



New Zealand  
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Conference 2023

# CONFERENCE PAPERS



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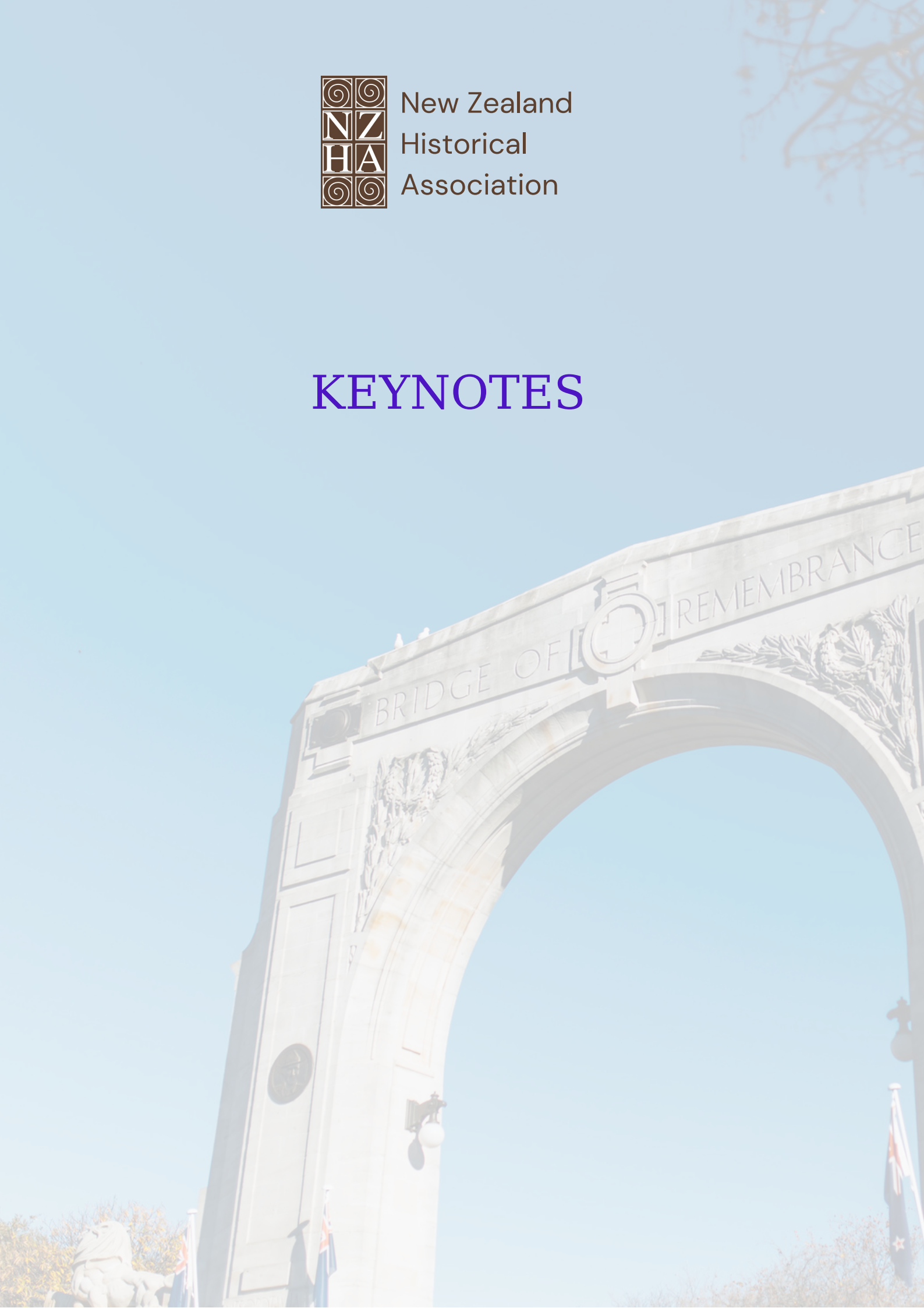


**UNIVERSITY OF  
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*Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha*  
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# KEYNOTES



## Peter FitzSimons

**Peter FitzSimons** is a journalist with the Sydney Morning Herald and Sun-Herald, and a busy events and motivational speaker. He is the author of over twenty-seven books, including Tobruk, Kokoda, Batavia, Eureka, Ned Kelly, Gallipoli and biographies of Douglas Mawson, Nancy Wake, Kim Beazley, Nick Farr-Jones, Les Darcy, Steve Waugh and John Eales, and is one of Australia's biggest selling non-fiction authors of the last fifteen years. Peter was named a Member of the Order of Australia for service to literature as a biographer, sports journalist and commentator, and to the community through contributions to conservation, disability care, social welfare and sporting organisations.

## Liana McDonald

**Dr Liana MacDonald is of Ngāti Kuia and Rangitāne o Wairau descent.** She has been involved in research projects exploring how Māori and Pākehā remember and forget 'difficult histories.' Liana is especially interested in how teaching about the past in view of a racialised present can contribute to transformative learning experiences. She has published several articles on this topic and how settler colonial whiteness and racism are reproduced in public places and institutions. Liana is a senior lecturer in Sociology at Te Herenga Waka | Victoria University of Wellington.

## Te Maire Tau

**Professor Te Maire Tau (Upoko of Ngāi Tūāhuriri, a hapū of Ngāi Tahu)** is a historian on oral traditions, tribal genealogies, and indigenous knowledge systems. He is Pou Whakarae at the University of Canterbury. Tau served as an expert witness for the settlement of Ngāi Tahu's Treaty of Waitangi claim. Since then he has had a number of publications dealing with oral traditions and the relationship between indigenous knowledge systems and how they intersect with western science.

## James Belich

**James Belich** is a New Zealand and global historian who has held the Beit Chair of Global and Imperial History at Oxford University since 2011, where he was also a co-founder and director of the Oxford Centre for Global History. He spent his earlier career teaching history at Wellington and Auckland Universities. His books include a two-volume history of New Zealand, *Making Peoples* (1996) and *Paradise Reforged* (2001), and *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (1986), which was later made into a television documentary series (1998). More recent publications include *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-world, 1783 -1939* (2009) and *The World the Plague Made. The Black Death and the Rise of Europe* (2022).



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# PANELS



# The 1874 Transit of Venus Expedition to Aotearoa New Zealand by the United States Navy: Marking 150 years of scientific partnership between the two nations.

**David Johnston, Louise Pigginn and Joshua Stewart**

In 1874, Venus transited across the Sun for the first time since 1769. To view, study and record the Transit event with 19th century science and technology, a group of scientists from the United States of America travelled to New Zealand (and other southern hemisphere locations). The hosting of the USA scientific parties by New Zealand appears to be the first demonstration of the two nations coordinating on a formal scientific project, making 2024 the 150th anniversary of scientific partnership between the two nations. Due to the infrequency of the event, nations from across the world mobilised multiple expeditions to get the best chance at capturing data in case of bad weather or technical mishap. New Zealand hosted expeditions from Germany, France, England, and the USA, with the USA establishing sites at Whangaroa Harbour on the Chatham Islands, and Queenstown, Otago. Our research team with the support of the Chatham Islands Museum, Massey University and the University of Otago undertook a research trip in May 2023 to New York, Philadelphia, and Washington DC to visit collections relating to the expedition. Relationships were formed with the teams at the Library Company of Philadelphia, United States Navy Observatory Library and Peerless Rockville Historic Preservation, with the goal of collaborating on trans-Pacific events to showcase the collections and commemorate 150 years of scientific partnership. This paper will provide an overview of the 1874 expedition and its significance, the historic materials identified through our research and an outline of planned events for next year.

Our research team works across the university and museum sectors, undertaking this project due to recent links to Rēkohu/Wharekauri/Chatham Island. **David Johnston** is the Director of the Joint Centre for Disaster Research at Massey University and runs the annual Festival of Science on the Chatham Islands. **Louise Pigginn** works as a Collections Technician at Canterbury Museum and **Joshua Stewart** is currently working towards his Masters in Māori Studies at University of Otago.



# From Collections to Classrooms: Auckland Museum's Role in the Aotearoa NZ Histories Curriculum

**Lucy Mackintosh, Janine Tangimai Fitzgerald and James Taylor**

This roundtable will discuss how Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum is preparing for the new Aotearoa NZ Histories Curriculum with two new projects that will provide online resources for teachers and students across Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. The new curriculum is an exciting opportunity for GLAM organisations to engage with the vast audience of teachers and students who will be learning about Aotearoa New Zealand's past. But it also provides challenges, especially as there is a lack of content about Auckland local histories which make up the "Know", or contextual, component of the curriculum, while GLAM organisations in general face funding and other resourcing constraints in a post COVID financial environment.

Both projects are funded by external sources, with one a curated collection of objects, providing a deep dive into their histories from multiple perspectives and showing how students can think critically and historically about material culture, places and landscapes. The second project, funded by the Wikimedia Foundation, aims to enhance Auckland suburb Wikipedia pages with rich historical narratives and provide a starting point for the teaching of local histories.

We will discuss the research Auckland Museum has undertaken to understand the needs of teachers and students, as well as the frameworks and processes we have developed to translate Museum collections, curatorial research and expertise, and community knowledge into engaging online resources and useful public history.

**Dr Lucy Mackintosh** is a Senior Research Fellow, and formerly Curator of History, at Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum. She has worked as a public historian for over 25 years, researching and writing extensively about history, heritage and material culture in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand and various places around the world. Her recent book, *Shifting Grounds: Deep Histories of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland*, has won multiple awards, including the Ernest Scott Prize in 2022 and the Environmental History Book Prize in 2023.

**Janine Tangimai Fitzgerald** is the Learning Manager at Tamaki Paenga Hira, Auckland War Memorial Museum. She manages and works with skilled and diverse Learning Specialists and Kaitiaki Kaiako to run and deliver an extensive range of programs to schools from ECE through to Secondary and Tertiary settings onsite, off-site and online. She has been in this role for 6 months and she comes with 32 years' experience in education working across Primary through to Secondary, Māori Medium and Special Education.

