago

<sup>59</sup> Thought to be around 3,000 years ago

pottery shards bearing particular dentate stamped motifs were excavated.<sup>60</sup> The word Lapita is a transliteration of the indigenous name heard in the local Havéké language which literally means “the place where you dig holes”.<sup>61</sup> According to Christophe Sand the word 'lapita' was probably linked to yam fields found on the site where locals were digging holes to plant their yams.

This scientific discovery has allowed to further identify Kanak linkage with its surrounding neighbours since dentate stamped shards have been discovered in more than 100 shoreline sites extending from New Guinea to Western Polynesia. Lapita sites were later discovered in Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Fiji and Tonga, covering a maritime distance of over 4,000 km. The name of the original discovery's location, Lapita, became the trademark of this common style in the whole area of Melanesia and Polynesia. The Lapita phenomenon added evidence to what is now a widely accepted theory that Asian canoe-sailing people populated the Pacific. Studies of the changes in the pottery's stamped patterns over time helped track the pathways of the Pacific's original colonisers as they made their way across vast ocean distances (Crane, *Lapita's 50 Years*, 2002:32).

The discovery of the Lapita site has had important repercussions on the local Kanak population as the foreign European scientific community 'helped' in defining their history and indigeneity as well as it revolutionised previous beliefs.

The scientific conference that took place in Nouméa in August 2002 celebrated the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the original discovery. The conference included a visit to local sites near Koné.<sup>62</sup> The gathering was an evocative moment of sharing and exchange between Kanaks,

---

<sup>60</sup> Pacific archaeologists in the 1960s started labeling this type of pottery by the name of Site 13

<sup>61</sup> Translation by Christophe Sand, New Caledonian Museum's archaeology department head (Interview August 2002, Nouméa)

<sup>62</sup> 260km from Nouméa

other Melanesian and Polynesian representatives and archaeologists. The very emotional presentation of congratulations and gifts shows a turn in relationships between the scientific world and indigenous people. Professor Patrick Kirch described it as a unique gathering: “it’s the first time I’ve seen that in my 30 years of work in the Pacific. I think it was really a unique moment when traditional, indigenous people come together with archeologists.”<sup>63</sup>

In the Baye tribe (where excavations also took place in 1952), sites in the area include pre-colonial Kanak dwellings, horticultural structures along the Tiwaka River (taro ponds, raised fields) and petroglyph sites. Those sites are numerous in New Caledonia and have been qualified as Kanak cultural entities where people today find their roots even if they are distant.<sup>64</sup> The three islands of the Loyalty Islands<sup>65</sup> are also rich in archaeological sites. Maré Island (the most southern of the Loyalty Islands) has megalithic fortifications, Lapita sites and a Cultural Center. Lifou Island (the largest of the three islands and north of Maré) has numerous Rock-shelters, prehistoric burial sites and Lapita sites.

The importance of the participation of indigenous scientists is today essential. Patrick Kirch<sup>66</sup> emphasized "the correlation between the richness of oral tradition and the accuracy of archaeology as a science"<sup>67</sup>. Establishing a correspondence with oral traditions to better understand history is essential and goes in line with the political agenda of the *reconnaissance de la culture Kanak* (Kanak cultural acknowledgment).

---

<sup>63</sup> Interview for SBS Radio, August 2002 in Nouméa

<sup>64</sup> Interview for SBS Radio with Christophe Sand, New Caledonian Museum’s archaeology department head (Interview August 2002, Nouméa)

<sup>65</sup> Located to the east of *Grande Terre*

<sup>66</sup> Professor and archaeologist from UC Berkeley

<sup>67</sup> Interview of Patrick Kirch for SBS Radio, August 2002 in Nouméa

The photographs taken in 1952 by Gifford during the excavations travelled among Kanak tribes and in Nouméa in 2002. This symbolically returned the Lapita discoveries to the indigenous population and allowed Kanaks to 'rediscover' their ancestors.

### **3.3.2. Forced labour or contract labour?**

Kanaks were not protected by French common law (voted by decree) and were limited to three hectares of land per person. The French government steadily seized the most fertile land areas which led to the 1878 insurrection (see chapter 3.2.1.). In retribution to French colonists being massacred, the administration led fierce reprisals upon the Kanaks including the destruction of Melanesian villages and confinement of the people in reserves. The second rebellion of 1917 was further driven from land alienations and crop damage caused by cattle. Harsh wartime recruitment also played a major role in the discontentment of colonial rule by the Kanaks. While French nationals were subject to the general call-up, Polynesian and Melanesian volunteers joined them to serve in various theatres of war.

Land in the Loyalty Islands was dealt differently than on the *Grande Terre*. First, the French government did not seize control of the Loyalty Islands before the 1870s (compared to annexing New Caledonia in 1853) experiencing difficulty to diminish English religious and commercial influences. The three islands were declared 'native reserves' in 1900 due, mainly, to its lack of natural resources. The Loyalty Islands were spared of the difficulty in dealing with land issues the *Grande Terre* faced especially after the *événements* (the events) of 1984.

The supply of labour reflected the availability within reserves, determined not only by coercive forces but also reflecting the willingness of islanders to participate in contract

labour. Forced labour obtained by outright coercion occurred, historians estimate, in about 10-15 per cent of the Melanesian labour trade. The whole recruiting system could never have been successful without the support of local indigenous leaders who aided and assisted in the process, gaining considerable personal benefit in the process. This coopted elite largely distributed their new wealth in traditional ways, benefiting mainly from enhanced prestige.

Kanaks were not allowed to leave their reserves before 1946 and voting rights were not granted before in 1951. At this time, secondary education was offered for the first time to the Kanaks as the colonial administration had renounced to their education and social welfare leaving Christian missions to look after them.

Melanesians in Fiji and New Caledonia's *Grande Terre* did not participate in the external labour trade. However, Loyalty Islanders were recruited in what was to be known in the Pacific as 'blackbirding'.

### 3.3.3. Blackbirding and the Kanakas



Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie Album Kanakas No.2

Loyalty Islanders were part of the group of Melanesians recruited to work in the sugar canes of Queensland in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a phenomenon better known as Blackbirding. These islanders that settled in Australia were named for a long time ‘Kanakas’. It remained a pejorative name for many generations but has now been reappropriated by their descendants before its official recognition by the Australian authorities.

Around 62 000 men and women from the Loyalty Islanders were recruited between the early 1860s and 1904 to work as cheap labour for the emerging sugar industry in Queensland. Blackbirding heavily included men and women from neighbouring islands such as the Salomons and the New Hebrides. Though contracts expired after three years involving the return of the Kanakas to their islands, many chose to remain in Australia and renew their contracts. In 1870 a new wave of Loyalty Islanders set foot on the Torres islands for the London Missionary Society.



Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie Kanakas No. 10

Registre des arrivées d'Insulaires de Lifou à Maryborough, le 25 juin 1871

Register of arrivals of Lifou Islanders to Maryborough, 25 June 1871

**POLYNESIAN LABOURERS ACT, CLAUSE 10.**

9

REGISTER of POLYNESIAN LABOURERS arrived in Maryborough on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1871 per Ship Mary Campbell  
 Name of Recruiting Agent G. P. Maxwell Name of Master J. Shaddock  
 Name of Recruiting Agent J. Shaddock (Agent)  
 (To be made up from the Certificates and Agreements, and a Copy sent to Immigration Agent with the Certificate, No.)

NO.	NAME.	FROM.	AGENCY—NAME OF EMPLOYER, RESIDENCE, AND DATE OF AGREEMENT.	REMARKS.
1	Nawron	Lifou	W. G. Ferguson Agent for C. J. Walker	
2	Pelloway		26 June 1871 Agent for C. J. Walker	
3	Betty		'Mary Ann' Agent for C. J. Walker	
4	Shiget		Agent for B. DeLidant	
5	Chemeth		Self	
6	Samba			
7	Etory		Agent for C. J. Walker	
8	Widow		Agent for B. DeLidant	
9	Miswaya		Agent for C. J. Walker	
10	Comiss		Self	
11	Enakim		Self	
12	Kelley		James Duncan Agent for William C. White	
13	Leitha		W. G. Ferguson Agent for C. J. Walker	
14	Wina		26 June 1871 Self	
15	Wapiad		'Mary Ann' Self	
16	Peta		Self	
17	Uley		Agent for C. J. Walker	
18	Harinnie		Agent for B. DeLidant	
19	Camroka		Self	
20	Witch		Agent for C. J. Walker	
21	Mallow		Self	
22	Katchin		James Duncan Agent for J. L. Bogild	
23	Lohea		26 June 1871 Agent for Cunningham & McEwen	
24	Naminor		'Maryborough' Self	
25	Wasomie		Agent for Charles Hager	
26	Eponat		Agent for B. DeLidant	
27	Chapoadu		Agent for Charles Hager	
28	Samical		Agent for B. DeLidant	
29	Maw		Agent for Charles Hager	
30	Atlia		Agent for J. L. Bogild	
31	Amoonie		Agent for Cunningham & McEwen	
32	Fovis		Agent for B. DeLidant	

Source : Les Archives de l'État du Queensland, Brisbane, JOL neg. 186444

Source: Queensland State Archives, Brisbane, JOL neg. 186444

Published in catalogue "Across the Coral Sea, Loyalty Islanders in Queensland » 2001

In 1906-1908 following the white Australian policy around 7000 island workers were taken by force back to their native islands while it is believed another 4500 were allowed to stay among whom Loyalty Islanders.



#### Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie Kanakas No. 12

Photographs were taken of the Kanakas working in the sugar canes, many are in the collections of the John Oxley library in Brisbane. In 2001, sixty photographic reproductions were exhibited at the Bernheim library in Noumea following the initiative of the Australian consulate of New Caledonia. This exhibition named « Embarquement pour le Queensland – Des Loyaltiens en terre australienne »<sup>68</sup>, allowed to locate several families such as: the Mann, Choppee, Lui, Thaiday, Wacando and George Lifu.<sup>69</sup> Kanakas descendants travelled to Noumea and were able to meet family members. This was the case of one of my student from Lifou who encountered unknown relatives for the first time. I brought in copies of

---

<sup>68</sup> Embarking for Queensland – Loyalty Islanders on Australian land (my own translation)

<sup>69</sup> Les Nouvelles Caledoniennes, “*Sur les traces des Kanakas*”, 21/06/2004, 3.

those images in class at the local high school Petro Attiti to discuss blackbirding and get feedback from students who some were directly implied. Suddenly learning English (this was the subject I was teaching) became relevant to the students as Kanakas descendants present for the exhibition did not speak French and English became the language of communication.

A booklet was published for the exhibition, listing names of Loyalty Islanders embarked to Queensland, stating the date and origin of the recruited labour. As I passed on the booklet in class, the curiosity arouse among students keen to see if they could find any family members. Lifou, Maré and Ouvéa students were picked on in a teasing way by their classmates, laughing as the other Kanak students from the Grande Terre did not feel directly concerned.<sup>70</sup>



Archives Oxley Brisbane Kanakas No. 35

Talking about the event of Blackbirding in class remained an unclear event for most students, something they could not directly access and that was in a past that remained inaccessible. Bringing in class these 19<sup>th</sup> century images positioned the historical specificity of Blackbirding while reactivating the dramatic event played out. Edwards says “photography is integral to this process of articulation, it inserts the specific moment of ‘experience’, that element which is so often lacking in historical writing, into the historical consciousness by the very act of making it visible (Edwards, 1995:49). The students’ immediate reaction was the condemnation of the harsh life these Kanakas must have had which to them showed through in the photographs. The recurring comments from the students involved how sad, tired, abused, the Kanakas looked as they were made visible and conscious through the focus of photography. We were able to reevaluate and renegotiate the historical content in drawing parallels with today’s current political situation in New Caledonia. As “blackbirding” was initiated by Australia, students queried past and present labour conditions in Queensland. These 19<sup>th</sup> century photographs provoked inquisitive comments of a specific and dramatic moment of their history which text would have probably not allowed. I noticed that students in general but more specifically Kanak and Wallisian students were much more drawn to visuals than text.

The photographs of the Kanakas donated by the John Oxley library were also exhibited in Lifou. This event gave rise to the creation of the Easo museum at the Easo tribe in Lifou allowing all tribal members and hence descendants to have direct access to the images and be presented as Barthes says “with an authenticated past, drawn in full detail of its nuanced surfaces, in a way which is uniquely photographic (Barthes 1977:44-45; 1984:89).

---

<sup>70</sup> On top of this particular event, I had realised that students coming from the islands were often teased by classmates.



John Oxley Library, Kanakas Jol neg. 2252- Sugar plantation in Bingera near Bundaberg, around 1898

The repatriation of these photographs also brought the initiative to bring youngsters from the Rivière Salée<sup>71</sup> to Australia in order to find and get in contact with the Kanakas in Queensland. The association “Ombres et Lumières”<sup>72</sup> under the direction of Pierre Boerreou was trained in photography and video in order to investigate their findings which were later published in the local *Nouvelles Calédoniennes*.<sup>73</sup> The ten youngsters recorded interviews with the descendants of the South Sea Highlanders essentially in

---

<sup>71</sup> Working class neighbourhood of Noumea

<sup>72</sup> Shadows and Light

Brisbane. According to Pierre Borereou interviewing was delicate as blackbirding remains a painful episode for many people and he was not convinced they would easily open and share their stories.<sup>74</sup> While conducting their investigation, the youngsters used photography and video to record the culture of the Kanakas. Georgette Toulangui explained that visuals would help to record the Kanakas's customs and how they do the 'bougna'<sup>75</sup> as well as comparing the rites and customs of Loyalty Islanders from Australia and those from New Caledonia focusing on what was lost and what was kept.<sup>76</sup> The young photographers from the Rivière Salée are finally recording the specificity of a particular group (the descendants of the Kanakas), a very similar approach that was conducted by 19<sup>th</sup> century photographers.

## 3.4. Photographers

*"Photography has become art's most mortal enemy... It is time, then, for it to return to its true duty, which is to be the servant of the sciences and the arts – but a very humble servant, like printing or shorthand which have neither created nor supplemented literature" – Baudelaire, 1859.*

In 1851, the Société héliographique was the first photography association created in France which is set up to encourage the integration of science and the arts. The Historic Monument Commission puts in place the "Mission Héliographique" which represents the first photographic order by the State. Five leading French photographers were chosen: Edouard Baldus, Hippolyte Bayard, Gustave Le Gray, Henri Le Secq et Mestral. The same year, Louis-Désiré Blanquart-Evrard creates the first photographic printing house in Loos-Lès-Lille.

---

<sup>73</sup> Local daily newspaper

<sup>74</sup> Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes, "Sur les traces des Kanakas", 21/06/2004, p.2.

<sup>75</sup> Local Kanak dish

<sup>76</sup> Les Nouvelles Caledoniennes, "Sur les traces des Kanakas", 21/06/2004, p.2.

While France was experiencing the booming events linked to the discovery of the new medium, two years later, in 1853, the Government had added New Caledonia to its colonial territories. Nouméa with its few hundred inhabitants is far from competing with bursting mid century Paris. However, photographers were emerging in the colony. Navigators, government representatives, adventurers, missionaries and professional photographers were all unconsciously contributing to the historic records of New Caledonia.



Self portrait around 1900 (reproduction of a document which hasn't been localised)



### **3.4.1. The non established: adventurers and navigators**

In France at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, landscape and nature photography was well sought after. Starting in 1871, editors of photographic prints which were directed to artists and amateurs were multiplied when gelatino bromure plates were prepared industrially. Charles Famin was one of the most reknown photographers at the time and specialised in rustic landscapes of which the painter Millet had started the fashion and Taupin for details of leaves of plants and bushes. In the US the conquest of the west gave birth to a vast geographical and geological enquiry which was endorsed by the military. Timothy O'Sullivan and William Jackson which were trained mostly from reporting the Civil War, worked on glass plates, sometimes huge ones and revealed sites which had not yet been itemised in this part of the continent. William Notman was to do the same in British Columbia in Canada.

Photographic records taken of the Pacific were also aimed at disclosing unknown lands to a public eager to discover "the progress" made by adventurers and navigators in these distant lands. Sailors were often priviledged amateur photographers landing in 'untouched' areas.

One of the photographic precursor of Oceania was Léon Armand (1835-1922). Son of a sailor himself, and writer for the navy, he arrived to Oceania as early as February 1856. First based in Tahiti (1859-1868) he established himself in Nouméa in 1868 where he stayed till January 1883. As Tahiti and New Caledonia were administrated together, Armand split his military activities between both. According to Kakou (1998:32) Armand prepared himself his negatives (collondion) format 13x18cm. In his album 'Album Mathieu' Armand took two views of Port-de-France. He is believed to have been the first photographer of Port-de-France.

Armand also photographed two historical figures: Quindo and Bérard. Quindo, the traditional chief and holder of the land on which Port-de-France was built. Bérard was a settler in Mont Dore<sup>77</sup> and superintendent of the navy, and was killed as well as twenty-six other settlers and soldiers by chief Kandio.<sup>78</sup> Quindo was eliminated by his own family after submitting to the French and giving up his two heirs to Governor Du Bouzet in 1856. Both portraits are similar in their photographic approach. Quindo, dressed in European clothes, with a hat and scarf around his neck, looks dignified though tight in his clothes.<sup>79</sup> We can assume that the jacket and trousers he is wearing were both 'inherited' in one way or the other. At a time when tailors were the unique way of getting garments, we can presume Quindo was wearing second hand clothes. M. Bérard shows signs of wealth (in his clothing) that seem to fit according to his figure. The differences between both men stop there. It is my belief that the approach the photographer took with the framing and composition of the image was similar. These first images, dating from 1856, contrast with studio photographs taken nearly twenty years later.

Another interesting and unusual image taken by Armand is one representing caporal Barechou, disguised as a transvestite to perform in a play at the theatre. The mocking theme however does not change the composition of other of Armand's portraits. The face of caporal Barechou is serious, and should one not pay close attention, could be mistaken for a woman. Why did Armand select this particular subject? Was it taken as a souvenir for military men bored in this far away colony? Was it to be passed around or posted on a wall? Did Armand keep this photograph for himself only? We can speculate on the motivations of the photographer, but we can assume that this amateur enjoyed his hobby.

---

<sup>77</sup> Today a suburb of Nouméa

<sup>78</sup> Handed to the French by chief Titéma, called 'Watom', he was shot in Port-de-France on August 29, 1859. Kandio's head is kept in an alcohol jar at the museum of Brest.

<sup>79</sup> See photograph

The remaining eight photographs (out of thirteen) of the Album Mathieu are of Kanak women. They were photographed differently to studio portraits: no props, no background painting, just naked women with grass skirts. While their posing is not alluring, the women are not dignified. Different to commercial photographers' settings we can wonder what was the relationships Armand had with his subjects. The women are naked, not the men he photographed.

Eugène Bourdais (1826-?) is another pioneer of photography in New Caledonia and also a writer for the navy. In 1854 he was employed as private secretary of captain Joseph Fidèle Eugène Du Bouzet, who had recently been appointed new governor of the French territories in Oceania. They arrived on the *Duroc* in Port-de-France on January 18, 1858 after a short stop in Tahiti where they had disembarked on the *Aventure*. Du Bouzet had a good knowledge of the region having been in Oceania from 1837 to 1840 (with Durmont d'Urville) and again in 1842-1843. Du Bouzet had rescued what was left of the mission of Père Chanel on the island of Futuna in 1842.<sup>81</sup> He is also the first New Caledonian administrator.

Eugène Bourdais took up photography upon his second stay in New Caledonia on May, 5 1857. He was an amateur photographer taking pictures when following his superior. He used the calotype procedure as well as the negative glass plate. The majority of his photographs have been altered which shows that he might have experienced technical difficulties. He left an album named *Taïti et Nouvelle-Calédonie* which was offered to the Minister of the Navy and of the Colonies, Justin Chasseloup-Laubat<sup>82</sup>. Bourdais's photographs reflect the intent of the photographer: to capture the feeling of early colonisation of New Caledonia. The album contained at the time seventeen photographs of

---

80 Ninety three men are part of the 30<sup>th</sup> navy infantry company

81 Père Chanel was assassinated by the indigenous people

82 The album known as "album Chasseloup-Laubat" is held by the Ministry of the Navy

which seven were of New Caledonia, the remaining were of Tahiti. Bourdais photographed Balade and its first official building (constructed in December 1853 by the troops of the navy), views of Port-de-France (taken in 1858), one Kanak women in a grass skirt and the marist missions of Touho, Wagap and Conception. These represent a variety of themes of which he (and his superior) believed would be of interest to the Minister of Navy, indeed a small documentary on the progress of the colony. Bourdais did not remain long in New Caledonia as due to poor health he was sent back to France in March 1859.

Little is known of Edouard W: Littaye (1833-1917) and his photography of New Caledonia. He is best known as the pioneer of photography in France's north Atlantic territory, Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. Littaye had a career in the navy as well, first in Saint-Pierre, in Cochinchine, New Caledonia and then in Senegal. His interest in photography was triggered by the painter Rosse who taught him painting at the Ecole des Beaux-ARts in Saint-Servan.<sup>83</sup> Rosse was a photographer and introduced Littaye to the technique of photography. Throughout a busy career Littaye was able to produce around 60 photographs (essentially landscape, the harbour, ships, public buildings) of Saint-Pierre between 1865-1874. The 16<sup>th</sup> of January 1875, Littaye is appointed *directeur de l'intérieur* of New Caledonia where he will stay till 1879. He is believed to have photographed the territory during this time but no images have been found. Three of his albums exist, one donated by Georges Landry to the museum of Saint-Pierre, the second one 'Album Paulette Humbert' is held by the Studio Briand Ozon in Saint-Pierre, and the third which was Edouard Littaye's personal album is held by his descendants (Edouard Littaye in Versailles). It contains seventy-five photographs of Saint-Pierre, portraits and landscapes from Brittany signed by Rosse. I have found none of New Caledonia, yet it is believed that photographs were taken.

---

<sup>83</sup> Littaye was based two years in Saint-Malo

However, Littaye wrote in his diary<sup>84</sup> the consequences of the escape of the convict Rochefort on the government of New Caledonia (see Chapter 4.3.2.).

There are numerous photographers that practised the new medium as a hobby and were given opportunities to photograph New Caledonia in specific circumstances depending on their primary occupation. On November 15, 1864 Albert Candelot, young *lieutenant* in the navy infantry, arrived to Port-de-France. He is known to have exhibited with Evenor de Greslan at the International Exhibition in Melbourne in 1866. The *Moniteur imperial de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, published on September 16, 1866 that fourteen frames belonging to Candelot and to de Greslan were sent in a box. Ernt Robin, another practising photographer, seems to have worked with Candelot. In tiny Port-de-France those who practised photography must have gathered occasionally comparing their prints.

Evenor de Greslan came from the Reunion Island to start a sugar cane plantation as it was then encouraged by the governor of New Caledonia as well as by the Ile Bourbon's<sup>85</sup> officials (see chapter 5.3.6.) He also practised photography as a hobby focusing on landscapes and indigenous Kanak living in their natural habitat. He mainly photographed between 1866 (he toured the island for four months) and the early 1870s. De Greslan has documented the funerals of Titéma (called Wattom) chief of the Saint-Vincent district. Although it is believed he was quite prolific, only twenty originals have been found (Kakou, 1998:56).

---

84 Held by Littaye's descendants

85 Later called the Reunion Island

### 3.4.2. Professional photographers and their studio settings

*"Le silence intérieur des victimes consentantes"<sup>86</sup> Henri Cartier Bresson*



Collection musée de l'Homme, A. Hugan 2 .2- 1998-8067- 84B

Maritime communication between New Caledonia and Australia meant that there was also movement of photographers between the French and the English colony. Hermann Schroeder and John Arthur Guy had their photographic studio on George Street in Sydney.

---

<sup>86</sup> "The inner silence of consenting victims" (my own translation)

They arrived from Australia on January 30, 1866. They advertised their photographic skills and their processing of *carte de visite* through the local press. We have records that they left Port-de-France a little over two months after their arrival (April 5, 1866). Schroeder came back to New Caledonia once more in 1869 for a few months. It is believed that he toured the remote islands searching for a clientele.

A number of French and English professional photographers settled in New Caledonia, sometimes for a short period and at times for good. This movement as well as photographers passing away or going out of business meant that stocks were used by successors allowing false attributions and a confusing date frames. This piracy of images allowed new owners to engrave their own name while wiping out their predecessor's name.

Allan Ramsay or Ramsen Cunningham Hughan was probably the most prolific professional photographers of nineteenth century New Caledonia. Born in England in 1834, Hughan started his career as a merchant sailor trading in various commodities in the South Pacific. He first arrived to Nouméa on October 28, 1869 on the English ship 'Pilot' and returned to Sydney with a full load of *coquillages de nacre* (mother of pearl) from the Loyalty Islands.<sup>87</sup> Hughan decided to settle in New Caledonia in 1871 after being rescued from the shipwrecked 'Pilot' on the reefs of Yandé by the local indigenous population. Charmed by the welcoming and the first aid received by the Kanaks, Hughan establishes himself in Nouméa with his English wife Phoebe Hall and their two daughters (Marie or Ruth Madelaine and Marian-Ellen) both born in Australia<sup>88</sup>. He remained in New Caledonia until his death in 1883.<sup>89</sup> In 1871 Hughan opened his photographic business<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> A letter describing the events of his shipwreck in March 1870 can be found in the 'Sydney Morning Herald' dated November 3rd 1870

<sup>88</sup> Hughan will have two more daughters born in New Caledonia, Alice (or Aline) and Rose-Isabelle.

<sup>89</sup> His wife returned to Australia and died in Sydney in 1900 (O'Reilly 1978).

<sup>90</sup> Hughan is the first licensed photographer in New Caledonia

and later became the official photographer of the government in 1872. Working for the government allowed Hughan to cover documentary series such as the penal colony and the arrival of the *Communards*<sup>91</sup> to the Island of Pines and to Ducos (near Nouméa). Hughan photographed the landscapes of the colony and the Kanak way of life when circulating in the tribes and following the visits of the governor.

Hughan is a businessman. He advertises regularly<sup>92</sup> in the *Moniteur impérial de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*,<sup>93</sup> local newspaper published on a weekly basis on Wednesdays, mentioning his studio “rue Sébastopol” and offering special prices: lounge portraits (50 francs a dozen or 30 francs a dozen), card portraits (25 francs a dozen or 15 francs a half dozen). Lower rates are for sailors and soldiers while prices for photographs of groups, monuments, businesses, houses and landscapes can be debated. Hughan reminds his potential clients that his studio holds varied collections of photographs including landscapes of New Caledonia, indigenous groups, public buildings, houses and Nouméa views<sup>94</sup>. Though not specifically mentioned in his ads, Hughan does not only target the local market but also to 19<sup>th</sup> century tourists travelling through the territory and wishing to purchase a souvenir. ‘Cartes de visite’ representing essentially portraits of Kanaks are available for sale.<sup>95</sup>

---

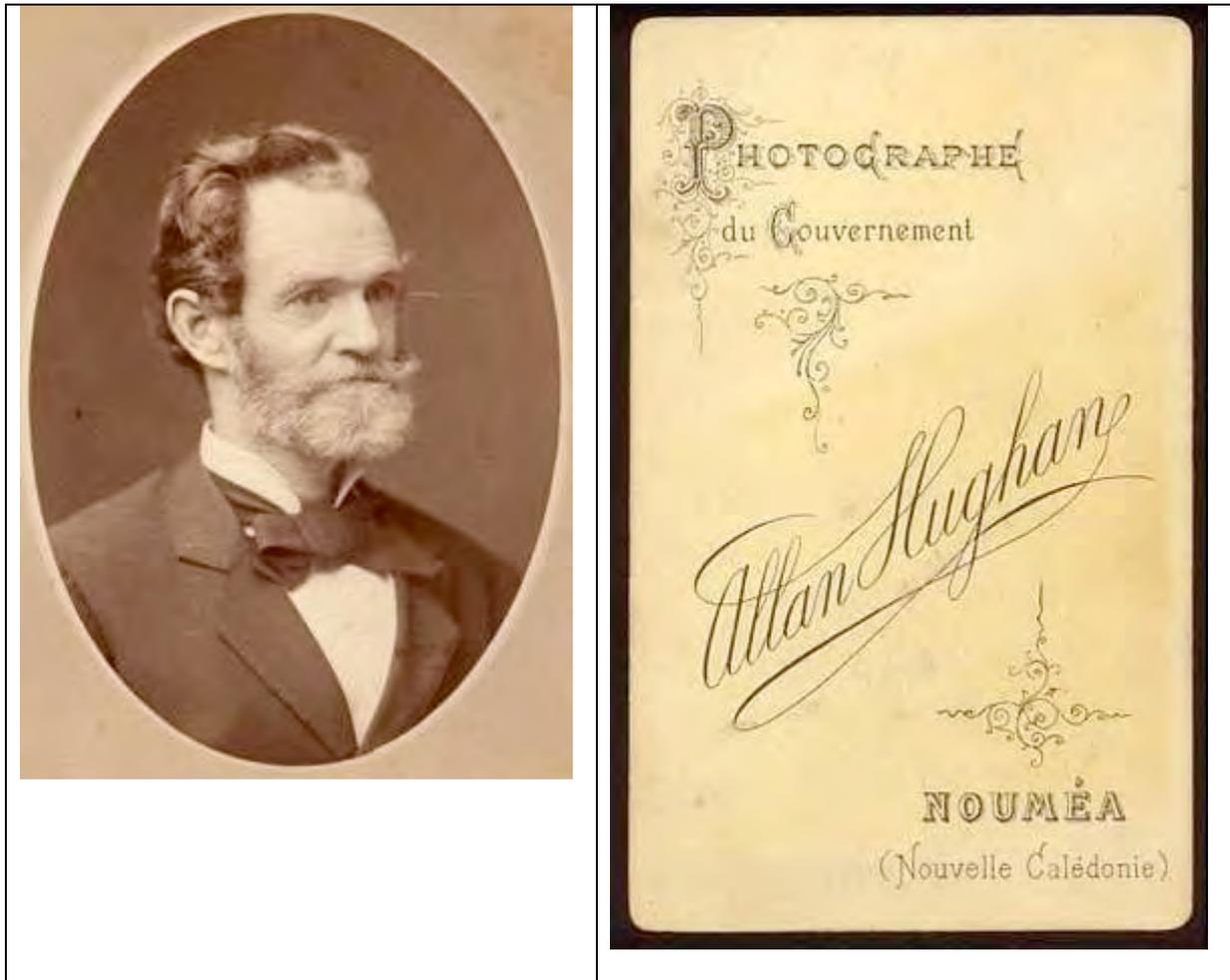
91 Political prisoners who participated in the rebellion of the Commune and were exiled to New Caledonia

92 I found ads on a weekly basis under the heading « industries, professions »

93 The *Moniteur*, official newspaper of the colony, was first published in 1859 and covered Australian issues (especially Queensland), New Zealand, Fiji. This shows an interest early in the colony for regional affairs

94 See attached copy of ad taken in the *Moniteur* of September 16, 1874.

95 It is believed that more than a hundred Kanak were photographed in Hughan’s studio



Hughan generated three major documentaries. In 1874, he travelled and photographed for three months the interior of New Caledonia, capturing the inhabitants of the tribes as well as European expansion including factories, plantations, mining and the progress of the Marist missionaries. Two years later, in 1876, Hughan went on a photographic expedition documenting once more the deported Communards and the improvement of their living conditions. He included precious images of the Kabyles<sup>96</sup> (see chapter 4.2.) photographed in the Island of Pines<sup>97</sup> wearing their indigenous “barnous”<sup>98</sup> or “djallabas”<sup>99</sup> and

---

96 Known as “les arabes” they were the Algerian chiefs of Kabylie who rebelled against French ruling in 1871. Between 1871 and 1875, seventy Kabyles were exiled to the Island of Pines

97 See photography “Les Kabyles déportés, cinquième commune, île des Pins”, 1876. The glass negative is at the Mitchell Library in Sydney.

98 Large coat with hood typically worn by rural Southern and Central Algerians.

99 Most commonly known indigenous Algerian clothes

“chachia”<sup>100</sup>. For this second documentary, Hughan did not omit to photograph the local Kanak population and immortalised queen Hortense and Samuel. In 1877, he approached the convict world photographing intimate moments of everyday life such as the shaving of the inmates on the Ile Nou.

Documentary photographs reinforce emotion but do not necessarily help opinion to evolve. Images can help influence opinion, yet most studies show that images tend to reinforce opinions that people already hold. For example, the world known photograph of the little Vietnamese girl burnt with napalm and running away on a road is believed to have changed the course of History. However, the American opinion at the time was already shifting heavily for the withdrawal of the US army from Vietnam when the photograph was published in June 1972.

---

<sup>100</sup> Algerian turban rolled over their heads.

# Chapter 4 Photography

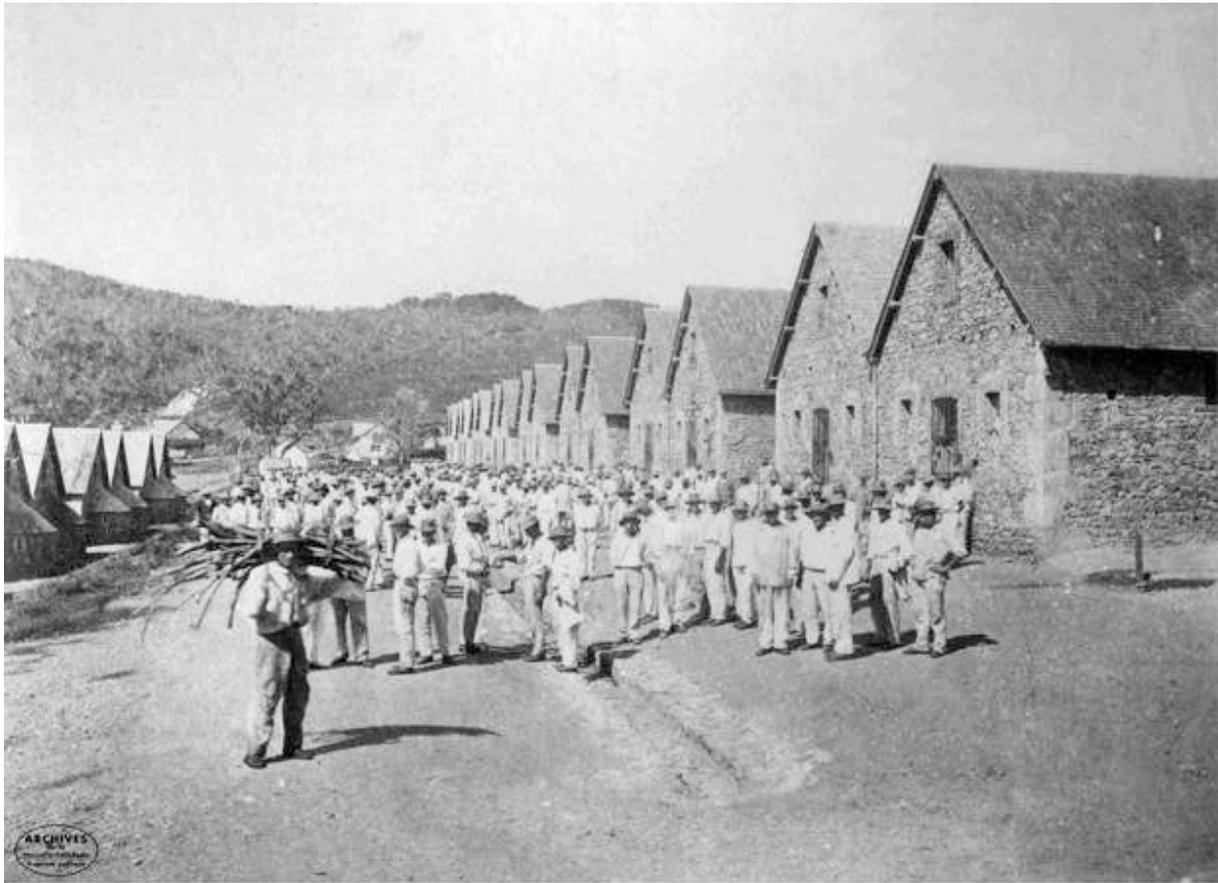
## Convict period

The New York Times

The prisoners no sooner heard that all hope of commutation was gone than they speedily reconciled themselves to their fate

Published: September 16, 1874

Preempting British interest, New Caledonia's official annexation by France in 1853 established a military regime which continued until 1884. The island was designated a penal colony in 1863 and until it was abolished by the first civil governor, Feuillet, in 1896, 20,000 convicts were sent out from France.



