

ROUNDTABLES

Brian Easton's Not in Narrow Seas: The Economic History of Aotearoa New Zealand

Brian Easton, Tom Brooking, Jim McAloon & Melanie Nolan

Not in Narrow Seas: The Economic History of Aotearoa New Zealand (VUP 2020) is an ambitious (270,000 word) attempt to describe the history of New Zealand from the perspective of its economic history. The panellists will assess how well this has been achieved and the relevance of the study to all historians.

Brian Easton is an economist, social statistician, public policy analyst who has written a lot of historical material including *Not in Narrow Seas: The Economic History of Aotearoa New Zealand* (VUP 2020). He has written 14 other books and over 30 monographs and published reports. He holds honorary positions at five New Zealand Universities and is working on his next book which is what comes after *Not in Narrow Seas*. It is tentatively called *In Open Seas: Transforming New Zealand*.

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Melanie Nolan is professor of history, Director of the National Centre of Biography and General Editor of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ANU. Prior to this, she taught history at VUW for nearly 20 years. Among her recent publications as editor is the *ADB vol. 19* (2021), she is on the Editorial Committee of the NCB's journal, *Australian Journal of Biography and History*, and she chairs the Editorial Board of ANU.Lives, the ANU Press's series in biography. She is currently under contract with Routledge to write *Biography. An Historiography*.

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Keep On Walking Forward: Learning from the Songs, Work, and Stories of Women Typists and Clerical Workers 1950s to the 1990s.

Rachel Patrick, Therese Frances O'Connell & Emma-Jean Kelly

This roundtable uses diverse mediums – oral histories, objects, audio, songs, and participant memories – to illuminate the lives and work of women typists, office workers, and their organisations. In doing so, it will centre the voices and stories of an often-neglected sector of the female workforce, during an era of rapid social, cultural, and technological change in women's working lives.

Now a thing of the past, typing pools and their female staff were once central to the day-to-day operations of government departments. Drawing on the Keystrokes Per Minute project, a significant collection of over 50 oral histories of former government typing pool staff, Rachel Patrick's paper will focus on themes of gender, class, and modernity, with a focus on women's pathways into and through the typing profession, and the impact of rapid technological change on the nature and content of women's work. It concludes in the 1980s, when state sector reforms and the advent of computing combined to bring an effective end to the typing pool. Shifting from the nature of women typist's work to their organisations, Emma-Jean Kelly and Therese Frances O'Connell will present a feminist history of the private sector Wellington Clerical Workers Union from the 1970s until 1991, drawing on archival records and the oral histories of the Wellington Clerical Workers' Union recorded by historian Grace Millar in 2017. Former clerical worker and union organiser, Therese O'Connell will share songs and stories to support the discussion. The roundtable discussion will be accompanied by a small virtual exhibition of objects and ephemera relating to the work and activism of women office workers in this period.

Rachel Patrick completed her PhD on families and the First World War in 2013. She has published in the areas of grief and the First World War, and twentieth century history education. She is currently employed as a senior researcher at the Royal Commission into Abuse in Care.

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Therese Frances O'Connell (Taranaki, Te Whanganui a Tara) is of Irish, Scots and Polish ancestry. She is an activist and singer, recovering Catholic and Communist. Therese was a founder of the Women's Liberation movement in 1970 and has been involved in many social justice movements since then. She worked in the Clerical Workers Union 1975-89; in comedy duo Glory Box 1990-92; refugee support work 1992-2004. In 2004 she returned to Taranaki to support her beloved parents in their later years and worked at the Govett-Brewster Art Gallery 2004-2016. She returned to Te Whanganui a Tara in 2016 to enjoy her later years.

Emma-Jean Kelly is the Audio-Visual Historian at Manatū Taonga, Ministry for Culture and Heritage. She has previously worked as Women's Officer for the Tertiary Education Union, and wrote her PhD on Jonathan Dennis, founder of Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision. Emma-Jean is a member of the Labour History Project Committee and is interested in working peoples' lives and, particularly, listening to their stories and songs.

Family Histories: Personal Practices of Colonial Settler Response-ability

Rebecca Ream, Richard Shaw, Esther Fitzpatrick, Rosalynd Boxall & Dani Pickering

We are all involved in work to do with colonial familial histories. Using both critical family history (CFH), critical autoethnography (CAE) and methods towards decoloniality, we are interested in the complex lives of past colonial settlers, some of whom are our ancestors. We acknowledge that this interest may make us complicit by embedding, and perhaps even empathising with, colonial structures and practices that continue to dispossess Māori. So, should we feel responsible for our ancestors and the colonial settler culture in which we all live and benefit from? And what can we do to acknowledge that responsibility? This discussion aims to talk through these questions as well as the sense of affect that is felt when colonial complicity is felt viscerally and personally. A fertile starting point to such deliberations we suggest, is opening ourselves up to our response-abilities, a concept which recognises we already have the capability of response even if that response is not well nurtured. Response-ability (see for example Barad 2010; 2014; Haraway, 2008; 2016) is a stark contrast to dominant Western understandings of responsibility by challenging the ontological certainty of the self-contained individual. Fruitfully then, response-ability allows us — who are a part of colonial settler culture — to understand our own entangled histories and relationships with Māori and land in Aotearoa, which, although uncomfortable, may teach us valuable lessons.

Rebecca Ream is a Pākehā early career researcher with multidisciplinary interests in Pākehā relations to land in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the colonial complicity that such relations inevitably generate. Based in the Wairarapa, they/she draws heavily on the world of Donna Haraway in much of her work and has more recently become entangled in the philosophy of Karen Barad.

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Richard Shaw is Director (Arts) and Professor of Politics in Massey University's College of Humanities and Social Sciences. His research interests stretch from the study of comparative democratic systems to models of public sector reform, with a particular focus on the ways in which government ministers and senior civil servants interact in the policy-making process. He has authored or edited numerous books, articles and chapters on these topics — but he is a newcomer to critical family history.

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Esther Fitzpatrick is a Senior Lecturer in The Faculty of Education and Social Work, The University of Auckland. She uses various critical innovative pedagogies, including writing as a method of inquiry, in her teaching and research. She has published on issues of critical family history, critical autoethnography and arts-based methodologies.

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Rosalynd Boxall has recently completed her Master of Arts in Sociology at the University of Auckland. Hailing from England originally, her academic interests include decolonisation in higher education, settler colonialism in the Canadian and New Zealand contexts, and questions of settler identity. Attending to the specific histories buttressing the present context in which we live has shaped her research. This prompts her to ask questions about who the participants in the historical and ongoing relationship of inheriting the legacies of colonialism are and has brought her to this project.

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Dani Pickering is a PhD student in Sociology at Victoria University of Wellington. Their work to date has covered the use of musical, digital and mass media in social movements, and for their PhD itself how social movements inform Indigenous-settler relations and decolonisation, particularly in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

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He Tapu, he Mana, he Aroha me ngā Mahi Rangahau

Nathan Williams, Melissa Williams & Aroha Harris

How does a values-based approach to researching twentieth-century Māori perceptions and experiences of whānau ora compliment and complicate the ways those narratives are researched and written?

Two years into their whānau ora project, this panel contemplates methodology, tikanga, and ethics in relation to their values-led approach to shaping stories of whanau wellbeing from the perspectives of individuals living and working within their communities and beyond. Their discussion rests on the work of Pā Henare Tate, specifically his systematic explication of Māori ethics through the values of tapu, mana, aroha and others. These values find common usage and have long existed in Māori vernacular. However, taking the values on board as Pa Henare explains them offers a wholistic understanding of narrations of whānau ora, one that sees the connections and challenges between apparently ethereal Māori values and outward expressions of mana motuhake and tino rangatiratanga, for example.

Nathan, Melissa, and Aroha are each responsible for a distinct component of the broader Whānau Ora project (with, against and beyond the State). They will speak to the kaupapa, respectively, from their research so far into tamarikitanga, whānau care, and Māori nursing.

Nathan Williams (Waipapa Taumata Rau; Ngāti Kahu) PhD Candidate

Melissa Williams (Te Rarawa) independent researcher

Aroha Harris (Waipapa Taumata Rau; Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa)

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Niue Fakahoamotu Nukutuluea Motutefua Nukututaha: Tau tala tu fakaholo (1)

Toliain Makaola, Zora Feilo, Sonny Liuvaie, Jess Pasisi & Faith Eccles

Bringing together Niue scholars from various disciplines and fields, this roundtable discussion is about critically engaging with and contributing to Niue knowledge in academia. From different standpoints we each explore the vastness of Niue history through lenses that centre, privilege and uphold aga faka Niue (the Niue way, culture) through cultural values and principles, tāoga, metaphor, and approaches. Engaging in these spaces as tau Tagata Niue (Niue people) is inevitably marked by Niue's connections to Aotearoa and the wider Pacific. While our work may challenge dominant narratives by non-Niue people, we use this space to ask questions that really are important to us and to the Niue communities we serve. What counts as Niue history? Where do we look for Niue stories of the past and how does this influence and demarcate our Indigenous views of a Niue archive? What is made visible when Niue constructs of time and space are applied to notions of an interwoven and dynamic past, present and future? And how do we make the places where Niue knowledge exists more accessible to the growing Niue populations in and beyond Aotearoa whilst still maintaining strong connections to Niue?

Toliain Makaola (Mutalau – Niue) currently works as a research assistant and cultural advisor on the Niue Happiness Project. She has tertiary level experience in media and communications and is currently studying for a Level 3 certificate in Vagahau Niue at the Manukau Institute of Technology. Toli is committed member of the Niue community, organising and supporting various language and other cultural events that benefit tau Tagata Niue and those interested in learning more about Niue.

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Zora Feilo is an NZ born Niuean. Her late father Leotau Vitamini Osikai Feilo is from the village of Alofi and her mother Elsa Manatagaloa Tukuniu Feilo is from Avatele and Tamakautonga. Zora is mother to her young adults Kirsten, Zethan, Allexander & Candice and Nana to Eva and Rosa. She likes to spend time with family, taking photos, travelling and writing. Zora is a founding member of the Tupumaiaaga A Niue Trust who provide heritage and contemporary arts programmes for Niuean Youth in Auckland during the school holidays.

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Sonny Liuvaie (Hakupu, Mutalau – Niue) is currently a Learning Consultant at Massey University, Palmerston North. He is a Niue community leader, facilitating and supporting Niue language and cultural learning and activities. Sonny served several years in the Government of Niue and has a multitude of experience and expertise in strategic planning, economics, leadership, business administration, international business, and education. Sonny has a bachelor's degree in Economics and Management from the University of the South Pacific, a Diploma in Teaching (Secondary) from Christchurch Teachers' College and an MA and Postgraduate Diploma in Business Administration with distinction.

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Jess Pasisi of Niue, Pālagi, Ngāti Pīkiao, and Tahitian decent, is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, Faculty of Māori & Indigenous Studies, University of Waikato. Her research field of expertise includes Niue Studies, climate change, and Pacific Studies. In 2020, Jess completed her doctoral thesis: “Kitiaga mo fakamahani e hikihikiaga matagi he tau fifine Niue: Tau pūhala he tau hiapo – Niue women’s perspectives and experiences of climate change: A hiapo approach” which examined Niue women’s narratives of climate change in Niue. Jess is a current recipient of a Health Research Council of New Zealand Pacific postdoctoral scholarship that focuses on conceptualisation and perspectives of Niue happiness and wellbeing.

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Niue Fakahoamotu Nukutuluea Motutefua Nukututaha: Tau tala tu fakaholo (2)

Ioane Aleke Fa'avae, Zoë Henry, Rennie Atfield-Douglas, Asetoa Sam Pilisi

Bringing together Niue scholars from various disciplines and fields, this roundtable discussion is about critically engaging with and contributing to Niue knowledge in academia. From different standpoints we each explore the vastness of Niue history through lenses that centre, privilege and uphold *aga faka Niue* (the Niue way, culture) through cultural values and principles, *tāoga*, metaphor, and approaches. Engaging in these spaces as *tau Tagata Niue* (Niue people) is inevitably marked by Niue's connections to Aotearoa and the wider Pacific. While our work may challenge dominant narratives by non-Niue people, we use this space to ask questions that really are important to us and to the Niue communities we serve. What counts as Niue history? Where do we look for Niue stories of the past and how does this influence and demarcate our Indigenous views of a Niue archive? What is made visible when Niue constructs of time and space are applied to notions of an interwoven and dynamic past, present and future? And how do we make the places where Niue knowledge exists more accessible to the growing Niue populations in and beyond Aotearoa whilst still maintaining strong connections to Niue?

Ioane Aleke Fa'avae was born in Niue and migrated to New Zealand at a young age. He hails from the village of Mutalau. Ioane is skilful in Niue oratory and traditions. He is a choreographer, composer, educator, actor, author, and playwright. Ioane's is passionate about teaching *Vagahau Niue* at the tertiary level and continues to make significant contributions to spaces of Niue language, culture, knowledge, and research. Ioane is currently an Academic Development Lecturer – Pacific at Unitec and a lecturer in *Vagahau Niue* language at the Manukau Institute of Technology.

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Zoë Catherine Lavatangaloa Henry is of Māori (Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Kahu), Niue (Makefu), and European descent. She is currently enrolled as a PhD candidate in Pacific Studies, Te Wānanga o Waipapa at the University of Auckland. Her current research focuses on how punishment has been transformed by contact in the Pacific, with a particular focus on Niue. Zoë's earlier research focused on punishment in early medieval Christianity and how *mātauranga Māori* could help re-think these processes for Christian communities.

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Rennie Atfield-Douglas is New Zealand raised from the villages of Hakupu, Avatele and Hikutavake. Rennie currently works at the University of Auckland as the Head of South Auckland Campus. Rennie has a Bachelor of Health Science and is currently in the final parts of a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) degree majoring in Pacific Studies at the University of Auckland.

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Asetoa Sam Pilisi (Avatele, Alofi Tokelau - Niue; Sato'alepai/Vailoa Palauli – Samoa) is a New Zealand born, central Auckland raised, researcher of Niue and Samoan descent. He has a

master's in Educational Leadership (First class honours), a BA (Social Sciences) MEdL (Hons) from AUT, and a Postgraduate Diploma in Arts (Pacific Studies) from the University of Auckland. Sam has worked in the education sector for the past 15 years, with a key focus on mentoring and supporting Pacific youth aspirations into tertiary education and he is currently working in the Future Students space at AUT.

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Off the Map: NZ History Beyond Borders

Alice Te Punga Somerville, Ammon Hāwea Apiata, Emma Ngakuraevanu Powell, Karama Moana Wright, Ngāwaiata Henderson, Wanda Ieremia-Allan & Stacey Kokaua

Where is New Zealand history? What historical questions and archives come into view when the static, three-islands English-labelled map of New Zealand is set aside? As Indigenous Studies and Pacific Studies nudge attention away from nation state borders and towards other kinds of networks, what kinds of historical work becomes possible?

Although some forms of Indigenous history draw attention to more specific, deeper contexts for thinking about the past, this roundtable foregrounds lateral, regional, transnational approaches to Indigenous histories. Specifically, researchers presenting in this roundtable work on histories of Māori people and archives outside New Zealand (in the US, Australia and the regional Pacific), histories of places that have been part of New Zealand's Pacific empire (Cook Islands, Sāmoa), and the presence in various archives of Indigenous languages connected to all of these places. We are keen to weave together insights from our respective research projects in order to discuss how these both extend and challenge the ways we might collectively think about New Zealand history. We have particular interest in what patterns Māori *and* Pasifika researchers can weave together. And, attending to disciplinarity, we are also interested in how reciprocity central to the concept of 'ako' might help us think about the relationship between History and the various disciplines in which we undertake historical research.

Ultimately, rather than pushing at geographic (and linguistic) limits in an additive way, simply tacking more margins around established edges, we seek to create space for a critical conversation about how histories can look and sound when we follow Indigenous people and languages to wherever they may be.

Alice Te Punga Somerville (Te Āti Awa/ Taranaki) teaches and researches at the intersections of Indigenous, Pacific and literary studies. Currently based at the Faculty of Māori & Indigenous Studies at the University of Waikato, she has published *Once Were Pacific: Māori connections to Oceania* (Minn 2012) and *250 Ways to write an essay about Captain Cook* (BWB 2020). She is currently completing a book manuscript 'Writing the new world: 20th century periodicals in the Indigenous Pacific' and a collection of poetry 'Always Italicise: how to write while colonised.'

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Ammon Hāwea Apiata is of Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Toarangatira, Ngāti Koata, and Waikato descent. Having recently completed his master's thesis at the University of Waikato, Ammon plans to continue to doctoral studies in the new year. His master's research traced intellectual engagement of early Māori converts to the LDS Church through te reo Māori writings produced by Māori in the early twentieth century. As part of this project, he looked at the process of translating scriptural texts and the conveyance of foreign spiritual concepts in te reo Māori. Ammon's newfound passion for archival research will be carried into future projects.

Emma Ngakuraevanu Powell (Atiu/Mangaia, Kūki 'Āirani) is a lecturer at the University of Otago where she teaches in Indigenous Development and Indigenous Studies. Emma completed her doctoral thesis at Victoria University of Wellington in Pacific Studies and in that work, she explored the genealogical practices of her people and ancestors who belong to various islands making up the Cook Islands nation. Her current research work focuses on the political, social, cultural and genealogical imbrications of New Zealand's imperial Realm with a particular focus on the Cook Islands. She also explores notions of exchange, correspondence and genealogical connection across the Eastern Polynesian region.

Karamea Moana Wright (Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Kāi Tahu) is a PhD candidate at the University of Waikato in the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies. Having been born and raised in Hawai'i, Karamea is a second generation Māori in America, with her particular focus of study on Māori identity-making in the United States. She traces Māori-U.S. connections as early as the 18th century, as well as the historical whakapapa of the Māori diaspora that now exists in the U.S. Contemporary Māori realities are also centred in her research, including influences and connections that Māori are engaging in across the nation-state, and how that is expressed, articulated, and displayed while living and settling in the United States.

Ngāwaiata Henderson (Ngāpuhi, Maniapoto, Tūhoe, Whanganui, Pākehā) is an Australian born Māori, raised on the Gold Coast. After moving to Aotearoa in 2011, after the birth of her first child, she began the journey of reconnection to her taha Māori, with the goals of embedding these values in her (now four) tamariki. Despite various historical records of Māori migration and trade pre-treaty, there is still often a stigma associated with being a Māori in Australia, outside of Aotearoa. Her master's thesis sheds a light on constructions of identity and notions of belonging for Māori on the Gold Coast.

Wanda Ieremia-Allan (Sapapali'i, Fusi Safotulafai, Lalomanu, Matautu, Vaie'e, Falealili) is a PhD candidate in the Pacific and Indigenous Studies programme, University of Waikato. Her studies focus on the ideological, creative and critical writing produced in the Gagana Samoa by an active, cosmopolitan, transnational network of Pacific members of the South Seas London Missionary Society during the period 1900-1961. This writing was published in the newspaper 'O le Sulu Samoa' which serves as an archive of Pacific, church and family histories.

Stacey Kokaua (Ngāti Arerā ō Rarotonga, Pāmāti and Pākehā) is a creative who lives in Parihaumia in Ōtepoti. She completed her MCW in 2019 which explored the role of rebellious, young, female characters in Moana literature. Her writing interests include Cook Islands identity, environmental issues in Moana Nui a Kiva, coaxing the personal from the historical and has been published in Landfall, Turbine and Pantograph Punch. Stacey divides her time between her writing and creative pursuits, her role at the Otago Polytechnic, her role with the Pacific Trust Otago, community projects within Parihaumia and the Cook Islands community of Dunedin and her family.

Ruth Ross' Texts & Translations: The English Text

Ned Fletcher, Phillipa Wyatt, Samuel Carpenter & Michael Belgrave

Next year it will be fifty years since Ruth Ross published her landmark “Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Texts and Translations” in the *New Zealand Journal of History*. Perhaps no piece of historical writing on New Zealand history has been so influential. Ross’s view of the treaty is largely responsible for the commonplace interpretation that Māori understandings of the treaty, based on the te reo text, were quite different from those intended by William Hobson and the Colonial Office. These papers will challenge that view and argue with reference to British side of the treaty what the Europeans involved in drafting and interpreting the treaty had an understanding much more in line with the te reo text than Ross imagined.

The four papers will explore different aspects of the treaty signing and its interpretation by historians since Ross’s landmark 1972 article. While these papers do not attempt to assess how much Māori understood and accepted the arguments being presented to them in the February 1840 signing, they do suggest that the two texts relating to sovereignty and government were far more compatible with each other than Ross and those influenced by her have argued. One of the most important conceptual barriers to understanding what was intended to occur and what did occur at Waitangi has been the belief that the Crown was unable from its own understanding of treaties, colonial authority and aboriginal rights, to request from Māori the capacity to establish a colonial government while at the same time recognising chiefly authority and committing itself to honour that chiefly authority as te tino rangatiratanga. The events of 1840 represented the culmination of an extensive debate over the nature of Māori sovereignty and the relationship between British colonial authority, as exercised in New South Wales, and New Zealand. It was also the culmination of an extensive debate about government and aboriginal rights in Britain. But almost immediately after the treaty was signed, its retrospective interpretation always carried the colour of contemporary politics. This continues to the present.

Ned Fletcher – Locating the English Treaty of Waitangi

Ruth Ross was wrong. The English text of the Treaty of Waitangi is not ‘ambiguous and contradictory in content’. It does not say ‘whatever we want it to say’. It was not a blank canvas with a meaning to be arrived at through later negotiation. The meaning of the English text requires consideration not only of the text itself but also of the context in which it was drawn up. That context includes the backgrounds and motivations of the framers, the wider experience of Empire and beyond (including the dealings of the United States with its Indian nations), and the currents of thought of the time. This paper is concerned with the implications of British sovereignty for native societies in different parts of Empire, and models for plurality in government and law that were known to the framers of the Treaty. This context supports the conclusion that, rather than being at odds, the English and Māori texts of the Treaty reconcile. British intervention in New Zealand in 1840 was to establish government over British settlers, for the protection of Maori. British settlement was to be promoted only to the extent that Māori protection was not compromised. Assimilation of Māori into settler society was not the goal. Māori tribal government and custom were to be maintained under British sovereignty.

Ned Fletcher works as a Crown prosecutor in Manukau. His 2014 PhD thesis considered the meaning of the English text of the Treaty of Waitangi to its British framers. A version of the thesis will be published by Bridget Williams Books next year.

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Phillipa Wyatt – Ruth Ross, Myths and the Making of Postcolonial History

When Ruth Ross wrote her now famous article examining the intentions of the partners to the Treaty, she had a very clear political objective: to remove the ‘rose-tinted spectacles’ of her Pakeha contemporaries by revealing the country’s founding document for what it was – a politically expedient document that had merely sown the seeds for what was, by the early 1970s, growing conflict between the races. This paper seeks to assess Ross’ analysis with regard to the intentions of the British participants to the Treaty. What that assessment reveals is that Ross was deeply influenced by the prevailing postcolonial perspective and the assumptions underlying it. It led her to assume what the British sought and dismiss what they actually said. It led her to confuse outcome with intention. Above all, it rendered her unable to understand the Christian beliefs that inspired the British authors and executors of the Treaty, and therefore unable to see the politically radical vision of Māori rights and citizenship they sought to implement in making the Treaty.

Phillipa Wyatt is a Doctoral student at Massey University studying British humanitarianism in New Zealand in the period to 1870. From 1992 to 2002 she worked as a professional historian and expert witness assisting Muriwhenua iwi in their claims before the Waitangi Tribunal, and then as an Historian for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust in which capacity she worked as a Regional Historian, Appraiser of reports, and as an expert witness for Ngati Whatua iwi.

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Samuel Carpenter – Re-reading the Treaty: Civil Government and Sovereignty in British Constitutional and Political Thought

In her influential 1972 article, ‘Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Texts and Translations’, Ruth Ross cast significant doubt on the accuracy and adequacy of the translation of the English draft into te reo Māori. Amongst other matters, she cast aspersions on the translators’ understanding of ‘English constitutional law and convention’ and questioned whether the idea of ‘territorial sovereignty’ was adequately contained in the Māori language text (of article 1) in which this was rendered ‘te kawanatanga katoa o o rātou whenua’ (the complete government over their land – I. H. Kawharu transl.). Yet Ross’ own assumption that she understood English constitutional law and the available word choices better than the historical protagonists may be scrutinized. While Ross checked the *Oxford English Dictionary* for the meaning of ‘pre-emption’, it does not appear that she examined the meanings of ‘government’ and ‘sovereignty’ in the same source, while she positively doubted that translator Henry Williams ‘really believe[d]’ that the Treaty was a Magna Carta that protected chiefly ‘Rank, Rights and Privileges’. This paper contributes to a growing literature of New Zealand political-legal and global intellectual history that seeks to re-contextualise the meanings of historical texts. It does so by employing digitised texts to conduct both a quantitative review of language use and a qualitative or orthodox intellectual historical analysis across a representative selection of

periodical literature and political discourse of the 1830s. It argues (*contra* Ross) that ‘government’ was the substance and form of ‘sovereignty’ in British political thought and that ‘governorship’ was the substance and form of imperial rule in Britain’s empire (at least until settler responsible government of the post-1840s era). Based on this analysis, it concludes that the use of *kawānātanga* (government/governorship) to translate sovereignty in article one of the *Tiriti o Waitangi* was accurate and reflected a long tradition of conceiving political authority as government and the status of the sovereign as a ‘supreme governor’, and of conceiving political community itself as constituted by an established form of civil government – the stated purpose in fact of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Samuel Carpenter has recently completed a PhD at Massey University as part of a Marsden-funded project led by Prof Michael Belgrave. His PhD sought to locate New Zealand political thought circa 1814-1863 in the dynamic context of a reforming Britain and its empire and particularly examined texts that reshaped ideas of nation and political group identity. He has worked in the Wellington Treaty sector as an historian for over a decade.