**James Taylor** is the Online Collections Information & Partnerships Manager at Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum, where he manages the Museum's Collections Online, open data partnerships and other online projects. He has a MA in history from Victoria University of Wellington, and has previously worked at TVNZ, Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision and HistoryWorks.

# Historians and the Treaty Sector – thoughts sparked by Bain Atwood’s ‘A Bloody Difficult Subject’

## **Kesaia Walker and Dan Morrow**

For over four decades, the Waitangi Tribunal has been at the forefront of applied historical research and writing in Aotearoa New Zealand. Throughout this period, however, analyses of Māori-Crown relations in the past by Tribunal-affiliated historians have been the subject of frequent debate in the historical community and beyond. In response to recent discourse on the evolution, practice, and implications of treaty-focused history surrounding publication of Bain Atwood’s ‘A Bloody Difficult Subject’, Ruth Ross, *te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Making of History*, two experienced historians working in the treaty sector discuss these issues. They also address the future role historical research and analysis skills may play in the Tribunal’s evolving work program.

**Kesaia Walker** has been researching and writing on issues of relevance to Waitangi Tribunal inquiries since 2010. Her work includes reports on Māori land and political engagement for the Porirua ki Manawatū and Rohe Pōtae district inquiries. Kesaia has written on thematic issues for the Māori Military Veterans’ and Health Services and Outcomes kaupapa inquiries. She also has interests in Pacific migration stories and Pacific language revitalisation. She is of Tongan and Pākehā heritage and has an MA from the Stout Research Centre at Victoria University of Wellington. In 2022 Kesaia was appointed Chief Historian at the Waitangi Tribunal Unit.

**Dan Morrow** has many years’ experience as a professional historian, analyst, and technical leader in the treaty sector. He has an undergraduate degree from University of Auckland and postgraduate degrees from the University of Melbourne (BA Hons, first class, 2006; PhD, 2010). From 2011 to 2013, Dan lectured in the history program at the University of Otago. He subsequently was curator at Waikato Museum Te Whare Taonga o Waikato between 2013 and 2018. In 2018, he took up his current role as Principal Historian at the Waitangi Tribunal Unit, Ministry of Justice. Dan has wide research interests and has published papers and book reviews on a range of topics in local and overseas journals.

## History in the overlaps: private, personal, and public

**Hineitimoana Greensill, Aroha Harris and Caitlin Moffat-Young**

When we consciously work with our whānau, families, and communities close to us, how does the history we produce engage our real worlds and experiences? These three presentations contemplate how our research brings grandmothers and other whānau members into view, alongside ourselves and aspirations for a just future for Aotearoa. We practice history in the folds and overlaps between the private, the personal, and the public. It brings us into conversation with some well-worn debates in history, such as those about subjectivity, access to knowledge, and bias. We speak to these and other shared issues through our distinct current research projects.

Hineitimoana Greensill, *The right to return home: Story sovereignty and tupuna-mokopuna relations in historical research.*

In reflecting on my journey as a PhD student, I think about the ways in which my experiences with my grandmother, Tuaiwa Rickard, have become an integral part of my research. Whānau narratives, personal engagements with my grandmother's taonga and my own memories of her come together to form the tūāpapa, or foundation, of a critical biography project that is both intimately personal and deeply political. In this paper, I reflect on how my position as a mokopuna influences my research and, ultimately, the story I tell about my grandmother's life. In doing so, I explore the challenges of subjectivity in historical research, whakapapa and access to knowledge, and story sovereignty.

**Hineitimoana Greensill** (Tainui, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Porou) is a PhD candidate in History at Waipapa Taumata Rau, the University of Auckland. Hineitimoana's research engages with the intellectual and political work of her grandmother in conversation with a broader public archive of Māori women's writing in the late 20th century.

‘Caitlin Moffat-Young, Nowhere else in the world’

Autobiographical histories mark out some of the most popular discussions of Pākehā identity in the last half century. By nature these works are deeply personal and often quite political too. I use this individualist approach, based on the author’s lived experiences, as a launching pad to reflect on how my own historical practice is shaped by my world and experiences. I contend that whilst my grandparents are Scottish and English, my Pākehā ethnic identity is founded on my colonist heritage in general, and not necessarily the specific nations to which I can trace my ancestors. For Pākehā, especially Pākehā historians, this is what it means to base identity on this land and its peoples – as Ani Mikaere put it best, ‘there is nowhere else in the world that one can be Pākehā’.

**Caitlin Moffat-Young** is a PhD Candidate in History at Waipapa Taumata Rau, the University of Auckland, researching constructions of Pākehā identity since the 1970s. In 2021, she was awarded First Class Honours for her research project on He Taua and the Haka Party Incident of 1979.

Aroha Harris, Grandmother history

In an age of clicks, algorithms, and H-indexes where do we look for values when we need them? Should we look no further than the past? No further than whānau narratives, steeped in the deep histories and often cryptic teachings of our grandmothers? This presentation analyses the guidance that can be discerned from a selection of twentieth-century whānau and nursing manuscripts and archives. It expands on recent research about whānau dynamics, including well-known values like aroha and whanaungatanga, and explores how lessons from the research can also shape research practice.

**Aroha Harris (Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi)** is an Associate Professor in History at Te Kura Tangata Arts, Waipapa Taumata Rau, the University of Auckland. Aroha’s recent research has spanned the Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Curriculum and Māori welfare policy through the twentieth century.

# Iconic or routine disasters? Environmental learning over time in Aotearoa New Zealand

**Eric Pawson, Katie Pickles and Michael Roche**

We tend to treat environmental disasters as ‘iconic’: Cyclone Gabrielle in 2023 was preceded by Bola in 1987; the Christchurch earthquakes by Napier 1931. But viewing such events as exceptional overlooks the routine nature of hazards in a country that is inherently unstable. It also obviates the need to consider the impacts of human agency in developing in risky areas. As Amitav Ghosh (2015) has said of climate change more generally, ‘we seem to learn nothing; our historical imagination is very limited’. This panel explores why this is so in Aotearoa through papers on flooding, suburban development and soil erosion.

Eric Pawson, *Creating flood disasters? A history of persistent disasters*

After the Auckland floods in January, and then Cyclone Gabrielle, there has been a great deal of concern not only about the impact of climate change on the incidence of extreme events, but also on the dangers of building in hazardous places. If there has been any historical reference point at all, it has been to Cyclone Bola in 1987. Yet this country has a long history of ‘creating flood disasters’, to reference the title of an official research publication by Neil Ericksen in 1986. We have always built in flood-prone places, as nineteenth-century colonists in Westport and Blenheim (for example) soon discovered. The question that arises is why has this pattern persisted as the material losses from flood disasters continue to mount? This paper explores this question, drawing on a range of perspectives and examples.

**Eric Pawson** is Emeritus Professor of Geography at the University of Canterbury. He chaired the Advisory Board for the New Zealand Historical Atlas (1997), and was on the Advisory Board for Te Ara, On-line New Zealand Encyclopedia. He has written widely on New Zealand’s environmental history and most recently co-authored *The Post-earthquake City: Disaster and Recovery in Christchurch, New Zealand* (Routledge 2023).

Katie Pickles: From healing to sickening: Suburbs as multiple disaster zones

Globally and locally the development of suburbs has been an important theme in modern urban history. This paper outlines the interrelated major environmental, social, cultural and economic arguments in the historiography made for and against suburbs. It argues that Aotearoa New Zealand imported iconic notions of suburbs as part of its colonial toolkit. The anti-industrial 'Garden City' movement captured the imagination of settlers seeking to escape Britain's 'dark and satanic mills.' Later on, the 'quarter acre pavlova paradise' appeared as a suburban ideal, even if feminists cast a shadow on it as conducive of 'suburban neurosis.' In the 2020s we know that suburbs can be multiple disaster zones, environmentally unsustainable and damaging, taking good land out of production for housing development and roads, causing social and cultural harm, and proliferating the use of fossil fuels that in turn fuels climate change. Yet, for all they can be positioned as multiple disaster zones, there continues to be a celebration of suburbs. As this panel asks, have we learnt nothing? I draw upon the region of North Canterbury as a case study.

**Katie Pickles** is Professor of History at the University of Canterbury. She is most recently the author of *Heroines in History: A Thousand Faces* (Routledge 2023) and the co-editor (with Catharine Coleborne) of the 2023 paperback edition of *New Zealand's Empire* (Manchester University Press Studies in Imperialism). She has also published in the broad area of Ōtautahi Christchurch and Canterbury's environmental history.

Michael Roche: Forgetting and Remembering: Kenneth Cumberland and soil conservation in New Zealand 1940s and 2020s

British geographer Kenneth Cumberland joined the newly formed Department of Geography at Canterbury University College in 1938. The speed and extent of landscape transformation was almost immediately apparent to him as were its negative consequences. In an academic sense this culminated in his *Soil erosion in New Zealand, A Geographical Reconnaissance* (1944) but he was involved in supporting Lincoln College's Lance McCaskill and others in pressing for what became the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Act, 1941. The circumstances in which Cumberland insights were lost sight of over the following half century are considered such as cognitive dissonance, intra-institutional contests, later research, and local government reform. Obstacles and possibilities for remembering and understanding older solutions are considered in closing.

**Michael Roche** is Emeritus Professor of Geography at Massey University, Palmerston North. He completed his PhD on the historical geography of forest policy and forest management in New Zealand at the University of Canterbury. Subsequently he has published on the origins of soil conservation and rivers control in New Zealand and more recently on the development of university geography.

# Me Manatu te Maumahara: We must remember to remember

## **Helen Brown, Takerei Norton & Gabrielle Faith**

The Ngāi Tahu Archive was formally established at the University of Canterbury in 1978 but has flourished in the past decade after it was given new leadership at an operational level in 2012. The Ngāi Tahu Archive comprises the collections of the Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board, the records of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, and the personal papers of selected individuals. Through digitisation, the Archive is also increasingly becoming a repository for archives of tribal significance repatriated from external institutions. The Ngāi Tahu Archive team is working towards the development of a fully integrated Ngāi Tahu search engine connecting internal and external repositories of Ngāi Tahu knowledge. The team also provides support to Ngāi Tahu Papatipu Rūnanga and whānau for the care of their own collections. Join members of the Archive team as they share the history of the Archive and some of its key outputs including the Ngāi Tahu digital atlas Kā Huru Manu, the Ngāi Tahu biographies project Tangata Ngāi Tahu, and the online archive database Kareao.