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 19 19,8x14,5 cm  
E. Robin "*Pénitencier dépôt des condamnés aux travaux forcés*", avant 1870.

In the mid nineteenth century, the lack of French settlers in New Caledonia was a main preoccupation for the French Government. As reported in 1858 by Battalion Chief Testard, there were still no 'serious settlers' in New Caledonia, but this omitted an English entrepreneur, James Paddon (1812-1861) who had established a trading post in 1845 and with about a hundred New Hebridian labourers and about sixty Europeans.<sup>101</sup> The small European population was problematic for an administration wishing to have a control of the newly acquired island. Bringing in penal labour that would be controlled was one remedy.

Governor Guillain, administrator of the colony, accomplished his essential mission: to install a penitentiary on the island Nou across Nouméa, yet he also encouraged free settlers. Paddon's property on l'île Nou was recovered by the French administration and in exchange Paddon received 4000 hectares of land in Païta, in nearby Nouméa. The penitentiary

---

<sup>101</sup>Cited in Kakou, p. 28

administration's motto was "*réhabiliter, civiliser, produire*"<sup>102</sup>. The first convoy of 250 convicts arrived on the *Iphigénie* and was soon followed by three other boats.

Statistics of July 1, 1866 show that the European population on the island was about 2,000: 1,060 on the entire territory of which 843 were in Nouméa, 706 navy soldiers and 239 convicts. In addition, Créole and Neo-Hebridian labour was being introduced to be used on large concessions and distributed to a few settlers to develop sugar cane. To increase the population, a group of orphans from the *Assistance Publique* was sent from the metropolis. The forming of the *tribu indigène* was set up establishing the Kanak chief as the only interlocutor responsible towards the colonial authority.

This chapter asserts that the usage of photography as a reporting method has evolved little though the technology improved dramatically.

Henri Cartier Bresson "*Le reportage est une opération progressive de la tête, de l'oeil et du coeur pour exprimer un problème, fixer un événement ou des impressions. Un événement est tellement riche qu'on tourne autour pendant qu'il se développe. On en cherche la solution. On la trouve parfois en quelques secondes, parfois elle demande des heures et des jours; il n'y a pas de solution standard; pas de recettes, il faut être prêt comme au tennis*".

*"De tous les moyens d'expression, la photographie est le seul qui fixe un instant précis. Nous jouons avec des choses qui disparaissent, et, quand elles ont disparu, il est impossible de les faire revivre"* HCB.<sup>103</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup>To rehabilitate, civilise, produce

<sup>103</sup> Text from *Henri Cartier-Bresson*, Delpire editions / Nouvel Observateur, 1976 and available in a modified version *L'imaginaire d'après nature*, Fata Morgana Editions, 1996

"Documentary photography is a progressive operation that takes place in the head, in the eye, in the heart, aimed at expressing a problem, fixing an event or impressions. An event is so rich that one goes around in circles while it is developing. One searches for the solution. Sometimes we find it in a few seconds, sometimes it requires hours and days; there is no standard solution; no recipes, you have to be ready just like in tennis. Of all means of expression, photography is the only one that transcribes a precise moment. We play with things that disappear, and, when they have disappeared, it is impossible to make them live once more" HCB (my own translation)



ANC Album Nicolas-Frédéric HAGEN 1 Num 3 – 42  
"La Prison de l'île Nou (Nouvelle-Calédonie)"

17x22 cm

## 4.1 The emerging use of photography with the Commune

Following in the foot steps of photographs taken of the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the American Civil War (1861-1865), the Commune's war conflict (1871) was also recorded by the medium. The technical complexities of photography limited areas of conflict to professional photographers. Due to technical imperatives as well as ideological motives, images that the British Roger Fenton took of the Crimean War avoided violence on the battlefields and focused instead on portraits of the belligerents and scenes of life at the

camps.<sup>104</sup> French history painter Jean-Charles Langlois (a specialist of panoramas) was present on the battlefield and accompanied by the young photographer Léon Eugène Mehedin. For the first time, sketches painted by Langlois were replaced by negative plates. The photographer's duty was to record, his camera a tool to record 'the eye of history'. The brutality evoked in the pictures of dead bodies transcended a taboo, invoking realism and 'truth' beyond appeal. The journalist Jules Claretie wrote in the Figaro dated April, 29, 1905 « 'The real painter of war today, the most ferocious, it's the Kodak' »<sup>105</sup>.



ANC Album Nicolas-Frédéric HAGEN 1 Num 3 – 44  
"Pénitencier de l'île Nou"

13x20 cm

### 4.1.1 Recording and documenting the insurrection of Paris

---

<sup>104</sup>Queen Victoria sent Fenton to Crimea to counter the negative image transmitted at the time in the British press. Fenton's photographs were gathered in his album 'Incidents of Camp Life'

<sup>105</sup>"Le vrai peintre de la guerre aujourd'hui, le plus féroce, c'est le Kodak" (my own translation into English)

In 1871, photography was taught in Parisian military schools. During the insurrection, on April, 24, 1871, the state prosecutor from the Havre region wrote to the chief of police in Paris asking him to send him photographs so as to identify and arrest the rebels. He wrote: “It would be most useful to obtain photographs of the men most compromised in the Parisian insurrection as it would increase the efficiency of controlling train and boat departures and arrivals under police surveillance in the Havre”.<sup>106</sup>

Many of the prints of the photographs taken during the upheavals of the Commune were 'anonymous', omitting to mention in many cases who where the subjects photographed. Photographs of the Commune recorded places where events took place as well as images of the people involved in the conflict. Images demonstrated rebels behind the barricades, in the streets and the buildings which were conquered by the communards.

Numerous photographers took images of the siege of Paris although the publication of the *Moniteur photographique*<sup>107</sup>, the official journal dedicated to photography, was suspended and numerous studios were shut down. Some photographers were more sympathetic to the *Versillais*, others to the communards. The photographer Eugène Appert sided with the *Versillais*, his photographs illustrating the execution of hostages by cruel and violent communards in his “The Crimes of the Commune”. Appert worked under the judicial authorities which requested photographs of sites of hostage executions during the *'Semaine Sanglante'*<sup>108</sup> as well as portraits of prisoners held captive. Many of his photographs were photomontage.

---

<sup>106</sup>"Pour rendre plus efficace la surveillance que je fais exercer au Havre sur les départs et les arrivées des trains et des bateaux, il me serait fort utile d'avoir les photographies des hommes les plus compromis dans l'insurrection parisienne", Lettre du procureur de la République du Havre au préfet de police de Paris, 24 avril 1871, A.P.P., BA/364-5. (my own translation)

<sup>107</sup>Le Moniteur de la Photographie was an international journal dedicated to the progress of photography, published from 1861 to 1914, fortnight publication

<sup>108</sup>Bleeding Week (my own translation)

Bruno Braquehais on the other side, documented 'Paris under the Commune', illustrating his closeness to the cause of the communards. Braquehais is considered today one of the first reporters of his time and took nearly 140 images of the insurrection. While other photographers concentrated on the ruins, he essentially photographed the combatants.

Nadar and Carjat, the most prominent photographers of the time, were absent in recording the devastation of the Commune. Surprisingly, craftsmen photographers such as Appert and Braquehais seized the 'market'. Indeed, their photographs became 'best sellers': images of the destroyed *Vendôme column*, of monuments under fire, of the guns of Montmartre are of a devastated Paris. They sold extremely well overseas (especially in London) and in the Province.<sup>109</sup>

The commercial production was invested by the studios of Hyppolite Collard, Alphonse Liébert, Pierre Ambroise Richebourg, Jules Andrieu de Disdéri as well as Pierre Edmonds, photographer of the city of Paris.

Disdéri (1819-1889), photographed Napoleon III, the ruins of Paris, individual and group portraits of the communards, but is probably better known for his image of 12 communard corpses aligned in their coffins.<sup>110</sup> This image nourished the collective memory of the defeated rebellion and became the emblem of the Commune.

Images were used as a powerful tool of propaganda for the government as well as for those who defended the Commune. Nevertheless, brutal images of war which were formed in the collective psyche as realistic and historic moments were soon dominating text. According to Sontag, photographers of the American Civil War were in the name of realism

---

<sup>109</sup>The McCormick library at Northwestern University (Chicago) hold over 1200 images and 1500 caricatures of the Commune

<sup>110</sup>The list of photographers of the Commune can be found at the Musée Nicéphore Niépce

‘permitted – required – to show unpleasant, hard facts’ which soon had ‘more defenders among novelists than among photographers’. She argues:

*The deflating realism of the photographs of slain soldiers lying about the battlefield is dramatized in the *The Red Badge of Courage*, in which everything is seen through the bewildered, terrified consciousness of someone who could well have been one of those soldiers. Stephen Crane’s piercingly visual, mono-voiced antiwar novel – which appeared in 1895, thirty years after the war ended (Crane was born in 1871)- is a long, simplifying emotional distance from Walt Whitman’s contemporary, multiform treatment of war’s ‘red business’. (Sontag, 2003:52).*

The *Versillais* government was soon worried about the French population’s infatuation for the Commune and used photography to censure opposition to its regime and banned in December 1871 ‘the exhibition, hawking and sale of images and emblems which could disrupt public peace’. The ban included portraits of individuals who participated and were condemned for their ‘unlawful’ activities in the siege of Paris. The only authorized photographs by the government were ‘reproductions of the fires or ruins of Paris which were taken from a purely artistic point of view’. The ban was only lifted in 1880.

The government recognised the power photography could play as an instrument of propaganda as well as a useful tool for investigation. The police used portraits to identify and arrest the communards. This explains why many faces were scratched or blurred on numerous images.

#### **4.1.2. Introducing photography for police documentation**

The question of citizen identification goes back to the last centuries of the *Ancien Régime*. Although since the Middle-Ages using family names was a regular procedure, it only became a legal obligation following the decree of September 20, 1790 of the civil state.

It was also in the 18<sup>th</sup> century that the administration imposed the numbering of houses although it faced at the time fierce opposition from the aristocracy, offended by such standardisation of addresses. The next and major identity documentation was fulfilled in the 19<sup>th</sup> century through the use of photography.<sup>111</sup> Similarly, the rational use by the police of photographs was a major turning point for the photographic medium.

The systematic recourse to photography finds its root in the Commune de Paris and the political repression that followed. Alphonse Bertillon (1853-1914) helped create the first police photographic file in 1872 at the *Préfecture de Police de Paris*. According to Higgins (2001:24), Bertillon “looked to photography to provide evidence of conformity to a type”. He created in 1893 a judiciary identity service<sup>112</sup> where he practised his technical invention, anthropometry. The judiciary portrait as conceived by Bertillon, was a 'scientific' perspective. The portrait was to evolve from the previous portrait represented by a painter or a photographer or even a *carte de visite*. Bertillon established the recording of fingerprints and front and profile photographs known as anthropometric judiciary around 1880.<sup>113</sup> From 1882 to 1890, over 90,000 prints were archived. The objective sought was not to get exact measures but to be able to identify the person according to “natural expression of the physiognomy” as expressed by Bertillon. Management of lighting played a significant role in front and profile photographs, allowing it to be distributed evenly and as far as possible from any artistic effects. At the time, the photograph was the similar size to the *carte de visite* (6x9cm).<sup>114</sup> First created as a means for prevention, anthropometry was soon used as a technical tool to search for criminal types, focusing on the physiognomy (facial particularities) and phrenology (particularity of the shape of the cranium). The international

---

111The Vichy regime later imposed in 1940 the identity card

112Service de l'identité judiciaire

113This identification method was used until 1970

114Bertillon explained that at the Préfecture de Police the format used is 0,085m by 0,060m and that both portraits, front and profile, can be done on a semi plate 9x13 obtained while cutting in two the plate 13x18.

success first encountered by anthropometry was abandoned in 1903 to the profit of dactyloscopy (study of fingerprints), invented by Francis Galton.

Photography played a role in scrutinising 'criminal' individuals in the 19<sup>th</sup> century which led to the same techniques being used to also 'scrutinise' the different, the 'other'.

In his *Image and identity: Mexican Indians*, Higgins argues that:

*Unlike the spirit of enlightenment of the 18<sup>th</sup> c., the 19<sup>th</sup> c. was after all a period of specifically instrumental investigative intensity, in which 'the individual was submitted to scrutiny by a whole range of agencies (medical, judicial, moral etc...) which measured their degree of deviation from an undeclared statistical norm'. In this regard, photographs of the body soon began to be 'seen' as the visible proof of human differences, criminal tendencies, pathology, and delinquency (Higgins, 2001:24).*

The nineteenth century held the belief that society needed protection from the elimination of its hostile elements. It was the social body which needed to be protected, in a quasi-medical sense. Methods of therapeutic devices such as the segregation of the sick, the monitoring of contagions, the exclusion of delinquents were put in place through criminology and quarantine.

According to Wright (1997:58) “the criminalised body of the 19<sup>th</sup> century described by Foucault (1979) was forced to 'emit signs' as a kind of 'confession'. The position of the photograph within the archive has some similarities with that of a convict in a carceral system.”

This photograph was taken by Fritz Sarasin in 1911-1912. The colonial system was fully in place when he arrived in New Caledonia to photograph the Kanaks. At the time there is a general belief that the Kanaks are a disappearing race. The setting of these portraits is similar in its composition to criminal photography in Europe. Police records today have remained the same. However, these anthropological pictures remain « human » compared to studio pictures with set ups. Subjects photographed facing the camera are taken

closely so the viewer can see the eyes of the subject instead of prefabricating conventional images. These were images taken for a disappearing race. In 1911 there were only 17000 Kanaks in New Caledonia. It is difficult to know if the subjects were fearful, they look staged but it is unknown how they felt about posing for the photographer. They sit very straight, maybe as a mark of respect. However, it is a mark of respect in Kanak culture not to look straight into people's eyes.



Photo Sarrazin Médiatèque ADCK Centre Culturel Tjibaou FAT 95 0237

Foucault's studies of madness and prisons in industrial societies retrace the disciplinary form of society that existed, what separated the normal and the abnormal and how the mechanisms of power have helped shape the penal system. The nineteenth century saw the emergence of human sciences as well as an effort in discipline and normalisation. The science of medicine helped to layout and classify individuals as insane, criminal or sick.

The nineteenth century inherited social constructs of the classical age (1650-1800) which saw the incarceration of lunatics, criminals and beggars become common practice. Although the mad were hidden in asylums, there was a desire to exhibit them, exacerbated by the public's curiosity.<sup>115</sup>

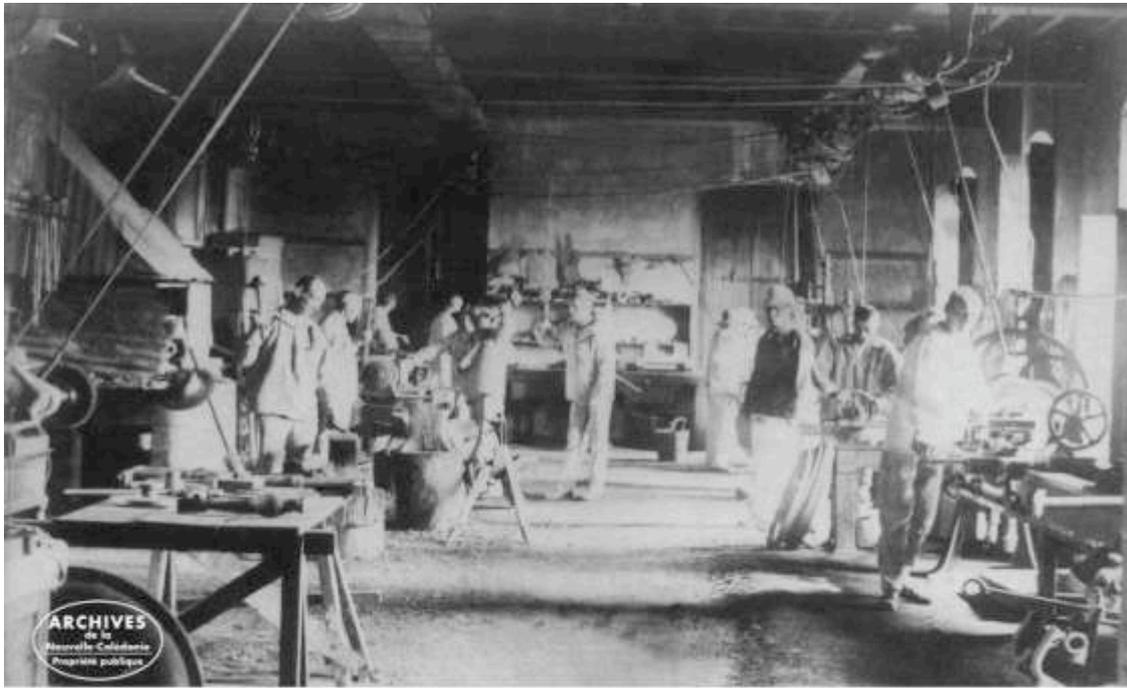
While different historical periods employ different forms of control, the regime in place in France after the Commune was extremely repressive. The sovereign power was absolutist in its punishments of the rebels. The communards, through the power exercised through the juridical and executive arms of the state, were sent to New Caledonia. The disciplinary power put in place to oversee convicts was an attempt at continuous and efficient surveillance. Photography served in making accessible the details of the life of the convicts available for scrutiny, although it was a closed system. Photography participated in the technique of administration and observation, amassing and classifying dossiers.

---

<sup>115</sup> *In London, the Bethlem hospital displayed almost 100000 lunatics a year.*

## 4.2. New Caledonia: land of convicts

### 4.2.1. Arrival and dispositions : a hierarchy among convicts



ANC Album Nicolas-Frédéric HAGEN 1 Num 3 – 48  
"Les ateliers de l'île Nou (Nouvelle-Calédonie)"

19x12 cm

The communards were at the top of the hierarchy among convicts. As they were political prisoners, their status allowed them to have preferential status in comparison to other convicts. Prior to March 1872 with the arrival of the Communards<sup>116</sup>, New Caledonia had been selected by the French government in 1854 as a convict prison and received its first convoy on May 9, 1864.<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> They transited from Fort Boyard and the Ile de Ré before heading out to New Caledonia

<sup>117</sup> In 1872 the population of Nouméa is 5794 non-Melanesian with a European population of 1562; garrison of 754, immigrants of 1176 and penal population of 2302 (Le Moniteur 1870)



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 51 10,5x8,3 cm  
Attribuée à E. Robin [Les déportés de la Commune de Paris à Ducos, Nouméa].

On board the *Ephigénie*, 248 men known as the “*transportés*”<sup>118</sup> set foot on the newly acquired island. The transportees were sentenced to hard labour and were violent criminals (29% were convicted of murder or attempted murder), essentially males who came from the bottom scale of French society. The flow lasted till 1897 and brought over 30,000 convicts. They were to help populate New Caledonia and their recovery into main stream society (path to redemption) was sentenced with the incentive to acquire land, known as ‘*lopin de terre*’<sup>119</sup>. Nevertheless, few succeeded in their conversion as peasants and their properties rarely reached the aims set by the local government. On top of this, a third did not survive their release. According to Merle (1995) only 2700 convicts became successful independent proprietors, roughly 10% of the whole convict population. New Caledonia’s prison closed in 1922.

---

118 transportees

119 Patch of land

Contrarily to the transportees, the government did not aim at political offenders settling in New Caledonia. They received better treatment and were kept separately. The Communards were also recognised by a portion of the French population and the government felt the need to move the 4257 rebels to the far away colony.<sup>120</sup>

Most communards were condemned to '*déportation simple*' for having participated on the barricades. More than 3000 of them were sent to the Ile des Pins. Another 323, the most violent ones (those who had killed and set fire) were sent to the '*bagne*'<sup>121</sup> of Ile Nou (outskirts of Nouméa) as were those condemned to '*droit commun*'<sup>122</sup>. The remaining 900 intellectuals and '*meneurs*'<sup>123</sup> of the Commune were condemned to '*enceinte fortifiée*'<sup>124</sup> in Ducos (outskirts of Nouméa).

Louis Marie d'Herisgnerie, Captain of the Communards, was made prisoner by the *Versillais* in 1871 and condemned to deportation in '*enceinte fortifiée*' by the war council. He was judged on April 25, 1872 and declared:

*"Coupable d'avoir exercé un commandement dans des bandes armées pour faire attaque ou résistance à la force publique agissant contre ces bandes" and "d'avoir dans un mouvement insurrectionnel porté des armes apparentes, étant revêtu d'un uniforme militaire."*<sup>125</sup>

« Guilty of having exerted a command in armed bands to attack or resist public order acting against these bands » and « to have in an insurrectionary movement carried apparent weapons while wearing a military uniform » (my own translation)

---

120 In March 1871 Parisians opposed to the capitulation of France to Prussia proclaimed the Commune of Paris. The "*Fédérés*" held the capital for three months. But the legal government based in Versailles conquered back the city. From May 21 to 28, 1871, a bloody battle took place and was won by the *Versillais*. Repression was fierce: 20000 Communards were killed or shot without trial, 4257 were deported to New Caledonia.

121 Prison

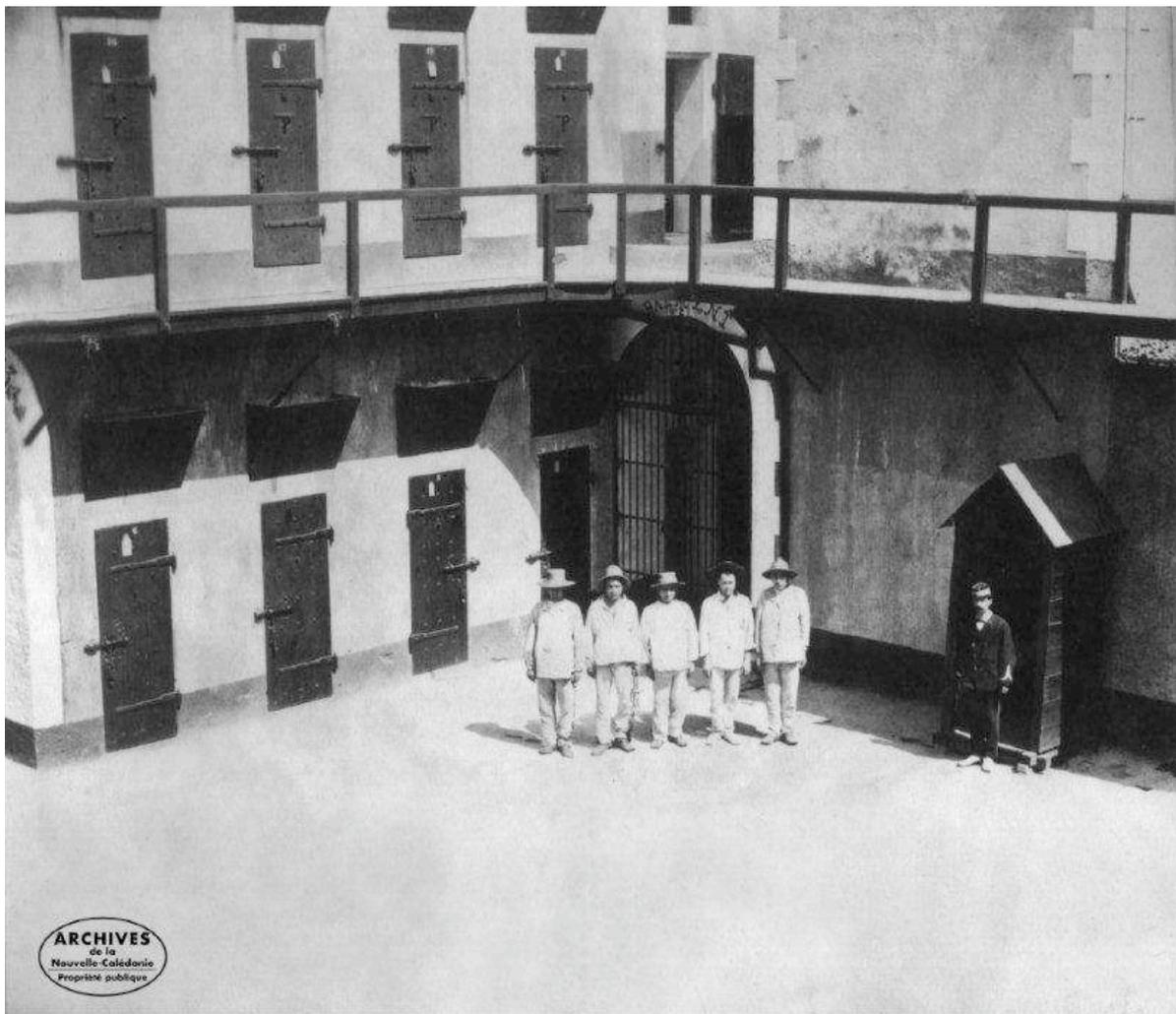
122 Common law

123 Leaders/agitators

124 Fortified camp

125 Cited in *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 6 novembre 2001

Following numerous testimonies in his favor his sentence was commuted and he was transferred to “*déportation simple*” at the Ile des Pins in 1873. He was pardoned due to poor health on December 17, 1876 and died on December 26 that same year without having seen Paris. The communards were finally granted amnesty in July 1880. It is believed that only a very few (between 15 and 40) remained in New Caledonia while the majority headed back to the metropolis.



ANC Album Nicolas-Frédéric HAGEN 1 Num 3 – 69  
"5 condamnés à mort à l'île Nou"

18x21 cm

## 4.2.1. Photographic documentation of installations and camps



Archives de Nouvelle-Calédonie, Album Nething 2-212 - 214

Following the deportation and arrival of the Communards in October aboard the Danae, the Governor de la Richerie boarded the steam boat *Rance* on Friday November 8, 1872<sup>126</sup> to head to the Ile des Pins and inspect during nine days the installations of the first convoys. During his travel he witnessed the coming of the political offenders' second and third convoy.<sup>127</sup> Allan Hughan, official photographer of the government, followed the Governor de la Richerie and photographed the camps.

---

<sup>126</sup> Moniteur, 13 nov. 1872

<sup>127</sup> Moniteur, 20 nov. 1872



Photography collection Serge Kakou- convicts convoy disembarked on 4 October 1872 on the "Ile des Pins"

Hughan's photographic documentary aimed at representing the 'reality' of the camps. This attempt to represent 'exactitude' is often debated. Indeed, according to David Moore (cited in Willis, 1988:262):

*"The documentary photographer has long shouldered the responsibility of saying to the world 'it is like this'. We look back thirty, fifty, a hundred years or more and marvel at the apparent exactness of photographic information. The time machine of the camera can instantly transport us through the past, place us in the very spot where the tripod once left its marks in the dust and permit us the privilege of being witness to a time which cannot be repeated".*



Photo album archevêché ANC 1Num2 - 314



Photography by Allan Hughan

For the viewer to become involved with the scene of the installations and the character of the political offenders required Hughan to depict sufficiently well-known facts as to allow an individual's imagination to play and to seduce the observer giving him the impression that they were seeing something typical and exemplary. Images in government commissioned albums were shot for their specific audiences. However "the selection of images to reproduce is determined by contemporary taste rather than seeking out a representative selection of the body of work as it would have been seen in its own time" (Willis, 1988:271-272).

Analysing today the value of Hughan's photographic documentary allows us to retrieve "a loose succession of fragmentary glimpses of the past".<sup>128</sup>

Willis (1988:257-258) adds:

*"In retrieving a loose succession of fragmentary glimpses of the past, the spectator is flung into a condition of imaginary temporal and geographical mobility. In this dislocated and disoriented state, the only coherence offered is that provided by the constantly shifting position of the camera, which provides the spectator with a kind of powerless omniscience. Thus the spectator comes to identify with the technical apparatus, with the authoritative institution of photography. In the face of this authority, all other forms of telling and remembering begin to fade. But the machine establishes its truth, not by logical argument, but by providing an 'experience'. This experience characteristically veers between nostalgia, horror, and an overriding sense of the exoticism of the past, its irretrievable otherness for the viewer in the present". (66)*

The values of the past are not carried forward into time. As they evolve decade after decade, codes of conduct and the notion of belief of what is "good" and should be praised, changes dramatically. The gap that exists between "experiencing" a nineteenth century photograph in the 1860s and in 2009 cuts us off from a society that has little to do with our mental framework of the day. We therefore experience either "nostalgia, or horror of the past". The convict period has triggered mostly memories of shame, hardship, cruelty, and a desire to forget. Although once historical facts are distant enough (as it seems to be the case in Australia and now in New Caledonia), a sense of pride emerges of re-claiming ancestry that

---

<sup>128</sup> Willis (1988:257)

was once hidden. This is also true among indigenous communities such as among native tribes in the United States.



Kitchen from the penal settlement, around 1890. Photography by Théotime Bray, Military officer.

#### **4.2.1. Perception through foreign eyes: novelist Beatrice Grimshaw**

Beatrice Grimshaw (1871-1953) traveled to New Caledonia in the late 1920s and published her *Isles of Adventure: from Java to New Caledonia but Principally Papua* which described her adventurous life in the French colony. Although she is better known for her novels on Papua New Guinea, Grimshaw's writings describing her impressions about New Caledonia allow us to have the perception of a foreign eye.



Beatrice Grimshaw published in *Fiji and its possibilities*, 1907

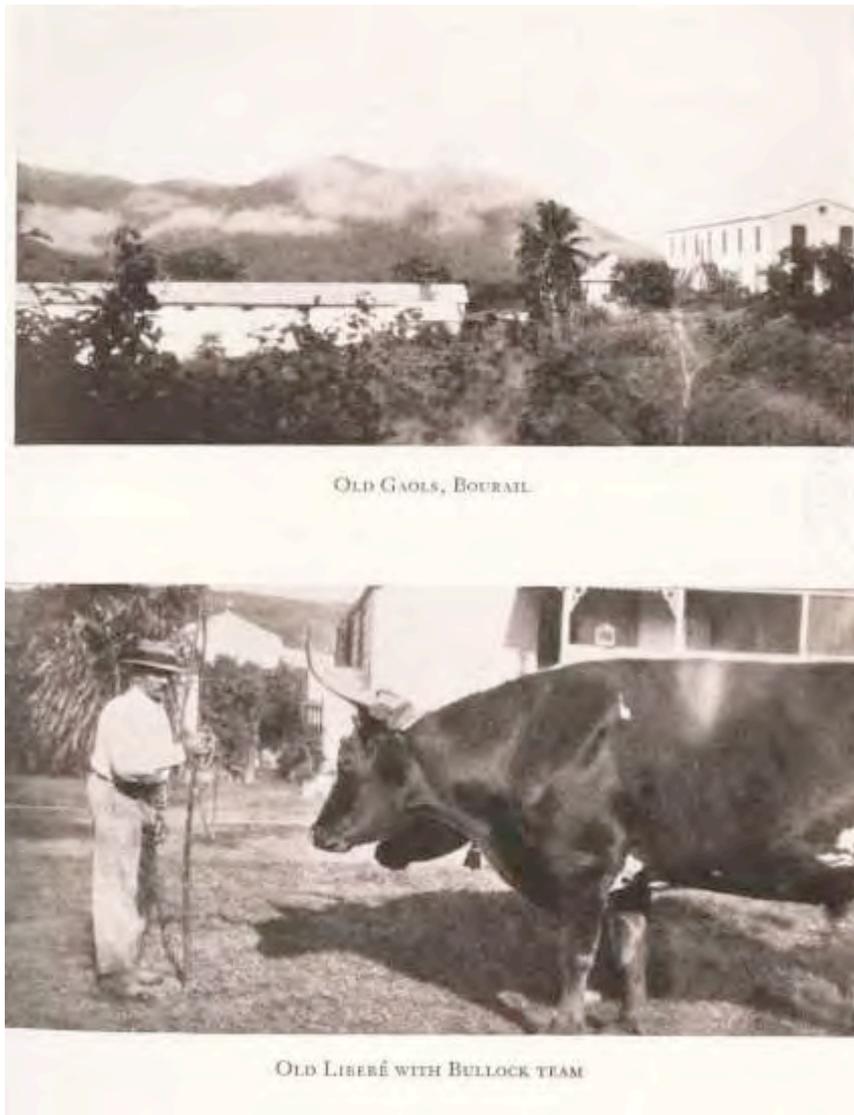
Grimshaw portrayed herself to be a white adventurous woman traveling in wild and unwelcoming, if not dangerous, places. In her Blue Book dated April 1939, Beatrice Grimshaw gives an outsider's account of the penal colony in the section "How I found adventure":

*"I went to New Caledonia, famous, infamous French penal island, slept in one of a row of former convict cells, and saw the church where the celebrated mass marriages took place, a couple of hundred male convicts being married all at once to as many female convicts specially imported."*<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>129</sup> Grimshaw, Beatrice, *Isles of Adventure*, (London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1930).

To Grimshaw, New Caledonia was a gloomy place. Throughout the novel she depicts a place of uneasiness and at times describes the place as one of real brutality and inhospitable. In her chapter “New Caledonia, Land of the Lost”, Grimshaw explains that what differentiates the French in New Caledonia (‘somewhat like an ordinary French provincial crowd’) from the metropolis, is their lack of cheerfulness which she accounts for “the spectre of transportation days”.<sup>130</sup>

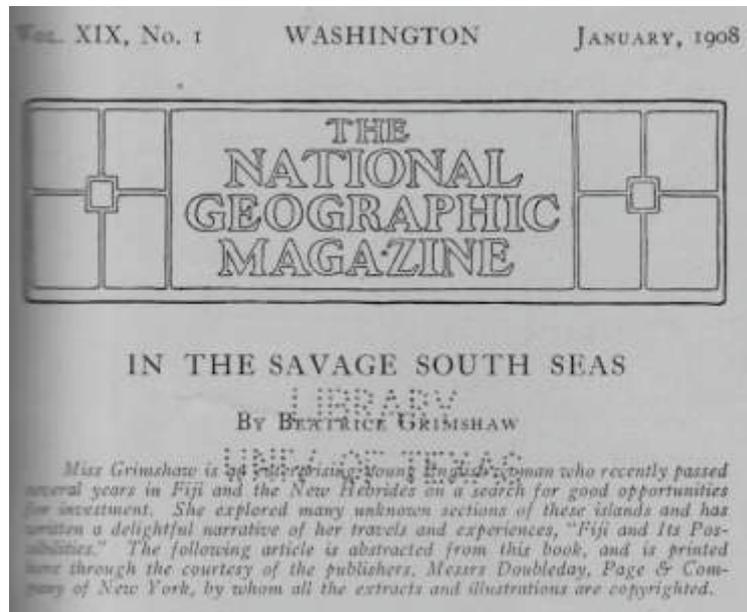


Photographs by Beatrice Grimshaw in Bourail

---

<sup>130</sup> Grimshaw, Beatrice, *Isles of Adventure*, (London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1930), p. 248.

Grimshaw's novels were written at a time when little was known of the Pacific. She was published in magazines and newspapers in Great Britain, Ireland, Australia and in the United States.