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Michael Belgrave – Ruth Ross Fifty Years On: Revisiting Sovereignty

This paper will reconsider Ross’s argument that in translating article 1 of the treaty, Henry Williams deliberately chose a *te reo* text which downplayed any transfer of sovereignty. It will argue alongside the other contributors to this panel, that the two texts were far more similar than Ross suggests, and that Williams’ choice of words was entirely appropriate for the understanding of sovereignty or government which had emerged in humanitarian debates over British intervention in the late 1830s, both in New Zealand and in Great Britain. Sovereignty was not something for which an equivalent in Māori was possible: it was a creation of European states and their relationships with each other. *Rangātiratanga* was never in the understanding of the Europeans creating the treaty an equivalent for sovereignty. None of this was to undermine the *te tino rangātiratanga* under article 2. A national government was always seen as something which stood apart from tribal authority. The British government, under humanitarian influence, accepted that Māori had sovereign rights to New Zealand and that these could only be extinguished with Māori consent. Humanitarians, and some Māori clearly agreed, that these sovereign rights were not being exercised in a way necessary to promote law and order across the country, particularly in dealing with the influx of European, and to protect New Zealand from other European powers. The big debate about lawlessness in New Zealand, particularly in controlling European newcomers, marked a common understanding of the limitations of Māori capacity to create an independent sovereign nation state, as did Māori unwillingness to develop pan-tribal institutions of government envisaged. Sovereignty as understood by those drafting the treaty was a process not an absolute. Missionaries and humanitarians had hoped as late as 1838, that Māori independence could be protected, to give *rangātira* the opportunity to turn the declaration of Independence into a functioning form of civil administration. The escalating number of European visitors and even more significantly the plans of the New Zealand Company undermined missionary and humanitarian aspirations to work with chiefs making Crown intervention appear the only alternative.

Michael Belgrave is a Massey historian, who has worked on Treaty of Waitangi claims and settlement research since the 1980s. His *Dancing with the King, the rise and fall of the King*

country, 1864 – 1885 was the recipient of the Ernest Scott award for the best book on Australian or New Zealand History for 2017.

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Te Ora a Ururoa: Learning from the Mahi of Kaitiaki

Marama Muru-Lanning, Keri Mills, Shane Solomon, Gerald Lanning, Ngahuia Harrison & Charmaine Tukiri

In the 1980s Māori rights activists mobilised the term ‘kaitiakitanga’ in their struggle to protect their lands and waters from environmental desecration. These campaigns led to the inclusion of kaitiakitanga into the Resource Management Act 1991 and from there into wider environmental law and policy. This happened in the context of the neoliberal politics of the 1980s and 1990s, when the governments of the day were seeking to devolve many of their responsibilities to ‘stakeholders’. Central and local government have subsequently tended to use the term ‘kaitiaki’ as a convenient local shorthand for the neoliberal concept of a ‘stakeholder’, recognising Māori ‘interests’ and requesting their labour without relinquishing power or offering reward. The courts, in contrast, have recently adopted a more nuanced approach to understanding the role of kaitiakitanga.

The activists who first started using the term kaitiakitanga also spoke of mana and tino rangatiratanga, and their struggles were for ownership and control, but these aspects of kaitiakitanga have seldom been recognised by government. In translating kaitiakitanga simplistically as ‘guardianship’ or ‘stewardship’, its political nature is elided. Kaitiakitanga is in practice an urgent fight to stop the despoliation of sacred places and traditional food gathering sites. This Marsden-funded project on kaitiakitanga over harbours records the strategy and hard work of Māori activists from the 1980s to the present in protecting Aotearoa’s lands and waters. We hope the research can help to inform better law and policy, including the current process of developing legislation to replace the Resource Management Act 1991.

Marama Muru-Lanning (Waikato, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Whātua) is a social anthropologist and Director of the James Henare Māori Research Centre. Her current research includes environmental anthropology, commodification, privatisation, knowledge production, kaumātua mauri ora and hauora and Chilean intercultural politics.

Keri Mills (Pākehā) is an oral historian whose work focuses on the history of Treaty relationships and environmental management in Aotearoa New Zealand. She works as a research fellow in the James Henare Māori Research Centre, and a senior lecturer in history at AUT.

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Shane Solomon (Waikato, Ngāti Porou) is a researcher at the Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development. He is a PhD candidate at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi investigating Waikato methodology in the Raupatu negotiations.

Gerald Lanning (Pākehā) is a Partner at Simpson Grierson law firm with expertise in environmental regulatory frameworks and local government law. He is a PhD candidate in law at the University of Auckland.

Ngahuia Harrison (Ngātawai, Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Pukenga, Pākehā) is an artist and researcher, currently enrolled in a Doctorate of Fine Arts supervised by Associate Professor Peter

Robinson (Elam School of Fine Arts) and Associate Professor Marama Muru-Lanning (James Henare Māori Research Centre) at the University of Auckland. Harrison's practice is lens-based installation, and the research examines the effects of Crown legislation, regional policy and climate change on her own tribe Ngātiwai, as well as other hapū and iwi of Te Tai Tokerau

Charmaine Tukiri (Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Whawhakia) is a part-time master's student in anthropology at the University of Auckland and works part-time at the James Henare Māori Research Centre. Her thesis is designed to explore how identity and actions of wāhine and hapū have been shaped by wāhine tūpuna, through the lens of kaitiakitanga.

Tupuna Wāhine, Saina, Tupuna Vaine, Matua Tupuna Ffine, Ma'piag Hāni: Grandmothers in the Archives

Hineitimoana Greensill, Marylise Varena Frankie Dean, Maluseu Monise, Mere Taito, Jesi Bennett & Jess Pasisi

From various parts of Te Moana Nui a Kiwa, this panel of Indigenous scholars come together to weave stories of our grandmothers in the archives. From our own sea, land and skylscapes to the diasporic realities of generations of movement, migration and contact with ourselves and outsiders, we trace some of the stories and lineage, emanating from our grandmothers, that have led us into the archives. In distinctive ways we acknowledge our grandmothers' guidance, presence, and inspiration for the research that we do. But we also see that their presence in and beyond the archives can challenge the very notions of what an archive is and how it is imagined from Indigenous worlds. In this roundtable we discuss and navigate from the centre to the edges of our research attending to the paths we follow, and forge as Indigenous researchers inspired by our grandmothers.

Hineitimoana Greensill (Tainui, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Porou) is a Senior Lecturer and doctoral candidate in Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies, at the University of Waikato. Her research and teaching are at the intersection of Māori language, mātauranga Māori, Māori and Indigenous Studies, and mana wahine. Hineitimoana's doctoral project focuses on the political thought of Māori women between the 1970s and 80s. As a multifaceted archival project, her research engages with the intellectual work of her grandmother in conversation with a broader public archive of Māori women's writing in the late 20th century.

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Marylise Dean (Aitutaki - Cook Islands, Upolu - Sāmoa) is a master's student in Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies, University of Waikato. Marylise completed a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Anthropology with a minor in Pacific and Indigenous Studies. She has also completed a Bachelor of Social Sciences with Honours in Pacific and Indigenous Studies. Her current research focuses on the movement and migration of Cook Island people to Aotearoa through the Domestic Schemes. Marylise's grandmother's involvement in the schemes and the relatively unknown and unexplored stories of this time have inspired a research project that stretches from archives to Aitutaki and beyond.

Maluseu Monise (Juju, Saukama - Rotuma; Tuvalu) connects two bloodlines from Rotuma (Juju, Saukama) and Tuvalu while still connecting ancestral ties to Samoa and the extended Moana nui a Kiwa. An emerging scholar within the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies at Te Whare Wananga O Waikato, Maluseu is currently pursuing his Master's. More known for his emcee and facilitation work in both Pacific and non-Pacific spaces, he volunteers his time at Seed Waikato as their resident emcee and is a part of a youth sector collective in Kirikiriroa that focuses on fuelling youth sector workers due to high levels of turnover and burn out. Maluseu is the cohost and cofounder of the Far Queue Podcast, which is now in preparation for season two. All the gifts Maluseu has attained, he credits to the love, courage and support he received from his mapiga, mother, wider family and community(ies).

Mere Taito (Rotuma - Malha'a ma Noa'tau; Fiji) is a creative practice-based PhD scholar at the Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies, University of Waikato. She is currently exploring the contribution of bilingual Rotuman-English poetry in the sphere of Rotuman language activism here in Aotearoa. Part of her creative writing process involves the access, examination, and use of 'archived memories' of her maternal grandmother Mapiga Lilly.

Jesi Lujan Bennett (Dededo, Barrigada - Guåhan (Guam)) is of Chamoru descent with ties to Dededo and Barrigada, Guåhan (Guam). She is a faculty member in Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Waikato. Bennett studied at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and earned a PhD in American Studies and Museum Studies. Her areas of interest include Chamoru visual culture with a particular focus in the relationship between colonialism, militarization, migration, and self-representation within the Mariana Islands and Chamoru diaspora. Bennett's research examines how Chamoru diasporic communities articulate their indigeneity in new geographic and cultural contexts in light of significant political and social change in Micronesia.

Jess Pasisi (Mutalau, Hikutavake - Niue, Pālagi, Ngāti Pikiāo, Tahiti) is the granddaughter of Lela Siale mata Pasisi. Jess is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, Faculty of Māori & Indigenous Studies, University of Waikato. Her research field of expertise includes Niue Studies, climate change, and Pacific Studies. In 2020, Jess completed her doctoral thesis: "Kitiāga mo fakamahani e hikihiāga matagi he tau fifine Niue: Tau pūhala he tau hiapo – Niue women's perspectives and experiences of climate change: A hiapo approach" which examined Niue women's narratives of climate change in Niue. Jess is a current recipient of a Health Research Council of New Zealand Pacific postdoctoral scholarship that focuses on conceptualisation and perspectives of Niue happiness and wellbeing.

‘We Are Living on a Volcano’ (Dramatic Presentation): Correspondence of Sibylle and Eva Ortmann in the Shadow of Hitler 1933-1937

Moshe Rapaport, Peter Crane, Edda Brandes & Jana Grohnert

In April 1933, 15-year-old Sibylle Ortmann fled Berlin, while her mother Eva remained behind, hoping the situation would improve. The heartfelt and extraordinary correspondence between these articulate, courageous women provide a perspective on the choices young refugees face on leaving family and homeland. The challenges young Sibylle faced in a desperate and often futile effort to save relatives left behind mirror those of refugees today, and they resonate with the conference theme of "Learning from History".

A selection of the correspondence was published in 2005 by Peter Crane in *Wir leben nun mal auf einem Vulkan*. No part of this correspondence has been previously available to English-speaking readers or audiences.

The proposed presentation lasting 1.5 hours will take the form of a read-aloud play, emulating a distance correspondence. The scene will shift between a reader at the NZHA conference playing the role of Eva; and a distance Zoom reading by Peter's daughter in Seattle, taking the part of Sibylle. The readings will be accompanied by multimedia explanatory text, photographs, audio, and video clips, connecting the audience with the people, places, and times mentioned in the readings.

Moshe Rapaport (m.rapaport@massey.ac.nz) is International Visiting Academic at Massey University. He is submitting the proposed read-aloud presentation to NZHA and is the on-scene organizer.

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Peter Crane (peter46crane@gmail.com) is the son of Sibylle Ortmann. Peter is editing the script to meet panel time and venue parameters and will host a question/answer session at the end of the play via Zoom from Seattle.

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Peter Crane's daughter, playing the part of Sibylle, via Zoom from Seattle.

A wellington resident playing the part of Eva, in-person at NZHA.

PANELS

Histories of Intolerance: The Radical Right in Aotearoa / New Zealand

Matthew Cunningham, Marinus La Rooji & Paul Spoonley

On 15 March 2019, a terrorist carried out mass shootings at the Al Noor Mosque and Linwood Islamic Centre in Christchurch. This atrocity spurred the Government and society to examine how this happened in order to prevent it from happening again. While important, these efforts shed little light on New Zealand's history of radical right extremism and intolerance – and, in some cases, have given the impression that a straight line can be drawn from disparate aspects of the past to the terrorist. This panel presents some of the material we have gathered for an edited collection on the diverse histories of the radical right in New Zealand.

Matthew Cunningham – An Overview of New Zealand's Radical Right Tradition

In seeking to understand the horrific attacks of March 2019, several commentators have observed the similarities with the murder of an elderly Chinese man named Joe Kum Yung by Lionel Terry in 1905. The similarities are indeed striking: both attacks were racially-motivated, both involved public manifestos, and both were intended to rouse the public to revolt against the alleged dangers of non-white immigration. It is tempting to draw a direct causal line between the two attacks, both as a concise way of framing an uncomfortable subject and as an emotional salve against the possibility that New Zealand's radical right tradition is more than the occasional 'lone wolf'. But this would obscure far more than it would explain. While Joe Kum Yung's murder was greeted with general shock, Sinophobia was a mainstream view backed by State policy directed against Chinese and other 'undesirable' immigrants. Terry's manifesto was a mixture of Sinophobia, antisemitism and anti-capitalism wherein the conception of 'whiteness' was intertwined with 'Britishness' – vastly different from the Islamophobic, eco-fascist, pan-European 'whiteness' espoused by the terrorist. The comparison also offers little explanation of other forms of intolerance often (but not exclusively) associated with the radical right, including sexism, anti-communism, religious bigotry, anti-Treatyism, and opposition to sexual liberation, homosexuality, transgenderism and non-binary gender identification.

This paper explores some of the many threads of New Zealand's diverse radical right tradition between the murder of Joe Kum Yung and the rise of identitarianism and the alt-right (discussed by Marinus and Paul respectively). It suggests that this tradition comprises a diverse mix of ideas, ideologues, organisations, social clubs and political parties that have been animated by different combinations of ideas in different ways and at different times. It also draws out some common themes across this disparate tradition in terms of ideology, structure, and political behaviour.

Matthew Cunningham is an independent historian residing in Wellington, New Zealand. He has a diverse publication history, including oral histories, peer-reviewed journal articles, Waitangi Tribunal commissioned research reports, public history articles, and journalistic and general interest pieces. A book based on his thesis, which examined populist conservative

movements in Australia and New Zealand during the Great Depression, has recently been accepted for publication by ANU Press.

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Marinus La Rooij – Murder, Myth and Madness: Lionel Terry and the Great Replacement Conspiracy

In September 1905 Joe Kum Yung, a Chinese man who had lived and worked legally in New Zealand for decades, was murdered by Englishman Lionel Terry in the heart of Wellington's Chinatown. Much has been written about Terry, his crime, the sympathetic public response and his later years in a mental asylum. Dismissed today as a madman acting outside the norms of his time, little discussed are the details of Terry's belief in the 'Great Replacement' conspiracy. Written the year before the murder, his manifesto set out Terry's belief in the superiority of the British people and that their global supremacy was under threat. Rather than just warn patriotic Britons of the evils of non-white mass immigration, *The Shadow* sets out a greater and more sinister emergency. The mass migration of non-whites into the lands of Britons was for Terry, no natural process of people leaving poverty and hardship to find new opportunities. Rather mass migration was an organised, conscious policy of a sinister enemy working nefariously within the heart of the British Empire. Terry identified this enemy as powerful Jews. Working in league with Asiatics, these 'worshippers of gold' were flinging open the gates of the Empire to allow the ruin of labouring Britons across the globe.

Using new source material this paper critically re-examines Terry's ideology, tracks his radicalisation leading up to Yung's murder - designed to provoke a British-racial revolution against the Sino-Semitic super-conspiracy.

Marinus La Rooij was born and raised in New Zealand and is of Dutch Catholic and Irish ancestry. He works as a public policy professional in Wellington, focusing on transport matters. He previously worked on researching Treaty of Waitangi claims and continues to research and publish on the history of New Zealand's far-right, and specifically on antisemitic political movements in Australasia during the inter-war years.

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Paul Spoonley – Identitarianism and the Alt-Right: A New Phrase of Far-Right Politics in Aotearoa New Zealand

This paper looks at the way in which identitarianism and the alt-right have re-energised radical right politics (including in New Zealand), especially in the last decade, and how their online activities constitute both a 'community of discourse' (Salazar, 2018) and a call to action. It then goes on to look at New Zealand examples of the alt-right, including groups such as the Dominion Movement and Action Zealandia, and the way in which New Zealand radical right politics are now internationally connected in a way that is substantively different to the past. It will also explore the migration of a number of these notions to fringe conservative parties such as the New Conservatives, the New Zealand Public Party/Advance New Zealand, Vision New Zealand, and others.

Paul Spoonley completed his PhD on the New Zealand radical right in the 1980s. Since then, he has written books and articles about the nature of the local radical right, including *The Politics of Nostalgia. Racism and the Extreme Right in New Zealand*. He is a Distinguished Professor of Sociology at Massey University and is one of the heads of the research project, Capturing the Diversity Dividend of Aotearoa New Zealand (MBIE, \$5.5 million).

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Learning History Through Fiction

Joanna Grochowicz, Cristina Sanders & Thom Conroy

Both history and historical fiction use narrative to learn from the past. Nonetheless, they are often conceptualised as opposing approaches to historiographical knowledge: one aims to uncover the authentic if inaccessible reality of the past, while the other arises out of the aims and desires of the present as projected onto an imagined past. This panel acknowledges that writers and readers of historical fiction must follow similar, if diverging, obligations in portraying the past. It will also explore tensions between making the past more accessible through fiction and rendering it with the precision and validity that the study of history requires.

Joanna Grochowicz – Learning from History: How Can Historical Fiction Foster an Interest in History Among Children and Young Adults?

Nineteenth century historian Lord Macaulay observed, *History must be burnt into the imagination before it can be received by the reason*. No truer statement could be applied to the age-old challenge of interesting the young in the lives of their forebears. And yet for many would-be history enthusiasts among school-age children, the field of study appears more desiccated landscape, seemingly devoid of practical value or sufficient intrigue to spark curiosity. Certainly, it would be difficult to find a more imaginatively constricted space than a school classroom, where rules of conduct and a sense of obligation are likely to rob any subject of joy. Conversely historical fiction frees the mind of constraints and pre-conceived notions of place and time. It drops the reader immediately within a context, reminding them that history is not dates and names but the intense lived experiences of our fellow humans. In its liberal use of emotion, characterisation, and plot, it deepens our understanding and refocuses the lens, often bringing unexpected clarity to an issue, historical event, or period. Writers of historical fiction have an obligation to the past, and most crucially, to readers in the present. Our work needs to be accessible and entertaining, but also accurate. When historical fiction sets a reader's imagination in motion, curiosity is never far behind; a life-long love of history often follows.

Joanna Grochowicz is a polar historian and author. Fast paced and exquisitely written, her novels of early exploration reveal in fascinating detail the human aspirations and tragedies that have shaped our understanding of the polar regions. Drawing on diaries, letters and expedition narratives from archives and personal collections around the world, Grochowicz brings to light new and often overlooked elements of heroic age exploration. Realistic portrayals of historical figures and the interplay of personalities lend her work a grittiness and authenticity that is not often present in historical writing for children and young adults.

Cristina Sanders – Can Creative Historical Fiction be a Useful Tool for Learning History?

Historical fiction takes the dull bits out of history and colours in the rest, sometimes vividly, sometimes with just a bit of shading around the edges. We are programmed for stories, and history packaged in a narrative makes learning about the past more accessible. The difficulty comes with the word 'fiction'. While all historical fiction describes events and characters set

in a recognisable period in the past, each author has a different relationship with historical truth. There is an argument that a reader will only learn from an author who tells true stories, fleshing out real characters and setting them firmly in time and place. I'd argue that there are many ways to explore the past and creative storytelling, where characters may be blended or invented and established events re-examined from different perspectives, can be used to dissect themes that are otherwise difficult. This is particularly relevant in the context of New Zealand history with our themes of inequality and injustice and where the past is often still uncomfortably close. Creative historical fiction can open discussions on confrontational issues without ownership. We can play with the past and trust our readers to understand the nature of fiction.

Cristina Sanders is an historical fiction writer living in Hawke's Bay. She grew up in a Wellington bookshop and has worked in publishing in New Zealand and London. She has a BSc(Hons) and PgDip CW. Her novel *Jerningham*, about the recklessness of colonial New Zealand, was published by The Cuba Press in 2020 and shortlisted for the NZ Heritage Literary Awards. *Displaced*, a novel about immigrant families in the 1870s and winner of the Storylines Tessa Duder Award, was published by Walker Books in 2021. She writes a book review blog and sails on tall ships.

Thom Conroy – How Does Historical Fiction Rewrite History?

One of the 'big ideas' in the proposed new history curriculum is 'Colonisation and its consequences'. Understanding the process of colonisation, the curriculum outline explains, is 'a complex, contested process'. While both history and historical fiction deploy narrative to understand this process, they are often conceptualised as opposing approaches to historical knowledge. History inclines in the direction of the authentic if inaccessible reality of the past; historical fiction leads us toward the aims and desires of the present as projected onto an imagined past. The political and cultural historian Calle Pihlainen, for example, has distinguished the historical from the literary on the basis of the 'phenomenological longing' of history: that 'desire to relive the choices of an agent in the past' from the position in the present (59). Is this longing toward the authentic reality of the inaccessible past a reliable indicator of the boundary between historiographical narrative and historical fiction? In both history and historical fiction, writers and readers have a desire to link narrative constructed in the present with an external and 'historiographically true' (if ultimately inaccessible) reality. In the context of the new curriculum, it might be said that the 'phenomenological longing' of historical fiction works toward an ethics of open-endedness that enriches the 'contested' aspect of history. A forthrightly subjective narrative enterprise, historical fiction enables us to immerse ourselves in a past peopled by subjects who are born out of the complex and contested phenomenological longing of the present.

Thom Conroy, a senior lecturer in Creative Writing at Massey University, is the author of two novels, *The Salted Air* and *The Naturalist*, both with Penguin Random-House. He is the editor of the essay collection *Home* (Massey University Press). His short fiction, widely published in New Zealand and the US, has been recognised by *Best American Short Stories* 2012 and received other awards, including the Katherine Ann Porter Prize in Fiction and the *Sunday Star Times* Short Fiction Competition. He is also the current Editor-in-Chief of *Headland* online journal.

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Pākehā Engagements with Settler Colonial History (1)

Avril Bell, Richard Shaw & Esther Fitzpatrick

This is a panel about learning from Aotearoa/New Zealand history through colonial settler pasts. Drawing on the conceptual frameworks such as critical family history (CFH) and critical autoethnography, and the wider political discussion of decoloniality, this session, in two parts, offers theoretical and material examples of how Pākehā or colonial settlers grapple with the personal and cultural legacies stemming from British colonisation. By discussing the layered and continuing acts of colonial violence through multiple, partial and situated ways we hope to provide a sense of relationality and complexity to the ongoing discussion over settler colonial legacies.

Avril Bell – Reading Remains: Sovereign Projections, Imperial Subjects and the Albert Barracks

The remains of a nineteenth century military barracks wall lies at the heart of the university campus at which I work in Auckland, New Zealand. Researching the life of my great-great-grandfather I discover that he was responsible for its construction, with Māori providing the labour. As I research his life further, I become aware that this barracks is a repetition of others elsewhere, marking the routinized extension of British imperial power. In this paper I read the physical remains of the barracks and related archival material to investigate how they both project and belie nineteenth century imperial power. I also explore the constitution of specific kinds of imperial subject in the intra-action between stone, mortar, labour contract, wages, engineer and labour. In this analysis I am interested in what this barracks can tell us about the entanglement of civilisation and violence, power and fantasy, in the colonisation of New Zealand. The construction of this military barracks projects the power of the British Empire, while also marking the existence of a countervailing Māori sovereignty. At the same time, it exposes the fantasy of colonisation as benign civilising mission. Exploration of the subject constitution of military engineer and Māori labourers in the process also illuminates something of the multifaceted subjectivities and failures of the civilising fantasy.

Avril Bell is Associate Professor in Sociology at the University of Auckland. Her research interests centre on settler colonialism, indigenous-settler relations and decolonisation, particularly in Aotearoa New Zealand. She is the author of *Relating Indigenous and Settler Identities: Beyond Domination* (2014, Palgrave) and a number of chapters and papers on these topics.