**Helen Brown (Ngāi Tahu)** is the Archives Manager Research in the Ngāi Tahu Archive at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. She works with Ngāi Tahu communities on history and memory projects including oral histories, exhibitions, interpretation, and publications. She leads Tāngata Ngāi Tahu, the Ngāi Tahu biographies project which explores tribal history through the lens of biography.

**Takerei Norton (Ngāi Tahu)** is the Manager of the Ngāi Tahu Archive. Since 2005 Takerei has managed Kā Huru Manu, the Ngāi Tahu Cultural Mapping Project. To date, his main focus has been implementing innovative methods using the latest technologies to research tribal knowledge under the supervision of kaumātua instrumental in Te Kerēme (the Ngāi Tahu Claim). In 2017 he co-edited a first volume of Ngāi Tahu biography, Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu and in 2019 he managed the development of Kareao, the online archive database that provides unprecedented access to the Ngāi Tahu Archive.

**Gabrielle Faith (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu)** is an Archivist in the Ngāi Tahu Archive at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. Her role focusses on the creation of archival records that incorporate contextualised and creative metadata, within a storytelling approach. A main driver of her mahi is to enhance the experience of whānau and hāpori with the archive collections, especially through facilitated digital access via the innovative archival database Kareao. She has an interest in pragmatic data sovereignty of iwi archives.



# Oral history in the real world

## **Natalie Looyer, Nancy Bale and Anna Green**

Since its beginnings oral history has had a strong focus on history from below, recording the lives and experiences of ordinary and marginalised people. However, as the discipline has developed the practice and use of oral history has become varied. In this round table four historians will discuss how they use oral history in their work, with a focus the ways oral history can be used to deepen the public's understanding of history. It will also examine the challenges of using personal stories in a public setting. The four perspectives include oral history in academic settings, oral history and indigenous history, community oral history and commissioning oral history.

**Natalie Looyer** is the second year of her PhD in History at Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington, where she is researching the development of rock climbing in Aotearoa. For her research she has been carrying out oral history interviews with past and present rock climbers in Aotearoa. I have also worked on a number of oral history projects in recent years for several local organisations.

**Nancy Bale** has a Masters in Archaeology and Heritage from the University of Leicester. She has a mix of experience using oral history in both the public and private sectors. She works in the NZDF heritage, commemorations and protocol team as the senior advisor for research programmes, a role based out of HQ NZDF, our strategic headquarters in Wellington.

**Anna Green** is an adjunct professor at The Stout Centre for New Zealand Studies at Victoria University of Wellington | Te Herenga Waka. She been an oral historian for the past 40 years, and taught history and history and theory at Waikato, Exeter (UK) and Victoria universities. Publications include *British Capital, Antipodean Labour* (2001) and with Megan Hutching, eds., *Remembering: Writing Oral History* (2004). A new anthology of oral history research will be published by Otago University Press next year. Her current research, a Royal Society Marsden-funded project, focuses upon the transmission of memory within multigenerational families descended from nineteenth-century European settlers. She is currently the president of NOHANZ, and on the editorial boards of the *Oral History Australia* journal and the international editorial advisory board of *Oral History* (UK).

## Publishers Panel

### **Sam Elworthy, Catherine Montgomery and Tom Rennie**

Frances Steel (chair) talks with three publishers (Tom Rennie, BWB; Sam Elworthy, AUP; Catherine Montgomery, CUP) about publishing history books in Aotearoa today. How do you develop research and ideas into a book? How do you approach a publisher? What should you be watching out for? What sells and what doesn't? What's changing in publishing and how will that impact scholars over the next few years?

Nō Ingarangi ōku tupuna, nō Te Wai Pounamu ahau, e mahi ana au hei kaiwhakaputa pukapuka ki Auckland University Press. **Sam Elworthy** is director of Auckland University Press. He has a master's in history from Otago and a doctorate from Rutgers. He's worked in publishing for the past 25 years, publishing science books and working as editor-in-chief at Princeton University Press and then returning to Aotearoa 15 years ago to AUP. He's chaired the Publishers Association, the Book Awards Trust and the Michael King Writers Centre and served on the board of the International Publishers Association.

**Tom Rennie** is publisher and general manager at Bridget Williams Books (BWB). With a master's in Publishing Studies from Oxford Brookes University and experience in educational publishing in London, he returned to Aotearoa in 2010, leading BWB's digital strategy. He established the digital BWB Collections platform, and has been publisher for the BWB Texts series since launching in 2013. Tom is a director of Copyright Licensing New Zealand and has served on the Publishers Association of New Zealand council.

**Catherine Montgomery** is publisher at Canterbury University Press.

# Tūpuna Visions: Critical Māori Intellectual History

**Marama Salsano, Sam Iti Prendergast, Ammon Hāwea Apiata  
and Karamea Moana Wright**

In nineteenth and twentieth century writing, translations, compositions, and kōrero tuku iho, tūpuna Māori (Māori ancestors) critiqued imperialism and offered visions for robust Māori futures. In this roundtable four Māori scholars from across Aotearoa ask what it means to take our tūpuna texts seriously as sites of rich intellectual theorizing. We engage three key questions: what does it mean to contest existing interpretations of tūpuna writing and compositions, how might we foreground hapū and whānau re-interpretations of tūpuna works, and what can we learn from our tūpuna when we locate their words in new, diverse, and defiant contexts? We will read nineteenth century tūpuna critiques of colonial invasion in the broader context of Pacific Indigenous theorizing. We will present poetic re-interpretations of tūpuna compositions. And we will ask how our relationship to our tūpuna, as twenty-first century uri, opens up new possibilities for approaching tūpuna texts as sites of instruction and guidance.

**Marama Salsano (Ngāi Tūhoe, Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Wairere)** is a PhD candidate at the International Institute of Modern Letters at Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand, where she works within the broad field of Māori and Indigenous Literary Studies. A writer-scholar undertaking a significant creative writing project as part of her doctoral studies, Marama's creative work has been recognised in national fiction competitions and has been published in various anthologies and journals.

**Sam Iti Prendergast (Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato, Tainui)** is a Lecturer in History at the University of Waikato. Sam is currently working on two projects, one that investigates Māori theories of colonial violence in the late 19th and 20th centuries, and one that explores the histories of twentieth and twenty-first century history Māori movements onto the unceded territories of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples.

**Ammon Hāwea Apiata (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Toarangatira, Ngāti Koata)** is an Indigenous researcher whose interests include Māori intellectual history, Māori literatures and archives, and Māori spiritualities. Ammon's work explores examples of Indigenous agency through investigating acts of writing in an Indigenous language.

**Karamea Moana Wright (Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Kāi Tahu)** is a PhD candidate at the University of Otago in Te Tumu. Her project traces Māori-U.S. connections as early as the 18th century, as well as the historical whakapapa of the U.S. Māori diaspora, particularly in connection with the LDS church. Having been born and raised in Hawai'i, Karamea's particular interest is in Māori identity-making, including how Māori engage, express, articulate, and display this identity while living and settling in the United States.



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# ABSTRACTS



# The Provisional National Defense Council and Tourism Development in Ghana: 1981-1992

**Yobo Opare Addo**

Ghana came under a military rule of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) from 1981 to 1992. Ghana's political life was violent. For three years, during 1982-84, several attempts were made to dislodge the PNDC Government. At the same time protracted drought crumbled the economy subsequently tourism declined sharply. Despite the several attempts to dislodge the PNDC Government, political stability prevailed on the whole. The year 1985 marked a turning point in the development of the tourism industry in Ghana. Interest in tourism among African governments and for that matter the PNDC Government arose because of adverse developments in tangible exports and a corresponding decline in commodity export earnings. Consequently, the government embarked on export diversification in order to reap the foreign exchange that tourism could generate. This paper takes a critical look at the policies of the PNDC Government; the adoption and implementation of privatization, reformation of the Arts Council, the activities of the Ghana Tourism Board, the provision of tourism facilities and infrastructure and how these factors impacted on the tourism industry in Ghana. In the final analysis an assessment is made on the Government's contribution towards tourism development.

**Yobo Opare-Addo** is an educator, researcher and a Doctor of Philosophy student in History at the University of Witwatersrand, South Africa. He holds M. Phil (History) 2006, B.A (History) 1993 and Dip. (Education) 1993, from the University of Cape Coast, Ghana. He has published four journal articles and a book. His publications reflect interest in tourism, public history, and African history. Currently, he is researching on the topic 'The historical crossroads of Sekondi: A recipe for public history and tourism 1900-1965.' He has attended a few conferences and worked in Ghana as teacher and programme coordinator.

# Unearthing connections: Te Papa's historical South African Collection

**Safua Akeli Amaama and Courtney Powell**

Te Papa Museum's International History Collection comprises about 6,000 collection items, around 1,000 of which are associated with South Africa. This paper provides a brief overview of the collection's development and the recent research exploring its predominantly cultural objects. Recent work has consisted of a collection survey and a series of blog posts on Te Papa's website highlighting particular objects. This aimed to emphasise connections between Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa since the 19th century and bring the collection back into public awareness. This paper highlights significant key donors identified in the course of the collection research and their associated objects. The authors will discuss the important interinstitutional relationships that have been made between various bodies within New Zealand and South Africa.

**Safua Akeli Amaama** is the Head of New Zealand Histories and Pacific Cultures at Te Papa Museum. She is the current President of the Pacific History Association. Safua completed a PhD in History from the University of Queensland. She is Adjunct Research Fellow in the Museum and Heritage Studies program at Victoria University of Wellington, and an Associate Researcher for the Centre for Pacific Studies at the University of St Andrews in Scotland. She is also an Advisory member of the Auckland University of Technology Child and Youth Health Research Centre.

**Courtney Powell** is a recent graduate from Victoria University of Wellington Te Herenga Waka with a Master's in History. She was a Summer Research Scholar at Te Papa Museum (2021-22) working on the historical South Africa collections. Courtney has also been a Research Assistant for scholarly and cross-cultural publications.