Grimshaw, Beatrice. "In the Savage South Seas ". *National Geographic*, vol 19, no 1 (January 1908), p. 1-19



The Saturday Evening Post, cover of the 18 August 1906 issue

Grimshaw arrived in New Caledonia after the penal system was dismantled. However, according to her, the aftermaths were still strongly felt by the local population:

*“One is assured on every hand that New Caledonia has put behind her terrible past, reformed, been born anew; that it is an excellent place for the settler; that nothing remains of convict days; even the old prisons have been torn down, where they could not be rebuilt, and used as offices or barracks”.*  
(Grimshaw, 1930:249)

She adds, describing the liberated convicts and the taboo that surrounds them:

*“Away in the harbour there is a low green island, with long buildings on it. Ask anyone what it is. Quite probably no answer will be forthcoming. If any is vouchsafed, it will be two words- “Ile Nou”- followed by a change of subject. That is the famous prison, and it is not empty yet. There are queer ghosts creeping about the town in broad daylight, or rather, there is one queer ghost, a hundred times repeated. He is old, but you cannot guess his age; he seems to have been old always. He has a long grey beard and long grey hair. He is dressed in ragged clothes, and often goes barefoot. Plainly he is under-nourished; certainly he is unhappy. It is probable that he drinks, whenever the rare chance presents itself. So would you, so would I - if we had his past to remember; to try and forget. The libéré or ticket-of-leave man, it seems, is one the “hush-hush” subjects (there are many) of New Caledonia. (Grimshaw, Beatrice, 1930:250).*

Although Grimshaw had an essentially flowery description of the South Seas often including herself as ‘survivor’ fearless of the most abominable actions such as cannibalism, she did leave some interesting descriptions of what New Caledonia was like in the bush. Her descriptions and impressions were essentially journalistic, documentary. This is how she described a scene while she was on her way to Bourail on a bus trip:

*“For all the engine and the bouncing tyres, there was a curious flavour of coaching about this trip. Even the Annamese driver resembled something in Dickens, as he passed along in a sort of never ending triumphal procession, everywhere welcomed, everywhere distributing, unerringly, letters, papers, parcels, meat, compliments, gossip and news. French women, barefoot, but always neatly dressed and perfectly shingled, came out of little houses in little coffee plantations, and had a short gossip with the people in the bus. There was plenty of time; Madame could lean her elbows on the side and chat till she was tired. [...]*

*“Ah, these people, they cannot die,” said a passenger, warmed into communicativeness by recent stops to see the time with the driver. One did not ask what people; one knew. They were libérés – those who had succeeded, as New Caledonia counts success. They had homes and farms, poor,*

*but their own. They had the strength of those who have toiled inhumanly for years, won through everything and lived, where hundreds die. Indeed, to judge by the number of libérés still at large in the colony, ...” (Grimshaw, 1930:255)*

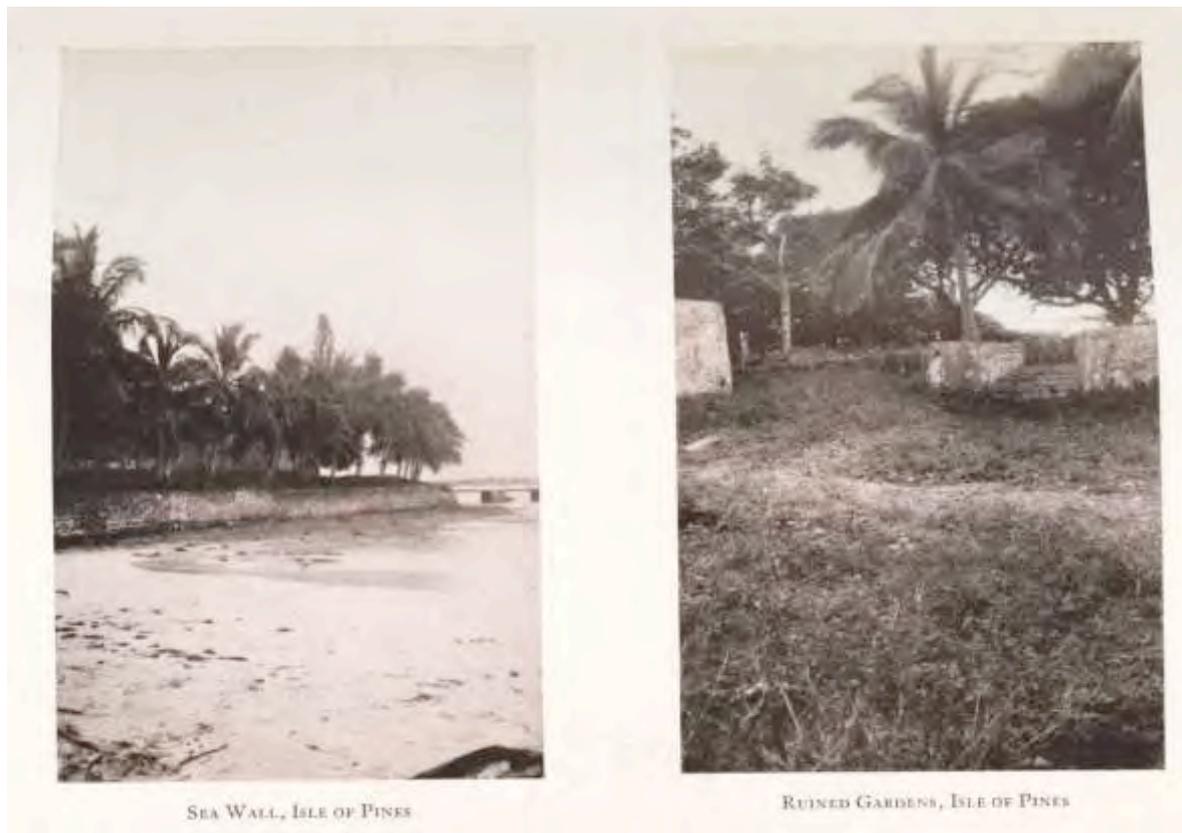
Arranged marriages among convicts which were both encouraged and supervised by the government have been well documented. Grimshaw in her journalistic manner revealed that things did not always go as officially stated:

*Here in Bourail was the scene of the famous mass marriages of the convicts. Criminal women were brought out by shiploads from France, to serve the remainder of their days in exile. It was understood that they would marry convict men, and settle down with them on Government-assigned farms, round about Bourail. [...]*

*A sort of informal selection used to take place in the village church, where all went to Mass on Sundays. Across the aisles, convicts, whose sense of religion had long atrophied, passed the time of prayer looking at and signalling to the women on the other side. Matches were hastily made up, after an interview, under official supervision; marriages, if they deserved the name, carried out wholesale. In this very church, as an old resident told me, hundreds of convicts used to be married all together, at stated intervals. The weddings were followed by feasting and rioting, before the happy (?) couples went their way, two and two, to the assigned farms; and it was said that change of partners often enough took place before the teams of oxen drew out from the township, taking brides and bridegrooms home. [...]*

*The women were, in many instances, young and good-looking, and from this resulted scandals among the officials of Bourail, one or two of whom (by their own confession in subsequent memoirs) claimed and took the droit du seigneur as they chose. “We had good times in Bourail,” naively says one of them. (Grimshaw, 1930:258-259).*

Grimshaw based more information on convicts from the memoirs of Henri Rivière (French officer stationed in Bourail) whom she quoted regularly in her attempts to describe what the day to day life of a convict was in New Caledonia. She used Rivière as a reference in her book, as she believed him to be “extraordinarily humane” though according to her his comments were “cautious” and his feelings “suppressed” (Grimshaw, 1930, 265-266).



### Photographs by Beatrice Grimshaw, Ile des pins

Although throughout her chapters on New Caledonia Grimshaw criticised the gloomy impact the convict system had had on the new colony, she did not believe Australia had done a better job:

*“One must say plainly here that the nation which was responsible for the cruelties of Norfolk Island and Tasmania has no right to throw stones at the French convict system. WE have this boast only to make - that we gave it all up a generation earlier than France did, and that the world has had time to forget our ancient sins.” (Grimshaw, 1930:270).*

While most of Grimshaw’s writings revolved around the inheritance and repercussions of the convict times, the novelist also described other aspects of the island. Her impressions about the settlers’ lives were not attractive:

*Most of the French free population of New Caledonia is poor; life there is hard, as they all tell you, the long distance from Europe and the protective tariffs of Australia narrowing down markets almost to vanishing point. (Grimshaw, 1930:277).*

Compared to her other books on the Pacific which saw numerous accounts on the lives of the indigenous islanders, the Kanaks received little attention in Grimshaw's novel. According to her, there was little to write about the New Caledonian natives as there was nothing "appropriate to a collection of light impressions of island travel." (Grimshaw: 1930:283). However she revisits history by counting the dramatic Ataï event as a tragic love story between this Kanak chief and a white widow:

*"Atai, the most famous and powerful of the inland chiefs, was inclined to be friendly with the whites; he used to visit their settlements (when not engaged in head-hunting) and accept hospitality from them. Madame A., the widow of an official, not very young, but good-looking and romantic, struck up a patronising friendship with the savage chief. She used to ask him often to her house, drink coffee with him and discuss social questions. The natural result followed; Ataï fell in love with her and asked her to marry him. She, having industriously thrown matches into gunpowder, was of course surprised by the consequent explosion; not only surprised, but indignant. She rejected her dark lover with more scorn than perhaps was necessary, and he went away, his heart burning with rage against the whole white race. In the revolt that followed not long after-whether as a direct consequence or not, one cannot say-Atai took a prominent part and, until his violent death, was the moving spirit of the war against the whites. It was put down at last, but not until many French settlers had been cruelly massacred. The writer of the book from which I quote says that he remonstrated with Madame A. on her conduct, and told her that she should have been prepared to sacrifice herself and become the bride of the cannibal king, as by doing so she might have saved much slaughter. Madame A. acknowledged this with all humility, not even arguing the matter when R., the author, called her très egoïste, but (she said) the idea of marrying Ataï revolted her; she would have been prepared to see every white person in NC die, rather than carry her friendship to such an extreme. R.'s point of view, frankly put, appeared to be that Madame, having raised the row, was bound to pay for it. It is a nice point, and one that would certainly be decided in different ways, according to the nationality of the decider. For my part, I cannot help sympathising with the egoïste Madame A. (Grimshaw, 1930:284-285).*

Grimshaw's relationship with photography is little known. We know she carried a camera with her to New Caledonia as she informs us (p. 270) that she has photographed one of "Bourail's grey ghosts" among the many women. The author also informs us that on her

way to Ile Nou (which she refers to as the nightmare island) taking photographs is strictly forbidden (p. 288).

Grimshaw wandered about in Noumea with her camera and photographed some of the *libérés*. She leaves us some of her encounters:

*"I remember one sturdy vagabond, proud of his eighty years, who stood up boldly to be photographed, while another, whom I would rather have taken, begged with piteous eyes to be let off... His picture will not be found in any book of mine... He was small and weak, seventy-five or more, just able to crawl along in the sunlight. While the sturdy rogue was ragged and dirty, this other luckless one had managed, somehow, to keep up a vague simulacrum of tidiness. His pathetic pale blue eyes had a certain refinement, his thin white beard was trimmed, heaven knows how. After all the years of agony and hell, of constant association with the lowest of the low, he still remained, dimly but certainly, what he once had been - a French gentleman.*

*I gave the sturdy vagabond some coins, and he hurried away to spend them. To the old great-grandpapa I gave food and money. He took it with quiet dignity, saying "Mademoiselle, I am only a poor libéré, and cannot make any return, but every time I see you I will give you my good day, which is all I have". (Grimshaw, 1930:291-292).*

Grimshaw's novel *Isles of Adventure: from Java to New Caledonia but Principally Papua*, intended to keep readers interested in something that was different from other islands in the Pacific. The fact that New Caledonia had been a penal colony gave to Grimshaw's readers something new to discover. This is probably the main reason why the author emphasised overwhelmingly this aspect of the French colony while essentially omitting to describe the life of the Kanaks. As mentioned above, she did however report the tragic death of rebel chief Ataï as an impossible love story that ended tragically between a Kanak and a white woman. Relationships between black men and white women were one of Grimshaw's favourite themes that she included repetitively in her other novels. It was taboo and therefore would catch the reader's attention.



Collection Serge Kakou, the executioner "Macé"

## 4.3. Convict press and illustrations

### 4.3.1. The evolving relationship between the press and photography

The Communards were very prolific in setting up numerous newspapers. Through the French press in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, newspapers for foreigners started to emerge and with it guides for travel. From 1860 to 1914 newspapers translated the taste for traveling; it was original and contemporary.



Collection SHE/CDP- 40-BAG -52



Collection SHE/CDP- 01-MIN- 15

1880 was the *Age d'or*<sup>131</sup> of the press. It saw an increase of journalists and the sales of newspapers hit 100,000 in Paris. It was also a time when literacy increased, leading to more reporting and interviews. However, there is controversy around reporting: contamination in the press, as poison coming from 'under' (*fait divers*<sup>132</sup>) for the press of the masses. Between 1870 and 1880 there was an Americanisation of the French press with shortness in presentation of information. In 1888 Zola criticised the press for being a 'Flot déchaîné à information à outrance'.<sup>133</sup> The success of the traveling press was due to the expansion of colonial territories which encouraged the practice of traveling. All papers were illustrated: the traveler was first of all a voyeur. Traveling was very important for illustration. This period witnessed the expansion of the colonial press and novels of adventure such as Beatrice Grimshaw as mentioned previously, and writings of discoveries. Both were often written by the same authors who favoured the mixing of fiction and reality.

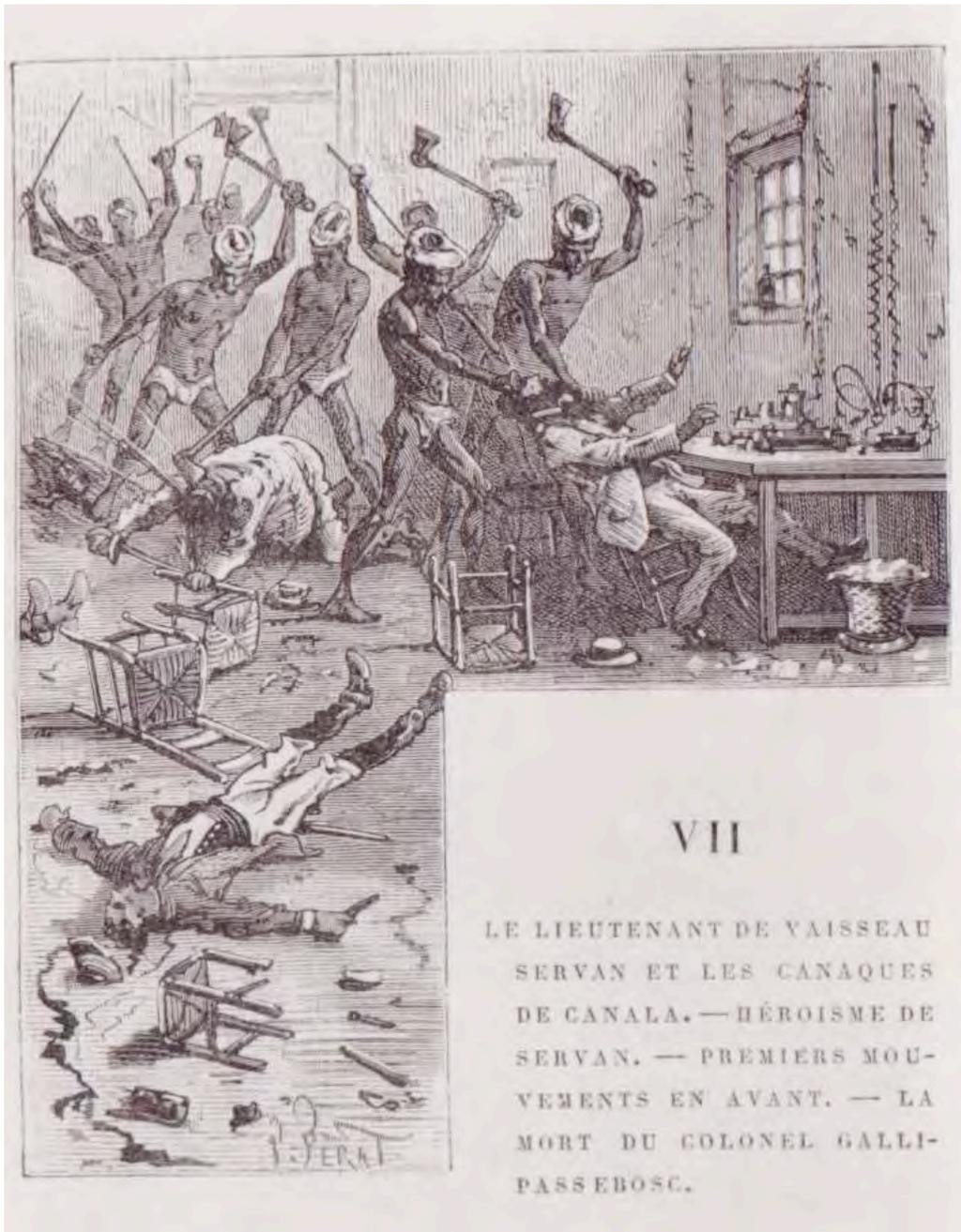
Starting in 1890 began photographic theme competition and publication. Engravings included human science; the person responsible for the drawing often used engravings from elsewhere as they had never set foot in the exotic place they were depicting. The nineteenth century was therefore radically different from the eighteenth century which focused on seeking truth. The press reflected the interest of studies of its time: the study of strangeness and customs. In a spontaneous manner people sent their traveling stories to be published. This trend aroused parody and satiric press coverage.

---

<sup>131</sup> Golden age

<sup>132</sup> News items

<sup>133</sup> A raging flood with information at excess



Satiric drawing published in Henri Rivière, « Souvenirs de la Nouvelle Cadédonie » 1888, p. 127

The authenticity of the photograph became a valid argument which legitimated its use in the press. Engravings brought ‘visual pleasure’ which was used to push consumerism. In 1886 simili<sup>134</sup> engravings were used for reproducing in the press, yet engravings remain the

<sup>134</sup> (black and white document printed with only one colour: black)

most important. In 1905 more photographs were used than engravings in the press. The invention of the portable camera in 1890 democratised photography. In 1907 the first colour photography is published in the media.

Louis Lumière<sup>135</sup> markets the first commercial three color photography process - Autochrome Lumière. In 1907, the plates were available from their factory in Lyon though the process had been patented in 1904. This new invention created great excitement among photographers. Alfred Stieglitz wrote: "All are amazed at the remarkably truthful color rendering; the wonderful luminosity of the shadows..., the endless range of grays; the richness of the deep colors. In short, soon the world will be color-mad, and Lumière will be responsible."<sup>136</sup> Stieglitz further stated: "Color photography is an accomplished fact. The seemingly everlasting question whether color would ever be within the reach of the photographer has been definitely answered. The answer the Lumières, of France, have supplied. For fourteen years, it is related, they have been seeking it. Thanks to their science, perseverance, and patience, practical application and unlimited means, these men have finally achieved what many of us had looked upon practically as unachievable...."<sup>137</sup>

Autochrome is a colour photograph on a glass plate and was the first practical colour process available to both professional and amateur photographers. Mostly due to its fragility it only spanned twenty five years before it was superseded by new technologies such as Kodachrome.

Auguste Lumière unveiled the "miracle" of color photography in Paris and published in the June 15 1907 issue of the *L'Illustration* the first color photo feature in the history of the press which allowed Lumière to establish international interest. Five autochromes plates taken by Léon Gimpel (a pioneer of photo reportage and who had been initiated into the

---

<sup>135</sup> (1864-1948)

<sup>136</sup> letter from Munich (July 1907)

<sup>137</sup> Article published in "Camera Work" issue of October 1907

Autochrome process by the Lumière brothers themselves) were published. In 1914 there is a radical change in the etymology: before 1914 reporter photographer, after 1914 photograph reporter.



Autochrome of Leon Gimpel, Group of infantry soldiers photographed in Paris on May Day 1907, Supplement of the "Illustration" issue of June 15, 1907

### **4.3.2. The escape of Henri Rochefort to Australia**

Before his very famous escape as a political prisoner in New Caledonia, Henri Rochefort, also known as the Marquis Victor-Henry de Rochefort-Luçay was a well born gentleman of ancient nobility (born in Paris on 31 January 1831).

Prior to being dismissed from the editorial staff of the *Figaro* due to his mocking of the government of Napoléon III (1852-70) he wrote comedies in 1856 and contributed to the

satirical journal *Le Nain jaune*, (founded in 1863 by Aurélien Scholl) and to the daily *Le Figaro*. Rochefort was prosecuted but fled to Belgium until his return to France in 1869. He founded another newspaper, *La Marseillaise*.

In 1871, Rochefort was elected to the Government of National Defence which was established in the wake of France's capitulation at the end of the Franco-Prussian War. Though Rochefort did not participate in the Commune itself, the views he had expressed both in person and through his articles, ended in his being tarred with the same brush as the Communards.

Rochefort had in common with the Communards mainly their enmity towards the National Assembly from which he had resigned. With enemies on both sides, he had to flee from Paris during the *semaine sanglante* in order to avoid reprisals. Leaving Paris on 20 May, he was arrested as soon as his train reached Meaux and was taken, handcuffed and under guard, to the prison at Versailles.

He remained in prison until, on 21 September, he was sentenced to be deported for life, his sentence to be served in a fortified place. On 9 November Rochefort was transferred to La Rochelle, then to Fort Boyard on the nearby Ile d'Aix where most of the prisoners were awaiting deportation.

For the best part of two years, Rochefort was confined in various penitentiaries in the vicinity of La Rochelle: from Fort Boyard he was sent in June 1872 to a dungeon in the citadel on the Ile d'Oléron, and in August that year to the more comfortable citadel of Saint-Martin on the Ile de Ré, later to be the place of incarceration of two other famous Frenchmen – Dreyfus and Henri Carrère (known as Papillon). During this period he completed a novel *Les Dépravés*, and was released for a short period to Versailles in order to marry his ex-mistress Marie Renaud and legitimize his children by her.

After 1871, political opinion within France began to shift in the direction of republicanism, though a monarchist majority still prevailed in the Assembly. The government decided that Rochefort should be deported. His personal possessions were sold and he was allowed to bid farewell to his children before embarking on the *Virginie* on 10 August 1873, to the penal colony of New Caledonia. His stay on the island lasted a mere four months, his escape taking place on the night of 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> March 1874 in the company of five others.

Two of them had held important positions in the Paris Commune. They were : [Jean-François-] Paschal Grousset (1844-1909), who had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment in 1870. In 1872 he was sent to New Caledonia on board the *Guerrrière*. After his escape, he lived for various periods in Sydney, San Francisco, New York and London, making a living by teaching French. He returned to France after the 1880 amnesty. – François Jourde (1843-1893) founded a journal (*La Pipe en bois*) of which only one number ever appeared. During the siege of Paris, he was elected by the 5<sup>th</sup> arrondissement as a member of the Commune. He was arrested on 30 May and condemned to deportation on 2 September. Arriving on the Isle of Pines in October 1872, he went to live in Noumea in October 1873 and worked as an accountant. Jourde lived abroad after his escape, first in Switzerland, then Brussels and finally London. He was granted amnesty in 1877. With Grousset, he published in 1876 (from Geneva) an account of the escape from New Caledonia (*Les Condamnés politiques en Nouvelle-Calédonie : récit de deux évadés*).

Rochefort became a hero in many places and his escape was celebrated in the press. The *Newcastle Chronicle* reported on March 28 and 31, 1874 (“Escape of six state prisoners from New Caledonia” and “The escaped French prisoners”) as well as on April 2, 1874, the heroic escape of the six political prisoners from New Caledonia.

Here is an extract of March 28, 1874 in the *Newcastle Chronicle*:

*“Yesterday, the city was thrown into a state of some excitement by the arrival of the P.C.E. from New Caledonia, having on board six of the most prominent French State prisoners recently exiled to that colony.*

*The name of Henri Rochefort was in itself enough to cause excitement, on account of the important part he had taken in effecting the overthrow of the French Empire, and the position he occupied in the Government, which existed in Paris during the time it was ruled by the Commune.*

*How the prisoners escaped and got on board we are not informed; Captain Law does not appear to know how they got on board; but, once there, and he at sea, he had only to pursue his voyage, and an excellent one he had, having made the passage from Noumea in six days. It seemed as if the elements were in sympathy with these men, who, as their offences are only political, are free on British territory; and the people of Newcastle were quite as ready to accord them a hearty welcome, as was England to accord the perpetrator of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December massacre a welcome, when driven from his Imperial throne in 1870. England asks no question as to the merits of the political differences that caused men who were in power to seek asylum on her soil. It is enough for her that men struggle for freedom – or what they may regard as their political rights – flee to her for refuge, and the protection of her powerful arm will be at once thrown around them.*

*The following are the names :*

*Henri Rochefort, journalist and member of the first Provisional Government.*

*Pascal Grousset, Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

*Olivier Pain, Secrétaire-General.*

*Francis Jourde, Minister of Finance.*

*Achille Baillière, Aide de Camp to General Rossel.*

*Charles Bostière Grandhille, Commandant de Bataillon.*

*It was somewhat singular that these men should arrive while all the vessels in the harbour were arrayed with a display of flags in honour of his Excellency the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, who was expected hourly at the time.*

*H. Rochefort and two of his compatriots left by the Kembla, last night, for Sydney."*

Edouard Littaye who arrived to New Caledonia after the escape of Henri Rochefort mentioned the tension among the authorities in his notebook that has been kept by his descendants:

*« 195b " quand j'arrivai dans la colonie, quelques mois après, l'habitude de la délation s'était si facilement implantée dans le bagne que les divers chefs d'administration reevaient encore des lettres anonymes émanant de condamnés aux travaux forcés.*

*197a Les enquêtes terminées, le C/ Amiral Ribourg après avoir signé des listes remettant à la disposition du Ministre plusieurs fonctionnaires impliqués sans preuves précises dans l'affaire Rochefort et pris pour les mêmes causes un arrêté expulsant dans les 48 heures de la colonie des commerçants soupçonnés d'avoir pris part à la dite évasion, le C/ Amiral Ribourg, dis-je, quitta Nouméa pour se rendre aux Iles Fidji afin de s'embarquer pour l'Europe.*

*197b Le Commandant de la Richerie après le départ de l'Amiral, examina mûrement la légalité des mesures prises par le plénipotentiaire et ne put se résoudre à admettre qu'un commerçant, fut-il même coupable du fait dont on l'accusait mais dont on ne rapporterait pas une preuve absolue put être nommé au poste de Gouverneur dans des circonstances difficiles, à la suite de l'évasion de Rochefort, il [Mr de Pritzbuër] était résolu à prendre le contre-pied de l'administration de son prédécesseur le Capitaine de Vaisseau Gauthier de la Richerie, excellent administrateur cependant qui avait fait ses preuves comme Commissaire Impérial à Tahiti (I)*

*Named at the post of Governor in difficult circumstances following the escape of Rochefort, he [Mr de Pritzbuër] was determined to take to the opposite course the administration of his predecessor, Captain Gauthier de la Richerie, an excellent administrator who had proven reliable as Imperial Commissaire in Tahiti*

196a(l) A l'époque de notre arrivée à Nouméa, deux mois environ après l'évasion de Rochefort et de trois de ses compagnons de la colonie était encore sous le coup de la terreur qu'avait causée, non seulement aux officiers et fonctionnaires, mais encore aux commerçants, l'enquête que le Gouvernement avait confiée à cette occasion au C/ Amiral Ribourg.

At the time of our arrival to Nouméa, approximately two months after Rochefort's escape and of his three companions of the colony were still under the blow of the terror which had caused, not only to the officers and civil servants, but also to the tradesmen, the investigation which the Government had entrusted to this occasion to C/ Admiral Ribourg

C'était bien l'homme le moins fait pour mener à bien une pareille tâche. Il faut [dire] que les deux collaborateurs qu'il s'adjoignit: le Commissaire Ordonnateur Boyer et le chef du Service judiciaire Lasserre pouvaient rivaliser avec lui.

L'Amiral Ribourg était un homme d'un caractère très emporté brisant sans les entendre ceux qui lui résistaient.

Les deux autres plus calmes en apparence, mais rancunier et entiers dans leurs idées, ne convenaient pas mieux à la fonction qui leur avait été dévolue et qui demandait du tact, de la prudence, une grande modération, de la réserve et surtout de l'équité.

Les enquêteurs avaient été relevés de leur fonctions pour opérer comme des espèces de juges d'Instruction.

Ils citaient devant eux et entendaient du matin au soir, toutes personnes militaires ou civiles qu'il leur plaisait d'appeler.

196b C'est alors qu'on vît des forçats déposer contre leurs chefs. Inutile de dire à quels actes d'indiscipline et de désordres cette procédure honteuse donna lieu.

Il fallait avant tout trouver des complices de l'évasion de Rochefort et, dans ce but, tout moyen était bon.

Comme en 1793, on appela cette époque: la Terreur.

Ainsi expédié dans les 48 heures sans avoir eu le temps d'établir son bilan, et exposé ainsi à une catastrophe financière que tout plénipotentiaire qu'il était, l'Amiral Ribourg n'avait pas le droit de lui faire encourir.

Le Ministre de la Marine autorisa, il est vrai, un an environ après, quelques uns de ces commerçants à rentrer à Nouméa, mais, si mes souvenirs sont fidèles, sans aucune indemnité.

196b Mr de Prtzbuer dans les premiers temps de son Gouvernement avait pris à la lettre ses instructions et était toujours sur le qui-vive dans la crainte d'évasions. J'étais arrivé depuis une quinzaine [à peine] à Nouméa lorsqu'une nuit vers 2 heures je fus réveillé par des coups violents frappés à ma fenêtre. C'était le Gouverneur qui m'invitait à me rendre sans délai à son Cabinet.

197 a Introduit dans le grand salon du Gouverneur, j'y trouvai quelques uns de mes collègues arrivés avant moi, et se demandant ce qui était survenu. Mr de prtizbuer ne tarda pas à paraître et nous annonça qu'un déporté avait manqué à l'appel du soir et qu'il s'était sans doute évadé.

197b Nous nous regardâmes tout étonnés d'avoir été dérangés au milieu de la nuit pour apprendre un fait que nous aurions su le lendemain sans trop de surprise. Il arrivait du reste très fréquemment que les détenus politiques s'éloignaient du pénitencier se cachaient dans les brousses et reparaissaient le lendemain. C'était précisément ce qui avait causé tant d'émoi au Gouverneur qui ne craignait rien tant qu'une évasion.

Inutile de dire que la besogne, dès les premiers temps de ma prise de service ne me manqua pas. Bien des questions n'étaient qu'à l'état d'embryon. »

After his stay in Australia, Henri Rochefort was to go to the United States, on which he was later to include a number of chapters in the account, entitled *Retour de la Nouvelle-Calédonie de Nouméa en Europe*. Back in France, Rochefort soon found himself editing yet another newspaper, this one entitled *L'Intransigeant* (founded in July 1880). Henri Rochefort described his varied career, including his various arrests, his deportation, and the founding of his newspapers, in *Les Aventures de ma vie* (5 volumes, 1896-8). Other works written by him include *Les Français de la décadence* (1866), *La Grande Bohème* (1867), *Les Dépravés* (1875), *Les Naufrageurs* (1876), *L'Aurore boréale* (1878) and *L'Évadé* (1880). He died on 30 June 1913 at Aix-les-Bains.

Henri Rochefort accounts his evasion<sup>138</sup>:

“After a crossing which can sometimes take twenty-five days but in our case took only seven, urged on as we were by an overwhelming desire to see our families again and probably by a strong easterly wind as well, we found ourselves, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1874, within sight of a land that had been conquered by man. It was Australia. In the course of the four hundred league journey from Noumea, the only distraction from the monotonous rhythm of that “symphony in blue major” known as the Pacific Ocean had been our passing by Lord Howe Island, which is overlooked from a height of five hundred metres by the dark shelf known as Ball’s Pyramid, which seems to threaten nearby ships but in fact warns them, thus combining the useful and the disagreeable.” (*L'Évadé*, 1880)

---

<sup>138</sup> Henri ROCHEFORT *L'Évadé*, roman canaque. Charpentier, Paris, 1880, 12x19cm, broché, tirage de tête



# **Chapter 5    Photography**

## **Typologies and Cataloguing**

### **5.1. Typifying diverse cultural groups in photographs**

#### **5.1.1. Preserving historical and social memory**



Photography Max Meyer, collection Jean-Claude Mermoud, n°194



Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie 1 Num 11-182

### A multicultural New Caledonia?

Migration played an important role in shaping minority groups and photography helped in emphasizing theories of race, ethnicity and ethnic stratification. Today, minority groups brought in to New Caledonia from the 19<sup>th</sup> century are products of historically created social definitions, rather than of cultural or biological traits. However, photographs taken of the varied ethnic groups reflect an ethnic stratification, a general description of racial and ethnic inequality in New Caledonia and how these groups tended to occupy unequal position. There are cultural explanations and structural explanations for this.

Through 19<sup>th</sup> century photography we can examine classic assimilation theory and how migration waves produced racially or ethnically based inequality.

The declining significance of race in New Caledonia helps us to look at dual sector theories of ethnic inequality, and at the explanations offered by the internal colonialism perspective. Recording of non-European peoples from 1860s to 1870, such as travel photography, did not attempt structured and scientific recording. In an examination of the early use of photography in anthropology it is necessary to consider the science of anthropology in general and the study of race within contemporary socio-political frameworks.

How do we interpret a photograph? What is meant by interpretation? Interpretation is infinite and contributes to maintain tradition. To ask the meaning of what has been handed down to the next generation. There is a temporality, the meaning of time itself. There is a constant struggle between the handing over and the renewal of that passing on. The totemic eludes temporal logic according to Levi-Strauss.

The interpretation of photographs is like the understanding of myths. Myth is the story of a hidden meaning which will never be entirely revealed. There is a coding of a certain number of practices. The myth is only unveiled through the understanding of oneself. Analysing a photograph and interpreting its composition and intentions are also linked to close self examination. Our interpretation says more of who we are than what is in the picture.

According to Willis (1988:258) ‘the assumption that photographs are primarily valuable as historical records pervades many of the “archaeological dig” style publications. While they may discuss photographic technology and the life and career of the photographer or photographers responsible for the images, consideration of meaning and context vanishes when the discussion of individual photographs begins. In fact, there is often no discussion at

all, simply the tacking on of miscellaneous facts to an image assumed to be a window on the past’.

## **5.2. Defining societal structure through interchangeable images: methods used to classify, hierarchies, and serialise**



Photography Max Meyer, collection Jean-Claude Marmoud, n°230

“During the 1980s colonial discourse theory enjoyed a remarkable growth and generated a series of legacies and contributed to the rise of a new field of pedagogy in

'Cultural Studies'”<sup>139</sup> which I believe is necessary in order to understand the various cultural groups that make up New Caledonia's multicultural society.

The problem of ethnic identification lies in its being a subjective phenomenon. Individuals identify with racial or ethnic groups, even if they are not forced to do so by external pressures. The “ethnic renaissance” started in the United States in the 1970s and followed elsewhere. After a long period of assimilation, this decade saw the beginning of a resurgence of ethnic identification. In classifying and analysing photographs taken of New Caledonia's various communities in 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is important to understand today's phenomenon of ethnic identification. From “white ethnics,” the largely European origin ethnic groups have made up most of the non-Kanak groups in New Caledonia. The resurgence of ethnic identity in New Caledonia can be understood as a matter of “symbolic ethnicity” where social class positions and the re-interpreting narratives about the past are done in order to make sense of a changing present.

When photography was invented questions of culture, including psychology, linguistics, technology, and religion, were interpreted according to the evolutionary standpoint and were perceived to be inherently related to those of race. Photography tried to bring forward the differences of races in the countries and areas studied. However, when migrants from different origins came to New Caledonia, the way they were photographed differed significantly compared to how they would have been framed and set up had they remained in their own country of origin as indigenous.