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Richard Shaw – A Tale of Two Stories: Unsettling a Settler Family History

On the morning of the 5 November 1881, my great-grandfather stood alongside 1588 other military men, waiting to commence the invasion of Parihaka pā. Having contributed to the military campaign against the pā he returned some years later as part of the agricultural campaign to complete the alienation of Taranaki iwi from their land. None of this detail appears

in any of the stories I was raised with: rather, my stories conform to orthodox settler narratives of ‘success, inevitability, and rights of belonging’. This paper is part of a process of righting that wrong. In it, I draw on insights from the critical family history literature to explain the nature, purposes and effects of the (non)narration of my great-grandfather’s participation in the military invasion of Parihaka in late 1881. On the basis of a more historically comprehensive and contextualised account of the acquisition of three family farms, I also explore how the control of land taken from others underpinned the creation of new settler subjectivities and created various forms of privilege that have flowed down through the generations. Family histories shape the ways in which we make sense of and locate ourselves in the places we live, and those of us whose roots reach back to the destructive practices of colonisation have a particular responsibility to ensure that such narratives do not conform to comfortable type. This paper is an attempt to unsettle my settler family history.

Richard Shaw is Director (Arts) and Professor of Politics in Massey University’s College of Humanities and Social Sciences. His research interests stretch from the study of comparative democratic systems to models of public sector reform, with a particular focus on the ways in which government ministers and senior civil servants interact in the policy-making process. He has authored or edited numerous books, articles and chapters on these topics – but he is a newcomer to critical family history.

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Esther Fitzpatrick – Wayfaring Back in Time: Arts-Based Methods as Decolonization of White Bodies

A discussion on the practice of employing arts-based methods, including craft, to engage in Critical Family History as a framework for decolonization. Arts-based methods enable an embodied exploration of how descendants of settler ancestors continue to be haunted by colonization. The context of this work is Aotearoa New Zealand, specifically using Art-based Cartography to reveal the horizontal relationships and kinships between different colonial nations and tell the wayfaring story of one Jewish family travelling back and forth between Amsterdam, England, Australia, Fiji and New Zealand, creating a meshwork of interconnections, and complexly knotted strands. This work speaks to teachers, students and researchers in education at both early childhood, middle school, and tertiary levels who are interested in how we can decolonize our educational practices. It will contribute to ‘Decolonizing Histories’, and also to ‘Decolonizing Mind and Body’. The intention is to create ‘ruminative research’ including writing as a method of inquiry with poetry and visual images.

Esther Fitzpatrick is a Senior Lecturer in The Faculty of Education and Social Work, The University of Auckland. She uses various critical innovative pedagogies, including writing as a method of inquiry, in her teaching and research. She has published on issues of critical family history, critical autoethnography and arts-based methodologies.

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Pākehā Engagements with Settler Colonial History (2)

Dani Pickering, Rebecca Ream & Rosalynd Boxall

This is a panel about learning from Aotearoa/New Zealand history through colonial settler pasts. Drawing on the conceptual frameworks such as critical family history (CFH) and critical autoethnography, and the wider political discussion of decoloniality, this session, in two parts, offers theoretical and material examples of how Pākehā or colonial settlers grapple with the personal and cultural legacies stemming from British colonisation. By discussing the layered and continuing acts of colonial violence through multiple, partial and situated ways we hope to provide a sense of relationality and complexity to the ongoing discussion over settler colonial legacies.

Dani Pickering – Critical Family History Research as Action Framing in the Treaty Education Movement

Beurla na donais. Gibberish of the devil. That is how my great-great-great grandfather, Niall MacLeòid, described the English language in his native Gàidhlig, as he felt unable to express his grief over the death of my great-great-great grandmother Rebecca Henry in the coloniser's tongue. This position made Niall no less a coloniser himself, however; after being cleared from his ancestral homeland of Raasay, Scotland in 1865 and thrust unwilling into an Anglophone world, the chain of coloniality (Eze, 2010; Newton 2021) led Niall to nine years in the Armed Constabulary and seven in its reconstituted form, the New Zealand Police, before being killed on the job in 1890.

This paper will examine how the Treaty education movement can make sense of colonised-coloniser narratives like that of the Pākehā Gael. I am especially interested in what this example can demonstrate as far as the role critical family history research can play in the development of personalised action frames (Bennett & Segerberg 2012), which simultaneously justify and motivate participation in social movements like those to honour te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Dani Pickering is a PhD student in Sociology at Victoria University of Wellington. Their work to date has covered the use of musical, digital and mass media in social movements, and for their PhD itself how social movements inform Indigenous-settler relations and decolonisation, particularly in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

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Rebecca Ream – Response-able Pākehā Conversations: Communicating with Elizabeth Harper

Elizabeth Harper first arrived in Lyttelton, December 16, 1850. She is my ancestor. She arrived on the Randolph, one of the First Four Ships that many claim to have 'settled' Canterbury. With her husband John, Elizabeth became part of the violent, muddled ongoing colonial project of transforming Kāi Tahu Whānui land into Christchurch. I would like to talk to Elizabeth and question her purpose for arriving in Aotearoa and her beliefs about the colonial project. To

conduct such a conversation, I draw on Esther Fitzpatrick's use of hauntology as a way for Pākehā to speak to their ghosts. Karen Barad, drawing on Jacques Derrida's hauntology, discusses the inherent link between ghosts, inheritance and responsibility, which is helpful when working through personal Pākehā colonial accountability. Barad argues there never was an individual contained self that chose to be responsible. Rather, response-ability was formed through our material and meaningful entanglement with each other, human and not. Suffice to say the entanglements — in Barad's terms — that make who 'I' am are stained with generations of White Canterbury nation building and a love for land and family I can't part myself from. In frank communication with Elizabeth then, I, in this piece, learn more deeply about the entanglements that make me a Canterbury Pākehā so I may become more responsive, or more response-able, towards the ongoing colonial project that my family have inherited.

Rebecca Ream is a Pākehā early career researcher with multidisciplinary interests in Pākehā relations to land in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the colonial complicity that such relations inevitably generate. Based in the Wairarapa, they/she draws heavily on the world of Donna Haraway in much of her work and has more recently become entangled in the philosophy of Karen Barad.

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Rosalynd Boxall – An Unsettling Journey: Mapping Pākehā Student Responses to Difficult Histories

This paper is based on the findings of my master's thesis at the University of Auckland. My research investigated how Pākehā students engage with New Zealand's history of colonisation. I did this by interviewing a sample of undergraduate students, exploring how they confronted the challenges and complexities of these pedagogical encounters. Many decolonial and educational scholars have contested the common assumption that education can be an antidote to racism and intolerance. Despite this, the findings of my thesis suggest that studying New Zealand history can be a moment of radical transformation for some settler students. In fact, many of them experienced an 'aha' moment that prompted them to question deeply held understandings about settler identity and society. Learning about New Zealand's history was a difficult emotional experience for these students. Having learned this history, they expressed overwhelmingly critical views about the nature and impact of colonisation in New Zealand. These students recognised that the impacts of this history reverberate in the present with destructive consequences, particularly for Māori. However, there were also seeds of change buried in the testimonies of many of the students. Even as they struggled with their connections to New Zealand's history, they began to see themselves and society differently, in ways that oriented them towards taking action and creating change in the present.

Rosalynd Boxall has recently completed her Master of Arts in Sociology at the University of Auckland. Hailing from England originally, her academic interests include decolonisation in higher education, settler colonialism in the Canadian and New Zealand contexts, and questions of settler identity. Attending to the specific histories buttressing the present context in which we live has shaped her research. This prompts her to ask questions about who the participants in the historical and ongoing relationship of inheriting the legacies of colonialism are and has brought her to this project.

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INDIVIDUAL PAPERS

Empire, War and Cricket in South Africa: Logan of Matjiesfontein

Dean Allen

Cecil Rhodes is on record as saying he had only met two creators in South Africa, one being himself and the other James Douglas Logan. Born in Reston, Scotland in 1857, Logan immigrated to South Africa at the age of nineteen. Based upon years of research in South Africa and the United Kingdom and using original archive material (including many unseen photographs), this fascinating talk is based upon Dr Allen's new book and explores how James Logan made his fortune in late nineteenth century South Africa through business, politics and a high-profile association with the British Empire's favourite sport – cricket.

James Logan became known as the 'Laird of Matjiesfontein' after the Karoo town he had developed. This famous town is today a national heritage site and a popular tourist destination for South African and international visitors. This talk will explore how Matjiesfontein was created and how James Logan developed this little town in the Karoo into a renowned health resort attracting the rich and famous of the late nineteenth century. The talk will also explain how James Logan was instrumental in developing the game of cricket in South Africa and examine the controversial but little-known 1901 South African cricket tour to England – a venture funded by Logan himself in the midst of the Anglo-Boer War. Matjiesfontein's pivotal role in the war is explored alongside James Logan's incredible exploits during this time. It is a truly amazing story that has had many British and South African audiences enthralled.

Dean Allen's long association with South Africa began in the mid-1990s, when he began his studies at Stellenbosch University. Previously a lecturer at Cape Peninsula University of Technology, in June 2015 Dean was appointed as a Senior Academic at Bournemouth University in the UK. Since then, he has followed his heart and moved back to South Africa. Over the past decade Dean has taught at Universities in South Africa, Australia, Northern Ireland and England and is widely published in the areas of sports history and sociology. It was during research for his master's degree (that focused on Sport during the Anglo-Boer War) that Dean first visited Matjiesfontein and a fascination for the history of cricket and this region led to a PhD that was completed in 2008. His best-selling book *Empire, War and Cricket in South Africa: Logan of Matjiesfontein* is published by Penguin Random House (Zebra Press).

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A Man's History? *New Zealand's Heritage Magazine*, Settler Colonialism and the Gendering of the Past

Felicity Barnes

Over the last decade or so, New Zealand's 'national' histories have been the subject of considerable academic criticism. Some of this has reflected suspicion of teleology, characteristic of national narratives generally. However, a more trenchant line of critique – now almost an established orthodoxy – has been inspired by Peter Gibbon's work on cultural colonization. Such analyses have framed national histories as 'colonising' texts, with the usual suspects being sole-authored monographs written in the late twentieth century by notable historians, including Sir Keith Sinclair, James Belich, and Michael King.

However, perhaps the largest and most influential national history has escaped such critical scrutiny. In 1971, the first issue of *New Zealand's Heritage: The Making of a Nation* was released. Announcing itself as 'the most complete historical document of New Zealand yet published', this weekly magazine would run to 2500 pages, and 1,250,000 words in 102 issues, designed to be collected into 'magnificent binders' embossed with the *New Zealand Heritage* coat of arms. Week by week, issue by issue, members of the public could head to their local newsagent to build their own story of New Zealand.

This paper analyses the nature of the 'nation' constructed across those thousands of pages. In the process, it argues that, for all its critical insights, the cultural colonisation thesis has missed one critical element of settler colonial history writing. From its editorial board to its authors to its contents, *New Zealand's Heritage* offered a masculine version of the past. Its 'nation' was not only colonizing but gendered.

Felicity Barnes is a senior lecturer in History at the University of Auckland. Her first book, *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis*, was based on her award-winning doctoral thesis and examined the impact of cultural links between New Zealand and London from the late nineteenth century till the 1980s. Her second book, *Selling Britishness: The Dominions, Commodity Culture, and Empire, 1926-1939* is being published by MQUP this year.

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Life and Land: Findings from New Zealand's Neoliberal Reform of Agriculture 1984–1987

Rachael Bell

In 1984 New Zealand began a process of neoliberal reform that was among the most ambitious and comprehensive in the world. One of the first to experience transformation was the rural sector. As the conservatism that had privileged farming and farmers in policy and rhetoric was pushed aside, the scaffolding that had supported family farming was dismantled. Subsidies were removed, mortgages were exposed to the volatile financial market and 'inherent disadvantage' became an acceptable aspect of rural service delivery. In the tumultuous social climate of the 1980s, with so much up for challenge and renegotiation, rural New Zealand began its own battle to redefine its place in a rapidly changing society.

Bound by a new emphasis on efficiency and competition, it was expected that many farms and farmers would 'go to the wall'. That relatively few did so belies the wide ranging, and often traumatic, adjustments that took place within rural homes and communities. For those most affected, the reforms were a defining event that underwrote many of their decisions in the years that followed and continue to do so today. This presentation draws on oral histories of those who consider themselves survivors of the reforms to reflect on gender, citizenship and the nature of work in a period of rapid change.

Rachael Bell is a historian at Massey University, Palmerston North. Her research falls into two principal fields: New Zealand rural history and New Zealand historiography. She currently has a Royal Society Marsden grant to investigate the impact of the Lange government's reform of agriculture in the 1980s and also has a book under contract *A Really Useful Woman: A History of Rural Women through their Words and Writing*. She is also interested in the role and transmission of history in the national narrative and has completed work around the Treaty of Waitangi and the official histories of the Second World War in this regard.

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Pūrākau: Mana Wāhine, a Tainui, Waikato ki Maniapoto Perspective

Kay Berryman

Mana wāhine are the strength of the tribe, often holding important matauranga for our survival. The connection of tangata (people) to land is of significance throughout our NZ history. In 1350 the Tainui waka arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand, having visited some Pacific Islands before landing at Whangaparaoa, Bay of Plenty, exploring other parts of the whenua (lands). Our historical archives explicate of Tainui waka stories about mana wāhine (Māori women with mana). Mana wāhine is empowering Indigenous Māori women in place and in time. Pūrākau (stories) keep us grounded in our whakapapa. Pūrākau handed down through generations of Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato hapū are of significance, the naming of places, maunga and awa after prominent wāhine. By portraying wāhine Māori in our own history, we celebrate the accomplishments that they were able to come across from Hawaiki, traversing the ocean and lands by waka. Whakaotirangi and Marama were the wives of Hoturoa – the captain of the Tainui waka. Wāhine were healers and nurturers of tamariki, mokopuna. Our history is rich with pūrākau (stories) of wāhine Māori. Māori have survived a once dying population. Te Ao Māori encompasses things not seen in western practices for traditional healing and hauora practices. With the introduction of the Tohunga suppression act, wāhine kept their matauranga Māori practices protected from western world. Traditional practices were replaced with western medicine. Wāhine Māori have been largely invisible in our own history accounts and have been overshadowed by the grand feats and achievements of our male tūpuna.

Kay Berryman (Ko Tainui te waka, Ko Pirongia te Maunga, Ko Ngāti Āpakura, Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato tokū iwi). I hold a master's in health science at Otago University. My PhD focuses on Indigenous wellbeing and wāhine Māori. Through my whakapapa lines, I connect back to my Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato whakapapa enriched with deep historical and embodied knowledge about my tūpuna. My tūpuna were came from a deep mātauranga Māori history. They were respected and Rangatira of Waikato history, orators and tohunga supporting our hapū and iwi.

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From Australind to the Islands of New Zealand

Matthew Birchall

Western Australia and New Zealand may at first glance appear to have little in common, and yet both were settings for company colonisation in the late 1830s and early 1840s. This paper explores that curious connection, thereby revising our spatial understanding of systematic colonisation. The mobility of directors is infrequently commented upon in historical treatments of the colonial reform movement, and yet the flow of people and ideas between boardrooms shows how company colonisation cannot be studied in isolation from the broader institutional ecology of the City of London. The paper argues that personal and intellectual links united the Western Australian Company and the New Zealand Company, even as they dealt with race and indigenous peoples in different ways.

The paper closes with reflections on what might be called brokers of knowledge, the shared network of solicitors, bankers, and trusted advisors that made company colonisation possible. While company crossings at the level of the boardroom are clearly important, so too were the connections between the professional services industry and those lower down the chain of command. The analysis deepens our understanding of how colonial reform in London worked on a day-to-day basis.

Matthew Birchall is the Barnes-Whitehead History Innovation Fund Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Auckland. His research focuses on chartered colonial enterprise in Britain's settler empire. At Auckland, he will begin work on a scholarly edition of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's colonial writings.

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‘For Callao, en route to San Francisco’: Visualising Nineteenth-Century Theatre Networks

Maggie Blackburn

Constant movement of people, stage techniques, and repertoire made theatre one of the most widespread and accessible forms of popular culture in the nineteenth century. Analysing how theatre performers, managers, and stage technicians acted as conduits of cultural transmission, this study utilises network and spatial analyses to demonstrate the extent to which the stage provided access to contemporary theatre culture and thus situated playgoers within a constituency of cultural consumers throughout a vast Anglo-theatre network.

Examining the movement of players and contemporary popularity of repertoire, the spatial analyses discussed in this paper demonstrate the extent to which theatregoing constructed an imagined sense of place within the wider Anglophone world for theatregoers in New Zealand. Visualising networks of cultural and material exchange, this paper argues that the interconnections forged between playhouses by the movement of performers and plays profoundly shaped the theatregoing experience in colonial New Zealand – providing audiences access to both talented entertainers with established professional reputations and contemporary popular repertoire. Discussing the utility of digital tools, this paper examines how such methods can be used to extend primary source material and construct a richer picture of New Zealand’s place within broader networks of cultural consumption.

Maggie Blackburn is currently working as digital coordinator at Bridget Williams Books having recently completed an MA in History at Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of Wellington. Her MA thesis, entitled ‘Entertaining Prospects: Garrison and Gold Town Theatre in New Zealand c.1850-1870’, utilised a variety of digital methods to examine the development and production of theatrical entertainment in nineteenth-century New Zealand.

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The Reformatory that Didn't

Delwyn Blondell

The treatment of vulnerable young people from troubled backgrounds is once again in the news. This is one of those problems that returns and is never resolved. Treatments change, facilities open and seem to provide solutions for a time only to close amid claims that they failed to reform the children, failed to fix the problems or even created further problems. Te Oranga Home operated between 1901 and 1918, to house and reform the unreformable rejects from the industrial school system and other uncontrollable girls. As the destination for girls with "dangerously sensual and criminal tendencies", its purpose was to turn them into respectable and valuable community members, preferably as domestic servants.

Glimpses of the lives of girls confined to Te Oranga Home are found in newspapers and reports presented to Parliament. These reveal some significant aspects of the pre-Great War community: including the increasing value placed on children, attitudes to crime and punishment, and personal responsibility, fears around female sexual behaviour, and the community within the community in Te Oranga Home. The paper gives a background to the Home and presents a few life-stories of inmates, how they came to enter the Home and what happened to them when they were released.

Delwyn Blondell is a PhD candidate at Massey University (having so far learnt more than she expected and stayed on far longer) actively researching New Zealand's incorrigibles between 1870 and 1930, using genealogical databases to uncover the life-paths of ordinary people. She lives in semi-rural Manawatu, quietly studying, researching, and reading to complete her PhD. She is also writing a commissioned family history for an Auckland businessman.

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Power Play: Power, Playing Cards and the Representation of the Duchess of Marlborough's Political Influence in Early-Eighteenth Century Britain

Rachel Boddy

A set of playing cards produced c.1711 to celebrate the ascension of the Tories in England represent Sarah Churchill, the Duchess of Marlborough as a key political player. The Duchess of Marlborough was a close confidante to Queen Anne, was married to one of England's most successful generals, and rose through the social ranks to become one of England's most powerful women. Her influence extended beyond her personal relationships to the socio-political culture of her day. Works on the Duchess tend to agree that, despite her temperament and obstinance, she was a figure of power and significance, yet the role of women in Augustan politics is much less explored.

This paper adds to this body of work to argue that the Duchess of Marlborough was a formidable political power, and that her contemporaries recognised her as such. By examining the representation of the Duchess in the playing cards and her placement amongst events of national political significance, this paper will argue that despite the undesirable portrayal of her, the Tories were both aware and perhaps afraid of the Duchess of Marlborough's political influence.

Rachel Boddy is a PhD candidate and tutor in History at Victoria University of Wellington. Her honours thesis focused on the politics of intimacy in Georgian Britain and her master's thesis investigated agency in media, marriage and divorce in late-eighteenth-century Britain. She has previously worked as a research assistant on the database www.liverpoolmaritime.org, and for the Marsden funded project 'Scots Law and British Colonialism'. Her current research investigates political celebrity in the long eighteenth century.

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Revisiting the 1968 Nil Wage Order from Below and in a Global Context

Toby Boraman

The Arbitration Court's nil wage order of 1968, which was effectively a national wage cut for the vast majority of private sector workers given the effects of inflation, is widely seen as a seminal turning point in employment relations in Aotearoa. It helped to usher in the lengthiest and most widely supported period of labour unrest in the history of Aotearoa. Most interpretations of the nil wage order claim it was overturned through negotiations between top officials of the Federation of Labour and the New Zealand Employers' Federation. This understanding is top-down in that it reduces history to a series of negotiations between Pākehā, male, middle class (and above) leaders, and 'methodologically nationalist' in that it overlooks the connections and divergences between Aotearoa and the rest of the world.

In contrast, this presentation utilises a global labour history/expanded history-from-below framework to argue that the nil wage order was also overturned due to strike action that involved many male Māori and Pākehā workers, including a Wellington general strike, the 'great beer drought', and a meat export ban. That dissent was indirectly influenced by global patterns of revolt from below in 1968 including the large-scale revolt and general strike in France and the anti-Vietnam War movement. However, conflict over the nil wage order was limited and quite placid when compared with most revolts overseas in 1968.

Toby Boraman teaches politics at Massey University and writes about labour history. He has recently received a Marsden fund award to study strikes in Aotearoa during the long 1970s and 1980s.

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Women, Contracts, Consumerism and The Bowerman Picturesque Atlas Cases

Elizabeth Bowyer

From 1890 until 1893 dozens of cases were heard throughout the courtrooms of colonial New Zealand involving The Bowerman Brothers publishing company suing their subscribers for breach of contract. Among the defendants appeared several women who had signed an agreement to receive a series of picturesque atlases. The reality of the contract however, turned out to be quite different from what the women were led to believe. Women in colonial New Zealand were entering contractual agreements and legal transactions regularly, shaping their lives in both large and small ways through employment, marriage, land ownership, commercial pursuits, or in the case of the picturesque atlases, consumerism. These transactions could seem every day and insignificant but when taken to court, had considerable legal consequences.

This presentation will tell the story of the Bowerman picturesque atlas cases, highlighting the ways in which women became legally entangled in actions involving seemingly trivial consumer contracts. It will also expose the presence of scams in colonial New Zealand as the Bowerman cases became a legal minefield where money was swindled, consumers were left stunned, communities banded together, and a murder almost took place.

Elizabeth Bowyer is a PhD candidate in the History Department of Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington. Her research focuses on feminist legal history in Aotearoa New Zealand. In 2019 she completed her Master of Arts thesis on women as witnesses in the colonial New Zealand courts. Her PhD thesis is about the contractual engagements of women in New Zealand from 1840 until 1920 and women's experiences in the courts of law as a result of their contracting practices.

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Pounamu Speculation in 1840s New Zealand

Julia Bradshaw

The first large scale export of unworked jade (pounamu or greenstone) from New Zealand occurred during the early 1840s when pounamu was taken from the southern end of Te Tai o Poutini, the West Coast of the South Island, to China. This venture is likely to be the first sizeable export of New Zealand minerals by Europeans. The venture combined the skills and knowledge of local Māori and newly resident Pākehā mariners with capital from Sydney.

In the mid-1840s pounamu was taken directly to the North Island, further disrupting the pounamu trade network that had been controlled by Ngāi Tahu until the destruction of Kaiapoi Pā, in 1831. The speculation was the first European experience with raw pounamu and arguably marks the beginning of the colonisation of pounamu by Pākehā. The venture also provides insights into the organisation and connections of mariners and their families on New Zealand's imperial frontier – both with one another as well as with merchants in Australia and Asia.

Julia Bradshaw is currently Senior Curator Human History at Canterbury Museum and has worked in Museums for 27 years. Julia has a background in South Island history and has a special interest in New Zealand's gold-rushes, Chinese, women and remote places and she has had five books published on these topics. She is currently researching early European use of pounamu, Chinese-European marriages and the lives of women during the gold-rush.

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‘Now Enters the Fairy’: Whatever Happened to Railcars and Regional Passenger Rail?

André Brett

In 1936, a new vehicle emerged from New Zealand Railways’ Hutt Workshops: the first of seven self-propelled carriages (railcars) designed to operate at speed over the Remutaka Incline between Wellington and the Wairarapa. O.N. Gillespie gushingly reported that “Now enters the fairy, the magic vehicle” after riding one of the first test trips. Over the next two decades, New Zealand Railways introduced multiple new types of railcars; this modern, innovative rollingstock captured the public’s imagination. Wherever they went on trial runs, thousands turned out to view them; in service, they underpinned significant patronage growth.

Come 1978, however, all but three railcars were withdrawn. Many of the routes they operated were cancelled, leaving entire cities and regions without passenger rail. The consequences of this loss of mobility have been enduring: New Zealand is heavily car-dependent and lacks modal choice, with large portions of the country inaccessible to anyone who cannot drive. What went wrong? This paper will show how investment in flawed rollingstock, bipartisan political failure to order replacements, and institutionalised attitudes against passenger rail within New Zealand Railways combined to undermine a popular form of transport that enjoyed public affection from its introduction to its demise.

André Brett is a historian at Curtin University and the recipient of the 2021 Max Crawford Medal from the Australian Academy for the Humanities, the most prestigious award for early-career achievement and promise in the humanities in Australia. He is the author of four books and twenty articles/chapters, most recently *Can’t Get There from Here: New Zealand Passenger Rail since 1920* (Otago University Press, 2021, with mapmaker Sam van der Weerden).