# “To Fly Up into the Foliage”: Exploring Māori Movements Around Forest Conservation, Exploitation, and Cultural Continuity in Mid-Nineteenth Century Wairarapa

**Jamie Ashworth**

While much research has been completed on European forestry during the same period (Roche, 1990; Star, 2003; Johnston, 2019), this paper examines indigenous efforts towards forest conservation in Wairarapa during the mid-nineteenth century, with a focus on attitudes and actions of tangata whenua. By analysing primary materials that amplify Māori voices, the study utilizes comparative and qualitative methods to critically assess the use of forest land resources, variations in approaches between different Māori groups, and resulting social, economic, and political impacts on tangata whenua, both Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne, across the region. This investigation concludes that Māori socio-political responses to forest land management in Wairarapa during this period followed multiple trajectories. While some Māori advocated for significant compensation to sever their connections to whakapapa and whenua when selling forest land, others sought compromise between outright sale and the complete absence of Pākehā, leading to the emergence of quasi-legal land leasing systems. Interactions among Māori also influenced population movements within the region and shaped approaches to forest land management, as communally-focused hapū gradually transitioned to other forms of land ownership. Notably, a strong conservation ethic among Māori regarding forest land usage remained prominent. This ethic influenced negotiation, purchase, and sale methods, and influenced political and social discourse. Core concepts such as rāhui, tapu, noa, and mana whenua played vital roles in Māori navigation of the rapidly changing landscape. This research highlights parallels to modern social and political movements and suggests a new approach to studying forest history in the Wairarapa region.

**Jamie Ashworth** is a final-year MA candidate in History at Massey University, specializing in nineteenth-century environmental history. Their thesis examines the relationship between Māori, Pākehā, and the forest environments of Aotearoa throughout the nineteenth century, culminating in a critical examination of the causes and effects of the Forests Act of 1874. Their other research interests include colonial histories of gender diversity, the social impacts of environmental change, and the role of settler-colonialism in defining ecologies and economies.



# Whatever Happened to Poor Mrs Kendall?: Reassessing Historiographical Approaches to the Early Missions.

**Felicity Barnes**

Thomas Kendall's life has inspired a scholarly biography by one of our foremost historians, plays by leading literary figures, and even a little poetry (by another eminent historian). However, his wife Jane, who shared his life and apparently some of his transgressions – musket trading, heavy drinking and an extramarital relationship – has proved less compelling. She is only remembered in a short essay and a few passing references, then reimagined as an 'illiterate, clever, passionate' 'earthy country girl', who falls in love with a Paine-inspired seditionist in a romantic novel.

We can of course explain this difference by invoking gender's effects historically: Jane was illiterate, leaving few traces behind, whereas Thomas was educated, bequeathing future historians copious records. Gender's impact can be seen in the historiography too, with missionary men still claiming most space, even in recent writing. Yet there is another important factor. Mobilised by empire, Thomas Kendall, along with William Yate, William White and others had cross-cultural intimate relationships, anathema to the mission but intriguing to historians. Jane Kendall's scandal involved a white convict, which seems to have been easier to overlook both then and now. This paper argues that despite appearances, her affair also reflects the impact of 'cultural crossing' and the new mobilities of empire, offering a broader interpretation of empire and its intimacies.

**Dr Felicity Barnes** is a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Auckland. A cultural historian, much of her work has been interested in issues of settler colonial identity. Her most recent book, *Selling Britishness*, published by McGill-Queens and Auckland University presses, considers the role of commodity cultures in fashioning of Dominion identity in New Zealand, Australia, and Canada.

# 'Ample room for arduous work': Giving Effect to New Zealand's Infant Life Protection legislation 1893-1926

**Shelly Farr Biswell**

New Zealand's efforts to regulate paid childcare that occurred outside the family home led to several pieces of legislation, beginning with the Infant Life Protection Act 1893. Two years after the first legislation was introduced, the high-profile case of 'baby farmer' Williamina 'Minnie' Dean led to the passage of a more stringent version of the Act in 1896. Issues remained, however, and individual cases of infant abuse and neglect in licensed homes led to frequent calls for further reform. By the early twentieth century, social reformers fought for the administration of the legislation to be taken out of the hands of the police, which happened in 1907 when administration was transferred to the education department. The shift occurred at a time when there was increasing emphasis on improving Pakeha infant mortality rates, as evidenced by the establishment of the first St Helens Hospitals and the formation of the Society for the Promotion of the Health of Women and Children (Plunket). While the explicit intent of Infant Life Protection legislation was to address 'baby-farming', the legislation had implicit implications for the infants, birth parents, and foster parents who fell within its purview. This paper looks at the way frontline officials (such as constables, inspectors, and visiting nurses) upheld the dynamic 'care and control' system created by the Infant Life Protection legislation. The research suggests that far from being given effect with a single, clear objective, in practice, the legislation was administered in a localised context to meet changing political, public, and government department leadership mores and expectations.

**Shelly Farr Biswell** has worked in communications for a range of NGOs and government organisations in the United States, New Zealand and Ireland. She has been a freelance writer and editor, including serving as the editor of Public Sector journal for six years. A returning student, she is currently completing an MA thesis in History at Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington.

# Re-imagining Cross-cultural Encounters in Eighteenth Century Aotearoa

**Karen Blennerhassett**

This paper will examine a remarkable drawing depicting an early trade between botanist Joseph Banks (1743-1820) and an unknown Māori man, and consider how its digitization and open access availability has led to its use by contemporary New Zealand artists to critique the doctrine of discovery. In the 1990s, the discovery of a letter from Joseph Banks describing Tupaia, the Ra'iatian high priest and navigator, drawing while in New Zealand led to the attribution of a series of artworks to him. Tupaia (1725 - 1770) helped to guide James Cook on his first Pacific voyage to Aotearoa in 1769 and his drawings had lain unattributed since the eighteenth century.

Tupaia's unique perspective; as an indigenous observer; offers a rare and insightful portrayal of Europeans as 'Other' – a compelling reversal of the colonial gaze. This has not gone unnoticed by today's contemporary artists, particularly those working in the context of image-making in the wake of the Tuia 250th commemorations. Beginning by considering his view 'from the shore', this paper will explore the ongoing resonance and value of this artwork as a source of inspiration for contemporary artists who, it will be argued, recreate and reimagine the historical encounter in order to unpack the legacy of colonization for viewers.

Through close visual analysis of the work of artists who co-opt Tupaia's representation to critique the impact of colonisation on Aotearoa's natural and cultural environments, this paper will emphasise art's capacity to initiate a powerful and meaningful dialogue between the past and present.

Ultimately, it will highlight the contemporary relevance of historical source material to challenge and disrupt dominant narratives of colonial discourse and encourage deeper reflection on the enduring repercussions of colonial encounters.

**Karen Blennerhassett** is a PhD student in Art History at the University of Auckland Waipapa Taumata Rau. Her research investigates the artistic motivations and strategic intentions of contemporary visual artists from Aotearoa and Australia whose works reference or respond to Captain James Cook and the so-called 'voyages of discovery' in the eighteenth century. Informed by decolonial theory, her study highlights the myriad ways artists challenge the hegemony of Western historical discourse and argues that insights from visual responses provide another important way to consider Cook and the legacy of colonization which followed his explorations.

# 'Depraved and Vicious': The Incurable Inmates of New Zealand's Girls' Reformatory 1900-1918

**Delwyn Blondell**

Between 1900 and 1918 New Zealand sent its least co-operative girls and young women into a single state run reformatory to prevent them being drawn into a life of crime or vice. Te Oranga's inmates included girls raised in industrial schools, thieving domestic servants and sexually active adolescents. The original intention was to house and reform those with criminal or vicious tendencies. The reformatory's purpose expanded, as moral panics about young people's activities encouraged attempts to rescue and reclaim a greater range of the troubled or troublesome.

Utilising newly available evidence to research the inmates demonstrates the value of a collective biography approach in assessing the impact an institution had on the majority of its inmates both during their incarceration and after. Evidence of subversive and disruptive behaviours inside the reformatory reveals the girls' agency. The behaviour most likely to attract the incurable label was absconding, as the Home's systems were tested by those running away from service placements or the Home itself.

**Delwyn Blondell** is a Massey University Ph.D candidate.

# Practical History in the Real World: some reflections from a study of rugby league football

**Ryan Bodman**

This paper reflects on the conference theme with reference to my recent study of rugby league in New Zealand. From the outset of that project, I aimed to write a history of the football code that was academically credible and publicly accessible. To do this, I drew on the skills and techniques learned during my time as a history student at university, and combined these with ideas and approaches that evolved as the project developed. This talk will reflect on the lessons learned – and mistakes made – during that project and will comment on some of the practical applications of history in the real world.

**Ryan Bodman** is a Pākehā from Mt Maunganui, who lives in Auckland. Rugby League in New Zealand: A People's History is his first book.

# Quiet Bigamy on New Zealand's Goldfields

**Julia Bradshaw**

Historians of gold rushes have tended to focus on the stories of mobile, young and single men and the history of marriage and family life on the gold fields has not received the same attention. Gold rushes strained family cohesion and contributed to the breakdown of marriages, but divorce was difficult, costly and embarrassing, especially for women. Some women and men married again without either seeking a divorce or waiting for their spouse's death and were therefore guilty of bigamy.

Until recently public records have informed our knowledge of the practice of bigamy but how representative are these records? In 1863 bigamy was said to be a very common crime in Otago yet only four people in the province were charged with bigamy during the 1860s.

Quiet bigamies, those that never became public knowledge, lurk in the background of many colonial families. A previous study has shown that men were more likely to be prosecuted in New Zealand. This study of quiet bigamy analyses 32 cases on the South Island's goldfields before 1900 and finds that 65% of these marriages were made by women, many of them when there was no pressing reason to do so.

Information is provided on the circumstances involved, attitudes to bigamous marriages and their effect on the individuals concerned. Case studies of individuals examine motivations behind and the ramifications of quiet bigamy. In doing so it offers insights into the gendered experiences of marriage and respectability in colonial New Zealand.

The author of five social history books, **Julia Bradshaw** has been working in museums since 1993 and was previously Director of Hokitika Museum. She is now Senior Curator Human History at Canterbury Museum and is currently researching Chinese-European marriages and women on the New Zealand goldfields.