The methodological need for contemporary scientists to classify material in the biological sciences required a typological conception of humankind, hence the

---

139Washbrook, 1999:602

preoccupation with measurement and quantification which dominated anthropological method in the mid and late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The stress was on the physical nature of humankind which could be classified, quantified, and placed appropriately in the evolutionary framework. By the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century ‘racial type’, an abstract concept, became regarded as something real and concrete.

## **5.3.Fluidity and mutability: a Pacific ‘melting pot’**

Man settled in Australia and New Guinea over 40,000 years ago. Archaeological findings have demonstrated that a second migration of sailors and known as potters came from South East Asia 4,000 years ago. This second wave of migration is believed to be at the origin of ancient Oceanian society. They discovered Vanuatu and New Caledonia over 3,000 years ago.

Exchange and movements of populations were already happening in prehistoric New Caledonia, the period known as “Koné” going from 1000 BC to year 0. The Austronesians who moved around in small groups had numerous exchanges with Vanuatu and Fiji.

The second period known as “Naia-Oundjo” which goes from year 0 to the years of European colonisation saw a progressive increase of population and groups started to settle either by the sea or inland. The settlement of these groups saw the emergence of taro fields and the intensification of horticulture. This provoked further exchanges among the Grande Terre and the islands.

At the time Europeans arrived, there were 33 languages, all linked to the Austronesian branch except for *Fagauvea*, which is linked to the Polynesian family of Austronesians. Today's Kanak population is the direct descendant of the same migration current and its current disparity is the result of numerous exchanges between people and dispersal of populations which took place in prehistoric New Caledonia.

With the 'discovery' of New Caledonia by James Cook on September 4, 1774, the English were the first Europeans to set foot in the North West of the Grande Terre in Balade. However, only in the 1830s did English adventurers come temporarily to the newly discovered territory. Whalers were the first to arrive, soon followed by sandalwood adventurers in the island of Pines in 1841. Later, fishing of holothurians (*bêches des mers*) was developed to soon be followed by fishing of “trépang”<sup>140</sup>. The crew was not only European but also counted Asians and Oceanians.

Indeed by the 1790s, as the China trade developed, more foreign vessels needed local sailors to replace crew losses caused by desertion or death. Tahitians, Maori and Hawaiians were among the earliest to explore this opportunity. They were often discharged on any island when their services were no longer needed and hence became beachcombers (the term was applied to European vagrants – often survivors of shipwrecks or deserters from whaling or trading vessels – who became some of the earliest settlers in the Pacific islands. Having acquired island wives, many took a leading role in the exploitation of sandalwood and *bêche-de-mer*).

The first Irish settler, James Paddon, settled in the île Nou where he created a real village and then settled in Païta in a large station granted by the first governor Guillain

---

<sup>140</sup> Sea cucumber

(1862-1870). From then on other “free settlers” were encouraged to settle in New Caledonia.

At roughly the same time, in the 1840s, another wave of migrants came to New Caledonia. Their motivation was not economical but religious. The London Missionary Society set foot in 1840 on the island of Pines, not made up of European catechists but Samoans and then followed by Rarotongians in 1841 in Maré and 1842 in Lifou (Loyalty islands). It was only in 1854 that British ministers settled in Maré. They were confined to the Loyalty Islands by the administrative regulations until 1895. They were opposed to the Marist missionaries who had settled in 1857 in Ouvéa and in 1858 in Lifou.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the London Missionary Society pulled out from New Caledonia as they were profoundly against the French presence. The Société des Missions Etrangères of Paris took over putting an end to this first wave of protestant evangelisation. The French presence only occurred fourteen years later after James Cook, with La Pérouse's stop over in 1788. Soon followed by the Admiral d'Entrecasteaux in 1793 in search of La Pérouse's disappearance, other French expeditions followed, starting in 1822 as the French were getting interested in the region. Starting from the 1850s, a few “free settlers” came to New Caledonia and were farmers, stockbreeders and prospectors. Before the French took possession of the territory, it was essentially English, German and Irish who settled in New Caledonia. From 1864 to 1897, 29,700 convicts were brought in.

French Marist missionaries first settled in Balade in 1847 and were driven off by the local Kanak, accused of witchcraft. They took refuge on the island of Pines as well as on Futuna. They returned in 1852 on the Grande Terre and later settled in Ouvéa in 1857 and in Lifou in 1858, causing the anger of English ministers of the London Missionary Society who had been there since 1841. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Missions Etrangères de

Paris continued the process of evangelisation. Among them the minister and ethnologist Maurice Leenhardt (1902-1920) organised the “new” religious protestant life on the Grande Terre after he created the station Do Neva.

The photographs of farmers who colonised New Caledonia reflect men who often had a poor and hard life. According to Senès (:42), this enabled the settler to forge a deep rooted link with the land and a sense of belonging. “There is little distance between a peasant of old stock and a Melanesian from the tribes than one would like to pretend” (Senès, 1977:42).<sup>141</sup>

Free settlers came to New Caledonia attracted by Governor Feillet incentives to try a 'farming adventure'. Those peasants who answered Feillet's call and desire to create a rural French land in the antipodes came from the provinces. They were Berrichons, Landais, Normands or from the Nièvre. According to the elder Lenez from La Foa and interviewed by Senès, Feillet succeeded in establishing a deeply rooted farming community which implanted them in the country but he failed in preventing the numerous difficulties that often discouraged the provincial exiled men and women (Senès, 1977:52).

---

<sup>141</sup>“La colonisation agricole de la Nouvelle Calédonie n’a pas été le fait d’hommes pervers, étriés, profiteurs, elle a été surtout la réalisation de paysans collés à un sol souvent dur, pauvre, torréfié ou inondé, avec lequel il a fallu se bagarrer. Entre la terre qu’il a fallu, à la force du poignet, modeler, et le colon, un lien subtil s’est établi qui, lui aussi, plonge dans le viscéral.”

“Il y a beaucoup moins loin qu’on veut bien le prétendre entre un paysan de vieille souche et le Mélanésien des tribus.” (Senès, p.42)

”The agricultural colonisation of New Caledonia was not the fact of perverse men, skimped, profiteers, it was essentially the realisation of peasants stuck to an often harsh land, poor, dried or flooded, with which it was necessary to brawl. Between the land which had to be modelled with the force of the wrist, and the settler, a subtle bond was established which, plunge in the visceral.”

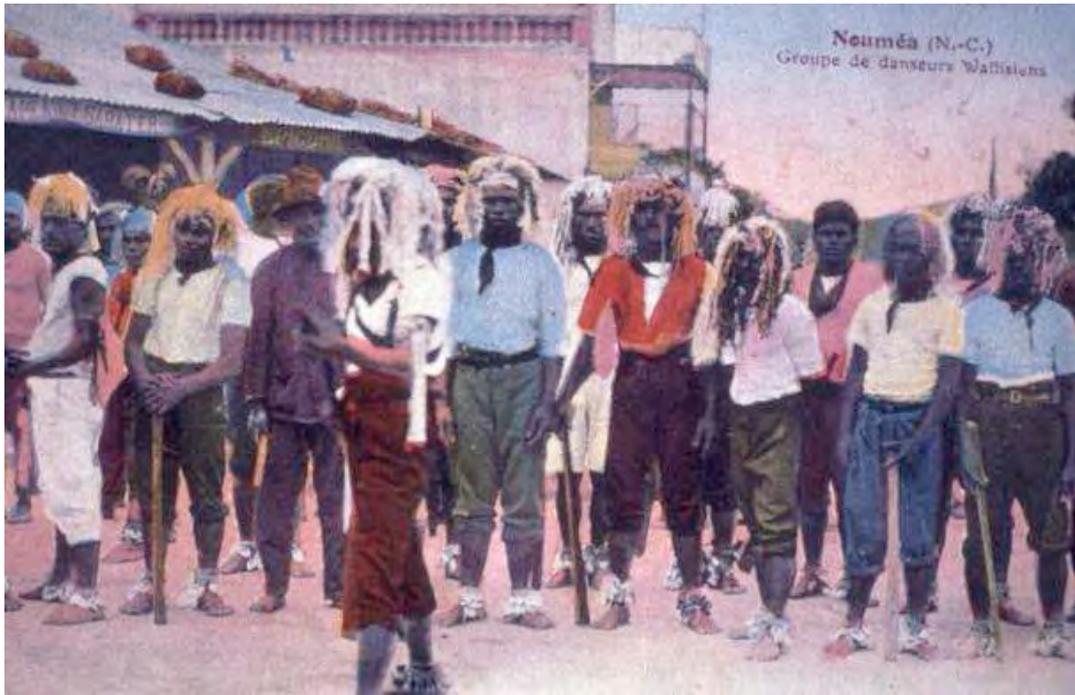
“There is much less difference than one wants to claim between a peasant of long date and a Melanesian from the tribes” (Senès, p. 42)

### **5.3.1. The metis**

The first Europeans who settled on a temporary or permanent basis were men. The *métis* born of a European father and a Kanak mother between 1840 and 1860 were the direct descendants of the first whalers, sandalwood seekers and beachcombers of that time. They were the first biological *métis* of the territory. However, as they were brought up by their maternal clan and chose to live the simple and rough life of the Kanak, it makes this first generation interbreeding a biological one and not a cultural one. It is only in the 1870s that adventurers settled in the tribes gave their children a cross-cultural bringing up. Those children played a fundamental role in the introduction of modernity in the ‘brousse’ (New Caledonian bush).

The absence of women in some of the communities brought into the territory as foreign labour such as the New Hebridians, Tonkenese, Javanese and other, or as convicts such as the Arabs, accelerated the process of mix marriage. Some of these populations integrated into Caledonian society very quickly, allowing their descendants to have both cultures of origin. They played a fundamental role in New Caledonia's melting pot.

### **5.3.2. Wallisians and Futunians**



Collection SHE/CDP- 01-SPO -ENI2

Wallisians and Futunians have a long history of migrating in Oceania. Often with no particular goals, these movements of population were of simple incursion and at times ended in long-lasting settlements. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there was a Wallisian colony in the Loyalty Islands. Ouvéa (the most northern island of the Loyalty Islands) is a Wallisian name; the *Fagauvea* (which is directly linked to the Polynesian family of Austronesians) testify specific ethnic types and customs.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century a second wave of Wallisians and Futunians appeared in New Caledonia. In the period of evangelisation the enterprise of the Société de Marie in Wallis and Futuna and in New Caledonia brought new exchanges between both archipelagos between 1843 and 1852. Wallisian workers were brought to the territory of New Caledonia in 1852 and were employed by Mr Bérard on his station in Boulari.

Early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century more Wallisians and Futunians were employed by the Hagen and Béchade companies (1920). And then in 1924, with a booming mining industry in need of cheap labour, more Wallisians and Futunians came to the territory. Numbers were relatively low as they amounted to 30 in 1924 (Wallisians and Futunians represent today over 10 per cent of the population and there have been ethnic tensions between their communities and the Kanak, especially in the area of St Louis in the suburbs of Nouméa). In 1943, American authorities present in the Pacific brought in 120 Wallisians and 40 Futunians to participate in their efforts during WWII.



Collection Max Meyer, Collection Jean-Claude Mermoud, n°469

The arrivals of Wallisians and Futunians between the 17<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> remained relatively low. It was only starting in 1947 that there was a real wave of migrants. This time it was not only a need from the mining industry for labour but it was also the population pressure on the islands of Wallis and Futuna and the lack of economic resources on these Polynesian islands that attracted them to New Caledonia. Between 1947 and 1962, around 2000 Wallisian and Futunian expatriates settled in New Caledonia.

### 5.3.1. New Hebridians

New Hebridians arrived to New Caledonia in the early days of the colony. Even before the French took possession of the territory, some had already been introduced in working contracts. They were working for settlers such as the Englishman Paddon in 1846. They were photographed and often confused for Kanak with false captions and also used as models in studio prints.

The New Hebridians were first recruited as farmers in the 1860s and were then on working contracts for mining companies.<sup>142</sup> Australian captains from Queensland were responsible for the first contracts. The presence of New Hebridians in New Caledonia was directly linked to the slave trade that took place at that time in Oceania and known as Blackbirding. Most of the labour recruited was males. The way in which islander labour was used changed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, following the abolition of slavery. The French governor took action in forbidding such practise and New Hebridian migrants started arriving with legal working contracts. In the first mining boom of 1880-1885, they comprised 2,000 workers and ended with around 14,000 residing in New Caledonia by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Numerous advertisements were published in the local newspaper the *Moniteur de la Nouvelle-Calédonie* for the attention of free settlers looking for labour :

---

<sup>142</sup>The engineer Jules Garnier brought great hopes for the future of the colony with the discovery of rich mining.

*« Les personnes désirantes d'engager des travailleurs néo-hébridais, sont invité à se faire inscrire, dès maintenant, chez les soussignés, plusieurs bateaux étant attendus incessamment. Lomont et Compagnie agents »<sup>143</sup>.*

These ads were published on a weekly basis: for example they showed up in the paper on June 10, 1874, then June 17, 1874 and again on June 24, 1874. The arrival of the boats with a number of indigenous New Hebridians on board is mentioned in the advertisement of September 9, 1874.

The Sydney Morning Herald published a month after the *Moniteur de la Nouvelle-Calédonie* articles in French referring to New Caledonia's minerals, with the intention to attract French settlers in Australia. Many French families transited by Australia (Sydney, Ballarat...) before setting foot in New Caledonia (Senès, 52).

In the 1930s immigration stopped and New Hebridians were repatriated at the end of their contracts. Few of them settled on the territory. After 1945, a new wave of New Hebridians came to New Caledonia after obtaining French citizenship.

---

<sup>143</sup>Those interested in hiring New Hebridian workers are invited to sign up as of now to the undersigned, several boats due to arrive soon. Lomont and Co agents.

### 5.3.4. The Chinese



Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie, album Maurice et Raymond Leenhardt, 2  
Num 9-078

In many island groups, particularly Hawaii, Fiji, Samoa and Tahiti between the 1840s and 1880s, foreigners secured long-term access to cheap land, establishing coconut and sugarcane plantations; the pattern was extended by mining in New Caledonia and cotton and sugarcane in Queensland. This heightened competition for labour, leading to colonial partition of the islands and the importation of Asian labourers. More than 350,000 Asians supplemented or replaced Pacific workers between 1850 and 1917.



Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie, album Maurice et Raymond  
Leenhardt, 2 Num 9-079

As early on as 1847 Chinese arrived in New Caledonia on Paddon's boats. Essentially motivated to come for economic benefits, most of them returned to their homeland after putting aside enough money. From those early arrivals only the ancestor of the Song family remained on the territory.

In 1866 about a hundred Chinese came to settle freely in the colony and in 1884 the mining company, Société du Nickel (SLN) recruited over a 150 Chinese from Macao. Gold, chrome, cobalt and nickel were discovered and mined from the 1870s, and by the 1890s New Caledonia was the world's major supplier of nickel ore. Once again, women were outnumbered and long-term settlement seems to have been reduced for this very reason. In 1887, 111 Chinese lived in New Caledonia whereas in 1911 that number had plummeted to 39.

It was only in the 1950s that another wave of Chinese migrants came to New Caledonia. They were Chinese from French Polynesia and came with their families. Many of them represent today's Chinese community and are their direct descendants.

Senès described the mingling of cultures where the Chinese were part of the local environment:

*“... le vieux Louis qui travaillait aux mines en passant par Clovis qui est né là-haut à Kouaoua. En n’oubliant pas Joseph qui a travaillé aux TP avec les condamnés pour construire la ville! Celui-là oui qu’habitait vers la chapelle des chinois, là où c’était un grand carré de tombes...” (Senès, :52).*

*Florindo Paladine (raconté par sa veuve): “C’est avec les Chinois qu’il avait fait la cuisine (composé d’anciennes faïences) On avait aménagé ça pour habiter là” (Senès p.78).*

*« The old Louis who worked in the mines while passing by Clovis who was born up in Kouaoua. Without forgetting Joseph who worked in the TP with the convicts to build the city! That one yes that lived near the Chinese vault, where there was a great square of graves...”*

*Florindo Paladine (told by his widow): “It’s with the Chinese that he had done the cooking (composed of old crockery). We had arranged that to live there” (Senès p. 78)*

The last Chinese to arrive on the territory were the 110 boat people that landed in New Caledonia in 1997. This last wave caused among the Kanak population strong opposition to their settlement.

### **5.3.5. The Tahitians**

Contacts between the two French territories date back to their colonisation. From 1853 to 1860, New Caledonia was a “*dépendance*” of the French Establishments of Oceania.<sup>144</sup> Some Tahitian draftees settled in the first days in the South while others returned to the *fenua*.



Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie 2 num 6 – 68 -Tahitian

However, the main Tahitian migration dates back to the 1950s. In that decade there was still a need for labour due to strong economic expansion. In those years it was not possible to recruit Asian labour. French Polynesian migrants were easy to organise given the fact that it was as well a French overseas territory (known as T.O.M. Territoires d'Outre Mer). Tahitians worked essentially on large equipment projects such as the dam of Yaté in the south of New Caledonia. They also worked in the mines and settled in the territory.

French Polynesians followed the economic boom of mining which was especially strong from 1968 and 1974.

---

144Up until the évènements New Caledonia's university was attached to French Polynesia known as L'Université Française du Pacifique whose headquarters were in Tahiti.

### 5.3.6. The Bourbons & Malabars



Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie 2 Num 9-339

The Bourbons and the Malabars refer to the inhabitants of Reunion Island in the Indian Ocean. Known as *île Bourbon* until 1793, the “Bourbonnais” came essentially to New Caledonia to grow sugar canes. Some arrived as early as 1858. They often came with their Indian employees known as “*malabars*”. Motivated by large concessions offered by the first governor of New Caledonia, Guillain, the Bourbonnais were among the free settlers. In the 1870s there were more than 500 Indians working in plantations.

Sugar cane plantations ended up being a failure. By the end of the 1870s, drought and grasshoppers destroyed the sugar industry. The five factories started to be in difficulty and with the rebellion and rarefaction of the labor, they ended closing down one after the other. In 1903, the last remaining factory of Bacouya (Bourail) shut down.

The Bourbonnais photographer, de Greslan, came to New Caledonia in late December 1865 with 37 Indian workers from the Malabar coast. He also brought along all necessary material for the sugar plant installation. He chose to come to New Caledonia following the political project in place by the government to encourage emigration of reunion settlers. At this time the *île Bourbon* was going through a bad economic crisis (Kakou, 1998:52).



Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie 106Fi279

A year earlier Louis Nas de Tourris, general councillor of Bourbon, was in charge of an exploration mission looking at creating a sugar industry in New Caledonia. He gave a favourable report and judged the land sufficiently fertile to see canes prosper. Governor Guillain encouraged the enterprise, promising a free concession of 500 hectares to owners of the two first sugar plants.

Evenor de Greslan settled in Nimba in the Dumbéa valley where he set up a model farm. He obtained the promised gratification in January 1871 when his factory started to work. His success did not last as it didn't either for other Reunion families (Lecoat de Kervegen, de Tourris, Joubert et Lalande-Desjardins, etc..) which saw their farming and hopes destroyed by grasshoppers.

The Bourbonnais and Malabars stayed on the territory and found jobs in other economic sectors.

Freddy Rolland, a settler from the Reunion Island, said about the presence of the Bourbonnais in New Caledonia:

*« De vieux nobles créoles apportèrent en Nouvelle-Calédonie leur respect de Dieu, de la famille, du Roi et de la France. Koné un instant revit à nos yeux au moment des récoltes quand les colons de la côte ouest faisaient venir pour le ramonage de jeunes Loyaltiens qui se glissaient dans les caférés à l'heure où le village s'animait d'usines »<sup>145</sup> (Senès, 83).*

And describing his ancestors and why they fled to the Reunion Island:

*“Mes aïeux! C'est à la veille de la Révolution Française qu'ils sont partis de France. Ils ont eu peur de l'échafaud. On pourchassait alors les aristocrates et il y avait des nobles dans la famille. L'île Bourbon- c'était leur but à ces gentilshommes. Aller là-bas faire des épices ou du rhum. Mais ça n'a pas toujours bien tourné. A cause des cyclones »<sup>146</sup> (Senès, 84).*

---

<sup>145</sup> Old creole men brought to New Caledonia their respect of God, of the family, of the King and of France. Koné for a moment lives again in our eyes the time of harvests when the settlers of the West coast would bring young men from the Loyalty Islands to clean out the coffee plantations which would become animated as factories.

<sup>146</sup> My ancestors! They left France in the wake of the French revolution. They were afraid of the scaffold. Aristocrats were then being pursued and there were nobles in the family. The Bourbon Island – it was their goal for these gentlemen. To go there to make spices or rum. But it did not always turn out well. Because of the cyclones”

They left their island driven to another one, New Caledonia, an island little talked about as it had been subjugated by an Emperor who was hated. Freddy Rolland adds:

*“C’est comme ça que le grand-père est parti. Avec sa femme. Une réunionnaise...”*<sup>147</sup> (Senès, 84).

The grandmother was *malabar* and came from the plantations of Bourbon. Her son Théodore married a girl from Besançon, Joséphine Millot. The family was photographed by Charles Nething, reporter in New Caledonia.



Family album Jeannette Costa (Mr et Mrs Costa mixed Corsican Malabar couple)

---

<sup>147</sup> That’s how the grandfather left. With his wife. A woman from the Reunion Island. (my own translation)

### 5.3.7. The Arabs

The New York Times

The Arab prisoners—condemned for the part they took in the attempt to set up the Commune at Marseilles—were among the most eager to leave Brest. The greater part wanted to get away without any previous medical inspection. The eight Arabs who were rejected as unfit for the voyage went down on their knees, and with tears in their eyes implored the doctors to let them go with their companions. It is easy to understand what an aggravation of the sentence confinement within the four walls of a prison, must be to these African natives.

Published: September 16, 1874

Known as the “Arabs”, they arrived in New Caledonia as political prisoners. The first one to set foot on the island was Braham ben Mohamed who arrived in 1864. Following Mohamed, over a hundred Muslims were brought in 1867 and then in 1868. By 1873 some of them were granted concessions, essentially in the valleys of Boghen and of Nessadiou.

From 1874 to 1883 Kabyles political prisoners were taken to camps on the island of Pines in the fifth 'commune' that the French penal establishment named the “*camp des Arabes*”. Although imprisoned for rebelling against French authorities in Algeria, some of the Arabs participated in tracking the Kanak involved in the rebellion of 1878. One of the leaders, Mokhrani, at the head of a group of forty Kabyles, participated in the repression against the Kanak. Another 1500 Arab convicts later arrived in New Caledonia.



Serge Kakou collection, "50<sup>th</sup> commemoration 1903 - Mobrani and his Arabs"

Collecting information from the elderly to better understand the multiethnic and multicultural side of New Caledonia *The island of a hundred faces*<sup>148</sup>, Jacqueline Senès quotes the elderly Lopez "The road which went to Canala ... often at night, convicts, especially the Arabs, would spread on the properties"<sup>149</sup> (Senès, :52).

---

148L'île aux cent visages

149« La route qui allait à Canala... souvent la nuit, des condamnés, surtout des Arabes, se répandaient sur les propriétés »



Collection Mitchell Library, the Kabils also known as the "Arabs" political prisoners of the 5<sup>th</sup> commune – Ile des Pins, photograph by Allan Hughan, ref0N1-38

### **5.3.8. The Indochinese**

The first group of Indochinese arrived in 1891 in New Caledonia. Recruited by contracts, 479 of the 768 workers on board came from the penal colony of Poulo Condor. These Indochinese were essentially from North Vietnam and are best known as Tonkenese. They were recruited to work in the nickel mines and especially in underground chromite galleries.

Later on, voluntary workers came to New Caledonia in search of a better life, evading famine and unemployment in overpopulated North Vietnam. They were seeking "Tan The Gioi" (The new world) but faced a much harsher reality than expected. Numerous confrontations arose against their employers as they were restrained to remain in their

working area with no rights to leave. Employers were probably too accustomed to penal workers and treated the Indochinese as such.

A new wave of contract workers arrived after WWI and by 1939 only a hundred had obtained the status of free resident. They had to wait till 1945 to see 4,000 of them granted free residence. In the 1970s new migrants known as “boat people” arrived on the coasts of New Caledonia.

Bilingual individual booklets were handed out to Tonkenese workers showing their signature and finger prints. These are kept today at the New Caledonian archives in Nouméa under « Livrets individuels de travailleurs tonkinois. Acquisition des Archives. 1J7 (152W)<sup>150</sup> ».

### 5.3.9. The Japanese



Photo Dara, collection Max Shekelton, Japanese miners

---

<sup>150</sup> Individual booklets of Tonkenese workers. Acquisition of the Archives. 1J7 (152W).

The first 600 Japanese workers arrived in New Caledonia in 1892. They were employed by the SLN in Thio and had a free contract. They were privileged compared to other contract workers and had wages twice as high as those of the Tonkenese. They also had six months of supplies adapted to Japanese customs. Although they had better treatment compared to other workers, they rebelled against the harshness of their employers. This led the SLN to employ other communities who were less demanding and easier to control. However, between 1892 and 1919, over 6,000 Japanese workers were registered and most of them acquired the status of free worker. After an agreement signed between France and Japan in 1911, Japanese workers were allowed to stay and start businesses in New Caledonia. Between 1892 and 1939, over 10,000 Japanese came to New Caledonia and in 1939 they represented over 75% of free working foreigners, some even accessing French citizenship. However, due to the war, Governor Henri Sautot had Japanese males expelled from the territory. Today only the few Japanese allowed to return after the conflict and their families left behind remain.<sup>151</sup> (see index for copies of Japanese confiscations)

---

151 Photograph « Vue intéressante d'un groupe de Japonais par James Pearce (1883) »

The archives on New Caledonia hold various letters and documents of Japanese confiscations by French authorities in New Caledonia: Sequestres lettre liste de biens, séquestres japonais. Sequestre Hoyashi Yasahuro, no. 168, commerçant 38 rue Sebastopol. Dossiers d'un particulier, Administrateur de biens. Don d'un particulier. Archive ref: 1J7 (152W3)

### 5.3.8. The Javanese & Sundanese<sup>152</sup>



Family album Catherine Adi, Javanese labor brought into New Caledonia and the number 6142

The first 170 Javanese workers arrived in Nouméa in 1896 on the Saint Louis. Encouraged by Governor Feuillet, these workers were appreciated for their soft and submissive attitude. They worked essentially in coffee plantations and with farmers until 1899. They were believed to be good cooks and were meticulous.

---

<sup>152</sup> Second largest ethnic group on Java



#### Archives NC 1Num11-328

As cited by Jacqueline Senès in L'Ile aux cent visages<sup>153</sup>, labour was intensive and required 21 Javanese and 40 *indigènes* to pick up the cotton on the west coast and to put it in bags of 70 kilos and to send them off by the coast.

By 1903 their contracts were modified, allowing them to also work in the mines. In 1909 some of them become free residents and convoys bringing in more workers continued until 1939. At the time there were over 8,000 Indonesians living in New Caledonia. After WWII many of them were repatriated and labour contracts were abolished. There were no following waves of migration coming from Indonesia but this community is still very proactive today.

---

<sup>153</sup>The island of a hundred faces



Archives Nouvelles Calédonie, album Jean Guiart, 2 Num6 - 38

Relationships between the Javanese and settlers could be close. Senès gives us the example of the intimacy that existed between a white woman from the bush helping a Javanese woman give birth. Senès describes the superiority of a ‘clean’ European culture compared to the fairly unhygienic customs of the Javanese :

*« Il y a en eux l'image de la broussarde qui allait ici, la nuit, jusqu'à la Plaine aux Cailloux, le fanal à la main, pour accoucher les femmes javanaises: "J'en ai mis au monde des petits niaoulis! Les Sakimen, Toumiran et Toumi. Je faisais la sage femme ce qui m'ennuyait c'est que ces femmes là après leurs couches, allez! Elles sautaient dans la rivière! C'était pas hygiénique! Mais faut voir comme elles étaient dures! Un manou, une coupe de sarong et je les retrouvais jusqu'au cou dans le creek ou en plein La Karikaine! »<sup>154</sup> (Senès, 39).*

---

<sup>154</sup> There is in them the image of the broussarde which went here, at night, to the Plaine and Cailloux, holding a lamp to help Javanese women to give birth: “I help to give birth to a lot of niaoulis (pejorative term used by settlers to call the Javanese). Sakimen Toumiran and Toumi. I was acting as the midwife, what bothered me was that these women after their layers, would go and jump in the river! It wasn't hygienic! But one had to see how resistant they were! A manou, a cut of a sarong and I would find them up to their neck in the creek or in middle of La Karikaine!”

As with the photography of colonial Indian society, Kanak were also represented within official and academic representations with “objects associated with traditional caste occupations used to signify identity and positioning within social hierarchy” (Pinney, 1997:59). Newly arrived communities to New Caledonia managed to escape this type of photography as they were not considered the 'real' and 'untouched' civilisations by European settlement: they were migrants.

Through the Accords of Matignon signed in 1988 and the Accords de Nouméa signed in 1998, the French government recognised the different communities present in New Caledonia and the future creation of a New Caledonian citizenship. This is progress, considering France does not recognise today a community based French Republic (issue heavily discussed during the laws against the wearing of headscarfs in public schools). Alain Christnacht suggested in a conference he gave on January 29, 2004 that New Caledonia was ahead of the *métropole* and could probably be used as an example to change France towards a community based population.

Due to its multi-ethnic and multicultural society, many cultural events are celebrated in New Caledonia. Celebrations are numerous : family celebrations (weddings, birthdays, death...), religious celebrations (baptism, communion...), secular celebrations (Têt, New Year ..), customary celebrations (First Yam) and public celebrations (July 14<sup>th</sup>, November 11<sup>th</sup>).



Archives New Caledonia, Jean Guiart album, 2 num 6 – 109, Fishing trophy

# Chapter 6                      Photography:

## Settlers and Officials

*In most Kanak narratives, ancestors watch those alive behind a mirror*

The different ethnic groups that made up New Caledonia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were photographed according to how photographers found fit to portray them in their social status.

This includes the photography of indigenous Kanak, foreign labour brought into the French territory, and settlers coming from France, other French territories or other colonised countries in the Pacific.

I have included in this chapter the photography of settlers and officials. I have called “settlers”, adventurers (whalers, santal gatherers, beachcombers), missionaries, foreign settlers (English, German, Irish), French settlers (Bourbons, coffee planters, nickel miners). I have categorised “officials” the military presence in the territory whose main role was to help with the expansion of settling throughout New Caledonia.

### **6.1. Missionaries**

Missionaries played an important role in New Caledonia, establishing new values, new ways, new senses of sacredness. While these were Christian values, they were essentially European. Converting and adapting to Christianity were essential first steps to colonise. Photography was an essential tool to record progress made by missionaries. The

images collected helped to obtain increasing funding back in Europe. They were also used for personal use by the missionaries themselves.

### **6.1.1. The expansion of missionaries in the Pacific**

New Caledonia just as any Pacific island experienced the introduction of Christianity before any formal state annexation. Christian missions began in the Pacific in 1668 with the arrival of Spanish Jesuits from the Philippines in the Northern Mariana Islands and Guam. Catholicism was later followed in the region by the interdenominational British Missionary Society (later known as the London Missionary Society). Protestant Christianity started in 1796 in Tahiti. The London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society began in Polynesia recruiting and transporting Pacific Islander missionaries known as teachers or auxiliary missionaries, in a movement from east to west. They expanded as far as New Guinea and New Caledonia was one of their stopovers.

In Melanesia and French Polynesia, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, representative broadly of the Reformed Presbyterian tradition, took over from the LMS in New Caledonia. Protestant church life included a steady process of diffusion by indigenous islanders who worked at village and hamlet level to establish nascent churches from the time of the earliest baptisms onwards.

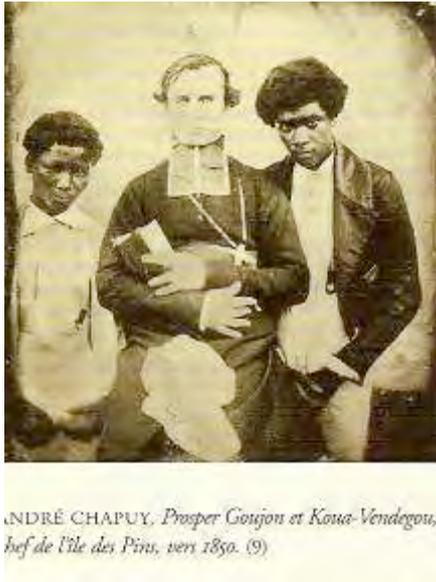
Roman Catholic churches were founded and tended by missionary orders and congregations of religious men and women. They were slow to train ordained islander successors since their academic requirements and celibacy rules were uncompromising. They also came later than the Protestants in most places. From 1838 to 1844 the European French-speaking Society of Mary (Marists) sent 41 French missionaries to New Zealand. From this time, the Marists gradually formed churches in central Oceania. In eastern

Polynesia, including Tahiti and Hawai'i, the French society of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (Picpus Fathers) came first in 1834. In Melanesia the Marists spread out into the Solomon Islands, including Bougainville. In 1843 the Marists arrived on the French navy ship *Le Bucéphale*, in the North East shore of New Caledonia, in Balade.

### **6.1.2. Missionaries in New Caledonia: Catholics**

The Marists were forced to flee in 1847 after being attacked by local communities in Balade and took refuge in the New Hebrides. Father Chapuy was sent among three other missionaries to help out. Included in his luggage was a daguerreotype camera. When the Marists returned to New Caledonia in August 1848, Father Chapuy carried the precious instrument with him. He was the first photographer in New Caledonia.

It is believed that back in Lyon (the Marists' head office) the founder, Father Colin, strongly encouraged the usage of photography. Father Chapuy photographed essentially portraits and sent them to Father Colin who liked to pin in his room the faces of all the missionaries whom he considered as his children and who were sent out to faraway lands. Father Chapuy took many photographs while installing the previously failed missionary in Balade, and in 1854 he printed out the first New Caledonia book with lithographic stones. Catechism was born and the bible translated into the local dialect of Balade.



This image was taken by Father André Chapuy around 1850. Prosper Goujon (1822-1881) founded a missionary on the island of Pines where he remained for 26 years. He is here photographed with Koua-Vendegou, chief of the Island of Pines. Father Chapuy is the central figure in this photograph surrounded by his colleagues allowing him to show his prevailing authority over the native chief. All details of the cross, the uniform and the bible reinforce this sense of authority.



Missionaries arriving at Balade by boat in 1843, New Caledonia, ca. 1910-1930 photographic postcards, 9.5 x 14 cm<sup>155</sup>

"Le 21 Décembre 1843, les Missionnaires débarquèrent à Balade." ("On December 21, 1843, the Missionaries disembark at Balade.") This photograph is a possible re-enactment of what happened when the three missionary fathers arrived on shore in a small boat. Over twenty indigenous men and women are shown greeting the missionaries and guiding them to shore.

The postcard was issued by the "Missions Maristes de Nouvelle-Calédonie," a Catholic mission agency. The back of the postcard is blank and contains printed information from the publisher: "Sous-Procure des Missions - 6, Rue de Bagnoux, Paris-VIe."

Balade was the first religious settlement on the main land before they were ousted by the local people who refused their new religion. They returned much later to resettle and conquer once more this area. This photograph shows their success in establishing themselves and gaining the respect of the Kanaks who are there to help them out with their boat. The photograph was then printed as postcards and went around the world.