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Moving Away from the Past into a New Future

Barbara Brookes

In this paper I want to take up the question, ‘what do I want history to do to me?’ Using the example of my Irish family’s decision to migrate to New Zealand, I want to explore the way a troubled history led them into a new future. Migration, whether from the rural to the urban, from the family of origin to a new family, can create new futures and help overcome difficult pasts. ‘Our roots’, as Avril Bell suggests, ‘are mobile and responsive, entangled with those of others.’ Attending to the detail of family histories, and imagining the larger canvas on which they are but faint trails, has the power to unsettle our ideas of home in productive ways.

Barbara Brookes is Professor Emerita in History, University of Otago. She is an award-winning historian whose work has focused on the history of women and the history of medicine. Her most recent book, co-edited with Jane McCabe and Angela Wanhalla, is *Past Caring? Women, Work and Emotion* (University of Otago Press, 2019).

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Ringbolts and Runaways: Movement and Mobility on Merchant Ships in New Zealand, 1950-1980

Dean Broughton

In 1963, 18-year-old waitress Shirley ‘ring-bolted’ to Australia by hiding in her boyfriend’s cabin onboard the *Hobart Star*. In New Zealand during the 1950s and 1960s, ‘ring-bolting’ (the seafaring term for stowing away or moving within and outside the country on a ship via subterfuge) was common. This paper examines how and why people ‘ring-bolted’. Girlfriends and boyfriends of seafarers, ship jumpers avoiding capture along with wanted criminals were amongst those who ‘ring-bolted’ on merchant ships. The practice was common within New Zealand and on trans-Tasman routes, but there is evidence of ring-bolters travelling to Europe and North America. The wider interaction between seafarers and the public presented a new opportunity for movement and mobility, something Shirley took advantage of.

Seafarers receive little attention outside their role as a labour force, but this paper in addition to highlighting the practice of ‘ring-bolting’ provides evidence that there should be a much wider discussion of the seafarer in New Zealand history.

Dean Broughton is completing a PhD in history at Victoria University. Dean is working on a comprehensive study of ship-jumping seafarers in New Zealand between 1945 and 1980. His general research focuses on New Zealand and British seafarers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Dean’s Master’s thesis discussed lascars in the nineteenth century British maritime world. Dean comes from a merchant navy background and is passionate about the seafaring narrative being more prominent in New Zealand history. Dean has worked as a researcher and tutor in a range of historical and political subjects at Victoria University.

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Transliterating Pedagogy: Designing a Te Tiriti o Waitangi Game for New Zealand

Sara Buttsworth and Michaela Selway (Jennifer Frost *in absentia*)

Reacting to the Past (RTTP) is an immersive, active-learning pedagogy developed by Professor Mark Carnes in the United States and involves the “gamifying” of an historical event. Students take on the roles of historical actors, each with a set of contextually appropriate “victory objectives”, immersing themselves in a moment of historical controversy. Students research the event’s historical context and their character’s beliefs and positions. They must then strategize, negotiate, and persuade others to achieve the objectives required by their roles.

Transliterating this pedagogy is a part of our ongoing quest to broaden students’ understanding of New Zealand’s histories. Many students arrive at university with scant knowledge of The Treaty/Te Tiriti, and/or a reluctance to engage with a topic they see as boring and one dimensional. Through active-learning, this game effectively teaches content alongside the key principles of the discipline: the 4 C’s – Change, Continuity, Context, and Contingency. Our team has applied RTTP principles in my class since 2018 - embedding the 4 C’s AND inspiring engagement with the subject. Our game is constantly evolving and has had several iterations: in 2019 (in person), 2020 (online) and 2021 (hybrid), and we are slated for game testing with the RTTP Consortium in the U.S. in July.

As a result of this game students have experienced the importance of people as individuals with complex relationships; thought about different communities’ needs; reacted to speeches, documents, and backroom negotiations; and considered the importance of language.

Sara Buttsworth is a Senior Tutor at the University of Auckland primarily involved in teaching in the Tertiary Foundations Certificate programme, where she teaches an introduction to New Zealand history, and a thematically changing interdisciplinary course. Sara has interests in popular-culture, contemporary representations of fairy tales, war and gender, and anything that will get her students excited about learning. Her publications include *Body Count: Gender and Soldier Identity in Australia and the United States* and three co-edited collections: *Restaging war in the western world. Noncombatant experiences 1890s – today*; *Monsters in the mirror. Representations of Nazism in post-war popular culture*; *War, Myths and Fairy Tales*. Most recently, along with Michaela Selway, an article in the *AJAS* - “Reacting to the Past and the Present: Transliterations of Te Tiriti”.

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Michaela Selway is a recent master’s graduate from the University of Auckland. Her research primarily focuses on the incorporation of the Bible into Medieval Origin Stories. She is currently employed as a Research Assistant at the University of Auckland for two projects: The Early Medical Women of New Zealand project, writing biographies for the first women to graduate from the Otago Medical School; and the Transliterating Te Tiriti project, creating a Reacting to the Past Game centered around the signing of The Treaty/Te Tiriti in 1840 for teaching purposes in High Schools and Universities around the world.

Keith Caldwell and Eugen Sandow at Wanganui Collegiate School in the shadow of the Great War

Adam Claasen

New Zealand's leading aerial ace of the First World War was Keith Logan Caldwell. He entered the war in 1916 as a modest Second Lieutenant flying reconnaissance machines, but by the war's end was a widely known and respected fighter pilot and one of only a dozen New Zealanders who had climbed the ranks to command a squadron. His formative teenage years were spent at Wanganui Collegiate. The school was one of several New Zealand educational institutions that filled out the officer ranks of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and various British military services, including the Royal Flying Corp and the Royal Air Force. At Wanganui Collegiate, Caldwell found an environment that nurtured young men for service and sacrifice for their God, nation and King. Inspired, in part, by a visit to the school of the Prussian celebrity bodybuilder Eugen Sandow, Collegiate masters harnessed the school's playing fields and gymnasium to this endeavour.

This paper explores Caldwell's involvement in the school's sporting activities in the years preceding the war and their role in shaping the beliefs and attitudes of himself and his peers on the doorstep of the Great War.

Adam Claasen is an historian at Massey University's Albany campus. In 2006, he was the Fulbright Visiting Lecturer in New Zealand Studies at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., and in 2009, he received the Vice Chancellor's Award for Sustained Excellence in Teaching. Currently he teaches Second World War and American Twentieth Century history. He publishes on the role of airpower, military intelligence and combined operations in the First and Second World War. Currently, Adam is engaged in a long-term project exploring the role of New Zealanders as pilots, observers and ground crew in the Great War across the Royal Flying Corps, the Royal Naval Air Service and the Royal Air Force, 1914-1918.

Problems of Plenty: The Reconversion of the Royal New Zealand Air Force

Mark Clayton

During World War II industries in the United States (U.S.) produced in excess of 324,000 military aircraft at least 30% of which were supplied as Lend-Lease aid to its military allies, including New Zealand. When the War ended in August 1945 however the U.S. immediately set about dismantling this vast aerial armada.

This paper, the first to focus on Lend-Lease aircraft, examines how this reconversion of U.S. aerial forces affected the Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF). It seeks to explain why the bulk of New Zealand's recently acquired aerial combat capability was intentionally scrapped after the war, finding that this may have been the unintended consequence of an ineffectual U.S. political and administrative leadership forced to act hastily in a rapidly changing climate of confusion and uncertainty

Mark Clayton has held curatorial and conservation positions with the National Library of Australia, the Australian War Memorial, the Powerhouse Museum, and Museum Victoria. He has also been the Director of several regional art, social history and technology museums in New Zealand and Australia, including the Australian Naval Aviation Museum. An Expert Examiner and aircraft valuer - since 1983 - for the Commonwealth Government's National Cultural Heritage Committee, Mark has also served since 2017 as a member of the PNG National Museum & Art Gallery's Expert (Military History) Advisory Group. In July 2019 he commenced full-time doctoral studies, examining the justifications and impacts of air force reconversion in the United States during, and immediately following the Second World War.

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‘Mr Fat’, the ‘Old Women’ and the Heroic White Worker: Class, Gender, Race and Symbolism in New Zealand labour Cartooning 1905-1920

Peter Clayworth

In the early twentieth century, New Zealand had a vibrant labour press, which sprang up in opposition to the newspapers of the ‘capitalist press’. Cartoons were a significant feature of labour newspapers, using a range of symbols instantly recognisable to the working-class readers of that time. This paper discusses what such symbols meant to these readers. The paper also looks at what these images can tell us about attitudes to class, gender and race within New Zealand’s white working-class movement.

While concentrating on the cartoons of the *Maoriland Worker*, in the years from 1910 to 1920, the paper also looks at other examples of labour cartooning and how cartoonists of the capitalist press subverted labour imagery. The paper will analyse the work of socialist cartoonist Robert Frederick “Freddy” Way, whose cartoons for his own paper the *New Zealand Worker*, from 1905 to 1907, provide extreme examples of racist imagery, in particularly targeting Chinese workers. Way was later employed as a cartoonist on the *Maoriland Worker* and was a prominent Red Fed. His cartooning career will be examined for what it reveals about the early twentieth century white labour movement’s attitudes to race and in particular its attitudes to Chinese workers in New Zealand.

Warning: this paper is illustrated by early twentieth century cartoons, some of which contain offensive imagery.

Peter Clayworth is currently employed as a Senior Historian for Te Arawhiti the Office for Māori Crown Relations. He comes from a family of mechanics in Stoke, Nelson. Having no mechanical aptitude Peter pursued a career in history after graduating from Otago University. He is currently employed carrying out research for Treaty of Waitangi negotiations. In his spare time, he is still attempting to complete a biography of Red Fed revolutionist Patrick Hodgins Hickey. Peter lives in Vogeltown, Wellington, with Janis, a poet and novelist, and Polly, a badly behaved cat.

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‘Exceptional and Exceedingly Pleasing’: The Story of a West Coast Mental Asylum, 1872-1915

Jane Comeau

Seaview Asylum in Hokitika was built in 1872 to cope with the swelling numbers of the deluded, depressed and demented who lingered on the West Coast following the frenzy of the 1860s gold rushes. In many respects, Seaview became a unique and enviable example of the nineteenth-century New Zealand asylum, due to its high proportion of aging, single miners, its resistance to overcrowding, its proximity to the main township, and the small and close-knit nature of the West Coast communities. This paper aims to understand how the environment of the West Coast and the people who populated it influenced the development of this institution, and the lives of the patients and staff who inhabited it.

Historical asylums have gained a reputation in contemporary culture as places of horror, abuse and suffering. However, when looking at the current inadequacies of New Zealand’s mental health system, it is worth looking again at a period when doctors had an optimistic vision for the mentally ill and the ways in which patients thrived or suffered under it.

Jane Comeau is currently studying towards an MA at the University of Canterbury. Her interests are diverse, but she especially enjoys researching in the fields of social and cultural history. Currently, she is studying medical, psychiatric and New Zealand history.

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Learning from Mental Health History: A Case Study Analysis of Malcolm House, 1988-2008

Janine Cook

Within the current era of crises in mental health services, can we learn anything from critical and historical analyses of past services? The final stage of psychiatric hospital closures and deinstitutionalisation in the late 1980s and 1990s was a revolutionary period in health reform. Historians have noted the scattered, scant pattern of community service provision at this time. However, the blank canvas of community mental health services stimulated innovation in particular areas of need, including within services addressing occupational and social support needs. Whilst a number of charities stepped in offering fairly institutionalised day care programmes, alternative models also emerged. Psychiatric survivors developed a nationwide network of political advocacy and drop-in centres, creative arts spaces were initiated such as Artsenta in Dunedin and Vincent's and Pablo's in Wellington, and various clubhouse models and vocational services were established by health professionals of a certain bent, generally highly dedicated and willing to adapt to loosely structured community-based settings and the intense, hands-on demands of supporting the reintegration and recovery of some of New Zealand's most needy and vulnerable citizens.

This paper presents a case study of one clubhouse in Hamilton, Malcolm House, which supported around fifty psychiatric survivor members a year between 1988 and 2008. Drawing on interviews of staff, members, and outside observers; clubhouse magazines; and DHB archive and newspaper sources, this analysis will compare health professional and service user perspectives and consider policies and approaches in light of the emerging political and policy trends of turn of the century mental health care.

Janine Cook graduated from Victoria University of Wellington with a PhD (History) in 2015 and has published in the fields of mental health history and the history of human-animal relations. In the 1990s she worked in community mental health services as an occupational therapist and later lectured at the Otago Polytechnic School of Occupational Therapy. She currently lectures in a Bachelor of Social Services programme at UCOL.

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Title: Demons, Cornermen, Prophets, and a Pirate King: An Alternative Wellington Music Scene, 1878–1880

Melissa Cross

In this paper I present a narrative of Alfred Hill's formative musical experiences quite different from that recorded by John Mansfield Thomson in his biography of Hill, *A Distant Music*. Reassessing archival evidence, I challenge Hill's firm grip on his own autobiography too in an attempt to understand his earliest musical encounters with Māori and African Americans, experiences which long predate journalist Ernest Hoben's rendition of an ear-catching Māori hymn. This approach is inspired Michael Brown's (2017) re-evaluation of Douglas Lilburn's early musical influences. I am also stimulated by Brown's argument that much of New Zealand musicological discourse is siloed, especially that of art music, leading to a lack of acknowledgement of connections and cross-influences between music cultures. The more general lack of research into nineteenth-century music compounds this problem. As Matthew Wittmann (2010) observes: 'the established literature on the cultural history of New Zealand has tended to ignore popular amusements in favor [sic] of more refined topics like the "legitimate" theatre and opera'.

My paper considers three 'illegitimate' and neglected music cultures of Hill's youth: Māori concerts, minstrelsy, and pantomime, within the political context of Parihaka and Julius Vogel's economic reforms. It also elucidates the work of impresario Robert Cary and his venue, the Academy of Music. In doing so, I place the young Alfred Hill within Wellington's vernacular music scene of the late 1870s, and the concerns of its musicians and audiences.

Melissa Cross trained and worked for a decade as a registered nurse. After an OE she returned home, had two sons, and gained a BMus (hon) in musicology and ethnomusicology. Combining her interests in New Zealand history, Māori-Pākehā relations, and music she next completed a MMus (dist) on the socio-cultural aspects of Alfred Hill's music for the film *Rewi's Last Stand* (Hayward 1940). Melissa is presently in the final months of her PhD in Music at the NZSM, VUW. Her research focuses on the lived experiences of Māori-Pākehā relations in colonial contexts as represented in some of the seventy-odd Māori songs collected by Hill between c.1895 and c.1958.

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Seeing Differently: Understanding Pākehā Construction of Mountain Landscapes in Aotearoa

Lee Davidson

As ecologist Geoff Park has argued, if you understand a landscape's history 'you *see* it differently'. And once you see it differently, you can begin to imagine a different future. Regarding Aotearoa's mountains that future, for Iwi, is the restoration of their mana, returning their Tupuna names and officially recognising them as 'a living, indivisible whole'.

My paper explores this future's past. Throughout the nineteenth century, Aotearoa's mountains were used to promote European exploration, science, and emigration, constructing an image of a 'new' country in the minds of those 'back home'. Embracing the 'mythology of exploration', Pākehā viewed the mountains as untrodden and uninhabited and set about renaming and mapping. By the 1870s, the appropriation of mountains as a cultural landscape for tourism saw a proliferation of images that promoted European ways of seeing mountains, while Māori relationships to maunga were often framed as quaint or romantic myths and legends. Tracing this history helps to better understand the present need for cultural redress and to imagine a future where Aotearoa's mountain landscapes are no longer viewed through a monocultural lens.

Lee Davidson has been teaching museum & heritage studies at Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of Wellington for 20 years and researching the past and present of our relationship with the mountains for more than 30. This paper is drawn from the work she contributed to *Scenic Playground: The Story Behind New Zealand's Mountain Tourism* (with Alsop & Bamford, Te Papa Press, 2018) which received the Grand Prize at the 2019 NZ Mountain Book of the Year Awards.

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My Grandfather, George Groves Sampson: Early Colonist in Van Dieman's Land and Dunedin, 1830-1896

Diane Deane

As an educator, an historian and hopefully a *critical citizen* I have found the research of my Jewish great, great grandfather George Groves Sampson 1830-1896 life to embody many of the values inherent in the discipline of History. History Curriculums are being examined by educators of history and historians in New Zealand and Australia this year. Australia is conducting a Curriculum Review of History years K-10. The debates are centring on the discipline of History and what it can offer to its students.

From the study of my ancestor's life which straddled three colonies, Van Dieman's land, Victoria, and Dunedin I had much to learn. George was born in Oatlands Tasmania in 1830. He travelled to the gold rush at Ballarat Victoria 1850 and married in Dunedin gold rush in Otago 1863 to his first cousin Christianna Page. George died in Dunedin in 1896 and was buried in the Jewish section of the General Cemetery Dunedin. I have obtained much written proof of his life. I have posed many questions about him: who were his parents, why did they come as free settlers to Van Dieman's land or Tasmania, was he Jewish, why did he leave Tasmania, why did he leave Ballarat, why did he come to Dunedin, and many more. I had to find out what was happening in the places in which he lived.

It is a myopic study of a poor person, not very significant in his society, who was motivated to migrate to New Zealand to have a better life. I felt compassion for him as I researched his hard life. This knowledge is of great life- value to any student.

Diane Deane is an independent scholar with a BA from Monash University and an M. Ed from Sydney University. I am a retired teacher, teaching from K- Year 12 in State, Catholic and Independent schools in Victoria and NSW. My primary schooling was in NZ at Lake Rotoma and Kawerau from 8 years to 13 years. I have travelled widely. I believe in the importance of history and in the preservation of our past to enhance our present and advise our future.

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‘German’ Settlers in 1870s Canterbury

Mark Dunick

Nineteenth century Pākehā settlers had diverse backgrounds and national origins, but most studies have focused on Scottish and Irish migrants. A thousand continental European settlers arrived in Canterbury in the 1870s as part of the Vogel assisted immigration scheme. This paper will examine two small communities formed by apparently German migrants in Canterbury - Marshland, the market gardening district just outside of Christchurch with a cluster of Polish migrants, and Oxford, a North Canterbury town which had a German and Moravian (Czech) community.

Information gathered from migrant ship passenger records, naturalisation records and probate data has been used to analyse the European origins of the settlers, and their occupations and wealth patterns in the two communities. These have been combined with documentary sources to build a profile of each community.

The data shows that while both communities were initially recruited to serve as farm labourers, the mostly Polish Catholic settlers in Marshland almost all became market gardeners. The German speaking community in Oxford was larger and slightly wealthier with a greater variety of occupations. These ‘German’ settler communities were distinctively European, and evolved in quite different ways, but both clusters eventually blended into the dominant colonial culture.

Mark Dunick is a PhD student at Victoria University of Wellington and is studying the continental Europeans who settled in New Zealand through the 1870s Vogel assisted immigration scheme.

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Contemporary Voices and Archives

Julie Fenwick, Ashwinee Pendharkar, Audrey Waugh & Sam Orchard

Grappling with questions around the exclusion of marginalised groups is central to the Contemporary Voices and Archives collection at the Alexander Turnbull Library. This newly developed curatorial section encompasses the cartoon and comics archive and ephemera collection, which have also been reframed with this approach in mind. The Contemporary Voices and Archives collection acknowledges that collecting activities were (and are) filtered through established hierarchies and power dynamics. The potential is for us to learn from past collecting activities and to create an inclusive space in which all communities in New Zealand can feel a sense of belonging.

This panel will include presentations by Ashwinee Pendharkar, Curator Contemporary Voices and Archives, Audrey Waugh, Assistant Curator and Sam Orchard, Assistant Curator Cartoons and Comics. Facilitated by Julie Fenwick, Leader Curatorial Services, it will consider issues around representation, the building of trust and provision of access to new audiences.

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Learning from an Idiocracy: Critical Race Theory in America

Martin Fisher

The History Wars are alive and well in the United States (US), and while the results are inevitably hilarious there is also much cause for concern. Although the teaching and learning of history in Aotearoa New Zealand is about to undergo a profound change, we would do well to spare a thought for our American cousins. Just imagine if a curriculum teaching American students about the acquisition of land, resources and sovereignty from Native Americans and the subsequent development of the nation-state on the backs of millions of African and African-American slaves was compulsorily instituted by the federal government across the US? As some Republicans and conservatives generally have struggled to find another weapon to fight their perpetual culture war, some stumbled upon the decades long notion that teachers would explain the historical origins and context of white privilege to their students. To many historians and educators this may seem like one of the most basic aspects of any thorough education if you lived anywhere in the world today, but in the United States it has been twisted and contorted so far that numerous state legislatures have passed laws banning the teaching of critical race theory.

This paper will explore some of the serious (and at times hysterical) debates taking place in the US around the teaching of history in the early 21st century, and what lessons can be learned for our current debates around teaching history in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Martin Fisher was born in Hungary and grew up in Canada and New Zealand. He has a BA (Hons) from the University of Otago, an MA from McGill University, and a PhD from Victoria University of Wellington, all in history. Martin worked in the Treaty of Waitangi claims process, first as a researcher for the Office of Treaty Settlements and the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, and then from 2012 to 2014 as a research analyst/inquiry facilitator at the Waitangi Tribunal. He joined the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury as a lecturer in 2014.

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The Mass Emigration of Women to Otago in the 19th Century

Siobhan Freeland

Historians have explored the impact of gold mining throughout 19th century New Zealand and investigated the lives of women in New Zealand during this time. I have continued the work of these historians by combining these two focuses by looking specifically at how gold mining in New Zealand affected women during this time. This exploration of the assisted women migrations to the goldfields begins with their journey to Otago in 1862 and examines their experiences on arrival. Many questions have emerged as my research developed; why did these single young women decide to set sail for three to five months to a destination unknown? What were the true costs of this mass emigration, and how useful were the supports put in place for these women once they arrived here?

This paper will consider the simple question, was such a dramatic relocation worth it? Alongside this, I will reflect on how my research findings challenge common historical narratives which I have often worked with in my role as a secondary school history teacher, and the impact of it on my practice.

Siobhan Freeland is currently a master's student at Massey University and a history and art history teacher at Albany Senior High School. Her research focuses on the single female emigration to Otago in 1862. Her work explores the reasons the women took up these opportunities, their experiences and the outcomes that they faced as a result.

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Changing Fortunes in a ‘New Society’: The Lives of Amelia Thompson Passengers in the Settlement of New Plymouth, 1841-1860

Karly Garnock-Jones

In September 1841, the *Amelia Thompson* arrived in Taranaki carrying almost 200 settlers. These were a mixture of social classes, some of whom had already purchased land, but all of whom had hopes of improving their situation. However, these settlers soon discovered that the government considered the original land purchase from local Māori to be illegal, and the lengthy process of the government ‘repurchasing’ land put a substantial pause in the settlers’ plans. My thesis explores the social, cultural and economic fortunes of the *Amelia Thompson* passengers in the first two decades of the New Plymouth settlement. Some did not stay; others became long-term settlers.

Using data from Plymouth and New Zealand Company documents and from the post-New Zealand-War Taranaki Claims Commission, it is possible to build a sense of the changes in the financial capital acquired by these settlers up to the outbreak of war, focusing on land and stock ownership. Differences between cabin, intermediate and steerage passengers’ experiences, with regard to capital gain as well as social presentation of wealth, will be discussed.

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Epiphanies and Emotion: The Feminist ‘Click!’ in New Zealand Women’s Life-Writing

Violeta Gilabert

In 1971, American journalist Jane O’Reilly described the recognition that occurred when members of a marginalised group ‘suddenly and shockingly perceived the basic disorder in what has been believed to be the natural order of things’. Characterised as a sudden moment of self-reflexive insight, the ‘Click!’ response, feminist epiphany or ‘light-bulb moment’ was a deeply felt experience that shaped identity, relationships, and experience of social issues; transforming lives and giving rise to a global movement for women’s liberation.

This paper examines accounts of the ‘Click!’ in New Zealand women’s life writing published from the late twentieth-century to the present day, joining encounters with eye-opening texts, lectures and consciousness-raising groups with the emotional outcomes of apprehending the world in a radically different way. Surveying early stirrings of anxiety and discontent, joy in the (re)discovery of an independent self, confusion and anger in the re-casting of personal and social relationships, and hope in the broadening horizon of imagined futures, it interrogates emotion’s relationship to learning, navigation, negotiation and change. From signalling the moment of awakening to contemporary feminist thought, today the ‘click’ typically refers to a computer keystroke that connects individuals to powerful ideas on the internet, from gender consciousness to critical race theory, white supremacy, religious extremism, anti-feminism, and conspiracy ‘rabbit holes’, suggesting the importance of learning from emotional histories of ideological awakening in the present day.

Violeta Gilabert is the inaugural Barnes-Whitehead History Innovation Fund Post-Doctoral Fellow, based at the Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau University of Auckland. She received her PhD in 2020 from Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo, Otago University. Her research and teaching focuses on histories of emotion in Aotearoa New Zealand, examining themes of coupledom, sexuality and family in cross-cultural perspective.