# The Forsters at 250 – and Why They Still Matter

**James Braund**

This year marks the 250th anniversary of the arrival in New Zealand of Johann Reinhold Forster (1729-1798) and his son George (1754-1794), the official naturalists on James Cook's second Pacific voyage. Initially making landfall in Dusky Sound in late March 1773, the Forsters spent the next twenty months sailing Pacific waters, during which time they amassed a substantial body of scientific and ethnographic material. This paper argues that the Forsters were far from being compliant or unquestioning scientists in the service of empire, and that their impressions of the Pacific, and their scientific work in it, remain both highly relevant and historically important today. In buttressing this argument, two key facets of the Forsters' biography will be emphasised. The first is the fact that their cultural and political background as Germans, and in particular their position as civilian supernumeraries on board a British naval ship, presuppose a quintessential outsider status that would have brought a nuanced perspective to bear on many aspects of the voyage as it progressed, including the various European-Indigenous encounters that occurred along the way. The second key facet of the Forsters' biography to be discussed is their important natural history fieldwork in New Zealand and the Pacific, which, on a micro level, continues to be referenced by scientists to this day and, on a macro level, also seems to lay the foundations of a more holistic overview of nature.

**James Braund** is an Honorary Research Fellow in the University of Auckland's School of Cultures, Languages and Linguistics, and has been an active member of that university's Research Centre for Germanic Connections with New Zealand and the Pacific since its inception in 1999. He has published and lectured widely on many aspects of the German connection with New Zealand and the Pacific, and has a special research interest in the many German-speaking naturalists and scientists who visited the region in the period prior to 1900. He has been researching and publishing on the Forsters for more than twenty years.

# Promoting history in the real world

## **Alison Breese**

Promoting and providing history in the real world is part of Alison's daily work. As historian for the company Museograph, she works with her husband providing clients with tools to promote the history of an area or project. This paper outline two examples of her recent work. Alison's own work of the last few years has been within Virtual Reality and Augmented Reality applications giving the general public a taste of long demolished architecture. This type of "time travelling" has led to the recent development of 'The Underground' heritage game developed in conjunction with Te Pūkenga Otago Polytechnic IT students and has raised awareness of Dunedin's fascinating architectural past. Museograph's most recent work has involved the writing and research for a large set of education resources using the new history Curriculum for the Otago Central Rail Trail Trust, which are accessible for free for schools (and others) online and advertised as part of the tourism trail.

**Alison Breese** is a Heritage Assessment Advisor for Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga and historian for the company Museograph. She has had over 20 years' experience in archives and research and completed the first digital Masters of History at University of Otago in 2020. She is currently the Coordinator of the Ōtepoti Dunedin Heritage Festival for 2023.

Known as the "Loo Lady", Alison's specialist topic is Dunedin underground toilet history and is invited to speak regularly across the country on the topic. You can check out her work at [loolady.nz](http://loolady.nz), [museograph.co.nz](http://museograph.co.nz) and [railtales.nz](http://railtales.nz).



# “1953 was the turning point in my life”: Legacies of the Hyde and Tangiwai Railway Disasters

**André Brett**

On 4 June 1943, a Dunedin-bound express train crashed at Hyde, Central Otago, killing 21 passengers. Ten years later, on Christmas Eve 1953, an overnight express from Wellington to Auckland plunged into the Whangaehu River after a lahar from Mount Ruapehu destroyed the North Island Main Trunk bridge at Tangiwai. 151 people died, including 148 of the 176 second-class passengers. These events remain New Zealand’s two worst railway disasters. This paper takes their eightieth and seventieth anniversaries as an opportunity to explore their legacies, especially as Tangiwai is remembered as an ostensibly “natural” disaster while the courts held an individual, the locomotive driver, criminally liable for Hyde.

Disasters resonate in communities for decades, but historians have engaged little with Hyde or Tangiwai. Most accounts—scholarly and journalistic alike—focus on operational and technical aspects rather than consequences for survivors and relatives. When the enduring effects are discussed, this typically features in profiles of individual survival or tragedy. This paper, drawing on published and archival materials, seeks to identify broader long-term legacies. Key themes of grief, trauma, assigning blame, and behavioural change show how New Zealanders coped with disaster in a culture that prioritised “getting on with it”, and how belated memorialisation has brought closure and promoted personal and communal healing.

**Dr André Brett** is Lecturer of History at Curtin University, Perth. He is the author of four books, most recently *Can’t Get There from Here: New Zealand passenger rail since 1920* (Otago University Press, 2021), and the recipient of numerous awards, including the Max Crawford Medal from the Australian Academy of the Humanities. Dr Brett is currently researching two main projects: an enviro-economic history of railways in Australasia pre-WWI, and a history of territorial separation movements in colonial Australasia. He is descended from survivors of both Hyde and Tangiwai.

# A Reel Glance at New Zealand in 1964

## **Barbara Brookes**

In 1964, Selwyn Toogood fronted a six-part television series entitled *These New Zealanders*. Why, we might ask, were Gore, Benmore, Motueka, Huntly, Gisborne and Taupō chosen as the towns to display New Zealand to itself? This paper will analyse the how the series presented these towns, what and who it chose to focus on, and what might seem ‘unreal’ about the series today.

**Barbara Brookes** works on areas where the history of women and the history of medicine intersect. Her most recent essay publications are concerned with asylum photography. Her most recent book is *A History of New Zealand Women* (Bridget Williams Books, 2016), winner of the Illustrated Non-Fiction Category at the Ockham New Zealand Book Awards in 2017. Barbara's new project concerns medicine on the colonial stage.

# Casting the Net Wider: Social Media as a Practical Tool for Historical Research.

**Dean Broughton**

This presentation is framed around the question, is social media a practical and viable source for gathering historical research? It illustrates my experiences of finding sources with the help of social media. One characteristic of the presence of social media interest groups on the internet is their growth as sites of memory and historical archives. Online interest groups cover an array of topics, and it is difficult to think of a subject, hobby, pastime, or interest not represented. These sites can be a gateway to a wealth of personal narratives, pictures, and documents often unavailable through traditional research methods. Although ignored by academic historians this new form of public practical history can help to cast the net wider in the search for historical evidence, as well as encouraging a wider engagement with the public. In my own research into ship jumping seafarer's social media was a valuable tool I relied on for finding evidence. But the experience also generated some questions such as, where does social media sit in comparison to the traditional methods of source gathering? What are the ethical issues and arguments around gathering information from the internet? How do we assess the validity of social media sources? This presentation hopes to generate future discussion on the use of social media for gathering historical sources.

**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 enthusiastic 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.

# Kā Huru Manu and its legacy at Ashburton Museum: Preserving and re-using temporary exhibitions and programmes

## **Danielle Campbell**

From pounamu trails across Te Waipounamu to plentiful mahinga kai at Ōtūwharekai, the Ngāi Tahu history of Hakatere Ashburton was brought to life at Ashburton Museum in late-2022 through a partnership with Ngāi Tahu Archive and local papatipu rūnaka. A temporary exhibition that expanded on the museum's takata whenua display was developed around the Kā Huru Manu cultural mapping project dedicated to mapping traditional place names and stories associated with the Ngāi Tahu rohe.

While visitors had the opportunity to explore this history through maps, photographs, sketches, videos and interactives for the duration of the exhibition, this paper will explore its longevity, ongoing value and inspiration for further mahi within the museum to highlight Ngāi Tahu histories. This includes a refreshed topographical display of the district, which has been updated to include Māori place names and audio elements, and a bilingual audio-visual tour of the museum's permanent exhibition that incorporates additional Ngāi Tahu content.

This paper will also discuss the Nōti Raureka pounamu trail programme that was developed for schools visiting the Kā Huru Manu exhibition, how it aligned with Aotearoa New Zealand's histories curriculum and how temporary exhibition content and programmes such as this can be effectively adapted for continual use beyond their typically short-term span.

**Danielle Campbell** is the Deputy Director of the Ashburton Art Gallery and Museum. She has previously worked in a range of research, curatorial, collection management and interpretation roles at Te Papa, the New Zealand Police Museum, Wellington City Council's heritage department and The Treasury Research Centre and Archive in Thames. Danielle has a Bachelor of Arts in History and a Master of Museum and Heritage Practice from Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of Wellington. She is an Executive Committee member of PHANZA and an ARANZ Council member.

# Leap of Fancy: Keith Caldwell, historical dramatization, and First World War airmen.

## **Adam Claasen**

In September 1918 in northwestern France, Major Keith Caldwell of the Royal Air Force was attacking an enemy biplane, when, at 9000 feet, another member of his squadron collided with him. Caldwell was able to gain precarious control over his crippled aircraft and just before crashing into the ground behind British lines he famously leapt clear, tumbled over and over before standing up and asking for a telephone. News of this ‘miraculous’ escapade spread along the Western Front and back to his New Zealand homeland. In the decades that followed the war, it had numerous retellings in newspapers; military aviation magazines and books; and notably, in 2014, a WETA Workshop life-size recreation of this event at the Omaka Aviation Heritage Museum, Blenheim, was the focal point of a tour of the museum by Sir Peter Jackson, and the Prince and Princess of Wales, William and Catherine. The fabled leap also featured prominently in recent First World War centenary publications and in a TV3 commemorative vignette. In the light of new evidence arising from a substantial biographical project on Caldwell, this paper will analyze the story’s origins, evolution, and its significance in the historiography of the war and the role such stories have in forming and reinforcing literary and visual representations of First World War airmen.

**Adam Claasen** is an historian at Massey University’s Auckland campus. He is a Smithsonian Institute scholarship recipient; a Fulbright Scholar; a Massey University’s Vice Chancellor’s Award for Sustained Excellence in Teaching awardee; and a Massey University Team Research Medal winner. Adam publishes on the role of airpower, military intelligence, and war and society topics associated with the First and Second World War. Currently, he is engaged in a biographical study of New Zealand’s most successful airman of the Great War, Air Commodore Keith Logan ‘Grid’ Caldwell CBE, MC, DFC & Bar, and teaches undergraduate courses on war and society and American foreign policy.