Missionary father at a desk with young indigenous students, New Caledonia, ca.1900-1930<sup>156</sup>

"Océanie. - Elèves Catéchistes en Nouvelle-Calédonie - Missions des PP. Maristes."  
 ("Oceania. - Student Catechists in New Caledonia - Missions of the PP. Marists.") This photograph shows inside a house, a missionary father sitting at a small desk with a book

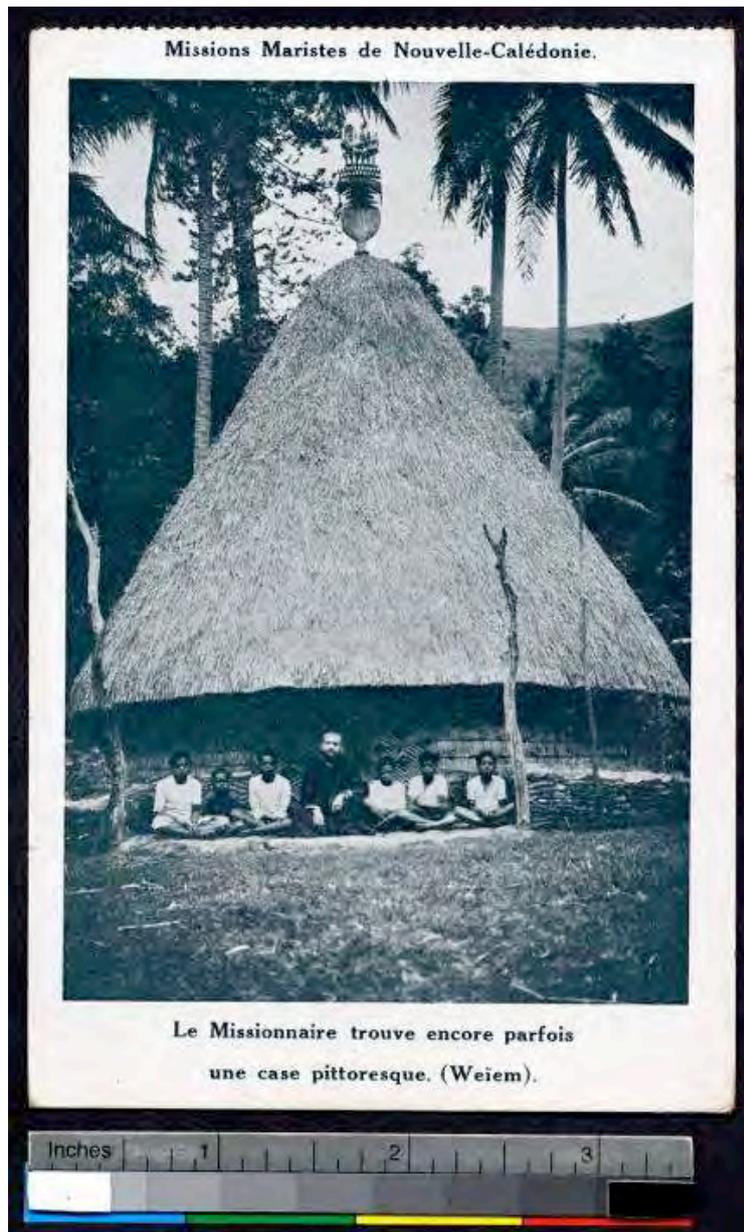
<sup>155</sup> Mission Photographs from the Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut, ca.1880-1950, Missionary Postcard Collection, impa-m13118, photograph in the Archives de Nouvelle-Calédonie (Album Archevêché: ANC 1Num2- 383)

<sup>156</sup> Mission Photographs from the Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut, ca.1880-1950, Missionary Postcard Collection, impa-m13109

under his arm. Six indigenous young men are gathered around him. Postcard issued by "Coll. Propagation de la Foi."

The back of the postcard is blank and contains printed information about the publisher: "L'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi soutient les Missions catholiques du monde entier. Envoyez votre offrande par Cheques Postaux: Paris, 618-25 - Lyon, 72-71 -- Propagation de la Foi, Lyon, 12, Rue Sala - Paris, 20, Rue Cassette (VIe) - A partir d'Octobre 1929: 5, rue Monsieur (VIIe.)" ("The Work of the Propagation of the Faith supports the Catholic Missions of the whole world. Send your offering by Postal check: Paris, 618-25 - Lyon, 72-71 -- Propagation of the Faith, Lyon, 12, Rue Sala - Paris, 20 Rue Cassette (VIe) - As from October 1929: 5 rue Monsieur (VIIe).")

The photograph illustrates the close relationship the priest has been able to establish with the Kanaks. There is respect, maybe admiration, coming from the docile indigenous Christians. The message is clear, the church is preaching and spreading Christian values in the far South Seas. There is a sense of authority coming from the missionary, he is the one who holds knowledge (book under his arm), the crucifix and religious symbols ornate the photograph giving the image a feeling of successful conversions.



Missionary father sits with children in front of a thatched dome, New Caledonia, ca.1900-1930<sup>157</sup>

"Le Missionnaire trouve encore parfois une case pittoresque. (Weiem)." A missionary father still finds at time a circular thatched-roof house. He is surrounded by six boys who are under his authority.

This postcard was also issued by the "Missions Maristes de Nouvelle-Calédonie". The

---

<sup>157</sup> Mission Photographs from the Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut, ca.1880-1950, Missionary Postcard Collection, impa-m13113

back of the postcard is blank and contains printed information from the publisher: "Sous-Procure des Missions - 6, Rue de Bagneux, Paris-VIe."

The quote under the photograph highlights again the undoubted success missionaries had in New Caledonia. The hut is photographed as a reminder of what Kanak traditional housing was like, a reminiscence of a past culture that has embraced European values. Hence, the European clothes of the boys.

Text has always been visual, and the power of images has been used to convey textual meanings. These three images illustrate the relationships between the two. However its correlation constantly slips, and realigns, according to forces which are not always related to technological advances.

In March 1878 the photographer Allan Hughan photographed the mission Saint-Louis, established an hour away from Noumea and known today for the tensions existing between the Kanak and Wallisian communities. The Marists had established a church in the catholic tribe while missionary nuns<sup>158</sup> had also set up a boarding school aiming at training young indigenous women to become the first Kanak nuns of New Caledonia.

Though Hughan was Protestant, it is believed he recorded the Catholic mission for Father Fraysse to whom he submitted an album with his best images.<sup>159</sup>

---

<sup>158</sup> Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary: these Sisters trace their origins to a valiant French woman, Francoise Perroton, who in 1845 ventured alone to work on the Marist Fathers' missions in the Pacific. She began in Wallis, and later moved to Futuna. Her example led to other French women also going to the Pacific, three to join her in 1860, others to New Caledonia. This tiny beginning, eleven women between 1845 and 1862 who hoped the church would accept them as Religious, are referred to as the PIONEERS. In 1881 the Marist Fathers found a good woman to organise some religious formation for the many other young women who desired to join them, and eventually they became the Third Order Regular of Mary (TORM). This name was kept until 1931 when Pontifical approbation was given with a new name - Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary. Some of the Pioneers spent a few days or a few months in Australia while awaiting boats for the Pacific. Eventually one, whose health required it, came back from the islands to Australia, and worked for the Marist Fathers at Clydesdale, Sydney for two years - 1863 -1865. Another came back in 1865 and so started the association with Villa Maria, the Marist Fathers' house at Hunters Hill, Sydney. She stayed there for sixteen years. Thus started the Sisters' house on the property there and their history of domestic duties for the Fathers which continued until 1949. This house served as a home for all the Sisters en route to the islands, or returning for medical treatment.

Our Pioneer Sisters: from correspondence 1836-1885, 4 vols. 1973, Missionary Sisters of Mary. Rome.

<sup>159</sup> Patrick O'Reilly, Photographies de nouvelle calédonie, p. 51

To respond to the taste of his audience the photographs he took involved a “human interest”. Photography was used as a means of conservation.



Archives territoriales, Nouvelle-Calédonie, Touho – Boys school

This photograph shows the educative role missionaries played in the bush as they were the only representatives of the Education system. Indigenous priests were trained and took on a role of authority as can be clearly seen in this photograph. Large crosses replace Kanak weapons in Kanak studio photography. Assimilation and acculturation is also obvious given the western dress code. This photograph, as the previous ones, would also

have been used back in France in order to obtain further funding to continue the “good work”. A similar marketing strategy as is found today through humanitarian organisations.

Looking at this photograph the audience at home will think, “good work we are doing here”, will believe the success of the mission and of the civilising process. The Kanak priest has dignity, his dress code is Europeanised. We can assume that the children are not only pupils but are also working for missionaries. The Kanaks were probably not aware why their picture was taken. It is likely that the photographer did not explain, nor did he probably show them the photographs. The Kanaks had probably no understanding of print images since, at the time, there were few or no images available to them. While the Kanaks were photographed in studios with an effort to present nativeness (see following image), missionaries intended to present them as real people: not European but not traditional, and use the photographs to illustrate books.



Archives territoriales Nouvelle-Calédonie, Touho – Girls school

The austerity of the Kanak nun surrounded by her students in this photograph reminds us of previous images taken of European missionaries among their newly Christianised subjects. She is a figure of authority. Having a Kanak woman fully dressed in her religious gown, wearing a rosary, and sitting with her hands posed on her lap shows us how constrained the photograph is. A Kanak nun in the centre of the image shows how power has been passed on to indigenous people. The missionaries probably wanted the local Kanak to continue having authority over their people as long as they assimilated and passed on European/Christian values.



Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie 2Num10-23

### **6.1.3. Protestant missionaries in the Oceania**

The London Missionary Society, oldest of the Protestant societies working in the Pacific, was founded in London in 1795 by a committee of Calvinistic Methodists. Dr

Thomas Haweis, who had attempted to send missionaries to Tahiti with William Bligh, was responsible for the Society making Tahiti its first mission field. Evangelisation of Niue, the northern Cooks, Tuvalu, the southern Gilberts, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and Loyalty Islands was shared between Cook Islands and Samoan teachers. Due to heavy financial and personal commitments in its other mission fields (South Africa, Madagascar, India and China), the LMS reluctantly handed over much of its sphere to other missions: to Anglicans in New Caledonia, to Wesleyans in Fiji and Presbyterians to the New Hebrides. The LMS was also reluctant to hand over its work in the Loyalty Islands to the Melanesian mission on theological grounds. Although many of the missionaries came out by convict ships, whaling or trading vessels, there was an early push to have a ship belonging to the Society.

#### **6.1.4. French missions in the Pacific**

The predominantly Roman Catholic French missionary societies did not enter the Pacific field until after the long and bitter Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. This coincided with a religious revival in France which produced a number of vocations during the 1820-40 period.<sup>160</sup> By then, English and American Protestant missionaries – Anglicans, Wesleyans and Presbyterians, were established in various island groups and they did not view with any sympathy the arrival of their Roman Catholic rivals.

---

<sup>160</sup> The Société des Missions Evangéliques chez les peuples non-chrétiens à Paris (SMEP) (known in English as the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society) was founded in 1822. The Society sent its first three missionaries to Africa in 1829. It had work in Lesotho, Congo-Gabon, Cameroun, Madagascar, Senegal, Togo, Zambia and Algeria. In the Pacific Ocean, English-French rivalry eventually led to annexation by France of New Caledonia, Tahiti, and the Loyalty Islands, where missionaries of the SMEP replaced their English colleagues of the London Missionary Society. In the second half of the 19th century, it extended its work to Oceania (Tahiti and New Caledonia). The body of documentation on the auxiliary and home activities of the SMEP provides interesting information for the study of the Missionary Society. With the creation in 1971 of the Communauté Evangélique d'Action Apostolique (CEVAA) and the Department Evangélique Français d'Action Apostolique (DEFAP), the SMEP as such ceased to exist. Its archives, however, have been retained by the DEFAP in the Maison des Missions on the Boulevard Arago in Paris, which has been in use since 1887.

Missionaries soon followed- Protestant pastors of the London Missionary Society around 1840, and Catholic Marist priests in 1846. Increasing tensions between the religious factions led to the French Catholics winning control over the islands.

Loyalty Islanders proved both resilient and adaptive in the face of European contact from the 1840s. Christianity was soon widespread, in the context of chiefs playing off English protestant missionaries against French Catholic missionaries to further tribal enmities.

The objective for the Catholics was to evangelise the Western Pacific. Catholics perceived what was at stake in the colonisation of the Pacific in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. France came out weakened from its revolution and the discovery at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century of the Pacific islands as 'virgin land' was an opportunity to compete with the English expansion and protestant missionaries. The Pope was looking for a religious congregation to cover this part of the world. The Société de Marie was founded in 1816 in the region of Lyon (southeast of France)<sup>161</sup>. In 1835 the vicariate of western Oceania was entrusted to the Marists.

---

<sup>161</sup> Birth of the Société de Marie:

It's in the region of Lyon (France) that the Société de Marie is founded on July 23, 1816. In 1813, Marcellin Champagnat, Jean-Claude Colin, Jean-Claude Courveille and Jean-Marie Vianney enter the "Grand Séminaire de Lyon" (great priest seminar). They were ordained priests on July 22, 1816 by His Grace Dubourg (bishop of New Orleans). On July 23rd, Champagnat, Colin and Courveille escorted by nine other abbots, went to Notre-Dame de Fourvière (Lyon). They decided to devote themselves to Mary and founded the Société de Marie.

Father Colin was named to Cerdon (Ain) and Father Champagnat became curate of Valla (Loire). In January 1817 and onwards, the community of the "Petits Frères de Marie" was founded by Marcellin Champagnat. In 1824, they built "Notre-Dame de l'Hermitage" in the Valla-en-Gier which was the congregations's headquarters. The "Frères" and the "Pères maristes" were from then on separate.

Father Colin, in Belley (departement of Ain), organised the congregation and was elected Superior Father in 1830. That same year, Marcellin Champagnat was elected at the Hermitage provincial de la Société de Marie in the diocese of Lyon.

In August 1833, Father Colin, escorted by Pierre Chanel and Antoine Bourdin, went to Rome to solicitate the approbation of the congregation by the Vatican. On December 23, 1835, the Western Oceania curate is handed to the Marists. Jean-Claude Colin officially accepted his mission on February 10, 1836. Soon after, March 11, a decree approved the priests of the Société de Marie.

On September 24, 1836, Marcellin Champagnat pronounced his religious consecration as a mariste Father. He was then in charge of governing the Borthers (Les Petites frères de Marie), while Father Colin continued as "Supérieur général". The main house of the Institute was established in Lyon.

In December 1836 Father Pompallier was chosen as chief of mission and left for Polynesia. In 1842 the Vatican created the Vicariate of central Oceania (Wallis, Futuna, Tonga, Samoa, Fiji and New Caledonia). Father Guillaume Douarre was in charge of New Caledonia. He left from Toulon on May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1843 with Father Roudaire, Calinon, Breheret, Favier, Mathieu and Rougeyron and Father Blaise Marmoiton, Jean Reynaud, Annet Perol and Jean Taragnat. The first settlement by the Maristes in New Caledonia was a failure.<sup>162</sup> In four years (1843 to 1847) the mission in Balade ended up in a rebellion from the Kanaks and the murder of Father Marmoiton. The Marists brothers first took refuge in Pouebo before pulling out for Sydney on July 18, 1847.

A year later, in 1848, Father Rougeyron attempted in establishing a new settlement but it was finally Father Goujon who succeeded to establish himself on the Island of Pines after failing on the island of Ouvéa. It was only in 1851 that the mission was resettled in Balade and finally the enculturation of Christianity on the Grande Terre was forced in.

Between 1836 and 1849 the Société de Marie had sent away 74 Fathers, 26 Brothers and 17 assistant Fathers.

---

<sup>162</sup> Missionary Correspondence (4,341 fiche)= H2100, H-3811-H-4230; Oceania: New Caledonia/Mare (Loyalty Islands), 1880-84; 1890-1935: Correspondence (1880-1932) fiche nos. 2020-2181 New Caledonia, 1936-1947: Archives (1936-1947) fiche nos. 4186-4211.



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 50 17,9x12,8 cm  
E. Robin "Ecole des filles, Mission de l'Île des Pins, Sud", 1866.

## 6.2. Recording and influencing in a Protestant and Anglo context

Contacts with missionaries from Polynesian origin were also adding to the already existing cross-cultural contacts operating in the colonisation of New Caledonia.

Rarotongan missionary Ta'unga, a Polynesian from the Cook Islands and the first Protestant missionary on the *Grande terre*, had travelled widely in the South Pacific. He reported on the massacre of the brig *Star* at the Isle of Pines on the 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1842, in his vernacular manuscript of 18<sup>th</sup> January 1847. This is an extract of the journal of Ta'unga, reporting his discussion of the incident with the Tuaru chief Uadota,.163

---

163 Crocombe, Ron and Marjorie, *The Star Massacre*, Etudes Mélanésiennes, Bulletin Périodique de la Société d'Etudes Mélanésiennes, Musée Néo-Calédonien, Nouméa, Numéro 18-20, Décembre 1963 – Décembre 1965.

*I asked him: "Do you know what wrong was committed to cause the slaying of the crew of the ship and teachers as well?" and he replied, "Here is the reason for the great anger of the people. It was because of the epidemic which occurred there and they said that it was the Gods of Samoa and Rarotonga and also the Europeans who had brought death to them. That was why they retaliated". There was another thing: it was to avenge the deaths of the chief's sons who had been killed by the Europeans. They went to barter things on the ship and they took sandalwood to pay for what they wanted. When they got on board they sold their sandalwood but they did not get a fair price for it. The Europeans got angry and they seized the sandalwood and took it into the hold of the ship. But those who owned the sandalwood fetched it back. The Europeans became incensed and beat them up. Some became unconscious and others were bashed with timber. Some were slashed with swords and others were bruised with punching. Others again were shot in the arms.<sup>164</sup>*

---

<sup>164</sup> (...) When they came ashore exhausted and the chief saw them, he was furious. He asked, "Wasn't there a mission teacher on the ship?" They replied, "Lazaro is still on the ship but he didn't attempt to stop the fighting". So the chief went down to the house of the two teachers (for his permanent home was further inland) calling out to them, "Where's Lazaro?" and they replied, "He's on the ship". The chief said, "Why didn't he restrain the Europeans? My family was nearly killed by them. Why is it that he himself has fled away? Why do you ill-treat me and my family? Why do you side with the Europeans, allowing my relations to be killed? Do you live with the Europeans? Aren't I your master? If I got angry and killed you, would the Europeans come and save you from my hands? You certainly are war-mongers!"

Then he went away and as soon as he was gone the remaining teachers said to one another, "This will be the end of us. Let us flee to the ship". So they went on board the ship. They told Lazaro what had happened. Then they decided to stay on board and to leave the island. They told Mr. Ebrill, the captain, about it and he agreed to return them to Samoa.

At dawn the chief came to check. But when he reached the house there was no one in it. Neither were there any belongings left. The reason for the chief's visit was that he regretted the way he had spoken to the teachers and he came to bring them an offering. Then the chief said to himself, "Ah, these people are holding a grudge against me". So he sent his family on board the ship to get the teachers, but they refused to come. They returned ashore and told the chief and he sent a different canoe with a son of his who was also a man of rank. So he went on board and said to them, "come. The chief weeps for you all. Why did you listen to his talk. It is because he knows you well that he spoke like that. He searches in vain for the cause of your sudden departure. Did he ill-treat when you stayed with him? Did he steal any of your things? Thus he seeks the reason for your going away".

Lazaro called out to them, "Return to the shore. We are not coming back. Your father ill-treated us". Kadei, one of the chief's sons asked, "Did our father beat you? He treated you kindly. He fed you from the day you came. You are the leaders of this island. Don't you feel sorry for our father, who treated you so well? But Lazaro called out, "hurry ashore. The Europeans are angry with you". So they went ashore but it was when they were going ashore that the Europeans made faces at them and in retaliation they showed their backsides to the Europeans who became angry and shot at them. (...)



### Fonds Bouge, Chartres

This image is more a documentary photograph. The pace is more natural, subjects more relaxed – they are not posing. Both front characters are looking straight into the camera and participate in it – it is not staged. “It is precisely this capacity of photography to convey and capture a moment of action that both allows us to feel closer to the lives depicted whilst reminding us that outside this instant, such lives continue to move and change”.<sup>165</sup>

---

<sup>165</sup> Higgins, *Image and identity: Mexican Indians*, p.26

### **6.1.3. Religious-made iconography: debating pious and worthy intentions**

The larger-format photograph taken by mission members assigned explanatory captions detailing the provenience, occupation, and at times, name of the subject. Missions often portrayed native villages as centres of vice and sexual depravity.

The introduction of compulsory education brought many children to the compound since nearly all schools were run by the missions. Missionaries attempted to introduce the children to the concept of interiority for they believed that young converts could not repress their sexuality until they recognised and made explicit the pressure within them of sex and desire.

As a tool of imperial expansion, ‘race’ provided the scientific language through which ‘natives’ could be described, classified and subjugated as morally inferior (or childish) human types.

Images portrayed as pleasures of looking especially when matter is unfamiliar or strange, as cultural claim to represent ‘reality’.

The images are not intended for the conversion of indigenous pagans, but are instead intended for the Christians of the metropolis. The audience for these images could seem at first very limited as they are only aimed at convinced Christians living in the metropolis. They are the ones who are likely to read the reviews or the works published by missionaries. However, the lack of interest and devotion to Christianity is already widespread in France as there are fewer people attending religious offices. The interest for the work accomplished by missionaries goes beyond the Christian community. Indeed the missionaries’ actions are morally and financially supported by other groups who have read their reviews and works

published by non religious magazines. Once converted into postcards, the photographs reached much larger circles.

Missionaries and the Maristes especially played an important role throughout New Caledonia's history. Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Kanak leader during the "événements" (events), hence referring to the Kanak rebellion against France in the 80s, referred to his "master" as being the Mariste priest Alphonse Rouel who, according to him, taught him a lot about "thinking".<sup>166</sup> Religious education played an important role for Tjibaou who was studying to become the first priest of Hienghène. Yet, it was not Alphonse Rouel's objective to turn a future priest into a Kanak political leader. Tjibaou believed however that his priest was the one to lead him into emancipation: « alors que mon vieux curé, celui qui m'a envoyé au séminaire, était anticolonialiste » (my old parish priest, the one who sent me to the seminary, was an anticolonialist)<sup>167</sup>.

In over 150 years of Christianity in New Caledonia, missionaries were often considered authoritarian and paternalist towards indigenous people. They were often the link between the Kanaks and settlers and the administration. At times they were the referees between settlers and the indigenous people claiming land. Just like in Hawai'i, they established alliances with chiefdoms. For example, for the second Kanak rebellion in 1917, Father Murard was accused of hiding rebels who had taken refuge in Tiendanite. The Maristes in the area of Hienghène had established alliances with the chiefdoms of Ohoot and Hwahwap.<sup>168</sup> There were complex alliances between the Catholic Church and certain villages, tribes, reservations. At times, the Catholic Church was in opposition to the State administration and the penitentiary, at times they worked hand in hand. For example, the

---

<sup>166</sup> « qu'est-ce qui vous a le plus influencé dans votre formation intellectuelle ? C'est moi ! C'est très prétentieux ! Mais celui qui restera mon maître, c'est un prêtre mariste qui nous a appris à beaucoup réfléchir. » cited in *L'œil du Père Rouel : Autour d'une série de photographies d'Alphonse Rouel en Nouvelle-Calédonie (1913-1969)*, by Hamid Mokaddem. Nouméa : Editions Expressions, 2004.

<sup>167</sup> Cited p. 183 in *L'œil du Père Rouel : Autour d'une série de photographies d'Alphonse Rouel en Nouvelle-Calédonie (1913-1969)*, by Hamid Mokaddem. Nouméa : Editions Expressions, 2004.

<sup>168</sup> Ratzel ANC 20j, cahier 11, p. 29-35, in *L'œil du Père Rouel : Autour d'une série de photographies d'Alphonse Rouel en Nouvelle-Calédonie (1913-1969)*, by Hamid Mokaddem. Nouméa : Editions Expressions, 2004.

governor Feillet favoured the presence of Protestants in New Caledonia to limit the large influence of the Société de Marie.

Religion brought in by the missionaries in New Caledonia has had lasting effects. Today it is believed that religious fundamentalism (sects) is of growing concern in the territory. Nearly 20% of the population is meant to follow these new religious movements common in the Pacific islands. These new religions are having a direct impact on the local culture, changing the nature of previously accepted codes of conduct. Religion just as any other outside influence is in constant movement. Analysing 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary photographs cannot be considered as a rigid “import” of beliefs but a continual acculturation process. In New Caledonia, Jehovah witnesses, Pentecotism, (radio Pentecostiste, RTV) is growing rapidly. These new religions are changing the local culture and local distribution of power.

To work on colonial iconography is thus to reveal a mechanism of communication and of collective persuasion, and to analyse at the same time the limits between reality and myth, the historical event and its collective perception, history and memory.



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 36  
E. Robin "*Mission de Pouébo, Côte Nord-Est*", 1867.

20x12 cm



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 37  
E. Robin "*Eglise de Pouébo, Côte Nord-Est*", 1867.

19,7x12,6 cm



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 38  
E. Robin "*Ecole des filles, Pouébo*", 1867.

18x13 cm



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan 1 Num 1 - 46  
E. de Greslan "*Eglise de Wagap*", entre le 21 octobre 1866 et le 25 février 1867.

16,5x11,2 cm



Un pique nique dans les Grottes de l'Île des Sins

Archives NC album archevêché AAN.ANC 1Num2-620



Archives Nouvelle-Calédonie, album 106 Fi 298



Drawing on the wall of a school in Koné, Northern province, 2001 (photograph Emmanuelle Crane).

This drawing shows the acculturation process of Christianity in the Northern Province. The Kanak have fully assimilated and incorporated the Virgin Mary as one of theirs.

## 6.2. Documentary and expeditionary aspirations



Collection Serge Kakou

Land was from the beginning of the colonisation process a subject of argument which led to two rebellions from the Kanaks, in 1878 and 1917. Land claims and argument have never been so strong as today and remain a contemporary and continual conflict. This is not only among the rural community but it is exacerbated by urban dwellers and migrants. The inevitable conflict between a community whose relationship with the land is non monetary and one of profit making is still a current issue today.

## **6.3. Modernisation and materiality**

### **6.3.1. Settlers: attracting farmers**

There are really two phases in the “free” (non-convict) colonisation of New Caledonia: first from 1855 to 1894 and the second from 1894 to 1907.

From 1855 to 1894: After France had taken possession of New Caledonia (1853), 600 Irish families manifested their desire to establish themselves on the island. They asked for a free fare from Sydney to New Caledonia, a common land concession and food to cover their first year. They were dissuaded as the French government was considering around that time to set up the new territory as a penal colony. Other migrants residing in Australia were willing to come to New Caledonia but the French consul in Sydney received orders to refuse the right to entry as the French government believed it would be too difficult to start a concession right at the beginning of the occupation of New Caledonia by France.

However, in June 1855, a concession was given to Mr Padden, an English resident, who obtained 200 hectares of land to establish a warehouse for sandalwood. He was given the right of usage for five years on the Nou Island. A similar favour is given to another English resident, Mr Underwood, established on the island of Pines with his family. Mr Bérard, representing the company Vial d’Arain (Sydney) in New Caledonia also obtained a concession on the Island of Pines.

Other settlers established themselves in the Mont d'Or area. In 1858 a few settlers were found in Dumbéa and in Païta: they were mainly all Australians. Soon after, *créoles* coming from the Reunion Island settled and start cultivating sugar cane. In 1862, there were 420 individuals of European origin, in 1866, 965 individuals and in 1870, 1562 settlers were established in the new colony.<sup>169</sup>

The French government's focus in those years was to bring a French agricultural workforce to New Caledonia with appealing incentives allocating immediate land. It did not encounter much success, only a restricted large agents who started organising cattle raising as it was done in Australia. The new measures installed by the French government to attract immigrants were mostly a failure as most potential settlers who embarked from Brest had no knowledge of cultivating the land. After two years of profound misery, they headed back to Nouméa, not one hectare having had a successful encounter.<sup>170</sup>

Around 1876, immigration numbers were still very low. The number of settlers (2,753) was inferior to the number of civil servants or the military (3,032). The census of 1887 showed 5,661 settlers (excluding civil servants, military troupes nor convicts).<sup>171</sup>

In a telegram to the Governor on September 3, 1887<sup>172</sup> the State secretary mentioned the lack of settlers in New Caledonia and their difficulty in the settling in the new colony:

*« Il ne suffit pas, en effet, dit-il, d'accorder des concessions gratuites de terre aux émigrants qui demandent à quitter la Métropole, parce qu'ils espèrent trouver dans nos possessions d'outre-mer une existence plus facile. Lorsque ces individus sans ressources sont aux prises avec les difficultés que présentent toujours les débuts d'une installation agricole, ils ne tardent pas à se décourager et, après avoir vainement cherché une position, soit dans le commerce, soit même dans l'administration ils sont obligés de demander leur rapatriement à titre d'indigents. »*

Which translates into:

---

<sup>169</sup> *Revue mar. et col.*, 1866, t. XVI, p. 605. J. Garnier, *Océanie*, p.22.

<sup>170</sup> Legrand, p. 113-114 ; Rivière, *Souvenirs de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, p. 282.

<sup>171</sup> *J.O. de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, 7 janv. 1888.

<sup>172</sup> *Notice sur la Transportation pour 1886-1895*. 2<sup>e</sup> vol., p 252.

*« It is not enough, indeed, to grant free ground concessions to the emigrants who ask to leave the Metropolis, because they hope to find an easier existence in our overseas possessions. When these individuals without resources are with the catches of difficulties which are always the case at the beginnings of an agricultural installation, they are quick to being discouraged and, after having vainly sought a position, either in the trade, or even in the administration they are obliged to ask their repatriation. »*

The photographs taken of the few settlers on their concession throughout New Caledonia at this time, show the hardship they faced and poverty they experienced. The lack of settlers gave New Caledonia its name “a colony with no settlers” (une colonie sans colons).<sup>173</sup>

From 1894 to 1907 the governor Feillet put in place a new plan for an agricultural colony going from one side on the island to the other. Accomplishing this new program meant revising some of the penitentiary reservations and the displacing some indigenous tribes to allow 245,000 hectares of arable land to be farmed by settlers.

In 1902, only a handful of settlers were prosperous. Those who had established themselves close to mining centres were able to sell their products easily. Others having expenses due to a workforce more and more difficult to get as well as with the difficulty of communicating, could not obtain sufficient returns. The price of coffee went down to 1 franc 49 and only food productions were allowing some small profit. Therefore many settlers converted to becoming alcohol merchants. In 1905, while 916 men, 199 women and 182 children arrived in New Caledonia, 1,087 men, 272 women and 286 children left. The government had lost that year 348 individuals and potential settlers!

---

<sup>173</sup> Jeanneney. *Nouvelle-Calédonie agricole*, p. 186.



Album archevêché AAN.ANC 1Num2-314 et 331



ANC Album Robin – de Greslan I Num 1 - 44  
E. de Greslan "*Ferme Pion et Albaret à Canala*",  
entre le 21 octobre 1866 et le 25 février 1867.

16,6x11,3 cm



Archives NC 2Num6-33 Album Jean Guiart

### 6.3.1. Mining



Coll. Musée de la ville de Nouméa, Thio « Le plateau- mine Emma »

New Caledonia was really able to take off as a colony thanks to the numerous possibilities of mining. Aware of the wealth mining could provide, the French government had several research projects conducted to establish clearly the resources New Caledonia had. In 1906, it was published that New Caledonia had the following resources: gold, copper, lead, chrome, cobalt, nickel, manganese and coal.<sup>174</sup> While the excitement around the discovery of gold died out prematurely (the gold found in the river of Pouébo never reached the promises hoped for) mining nickel brought good results. First discovered in 1867 by the scientist M.J. Garnier, the first operations started in 1875 in the Mont d'Or, close to the capital. Numerous other mines then opened in Houaïlou (mine *Bel Air*), in Canala (mine of the *Boa-Kaine*), Thio (*Belvédère*, *Moulinet*, *Sans Culottes*, *Santa Maria*). In

1880 Higginson, Garnier and Marbeau founded the Société Le Nickel. It brought an economic boom, work and prosperity to New Caledonia from 1881 to 1884. The French government believed at the time that New Caledonia would become the “pearl of the Pacific” thanks to the potential of mining and wealth. A strategy which is still very much today similar as two mining projects in the Northern province (Koniambo) and in the South (Goro Nickel).



Max Mayer 2001 no.274

---

<sup>174</sup> Glasser, *Rapport sur les richesses minérales de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, in *Annales des Mines*, 10<sup>e</sup> série, IV (1903), p. 299-397 ; V (1903), p. 503 and 623



Y-201

YATE

TUNNEL

PERCEMENT DU  
TUNNEL D'AMENE  
D'EAU DU BARRAGE  
AUX CONDUITES FORCEES

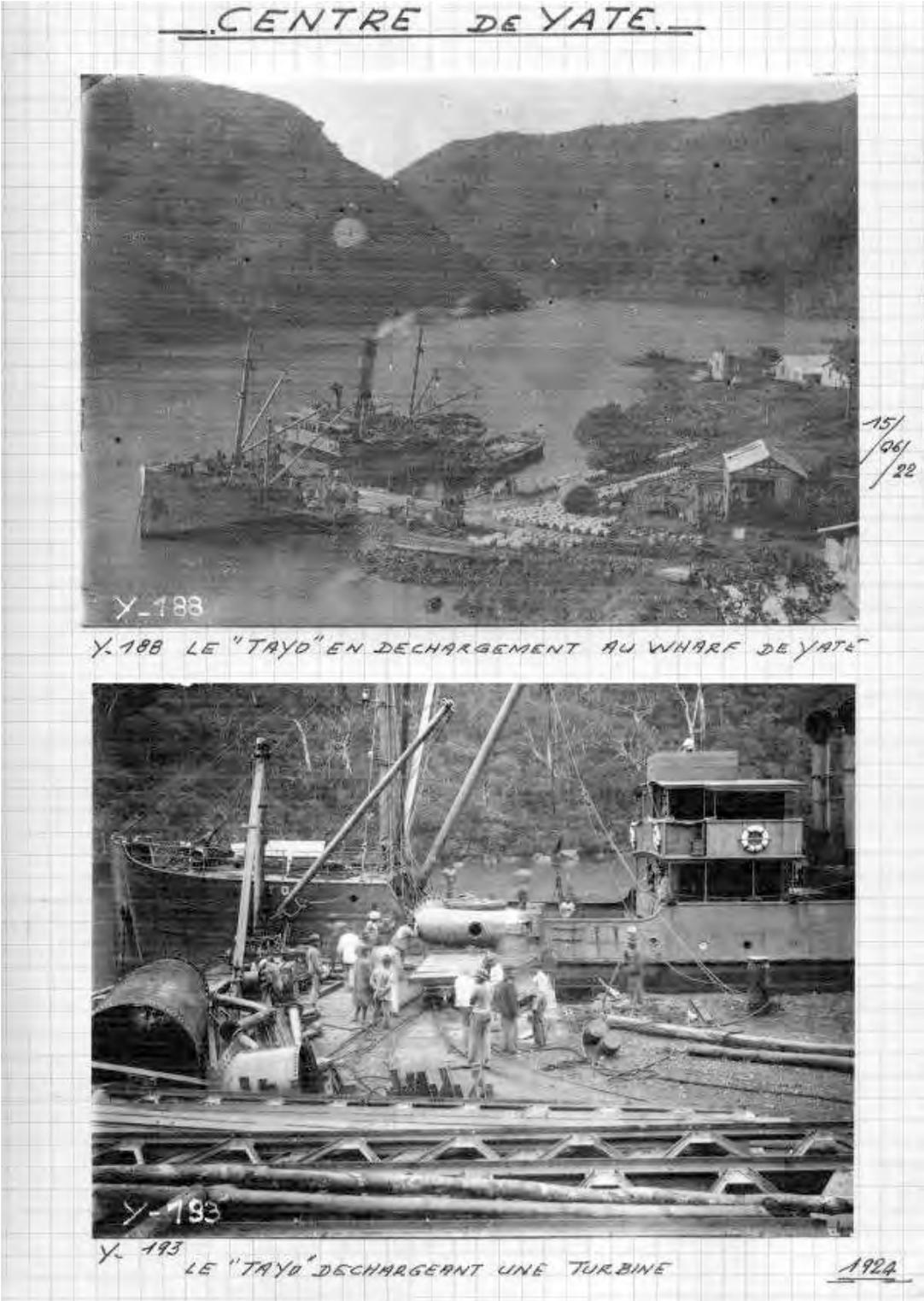


09/  
1922

Y-200  
sept 22.