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‘A Thwarted Mind?’ Popper, Prior and Pocock and the Turn to Research in Sciences and Humanities at Canterbury University college 1945-1946

Mike Grimshaw

J.G. Beaglehole’s ‘The New Zealand Scholar’ (1954) described the conditions for research during the recent past in the University of New Zealand as that experienced by ‘a thwarted mind’. However, this had changed on the back of the ‘declaration of independence’ expressed at Canterbury University College, led by two pamphlets, ‘Research and the University’ (1945) primarily written by Karl Popper and ‘Statement on Research in the Humanities’ (1946) in which J.G.A. Pocock and A.N. Prior played a leading part.

This paper covers the content, background and context of these pamphlets, including the issues for research, especially, non-science research, in New Zealand that were part of university reform discussions throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Issues regarding the role of research in a primarily teaching and examining university, the lack of provision and funding of university and research libraries (including the chaos of uncatalogued collections), and the lack of support for research were common themes. However, via various university reform investigations, Chancellor Justice Smith’s Senate address ‘The Needs of the University’ (1946) and especially the impact of Karl Popper at Canterbury, there was a post-war shift towards facilitating research in the university of New Zealand. While Popper’s ‘Research and the University’ is known, this paper argues that ‘Statement on Research in the Humanities’ is just as important and identifies the specific issues of humanities research that resonate today.

Mike Grimshaw is Associate Professor in Sociology, University of Canterbury. Trained in history and theology (Otago), having taught Religious Studies and now Sociology, he is an interdisciplinary scholar who divides his research between continental thought and theory and issues of NZ literary, cultural, intellectual and religious history. A noted expert on the early life and thought of the NZ philosopher Arthur Prior, he has also recently published *The Cartoon History of Religion in New Zealand* (2019) and is working on a major project on the expression and facilitating of ‘the spiritual resources of the people’ in Charles Brasch’s *Landfall*.

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For the Rest of Our Lives: New Zealand Veterans and the Legacy of War

Glyn Harper & Nick Wilson

When asked how long he thinks the Second World War will last, the main character in Dan Davin's semi-autobiographical novel responds: 'For the rest of our lives'. It has often been claimed that war has exerted a defining influence on New Zealand society. However, little has been done to trace the effects of conflict on those who experienced it, particularly as they transitioned into the subsequent times of peace.

This paper examines the impact of war on the health and lifespan of New Zealand veterans of three international conflicts: the South African War of 1899-1902 and the two world wars of the twentieth century. By examining the mortality datasets of hundreds of veterans from each conflict some startling results were identified. Our research revealed that the dangers to the health of a New Zealand veteran typically persisted long after the guns stopped firing. Many of New Zealand's veterans struggled to retain their health in a society that just wanted them to get on with their lives and offered little in the way of support. For these veterans this would be the greatest and last battle they faced. For each conflict we also considered preventive measures available to governments and military authorities at the time that would have reduced the injuries and diseases arising during these three wars – and found these measures were often wanting.

Glyn Harper is one of New Zealand's foremost military historians and has established an international reputation in his field of study. His research interests include the First and Second World Wars, New Zealand and Australian military history, the impact of war on people, places and communities and heritage education for children.

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Nick Wilson is a prominent New Zealand epidemiologist. He is the Director of the Otago University's Burden of Disease Epidemiology, Equity and Cost Effectiveness Programme (BODE). Professor Wilson is the author or co-author of more than 300 peer-reviewed journal articles on public health issues and has published on the historical themes of the 1918 influenza pandemic and (with Glyn Harper) on health issues in the New Zealand military for three previous wars.

Cultural Dissonance: Examining Heritage-Making History in Aotearoa

Carolyn Hill

The heritage field in settler colonial cities is facing many challenges. While climate change, natural hazards and development pressures raise issues about *what* and *how* heritage can be conserved, previously unheard voices are questioning *whose* heritage should be valorised and *why*. Yet the professional practice of heritage identification and management remains in a state of inertia, reflecting a lack of clear understanding of the field's own history and its implications for future heritage-making.

This paper explores how heritage theory and practice came into being in the urban contexts of settler colonial countries, and how these constructs are being interrogated and potentially disrupted in light of urban realities today. It examines how the concept of 'values' came to underpin heritage-making processes internationally from the 1970s, and how this has been challenged through critical heritage discourse and the fragmentation of universality in significance and meaning. This paper highlights how heritage dissonance is so profoundly unsettling in settler colonial countries, where heritage-making is entwined with a homemaking agenda. This dissonance – the inevitable favouring of some peoples' interests and values over others – is either suppressed or 'constructively managed' when determining priorities and funding for urban heritage. However, I suggest that rather than 'safeguarding' our heritage we need to look to acknowledge the disparate cultural viewpoints and situational realities that bear upon places. Relinquishment, sacrifice and loss may be part of learning from heritage-making history as we reimagine our heritage anew.

Carolyn Hill is an architect and researcher who practices in cultural heritage management and conservation. She has worked in various built heritage-focused roles across public and private sectors in New Zealand, Australia and the UK, and now provides heritage services through her consultancy, Lifescapes. She is also a Teaching Fellow in Te Kura Aronui School of Social Sciences at the University of Waikato and is currently undertaking her PhD through the university's doctoral scholarship programme.

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Henry the Fifth in 1972: Learning from Ngaio Marsh

Mark Houlahan

In the evening of October 1, 1972, the James Hay Theatre in the Christchurch Town Hall was officially launched with an impressively mounted production of Shakespeare's *Henry V*, directed by Ngaio Marsh, internationally famous as one of the Queens of Crime fiction, and who had directed high quality Shakespeare productions in Ōtautahi/Christchurch since 1943. The production, using over 100 actors and featuring professional actors Marsh had trained who returned from England to perform, was a pinnacle of her production style, and each of the ten performances sold out.

Marsh's meticulously prepared promptbooks for the show, housed in the Turnbull Library, show every cut and move sketched by Marsh in advance. The Marsh archives also document reviewers' reactions and recollections from the company, and contain a rich array of visual evidence: posters, production stills, and the official programme. In my paper I will use this data to evoke this lavish event.

In 2019 the Town Hall re-opened after extensive restoration following the 2011 earthquakes, a process documented in *The Christchurch Town Hall 1965-2019: A Dream Renewed* (Canterbury UP, 2020); and the venue has begun presenting post-Covid entertainments. It is timely then to pivot back to 1972 and ask what we can learn from this production about the place of Marsh's theatre in the development of performance culture in Aotearoa; and open out to the wider, ongoing questions as to the place of Shakespeare in our cultural fabric.

Mark Houlahan is Associate Professor of English in Te Kura Toi (School of Arts), University of Waikato. He has published widely in Shakespeare Studies with a special focus on the afterlife of Shakespeare's works in Aotearoa/New Zealand, as seen, for example, in his chapter: 'From the Shakespeare Hut to the Pop-up Globe: Shakespeare, memory and New Zealand, 1916-2016', in G. McMullan, P. Mead, A. G. Ferguson, M. Houlahan, & K. Flaherty (Eds.), *Antipodal Shakespeare Remembering and Forgetting in Britain, Australia and New Zealand, 1916 - 2016* (pp. 117-144).

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In Memory of the Deceased: Chinese Australian Identity and Wartime Commemorations after the Beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War

Bolin Hu

This paper explores the complicated relationship between China and Chinese Australians during the early years of the Sino-Japanese War (1931–1945) by probing their cooperations and conflicts in motivating overseas Chinese nationalism and patriotism through shaping their wartime memory constructed by a series of commemorations. The China-overseas Chinese relationship in the period of national calamity has conventionally yet simply been understood as a paradigm of ‘China impacted-overseas Chinese responded.’ Chinese Australians have also been written into the national history of Australia. Their role as a part of Chinese history was toned down. Historians in Australasia have been acutely aware of the significant role played by commemorations in shaping public memory for social mobility, with their attention focusing on the ANZAC memorials. But wartime memory produced from commemorations in the Chinese Australian community has seldom attracted similar scholarly explorations.

Based on the surviving Chinese Australian newspapers in the 1930s, this research shows diversity and heterogeneity in the relationship between China and Chinese Australians articulated from their elastic tensions centred on loyalty to the Chinese government. After the 1931 Mukden Incident, China utilised commemorations to assert its leadership over Chinese Australians to secure their support for its war efforts. Yet the effort backfired, responded by the resistance of numerous Chinese Australians in the form of memory contests, though they allied with China for their shared ends. The research thus argues for a certain degree of independent interest pursued by Chinese Australians drawing on their diasporic experience in the host country.

Bolin Hu is a PhD candidate in the History Department, School of Humanities at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. His research interests include histories of Sino-Australia relations and the Chinese diaspora in Australasia before 1949.

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Global Entanglements between Māori and Quaker Whaling Families, 1790-1840

Haureh Hussein

After the first Convict Fleets arrived 1788 in New South Wales, actors with commercial interests in mind learned of the abundance of resources in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. The first whaling ship, led by a Quaker Captain Bunker of Nantucket, searched already in 1792 for whales in the Northern islands. One year later, on behalf of Lit.-Gov. King, the HMS Daedalus kidnapped the two Māori Tuki Takuha and Huru Kokoti to Norfolk Island in order to led them teach the convicts the technique of flexing.

These encounters forged the first regularly interactions and motivated Māori such as Teina, Maatara or Duaterra to sail on Euro-American whaling ships. Māori Rangatira like Te Pahi or Hongi Hika from the Bay of Islands cooperated actively with arriving whale ships and provided them with supplies. Indigenous societies such as Māori have significantly enabled Euro-American whaling ships with local knowledge, supplies and labour force to exploit the whale grounds in the Pacific.

This research project wants to reconstruct the socio-economic interaction space - the maritime colonial contact zone - which emerged in the transoceanic whaling industry between 1790 and 1840. It argues that the Quaker whaling families such as the Swain and Starbuck in New England, dominated the whaling industry in the 18th century and had established already an interaction space with Indigenous societies in the Atlantic. Equipped with these experiences and social practises in the Atlantic whaling industry, these families approached the Indigenous societies in the Pacific Ocean from the 1790s onwards as well.

Haureh Hussein is a Doctoral Researcher at the Department of International History at Trier University in Germany. He studied history and political science at Trier University and at KU Leuven in Belgium. His research focuses on maritime history, history of the Pacific, global history as well as settler colonial studies.

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Fate of the New Zealand Wars Plaque on the Barracks Wall, University of Auckland

Stephen Innes

What happens to our historical monuments when they become out of date? This is a question which confronted Stephen Innes when researching the loss of an historic plaque at the University of Auckland. The Auckland Civic League memorial plaque was placed on the Albert Barracks wall at the Auckland University College in 1915. It was destroyed during protests by Māori activists at the University in 1983 after a lengthy history of vandalism and calls for its removal on the grounds of cultural offense and historical inaccuracy.

The paper will examine the changing fortunes of the plaque, beginning with its role as a site of memory of two wars, tracing its complex connections with the women's movement and Auckland society, and analysing the impact of the Māori renaissance at the University from the 1970s. In examining the changing nature of public opinion and the muted response to the loss of this substantial monument, the paper provides several lessons in managing the past within the contested histories of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Stephen Innes has a background in managing library and archival collections and retired from his role as Special Collections Manager at the University of Auckland in 2019. Stephen's role as librarian and archivist included assisting students, staff, and other researchers in their use of the library's collections. He has published a number of articles in library and archival journals and has presented papers and participated in numerous conferences. He has a Post Graduate Diploma in Arts (History) from the University of Otago and a Postgraduate Diploma in Librarianship from Victoria University of Wellington.

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Reflections on the Development of Australia's National History Curriculum

Paul Kiem

The Australian Curriculum: History, which mandates the study of history for all school students from Years K to 10, has been in place for a decade and is currently undergoing its second review.

This presentation will reflect on the motivations involved in setting up a national history curriculum and examine the decisions taken in navigating various political, community, disciplinary and pedagogical tensions that affected the development of the history curriculum. It will also attempt to evaluate the way in which the course has been implemented, its strengths and weaknesses and the extent to which original intentions have been realised. The Australian experience may be of interest to those engaged with current history curriculum development in New Zealand.

Paul Kiem is a former secondary school history teacher and President of the History Teachers' Association of Australia, who was involved in the development of the Australian national curriculum for history. Currently an associate lecturer in history education at the University of Sydney, he is the author of several popular history texts, was a long-term editor of HTANSW's *Teaching History*, has presented extensively on history and education topics to teacher and student groups, and is a member of the Australia and Aotearoa NZ Public History Network. Paul's most recent publication is 'School History – Mandating the Past' in *The History Industry in Australia* (2021).

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‘Never Have I Seen Such a Heaving Mass of Humanity’: New Zealanders in Cairo during the Second World War

Josh King

The city of Cairo, to which New Zealanders came in 1940, was at once ancient and strikingly modern. After remaining remarkably static in size and population for over eight hundred years, the city underwent dramatic change in a little over a century between 1798 and the Second World War. The cumulative effect of this century of modernisation on Cairo was to create a city of deeply embedded contrasts. Contrasts between rich and poor, between ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’, and between coloniser and colonised. It was into this city of contrasts that New Zealanders came during the Second World War, and the differences between different parts of Cairo were not lost on them. This paper will explore the ways in which New Zealanders experienced Cairo during the Second World War. It will trace the development and modernisation of the city in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It will then follow New Zealand servicemen and women as they disembarked from the train at Bab el Louk station and were pitched into the heart of a city so different from anything they had experienced at home. We will walk with them as they visit bars and bazaars, clubs and cabarets, restaurants and red-light districts. In doing so, we will draw out New Zealanders’ reactions to Middle Eastern modernity, and to the contrasts of a city that, to many, became almost as familiar as their own hometowns.

Josh King is a PhD student in History at Victoria University of Wellington. His thesis explores the experiences of New Zealanders in the Middle East, Greece and Italy during the Second World War. It largely focuses on those experiences outside of battle, instead looking at New Zealanders’ interaction with the Mediterranean through lenses of place, people and material culture. Josh has recently published his work in the *Journal of New Zealand Studies* (No. NS30, 2020) and *Strife: The Academic Journal of the Department of War Studies, King’s College London* (Issue 14, Winter 2020).

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An Exploration of the Connection between the New Zealand Company and British Colonial Slavery

Rosemary Laing

The settlers in Wellington in the early 1840s arrived with preconceived ideas, often carefully crafted by the New Zealand Company. It seems possible that some of the funds that were previously tied up in the ownership of slaves in the West Indian British colonies were transferred to ownership of land in the new British colonies, for instance, the New Zealand Company settlements.

For this paper I will be exploring how the Directors, Board members and Officers of the New Zealand Company had possible connections to the British government compensation for slave-ownership in the 1830s. I am interested to find out how strong the connection is between the New Zealand Company and what could be considered as ‘dirty money’ if it came from funds previously connected to slave-ownership. How much of these funds were used to purchase land? Is it even possible to follow such a financial trail? To answer to these questions, I will be looking at a selection of examples, within the Wellington region and in the wider New Zealand context.

Rosemary Laing is completing a Master of Arts in History at Victoria University of Wellington researching the aftermath of the Wairau Affray on the New Zealand Company settlement of Wellington from 1843 to 1846. She has returned to Wellington after several years teaching around New Zealand and overseas in both primary and secondary schools, and two years for the National Library Services to Schools as Assistant Team Leader. She completed my undergraduate degree, a Conjoint BA/BTeach, at Victoria University. She has also completed a post-graduate diploma in Education through Massey University and her honours level in History at the University of Canterbury. She gains great joy from learning and has taken courses to learn several things, for example harakeke weaving, industrial sewing and swing dancing.

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Data Point Soldiers and the Silences in Between

Rebecca Lenihan

Around 18,000 men served in the British Army in New Zealand from the 1840s to 1870. In light of the fragmentary nature of mid-19th century British military records, analysis of this group is significantly aided by the use of digital tools and methods.

Using such tools to examine the how, when, and where of men leaving the army, alongside birthplaces, enlistment details, and prior trades, provides analysis of these men as a group and as individuals, along several axes. However, it also raises questions about what we can't know. Silences in the military record are more easily revealed when the fragments of the record are brought together, to provide a more complete picture of any given man that is nevertheless still partial and selective at best.

This paper will take you behind the scenes of the Soldiers of Empire data explorer (https://empiresoldiers.shinyapps.io/Soldiers_of_Empire_Data_Explorer/), discuss some of what digital methods have revealed about this group of men we wouldn't have so readily discovered otherwise, and make a plea for the teaching of basic digital literacy in our history classrooms.

Rebecca Lenihan is a researcher and sometimes teaching fellow in History at Victoria University of Wellington – Te Herenga Waka, working with Charlotte Macdonald on the Soldiers of Empire project (www.soldiersofempire.nz). She is the author of *From Alba to Aotearoa: Profiling New Zealand's Scots 1840-1920* (Otago University Press, 2015).

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‘Hoist by their Own Petard’: New Zealand Farmers and Conscription in the Second World War

David Littlewood

During the Great War, the attitudes of many New Zealand farmers towards conscription had undergone a significant change. From being amongst the measure’s strongest proponents before it was introduced, they had quickly transformed into its most vocal and prominent critics once the Military Service Act was applied.

Events during the Second World War followed a strikingly similar pattern. Farmers again strongly advocated conscription, believing it would guarantee their own exemption from military service, ensure most of their labourers were kept out of the army, and require recalcitrant urban workers to do their bit. But this positive appraisal began to diminish almost as soon as balloting commenced in late 1940. While never calling for conscription’s repeal, farmers frequently lambasted the government for applying it in an unfair and unbalanced manner. The country’s excessive military commitments were, they argued, crippling the rural labour supply at precisely the same time as farmers were being urged to produce more food for the war effort. Moreover, farmers and their families were being compelled to work ever-longer hours just to keep things going, while urban workers received widespread exemptions and maintained a 40-hour week.

While most studies have focused on the relatively limited opposition expressed to conscription as a principle, this paper prioritises the far more widespread disquiet around the way it was applied. At the forefront of such criticism were New Zealand’s farmers, who failed to heed the lessons of their colleagues’ experience 25 years before.

David Littlewood is a lecturer in history at Massey University’s Palmerston North Campus. His research focuses on British and New Zealand society during the two world wars, with particular reference to conscription. His first book was *Military Service Tribunals and Boards in the Great War: Determining the Fate of Britain’s and New Zealand’s Conscripts* (Routledge, 2017), and he is currently writing another about New Zealand’s implementation of conscription in the Second World War.

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Making Biography: Bill Andersen, a Communist, Working-Class Life, 1924-2005

Cybèle Locke

This paper explores the process of writing a biography of New Zealand communist, working-class, trade union leader Gordon Harold (Bill) Andersen. It unpacks why I was chosen to write this book and how important it was that communist politics were central to its telling, not just as the bogey wielded by politicians to discredit militant trade unionism, but as a belief system that informed Bill Andersen's peace and anti-racism work, parenting, rugby league coaching, as well as trade union work, across his lifetime. In a context of entrenched communist sectarianism, my positionality as unaligned left and two generations removed, mattered.

In some ways, this biography could be considered the counterpoint to my first book, *Workers in the Margins: Union Radicals in Post-War New Zealand*; with Bill Andersen, I refocused the lens on the Old Left, Pākehā male union leaders who were challenged by 'workers in the margins'. But the book became more complicated than an 'Old Left' label could possibly contain. Central source material was Bill's unpublished memoir, written in 2004, and a series of oral interviews I conducted with people who had many and varied relationships with Bill. They spoke to me of their lives and what Bill meant to them, capturing the emotions of solidarity-making and solidarity-breaking.

Navigating an ethics of respect – informed consent from my oral interviewees for their words published in this book – was a crucial and intricate part of the process. How this book relates to two other trade union biographies – David Grant's biography of Ken Douglas and Rebecca Macfie's very recent biography of Helen Kelly – will also inform this talk.

Cybèle Locke is a New Zealand history senior lecturer at Victoria University of Wellington. She wrote *Workers in the Margins: Union Radicals in Post-War New Zealand*. Her second book, a biography of communist trade union leader Bill Andersen, is forthcoming with Bridget Williams Books in November 2021.

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Forgetting Medical History: Irish Literature and the 1957-58 Pandemic

Maebh Long

During the 1950s and 1960s influenza was a recurring theme in the *Cruiskeen Lawn*, a satirical column printed in *The Irish Times*. The columns' engagement arose from Ireland's experience of brutal influenza seasons and, in particular, the 1957-58 pandemic, known at the time as the Asian 'Flu. The pandemic's H2N2 virus killed approximately 1.1 to 2 million people worldwide, but until our recent, COVID-inspired interest in historical lockdowns and outbreaks, has received very limited contemporary critical engagement. There is little scholarship on the pandemic's impacts and its presence in the literature of the late 1950s and 1960s is largely unremarked. This is not unusual – even the 1918-19 pandemic is marked by a conspicuous literary and critical silence. Subsequent pandemics have figured as absent presences in much the same way, and if writers have struggled to represent outbreaks in their fictions, critics have frequently failed to recognise epidemics' traces in writers' oeuvres. This is the case within studies on the Irish author Flann O'Brien, as the outbreak connections behind O'Brien's last completed novel have been overlooked.

In this talk, I take O'Brien's *The Dalkey Archive* as a case study through which to explore Irish literary studies' amnesia regarding medical history, specifically the 1957-58 pandemic, subsequent influenza outbreaks, and associated bacterial complications. Weaving together O'Brien's correspondence, his *Cruiskeen Lawn* columns and his final novel, I propose a new way of understanding *The Dalkey Archive*, one that deprioritises its connections to politics to present it instead as a response to the symptoms and strains of pandemics, outbreaks, and O'Nolan's own illnesses.

Maebh Long is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Waikato, Aotearoa/New Zealand. Her research interests include modernist and contemporary literature in Ireland, Britain, and Oceania. She has published widely on the Irish author Brian O'Nolan/Flann O'Brien and is the author of *Assembling Flann O'Brien* (Bloomsbury, 2014), as well as the editor of *The Collected Letters of Flann O'Brien* (Dalkey Archive Press, 2018). Maebh is a co-investigator of the Oceanian Modernism project, which brings together modernist studies and post-1960s Pacific literature. Maebh is also in the early stages of project, supported by the Marsden fund of the Royal Society of New Zealand, which examines the ways 'immunity', as a heightened desire for bodily and political security and exemption, became a contagious metaphor for early twentieth century writers.

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Changing the Language of History: From ‘Settler’ to ‘Occupier’ or Something Else?

Charlotte Macdonald

In this paper I explore the meanings of ‘settler’, ‘settling’ and ‘settlement’ in histories of nineteenth-century colonialism, largely in Aotearoa New Zealand. Have the terms accrued a cloaking ambiguity that conceals rather than revealing the historical events to which they refer? What might be the alternatives?

Photographic artist Bruce Connew has drawn our attention to vocabularies of colonisation in his recent exhibition and associated book *A Vocabulary of Colonisation* (Te Uru Waitākere. Contemporary Gallery; Vapour Momenta Books: Auckland, 2021). Is it time we historians reconsidered our vocabulary? Is 2021 a moment for Ako: Re-learning our history?

The paper is prompted by multiple concerns: what appears to be the failure of attempts to mobilise the notion of ‘un-settlers’ proposed by Peter Gibbons and used by Frances Porter and me in *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates* (1996); the disquiet expressed by some Māori historians with the approach of ‘settler colonialism’, and by my growing unease with what the terms mask. It forms part of my continued engagement with the mid-nineteenth-century world in Aotearoa and the wider empire in which it was located. And in particular, with attempts to better imagine that world’s multiple vexed, violent, familial and landed histories – lived and told.

Charlotte Macdonald is Professor of History at Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of Wellington. She has recently served as co-convenor of the independent panel on ‘Aotearoa New Zealand Histories in Schools’ draft curriculum for Te Apārangi Royal Society of New Zealand; co-convenes the Gender History Network (with Charlotte Greenhalgh) and is the author of ‘From Woolwich to Wellington: From Settler Colony to Garrisoned Sovereignty’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 53: 1 (2019).

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Truth Commissions and the History of Indigenous Child Removal in Settler States: Discussing Genocide in Aotearoa New Zealand, Canada, and Australia

David MacDonald

In 2019, the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Abuse in Care, the largest royal commission in Aotearoa New Zealand, began investigating the legacies of “children in care,” the majority of them Māori children, removed from their whānau, hapū, and iwi. Racism was omnipresent, and there was a demonstrable pipeline between these church and/or state run institutions and the prison system. Forcibly removing Indigenous children is prohibited by the UN Genocide Convention Article 2(e). I seek to explore to what extent the NZ Commission has the capacity to engage with the issue of genocide against Indigenous peoples and what extent they have done so. As I will argue here, Australia’s *Bringing Them Home* Report (1997) and the Canada’s TRC *Final Report* (2015) laid the foundations for a larger discussion of settler state genocide against Indigenous peoples. To this we can add Canada’s *Final Report* of the Inquiry on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2019). However, much of this work has not been picked up by the NZ Commission, which seems more comparable in structure, scope, and tone to recent Irish and Scottish commissions on child abuse, which had neither an Indigenous nor racialized focus. While the UN Genocide Convention along with sociological literature on genocide may apply to the NZ context, this paper is too early in its inception for me to provide a clear conclusion. There is very little at present published on the topic of genocide in New Zealand.