# 'Artificial Frivolity' and Solidarity- Emotional Labour, Pay Equity and the 1919 Brisbane Hotel Strike

**Peter Clayworth**

The Brisbane Hotel Strike of November-December 1919 provides a largely forgotten example of an early strike for gender pay equity in the liquor industry. Brisbane's barmaids, barmen and other liquor trade employees struck over a series of demands, with the central issue being equal pay for barmaids. The strike left Brisbane dry at the hottest time of the year. Union negotiators, all male, argued that the barmaids' deserved better pay as their job involved extended hours of 'artificial frivolity'-effectively describing the concept of emotional labour. This paper examines this early understanding of emotional labour and the Queensland Arbitration Court's response to the argument. It also examines some of the complex gender issues involved in the Hotel Strike, particularly at a time when the temperance movement had great political power. The paper questions the role of male union leadership may have had the watering down of the original strike demands for pay equity.

**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 currently works as an historical researcher for Treaty of Waitangi negotiations. In his spare time, he is busy editing a biography of Red Fed revolutionist Patrick Hodgins Hickey, which he spent far too many years working on. Peter lives in Vogeltown, Wellington, with Janis, a poet and novelist.

# Economy, Efficiency and the 'Home Standard': The Practicalities of Asylum Care on the West Coast

**Jane Comeau**

In the late nineteenth century, the New Zealand Government was determined that its lunatic asylums should emulate their highly efficient and rather grandiose counterparts in England. Nationally, these ambitions were hampered by a comparatively weak economy and a feeble social welfare system. Hokitika's Seaview Asylum faced its own particular challenges, stemming largely from the poverty and general decline of the West Coast in the decades following the gold rushes.

Though small and comparatively unimportant, Seaview was valuable to the government for its thrift and self-sufficiency. While institutions at Christchurch and Dunedin might occasionally receive funding for large projects, Seaview's staff had to beg for shillings and pence. This state of affairs affected many aspects of asylum life, from maintenance and construction to hiring staff.

The ways those at Seaview responded and adapted were often novel. Under the leadership of Superintendent Hugh Gribben, Seaview pioneered new methods that set it apart from other institutions of the time. As a result, Seaview earned a stellar reputation amongst asylum inspectors. It was, at times, considered to be a masterclass in asylum management that the heads of more traditional asylums should look to for inspiration.

This paper examines the significance of place in shaping nineteenth-century mental healthcare practices. In doing so, it adds nuance to our modern perception of the lunatic asylum and its role in the community.

**Jane Comeau** is a recent MA graduate now working at the Canterbury Museum. She has written a Master's thesis on the history of Hokitika's Seaview Asylum, and a dissertation about themes of gender in medieval wall paintings. She has a passion for a broad spectrum of historical topics, with a particular interest in the history of medicine and psychiatry.

## A Reel History of China for New Zealand, 1957

### **Annabel Cooper**

In 1957 filmmakers Rudall and Ramai Hayward were the first 'British' film crew to visit communist China and make documentaries about everyday life there. They were in close contact with Rewi Alley, and presented a korowai to Chairman Mao. Their films of a prosperous, progressive society were among the earliest images of the new China to be seen by New Zealand audiences. What kind of picture did the Haywards paint of a country then relatively unknown to the outside world, and what part did they play in fostering New Zealanders' attitudes to China as the two countries' relationship developed?

**Annabel Cooper** researches the cultural, historical and spatial history of gender in New Zealand and the interrelations between gender, identity and nation or place. Annabel is currently working on a study entitled 'The Pākehā Wars: A Genealogy of Memory and Identity 1900-2008', which analyses film, television, and fiction as well as the formal history of what are usually called the New Zealand Wars. The project specifically addresses the ways in which these colonial wars challenge the comfort of a Pākehā identity shaped by ideals of decency and fairness, and asks how Pākehā have sought to come to terms with this legacy.



# Covid-19 Collecting at Te Papa: Building collections and practicing history in the real world

**Katie Cooper**

Since early 2020 curators at Te Papa have been acquiring objects to represent the Covid-19 pandemic in the national collection. We have acquired posters, photographs, masks, PPE, official documents and protest placards, attempting to capture a range of political, public and personal responses. This paper will explore Te Papa's ever-expanding Covid-19 collection, looking at key collecting themes, methods of acquisition, and the various considerations curators make when developing collections. I argue that the work of building and interpreting collections is practising history in the real world and in real time. We strive to build collections that will be representative and relevant to a range of communities and stakeholders in the future, while also responding to contemporary needs and interests.

**Katie Cooper** is Curator New Zealand Histories and Cultures at Te Papa. Her research focuses on cultural and material histories of colonial life, and she has been working to highlight women's histories in Te Papa's collections. Katie completed her PhD at the University of Otago in 2017, exploring histories of rural New Zealanders as revealed through their kitchens. She is now working on a book manuscript based on that research.

# The introduction of the institutional racism analysis in New Zealand

## Samuel Day

This presentation assesses the practical percolation into New Zealand of the concept of institutional racism. The idea that Aotearoa's institutions advantaged (whether inadvertently or not) some segments of her population at the expense of others can be traced to 1971 and the visit to New Zealand of the American theologian the Rev. Dr. Charles Spivey Jr. This visit, facilitated by the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism, had significant effects on the individuals and organisations that constituted Aotearoa's burgeoning anti-racist community. One organisation significantly affected by Spivey's remarks was the New Zealand Race Relations Council (NZRRC), which quickly adopted the institutional racism analysis. This presentation assesses that uptake, the effects of it on the NZRRC, and the use of the analysis amongst other pressure groups of the 1970s. The Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination (originally formed as a constituent group of the NZRRC) in particular became associated with the research into institutional racism during the 1970s. Its research continues to be of practical use today; their findings vis à vis the conditions of (particularly Māori and Pacific) children cared for by the state have been relied on extensively during the ongoing Royal Commission of Inquiry into Abuse in Care.

**Samuel Day** is a recent graduate of Victoria University of Wellington holding a MA with Distinction in History. His thesis, *Acquiring a Pacific Consciousness: Pākehā Pressure Groups and Pacific Issues in 1970s Aotearoa New Zealand* assessed the responses of four principally Pākehā and middle-class pressure groups towards a growing number of issues affecting Pacific peoples resident in New Zealand during the 1960s and 1970s.

# Unlocking the Past: QR Codes and the Preservation of Pleasant Point Schools' History

**Jane Donald**

The Pleasant Point area in South Canterbury, New Zealand, once had more than a dozen small primary schools. By 1939, however, all had closed. Recognising that the limited archival material on each school was in danger of being completely lost, a group of volunteers began an initiative to liaise with each community and gather information for a brief history of each school to be printed on permanent boards installed on or near the grounds of the former schools. The group utilises social media platforms to publicise its work, which facilitates personal reminiscences as well as the collection of photographs and other relevant documents from the community.

To ensure the accuracy of the information, an independent verification process is implemented. Additionally – and perhaps a key point of difference – QR codes are included on the boards which allow viewers to access original or supplementary information related to each school.

Seven boards have been completed, but the initiative has already inspired other districts in South Canterbury to consider implementing similar projects to preserve their own local histories. This collaborative effort exemplifies the value of community engagement, technological innovation, and the practical application of history in creating a tangible connection to the past for present and future generations.

**Jane Donald**, as a relative newcomer to South Canterbury, loves the natural beauty and rich history that surround me in this region. From the limestone caves with their remarkable Māori rock drawings to the tales of early settlers who shaped the land, South Canterbury holds a tapestry of stories waiting to be unravelled. Jane hopes that her current PhD [VUW] study on the development of Caroline Bay as a seaside resort will illuminate some of the untold stories and provide new insights into the region's social, cultural and economic history.

# CPlay: A Living History Lesson

## Jane Donald

This paper explores the way in which CPlay, a new playground at Caroline Bay, Timaru, aims to create a harmonious blend of Māori and European history, encompassing the rich maritime heritage of both cultures.

Henry Sewell described the early shoreline of Timaru's Caroline Bay in 1853 as 'a wild open roadstead'. Unsurprisingly, there were many shipwrecks, and it was only the construction of several breakwaters from 1895 onwards that transformed the roadstead into a safe harbour and accidentally but fortuitously created a large sandy beach. This enabled Caroline Bay to develop as a popular seaside resort, albeit at the cost of the severe diminution of Waitarakao, the Washdyke Lagoon, which was an important kāinga mahinga kai.

The concept of the latter is central to the playground's design which features a moulded ika tuna (eel), with a climbing frame in the shape of a tirewa (drying rack) and a pataka-styled tree-house. Elements of the European story include a surf rescue flying fox, a swing designed to simulate the harbour lifeboat and perhaps more predictably, replicas of the Timaru lighthouse and a shipwreck. All of these offer children an opportunity to explore and imagine themselves as part of historical narratives. The emphasis on heritage is continued with information panels and a waka-shaped sheltered seating area.

Too often 'themed' playgrounds rely on superficial representations, leading to a forced or random aesthetic. This innovative playground, however, represents a practical application of history that is both exciting and culturally enriching.

**Jane Donald**, is currently completing a PhD in History at Te Herenga Waka (VUW), examining the social, cultural and economic development of Caroline Bay in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Jane is particularly fascinated by the way in which the townspeople of Timaru responded to the astounding appearance of acres of sandy beach on their doorstep, and how they used, promoted, and regulated this new playground.

# Towards a comparative history of the Musket Wars in Aotearoa New Zealand and the Mfecane in Southern Africa, 1807-1840.

**Charles Dugmore**

An increasing enthusiasm for New Zealand history provides an opportunity to shine a new light on the relatively neglected Musket Wars (1807-40) that preceded the Treaty of Waitangi and the New Zealand Wars - now compulsory features of the new NZ History Curriculum. A remarkably similar process occurred in Southern Africa called the Mfecane associated with the rise of powerful states like the Zulu under King Shaka. A comparative history is potentially very rewarding. Violent inter-tribal warfare began in both regions in the early 1800s spurred possibly by the impact of new crops: potatoes in Aotearoa and maize in Southern Africa. Trade with Europeans provided access to powerful new weapons in the form of muskets. Inter-tribal conflicts became much more lethal resulting in many more fatalities, temporary dislocation of people, famine, and even possibly cannibalism. Victims fled vast distances and coalesced into new defensive chiefdoms acquiring firearms, in turn, to defend themselves in impressive fortresses (the 'modern pā in New Zealand, the mountain fortress of the Basotho in Southern Africa). This, in turn, may have helped to pave the way for colonial expansion but may have also, paradoxically, provided the means to later inflict spectacular defeats of the much-vaunted British Imperial Forces (the Battle of Gate Pā in New Zealand and King Moshoeshoe's defeat of the British in Southern Africa) in the subsequent colonial wars of conquest.