Y-200

The Société le Nickel photographed the facilities and construction of its mining projects. Photographs included foreign labour as well as convicts working in the mines.



Société Le Nickel

The mineral resources of New Caledonia have been the basis of the Territory's economy and cannot be detached from its history. The demand for labor brought immigrants from Asia, penal workers (convicts), Wallisians,... In the past few decades, mining has generated more than 90 per cent of exports from New Caledonia, its value far exceeding the production from agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and tourism. For more than a century, since the beginnings of colonization, there has been mining of metallic mineral ores, notably of nickel, cobalt, chromium, iron, copper, lead, zinc, gold, silver, manganese, and antimony. In addition, deposits of coal, gypsum, giobertite (magnesium carbonate), and phosphate have been mined. With mining came foreign labor and land management.

Discovered in 1864 by the engineer Jules Garnier, nickel oxide occurs as an ore named garnierite, resulting from the weathering of peridotites in the ultrabasic massifs which cover about a third of the land surface of the main island of New Caledonia. It has been calculated that New Caledonia contains 40 per cent of the known nickel ore resources in the world.

Mining of nickel began in 1875 in the Houaïlou and Canala regions. By the end of 1981, just over a century of mining had yielded 11 0 million tonnes of nickel ore, equivalent to 2.5 million tonnes of pure nickel. About half of the nickel ore production has been smelted in New Caledonia, the other half being exported, mainly to Japan.

# Chapter 7 Conclusion



Photography by Claude Beaudemoulin, Ouvéa (detail) published in "Correspondances Océaniques" November 2004

I have attempted in this dissertation to draw an understanding of how New Caledonia was portrayed through photography at the early stages of colonialism. New Caledonia was colonised almost at the same time as photography was invented (1839 and 1839). This thesis has emphasised the complexity of New Caledonian history, its cultural variety that was not just an indigenous vs colonised disparity but was already in the 19th century a multicultural society. The many ethnies were photographed differently according to the agenda behind the usage of the photograph. Yet as New Caledonia in 2009 celebrates over 20 years since the Accords de Matignon, the multi-ethnic communities that make up the territory are being

celebrated with all heading to a common goal, a New Caledonian identity. In the past, New Caledonia was enduring repercussions of decisions made in the Métropole according to the advance of « ideas » in France, so as to gain more independence. As France as a country is quickly evolving into a multiethnic society, New Caledonia is taking the reins of setting a new identity in itself that could well be of influence on the Métropole.

I have tried to demonstrate that notions we hold of identity, hence stereotypes such of which we held of the Kanak, have been constructed through images, which were created to enhance difference, exoticism, and inferior to a more European scientific and progressive society. Breaking stereotypes are difficult and time consuming. There is still a demand for images and films such as « Dancing with wolves » where Kevin Costner immortalised Native Americans. Yet as indigenous take control of their images (such as « Whale riders » for the Maori in New Zealand or « Atarnajuat » for the Inuit in Canada, « Samson & Delilah » for the Aborigines in Australia) the Kanaks from New Caledonia are yet to produce their own film that will show the rest of the world how to define what is being a Kanak today.

I have chosen the above image to represent how the photography of Kanaks has evolved. The message conveyed is the image is the following: Kanak women are educated (they are reading the local newspaper which deals with the *Noumea Accords*), politically informed, yet continue living on tribal land (Ouvéa) and have kept traditional kanak clothing (the *robe mission*). We are a long way away from studio photographs of Kanak women in grass skirts depicted as “*sauvage*”, uneducated, and radically different to European women. This particular photograph suggests that the acculturation<sup>175</sup> process has had some positive impact. There are of course another reality expressed through many other photographs that

---

<sup>175</sup> Acculturation : exchange of cultural features that results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact; the original cultural patterns of either or both groups may be altered, the groups remain distinct (Kottak 2007)

convey the opposite, especially focusing on the challenges faced by the Kanaks: poverty, low education, drug and alcohol abuse, violence...

My approach has been to give an international perspective to photographs that were taken at times in very isolated areas of New Caledonia. We accept in 2009 to recognise the world has become globalised. I intended to demonstrate that in the 19th century, the world was already globalised with images circulating worldwide and forging an identity of Kanaks that was impossible to control by the subjects that were photographed. The repercussions are still felt today worldwide.

Time goes by, people change, ideas evolve, yet the more we travel, the more access we have to the world through media, the more we tend to focus on cultural differences that set us apart as human beings. Postcards that sell the most of indigenous people are 19th century photographs or re-enactments of dances, architecture or other that hold most « traditional aspects » of Kanak culture.

There is much more to be said about the construction of New Caledonia as seen through photography. I hope the research I have conducted is a stepping stone in that direction. In the ten years that have gone by since I started researching (1998) New Caledonia has dramatically evolve. Although frustrations have come up, disapointments have arisen, New Caledonia is constructing itself a new identity, a common identity in a multicultural and tolerant society. In so doing, it has also opened itself to the rest of Melanesia and surrounding countries like never before.

There is much discussion over and questioning about what will be the reading possibilities of today's images in the new century to come. Will New Caledonians look back and analyse photographs as we have tried to do with nineteenth century photography? Yet

commentators of all kinds say we are moving into a period which the boundaries between fact and fiction, real and artificial, actual and virtual reality are going to become much more operationally porous and movable than they have been in the past. Although the period studied in the thesis (1853-1914) saw dramatic technological changes, it is a long way away from today's imaging technologies. The most fundamental change lies in the fact that a photograph held the status of being "believable" and today advances in electronic imaging has allowed the dogmatic finality that "the photograph as evidence of anything is dead".

With a population of about 200000 where only 42 per cent are of Melanesian descent, the question of full independence remains to be debated. However France continues to pour millions of euros every year which seems to have influenced the Kanaks and lifted their desire to secede from the Republic. There seems to be a desire among the Kanak population to either go forward and become fully independent or retain a certain autonomy under the protection of France. Mining has brought forward the

Many more research questions are left opened as to the future of New Caledonia. Here are a few I wanted to conclude with. Can French settlers learn from the local culture and increase their awareness of New Caledonia's multi-culturalism where Indonesians, Vietnamese, Tahitians and Wallisians, as well as Europeans share the territory?

What is the level of cultural exchange now occurring between the people of New Caledonia and the Pacific region? Can Noumea become a key point in the network of cultural exchange flowing between the New Caledonian archipelago and the rest of the Pacific region?

The first article of the French Constitution's Republic states: « La France est une République indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale, ses valeurs sont universelles et elles constituent le fondement du destin commun de la nation. » Can it still apply to New Caledonia ?

# Bibliography

- 1.ABBOT, Usher, *A History of Mechanical Inventions*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 65-68.
- 2.ABRAMSON, Howard S., "Photography Blossoms", in *National Geographic: Behind America's Lens on the World*, (New York, Crown Publishers, 1987) pp.131-144.
- 3.Across the Coral Sea, Loyalty Islanders in Queensland, (Nouméa: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australian Commonwealth Government, 2001).
- 4.ADAM, Ian and Helen Tiffin, *Past the last post: theorizing post-colonialism and post-modernism*, (London: eds, 1989).
- 5.ADCK, *Portraits Kanaks, Paroles Kanaks*, Centre Culturel Tjibaou, (Nouméa: ADCK, 1995)
- 6.ADCK, *Danses et musiques kanak : une présentation des danses et des musiques mélanésiennes de NC, dans les cérémonies et dans la vie quotidienne au 18e a nos jours*, (Nouméa : ADCK 1997).
- 7.ADCK, *Studio Canaque, histoire Kanak 1867-1900*, (Nouméa: ADCK, Musée Territorial de NC, 1996).
- 8.ADLER, Laure, *Marguerite Duras*, (Paris: Biographies nrf Gallimard, 1998).
- 9.AHMAD, Aijaz, 'Jameson's rhetoric of otherness and the "national allegory"', in *Social text*, 17, 1989, pp. 3-25.

10. AHMED-MICHAUX, P., & W. Roos, *Images de la population de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Principaux resultants du recensement 1996*, (Nouméa: Institut Territorial des Statistiques et des Etudes Economiques, 1997).
11. ALBERS, Patricia C., & JAMES, WILLIAM, R., "Private and Public Images: A Study of Photographic Contrasts in Postcard Pictures of Great Basin Indians, 1898-1919", in *Visual Anthropology*, Vol. 3, 1990, pp. 343-366.
12. ALBERS Patricia C., & JAMES, WILLIAM, R., "Postcard Images of the American Indian: Collectible Sets of the Pre-1920 Era", in *American Postcard Journal* 7, no. 6 (July, 1982): pp. 17-20.
13. ALBERS, Patricia C., & JAMES, WILLIAM, R., "The Dominance of Plains Indian Imagery on the Picture Postcard", in *Fifth Annual 1981 Plains Indian Seminar in Honor of Dr. John Ewers*, edited by George Horse Capture and Gene Balls, (Cody, Wy.: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1984).
14. ALBERS, Patricia C., & JAMES, William, R., "Wisconsin Indians on the Picture Postcard: A History in Photographic Stereotyping", in *Lore* 37 (autumn 1983), pp. 3-19.
15. ALBERS, Patricia, 'Symbols, souvenirs and sentiments: postcard imagery of Plains Indians 1898-1918', in *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Post Cards*, eds C.M. Geary and V.L. Webb, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1998).
16. ALBERT, P., & Lacourrege, G., *Au temps des bagnes*, Nouvelle-Calédonie, (Paris: Editions Atlas, 1986).

17. ALBERTI, J.B., *La Colonisation à la Nouvelle-Calédonie : Colonisation pénale – Colonisation libre*, (Paris : Emile Larose Libraire-Editeur, 1909).
18. ALLOULA, Malek, *The Colonial Harem. Theory and History of Literature*, vol. 21. Translated by Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich. Introduction by Barbara Harlow, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).
19. ALVARADO, M., BUSCOMBE, E. & COLLINS, R., *Representation and Photography. A Screen Education Reader*, (Handmills: Palgrave, 2000).
20. AMMANN, R., *Danses et musiques Kanak: une présentation des danses et des musiques mélanésiennes de Nouvelle-Calédonie, dans les cérémonies et dans la vie quotidienne du 18ème à nos jours*, (Nouméa: Agence de Développement de la Culture Kanak, 1997).
21. ANDRES, Tomas D., & Ilada-ANDRES, PILAR, Corazon B., *Understanding the Filipino*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1987).
22. ANGLEVIEL, Frédéric, & Shekleton, Max, "Étude Cartophile de la Nouvelle-Calédonie", in *Annuaire des Correspondants Cartophiles*, (Dix-Septième Édition 1999, ed. Desbois, Henri).
23. ANGLEVIEL, Frédéric, 'De l'engagement comme esclavage volontaire. Le cas des Océanistes, Kanaks et Asiatiques en Nouvelle-Calédonie (1853-1963)', in *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, No.110, (Paris: 2000).
24. ANGLEVIEL, Frédéric (sous la direction de), *Religion et sacré en Océanie*, Actes du XIIème colloque Corail, (Paris : L'Harmattan, 2000).

25. ANGLEVIEL, Frédéric & MOUILLESEAU, Mireille, *Les populations en Calédonie au siècle dernier* (Nouméa/ CTRDP, 1993).
26. ARCILLA, Jose S., *An Introduction to Philippine History*, (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994).
27. ASAD, Talal, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1973).
28. ASHCROFT, Bill, GRIFFITHS, Gareth and TIFFIN, Helen, *The empire writes back: theory and practice in post-colonial literatures*, (London: Routledge, 1989).
29. ATABA, A., *D'Atai à l'indépendance*, (Edipop, Nouméa: RP Apollinaire, 1984).
30. BAKER, Will, *An essay on Indians, Time and Photography*, (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 1983).
31. BALLARD, Chris, "Documents of the Journey," discussion with Jennifer Moran, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Quarterly Bulletin, Vol.4 No. 3: September 2003, p. 6-8.
32. BALLARD, Chris, VINK & STEVEN, PLOEG, Anton, *Race to the snow: Photography and the Exploration of Dutch New Guinea, 1907-1936*, (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2002).
33. BAMBERGER, George W., "Dur, Dur, La Guerre du Pacifique... La Fanfare Militaire oubliée à Bora Bora", in *Tahiti Pacifique – Mensuel d'Information et d'Economie*, Vol. 12, No. 140, décembre 2002, pp.37-38.

34. BANCEL, Nicolas, BLANCHARD, Pascal, LEMAIRE, Sandrine, "Racist Theme Parks for Colonialists: Human Zoos", in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, August 2000, pp. 8-9.
35. BANTA, Melissa and CURTIS, M. Hinsley, *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography, and the Power of Imagery*, (Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press, 1986).
36. BARTHES, R., *La Chambre Claire Notes sur la photographie*, (Paris: Editions Le Seuil, 1980).
37. BARTHES, Roland, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Translated by Richard Howard, (New York: The Noonday Press, 1981).
38. BARTHES, Roland, 'Rhetoric of the Image' Chap. in *Image-Music-Text*, Translated by Stephen Heath, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977).
39. BARTHES, Roland, *Mythologies*, (London: Paladin, 1984).
40. BAUDELAIRE, Charles, "The Salon of 1859", trans. Jonathan Mayne, *The Mirror of Art: Critical Studies by Charles Baudelaire*, (London: Phaidon Press, 1955) Reprinted in Newhall, *Essays and Images*, pp. 112-13.
41. BAYLISS-SMITH, T.P. et al., *Islands, islanders and the world: colonial and post-colonial experience of Eastern Fiji*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
42. BEAGLEHOLE, J.C. (ed.), *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery. Vol.2: The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure 1772-1775*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

43. BELL, Leonard, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840-1914*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1992).
44. BELLIOTTI, Raymond, *Seeking Identity – Individualism vs Community in an Ethic Context*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995).
45. BENJAMIN, W., 'Petite Histoire de la Photographie' in *Poésie et Révolution*, (Paris: Denoël, 1971).
46. BENSA, A., BRONBERGER, Ch., FABRE-VASSAS, C, Naepels, M., *Miroirs du colonialisme*, (Paris: Ministère de la Culture, 1997).
47. BENSA, Alban, *Ethnologie & architecture. Le Centre culturel Tjibaou, une réalisation de Renzo Piano*”, (Paris: Biro, 2000).
48. BENSA, Alban, *Chroniques kanak : L’Ethnologie en marche*, (Paris : Peuples autochtones et développement, 1995).
49. BENSA, Alban & FASSIN, Eric, « Le sang des morts demeure vivant. Les ancêtres, les hommes et le monde spirituel » p. 129-160 in *De jade et de nacre : Patrimoine artistique kanak*, (textes et illustrations rassemblés par Roger Boulay, (Paris : Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1990).
50. BENSA, Alban & LEBLIC, Isabelle, *En pays kanak*, (Paris : Editions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2000).
51. BENSA, Alban & RIVIERRE, Jean-Claude, *Histoires canaques*, (Paris : Conseil international de la langue française, 1983).

52. BERGASSE DU PETIT-THOUARS, Amiral, *Lettre de l'amiral Bergasse du Petit-Thouars, 22 mai 1879*. Archives de la Nouvelle-Calédonie Nouméa, Acquisition, 1J20.
53. BERNUT-DEPLANQUE, Pascale, *L'identité culturelle calédonienne: construction possible ou utopie?*, (Nouméa: Ile de lumière, 2002).
54. BERNARD, Bruce, *All Human Life: Great Photographs from The Hulton Getty Picture Collection*, (NSW: Hulton Getty Picture Collection, 1998).
55. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, "Les Voyageurs photographes et la Société de Géographie, 1850-1910", (Paris: cahiers d'une exposition, 1998).
56. BICHOU, Bernard, 'L'évasion de Rochefort et le colon de Greslan' in *Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Historiques de Nouvelle-Calédonie*, No.127, pp. 93-94 (Nouméa: 2001).
57. BIDEAU, Alain and Jean-Pierre Bardet (1988) *De la Renaissance a 1789: histoire de la population française*, vol.2, Paris.
58. BLACKMAN, Margaret, "Posing the American Indian: Early Photographers Often Clothed Reality in Their Own Stereotypes, in *Natural History* 89(10):68-75, 1980.
59. BLANCHARD, Pascal, & Chatelier, Armelle, (sous la direction de), *Images et Colonies*, (Paris: Achac et Syros, 1993).
60. BLANTON, Casey, ed., *Picturing Paradise: Colonial Photography of Samoa, 1875-1925*, (Daytona, Fla.: Daytona Community College, 1995).

61. BLONDEL-BISCH, Thérèse, 'Photographies de la Grande Guerre et la présence coloniale', in *1914-1918. Mémoires océaniques de la Grande Guerre. Chroniques calédoniennes*, pp. 113-122, (Nouméa: Musée de la ville de Nouméa, 1999).
62. BOAS, Franz, "The Aims of Anthropological Research", in *Science* (n.s.) 76:605-613, 1932.
63. BOGLIOLO, François, Labarbe, Johanne & Letierce, Lucette, "*Jours de colère, jours d'Ataï. L'insurrection de 1878 d'après les correspondances des pères maristes*", (Nouméa: Ile de lumière, 2000).
64. BONGIE, Chris (1991) *Exotic memories: literature, colonialism and the fin de siècle*, Stanford.
65. BOROFSKY, R., *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: an invitation to remake history*.
66. BOSIO, Gérard & Renaudeau, Michel, *Souvenirs du Sénégal*, (Dakar: Visiafric, 1983).
67. BOUBIN-BOYER, Sylvette, 'Français d'Océanie et Océaniens, combattants de la Grande Guerre (NC, NH et PF)' in *Bulletin de la SEHNC*, No.120, pp. 81-85 (Nouméa, 1999).
68. BOULAY, Roger, "*Kannibals et Vahinés : imagerie des mers du Sud*", (Paris: Ed. de l'aube, 2000).

69. BOULAY, Roger, 'Imageries, lieux communs, clichés appliqués aux peuples d'Océanie au XIXe siècle', in *Le musée et les cultures du monde, Les Cahiers de l'Ecole Nationale du Patrimoine*, No.5, (Paris: 1999).
70. BOURDIEU, Pierre, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique*, (Paris : Seuil, 2000).
71. BOURDIEU, Pierre, *Images d'Algérie: Une affinité élective*, (Mayenne: Actes Sud, 2003).
72. BOURDIEU, Pierre, *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984).
73. BOURDIEU, Pierre, *Photography: A Middle Brow Art*, Reprint 1965, (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990).
74. BOURDIEU, Pierre, *Raisons pratiques. Sur la théorie de l'action*, (Paris : Seuil, 1994).
75. BRADLEY, Kenneth, *Once a District Officer*, (London, 1966).
76. BROTHERS, Caroline, *War and Photography: A Cultural History*, (London: Routledge, 1997).
77. BROU, B., *Peuplement et Population de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, (Nouméa, Société d'Études Historiques No. 23, 1980).
78. BROU, B., *Histoire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie: Les Temps Modernes 1774-1925*, (Nouméa: Société d'Études Historiques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie No. 4, 1973).

79. BRUNET, François, *La naissance de l'idée de photographie*, (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 2000).
80. BRYAN, C.D.B., *The National Geographic Society : 100 Hundred Years of Adventure and Discovery*, (New York : Abrams, 1987, revised edition, 1997).
81. BUCK, Elizabeth, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).
82. BULLARD, Alice, *Exile to Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific, 1790–1900*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000).
83. BYATT, Anthony, *Picture Postcards and their Publishers*, (Malvern, 1978).
84. BYRNE, Dianne, *A Travelling Photographer in Colonial Queensland: The Work of William Boag*, (South Brisbane: The State Library of Queensland, 1994).
85. DE CAMARET, H., *Nouvelle-Calédonie*, (Les Editions du Pacifique, 1975).
86. CARERI, Giovanni, LISSARRAGUE, François, SCHMITT, Jean-Claude & SEVERI, Carlo, *Traditions et temporalités des images*, (Paris : Collection « L'Histoire et ses représentations », 7, 2009).
87. CAPECCHI, Bernard, « *Essai de géographie de la fête en Nouvelle-Calédonie* », Actes du Quatrième Colloque C.O.R.A.I.L. Coordination pour l'Océanie des Recherches sur les Arts, les Idées et les Littératures, La Fête, sous le patronage de l'Université Française du Pacifique (Nouméa : Publication de l' Association C.O.R.A.I.L.), 1992.

88. CARPENTER, Frank G., *Through the Philippines and Hawaii*, (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1925).
89. CARTER, Thomas, *Land of the Morning: A Pictorial History of the American Regime*, General History of the Philippines, part 5, vol. 4, (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1990).
90. CARTWRIGHT, John, *Evolution and Human Behavior: Darwinian Perspectives on Human Nature*, (RMIT Press, 2000).
91. Catalogue of French exhibits – The Sydney International Exhibition Nouvelle-Calédonie, Sydney, 1879, pp 46-47.
92. CAZAUMAYOU, Jérôme, & DE DECKKER, Thomas, *Gabriel Païta, témoignage kanak*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000).
93. CESAIRE, Aime (1972) *Discourse on colonialism*, trans. Joan Pinkham, New York.
94. CHANG D., *Les Tonkinois de Calédonie au temps colonial*, (Nouméa: Société d'Études Historiques, 1980).
95. CHAPEL, David, 'The Noumea Accord: Decolonization Without Independence in New Caledonia', in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol.72. No3, 1999, pp. 373-391.
96. CHRISTNACHT, Alain, 'Le droit au service de la politique' in *La souveraineté partagée en Nouvelle-Calédonie et en droit comparée*, documentation Française, Coll. Les Etudes et Notes et études documentaires, No. 5113-14, (Paris: 2000).

97. CHRISTNACHT, Alain, "Le chemin calédonien", in E.N.A., No. 326, (Paris: 2002).
98. CLARKE, G., ed., *The Portrait in Photography*, (London, 1992).
99. CLASTRES, Pierre (1987) *Society against the state: essays in political anthropology*, trans. Robert Hurley with Abe Stein, New York.
100. CLIFFORD, J., 'On ethnographic allegory' in J. Clifford and G.E. Marcus, *Writing Culture*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) pp. 98-121.
101. COHEN, Anthony, *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).
102. Collectif, "Sagas calédoniennes. Tome I. 50 grandes familles", (Nouméa: Dimanche Matin, 1999).
103. Collectif, "Sagas calédoniennes. Tome II. 50 grandes familles", (Nouméa: Dimanche Matin, 2000).
104. Collectif, "VIIIe Festival des arts du Pacifique. Paroles océaniques. Pacific voices", (Nouméa: Comité organisateur du Festival des Arts du Pacifique, 2000).
105. COLLIER, John, "Photography in Anthropology: A Report on Two Experiments", in *American Anthropologist* (n.s.) 59:843-859, 1957.
106. COLLIER, John, *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967).

- 107.COLSON, L., Culture et industrie de la canne à sucre aux îles Hawaï et à la Réunion, (Paris, 1905).
- 108.COOMBES, A.E., 'Blinded by "science": ethnography at the British Museum' in M. Pointon (ed.), *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology Across England and North America*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).
- 109.COOMBES, Annie, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).
- 110.COOMBES, Annie, 'Inventing the "post-colonial": hybridity and constituency in contemporary curating', *New Formations*, 18, winter 1992, pp. 39-52.
- 111.COOMBES, Annie, 'The recalcitrant object: culture contact and the question of hybridity', in *Colonial Discourse / Postcolonial Theory*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994).
- 112.COPPOLA, L., *Not only Aborigines have deep roots here*, Letters - The Age, 28/05/00
- 113.CORBET, Raymond, "Alterity: The Colonial Nude" in *Critique of Anthropology* 8, no. 3:75-91, 1988.
- 114.CORBET, Raymond & LEERSSEN, Joep, "Studying Alterity: Backgrounds and Perspectives" in Corbey, R. & Leerssen, J. Th. (dir.) *Alterity, Identity, Image: Selves and Others in Society and Scholarship*, (Rodopi: Amsterdam, 1991).
- 115.CORMIER, M., *La Colonisation Pénale, Points d'Histoire No. 8*, (Nouméa: Centre Territorial de Recherche et de Documentation, 1993).

116. CORRE, B., Les migrations en Nouvelle-Calédonie a travers les archives du Service de l'Immigration, Actes du colloque C.O.R.A.I.L. Migrations et Identités, (Nouméa: 1989).
117. CRAPANZANO, V., *Hermes Dilemma and Hamlet's Desire: On the Epistemeology of Interpretation*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992).
118. CRANE, Emmanuelle, 'Historical view of photographs of New Caledonia' (unpublished paper) PHA Conference, Salomon Islands, June 1998.
119. CRANE, Emmanuelle, "Photographing indigenous people: a continuing voyeurism for non-indigenous photographers? A Kanak/Navajo analogy," (unpublished paper), PHA Conference, Canberra, July 2000.
120. CRANE, Emmanuelle, "Photographing Kanak women in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: a voyeuristic approach?", (awaiting publication by University of South Pacific), PHA Conference, Apia, December 2002.
121. CRANE, Emmanuelle, "Contemporary Art in the Pacific: asserting unity and identity or commercial icon", PAA (Pacific Art Association), Nouméa & Lifou island, July 2001.
122. CRANE, Emmanuelle, "Hughan – 1870: Perceptions of an English photographer in 19<sup>th</sup> century New Caledonia", (unpublished paper), Photography Symposium, RMIT Creative Media, Melbourne, August 1999.

- 123.CRANE, Emmanuelle, "Imaging the acculturation of the Kanaks under French Colonial Rule", (unpublished paper), Photography Symposium - Image & Text: A Changing Relationship, RMIT Creative Media, August 2000.
- 124.CRANE, Emmanuelle, "Lapita's 50 Years", in *The Pacific Islands Magazine*, Guam, November 2002, pp. 32-33.
- 125.CRANE, Emmanuelle, "Alan Hughan 1834-1883" in *Une Histoire en 100 Histoires: L'Histoire calédonienne à travers 100 destins hors du commun*, (Nouméa: Bambou edition, 2004).
- 126.CROCOMBE, Ron and Marjorie, *The Star Massacre*, Etudes Mélanésiennes, Bulletin Périodique de la Société d'Etudes Mélanésiennes, Musée Néo-Calédonien, Nouméa, Numéro 18-20, Décembre 1963 – Décembre 1965.
- 127.DAENINCKX, Didier, "*Le retour d'Atai*", (Paris: Verdier, 2001).
- 128.DAUPHINE, J., *Christianisation et politique en Nouvelle-Calédonie au 19ème siècle, tome 2. Maré, Lifou, Yaté, Kanala et Houailou*", Point d'histoire, No 14, (Nouméa, CDP Coll., 1999).
- 129.DAUPHINE, J., *Pouebo, histoire d'une tribu canaque sous le second empire*, édition l'Harmattan.
- 130.DAUPHINE, J., *Les spoliations foncières en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, éditions l'Harmattan
- 131.DAUPHINE, J., « Le métissage biologique dans la Nouvelle-Calédonie coloniale (1853-1939) » in *Colonies, territoires, sociétés*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996).

- 132.DAVIES, Alan, *Sydney Exposures: Through the eyes of Sam Hood & his studio*, (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 1991).
- 133.DAVIES, Alan & Stanbury, Peter, *The Mechanical Eye in Australia. Photography 1841-1900*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985).
- 134.DAVIS, Lynn, *Na Pa'i Kii: The Photographers in the Hawaiian Islands 1845-1900*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1980).
- 135.DAVIS, Lynn Ann, "Photography in Hawai'i: Guest Editorial, in *History of Photography*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Autumn 2001, pp. 217-218.
- 136.DAVIS, Lynn Ann, "Photographically Illustrated Books about Hawai'i, 1854-1945", Guest Editor Lynn Ann Davis, in *History of Photography*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Autumn 2001, pp. 288-305.
- 137.DAVIS, Lynn Ann & Forbes, David W., "B. Jay Antrim: American Daguerrian in the Hawaiian Islands", in *History of Photography*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Autumn 2001, pp. 252-258.
- 138.DELBOS, Georges, « *L'Eglise catholique en Nouvelle-Calédonie: un siècle et demi d'histoire (1853-1913)* », (Paris : L'Harmattan, 1993).
- 139.DERUELLE, Véronique, « Les voyageurs de l'Indépendance » in *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 1991.
- 140.DEVLIN, R., *A mother's search for belonging*, The Age, 26/05/00, p. 11

141. DEVEREAUX, Leslie, and Roger Hillman (eds) , *Fields of Vision: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology, and Photography*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
142. DE OLIVARES, Jose, *Our Islands and Their People, As Seen with Camera and Pencil*, (St Louis: The N.D. Thompson Pub. Co., 1905).
143. DE DECKKER, Paul, & KUNTZ, Laurence, "*La bataille de la coutume et ses enjeux dans le Pacifique Sud*", (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002).
144. DE DECKKER, Paul, 'Le Pacifique: à la recherche du développement dans un espace émiétté', in *Revue française d'administration publique*, ENA, No.110, pp. 157-168 (Paris: 2002).
145. DEL RIO, Gérard, in collaboration with Roger Boulay, "Saisons d'approche muséographique nouvelle", in *Mwà Véeé*, No. 19 Trimestriel, Janvier Février Mars 98, Nouméa, pp. 46-47 (78 pages)
146. DIAOUAÏMOA, Nathalie & DEL RIO, Gérard, "D'un livre à l'autre à la Médiathèque du Centre culturel Tjibaou: Mémoires d'Océanie cent ans de cinéma ethnographique 1890-1990", in *Mwà Véeé*, No. 19 Trimestriel, Janvier Février Mars 98, Nouméa, pp. 72-73 (78 pages)
147. DIXON, Robert, *Prosthetic Gods: Travel, representation and colonial governance*, (St Lucia QLD: University of Queensland Press, 2001).
148. DOUGLAS, Bronwen, A History of Culture Contact in North-Eastern New Caledonia 1774-1870. Unpublished thesis, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1972.

- 149.DOUGLAS, Bronwen, 'Doing ethnographic history: The case of fighting in New Caledonia', in J.C. Carrier *History and Tradition in Melanesian Anthropology*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
- 150.DOUGLAS, Bronwen, *Across the Great Divide: Journeys in History and Anthropology*, (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998).
- 151.DOUMENGE, J.P., *La Répartition Géographique et Ethnique de la Population de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Rapport*, 1974.
- 152.DOUMENGE, J.P., *L'outre-mer français*, (Paris: Colin, 2000).
- 153.DOUYERE, Eric & KURTOVITCH, Ismet, *Capitalisme et colonialisme en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, (Nouméa : Editions populaires, 1985).
- 154.DORNOY, Myriam, *Politics in New Caledonia*, (Sydney : Sydney University Press, 1984).
- 155.DURING, Simon, 'Rousseau's patrimony: primitivism, romance and becoming other', in *Colonial Discourse / Postcolonial Theory*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994).
- 156.D'OZOUVILLE, Brigitte, "F. H. Dufty in Fiji, 1871-92: The Social Role of a Colonial Photographer", in *History of Photography*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Spring 1997, pp.32-41.
- 157.DU BUISSON, *L'Île de la Réunion en 1889*, (Saint-Denis, 1889).
- 158.EDWARDS, Elizabeth, *Raw Histories. Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001).

159. EDWARDS, Elizabeth, 1995, "Visuality and History: A Contemplation on Two Photographs of Samoa by Capt. W. Acland, Royal Navy", in *Picturing Paradise: Colonial Photography of Samoa, 1875-1925*, ed. Blanton, Casey, Southeast Museum of Photography, pp. 49-58.
160. EDWARDS, Elizabeth, "Postcards – Greetings from Another World" in *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, ed. Selwyn, Tom, (John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 1996) pp. 197-221.
161. EDWARDS, Elizabeth, "Performing science: still photography and the Torres Strait Expedition", in *Cambridge and the Torres Strait: Centenary essays on the 1898 anthropological expedition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 106-135.
162. EDWARDS, Elizabeth, 1990, "Photographic "Types": The Pursuit of Method", in *Visual Anthropology Volume 3 - The Image as Anthropological Document, Numbers 2-3*, pp. 235-257.
163. EDWARDS, Elizabeth, (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
164. ELLIOT, John & PICKERSGILL, Richard, *Captain Cook's second voyage. The journals of Lieutenants Elliott and Pickersgill*, (London: Caliban Books, 1984).
165. EVES, Richard, *Black and White, a Significant Contrast: Missionary Photography in the Pacific*, Centre for Cross-Cultural Research ANU.

166. EVES, Richard, "Colonialism, Corporeality and Character: Methodist Missions and The Refashioning of Bodies in The Pacific", in *Historical Anthropology*, 1996, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 85-138, (Amsterdam, Overseas Publishers Association, 1996).
167. FAGES, Jean, "La communauté tahitienne de Nouvelle-Calédonie" in *Cahiers de l'Orstom*, 1972.
168. FALCONER, John, "Ethnographical Photography in India: 1850-1900", in *Photographic Collector*, V, 1984.
169. FALCONER, John, "Photography in Nineteenth-Century India" in *The Raj: India and the British: 1600-1947*, ed. C.A. Bayly, (London, 1990).
170. FARIS, J., *Navajo and Photography: a critical History of the Representation of an American People*, University of New Mexico Press
171. FASSIN, Didier, & BENZA, Alban, *Les politiques de l'enquête: Epreuves ethnographiques*, (Paris: Editions la Découverte, 2009).
172. FAVROD, Charles-Henri, *Etranges Etrangers: Photographie et exotisme 1850-1910*, (Paris: Centre National de la Photographie, 1989).
173. FAURE Gendarme, "Affaires de Koné", Archives de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Manuscrit, Papiers du gendarme Faure sur la révolte de 1917, don de madame Kurtovitch-Hagen, 1J5 (130W).
174. FAURE Gendarme, correspondance de Faure à Rongier, du premier août 1917, sur la révolte de 1917, Archives de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, don de madame Kurtovitch-Hagen, 1J5 (130W).

- 175.FERRE G., *Bagnards, colons et canaques*, Collection Le Bagne Calédonien, (Nouméa: Les éditions du Caillou, 1979).
- 176.FOLEY, B., Finlay, S., "Spint of healing dominates 'sorry' day", in *The Age*, 27/05/00, p. 10
- 177.FOUCHER, Phillippe, *Nomenclature cartophile de Nouvelle-Calédonie cartes postales anciennes 1900-1945*, privately printed 1984, no pagination.
- 178.FOUCAULT, Michel, *La volonté de savoir* (vol.1 of *Histoire de la Sexualité*), (Paris: Gallimard, 1976).
- 179.FOUCHER, P., *Nomenclature cartophile de Nouvelle-Caledonie cartes postales anciennes 1900-1945*, privately printed 1984, no pagination).
- 180.FRASER, M., Still writing the book on reconciliation, in *The Age - Sunday Forum*, 28/05/00, p. 21
- 181.FREUND, G., *Photographie et Société*, (Paris: Seuil, 1974).
- 182.FYFE, M., Boxer to launch fight for his people, in *The Age*, 27/05/00, p. 10
- 183.GALVIN, N., Bridging the Divide, in *The Sydney Morning Herald - Reviews*, 27 May - June 2, 2000, p. 9
- 184.GASSER, Bernard, « La fête canaque sur la Grande-Terre vue par les Européens, dans la littérature d'inspiration calédonienne », Actes du Quatrième Colloque C.O.R.A.I.L., (Nouméa : CORAIL, 1992).