David MacDonald is a mixed-race Indo-Trinidadian and Scottish political science professor at the University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada. Previously he was a Senior Lecturer at Otago University. He has 5-year SSHRCC Insight Grant (with co-researcher Sheryl Lightfoot) on Indigenous practices of self-determination in comparative perspective, with a focus on Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand. Recent books are *The Sleeping Giant Awakens: Genocide, Indian Residential Schools, and the Challenge of Conciliation* (University of Toronto Press, 2019) and *Populism and World Politics: Exploring Inter- and Transnational Dimensions*, co-edited with F.A. Stengel and D. Nabers (Palgrave MacMillan, 2019). His primary focus is on comparative Indigenous-settler relations in western settler states with work on Indigenous sovereignty, settler colonial genocide, transitional justice and truth commissions in settler states, and UNDRIP implementation. He is a visiting scholar at the Auckland Law School for 2021. He is a member of the Royal Commission Forum, monitoring the work of the RC on Abuse in Care and has previously worked for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

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Making the Familiar, Strange: Decolonising New Zealand History at Nationally Significant Institutions

Liana MacDonald

Teaching New Zealand history will be compulsory in 2022; how New Zealand history will be taught is currently up for debate. An innovative approach to teaching critical historical thinking would recognise that settler sensibilities frame national histories, to make visible the ongoing structuring force of colonisation. To this end, I present a model for decolonising New Zealand history at nationally significant institutions. I argue that students may be taught to consider the relationship between national identity, collective memory, and colonial history, to ‘read’ cultural bias embedded in everyday environments. Findings from a small group of student teachers highlight the potential of ethnographic methods to ‘make the familiar, strange’; to consider affective prompts underpinning the layout of an exhibition housing documents of national significance, and how they frame national identity. Rather than perceive institutions that convey national history are culturally neutral, students of all ages may be taught to critically analyse how they are biased to settler perspectives. This research consequently challenges the view that critical thinking centre on cognition, if embodied and affective understandings suggest society has transcended the effects of historical colonial violence.

Liana MacDonald (Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne o Wairau, Ngāti Koata) is a lecturer in the School of Education at Victoria University of Wellington. She draws from sociological and philosophical perspectives to explore possibilities for decolonial transformation in education. Liana's current research project, *Teaching Iwi and Kiwi histories in the Marlborough region*, incorporates several fields of interest, including: 1) settler colonialism and structural racism in schools, 2) land education, and 3) curriculum development through school-iwi partnerships.

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Transnational Identities of the Global South Asian Diaspora in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand, and South Africa, 1900s-1940s

Jatinder Mann

My presentation will be on my new research project. It addresses a crucial issue in the modern world: How is identity formed by different populations living in communities distant from their original homelands? It will answer this question by analysing and comparing the historical forces that affected identity-formation of South Asian migrants in four diasporic communities under British rule. It will pose three main research questions: 1. Was the rhetoric about the equality of all British subjects adopted by South Asian migrants in the British Empire's self-governing Dominions (Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand, and South Africa) in the first half of the twentieth century? Building on my previous research (Smith and Mann, 2016) and related scholarship on Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, it will compare the experiences and the rhetoric in the four countries. 2. Did the experience of living in predominantly White countries encourage migrants from the Punjab and other regions in South Asia to adopt a common pan-South Asian identity? 3. To what extent did inter-ethnic and inter-faith relations in South Asia impact the South Asian diaspora in the self-governing British Dominions?

Jatinder Mann is an Assistant Professor in History at Hong Kong Baptist University. He is the author of two books. The most recent of which is *Redefining Citizenship in Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand* (New York: Peter Lang, 2019). He is also the sole editor of *Citizenship in Transnational Perspective: Australia, Canada, and New Zealand* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). Jatinder has published numerous articles in front-ranking and emerging interdisciplinary journals. He is also the Creator and Manager of the Australian, Canadian, and New Zealand Studies Network (ACNZSN).

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A Gendered System: Learning from the 20-Year History of a Social Science Team

Suzanne Manning

Gender discrimination has always been embedded in the science system. Second wave feminism from the 1960s generated awareness of gender discrimination in general, and there have been many changes since then which have allowed women greater access to science careers. Attitudes in the science and other workplaces have shifted, so that on the surface, there is little overt gender discrimination. Yet this history of a social science team over the past twenty years demonstrates that structural discrimination is still impacting on the careers of women scientists, despite the best intentions of those within the team.

Using systems tools to analyse this history, the presentation will suggest how we can learn from this case study to change our science systems so as to improve gender equity outcomes.

Suzanne Manning has a background in biophysical science and education. Her PhD explored the historical impacts of early childhood policy on Playcentre from the late 1980s to 2011. She is now working as a social scientist, combining all of her previous experience to research a wide variety of social, environmental and health situations using a social systems lens.

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The Forgotten Contribution of New Zealand's Defence Stores Department in Mobilising the NZEF in 1914

Robert McKie

Historians have generally focused on the period leading up to New Zealand's entry into the First World War by examining New Zealand's military's command, organisational, and training structures. For example, the evolution of New Zealand's military in the wake of the South Africa war and the contribution of imperial officers in shaping and welding it into a well trained and equipped force are well recorded. However, the contribution and impact of New Zealand's military logistic services have remained unexplored and under-researched. This study explores the New Zealand military logistic delivery agency, the Defence Stores Department, and its essential role in equipping New Zealand's military and contributing to New Zealand's successful Expeditionary Force mobilisation in 1914. Utilising a wide range of primary and secondary sources, the evolution of the Defence Stores from 1840 is examined. It will be shown how this long experience of management and maintenance of military material had positive outcomes for the New Zealand military, the mobilisation of the NZEF, and ongoing support to New Zealand's war effort during World War One.

Robert McKie is a master's degree student at Massey University in New Zealand. Following a 29-year career as a Military Logistician, he worked as a Logistics consultant in the Middle East and Africa. He has published several articles on the history of New Zealand's Military logistics. He is also an active blogger who dedicates himself to the areas of military logistics history. A Warrant Officer in the NZ Army Reserves, he is currently a member of the Project 200 team, planning for the 200th anniversary of the NZ Army.

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‘Distinctive Men, Lean, Brown and Wiry’: The New Zealand Soldier in the Centennial Print Histories

Jessica McLean

The infantry soldier, the ‘Kiwi digger’ in his lemon squeezer, is by default the main character of New Zealand’s First World War narratives. ‘Johnny Enzed’, as Glyn Harper refers to him, is a representative figure of all the men who fought, easily projected onto by descendants and the recognisable ancestor of white male New Zealand stereotypes. In the pre-centenary FWW narratives, depictions of the New Zealand soldier have focused on the digger as a stereotypical individual, and the centennial print histories have largely followed this pattern, with authors emphasising New Zealand soldiers’ ‘colonial’ character.

As an individual, the New Zealand soldier appears in the print histories’ narrative as a highly competent, sometimes natural, fighter, whose key traits of bravery, determination, and adaptability make him one of the most effective warriors of the war – once he is properly trained. He is not quite the ‘larrikin’ that the Australian soldier is remembered as, but a sense of humour and equality is highlighted by many of the print histories. A more nuanced picture is created in the print narrative with the strong theme that unsoldierly conduct and bad behaviour was rife; authors acknowledge that drunkenness, self-harm, desertion, STIs, and racism were also features of Johnny Enzed’s character. However, an overall focus on heroism ensures that the dominant impression is positive.

Jessica McLean is a PhD candidate at Massey. After examining New Zealand’s WWII propaganda for her MA, her PhD thesis explores the narrative themes of the 2014-2019 centenary period in New Zealand historiography and popular culture. With a background in English literature and media studies, she is interested in how historical narratives are disseminated through the general public’s understanding and what such narratives reveal about New Zealanders.

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‘Nothing Less than Brutal Murder’: New Zealand Soldiers’ Conduct in the First World War Battle of Messines, 1917

Jeff McNeill

The Battle of Messines 1917 (7-14 June 1917) was arguably the most comprehensive British military victory of the First World War now largely forgotten. If remembered it is for the nineteen large mines under the German defences that blew at the start of the attack. Yet, one fifth of all New Zealand’s soldiers who served overseas participated in it in some way. For more than a half of these New Zealanders this was their first battle and for thousands of them their last.

ANZAC, New Zealanders and Australians were fighting side by side here for the first time since Gallipoli. The popular press and public sentiment on both sides of the Tasman Sea then and now tend to mythologise the Anzac citizen soldiers. By contrast, recent Australian and Canadian scholars argue that their soldiers did not conform to nationally desired and extolled stereotypes and were not innately superior or natural warriors. Popular narrative has also tended to gloss over New Zealand soldiers’ conduct as anything other than honourable. “A cove couldn’t shoot the cringing curs”, wrote one New Zealand soldier of the surrendering enemy at Messines, a phrase repeated at the centennial commemorations. But historians and others have begun reappraising these too comfortable perceptions. Diaries and other documents relating to Messines are evaluated here to provide qualitative insights into New Zealand and Australian soldiers’ attitudes and behaviours in this battle. Attitudes among senior officers in the New Zealand Division as well as II ANZAC Corps are identified that may help explain how these behaviours could gain currency, while wider implications of these actions are explored.

Jeff McNeill is a senior lecturer in the School of People, Environment and Planning, Massey University. McNeill’s research into the Battle of Messines has made him an authority on this action in both Belgium and New Zealand. He has guided battlefield tours and given public and academic presentations as a member of the New Zealand Pilgrimage Trust. His recently published book, *Taking the Ridge: Anzacs and Germans at the Battle of Messines 1917*, draws on his geographical and mapping expertise to integrate the social and spatial dimensions so as to make sense of a highly complex military action.

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Homosociality, Sexual Misconduct and Gendered Violence in the Making of the English Legal Profession

Amanda McVitty

In New Zealand, Australia and elsewhere, sexual misconduct scandals involving lawyers and lawmakers are fuelling fierce debates about why gender inequity and sexual harassment remain so pervasive in the legal profession. Historians have explored the evolution of this gendered legal culture through studies of women's experiences within the profession since the nineteenth century, as explicit legal restrictions on practice were replaced by social and cultural barriers. Recently, attention has also turned to the history of masculinities since the eighteenth century, integrating this into studies of law schools and other legal institutions. However, the modernist framing of this scholarship means our knowledge of how law came to be conceived of as a masculine intellectual and professional domain, and the lingering impacts of this history on modern legal culture, remains incomplete because research has neglected the profession's premodern past.

Drawing on archival evidence from the formative fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this paper argues that sexual misconduct and violence against women were structural features in the making of the English legal profession. I demonstrate that law students and lawyers routinely perpetrated, tolerated and were complicit in sexual misconduct and gendered violence, and that this was integral to the homosocial formation of professional community and collective identity. Moreover, through their participation in wider processes of legal and moral regulation, lawyers' attitudes to women helped justify and reproduce the gendered violence — both corporeal and ideological — of the judicial system that evolved within the patriarchal social and political order of premodern England.

Amanda McVitty is a Lecturer in History at Massey University. Her work focuses on intersections of gender, law and political culture in premodern western Europe c.1300-1650, and on medievalism in contemporary politics and popular culture. She has published in journals including *Gender & History* and the *Journal of Medieval History*, and her new book is *Treason and Masculinity in Medieval England* (Boydell, 2020). Amanda is currently Principal Investigator on the Marsden Fund project 'Embodying the Law: Manhood and authority in the making of English legal culture c.1300-1600'. She is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

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Ka Haria ngā Kōrero o ngā ra o Mua, Kei Roto i te ao Marama – Bringing Yesterday’s Stories into Today’s World)

Buddy Mikaere

Prompted by the changes to school curricula which give a greater focus to New Zealand history, and the impact of COVID-19 which has seen many New Zealanders substitute travel around our own country for the ‘normal’ trips abroad; we in Tauranga have experienced a surge of interest in our local history. Leading the way has been the history of the seminal 1864 Land Wars battles of Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) and Te Ranga in particular. Schools naturally been at the forefront of this surge but their interest in local history has also been taken up by many local businesses who combine learning about Maori tikanga and marae protocols with tours of our local POIs.

This paper will explore the nature of this interaction in our Tauranga community and the growing appreciation of the shared heritage that is the city’s inheritance. How best to package and present that inheritance? Who does that task fall to and within that task what is the place for iwi and hapu – i.e., for the descendants of that historical narrative?

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Women Endowing Women with Power: Modern Relevance of the 1824 Ritual Anointing of Kahe Te Rau-o-te-rangi

Holly Miller

Kahe Te Rau-o-te-rangi is renowned for swimming the 11-kilometer gap between Kapiti Island and the mainland to warn her people about attackers. Later, in 1840 she was one of few women to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, acting on behalf of her tribe but against the advice of her Pākehā husband.

As the daughter of high-ranking parents (Te Matoha, Ngāti Toa chief and Te Hautonga of Ngāti Mutunga and Te Āti Awa), Kahe would have received both privileges and expectations to accompany her status. But when she swam the channel to save her people, she showed courage and initiative beyond what her station required. Many accounts of Kahe's crossing include elements of an investiture anointing given to Kahe before her swim.

This paper will analyse and contextualise approximately 70 retellings of the story of Kahe's swim with specific emphasis on aspects of ritual, ceremony, and community investiture, and the changing politics of gender. What is the evidence that Kahe received a ritual endowment of power from other women before undertaking her journey? How credible is the evidence? What was the meaning of the endowment ceremony to the subsequent storytellers who recorded this story? Why did some record keepers include the ritual endowment, and why did other storytellers leave it out? How did other important aspects of the story change depending on the historical context of the narrator and the audience? Finally, what can we learn from the ritual anointing of Kahe Te Rau-o-te-rangi to strengthen and inform the future of women and girls in Aotearoa?

Holly Miller graduated in 2020 with a master's degree in religious studies from the University of Otago. While at Otago, she studied Pacific history in papers such as PACI401 (Tinā Pacifika - Women in Polynesian Communities), RELS305 (World Christianity), and MAOR407 (Presenting Pacific Histories). She has traveled widely throughout the Pacific and conducted field work in Fiji and the Cook Islands. She received a full research scholarship for her master's thesis as well as travel scholarships to present papers at conferences in the UK and the US. She is currently working at the Red Cross and preparing her applications to begin an overseas PhD in 2022.

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Telling Local Tales

Andrew Moffat

A historic Cathedral aiming for reconciliation while sitting on an unexploded wartime story. A legendary garment trading on Kiwiana appeal and a contemporary art exhibition tackling conflict and colonialism all hold lessons about the slippery nature of our nation's past. That is even before consideration of the elephant in New Plymouth's pedestrian mall or an incident of staged schoolboy beekeeping. Teasing out these tales will shed light on how local stories can enrich or distort understandings of our shared heritage as the implementation of a new history curriculum approaches.

Andrew Moffat is a curator, historian, writer and researcher based in Taranaki. He is the author of *Flashback: Tales and Treasures of Taranaki* and of the chapter 'Fighting Words: Books of the Taranaki Wars 1860-1923' in *Contested Ground: Te Whenua i Tohea: The Taranaki Wars 1860-1881*.

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Male and Female Impersonation on the Colonial Stage

Kirstine Moffat

Nineteenth and early twentieth century theatre in New Zealand and Australia was a vibrant space of innovation and possibility. The fusion of a range of performance traditions — from pantomime to vaudeville, minstrelsy to music hall, Shakespeare to comic opera — provided audiences with spectacle, colour, and heightened emotion. Performers regularly moved between theatrical modes and touring companies adjusted their repertoire in response to public demand. Male and female impersonation was a feature of all of these traditions, from Nellie Stewart's first starring role as a pantomime boy, to Cecil Riverton's rendition of Little Buttercup in the spirit of the pantomime dame, to the 'Only Leon's' female impersonations in the 1870s, to Lydia Howarde's performance of Robinson Crusoe in the 1880s, to Mrs G.B.W. Lewis' interpretation of Hamlet in the 1890s. The fascination with and popularity of male and female stage impersonations continued into the twentieth century, epitomised by Fullers' billing of Effie Fellows as 'Australia's Perfect Boy' in 1915. In tracing the complex history of gender reversal and cross dressing on the colonial stage, this paper explores the dichotomy between performances which depended on the audience being 'in' on the 'trick' of the impersonation and performances where the illusion was so complete that audiences refused to believe that they had witnessed a man dressed as a woman or a woman playing the part of a man. For many of these performers, impersonation was restricted to the stage, but for others these theatrical roles were a reflection of lived practice that extended well beyond the space of the theatre.

Kirstine Moffat is Associate Professor in the English Programme at the University of Waikato. She has published widely on nineteenth-century New Zealand literature, music, and culture and is the author of *Piano Forte: Stories and Soundscapes from Colonial New Zealand*. In 2020 she was the recipient of a national Tertiary Teaching Excellence Award.

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History and the Military Profession: Internationally and in Aotearoa New Zealand

John Moremon

The military profession places emphasis on history more than most other professions. Young men and women embarking on a military career enter an institution steeped in history, with customs and traditions forged in armed conflict over generations. Military doctrine—a set of fundamental principles that guide the actions of servicemen and servicewomen—is based in large measure on the historical experience. Those who wear the uniform are constantly reminded of their service’s history, reflected in barrack and street names on bases, and illustrated with memorabilia displayed in mess halls and museums. They will be encouraged to draw inspiration and learn from the exploits of those who came before. General James Mattis, US Marine Corps, argues: ‘We have been fighting on this planet for 5000 years and we should take advantage of their experience.’ For more than fifty years, military historians and soldier-scholars have been guided by Michael Howard’s criteria of width, depth and context to enable understanding of the nature of warfare and the impact of war on society. NZDF doctrine points to such understanding enabling officers to approach challenging situations ‘with a clarity of thought that is based on rigorous analysis and comprehensive knowledge of hard-won lessons from human history and national military experience.’ Yet, officers are not necessarily imbued with real appreciation for history nor well-equipped for its study.

This paper considers why, despite the fundamental importance of history to their profession, military officers may seem inclined to pay lip service to the study of history.

John Moremon teaches the history of warfare and war and society in the Centre for Defence and Security Studies within the School of People, Environment and Planning at Massey University, Manawatu campus. Since 2014, he has delivered an undergraduate history course to Officer Cadets of the New Zealand Army Officer Cadet School, Waiouru. He researches in the areas of armed forces and society; air forces and air power; and military operations.

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‘Egmont, Who Was He?’ Learning from the Debate Over Restoration of the Name of Taranaki Maunga

Ewan Morris

‘Just be nice and courteous. Talk nicely and then say “Egmont, who was he?” Just a little kōrero’. Turangapito (Sandy) Parata (Ngāti Ruanui), recalling the debate over official recognition of the name of Taranaki Maunga, *Sunday Star-Times*, 18 July 2021

The Taranaki Maunga Treaty settlement is expected to be completed soon. In addition to recognising the maunga as a legal person, the settlement will reportedly make Taranaki Maunga the landmark’s sole official name. More than 250 years after Captain Cook imposed the name Egmont on the landscape, that name will finally disappear from the map. Few people today are likely to mourn the loss of this name, but things were very different 35 years ago.

In 1986, ‘Mount Taranaki or Mount Egmont’ was officially recognised as the maunga’s official name. The path to that compromise, in which Māori and European names sat side by side, was bitterly contested by many Pākehā who feared the removal of a name they saw as tied to their sense of identity. For Taranaki Māori, who had patiently campaigned for restoration of the maunga’s Māori name, the naming decision was another step towards recognition of their deep connections with their sacred maunga.

This paper looks at how identity, history, race relations and democracy were discussed in the debate over the maunga’s name in 1985-86. It also reflects on change and continuity in discussion of place names and other symbolic issues since that time and asks what we can learn by looking back at the debate.

Ewan Morris is a Wellington historian with an interest in public memory and cultural contestation over symbols. He is the author of *Our Own Devices: National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (2005), and of articles in New Zealand, Irish and Australian history. He blogs at pastword.blog.

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It's Just a Biography? Learning from History?

Melanie Nolan

You may have heard it said, 'it's just a biography'. Surely there is only one way for an historian to write one, that is well-researched and well-written? Historians are increasingly resorting to biography, amid the biographical turn, the recent 'biographising movement' which has been accompanied by increasing research sophistication. While literary analysts have developed typologies or ways and theories of writing lives historians, however, have stuck to the empirical record. In this paper I consider historians' biographical practices over time, not as typology or theory as much as a series of debates among ourselves since the nineteenth century. Indeed, rather than a biographical turn, there has been a seamless concern over individuals in history among historians. Historicizing our own practice leads us to consider the role of the significant individual in history, the dilemma of psychology or action, interiority, structure or agency, the role of representative single cases, atomising lives or prosopographical systems, and so on.

This approach draws our attention to works that are now barely read, if at all, but which deserve further inquiry. Historicising the debates allows us to show the genealogy of the issues, understand what was contentious and where there has been consensus in the past, as well as explaining the range and patterns of how historians have used biography over time. It allows us to learn from our own past and rich practices.

Melanie Nolan is professor of history, Director of the National Centre of Biography and General Editor of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ANU. Prior to this, she taught history at VUW for nearly 20 years. Among her recent publications as editor is the *ADB vol. 19* (2021), she is on the Editorial Committee of the NCB's journal, *Australian Journal of Biography and History*, and she chairs the Editorial Board of ANU.Lives, the ANU Press's series in biography. She is currently under contract with Routledge to write *Biography. An Historiography*.

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Towards a Historical Analysis of the Development of Badminton in New Zealand

Amos Ngo

Badminton has a long history in New Zealand making its debut locally in the mid-19th century. However, scholarly discussion and literature on the topic of badminton in New Zealand has been scarce. Although Badminton is now a major international sport and contested at the Olympic and Commonwealth games, it was very much a minor sport at the time of its introduction onto New Zealand. Initially promoted as a winter racket sport to allow tennis players to retain their condition in the off-season, Badminton eventually found a wider constituency.

One factor assisting in the development of Badminton was its endorsement as a game suitable for women. Like netball and tennis, Badminton was viewed as a suitable sport for women because it was non-contact and was represented as a game which could be played in a 'feminine' manner. Accordingly, it found a place, albeit a marginal one, within the then hierarchy of sport in New Zealand.

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Learning in and from Primary Schools: Teaching Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories at Years 1 to 6

Genaro Oliveira

This paper shares findings from a comprehensive survey of primary school teachers across the Manawatū region about history teaching at Years 1 to 6. Answers from the 10 local schools corroborate the anecdotal evidence many teachers and people involved with primary education have known for a while: 1- despite differences of approach, focus and depth, primary schools have already been teaching Aotearoa New Zealand's histories long before the announcement and through creative and critical approaches; 2 - Despite prior experience teaching history, most teachers still lack confidence teaching NZ histories and welcome Professional Learning Development (PLDs).

Genaro Oliveira is a historian who has joined the Institute of Education as a Lecturer in Secondary Education in August 2018. His career began as a history teacher in Brazil, where he had experience working in the public, private and NGO sectors as a schoolteacher, educational consultant and academic. Prior to his current role at Massey, Genaro worked as a social studies and Spanish teacher at Diocesan School for Girls (Auckland), did a postdoc in digital history at the University of Basel (Switzerland), lectured on history and education at the Fiji National University (FNU -Fiji Islands), taught media history at College of Sciences and Technology (FTC -Brazil) and digital inclusion at the NGO Cipó (Brazil). Genaro's fields of research are teaching and learning history, art history, digital history, historiography, and Latin American history.

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‘The Drinking of Mild Beer is Allowed’: Performing German Nationalism and Sociability in Wellington *Liedertafeln*, c. 1900

Samantha Owens

In August 1899, an item published in the Sydney-based *Deutsch-Australische Post* heaped praise upon Wellington’s German residents “for the energy with which – within the short timeframe of barely two years – they have brought their *Deutsche Liedertafel* into a state of such great prosperity that it must now be counted as one of the leading musical societies of Maoriland’s capital city.” A description followed of a recent “Grand Concert” given by this all-male choir under the patronage of New Zealand’s governor, Lord Ranfurly, to raise funds for Wellington Hospital. Alongside a selection of solos and chamber music (including a performance of Haydn’s ‘Austrian Hymn’ – aka ‘Emperor’ – Quartet), as reported in the local *Evening Post*, the event provided “Wellingtonians an opportunity of hearing songs of the Fatherland sung by natives of the Fatherland”.

The city could, in fact, boast of three *Liedertafeln* around this time: the Wellington Liedertafel, the Deutsche Liedertafel and the Orpheus Liedertafel. This paper will examine the role played by these men’s singing clubs in Wellington’s musical and social life in the years around 1900. In particular, it will investigate the extent to which their performances were perceived to be expressions of German nationalism and sociability (*Geselligkeit*), as well as considering issues of both class and gender (including contemporary debates concerning the introduction of women members).

Samantha Owens is Professor of Musicology at Victoria University of Wellington/Te Herenga Waka and a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. Her research centres on the reception of German music and musicians in New Zealand and Australia, 1850–1950, as well as on early modern German court music. Recent publications have included a monograph, *The Well-Travelled Musician: John Sigismond Cousser and Musical Exchange in Baroque Europe* (2017) and two edited books, *J. S. Bach in Australia: Studies in Reception and Performance*, with Kerry Murphy and Denis Collins (2018), and *Searches for Tradition: Essays on New Zealand Music, Past & Present*, with Michael Brown (2017).