**Dr Charles Dugmore** lectured in African History at Khanya College (1989-1994) and tutored at the University of the Witwatersrand (1995-2007). He taught history at Roedean School (SA) and then emigrated to New Zealand in 2015. He is currently a Senior History teacher at Westlake Girls High School. He is the author of multiple chapters, including the Mfecane, in South African History textbooks and contributed extensively to the book, *The Joburg Story*, edited by Nechama Brodie. He has presented papers at national and international conferences, and published journal articles on Krugersdorp, cognitive mapping and on the teaching of history.

# Using History to Inform Anti-Racist Organising

**Mark Dunick**

In 2004 a coalition of Wellington residents came together to oppose the fascist National Front, which had announced it was holding a rally at Parliament. The anti-racist coalition spent several months building a counter rally which brought thousands of Wellingtonians onto the street, delivering a humiliating political and tactical defeat to the vastly outnumbered National Front. This paper will examine the organisation and growth of the anti-racist mobilisation and discuss how this can inform today's anti racist campaigns.

Newspaper clippings, archival sources and participant interviews are used to analyse the way anti-racists came together, debated, strategised and built a broad coalition that brought thousands of people into the streets of Wellington to oppose racism.

This campaign was relatively successful, bringing together a wide range of people from a range of political and social backgrounds to organise against a group of neo nazis while still critiquing structural racism in all its forms, The debates that played out among the organisers are still relevant today as anti-racist campaigners now face a much larger and more complex far right movement.

**Mark Dunick** graduated from Victoria University of Wellington with a PhD in History in 2022. This year he has been based at the University of Stirling, Scotland where he has been researching social movement history.

# Embodying an institutional history: the challenges of capturing university history through material culture.

**Terri Elder & Emily Rosevear**

As the University of Canterbury (UC) celebrated its 150th anniversary in 2023, the opportunity arose to curate an exhibition showcasing aspects of the University's history. *Whiria te tangata: Weaving the People Together* drew heavily on the collection of artefacts identified in the Canterbury College Heritage Collections Survey. The survey, managed by the Teece Museum, had identified 265 artefacts or groups of artefacts in departments and units across the University, providing a potential wealth of material from which to illustrate a history of the University in exhibition form.

Material culture offered the means to explore personal stories and to focus on daily life at the university, but the approach was not without its pitfalls. Our searches across campus revealed that ideas of what constituted 'history', or what objects might be considered historic, could vary widely. Perhaps also unsurprisingly, colleagues tended to want to emphasise textual material, without always seeing the potential value of artefacts used in day-to-day teaching or learning. The richness of material culture available also varied widely, making some stories almost impossible to tell with an object-led approach. Furthermore, given the emphasis placed on engaging with the community, the curatorial team had to consider carefully what content might appeal to a broad audience, and consider how best to represent the institution in that environment. Drawing on our experience with the Survey and the curation of *Whiria te tangata*, this paper will consider some of the challenges involved in identifying, caring for, and communicating an institutional history through material culture.

**Terri Elder** is the Curator of the University of Canterbury Teece Museum of Classical Antiquities and a current PhD candidate in Art History at the University. She holds qualifications in History and Tertiary Teaching from the University of Canterbury, and a Masters in Museum Studies from the University of Cambridge. Terri has worked extensively in museums, art galleries, and collections throughout New Zealand as a curator, registrar, and collection manager and is passionate about using museum objects and material culture for teaching and learning.

**Emily Rosevear** is the Assistant Curator of the University of Canterbury Teece Museum of Classical Antiquities. She holds a Masters in History from the University of Canterbury where her research focused on New Zealand women's history. Emily also holds a NZ Certificate in Museum Practice and over the last five years has worked in school archives across Christchurch. Emily is passionate about the heritage sector and telling stories through community collections.

# Civilization as a Subject for History

## **Peter Field**

The histories of the world have a history. For over a century, scholars have sought to tell a big history, one of humankind as a whole. This talk offers a typology of the world histories and finishes with a deeper exploration of two of the most recent contribution to this remarkable genre: Yuval Harari's *Sapiens* (and *Homo Deus*) and David Graebner and David Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity*.

**Peter Field** is an Associate Professor in the History Department and is Head of the School of Humanities at the University of Canterbury. He has a Ph.D from Columbia University. Trained as an historian, his main focus is political culture in the most broad sense. He writes on intellectuals from a class perspective.



# A political and social biography of Maria Fülöp Lontine

## **Martin Fisher**

My maternal grandmother Maria Fülöp was born on 19 February 1924 in Hajmasker, Hungary and passed away on 1 January 2022 in Budapest. As the historian in my family I was lucky enough to inherit all of her archives. Maria nagyí (grandmother in Magyar/Hungarian) lived a full and eventful life. Her experiences spread across the gamut of Hungarian life in the twentieth century—she was born just after the Treaty of Trianon and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire post World War I and was raised during the interwar Horthy years. Maria nagyí studied and worked through World War II moving from her rural home to Budapest. After the Nazi invasion she was forced back to the countryside before returning to Budapest following the Soviet liberation. She worked most of her adult life under the Soviet communist regime imposed from 1948–1989 and lived over thirty years after Hungary was opened to the west following the disintegration of the USSR.

This paper is purely an exercise in navel gazing, exploring my own family's history. Before she passed away Maria nagyí wrote her memoirs which runs to about 10,000 words. My mother recently translated it for me and it forms the basis of my paper. Her archives include hundreds of photographs, amazing taonga some of which I'll also share. I will provide an outline of my grandmother's life with a thematic focus looking at her experiences in school, her work life in government and university and the experiences of her family after being labelled as kulaks (defined as a prosperous peasant) under the early Communist regime in the 1950s.

**Martin Fisher** is a Senior Lecturer in the Ngai Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury. He was born in Budapest but raised in Toronto, Canada and Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand.

# Solving problems with practical history: an inventory of pre 1900 buildings in central Dunedin, New Zealand

**Sarah Gallagher & Alison Breese**

This paper addresses a tangible example where conducting practical history can solve problems in the real world. Many factors threaten heritage buildings in New Zealand's cities: state of preservation, demolition by neglect, desires for commercial development and the real need for affordable housing. The Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014 protects archaeological sites; sites of human activity prior to 1900. Buildings or structures built prior to this date are archaeological sites under the Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga (HNZPT) require an archaeological authority for total demolition.

Determining whether a building or structured was constructed prior to 1900 is the first step in assessing whether an archaeological authority is required. Methods for establishing the dates of buildings are inconsistent and some can be misleading. Following HNZPT's recent success in prosecuting the destruction of an archaeological site without an archaeological authority, an opportunity arose to create a resource to help mitigate against confusion, misinterpretation, and lack of easy to access information for the wider community.

The result, a project in progress, is a proposed inventory of extant pre 1900 buildings in central Dunedin. Block-by-block, improvements to sections are analysed over time, using available documentary evidence. This paper reports back about the project plan, methodology, pilot phase, lessons learned, and initial findings which aside from addressing our main research question, has highlighted skills required for historians working to support owners of heritage.

**Sarah Gallagher** is Acting Area Manager and listing advisor for Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga where she is responsible for maintaining and developing the Heritage List / Rārangī Kōrero in Otago / Southland. Sarah has a MA in Classics from University of Otago and a MLIS from Victoria University of Wellington. Sarah developed the Dunedin Flat Names Project that records and researches the ephemeral names of student flats in Dunedin. Sarah received a New Zealand History Trust Award in 2009 which led to the publication of 'Scarfie Flats of Dunedin' with Dr Ian Chapman in 2019.

**Alison Breese** is a Heritage Assessment Advisor for Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga and historian for the company Museograph. She has had over 20 years' experience in archives and research and recently completed the first digital Masters of History at University of Otago in 2020. Known as the "Loo Lady", Alison's specialist topic is Dunedin underground toilet history. She is currently the Coordinator of the Ōtepoti Dunedin Heritage Festival for 2023.

# Revisiting the history of Māori-government relations and expressions of tino rangatiratanga during the COVID-19 pandemic

**Joanne Garcia-Moores**

Under the difficult conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic, how did Māori-government relations progress? Covid-19 tested government commitments to support tino rangatiratanga and other Māori rights set out in Te Tiriti and the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Several accounts attest to the strong leadership demonstrated by Māori iwi, hapū, and other groups during the pandemic to help mitigate impacts for Māori people and communities (McMeeking et al, 2020, Te One & Clifford, 2021, UNHRC, 2020). Tino rangatiratanga was exercised through independent and rapid response to the crisis, and in working cooperatively with government to support communities. However, in late 2021, the Waitangi Tribunal found that the government had failed to jointly design the vaccine sequencing framework breaching Māori treaty rights. In addition, government did not consistently engage with Māori on key pandemic policy decisions. As a result, it included measures that disproportionately disrupted Māori traditional practices and meeting places (IWGIA, 2021). As Māori political theorist Dominic O'Sullivan (2018) notes, government-led policy processes often fail to seek out the policy leadership of Indigenous peoples, seeing obligations to consult as a burden, rather than as a source of creative policy solutions. By studying the history of policy decision-making and public health actions during the pandemic, this paper highlights a relational dynamic of unilateral assertions of tino rangatiratanga in emerging spaces of policy and public action alongside ongoing resistance to full policy-making inclusion for Māori in government decision making processes. The practical implications of these findings have the potential to support more inclusive government policy decision-making and greater opportunities for expressions of tino rangatiratanga.

**Joanne Garcia-Moores** (she/her) is a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of Guelph. She is also works to support indigenization and EDI in research as an Advisor in the Research Services Office. Her research in Indigenous rights and public policy compares COVID-19 priority vaccination access policies in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand as a case study to assess political factors affecting government implementation of Indigenous rights as set out in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), in particular the right to participate in decisions (Article 18) and the right to health (Article 24.1).