- 185.GASSER, Bernard, « *Le contact entre Européens et Canaques dans les nouvelles de Georges Baudoux* », Actes du Cinquième Colloque C.O.R.A.I.L., (Nouméa : CORAIL, 1993).
- 186.GEARY, Christraud, & WEBB, Virginia-Lee, "Views on Postcards", in *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, (eds) Geary, Christraud, & Webb, Virginia-Lee, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998).
- 187.GEERTZ, Clifford, "Thick Description", in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3-30.
- 188.GENOCCHIO, Benjamin, "Through the lens, subjectively", in *The Weekend Australian – Arts Review*, January 6-7 2001, p. 16.
- 189.GIDLEY, Mick, "Edward S. Curtis' Indian Photographs: A National Enterprise", in *Representing Others: White news of Indigenous Peoples*, ed. M Gidley, (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1992) p. 103.
- 190.GILIBERT, Jean, *Un Voyage Sans Retour : de l'Aubrac à la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Journal de Jean Gilibert 1818-1891, Missionnaire mariste chez les Kanaks de 1858 à 1891*, (Nouméa : CEPAC, 2007).
- 191.GINSBURG, Faye, ABU-LUGHOD, Lila & LARKIN, Brian, *Media Worlds. Anthropology on New Terrain*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
- 192.GLOWCZEWSKI, Barbara, " 'All one but different': Aboriginality: National identity versus local diversification in Australia", in *Pacific Answers to*

*Western Hegemony: Cultural Practices of Identity Construction*, pp. 335-353(Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998).

- 193.GODELIER, Maurice, *Au fondement des sociétés humaines. Ce que nous apprend l'anthropologie*, (Paris: Albin Michel, 2007).
- 194.GOIN, Chelsea Miller, "Malinowski's Ethnographic Photography: Image, Text and Authority, Guest Editor Elizabeth Edwards, in *History of Photography*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Spring 1997, pp. 67-72.
- 195.GOMBRICH, Ernt, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of Renaissance*, (London: Phaidon Press, 1972).
- 196.GORDON, M., "The uneven field of dreams, Keep people with all those problems", 26/05/00, p. 10
- 197.GORDON, M., "Where do we go from here?", in *The Age - Reconciliation A Journey - Special Reports*
- 198.GORDON, M., "Lonely PM is on the road to nowhere", in *Sunday Age*, 28/05/00, News 3
- 199.GORDON, M., *PM decision may bridge differences*, in *The Age*, 26/05/00, p.11
- 200.GORODE, Déwé, "*L'agenda: où vas-tu Mûû?*"(Nouméa: Grain de Sable, 1996).
- 201.GORODE, Déwé, *Par les temps qui courent*, (Nouméa : Grains de Sable, 1996).

- 202.GRAND, Simone, "Violence et Sexualité", in *Tahiti Pacifique – Mensuel d'Information et d'Economie*, Vol. 12, No. 140, décembre 2002, pp.35-36.
- 203.GRATTAN, M., JOPSON, D., "Walk beside us, PM", in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27/05/00, p. 1
- 204.GREENHALGH, P., *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs 1851-1939*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).
- 205.GRIMSHAW, Anna, *The Ethnographer's Eye: Ways of Seeing in Modern Anthropology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- 206.GRIMSHAW, Beatrice, *Isles of Adventure*, (London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1930).
- 207.GUTMAN, Judith Mara, *Through Indian Eyes: 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Photography from India*, (New York: 1982).
- 208.GUIART, Jean, *Structure de la chefferie en Mélanésie du Sud : Seconde édition remaniée et augmentée*, (Paris : Institut d'ethnologie, 1992).
- 209.GUIART, Jean, *Les Mélanésiens devant l'économie de marché*, (Nouméa : Le Rocher-à-la-Voile, 1998).
- 210.HAINARD, Jacques and Roland KAEHR, eds (1985) *Temps perdu, temps retrouve: voir des choses du passe au présent*, Neuchâtel.

- 211.FRASER, William Hamish, *The Coming of the Mass Market, 1850-1914*, (London, 1981), pp. 3-25.
- 212.HANSEN, David, "Curious Endeavours", in *The Australian Review of Books in Cover Story*, pp. 14-15.
- 213.HARVEY, Joy Dorothy, "Races Specified, Evolution Transformed: The Social Context of Scientific Debates Originating in the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, 1859-1902", Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1983.
- 214.HAWORTH-BOOTH, Mark, *Photography: An Independent Art: Photographs from the Victoria and Albert Museum 1839-1996*, (London: V&A Publications, 1997).
- 215.HERMAN, J., *Colonisation de l'Ile Bourbon*, (Paris, 1900).
- 216.HERRICK, A., "Sorry days, memories of Archie, Noel", in *The Age - Reconciliation A Journey - Special Report*
- 217.HIGGINS, Nicholas, "Image and Identity: Mexican Indians and Photographic Art", in *Social Alternatives* Vol. 20 No. 4, October 2001, pp.22-36
- 218.HIGHT, Eleanor M., & SAMPSON, Gary D., *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, (London: Routledge, 2004).
- 219.HILLER, Susan, ed. (1991) *The myth of primitivism: perspectives on art*, London.
- 220.HINSLEY, Curtis M., "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893" in *Exhibiting*

*Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 344-65, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

221.HIRST, John, "Aborigines and Migrants: Diversity and Unity in Multicultural Australia", in *Australian Book Review*, No. 228, February/March 2001, pp. 30-35.

222.HOBSBAWM, Eric, *Industry and Empire*, (London, 1969) pp. 154-71.

223.HOPKINSON, Amanda, "*Julia Margaret Cameron*", (London: Virago Press, 1986).

224.HUGHES, Catherine, "Imperialism, Illustration and the *Daily Mail*: 1896-1904", in *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Harris, Michael & Lee, Alan, (Rutherford, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press) pp. 187-248.

225.HUNTER, Jefferson, *Image and word: The Interaction of Twentieth Century Photographs and Texts*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987).

226.Institut d'Emission d'Outre-Mer, *La Nouvelle-Calédonie en 1998*, (Paris: Institut d'Emission d'Outre- Mer, 1999).

227.JAMESON, Frederic, "Modernism and Imperialism, in *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*, eds. by Terry Eagleton, Frederic Jameson, and Edward W. Said, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990).

- 228.JENKINS, Keith, "Introduction: on being open about our closures", in *Post Modern History Reader*, ed. Keith Jenkins, (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 1-30.
- 229.JOLLY, Margaret, "From Point Venus to Bali Ha'I: Eroticism and Exoticism in Representations of the Pacific", in *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.99-122
- 230.JOLLY, Margaret, "Other mothers: maternal 'insouciance' and the depopulation debate in Fiji and Vanuatu, 1890-1930", in *Maternities and Modernities: colonial and postcolonial experiences in Asia and the Pacific*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 177-212.
- 231.JOLLY, Margaret, "Epilogue: Hierarchical horizons" in *History and Anthropology* 7(1-4), pp. 377-409.
- 232.JOPSON, D., Nixon S., "Full House on the road to reconciliation", in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 May 2000, p.9.
- 233.JOPSON, D., "In harmony they lament: why is sorry so hard?", in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 May 2000, p.9
- 234.JUMEAUX, Robert, "Histoire des Samoa, Iles Polynésiennes Traditionnelles", in *Tahiti Pacifique – Mensuel d'Information et d'Economie*, Vol. 12, No. 140, décembre 2002, pp.19-24.
- 235.KAEPPLER, Adrienne L., "Encounters with Greatness: Collecting Hawaiian Monarchs and Aristocrats", in *History of Photography*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Autumn 2001, pp. 259-268.

- 236.KAKOU, S., *Les Photographies de la Nouvelle-Calédonie au XIXe siècle* "La Lettre du Collectionneur de Cartes Anciennes de Nouvelle-Calédonie", No.12, octobre 1985.
- 237.KAKOU, S., *Découverte photographique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie: 1848-1900*, (Arles: Actes Sud, 1998).
- 238.KARP, I. and S.D. Levine, *Exhibiting Cultures*, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1991).
- 239.KASARHEROU, Emmanuel, 'Le centre culturel Tjibaou: entre Kanak et Calédoniens' in *Musée, Nation après les colonies*, numéro spécial de *Ethnologie française*, T.XXIX, No.3, 1999, pp. 437-444.
- 240.KELLY, John D., "Gaze and Grasp: Plantations, Desires, Indentured Indians, and Colonial Law in Fiji, in *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.72-98.
- 241.KELLY, Max, "*Faces of the Street: William Street Sydney 1916*," (Paddington: Doak Press, 1982).
- 242.KETCHELL, M., "Felt pens at down as students face RSL", in *The Age*, 26/05/00, p.11.
- 243.KING, Michael, *Maori: A Photographic and Social History*, (Auckland: Reed Books, 1983).

- 244.KIRK-KUWAYE, Christine, "Seeing (for) Ourselves: The Contexts of Louis R. Sullivan Photographs of Hawaiians", in *History of Photography*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Autumn 2001, pp. 269-278.
- 245.KIRKER, Anne, & WILLIAMSON, Clare, *The Power to Move: Aspects of Australian Photography*, (South Brisbane: Queensland Art Gallery, 1995).
- 246.KLAMKIN, Marian, *Picture Postcards*, (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1974).
- 247.KOBAYASHI, T., *Les Japonais en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, SEHNC, 1992.
- 248.KOSASA, Karen K., "Thefts of Space and Culture: Kimo Cashman's Kapu Series", in *History of Photography*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Autumn 2001, pp. 279-287.
- 249.KRAKOVITCH, O., *Les femmes bagnardes*, (Ed. Olivier Orban, 1990).
- 250.KRISTEVA, J., *Étrangers à nous-mêmes*, (Paris: Fayard, 1988).
- 251.KUPER, Adam, *Anthropologists and anthropology: the British school 1922-1972*, (Harmondsworth, 1975).
- 252.KURTOVITCH, Nicolas, 'Ecrire en pays dominé' in *Antipodes*, No.5, Dunedin, 1999, pp. 41-48.
- 253.KURTOVITCH, Ismet et REGNAULT, Jean-Marc, 'Nouvelle-Calédonie, 150 de cohabitation fragile', in *Hermès*, numéro spécial La France et les outre-mer. L'enjeu multiculturel, No32-33, p. 634, pp. 163-170 (Paris: Cnrs éditions, 2002).

- 254.LAL, Brij V., & FORTUNE, Kate, *The Pacific Islands: an encyclopedia*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).
- 255.LAUBREAU, J., "Les asiatiques de Nouvelle-Calédonie", in *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Historiques*, no. 19, 1974) pp.1-17.
- 256.LEBOVICS, Herman, *True France: The Wars over Cultural Identity*, (Ithaca, NY.: Cornell University Press, 1992).
- 257.LEENHARDT, Maurice, *Documents néo-calédoniens*, (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1932).
- 258.LEENHARDT, Maurice, *Gens de la grande terre*, (Paris : Gallimard, 1937).
- 259.LEENHARDT, Maurice, *Do Kamo : La personne et le mythe dans le monde mélanésien*, (Paris : Gallimard, 1947).
- 260.LEGEARD, Luc, "Le temps du Wanaithihle ou la vie quotidienne à Lifou à l'époque pré-européenne", in *Études Mélanésiennes*, No. 31, 2000-2001, pp. 41-58, (Nouméa: Société d'Études Mélanésiennes, 2001)..
- 261.LEGEARD, Luc (sous la directions de), "*101 mots pour comprendre*", (Iles de Lumière: 2001).
- 262.LEMAGNY, Jean-Claude, & Rouillé, André, *Histoire de la Photographie*, (Paris: Bordas, 1986).
- 263.LENIN, V.I., *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, (London, 1968).

- 264.LEVI-STRAUSS, Claude, *Le Totémisme aujourd'hui*, (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1962).
- 265.LEVI-STRAUSS, David, *Between the eyes : essays on photography and politics*, (New York : Aperture , 2003).
- 266.Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes, 'Objets du passé: Un siècle et demi de presse et d'imprimerie', 29/11/2003, p.56.
- 267.Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes (Charlotte Antoine), 'Le mwâ kê sera le mât d'une pirogue tournée vers l'avenir,' 22/12/2003, p. 10.
- 268.Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes, "*La croisière du Snark de Jack London*", 10/01/2004.
- 269.Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes, "*Sur les traces des Kanakas*", 21/06/2004, p.2 and 3.
- 270.LEYS, N., "Black warrior's spirit preserved", in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27/05/00, p.9
- 271.LIPPARD, Lucy, *Partial Recall: Photographs of Native North Americans*, (New York City: W W Norton & Co Inc, 1992).
- 272.LONGO, Donna, "Photographing the Hopi", in *Pacific Discovery* 33(3):11-19, 1980.

- 273.LOWENTHAL, D., *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- 274.LUTZ, Catherine A., Collins, Jane L., *Reading National Geographic*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), Ch. 4.
- 275.LYON, Peter, 'The role of the photographer', in Falconer, J. *Commonwealth in Focus: 130 Years of Photographic History*, (Brisbane: International Cultural Corporation of Australia, 1982)
- 276.LYMAN, Christopher, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions*, (New York: Pantheon Press, 1982).
- 277.MACHORO, Eloi, "Pour la réforme foncière, la parole est aux Calédoniens, in *L'Avenir calédonien*, No. 772, 10 March 1979.
- 278.MACKAY, H., "Sorry, but it's time to talk about the s-work", in *The Age - Opinion*, 24/05/00
- 279.MACKENZIE, John M., *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984) pp. 1-38.
- 280.MAINGUET, Jérôme, "Exclusif! Découverte de Photos Inédites de Tahiti en 1915", in *Tahiti Pacifique – Mensuel d'Information et d'Economie*, Vol. 12, No. 140, décembre 2002, pp.42-43.
- 281.MAITLAND, Gordon, "The Two Sides of the Camera Lens: Nineteenth-Century photography and the indigenous people of the South Pacific", in

*Photofile South Pacific*, Spring 1988, Australian Centre for Photography, Paddington NSW, pp.47-59

282.MANDERSON, Lenore, & JOLLY, Margaret, "Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific – Introduction", in *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.1-26.

283.MARK, Joan, "Photography as Propaganda: The Indian Bureau Exhibit at the New Orleans Exposition in 1885", in *Peabody Museum*, Harvard University, Typescript, 1980.

284.MARR, D., "A walk across Black Australia", in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27/05, p. 10-11

285.MARIOTTI, Jean, *Takata d'Aïmos*, (Nouméa: réédition Association pour l'édition des oeuvres de Jean Mariotti & Grain de sable, 1999).

286.MASAYESVA, Victor & Younger, Erin, *Hopi Photographers, Hopi Images*, (Tucson: Sun Tracks, 1983).

287.MAUREL C., *L'exotisme Colonial*, (Poitiers: Robert Laffont, 1980).

288.MAXWELL, Anne, "Rewriting the Nation", in *Meanjin* 53(2): 315-326, Winter 1994.

289.MAXWELL, Anne, "'Native' women and Tourism: A Contested Site of Orientalism", in *Third Text Third World Perspectives on Contemporary Art & Culture*, (incorporating Black Phoenix, 22 Spring 1993), pp.21-32.

290. MAXWELL, Anne, "Theorising Settler Identities: Images of Racial and Cultural Difference in the Colonial Exhibitions and Photographic Tourism, in *Asian-Pacific inscriptions: identities, ethnicities*, ed. Perera, S. (1995) pp. 193-209.
291. MAYNARD, Margaret, "Staging Masculinity: Late Nineteenth Century Photographs of Indigenous Men", in *Vision Splendid*, ed. Moore, Nicole, (St Lucia Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2000), pp.129-137.
292. MEAD, Margaret, "Visual Anthropology in a Discipline of Words", in *Principles of Visual Anthropology*, ed. P. Hockings, (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1975), pp. 3-10.
293. MERCER, C., *Regular imaginings: the newspaper and the nation*, p. 26-27
294. MERCER, Patricia, *White Australia Defied – Pacific Islander Settlement in North Queensland*, (Townsville: James Cook University, 1995).
295. MERLE, Isabelle, *Expériences coloniales: La Nouvelle-Calédonie (1835-1920)*, (Paris: Belin, 1995).
296. MERMOUD, Jean-Claude, *Mode de vie et culture caldoches. 37 traits culturels pour mieux connaître la culture caldoche*, (Nouméa: Ile de Lumière, 1999).
297. METZ, C., 'Photography and fetish', reprinted in C. Squires (ed.) (1990), *The Critical Image*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1985).
298. MEYER, Susan (1991) 'Colonialism and the figurative strategy of *Jane Eyre's*', in Jonathan Arac and Harriet Ritvo, eds *Macropolitics of nineteenth-*

*century literature: nationalism, exoticism, imperialism*, Pittsburgh, pp. 159-83.

299.MEYNIER, Gilbert, "Images et imaginaire coloniaux français dans l'entre-deux-guerres", in *Images et Colonies*, (sous la direction de Blanchard, Pascal, & Chatelier, Armelle), pp. 41-50 (Paris: Achac et Syros, 1993).

300.MICHEL, Louise, "*La Commune: histoire et souvenirs*", (Paris: La découverte Poche-Littérature, 1999).

301.MICHEL, Louise, *Aux amis d'Europe légendes et chansons de gestes canaques*, (Nouméa: Grain de sable, 1996).

302.MIEGE, Jean-Louis, *Expansion européenne et décolonisation de 1870 à nos jours*, (Paris : PUF, 1973).

303.MILLET, Michel, *1878: Carnets de campagne en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, (Toulouse: Anacharsis Editions, 204).

304.MILLAR, David P., *Charles Kerry's Federation Australia*, (Sydney: David Ell Press, 1981).

305.MOKADDEM, Hamid, "*L'échec scolaire calédonien*", (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999).

306.MOKADDEM, Hamid, « *L'œil du Père Rouel : Autour d'une série de photographies d'Alphonse Rouel en Nouvelle-Calédonie (1913-1969)* », (Nouméa : Expressions, 2004).

- 307.MORET, J., *Les Asiatiques en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, (Nouméa: Bulletin no. 19 de la SHE, 1974).
- 308.MORTON N., "Reflections in a Looking Glass, A Centennial Celebration of Lewis Carroll, Photographer", (*Aperture*, New York, 1998)
- 309.MOYLAND, Philippa, "The Feeling Eye: Nation, nerves and Masculinity in the colonial Adventure Romance", in *Vision Splendid*, ed. Moore, Nicole, (St Lucia Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2000), pp.138-147.
- 310.MUCKLE, Adrian, 'Killing the Fantôme Canaque: evoking and invoking the possibility of revolt in New Caledonia (1853-1914)', in *Journal of Pacific History*, No XXXVII 1, (Canberra: 2002).
- 311.MULJONO-LARUE, Fidayanti, *L'Immigration Javanaise en Nouvelle-Calédonie de 1896 à 1950*, Points d'Histoire No. 10 CRDP.
- 312.MUNSHI, Debashish, "Requisitioning Variety: Photographic Metaphors, Ethnocentric Lenses, and the Divided Colours of Public Relations", in *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, January 1999, pp.39-51.
- 313.NAEPELS, Michel, *"Histoires de terres Kanakes"*, (Paris: Belin, 1998)..
- 314.National Museum of Vanuatu, *Framing the Native: Rev. James Hay Lawrie's Vanuatu photographs, 1891-1894*, (Port Vila: Vanuatu National Museum, 1998).
- 315.NEWHALL, B., *The History of Photography*, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982).

316. NEWTON, G., *Shades of Light: Photography and Australia 1839-1988*, (Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1988).
317. NGUGI WA Thiong'o (1986) *Decolonizing the mind*, London.
318. NIETZSCHE, F. W., *Human, All too Human* (1878; New York: Gordon Press, 1974), no. 3.
319. NIETZSCHE, F. W., Preface to *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887), in *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, ed. And trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Modern Library, 1968), sec. 4,7.
320. NORDSTROM, Alison D., "Early Photography of Samoa: Marketing Stereotypes of Paradise", in *History of Photography*, vol. 15, No. 4, 1991, pp. 272-286.
321. NORDSTROM, Alison D., 'Postcards from paradise', in Blanton, ed., op. Cit., 1995
322. NORDSTROM, Alison D., "Photography of Samoa: Production, Dissemination, And Use", in *Picturing Paradise: Colonial Photography of Samoa, 1875-1925*, ed. Blanton, Casey, Southeast Museum of Photography, pp. 11-40.
323. OGBURN, K., "Sorry what does mainstream mean?", in *The Age - Opinion*, 28/05/00.
324. OPLE, Blas F., *The Philippines and the World*, (Quezon City: Institute for Public Policy, 1997).

325. OUNEI, Suzanne, *"Social change in the Pacific"*, (New Zealand: David Robby, 1992).
326. O'HANLON, Michael, *Paradise: Portraying The New Guinea Highlands*, (London: British Museum Press, 1993).
327. O'REILLY, P., *Bibliographie méthodique analytique et critique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, (Paris: Publications de la Société des Océanistes, 1955, no.4).
328. O'REILLY, P., *Photographies de Nouvelle-Calédonie*, (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1978).
329. O'REILLY, Patrick & Poirier, Jean, 'L'évolution du costume', in *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, tome IX, no. 9, pp. 151-169, (Paris: Musée de l'Homme, 1953).
330. PAPIN, Bernard, *Vie et mort de Ludovic Papin chez les Canaques*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999).
331. PETERSON, Nicolas, "The Popular Image", in *Seeing the First Australians*, Eds. I. Donaldson and T. Donaldson, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985) pp. 164-180.
332. PETERSON, Nicolas, "A Colonial Image: The Penetrating Reality of the Image", in *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 2 (1989), pp. 59-62.
333. 'Philippine Photography in Retrospect', *Pilipinas Photography Journal* 1, no. 2 (January-February 1989): 18-21.

- 334.PINELLI, Jean-Dominique, & Gourmel, Gérard, "Nouvelles Calédonies d'avant 1914", (Le Mans: Collection Pacifique, 1992).
- 335.PINK, Sarah, *Doing Visual Ethnography : images, media and representation in research*, (London : Sage Publications, 2001).
- 336.PINNEY, Christopher, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photography*, (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1997), Ch. 1, 2.
- 337.PINNEY, Christopher, 'Classification and Fantasy in the Photographic Construction of Caste and Tribe' in *Visual Anthropology* 3, nos. 2-3 (1990) 259-88.
- 338.PINNEY, Christopher, 'Appearing worlds', in *Anthropology Today*, 5(3), 26-8.
- 339.PLUMB, J. H., *The Death of the Past*, (London, 1969).
- 340.POOLE, Deborah, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
- 341.PRAKASH, Gyan, 'Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography,' in Vinayak Chaturvedi, ed., *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial* (2000).
- 342.PROCHASKA, D., 'Fantasia of the Photothèque: French postcard views of colonial Senegal', *African Arts*, 24(2), 40-7.

343. JON PROSSER (ed.), *Image-based Research. A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers*, (London: Falmer Press, 1998).
344. QUANCHI, Max, "Tree-houses, representation and photography on the Papuan coast, 1880 to 1930", in *Art and Performance in Oceania*, ed. Craig, Barry, & Kernot, Bernie, & Anderson, Christopher, (Bathurst: Crawford House Publishing, 1999).
345. QUANCHI, Max, "The Imaging of Pastors in Papua", in *The Covenant makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific*, ed. Munro, Doug & Thornley, Andrew, (Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1996) pp.158-173.
346. QUANCHI, Max, & Shekleton, Max, "Disorderly Categories in Picture Postcards from Colonial Papua and New Guinea", in *History of Photography, Volume 25, Number 4, Winter 2001*, pp.315-333.
347. QUANCHI, M, 1997, "Thomas McMahon; photography as propaganda in the Pacific Islands"
348. QUARTERMAINE, Peter, "Johannes Lindt: Photographer of Australia and New Guinea", in *Representing Others: White news of Indigenous Peoples*, ed. M Gidley, (Exek in Press 1992) pp. 84-102.
349. RABB, Jane M., *Literature of Photography: Interactions 1840-1990*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).
350. RABINOW, Paul, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History", in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Rabinow, Paul, (London: Penguin Group, 1984), pp. 76-97.

- 351.RALSTON, C., *Grass Huts and Warehouses Pacific: Beach Communities of the Nineteenth Century*, (Canberra: Australian National University, 1977).
- 352.REED, Adam, "Contested Images and Common Strategies: Early Colonial Sexual Politics in the Massim", in *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.48-71.
- 353.REY-GOLDZEIGUER, « Réflexions sur l'image et la perception du Maghreb et des Maghrébins dans la France du XIXe et XXe siècles », in *Images et Colonies*, (sous la direction de Blanchard, Pascal, & Chatelier, Armelle), pp. 33-40 (Paris: Achac et Syros, 1993).
- 354.RIVIERE, H., 1980, *Souvenirs de la Nouvelle-Calédonie: L'insurrection canaque 1878*, (Paris : Calmann Lévy, 1881) 1 vol.in.8.
- 355.ROLLINS, A., "Aborigines before the House", in *The Age*, 26/05/00, p. 11.
- 356.ROSALDO, Michelle Z. (1980) *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)..
- 357.ROSALDO, Renato (1980) *Ilongot headhunting, 1883-1974: a study in society and history*, Stanford.
- 358.ROSALDO, Renato, *Culture and truth: the remaking of social analysis*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), pp. 168-195.
- 359.ROUCH, Jean, *Ciné-Ethnolgraphy*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

- 360.ROUILLE, André, & MARBOT, Bernard, *Le corps et son image. Photographies du dix-neuvième siècle*, (Paris: Contrejour, 1986).
- 361.ROUX, Jean-Claude, « Les Indiens de la Nouvelle-Calédonie », *B.S.E.H.N.C.*, 1984.
- 362.ROZIER, C., *L'Eglise sur le caillou avant les communards*
- 363.ROZIER, C., *La Nouvelle-Calédonie ancienne*, (Paris: Fayard, 1990).
- 364.RUBY, Jay , *Picturing Culture: Explorations of Film and Anthropology*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- 365.RYAN, D.B., *Picture Postcards in the United States, 1893-1918*, (New York: C.N. Potter, 1982).
- 366.RYAN, James R., *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1997).
- 367.RYCKEBUSCH, Jackie, *La Réunion 1900 en cartes postales*, (Saint-André Ile de la Réunion: Océan Editions, 1994).
- 368.RYDELL, Robert, *All the world's a fair: visions of empire at American international expositions 1876-1916*, (Chicago and London: 1984).
- 369.SAID, Edward, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage, 1979).

- 370.SAID, Edward, "Orientalism 25 years later: Worldly Humanism vs. the Empire Builders", in Counterpunch edited by Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair (Petrolia CA: August 4, 2003).
- 371.SALHINS, Marshall, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1981).
- 372.<http://www.counterpunch.org/said08052003.html>
- 373.SALHINS, Marshall, "Pacific identities and modernities, in *The New Pacific Review: Pacific Identities*, 1(1), pp. 18-23, 2001.
- 374.SALMOND, Anne, *Two Worlds: first meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*, Part Four The Antipodes of France pp. 299-356, (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1991).
- 375.SALOMON, Christine, " Quand les filles ne se taisent plus: Un aspect du changement postcolonial en Nouvelle-Calédonie", in *Terrain 10*, March 2003, pp. 133-150.
- 376.SAND, Christophe, 'Lapita. The pottery collection from the site at Foué, New Caledonia', numéro spécial in *Les cahiers de l'Archéologie en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, Vo. 7, (Nouméa: Musée Territorial de Nouvelle-Calédonie, 1999).
- 377.SARASIN, Fritz, *La Nouvelle-Calédonie et les Iles Loyalty*, (Georg: 1917).
- 378.SAUSSOL, A., *L'héritage - Essai sur le problème foncier mélanésien en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, Société des Océanistes No. 40.

- 379.SAUSSOL, A., « Peut-on parler de créolité en Nouvelle-Calédonie? », in *Iles tropicales, insularité, insularisme*, (Bordeaux/ 1987).
- 380.SCARR, D., *Fiji, a Short History*, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1984).
- 381.SCHERER, Joanna, "You Can't Believe Your Eyes": Inaccuracies in Photographs of North American Indians, in *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 2, no. 2:67-79, 1975.
- 382.SCHILLER, Dan, "Realism, Photography, and Journalistic Objectivity in 19<sup>th</sup> Century America", in *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 4(2):86-98, 1977.
- 383.SCHNEIDER, William, *An Empire for the Masses: The French Popular Image of Africa, 1870-1900*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982).
- 384.SEKULA, Allan, 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning', in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin, 84-109, (London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1987).
- 385.SENES, Jacqueline, *L'Île aux cent visages*, ed. Graphical , (Nouméa. 1977)
- 386.SHEKLETON, M and ANGLEVIEL, F, "What the postman saw: paroles Calédoniennes au fil des cartes postales" in Angleviel F, ed, *Parole, communication et symbole en océanie*, (Paris: L'harmattan, 1995), pp.335-63.

- 387.SHINEBERG, Dorothy, *The People Trade: Pacific Island Laborers and New Caledonia, 1865-1930*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, Pacific Island Monograph series No 16, 1999).
- 388.SHINEBERG, Dorothy, *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the South-West Pacific 1830-1865*, (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967).
- 389.SHINEBERG, D., 1983, "Un nouveau regard sur la démographie historique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie", *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, Vol 76 tome XXXIX, pp. 33-43.
- 390.SICARD, Monique, « Mille huit cent quatre-vingt-quinze ou les bascules du regard », in *Le Cinéma et la Science*, coordonné par A. Martinet, pp. 18-31, (Paris : CNRS Editions, 1994).
- 391.SIMPSON, Donald, *Commonwealth in Focus: 130 Years of Photography*, (London: The Royal Commonwealth Society, 1982).
- 392.SMITH, Anthony, *National Identity*, (London: Penguin, 1991).
- 393.SMITH, B., *European Vision of the South Pacific 1768-1850*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).
- 394.SONTAG, Susan, *On Photography*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1977).
- 395.SONTAG, Susan, *Where the stress falls*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002).
- 396.SONTAG, Susan, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Picador, 2003).

- 397.SONTAG, Susan, "The Anthropologist as Hero", in *Claude Lévi-Strauss: The Anthropologist as Hero*, ed. E.N. Hayes and T. Hayes, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1970), pp. 184-196.
- 398.SONTAG, Susan, "What Have We Done" in *The Guardian/UK*, Monday, May24, 2004.
- 399.SPECHT, Jim, & Fields, John, *Frank Hurley in Papua: Photographs of the 1920-1923 Expeditions*, (Bathurst NSW: Robert Brown and Associates, 1984).
- 400.STEINBERG, S. H., *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, (London, 1955).
- 401.STEPHEN, Ann, & GIBSON, Ross, & THOMAS, Nicolas, *Pirating the Pacific: Images of Travel, Trade & Tourism*, ed. Stephen, Ann, (Haymarket: Powerhouse Publishing, 1993).
- 402.STEPHENS, T., "Howard's Unfinished Business", in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 May 2000, p.44-45.
- 403.STEPHENSON, E, 1997, op.cit.,; Webb V-L, 1998, "Transformed images; photographers and postcards in Pacific Islands" in Geary CM and Webb V-L, op. Cit., pp.115-146.
- 404.STEWART, Susan, 'Objects of Desire', Chapter in *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

405. STOLER, Ann, "Educating Desire in Colonial Southeast Asia: Foucault, Freud and Imperial Sexualities", in *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp.27-47.
406. SULLIVAN, Louis, 'Racial Types in the Philippines', in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 23, part 1 (1918): 3-61.
407. SZARKOWSKI, John, *Photography Until Now*, (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1989).
408. TAGG, John, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographs and Histories*, (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).
409. TANNER Hadley, Margery, "Photography, tourism and The CPR: Western Canada, 1884-1914", in *Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian West: Regional Perspectives on the Settlement Process*, ed. Rosenvall, L.A., & Evans, S. M., (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1987), pp.48-69.
410. TANRE, C., *The Mechanical Eye: An History of Australian Photography*, (Sydney: Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, 1977).
411. TAYLOR, Charles, *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).
412. TAYLOR, K., Fyfe, M., "Protestors ridicule Howard", in *The Sunday Age*, 28/05/00, News 3.
413. TAYLOR, K., "ATSIC head revives push for a treaty", in *The Age*, 27/05/00, p. 10.

414. TECLES-OLLIVIER, Sabine, *La Carte Postale : reflet d'une société*, DEA – Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Nouméa, 2000, 161p.
415. THACKER, Andrew, "Foucault and the Writing of History", in *The Impact of Michel Foucault on the Social Sciences and Humanities*, ed. Lloyd, Moya & Thacker, Andrew (Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997) pp.29-53.
416. The Art Gallery of New South Wales, *Portraits of Oceania*, (Sydney: The Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1997).
417. The Royal Anthropological Institute, *Observers of Man*, (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1980), pp. 3-24.
418. THOMAS, Alan, *The Expanding Eye: Photography and the Nineteenth-Century Mind*, (London, 1978), p. 22.
419. THOMAS, Nicholas, *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories*, (London: Duke University Press, 1997), Part II & III.
420. THOMAS, Nicholas, *Colonial Conversions: Difference, Hierarchy, and History in early Twentieth-Century Evangelical Propaganda*, in (Society for Comparative Study of Society and History, 1992), pp. 366-389.
421. TJIBAOU, Jean-Marie, *La Présence kanak*, (Paris: Editions Odile Jacob, 1996).
422. TJIBAOU, Jean-Marie, & Missotte, Philippe, *Kanaké : Mélanésien de Nouvelle-Calédonie*, (Papeete : Les éditions du Pacifique, 1976).

- 423.TJIBAOU, Marie-Claude, 'Nouvelle-Calédonie: limites de l'école du modèle occidental', in *Outre-mers, notre monde*. Entretiens d'Oudinot, pp. 93-96, (Paris: Autrement, 2002).
- 424.TIPPET, G., "Cold and bitter day with not a sorry", in *The Sunday Age*, 28/05/00, News 3.
- 425.TODOROV, T., *Nous et les Autres. La réflexion française sur la diversité humaine*, (Paris: Seuil, 1989).
- 426.TOGNA, Octave, 'L'identité culturelle kanak' in *Identité, nationalité, citoyenneté outremer*, p. 218, pp. 51-56, (Paris: Cheaam, 1999).
- 427.United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), *Your World*, (London: Harvill, 1992).
- 428.United Nations, "Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during the first part of its fifty-second session - from 16/09 to 22/12/97, Press Release GA/9393 10/02/98, 52/76 Question of New Caledonia - 10/12/97 Report A/52/613.
- 429.URRY, James, 'Notes and queries on anthropology and the development of field methods in British anthropology 1870-1920', *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, (1972) pp. 45-57.
- 430.VAN ALPHEN, Ernst, "The Other Within" in Corbey, R. & Leerssen, J. Th., *Alterity, Identity, Image: Selves and Others in Society and Scholarship*, (Rodopi: Amsterdam, 1991).

- 431.VANMAI, J., 1991, *Centenaire de la Présence Vietnamiennne en Nouvelle-Calédonie 1891 - 1991*, Points d'histoire, Centre Territorial de Recherche et de Développement Pédagogiques.
- 432.VERGARA, Benito Jr., *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Philippines*, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995).
433. *Victorians for Reconciliation, A message to all Victorians on Friday 26 - May to mark the Journey of Healing*, The Age, publicity.
- 434.VINCENT, Jean-Baptiste , *Les Canaques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie en 1893: Esquisses ethnographique avec 41 figures dans le texte*, Archives de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Manuscrit, 1J3 (126W)
- 435.WASHBROOK, D.A., "Orients and Occidents: Colonial Discourse Theory and the Historiography of the British Empire", in Winks RW, ed, *Historiography; the Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 5, pp. 596-611, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- 436.WEBB, Virginia-Lee, "Manipulated Images: European Photographs of Pacific Peoples", in *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp.175-201.
- 437.WEBB, Virginia-Lee, "Missionary Photographers in the Pacific Islands: Divine Light", Guest Editor Elizabeth Edwards, in *History of Photography*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Spring 1997, pp. 12-22.