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From the Southern Cross to the Northern Lights: New Zealanders in the Arctic Convoys, 1941-45

Grace Penlain

Between 1941 and 1945 the Arctic convoys were a crucial part of the war effort, cementing the commitment of the Allies to the cause and delivering critical supplies. They were also notoriously dangerous, battling the weather as much as the enemy, and the cost in lives was often high, particularly on merchant vessels. Many New Zealanders took part in these convoys but despite this, their contributions are relatively unknown in New Zealand, and they are largely missing from the country's existing historiography of the Second World War.

This is likely because they served as scattered individuals rather than as units and in the Royal Navy and British Merchant Navy, rather than in the New Zealand forces. Until recently, piecing together a picture of their individual service and collective contribution to the Arctic convoys was made difficult by the scarcity and scattered nature of available records, and their participation was not seen as a "New Zealand" effort, where much of the historiography has been focussed.

My research seeks to identify as many of the convoy kiwis as possible, to understand their individual and collective contributions to the convoys, the impact this had on the war effort at the time, and the lasting impact this service had on their lives. This paper will discuss the challenges involved in this task, some of the key questions that have arisen, and what I have discovered so far.

Grace Penlain is a postgraduate student at Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Massey University), where she is completing an MA in history. Her research focusses on the New Zealanders who took part in the Arctic convoys of the Second World War.

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Going Up North: Unmarried Mothers and the New Zealand State, 1950-1980

Helen Peters

This paper explores state and social responses to unmarried motherhood and the way these changed in the decades between 1950 to 1980. Focussing on women outside of institutional ‘homes’ run by churches or charities, this research used interviews with forty-two women about their experiences as unmarried mothers during a time of great social change. From being regarded and treated as the embodiment of moral degradation and contagion to accessing state benefits and welcoming their babies into supportive extended families, the experiences of women over these decades give us a valuable insight into the effectiveness of robust state and social support.

The research found that unlike their contemporaries in institutional homes, women outside of these systems, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, were often reliant on a leaving their homes, places of work and/or schools and travelling to remote rural areas to live with strangers until their babies were born. Subsequently, the children were overwhelmingly placed for adoption, something the mothers had very little choice about or say in. By the end of the 1970s, however, women were increasingly keeping their babies, as well as advocating for greater access to reproductive rights such as birth control and abortion. The research locates these changes in the rise of feminist thought rather than commonly assumed markers such as the instigation of the Domestic Purposes Benefit. Our understanding of this history underwrites attitudes towards women, families and reproduction in New Zealand today.

Helen Peters received her MA in History from Massey University in 2020, focusing on unmarried mothers and the state during the years 1950–1980. In 2019 she was the recipient of an Undergraduate Award for her paper *Metaphorical Eve: The Hidden Female in Frankenstein*. Helen lives in Palmerston North with her family and is currently training to be a secondary teacher.

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Materteral Consumption Magic: Aunt Haysl and the Hay's Roof

Katie Pickles

Once upon a time on the current Te Pae site, as generations of Cantabrians remember and hold rich stories of that form an important part of Christchurch's twentieth century cultural heritage, there was a department store with a magical roof playground.

This paper recovers the public history of that roof and the indefatigable woman who presided over it for 37 years. Edna Neville was the Boomers' and their children's favourite public Aunt. I reveal the origins, development and key features of the roof that included space rides, sea horse rides, magic mirrors, a giant fibreglass fungus and a dinosaur slide. I situate the playground in modern department store history, roof playground history, child welfare and youth groups and notions of friendliness, fantasy and amusement. I explain the vision of store owner Jim Hay, and his formative background in muscular Christianity with the YMCA providing recreation for troops during World War One, his devout Presbyterian Bible Class Union leadership and his advertising experience at Ballantyne's. In 1948 Hay started the annual Christmas Parade. I argue that in a modern age the roof was a site that potently combined good citizenship, wonder, magic and childcare under a rubric of profitable business that extended notions of corporate and civic paternalism through a site of transcultural materteral fantasy.

Katie Pickles is Professor of History at the University of Canterbury. Her current research and teaching interests include Christchurch's cultural heritage and heroines in history. Katie is the author of *Christchurch Ruptures* (Bridget Williams Books, 2016). Her new monograph, *Heroines in History: A Thousand Faces* (Routledge, 2022), was completed as part of her recent RSNZ James Cook Fellowship. Katie's next project is a new biography of Kate Sheppard, endorsed by a Tessa Malcolm bequest.

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A Visual History of Resilience: Earthquakes and Volcanoes in New Zealand and Mexico (Hawke's Bay 1931, Michoacán 1943)

Priscila Pilatowsky

Mexico and New Zealand are located in seismic areas. Both countries have experienced volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and other natural events related to moving ground. Both countries share strategies to deal with these events' consequences. Moreover, they have in common a strong resilience. This presentation focuses on the role of images depicting resilience in two monographic cases: the 1931 earthquake in the region of Hawke's Bay in New Zealand and the Parícutín volcano's eruption in Michoacán, Mexico. In the aftermath of the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake, photographs and other images documented the natural and material destruction. Some years later, the Parícutín volcano was born in Michoacán, in 1943. Even though its eruption did not end in human casualties, it completely buried two towns. Images of the advancing lava and the covered towns attracted international media, artists, journalists, and scientists. Moreover, the eruption made visible *Tarasco* people's resilience in their rural daily life. This research is based on a variety of graphic materials (i.e., paintings, lithographs, and documentary films). The objective is to promote interdisciplinary methods (i.e., from history, media studies, architecture, and politics) to analyse the shared visual cultures of Mexico and New Zealand.

Priscila Pilatowsky completed a PhD in History at El Colegio de México. She is currently a Tutor at the School of People, Environment and Planning at Massey University, and Chair of the New Zealand International Affairs, Palmerston North branch. Before coming in New Zealand, in August 2019, she worked two years as a postdoctoral researcher in the IHEAL-CREDA Paris 3, Sorbonne Nouvelle. Her areas of interests are in the intersection of political history, media studies, and international relations. Her thesis dealt with Mexican propaganda between the 1930s and the 1940s. Her recent published papers focus on the visual history of Latin American solidarities, and politics and arts in 19th and 20th century Mexico.

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‘A Bastion of White Supremacy’: South Africa in the Political Imagination of New Zealand’s Radical Right

Sebastian Potgieter & Tyler West

In their quest for political influence, New Zealand’s radical right-wing groups have consistently sought ways of propagating their philosophies as legitimate. To do so, these groups relied on creating aspersions about amorphous threats to national security and racial purity for which it became critical to locate evidence both domestically and internationally to rationalize fears. Historically, South Africa has been an important intersection with the conservative and racist ideologies of New Zealand’s radical right. The white regime in South Africa was regarded as indicative of the civilizing influences Europeans brought to a continent supposedly characterized by tribal politics, a lack of freedom and democracy, and savagery. Maintaining ties with South Africa and sustaining white rule in the region was seen by these groups as imperative to secure the superior traditions of the Anglo-Saxon, a white commonwealth, and offset communist expansion. However, what South Africa has meant to New Zealand’s radical right has continually shifted in response to changing material conditions in the region. While the white regime has consistently been viewed as a bastion on a hostile frontier, what they have been characterized as defending, and from whom, has evolved.

In this paper, we map how South Africa has transitioned from being viewed as a fellow British dominion under siege from rebellious Boers and indentured Chinese laborers, to defending white rule and western democracy from African nationalism and communist expansion. We conclude with an overview on how the anti-apartheid movement in New Zealand garnered local radical right-wing groups a spectrum of support and elevated their public profile.

Sebastian Potgieter is a historian and critical sport scholar at the University of Otago’s School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences. He has researched and published on New Zealand’s political and sporting ties with South Africa during the apartheid-era.

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Tyler West is a writer on the history of socialism, fascism, organised labour, social movements, and fringe political groups in New Zealand. Alongside his writing he works to collate, digitise, and make available left-wing periodicals and ephemera published in New Zealand.

‘A Flicker of the Divine Progress?’: Narratives of Empire as a Force for Good in Jan Morris’s *Pax Britannica* Trilogy

Judith Pryor

In light of consultation on the proposed New Zealand history curriculum, the National Party’s education spokesperson Paul Goldsmith told media that colonisation was ‘on balance’ good for Māori. Goldsmith’s comments draw on a well-worn imperial and colonial narrative, that the British Empire was a ‘force for good’ in the world. This narrative is threaded through the ‘intellectual and artistic’ high point of the writer Jan Morris’s career: her *Pax Britannica* trilogy published between 1966 and 1978, which charts the zenith and decline of the British Empire.

Morris, who died in 2020, offered ‘not simply history’ in the trilogy, but ‘history seen, and felt, and imagined by someone who lived through the last years of it’. An active participant in the last years of Empire, Morris was the reporter who broke the news of the ascent of Everest by Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay in time for Queen Elizabeth’s coronation, uncovered British and French machinations during the Suez crisis, and reported on the Adolf Eichmann trial in Jerusalem.

In this paper, I explore what is invested in the idea that imperialism and colonialism were forces for good, paying particular attention to Morris’s trilogy. While equivocal and, in places, critical, the trilogy – like Goldsmith’s comments – ultimately offer a reassuring narrative of Empire and colonisation. At a time of debate about learning these histories, I argue that the continued perpetuation of this narrative represents a continuing refusal to face the ongoing consequences of Empire both in Britain and around the world.

Judith Pryor is a historian, writer and cultural critic. Her original research, which focussed on the relationship between constitutional documents and narratives of history was published as *Constitutions: Writing Nations, Reading Difference* in 2007. Dr Pryor has worked as a historian for the Waitangi Tribunal and former Office of Treaty Settlements, and was part of the working group advising on a plan for the implementation of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. She now runs her own business, specialising in capability, policy, research and writing. For more details visit: www.judithpryor.com

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Public Virtue and Private Ambition: New Zealand Nurses in the Private Hospital Industry in the Early 20th Century

Ann-Marie Quinn

Nursing in New Zealand became professionalised while riding the first wave of feminism in the late nineteenth century. The ground-breaking Nurses Registration Act 1901 came into force relatively unchallenged, creating uniform training and testing of nurses, and establishing a national register. In something of a contradiction this was achieved by preserving the nurse's domain as the handmaiden of the doctor, thus presenting no threat to the medical man's status or prejudices. Social norms of the time meant nurses generally only worked until they were married. This paper will consider the extent to which nurses' registration created a series of new possibilities for women, including the ability to be entrepreneurial, offering a career path and an opportunity for independence under the guise of a feminine, caring and socially acceptable vocation. The burgeoning private hospital industry, which came under government regulation in 1903, meant women could be business owners and part of the commercial fabric of New Zealand's rapidly expanding skills-based economy. The paper will provide a glimpse into their lives and reveal some substance and circumstance behind the interesting and ground-breaking life choices they made.

Ann-Marie Quinn began studying at Massey University in 2015 after a career in journalism, communications and documentary-making. She enrolled to do a Bachelor of Arts in Social Policy but very quickly realised her interest and passion lay in the history of how and why policy was made. She is currently working as a freelancer and studying part time.

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Trodden in Time: Deincarceration of Māori

Helena Rattray

The early development of colonial Aotearoa New Zealand was a bloody and bitter time for Māori, generating multiple trauma. Known trauma buffers such as cultural fortification, connection to spirit, land, sea and sub-tribe not only determined survival but also contributed to health excellence for Māori. These trauma buffers were rapidly eroded during the 19th century which can in part be attributed to New Zealand's shiny new punitive penal system. The erosion of trauma buffers trumpeted a time of dark change for Māori, a time which attempted to erode the fabric of a communal and collective people, where whānau and especially leaders could simply vanish, perhaps returning, perhaps not. The 19th century was a time for unjust punishment for defending cultural practices, land, people and even dogs. One hundred and eighty-one years later, the history of colonial violence through incarceration remains largely unexplored. The 21st century has an enormous appetite for the incarceration of Māori, as Māori remain disproportionately represented within all the dark corners of the criminal justice system.

Learning from history, this presentation shares findings from master's research which briefly explores 19th century incarceration of Māori, identifies attempts for the redress of wrongful incarceration, to learn what could inform future direction for an equitable system.

Helena Rattray – Te Mana (Ngā Rauru, Ngāi Tahu & Scottish) has a background in kaupapa Māori research, she has worked for the past nine years on the development of Māori historical trauma, healing, and anti-racism fields. She has a keen interest in equitable criminal justice, having undertaken a masters of indigenous studies (2017) studies at Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiārangi related to Māori and the criminal justice system. She has enrolled at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi to begin her PhD journey exploring the historical incarceration and confinement of Māori in the early 19th century, and resulting Māori responses to incarceration and confinement to inform a concerning and emerging trend of Māori intergenerational incarceration.

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Flax in the Manawatū, 1840-1940

Josh Reid

The flax trade, centred in the Manawatū, was an industry that helped build New Zealand. Flax, unlike wool, had an economic continuity that spanned pre-contact Māori society, early settlement, the colonial period, and into the mid-Twentieth Century. Historians have examined some facets of this industry in New Zealand, some in reasonable detail. However, the scale and influence of the flax trade, and the role of the industry in the Manawatū, has been substantially underestimated.

This paper discusses the early stages of doctoral research leading to a comprehensive re-evaluation of the flax industry in the Manawatū from 1840 to 1940, its role in building the local economy and its contribution to the formation and development of the society of the district. It is hoped this research will also provide insights into New Zealand social and cultural history more broadly including: the prominence and use of flax in Māoridom; exports in the wider economy; processing and production; industry scientific research; environmental changes; and government involvement. The influence of the flax industry's trade-union was particularly significant in the region, so too was its role in the wider labour movement. The various influences on the union's development, as well as its place in industrial relations and politics will also be examined.

Josh Reid is a PhD Candidate in History at Massey University. His doctoral research focuses on the development of the flax industry in the Manawatū, c. 1840-1940. He has previously completed an MA Thesis at Massey, reassessing the legacy of William Colenso, and has recently written a manuscript for a history of St Peter's Anglican Church, Willis Street, Wellington.

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NZ WWI Postcards: Images and Messages to and from Home

Mike Roche

Postcard history is a comparatively well-developed field of inquiry of which WWI postcards form a subset. With respect to WWI, postcards sit below letters, diaries, photographs, maps, and memoirs as historical sources. This is likely because of the brevity of the messages as well as difficulties in identifying the writers. Paradoxically 'lesser value', particularly for later generations, means that some of these are on-sold, for instance to stamp and coin dealers and have moved out of family collections.

This paper will present a selection of postcards written by men in the NZEF across the duration of WWI. Attention is given to both the images on fronts of the cards, for which a classification is suggested, as well as a discussion of recurrent themes in the written messages and how these change over the duration of the war.

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The Joy of Winning or the Relief at not Losing: Reinterpreting Rugby and Nationalism in New Zealand

Greg Ryan

This paper challenges a longstanding interpretation of the relationship between rugby and nationalism in New Zealand during the twentieth century. Frequent international success by the All Blacks is conventionally coupled with the affirmation of a broader national identity and pride in the achievements of a small nation on the global stage. The passion for rugby and its status as something of a surrogate religion in New Zealand is generally equated with confidence in the utility of the game to unify the outlook of the country.

However, following in part from an analysis of those periods when the team enjoyed relatively less success, it is evident that many media and public reactions to the usual run of victories seem less about assertions of national pride and more about deep relief that the All Blacks had not lost. There is also a consistently introspective pattern whereby victory is attributed to the failings of the opposition and defeat is attributed to the failings of the All Blacks and seldom the ability of the opposition. Indeed, the history of New Zealand international rugby through much of the twentieth century reads as a chronicle of doubt and insecurity, sometimes bitter internal politicking, and a recurring desire to embrace amateur ideals as a counter to the apparent excesses of sporting nationalism.

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Practically All the Old Authorities Whose Views Were Worth Having: Judge F. O. V. Acheson and the Influence of His Early Research

Katherine Sanders

In his 1929 *Lake Omapere* judgment, Judge Frank Acheson of the Native Land Court recognised Ōmāpere as the customary land of Te Uri o Hua and other Ngāpuhi hapū. Acheson held that “Maori custom and usage recognised full ownership of lakes themselves”. The Judge cited his experience of “Maori Tribes (and their customs)” and his “special study of ancient Maori land tenures (for thesis purposes)”, noting that he had “perused ... his notes of opinions of practically all the old authorities whose views were worth having” as well as “his notes of old Native Land Court judgments”.

This paper examines the influence of Acheson’s education, early research and experience on his jurisprudence. In particular, as a young law student and civil servant, Acheson conducted research into the system of land tenures in Māori custom law. He completed a thesis in 1913 but regarded this as a “first instalment” of a larger piece of work, which Acheson intended submitting for a Doctor of Laws.

Using Acheson’s private papers, including his research and study notes, this paper takes up the conference theme of “learning from history” by asking how what Acheson described as “the old authorities” contributed to his development of a distinctive jurisprudence and an active public life. The paper will also touch upon law’s engagement with historical texts and their use as authority.

Katherine Sanders is a senior lecturer at the Faculty of Law, University of Auckland. This paper is an early part of larger doctoral project – a biography of FOV Acheson, a Judge of the Native Land Court from 1919–1943.

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Intimacies Amidst Hierarchies: British Officers and their Indian Servants in Nineteenth-Century Imperial Households

Sucharita Sen

In the early twentieth century, an English author remarked that the British men and women who fulfilled their imperial duties in India deserved greater appreciation than the collective intellect of Downing Street. This paper engages in a textual analysis of the letters, diaries, memoirs, housekeeping guides and fictional representations of these men and women, who were known as the sahibs and memsahibs. British India ideologically rested on the dichotomy of the public and private spaces. Given that the colonial regime reinforced the ideals of Victorian domesticity, the Anglo-Indian household, representative of the imperial domestic space, was seen as the space of the women. As a result, there exists an impressive literature on the memsahibs' relationship with their female servants in the household. But the number of male servants employed to serve the colonisers in the household far exceeded their female counterparts. Recent scholarly interventions have sought to explore male domestic service across the British empire. In the Indian context, the non-sexual intimacies between the sahib and his servants have however remained underexplored. Situated in the literature on colonial domestic service and interpersonal relationships, this paper argues that interracial intimacies disturbed imperial power structures and often existed in tandem with imperial hierarchies.

Although domestic relationships in colonial India provide examples and lessons of interracial friendships, historiography has largely focussed on the asymmetric power relations in an exploitative framework. This paper is an endeavour to unfold a parallel discourse of social exchange in nineteenth-century India.

Sucharita Sen is a PhD student in History at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Her select publications include 'Tradition-Technology Wedlock—The Paradoxical Modernisation of Matrimony', *South Asian Survey*, 27 (2), September 2020; 'Memsahibs and Ayahs during the Indian Mutiny - In English Memoirs and Fiction', *Studies in People's History*, 7 (2) December 2020; 'The Uneasy Gaze – Appearing for Interviews to get Married – An Empirical Investigation into the Pre-marital Arranged Marriage Negotiations in Urban Kolkata', *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, Vol. 13 (2), April-June, 2021; 'On Becoming a Woman – Patriarchal Control and Gendered Subjugation in Bengali Wedding Songs' in Dipak Giri (ed). *Gender Perspectives in Indian Context*, Bilaspur, Books Clinic, 2021 and 'Colonial Encounters and the Spatial Experience – The Sahib-Subject Relationship in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Anglo-Indian Household' in Jatinder Mann and Ian Johnston-White (Eds.) *History of the British World – New Voices and Perspectives*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing Inc, 2021/2022 [upcoming]. She is interested in Gender Studies, Political History, Political Thought and Research Methodology.

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Tikera, or The Children of the Queen of Oceania: A Polish Representation of the New Zealand Wars

Brendan Sheridan

The New Zealand Wars is one of a variety of perspectives, both real and imagined. The most common being from an Anglophone settler or British Imperialist, followed by the perspectives of Tangata Whenua. The perspectives often overlooked, however, are those of the non-English speaking/writing observers. The nineteenth century Polish novel *Tikera, or, The Children of the Queen of Oceania* by Sygurd Wiśniowski provides a very different European representation of the New Zealand Wars. As a subjugated and partitioned nation, the perspective presented by a writer of Poland enables readers to consider Nga Pakenga o Aotearoa in a different light. Sygurd Wiśniowski drew inspiration from his real journey to Aotearoa in the 19th Century as well as the accounts of his fellow Poles to write the adventures of his nameless Polish narrator. Wiśniowski offers a distinct perspective to the typical imagination of Aotearoa New Zealand history, he is both critical and praising.

Wiśniowski also provides a unique depiction of Gustavus Von Tempsky. The writer presents the many contradictions of this imperial figure. Wiśniowski depicts Von Tempsky not only as a brutal colonialist and charismatic settler, but also as a man of mixed Polish-Prussian descent, from a colonised region, no longer able to speak the language of his mother's people.

Too often the European perspective in Aotearoa New Zealand history is the Imperialist European. There is benefit in learning the perspectives that other colonised peoples had of Aotearoa at the time.

Brendan Sheridan is a graduate from the University of Waikato. His PhD research focused upon the New Zealand Wars in the media of novels, film, and stage productions. His interests include Hispanic Studies, Colonial Studies, Folklore, Fantasy Literature, Local History, New Zealand History, Irish History, and British History.

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The Good Road: Towards a Collective Biography of Palmerston North's Hodder Family

Tim Shoebridge

This paper will explore the public and private worlds of the Hodder family of Palmerston North between the 1890s and the 1930s. Seed merchant Rayner Hodder (1861–1945), his wife Cissy (1864–1956) and their six children (born 1892–1902) were prominent middle-class Pākehā citizens who actively sought to engage with and shape their community through social, civic and political activism. The paper will argue that the conversionist and activist imperatives of evangelical Christianity provided their main ideological stimulus, influencing both how they chose to live as private citizens and how they participated in, and were shaped by, social movements then playing out at local, national and international levels. It will examine the closely aligned and mutually-reinforcing combination of Christian, civic and imperial drivers which shaped their lives, and which they expressed through the pursuit of individual self-improvement and social purity, evangelical organisations such as the YMCA and the WCTU, religious education, revivalism, missionary enterprise, civic boosterism, and a heavy emphasis on team sports. The logistical and ideological frameworks imposed by gender, and differing responses to social change, shaped individual responses and priorities, and the paper will briefly survey the contrasting ways the children applied the lessons of their youths to their adult lives. A rich archive of private papers, oral histories, public archives and digitised newspapers enables a detailed exploration of the ideological imperatives guiding the family's activities, which in turn enables a better understanding of the dynamics of community life and the interplay between individual and collective activity.

Tim Shoebridge is a senior historian, and general editor of the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, at Manatū Taonga, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. He is the author and co-author of a number of books and articles, including *The good citizen: a life of C.E. Daniell of Masterton* (2009), *Quarantine! Protecting New Zealand at the border* (2010, with Gavin McLean) and *New Zealand's First World War heritage* (2015, with Imelda Bargas). He contributed the article 'Stepping out of the shadows: Lorna Hodder's quest for a vocation' to the 2020 issue of the *Manawatū Journal of History*.

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Gathering Stories of Those Without Voice: The Royal Commission on Historic Abuse

Hilary Stace

The Royal Commission into historic abuse has uncovered stories of violence, neglect and exclusion which have shocked many New Zealanders. For those of us who advocated for such an inquiry, none of this is a surprise. One group historically silenced are disabled children, young people and adults in state care. For much of the 20th century eugenic-based public policy framed disability as something to be feared, shamed and bred out of the population as it threatened the ‘fitness’ and dominance of the ‘white race’.

The 1911 Mental Defectives Act, which created a classification system of ‘defect’ and requirements for control and surveillance, remained powerful for decades. Consequently, thousands of disabled children and other young people were removed from families and communities and institutionalised, and others were sent to residential special schools or foster homes. Some children with learning disability or other neurodiverse conditions were locked up in youth justice boys’ and girls’ homes after minor incidents. Māori children were at high risk of institutionalisation as they were caught in the intersection between colonialism and eugenics. Physical, sexual, emotional, psychological, medical, financial, cultural and spiritual abuse and neglect as well as poor record keeping, were widespread in these institutions. Survivors, particularly from the specialist psychopaedic hospitals, are few but to honour and remember them we need to hear, research, teach and exhibit these stories. Redress must include the development and curation of a national depository or Disability Archive, so we never forget.

Hilary Stace worked for many years at the Alexander Turnbull Library followed by the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, before returning to university to complete a PhD on autism. Through family and academic links, she learned about our history of eugenic public policy and the 20th century institutionalisation of thousands of our disabled citizens and family members. She was one of many who advocated for the current Royal Commission and more recently has been lobbying for a Disability Archive to gather our New Zealand stories of abuse, as well as activism and rights victories.

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Australasia as a ‘British Sea’? Fiji, New Zealand and Australia

Frances Steel

Fiji’s geographical location, perceived as a cross-roads in the western Pacific and a ‘gateway’ to Polynesia and beyond, positioned it differently in late-nineteenth century imaginings of ‘Australasia’ than other islands annexed to the ‘British Pacific’. In this paper I sketch a brief genealogy of the triangular intercolonial relationship between Fiji, New Zealand and Australia, and the ways in which historians have approached it. I then turn to the nature of commercial complicities with, and interrogations of, political boundary making in Australasia, particularly through the lens of maritime connectivities and exchange. In doing so I suggest the ways in which more expansive notions of ‘Australasia’ survived the project of political separation in the wake of Australian federation.

Frances Steel teaches at the University of Otago. Her research focuses on the history of the Pacific world, with a particular emphasis on colonial networks, oceanic mobilities and transnational labour cultures. Her publications include *Oceania under Steam: Sea transport and the cultures of colonialism, 1817-1914* (Manchester University Press, 2011), the co-authored volume *Colonialism and Male Domestic Service across the Asia Pacific* (Bloomsbury, 2019), and the edited collection, *New Zealand and the Sea: Historical Perspectives* (Bridget Williams Books, 2018).

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Tsui Mau Kwun: Miner, Philanthropist, Christian, Communist – Uncovering the Individual Lives of Returned Chinese Miners through the Presbyterian Research Centre Archives, 1901-1914

Louise Stevenson

In recent years, historians interested in nineteenth-century Chinese goldseeker histories have been able to piece together much about this area of migration history through the material left by the missionaries who sought to evangelise them. The New Zealand Presbyterian Research Centre Archives holds one of the most comprehensive collections of source material on Chinese goldseekers in Australasia, but much of the archive remains untapped. In particular, the collection not only sheds light on the Chinese mining experience in New Zealand, but through the New Zealand Presbyterian Church's Canton Villages Mission in South China, it also reveals much about the individual lives of Chinese miners who returned to China after the goldrushes.

Answering a call for more histories of individual miners to better understand the complex processes and experiences of migration, this paper showcases how sources from the Canton Villages Mission illumine the life of Tsui Mau Kwun. The paper showcases how Tsui's experiences as a miner during the goldrush shaped his later endeavours and changing belief systems, highlighting his involvement with the Canton Villages Mission and his interest in their medical mission in Ko Tong. The paper argues that Tsui's life after mining as a businessman, philanthropist, Christian, and later, a Communist, indicate that for Tsui, and for many others who later returned to China, the gold-seeking "sojourner experience", whether in America, Canada, Australia, or New Zealand was both formative and one of immense cross-cultural significance to them.

Louise Stevenson completed her master's in history from Victoria University of Wellington in June 2020, studying under Assoc. Prof James Beattie, and Dr. Catherine Abou-Nemeh. She graduated in December 2020. Currently Louise works in a historical research role at the Ministry of Education. Her main areas of interest in history include New Zealand-Chinese socio-cultural history, transnational and migration histories, world history, and biography.

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‘No Observant Friend of Birds Keeps a Cat’: Cats and Native Bird Preservation in Interwar-New Zealand

Anton Sveding

In 2018, the Southland Regional Council proposed ‘a ban on all new domestic cats’ in Omaui – a small village located on the south coast of the South Island, New Zealand – due to their harmful impact on flora and fauna, especially native birds. Three years earlier, in 2013, economist and philanthropist Gareth Morgan caused public outcry after suggesting a nation-wide eradication of domestic cats in order to preserve native birds. As these two examples show, the negative impact of cats on indigenous avifauna in New Zealand has received increasing attention over the last few years. However, the idea of killing cats in the interest of protecting native birds is nothing new: on the contrary, it constituted a central part of the native bird preservation movement. By studying anti-cat propaganda published by the Native Bird Preservation Society (today Forest and Bird) in its magazine, I examine the arguments in favour of a nation-wide killing of cats. On a broader scale, my paper explores the complex environmental history of introduced animals to Aotearoa New Zealand.

Anton Sveding is a PhD student in the History Programme at the Victoria University of Wellington. His thesis examines governmental and private efforts to foster a public forest consciousness in New Zealand as a response to an impending timber famine – a shortage of wood. His research interests include environmental history and the history of science and ideas.

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‘Suitable for the Daughters of Gentlemen’: Anglican Girls’ Schools in Aotearoa New Zealand, 1877-1975

Bethany Swanson

Historiography of education focuses primarily on state-funded education. However, there exists in Aotearoa New Zealand a parallel history of private schooling. Examining the histories of private education reveals inequalities hidden by a historical narrative of educational egalitarianism. In Aotearoa New Zealand there exist a handful of Anglican girls’ secondary schools, each proud of their long traditions educating young women. These schools draw from a pool of pupils who come from the elite of Aotearoa New Zealand society, as well as the daughters of families seeking upward social mobility. The histories of these Anglican girls’ schools are demonstrative of a long historical divide between the private and the state-funded school system in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This paper aims to explore this divide in schooling for girls in Aotearoa New Zealand through an analysis of demographic data obtained from the admissions registers of three such schools between the years 1877 and 1975. This data includes school catchment areas and the parental occupation of students enrolled over a 100-year period. The admissions registers of the schools reveal that the Anglican girls’ secondary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand have historically existed to educate the daughters of the ruling class, in defiance of a historical narrative which argues that education in Aotearoa New Zealand is equal.

Bethany Swanson is a recent MA graduate from Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington. Her thesis, entitled *The Dio Difference: Social Class and Anglican Girls’ Secondary School in Aotearoa New Zealand, 1877-1975* examined the histories of Anglican girls’ schools with a focus on class and gender.

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An Age of Consent: A Female Perspective

Christiana Taigel

Through history, we learn the lessons of the past and insights into the present; this paper will follow the history of the age of consent in New Zealand to learn about the developing perspectives and awareness of consent. In the 21st century, one of the key ideas presented in sex education is the concept of consent. The idea is that the individuals engaging in sexual activities are willing participants. The history of the age of consent demonstrates the growing importance and recognition of consent in society. Historically, females have been disadvantaged in the realm of sex; their rights were often overlooked.

The changing age of consent laws is a series of moments in which feminine sexual rights begin to be acknowledged substantially. It will use the age of consent as a lens through which a broader understanding of consent and its issues can be examined. By learning about this period of substantial change, the concept of consent can be placed into its historical position and to comprehend more clearly what it is and has come to mean today. Finally, consent will be used to explore through which a women's place in New Zealand society can be better understood, by exploring the history of the changing age of consent related laws. It will examine through the feminine perspective of the women's organisations and activists who actively advocate for raising the age of consent and will look at the reasons why.

Christiana Taigel is a Master of Arts student with the History Department at the University of Canterbury. Her research focus is New Zealand History, and her main interests are the histories of women, war, and crime. She is also the Associate Secretary for the Canterbury Historical Association.

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Learning from Disasters and the Subsequent Investigations: Aotearoa/New Zealand since 1900

George Thomson & Nick Wilson

Climate change, environmental damage and social inequality are ongoing mega-disasters. They may illustrate the difficulties for national governments and international organisations, in effectively learning about the upstream causes of such disasters and their downstream consequences. These types of difficulties may be studied by looking at the responses to more short term ‘sudden mass fatality events’. These events involve relatively finite episodes that can result in formal investigations, and changes to laws and processes. We aimed to study these events in Aotearoa between January 1900 and December 2020.

Sudden mass fatality events were defined as those causing 10+ fatalities, with most deaths within 24 hours. We used an official list of disasters, with online searches to validate and add to this list, and to identify official inquiries. Of 53 such sudden mass fatality events between 1900 and 2020 (excluding 5 war-related ones), official inquiries were held after 42. All of the non-war events after 1936 had such inquiries. Resulting new laws/processes may have helped reduce such disasters in: shipping, train travel, air travel and fires in large buildings. Some repeated events or ‘pattern-failures’ (arising from mining, volcanic events and earthquakes) suggest that Quinlan’s ‘Pathways to disaster’ model may help explain the limited effectiveness of learning from inquiries.

Inquiries are only a part of organisational learning. Changing organisational (including government) ideologies and processes (institutions in the wider sense) to prioritise longer term views and greater investment in societal futures, may help embed learning – including from slower-moving disasters such as the Covid-19 pandemic.

George Thomson is Associate Professor (Research) in the Department of Public Health, at the University of Otago, Wellington. He researches health policy and politics, including government and business behaviour as determinants of population health.

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Nick Wilson is Professor (Research) in the same Department (as above), with wide epidemiological research interests (500+ publications in peer-reviewed journals). These include the history of tobacco use, pandemics, the health impact of wars, and of disasters. With George Thomson, his work on population health and war, violence and disasters has resulted in over 14 journal publications since 2005.

Christian Conversion Means Conversion into a Eurocentric Way of Being: The Importance of Authentic Reconciliation

Ritane Wallace

The bicultural discourse often falls short of analysing the effective of Christianity on tikanga, atuaatanga and the mind. This paper will look to use the historical accounts of Kendall and Hongi to highlight the complexities of Māori and Pākehā relationship in the 19th century it will draw on these complexities to navigate a discourse with reconciliation at the forefront. Very few missionaries were willing to explore Māori spirituality the same way Kendall did.

Kendall, before he died in the 1830s, would become an advocate for Māori spirituality. This is evident in the questioning of his own faith and in him putting emphasis on the structures of the three worlds Te Pō, Te Kore, Te Ao Marama, rather than the mono-supreme creator found in Christian doctrine. This change in thought for Kendall came about by fully immersing himself into the Māori community he befriended, which involved both Hika and the tohunga Rākau, whose daughter, Tungaroa, he later married. Burdon writes that 'By living as a Māori he [Kendall] hoped to see beyond the ordinary range of a white man's vision' and 'to obtain accurate information as to their religious opinions and tenets which he would in no other way have obtained'.

If the desire for reconciliation is authentic, then historical integrity is required. Looking back into the history of Aotearoa will aid as moving forward as a nation.

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The Clothed Man and the Naked Man: Masculinity and Effeminacy in New Zealand Popular Print Culture, 1918-1939

Ailish Wallace-Buckland

Commercial print publications were one of the mediums through which concerns around the masculinity of New Zealand men could be aired during the interwar period (c.1918-1939). Whilst the primary focus of such magazines and newspapers was not sex-education, they nonetheless provided a forum in which ordinary New Zealanders could learn about topics relating to sex, sensuality, and sexuality (such as birth control, marriage, pleasure, and the body). The combination of written pieces and visuals, such as photographs and other images, provides a rich historical source for historians of gender and sexuality to examine. During this period, the increasingly popular nudist movement saw the physicality of men's bodies discussed and documented in ways that also intersected with parallel concerns around their morals, psychological state, and broader mental well-being. Additionally, publications that focused on men's fashion and clothing also helped air fears around masculinity, and the potential peril of effeminacy, for New Zealand men.

This paper will examine how, in their discussions of the clothed and naked man, these popular culture publications helped stimulate and circulate understandings of gender, masculinity, and male sexuality in interwar New Zealand.

Ailish Wallace-Buckland is a current Museum and Heritage Practice student at Victoria University of Wellington. She completed her master's in history (also at VUW) in 2020, her thesis was titled: 'The Menace of Effeminacy': Medical and Popular Discussions of Masculinity in Interwar New Zealand, c. 1918–1939. Ailish is interested in gender and queer history in the early 20th century and hopes to research and write more about femininity in the future.

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Bigotry, Fanaticism, and Lawlessness: Was the Ku Klux Klan Active in New Zealand during the 1920s?

Elizabeth Ward

On 8 October 1923 the *Sun* newspaper reported an Indian owned fruit shop in Colombo Street, Christchurch, had stones thrown on the roof during the night. The next morning the owners, brothers Purushottams and Lulubahi Patel found a note saying 'Beware!! The Ku Klux Klan is here! You are being watched! Warning!'

There is very little research on the inter-war iteration Ku Klux Klan in an international context. This is partly because the Klan had a strong nativist philosophy which did not translate well to other countries. Regardless of this, during 1923 some New Zealand newspapers seemed convinced that the Ku Klux Klan was active in the country. Even though some of the Klan's messages resonated with sections of New Zealand society it appears that reports of a New Zealand Klan were exaggerated. By 1924 reporting of the Klan being present in New Zealand had all but disappeared.

This paper will explore why the Ku Klux Klan failed to gain traction in New Zealand. It will argue that the Klan's failure was not a rejection of its racist messages. Instead, it reflects the fact that New Zealand was already well served by organisations which defended a white protestant version of the country.

Elizabeth Ward is a lecturer in history and politics at Massey University's Palmerston North Campus. Her research focuses on the political right. She has recently written a chapter on anti-socialism in the interwar period in a book on the history of the far right in New Zealand. She is currently writing a book on the history of the Reform Party.

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Exploring Histories of Sex Work in Aotearoa

Cheryl Ware

The past offers important lessons about which stories are elevated and which ones are silenced at particular historical moments. This paper considers the tension between vocalisation and repression through an exploration of histories of sex work in Aotearoa from the regulation of massage parlours in 1978 to the present. It highlights the use of oral history to engage with individual's intimate memories and reflections of some of the most controversial and transformative decades in the history of sex work. Some scholars and public commentators have drawn on New Zealand's reputation as the first country to enact women's voting rights in the nineteenth century to argue it was inevitable that it became the first country in the world to decriminalise sex work. Yet oral histories reveal the situation was more considerably more complex than existing discussions suggest. Sex workers were certainly more vocal and unified than they had been previously. Yet they also continued to deal with ongoing public condemnation, harassment, violence, and exploitation, both before and after the decriminalisation of sex work with the Prostitution Reform Act of 2003. Liberal legislation did not always mirror more liberal public attitudes.

This paper examines the influence of historical depictions of New Zealand as a 'social laboratory' and as a pioneer for sex workers' rights. It considers how individuals mediate and articulate memories in ways that uphold or challenge prevailing depictions of New Zealand as a world leader.

Cheryl Ware is a Research Fellow in the School of Humanities at the University of Auckland. Her current project explores histories of sex work and is supported by a Marsden Fund Fast-Start grant. She is co-editing a collection on violence in Aotearoa with Drs Maria Haenga-Collins and Keri Mills. Cheryl is the author of *HIV Survivors in Sydney, Memories of the Epidemic* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019) and has published articles in *Women's History Review*, *Journal of Australian Studies*, *Health and History*, *Oral History Society*, and *Oral History New Zealand*. She is the National Oral History Association of New Zealand's Treasurer.

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The New Zealand Athletic Union and its Place in New Zealand's Sporting History

Geoff Watson & Ann-Marie Quinn

This paper assesses the New Zealand Athletic Union within the wider context of the development of sport in New Zealand and the insights its history offers into the wider values of society. The New Zealand Athletic Union (NZAU), which was founded in late 1905 as an umbrella organisation to coordinate events in which competitors could receive prize money. In part, its formation reflected a desire to elevate the reputation of such events. The New Zealand Athletic Union had a somewhat ambivalent relationship with the avowedly amateur New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association, which oversaw the selection of New Zealand teams for events such as the Lonsdale Cup and the Olympic and Commonwealth Games. In some sections of the community, 'professional' sport was viewed with suspicion and seen as undermining a key value of sport – the notion of 'the game for the game's sake'.

Evaluating the history of the New Zealand Athletic Union provides a window into attitudes towards amateurism and social class in New Zealand. It also raises questions of what historians can learn from assessing organisations which have generally been characterised as being of minor significance in the wider trajectory of history.

Geoff Watson is an Associate Professor in History in the School of Humanities, Media and Creative Communication. He has written and contributed to many books on New Zealand and Sports History including *Sport and the New Zealanders: A History* (Auckland University Press, 2018); *Will to Win: New Zealand Netball Greats on Team Culture and Leadership* (Massey University Press, 2020) and *City at the Centre: A History of Palmerston North: Tini whetū ki te rangi take rau tāngata ki te whenua*.

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Ann-Marie Quinn began studying at Massey University in 2015 after a career in journalism, communications and documentary-making. She enrolled to do a Bachelor of Arts in Social Policy but very quickly realised her interest and passion lay in the history of how and why policy was made. She is currently working as a freelancer and studying part time.

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The Cemetery as a Learning Space: Experiences from Purewa

Alistair Watts

New Zealand cemeteries are typically places of grieving and silence. Bereaved mourners gather in decreasing numbers to perform the ritualised tasks of remembrance, but the cliched phrases ‘gone but not forgotten’ and ‘remembered forever’ are shown to be as deceptive as the plastic flowers, and just as easily lost as the monumental masons’ promises of inscriptions with everlasting legibility.

The St John’s Cemetery in Auckland has recognised an opportunity to transform the Purewa burial site into an active learning space suitable for visiting, relaxing, and exercising as well as for exploring New Zealand’s past. To this end, the governing Trust Board has undertaken four projects: formally researching notable burials at Purewa; participating in Auckland Council Heritage activities; offering guided tours; and (where necessary) replacing the monuments of previously unmarked or derelict significant graves. A programme of landscape gardening has, with volunteer assistance, made the grounds both accessible and an attractive place to visit. The cemetery has thereby become a physical index with the graves serving as entry points to online references. A revamped website offers a complementary ‘search and find’ function for exploring and locating older interments. Biographical notes about notable historical figures, such as Judge Fenton of the Native land Court and ACC architect Sir Owen Woodhouse, are linked as additional sources.

This presentation discusses how this project has been implemented, the results achieved and how a site traditionally used for memorial rituals has been adapted to create an opportunity for the public to explore and learn New Zealand history.

Alistair Watts returned to Massey University to undertake post-graduate study after a business career that included expatriate postings in Australia, Singapore, Vietnam and China. Now working as an independent historian, Alistair’s projects include documenting burials at the Silverdale Settlers’ Cemetery as well as researching notable burials for the Purewa Trust. He is currently writing the history of the Auckland Indian Sports Association. Alistair’s book, *New Zealand’s France: A different view of 1835–1935* was published in 2021.

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‘The Silent Majority has had Enough!’ The Federation of Labour, ‘Kiwi’s Care’, and Popular Anti-Unionism in 1970s and 1980s Aotearoa New Zealand

Ross Webb

In 1981, as many as 60,000 marched down Auckland’s Queen Street in what was then perhaps the largest protest march in New Zealand history. It was not a union rally, nor a demonstration against the Springbok rugby tour, scheduled for that winter. It was an anti-union march, known as ‘Kiwi’s Care’, provoked by a series of high-profile industrial disputes that summer. The crowd held signs that read ‘NZ not Red yet’, ‘Picket you can stick it’, ‘NZ’s HAD enough of HARD Knox’ (referring to then President of the Federation of Labour, Jim Knox). Employers, the National Party and much of the press applauded the march and its nationalistic message; the *Herald* declared that New Zealand’s ‘Silent Majority’ had finally spoken. While the march was preceded in previous years by some anti-union organisations, as well as the ‘top-down’ anti-union politics of Robert Muldoon’s National Government (1975-1984), never before had the country seen such a large scale conservative popular mobilisation. The protest chastened the Federation of Labour, emboldened the Muldoon Government, and put the opposition Labour Party, unwilling to express public support for its traditional industrial allies, in an awkward position.

This paper, part of a broader research project on the Federation of Labour (FOL) between 1975 and 1987, explores the origins of ‘Kiwi Care’, and the union, political, and popular response. While scholars have traversed the ideological shift from Keynesianism to neoliberalism among the political and policy-elite during these years, few have examined the popular debate about trade unions and the economy. From the supermarket checkout to the petrol pump, the union conference hall to the bargaining table, trade unionists, employers, consumers and community groups joined the increasingly acrimonious debate about the trade unions and the economy, a debate that augured a shifting view about the role of the state in the economy. ‘Kiwi Care’ provides just one window into that debate during a key juncture in New Zealand labour, political and economic history.

Ross Webb is a historian based in Wellington. He is currently a PhD candidate at Victoria University of Wellington and a committee member of the Labour History Project. His thesis is entitled *In Defence of Living Standards: The Federation of Labour, Politics, and Economic Crisis, 1975-1987*. Ross completed an MA thesis on freezing workers in New Zealand at the University of Auckland and has worked as a Senior Researcher at the Waitangi Tribunal. His most recent publication is an article in the *New Zealand Journal of History*, entitled “‘The camaraderie and the whakawhanaungatanga’: Work, Culture and Community in the New Zealand Freezing Works, 1970s and 1980s’.

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Polynesia & the Middle Ages?

Madi Williams

Polynesia and the Middle Ages may seem like an odd fit. But the Middle Ages are a European phenomenon, surely? While this is true, much is lost by limiting our perspective to one continent. Europe is not the natural centre of the world it has been constructed as such, not least by historians.

This paper is based on the recent publication, *Polynesia 900-1600*. It is intended to provide a short, useful overview of the history of South Polynesia. This work employs a wide range of source material including oral traditions, historiography, and archaeology, and examines how South Polynesians perceived their world and lived during this period. What can we learn from reorienting ourselves from different perspectives? In this paper, the unique methodological approach and the challenges and benefits of various source material will be discussed as well as the key themes and insights that emerged from conducting the research in this manner.

Madi Williams (Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Koata) is based at the University of Canterbury. Her main research interests are Te Waipounamu South Island iwi histories and perceptions of the past in Aotearoa New Zealand. Her recent publication, *Polynesia, 900-1600*, examines these themes in the wider context of South Polynesia.

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Pā Wars: Māori Pā Tactics in the First Taranaki War

Peter Wood (NZDF)

Before contact with Europeans, Māori had developed defensive fortifications known as pa to protect themselves during periods of inter-tribal warfare. They developed considerable expertise in pa construction and in attacking and defending them, and this they applied and developed after pakeha arrived. A range of academics and authors have described Māori as brilliant military engineers. They were all, for the most part, referring to Māori prowess at pa construction. This paper draws from the First Taranaki campaign of the New Zealand Wars to highlight Māori *tactical* skill and clever use of terrain against Imperial and Colonial soldiers, where pa were built for other than strictly defensive purposes.

Much of what is available in the public domain regarding the New Zealand Wars is written by Pakeha. This almost exclusively provides a European viewpoint, such as the Imperial or colonial order of battle, plans, and accounts of the fighting. Whilst this paper relies heavily on those same sources, it deduces and describes what Māori intended for each of these battles at tactical and strategic levels. In other words, how Māori used pa as a weapon, not just for defence.

This small sample highlights Māori willingness to use pa in the First Taranaki Campaign for other than defensive purposes and shows them as master tacticians as well as great military engineers. Their readiness to modify tactics and accept risk was at a far greater pace than the British could recognise and adapt to.

Peter Wood is a New Zealand Army officer. His primary service has been in the infantry. He is the Director of the Defence Force's New Zealand Wars Study Centre. In this role he delivers talks to members of the NZDF on New Zealand Wars campaigns and leads visits to battle sites. Lieutenant Colonel Wood's PhD (Massey University, 2012) examined combat effectiveness through the experience of the 21st (Auckland) Battalion in the Second World War. His research interests include the New Zealand Wars, First World War campaigns against the Ottomans and New Zealand campaigns of the Second World War.

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Learning History from our Buildings? Hypothesising a Role for Architecture in the New History Curriculum in Aotearoa New Zealand

Peter Wood (VUW)

In Aotearoa New Zealand the study of architecture is a professionally oriented university qualification that relies of the compulsory schooling curriculum to provide foundational learning skills. For the greater part, specific architectural knowledge is not encountered by students until their tertiary experience. However, the introduction of the compulsory history curriculum brings with it a glimmer of possibility that architecture, through the lens of architectural history, could occur much earlier in the educational experience of our schooling system, and make a lasting educational contribution regardless of vocational choices.

The history of architecture is the history of people and places as represented through the fabric of the built form. Without a wider paradigm called ‘history’ we could not very well understand or activate the specifics of architecture. And yet, without architecture, neither would we have the material evidence necessary to locate many of the events and patterns we call ‘history’.

As a hypothetical exercise in exploring what form an architectural contribution to the compulsory history curriculum could take, this paper analyses visual material relating to the signing of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi with an agenda for illuminating otherwise neglected architectural narratives pertinent to our history. While it is acknowledged, and defended, that Te Tiriti survives as a living contract between Māori and Pakeha, it is argued that so too survives a wealth of architectural association – some positive, much negative – that accompanies it in an unspoken way, and which demands explanation.

Peter Wood is a senior lecturer in architectural history and theory in the School of Architecture at Victoria University, Wellington. He has a long-standing research interest in New Zealand 19th century architectural events and has previously published in this area.

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Learning from the Ship That We Do Not Talk About: Lessons for the Navy from the *Charles Upham* Fiasco

Michael Wynd

In our naval history, the logistical support ship HMNZS *Charles Upham* is a ship whose history has all but been erased from the institutional memory of the RNZN. Formerly a commercial vessel used for shipping oranges, it was taken over by the RNZN for use as a logistical support vessel for the Army and commissioned in October 1996. It was the only ship in our fleet that has ever been named for a prominent New Zealander which was a cause of some embarrassment. After less than two years of service it was returned to commercial use by a Spanish company. As a logistical support ship, it was an abject failure and not the solution to the needs of the NZDF and RNZN.

With the development of Project Protector, the lessons from *Charles Upham* were taken to heart by the RNZN and as a consequence the multi-role vessel [MRV] HMNZS *Canterbury* was designed to meet a range of tasks and deployments anticipated by the project team. That this MRV has proved one of the most flexible and useful vessels in our fleet is evidence that in matters of military procurement the NZDF and RNZN learned from the fiasco. Our support for the Canterbury and Kaikoura earthquakes and humanitarian operations in the Pacific are proof that military organisations can learn from history.

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