- 438.WEBB, Virginia-Lee, "Transformed Images: Photographers and Postcards in the Pacific Islands", in *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, (eds) Geary, Christraud, & Webb, Virginia-Lee, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998).
- 439.WEIR, Christine, "'Fellow labourers in the Vineyard of the Lord': representing Methodist islander missionaries in *Melanesia in word and picture, 1870-1930*", pp. 1-13.
- 440.WHITE, Geoffrey M., *Identity Through History: Living Stories in a Solomon Islands Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 441.WHITE, Richard, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1968-1980*, (Sydney, 1981).
- 442.WILLIAMSON, Judith, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*, (London: Marion Boyars, 1978)
- 443.WILLIS, Anne-Marie, "Afterword: Writing Photographic History in Australia, Past and Future", in *Picturing Australia*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988).
- 444.WOLF, Eric, *Europe and the People Without History*, (Los Angeles/Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
- 445.WOODY, Howard, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895 to 1915)", in *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, (eds) Geary, Christraud, & Webb, Virginia-Lee, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998).

446. WORSWICK, Clark, & Embree, Ainslie, *The Last Empire: Photography in British India, 1855-1911*, (Millerton, New York: Aperture, 1976).
447. WORTH, Sol, & ADAIR, John, *Through Navajo Eyes: An Exploration in Film Communication and Anthropology*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974).
448. WRIGHT, Chris, "An Unsuitable Man: The Photographs of Captain Francis R. Barton", in *Pacific Arts*, July 1997, pp. 42-60.
449. YOUNG, Robert J.C., *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, (London: Routledge, 1995), Chaps. 6 & 7.
450. YOUNG, Michael W., & Clark, Julia, *an Anthropologist in Papua: The Photography of F.E. Williams, 1922-39*, (Adelaide: Crawford House Publishing, 2001).
451. YOUNG, Michael W., *Malinowski's Kiriwina: Fieldwork Photography 1915-1918*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998).
452. ZUBECKIS, Arnolds, *Sur des sables mouvants: Revendication d'une identité "caldoche" en Nouvelle-Calédonie depuis les Accords de Matignon (1988-1997)*, Honours thesis under the supervision of Monique Burstson, University of Melbourne, November 1997.

## Films

453. *Dances with Wolves*, Directed by Kevin Costner, Novel and Screenplay Michael Blake, 1990

454. *Emma, tribu kanak aujourd'hui* contemporary film (Emma, Kanak tribe today) by Emilio Pacull, 1998.

455. *Rapa Nui*, Produced by Kevin Costner, Directed by Kevin Reynolds, 1994, USA.

456. Robert J. Flaherty's film on the Inuits, *Nanook of the North*, 1922, 35mm film, black and white and colour tinted, silent 56mn

457. *Zoos Humains*, Directed by Pascal Blanchard and Eric Deroo, 2003, France.

458. *Eux et Moi*, Directed by Stéphane Breton, 2001, France.

459. *Les Esprits de Koniambo en terre kanak* by JL Comolli et A Bensa

# Archives

## ARCHIVES NOUVELLE-CALEDONIE Nouméa

460. Bergasse du Petit-Thouars Amiral, Lettre de l'amiral Bergasse du Petit-Thouars, 22 mai 1879. Aquisition, 1J20.
461. Photocopies des fiches d'engagement et de carrière des Tirailleurs canaques de la Première Guerre Mondiale. Don d'un particulier. Archives. 1J30 Boite no. 1 et 2.
462. "Nos criminels dans les bagnes d'Outre-Mer: Etudes Physiologiques et Psychologiques par Mr XXX" (le bagnard Daufelt), 1896, Manuscrit. Acquisition. 1J21
463. Service des archives de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Recueil de la réglementation particulière appliquée a la population mélanésienne en Nouvelle-Calédonie (1853-1949), (Nouméa: 2002)
464. VINCENT, Jean-Baptiste , "Les Canaques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie en 1893: Esquisses ethnographique avec 41 figures dans le texte", Archives de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Manuscrit, 1J3 (126W)
465. FAURE Gendarme, "Affaires de Koné", Archives de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Manuscrit, Papiers du gendarme Faure sur la révolte de 1917, don de madame Kurtovitch-Hagen, 1J5 (130W).

466.FAURE Gendarme, correspondance de Faure a Rongier, du premier août 1917, sur la révolte de 1917, Archives de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, don de madame Kurtovitch-Hagen, 1J5 (130W).

467.Livrets individuels de travailleurs tonkinois. Acquisition des Archives. 1J7 (152W).

## ARCHIVES INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL HISTORY Amsterdam, The Netherlands

(name of archive, no. of box/folder, document)

468.DESCAVES Lucien (1861-1949): libraire, bouquiniste : Nouvelle-Calédonie (1873-1880) Textes écrits à propos de la déportation. Documents et enterrement de Louise Michel. Louise Michel à travers la presse.

469.DESCAVES – Louise Michel (4301-7) 936-1003/937, Le Penseur Calédonien No. 12 (all pages)

470.DESCAVES – Louise Michel (4301-7) 936-1003/938, Les Veillées Calédoniennes No. 1 (pages 6, 7, 8)

471.DESCAVES – Louise Michel (4301-7) 936-1003/941, Louise Michel

472.DESCAVES – Louise Michel (9309-6) 886-935/904, Le Nouveau livre de Louise Michel

473.DESCAVES – Louise Michel (591-628) 600, Mémoires (13 juillet et Bare de Numbé + copie de la lettre du 18 avril 1879

- 474.DESCAVES – Louise Michel (886-935) / 924 : Camp d'Uro
- 475.DESCAVES – Louise Michel (886-935) / 934 : Le Parisien No 1 (première page)
- 476.PETIT, Gaston – 389a : Lettre de Gaston Petit à Lucien Descaves au sujet du centenaire de la naissance de Louise Michel.
- 477.Inventaire déportés commune en Nouvelle-Calédonie :H. Brissac ; J. Gérard ; A. Humbert ; H. Rochefort ; R. Urbain et les condamnés de la Commune + doc cotés 135, 144, 149a, 184, 227b, 260a, 268a, 427, 797 (tombola organisée à Londres au profit des condamnés politiques de Nouvelle-Calédonie).
- 478.Collection Lucien Descaves : 455-463 –1056- The red virgin of the Commune « The Million » 21/10/1893,1080- Portraits, caricatures « La Muse rouge », 699-748.772 A bord de la Virginie, 671- Choses écrites dans le bagne de Nouvelle-Calédonie, 802- Le déluge Kanaque, 764- L'igname nouvelle, 802- Le Kouindio, 664- Lecture, méthode usage du cours kanak, nouméa, 64- Légendes et chansons de gestes canaques, 764- Le moyen age en Calédonie,765- Paysage Calédonie, 762, 789, 793, 794, 802- Sous les niaoulis , 802- Légendes kanaque, 802- Souvenirs de Calédonie.
- 479.« Le Raseur Calédonien » - hebdomadaire : 1<sup>er</sup> numéro 4 février 1877, Dernier No. 12 – 22 avril 1877 (copie demandée)– 10 centimes, rédacteur en chef : GM, rédacteur gérant : P. Geofroy- Ile des Pins, ref. boîte 936-1003 (937)
- 480.« Les Veillées Calédoniennes » 40 centimes, No.1, 7 juin 1877 (936-1003)  
938

## Interview

482.FLOSSE, Gaston - Interview with the President of French Polynesia Gaston Flosse on the economic and cultural positioning of Tahiti among its Pacific neighbours (Papeete, December 2002). Interview broadcasted on SBS Radio French Program June 2003.

483.PAKARATI Enrique - Interview with the Governor of Easter Island Enrique Pakarati on the positioning of Rapanui as Chilean Territory, focus on immigration to the island and its cultural survival in Polynesia (Rapanui, December 2002). Interview broadcasted on SBS Radio Spanish Program June 2003

484.The Honourable SALIELE , Prime Minister of Samoa

485.John Gordon SCOTT, 2<sup>nd</sup> in charge at the Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues at the United Nations, June 2003 United Nations Headquarters, New York.

486.Les MALEZER – Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action (FAIRC), posted in Geneva at the United Nations. Interview†\_œ

487.Patrick JOHNSON, Aboriginal 100m sprinter. Interview conducted at the Australian Embassy in Paris, July 2003. Patrick Johnson comments on what and who inspires him and its role as an Aboriginal sports star.

488. Yolande Halbert, 81 years old woman who is related to the Melzer family, one of the first settler's family, that had coffee plantations in New Caledonia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Yolande talks about the relationships between her family interactions with the neighbouring Kanaks and the plantation's workers: Kanaks, Javanese and other. Yolande Halbert migrated to Sydney when she married an Australian at the end of WWII. (3/28 Fielding St, Colloroy Beach, 02 9981 2151.

## **Photographic exhibitions**

489. Centre Culturel Tjibaou, Robes Mission: Histoire(s) de Femmes, Exposition photographique 20 août – 3 novembre 2003. Conférence de Waimalo Wapotro Mardi 19 août 2003 à 18h, Nouméa, Nouvelle- Calédonie.

490. Musée d'Orsay, Charles Cordier sculpteur ethnographe, "Charles Cordier (1827-1905), sculpteur, l'autre et l'ailleurs", 3 février - 2 Mai 2004, Paris.

491. Musée d'Orsay, "Paysages et Nature", photographs from the period called 'primitive' with the invention of orthochromatism which allowed to give in black and white the values corresponding to the principle colours, including autochrom and the pictorialist movement. 16 March – 30 May 2004, Paris.

492. Musée d'Orsay, "Photographies de guerre: De la Crimée à la Première Guerre mondiale", 29 juin – 12 septembre 2004, Paris.

# Annexes

# Further photographs

## Everyday life in Noumea



Collection Serge Kakou



Max Mayer 2001 no.400



Max Mayer 2001 no.418



Collection Serge Kakou



Photo Kakou 2004 – Nakéty The wedding of Miss Soënne and Mr Schmit



Collection Serge Kakou, "1878 - Allan Hughan's workshop"



Collection Serge Kakou 2004 2782

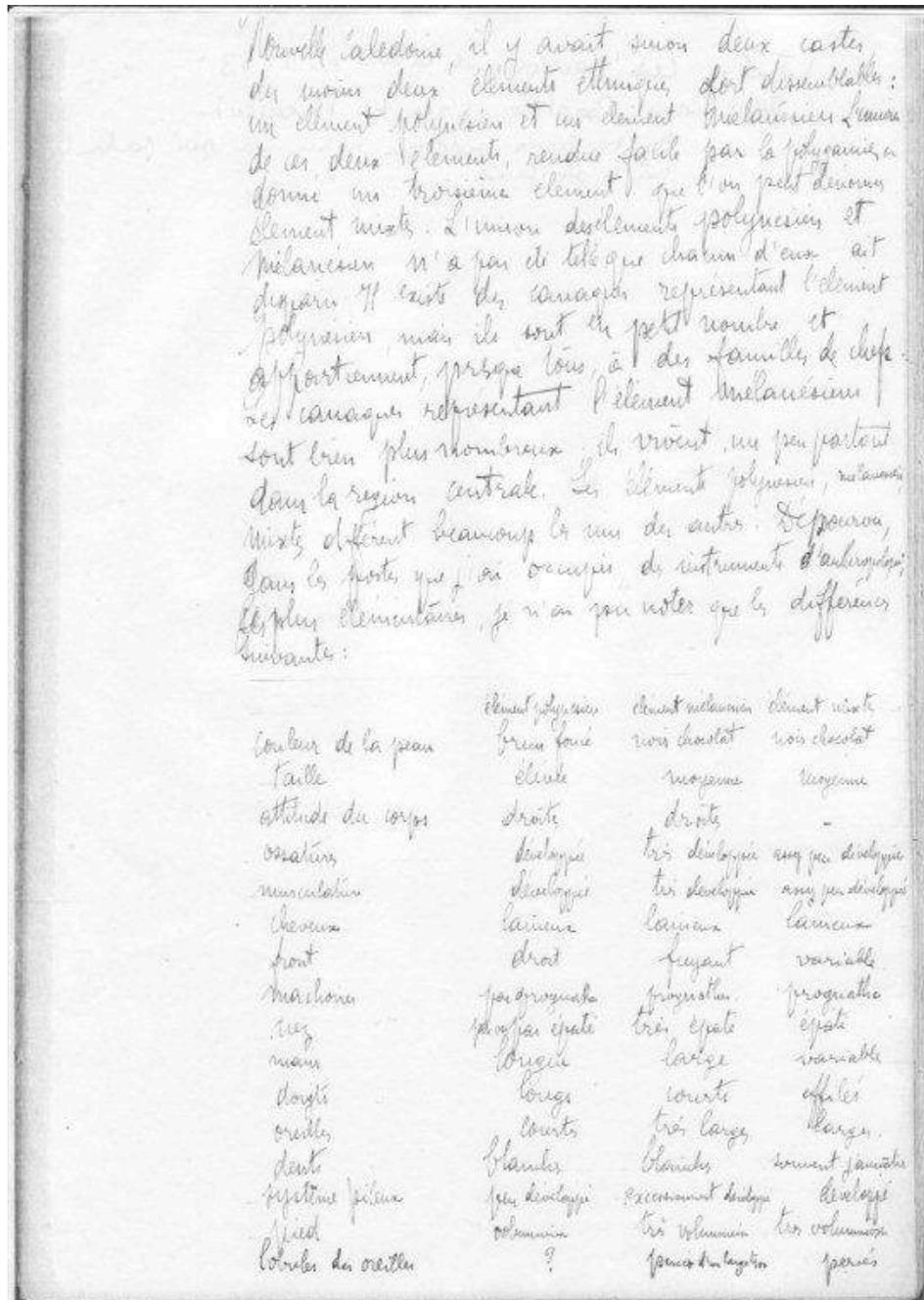


Photo Max Mayer 2001 no.214



Max Mayer 2001 no.410

## Description of ethnic differences between Melanesians and Polynesians



Archives New Caledonia IT3-"Les Canaques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie en 1893" by Jean-Baptiste Vincent (doctor posted in different tribes throughout the Grande-Terre) – Manuscript

# Census of the population of Bourail in 1906

COLONIE de la NOUVELLE-CALÉDONIE

COMMISSION MUNICIPALE BOURAIL

POPULATION 15 avril 1906

ANNÉE 1906. Bourail

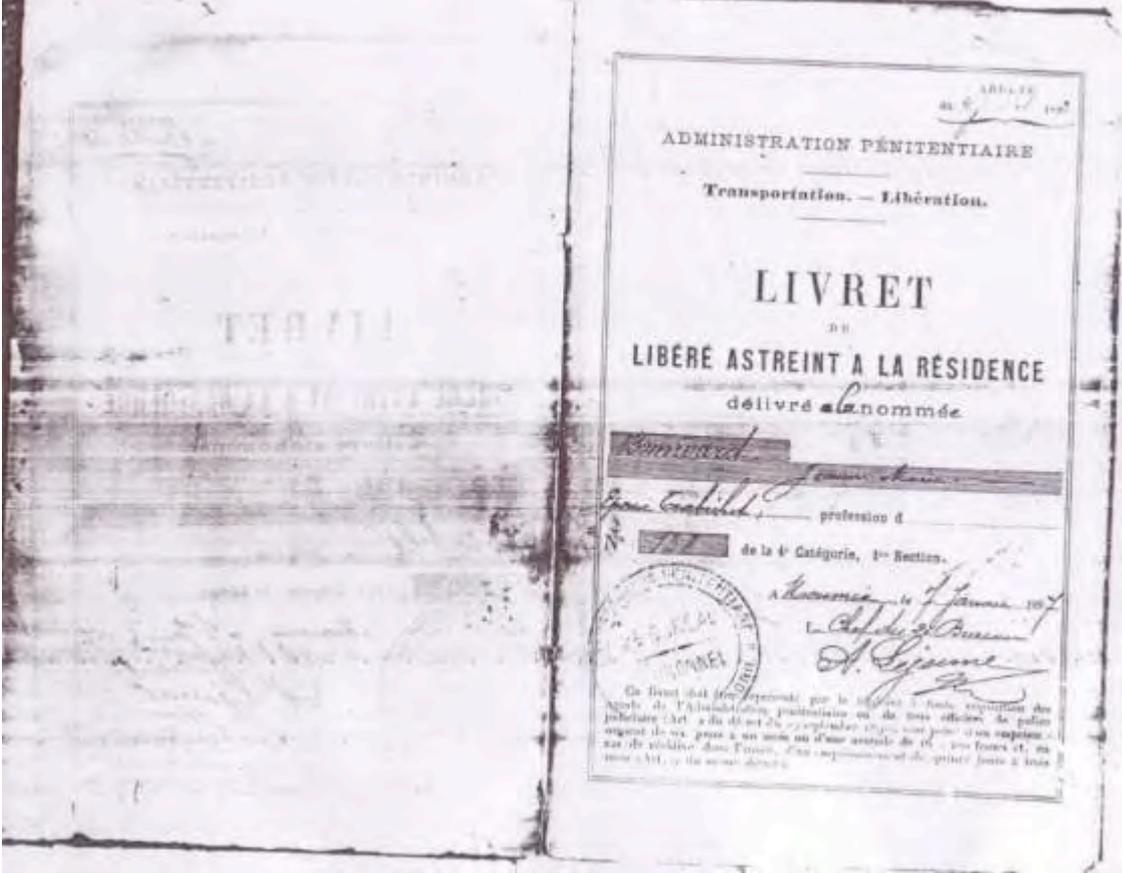
TABLEAU 2.

	HOMMES	FEMMES	ENFANTS DE MOINS DE 15 ANS		TOTAUX	OBSERVATIONS		
			GARÇONS	FILLES				
<b>Élément libre :</b>								
EUROPÉENS	Français ...	Nés en France...	118	103	3	9	233	<i>Sous-mariniers :</i> <i>Asiatiques engagés 6</i> <i>Indigènes engagés 77 } 83</i>
		Nés dans la colonie...	98	120	270	194	688	
		Etrangers.....	14	4	4	5	27	
<b>Élément pénal :</b>								
Libérés.....	442	47				489	<i>Bourail, le 15 avril 1906</i> <i>Président de la C.M.</i> 	
Relégués individuels.....	5	33				38		
— collectifs.....	4					4		
Condamnés en cours de peine.	en concession.....	102	4			106		
	assignés.....	19	2			21		
	dans les camps.....	215	3			218		
<b>TOTAUX.....</b>	<b>1013</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>283</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>1818</b>			

Les femmes d'origine libre mariées à des transportés de toute catégorie et les enfants de ceux-ci font partie de l'élément libre.

Archives municipales de Bourail, Nouvelle-Calédonie, 1906

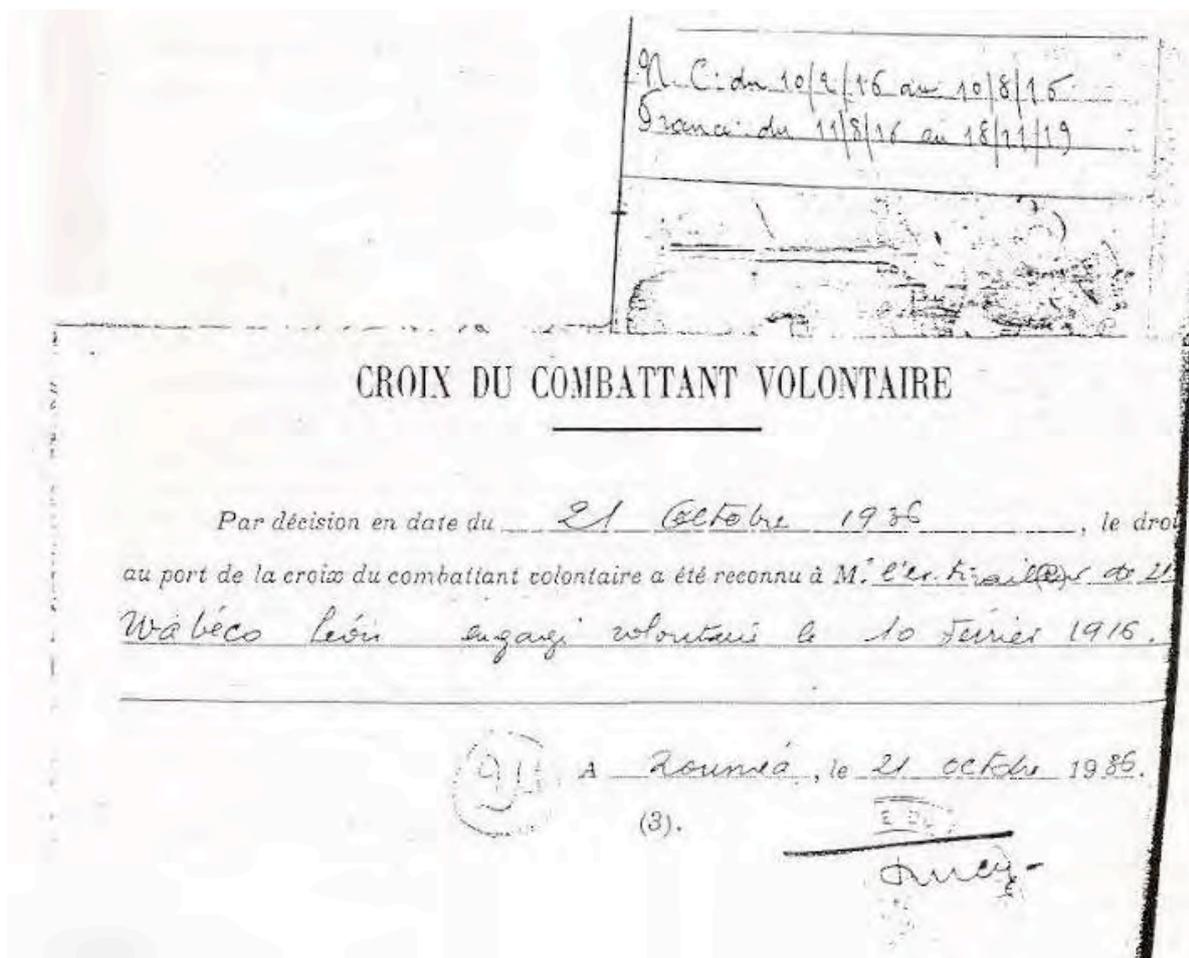
**Penal administration-booklet for freed convicts with periodic calls**





Archives municipales de Bourail, Nouvelle-Calédonie, 1906

**WW1 Military recognition Wabéco Léon,  
Kanak from Maré**



Archives New Calédonia, Military recognition following voluntary involvement in WW1 (10 February 1916), first page and second page, Nouméa 1936

Nom:

Wabeco

N° à l'acte matricule du recrutement

Prénoms:

Sion

Surnoms:

ETAT CIVIL

Né, le 27 Octobre 1886  
 à Mare  
 Tribu de Mare  
 Circonscription de Mare  
 Ile ou Groupe d'Iles Loyauté  
 résidant à Mare (N° 1000000000)  
 Profession de journalier  
 Fils de Wabeni  
 et de Alégo  
 domiciliés à  
 Tribu

Circonscription  
 Ile ou groupe d'iles  
 Marié, le  
 Enfants

DETAIL des services et mutations diverses

Compagnie d'infanterie pour la durée de la guerre  
 du 10 Juin 1916 (Désigné par le 2<sup>e</sup> régiment)  
 Incorporé à la Compagnie des Evénements  
 du 10<sup>e</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie  
 Arrivé au 10<sup>e</sup> Régiment le 10 Juin 1916 et  
 détaché le 22 Juin de dit jour  
 Embarked à Nouméa à destination  
 des Français, débarqué sur les côtes de l'île  
 Colonnes de l'île de la Grande Terre le 14 Juin 1916 R.D. 1000  
 à la R.M. P.L. 4 Juin 1916 débarqué à Nouméa le 11 Juin 1916  
 Par voie de la 1<sup>re</sup> Compagnie de l'Etat Major  
 à bord de l'île de la Grande Terre  
 débarqué à Nouméa le 17 Juillet 1916  
 Placé en congé illimité à compter du  
 1<sup>er</sup> Septembre 1916 - R.D. le 10<sup>e</sup> pour  
 retour à Mare -  
 En station jus au au 13, en station à  
 l'île de la Grande Terre le 5<sup>e</sup> au 10<sup>e</sup> emb.  
 à la 5<sup>e</sup> C. le 10/3/19  
 mit tableau concours Médaille Militaire  
 titre de Réservé - R.D. Décret n° 13  
 n° 10.9.53

SIGNALEMENT

Physionomie et taille  
 Yeux marron  
 Traits (inclinaison des yeux, largeur de la bouche, largeur de la mâchoire, largeur de la poitrine)  
 Nez (largeur, hauteur, saillie)  
 Moustaches  
 Barbe

Marques particulières

Cicatrices "étouffées" au niveau des  
 Cotes inférieures droites; marques  
 cicatricielles sur gauche.  
 Cicatrice "étouffée" au niveau de la  
 poitrine de l'épaule.

CAMPAGNES - BLESSURES - ACTIONS D'ECLAT - DECORATIONS, etc

Le 10<sup>e</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie (1<sup>er</sup> Régiment) Intérieur pour 90<sup>e</sup>  
 Station à bord du R.D. n° 11 jusqu'au 11 Juin 1916  
 blessure de la jambe s'est particulièrement distingué  
 au 10<sup>e</sup> R.D. d'Artillerie comme sergent, a été nommé  
 pour sa peine au Chemin des Dames  
 Blessure à la jambe avec éclat de boulet  
 Médaille Militaire décret du 6.5.54  
 J.O.R.F. du 7.5.54  
 Adresse: 7, rue 53, Mare  
 Annuaire Matricule: C.P. 10

à Ouellesville à C. du 13  
 à Dijon le 2/6/18, aux armées

# Camera Chronology

## 1826 Niepce camera



One of the rooms out of wooden of Nicéphore Niépce (approximately 1826)

“Around 1822, Niépce carries out copies of engravings on glass plates covered with bitumen of Judaea, a photosensitive substance. In 1827, it carries out, with exposure times which last several days, the first photographs of the landscape which it sees of its window; it calls them process engravings.”<sup>176</sup>

---

<sup>176</sup> Memo travel through history website, [www.memo.fr/](http://www.memo.fr/)

## 1839 Daguerreotype camera



Photography National Museum of Photography, Film & Television

This Daguerreotype camera, made by the toymaker Alphonse Giroux, is from the first series made for sale. Most of these cameras were bought for commercial portraiture or to produce entertaining and saleable views of various types

## 1851 Heliographic processes



“Heliographic processes, a term used in the late 19th century to describe photographic printing processes particularly suited to reproducing drawings, plans, engravings, and manuscripts. All are characterized by low light sensitivity, and therefore easy handling without a darkroom, but likewise require contact printing by sunlight or electric arc. Many are capable of the high contrast appropriate for the ‘line’ or ‘half-tone’ images commonly employed in reprography, but ‘heliography’ can also include some ‘alternative’ processes

used for continuous-tone pictorial photography. The most widely used were the cyanotype ('ferroprussiate', or 'blueprint'), Pellet print, ferrogallate (ink process), sepiaprint, brownprint, aniline, and anthracotype processes.”<sup>177</sup> Mike Ware

## 1853 Folding drawer chamber



Musée Français de la photographie, Chambre à tiroir pliante, Thomas Ottewill. Numéro d'inventaire 2000.40.1, 3e quart du 19e s., 1853

---

<sup>177</sup> Lietze, E., *Modern Heliographic Processes* (1888)

## 1870 Laboratory tent with camera, Jonte & Domenech



Tente laboratoire avec appareil, Jonte & Domenech, Appareil photographique américain. Numéro d'inventaire 85.5509

Nom ou marque déposée Jonte & Domenech



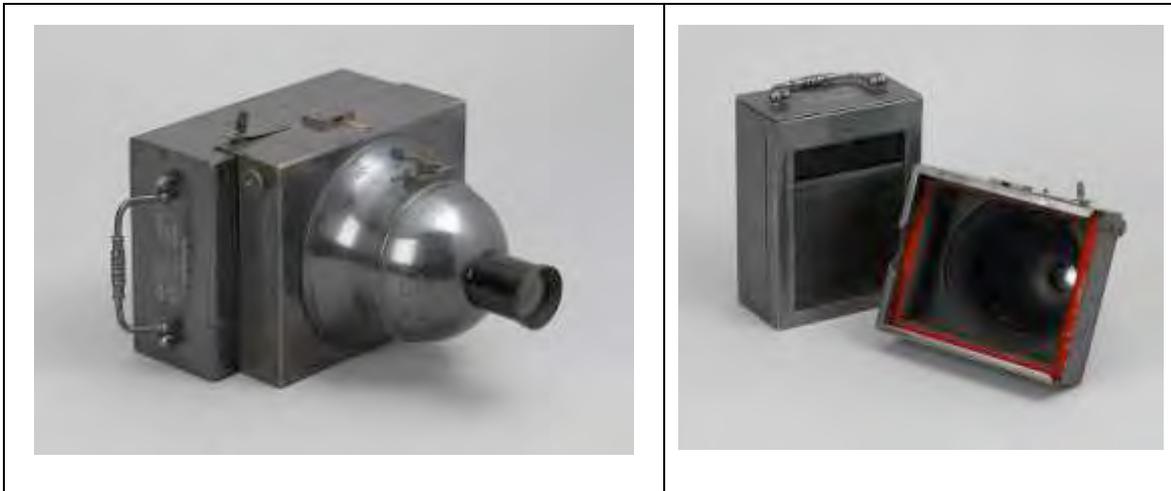
Left side, half closed view



Closed view

Musée Français de la photographie Modèle Appareil photographique américain vers 1870 (1868 ?).Lieu de fabrication Europe, France  
Inventeur DOMENECH J., Numéro d'inventaire 85.5509

## **1888 Hard camera sheet - Photosphère**



Musée Français de la photographie, model « appareil rigide à plaques »,  
Compagnie Française de Photographie, Photosphère. Numéro  
d'inventaire 83.4273

## **1888 Eastman Kodak celluloid Film(soft film)**



Musée Français de la photographie Appareil détective, Nadar, Express  
Détective modèle tropical. Numéro d'inventaire 64.33.1



Historic Camera website, resource for Antique Camera and Photography  
Collectors, 1888

“Kodak introduced his first roll film in 1884. The first roll film, was made out of paper and sensitized with a Gelantine emulsion. Displayed above is Kodak's transparent film that was introduced with the kodak camera in 1888 which provided 100 exposures.”<sup>178</sup>

## **1903 Lumière autochrom reversed emulsion**

---

<sup>178</sup> Historic Camera website, resource for Antique Camera and Photography Collectors, website [www.historiccamera.com](http://www.historiccamera.com)



Archives Nouvelle Calédonie, album Max Meyer, 2Num 11-30

## **MODE D'EMPLOI** **des Plaques Autochromes Lumière.**

Les manipulations qu'exigent nos Plaques Autochromes ne sont ni longues, ni difficiles; elles consistent simplement en deux développements, qui peuvent être effectués dans le même bain, et qui sont séparés par un traitement par une solution de permanganate de potasse acide.

*Nous recommandons de suivre très exactement et exclusivement nos instructions sur l'emploi des Plaques Autochromes, les opérations et les formules que nous indiquons étant le résultat de nombreuses recherches et ayant donné d'excellents résultats à d'innombrables opérateurs.*

### **PRECAUTIONS PRELIMINAIRES**

L'emploi de nos Plaques Autochromes exige quelques précautions et dispositions préalables simples, qu'il est indispensable de prendre si l'on veut obtenir à coup sûr et d'emblée de bons résultats.

Ces précautions sont relatives à l'éclairage du laboratoire et aux modifications à apporter aux appareils et aux châssis.

#### **Eclairage du laboratoire.**

Les Plaques Autochromes étant sensibles à toutes les radiations, leur manipulation doit être effectuée dans des laboratoires éclairés à la lumière rouge très foncée ou mieux à la lumière obtenue à l'aide de nos Papiers « Viridis » dont on emploie deux papiers verts et deux jaunes avec une lampe pigeon ou une bougie, et deux papiers verts et trois jaunes avec une lampe à pétrole ou une lampe électrique de 16 bougies. Il est toujours prudent de tourner le dos à la lanterne pendant la manipulation des plaques, pour ne pas soumettre celles-ci à l'éclairage direct.

Ces recommandations doivent être observées surtout pendant la mise en châssis et au début du développement, pendant les dix premières secondes.

Il est bon, et surtout lorsque la lumière extérieure est intense, de séjourner dans le laboratoire pendant un quart d'heure avant de commencer la manipulation afin de permettre à la rétine de reconstruire toute sa sensibilité.

#### **Modifications à apporter aux appareils et aux châssis.**

L'emploi des Plaques Autochromes diffère de celui des plaques ordinaires par quatre points principaux :

- 1° L'impression doit se faire par le dos de la plaque,

Musée Français de la photographie, Les plaques autochromes : Notices sur leur emploi, Numéro d'inventaire 2008.0.16, 1928

## 1914 Pocket Kodak camera



Musée Français de la photographie, Modèle N° 3A folding Pocket Kodak Model B-5 Autographic, Fabricant Eastman Kodak Co, numéro d'inventaire 66.491, 1er quart du 20e s., de 1914 à 1916.

## 1916 Agfacolor 35 mm color negative



“Agfa had been making additive colour plates since 1916, so they called their colour film Agfacolor-Neu – ‘new’ to indicate that it was completely different from any earlier products. Agfacolor-Neu was the first commercial process to follow Rudolph Fischer’s theory of using colour couplers. Agfa’s research chemists had discovered a way of anchoring couplers in the individual emulsion layers. This made Agfacolor film much easier to process Agfa had been making additive colour plates since 1916, so they called their colour film Agfacolor-Neu – ‘new’ to indicate that it was completely different from, any earlier products. Agfacolor-Neu was the first commercial process to follow Rudolph Fischer’s theory of using colour couplers. Agfa’s research chemists had discovered a way of anchoring couplers in the individual emulsion layers. This made Agfacolor film much easier to process”<sup>179</sup>

---

<sup>179</sup> A short history of color photography, Colour Photography: The First Hundred Years Part Four - A Quest Fulfilled, National Media Museum website, [www.nationalmediamuseum.org.uk/](http://www.nationalmediamuseum.org.uk/)

# PHOTOGRAPHERS in New Caledonia

1. Frère Antonio (1837-1922)
2. Armand, Léon (1835-1922)
3. Bertin, Eugène (1849-1896)
4. Bourdais, Eugène (1826- ?)
5. Bray, Théotime (1859-1936)
6. Candelet, Louis (1840- ?)
7. Chapuy, André (1813-1882)  
The Marist missionary 1851-Isle of Pines, 1862 Daguerrotype landscape and indigenous groups
8. Dremont, Ambroise
9. Devambez, Léon (1862- ?)  
Settler, bought studio Dufty-Hagen in 1887. Photographs mainly local economic development: mining, new villages and stations in the bush. Produces for 1889 Noumea exhibition.
10. Dufty, Alfred (1856- ?)
11. Dufty, Edouard (1850-1897)
12. Dufty, Walter (1852- ?)  
1875 – seems to be Australian and works in Fiji, 1883 opens studio in Noumea with associate Pearce
13. Geslan, Evenor de (1839-1900)
14. Hagen: never took any photographs, used Dufty's studio from 1884 to 1887
15. Hughan, Allan (1834-1883)  
1870-1883 over 500 photographs (landscape and studio Kanak photographs for cartes de visite, convicts – the communards
16. Mitride, Charles (1871-1936)
17. Nething, Charles (1866-1947)  
Called Charles Billard 1895 new plates and gelatino paper (rapid exposure)- photographs of convicts, studio Kanaks, changing of Noumea, bush, mining. Photos to illustrate post cards.

18. Pearce, James: in 1882 becomes Dufty's associate, 1883 mining photographs, portraits
19. Robin, Ernest (1844-après 1904)  
1867-1869 Civil Servant in the Marine (Penal settlements)
20. Servais, François dit Arthur (1846- ?)
21. Servais, Jules dit Léon (1851- ?)
22. Talbot: arrives from Cambodia in 1899. Cards de visite on albumin paper.  
Documentary on construction of the new train.