# Not worth the parchment it was written on?': An Analysis of Kemp's Deed and Native Title.

**Thomas Gilmour**

Although long contested, it is now acknowledged that Te Tiriti o Waitangi/ the Treaty of Waitangi did not transfer Māori proprietary interests to the Crown. Claims made by various Crown agents that Māori sovereignty was in effect nominal, such as Lord Normandy who approved the annexation of New Zealand to the British empire (14 August 1839), reflected the Crown's lack of effective jurisdiction at the time. After the Treaty was signed, Crown agents undertook to negotiate with Māori for 'deeds of purchase' that conveyed significant swathes of Māori land.

Contrary to the notion of the Treaty as a centrepiece of Māori relationships with the Crown, this presentation focuses on the Ngāi Tahu deeds of purchase. Drawing on Paul McHugh's distinction between imperium (a right of sovereignty) and dominium (rights of private ownership), this presentation explores Kemp's Deed (1848) and its exception and guarantee of 'mahinga kai' or traditional food gathering places.

Mahinga kai was described by Rakiihia Tau (Snr.) during the Ngāi Tahu Waitangi Tribunal inquiry as 'the resources of the land, the resources from the bush and forests which include all birds and animals dependent on these resources and ... to all living things within the waterways which include all water be it lake, river, lagoon and sea water'. This presentation discusses how Ngāi Tahu relied on the exception of mahinga kai in Kemp's Deed to claim native title over lakes and rivers. Therefore, this raises the question, was Kemp's Deed truly '[n]ot worth the parchment it was written on'?

**Thomas Gilmour** is currently studying towards a PhD in history at Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha/the University of Canterbury, with a focus on Ngāi Tahu historical claims to freshwater in rivers and lakes throughout the takiwā. He works for Te Kura Taka Pini, a subsidiary of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, that was established to implement the Ngāi Tahu Rangatiratanga over Freshwater Strategy.

# 'For I'm immune, secure/I take Woods Great Peppermint Cure': Selling Immunity to the New Zealand Public, 1890-1940

**Pascale Grard**

From the 1890s, as the public adjusted to a modern world in which, as Aldous Huxley wryly punned in *Brave New World* (1932), 'civilisation is sterilization', a discourse of immunity grew throughout commercial publishing. Immunity became a popular term for marketing medical and domestic goods as varied as false teeth, perfume, bicycles, and lawn sprinklers. Consumers were encouraged to wrap themselves in immunity: to create bodies immune from the inside out through the ingestion of tonics and the wearing of woolen underwear and luxury coats. Pills assured immunity from others, while cold creams, deodorants, and menstrual products offered ways for consumers to become immune to themselves. Collectively, these advertisements promised the creation of an immune lives: with the right food, clothes, medicines, and transport options an entire life of absolute insulation could be created, where even unpredictability could be eradicated.

This paper looks at the narrative of immune bodies found in advertising in New Zealand between 1890 and 1940, tracing the articulations of fears about bodily health, vulnerability and abjection. By analysing the different products and promises associated with immunity, I consider the ways populations were encouraged to mitigate risk by purchasing immunity – to become immune by shopping – and ask what light is shed on public hopes and concerns when we study immunity as a sales pitch?

**Pascale Grard** is a PhD student at the University of Waikato where she is writing a thesis entitled 'A Modernist Poetics of Pregnancy'. Pascale's research is interdisciplinary, drawing on methods from literary criticism, history and the medical humanities. She is also a Research Assistant on the project 'Modern Immunity: Modernism, Threat and Immune Poetics', led by Dr Maebh Long of the University of Waikato and supported by the Marsden Fund.

# 'A centre of interpretation': The National Archives debate 1950-1952.

**Mike Grimshaw**

"...all archives are 'figured'. That is, they have dynamic relationships, not just to the past and the present, but to the fate of regimes, the physical environment, the serendipity of bureaucrats, and the care and neglect of the archivists as well." [i]

The recent discussions (2022-2023) as to capacity, contents, systems and futures of the National Archives of New Zealand remind us that archives, their collection, storage, use and maintenance is very much part of a contested history. Despite the 'archival turn' in the humanities over recent decades, archives, their collection, storage and use are not something commonly agreed upon – and never were. The creation of the National Archives of New Zealand was the result of a long struggle to gain support, funding and proper housing. Part of this involved a very public disagreement as to the role and value of national archives by two 'Young Turk' historians in the 1950s who later became noted eminence grise of New Zealand history and society: Keith Sinclair and W.H. Oliver. This paper begins with the very public dispute as to the value and worth of archives undertaken in *The Listener* in 1950 that intensified in reaction to the archives destroyed in the Hope Gibbons fire of 1952. It then traces the discussions and lobbying undertaken by Guy Scholefield at library conferences to argue for the establishment of the archives. The paper concludes by positioning the history of the National Archives in a wider discussion of archives, and historiography and 'history in the real world'.

**Mike Grimshaw**, Associate Professor, Sociology, University of Canterbury, New Zealand. A self-described 'intellectual mongrel' who divides his thinking and research between continental thought and theory, issues of NZ literary, cultural, intellectual and religious history, Radical Theology and the history of ideas. Much of his recent work is on the New Zealand philosopher Arthur Prior, Charles Brasch's *Landfall* and also on the role of editorial cartoons as historical sources. An increasing focus is on the history and (lack of) meaning of the modern university as well as rethinking the history of neoliberalism in NZ.

# The real-world historian as sleuth: Disentangling two instances of deliberate distortion of the historical record with Pacific and international implications.

## **Rosanne Hawarden**

Historians who practice deliberate deceit create ongoing issues for others who unwittingly perpetuate their fictions and readers who expect veracity and accuracy. Exposing wilful distortion is an additional role for the trusting historian forced to act as sleuth. Considering means, motive and opportunity are classic detection techniques that can be utilised retrospectively. Two case studies are presented to illustrate this contrary practice in Pacific and African settings by foreign historians. The first study was for the Becker family of Auckland into their German/Tongan roots. Kurt Düring, a German historian created fanciful tales about the Godeffroy trader, Eduard Becker and his noble Tongan wife, Amelia. He incorrectly identifies Eduard as the German Consul in Samoa in the dramatic events of the late 1880's. Düring's prime motivation is his need to create a living for himself.

The second project explored the 1904-1906 endeavours in Kenya of Scoresby and Katherine Routledge, first anthropologists of the Kikuyu people but better known as the first archaeologists on Easter Island/Rapanui. Richard Meinertzhagen, a British military officer, ornithologist, spy, and author of *The Kenya Diary* met Scoresby as a junior soldier. Meinertzhagen has been shown to have faked multiple bird specimens and records, while inventing scurrilous war tales in Africa and the Middle East. The search for the Routledges' camp in Nyeri exposed Meinertzhagen's photographs of the British colonial outpost as fake, and his maps deliberately distorted. His trashing of the Routledges and life of deceit may reflect an underlying pathology.

The work of both historians needs to be used with caution.

**Dr Rosanne Hawarden's** research for her Doctorate in Business and Administration led to an interest in historic trade networks, focusing on early colonial shipping networks including indigenous canoe networks. In 2018 she completed a B. A. Honours in History at Canterbury University with further training in maritime archaeology. She has volunteered on archaeological sites on Tubuai and Rapa Nui/Easter Island. She is a published Abel Tasman scholar, as well as an internationally recognised scholar in the field of board diversity. She is a former President of the New Zealand Underwater Heritage Group. She is available for bespoke historical research.

# On the Ground: Doing Regional History in Far-Flung Places

**Thomas D. Isern & Suzanne Kelley**

The senior author of this proposal, having pursued research in the grasslands of North America for a half-century and in the New Zealand high country for three decades, learned early in the process that the practice of regional history in the two locales differed profoundly. A memorable dialog with Canterbury's W. J. Gardner clarified the distinction for him, and he has been sorting it out ever since, with a commitment to doing history on the ground, at the grassroots, engaging the details of agricultural practice and environmental engagement. Throughout the current century the junior author, joining a line of research specific to the Lindis district of Central Otago, has transformed its practice by shifting focus to narrative culture, especially that propagated by the women of the district, as the basis of region. At the same time both authors have assumed leadership roles in the definition of region at home, on the Great Plains, the senior author through extensive research and writing and the direction of graduate work, the junior author through the founding of a university press dedicated to the proposition of giving voice to the prairies. They propose a paper reflecting on the practice and posture incumbent on scholars who wish to make a difference, to provide a constructive, grounded history to people of a particular place, whether in America or in Aotearoa.

**Thomas D. (Tom) Isern** is in his thirty-first year of service with North Dakota State University, to which appointment he reported direct from a stint as Senior Fulbright Scholar at the Turnbull Library, Wellington. That 1991 Fulbright focused on the agricultural and environmental history of the South Island grasslands. At the time Isern was established as a scholar of the Great Plains of the United States and Canada, his main research field to present day (his most recent book being a memoir on history and life in North Dakota, Pacing Dakota, and his current work in press being an agricultural history of the Canadian prairies). Throughout the same decades his has pursued a long-term line of offshore research, Learning from the Lindis, in Central Otago. Dr. Kelley is his collaborator in the Lindis research.

**Suzanne Kelley**, Associate Professor of Practice, is editor in chief of North Dakota State University Press and director of the Certificate in Publishing program. She is the immediate past president of the Midwest Independent Publishers Association—a twelve-state, regional service organization—and she serves on the editorial boards of North Dakota Quarterly and Middle West Review. Kelley has worked with scholarly publishing for more than two decades and has been teaching publishing courses since 2009. She has shepherded more than one hundred books through production and is the co-editor of, and contributor to, Paper Camera: A Half Century with New Rivers Press.



# Voices from the war: New Zealand's mobile broadcasters 1940-1945

## **Sarah Johnston**

During World War II radio played a central role in the life of the New Zealand household. New Zealanders were fervent listeners, with the third highest rates of radio ownership in the world. Despite this, radio is barely acknowledged in historiography of Aotearoa's war. Sound historian Sarah Johnston is researching radio during this era, particularly the work of our first broadcasting war correspondents, who travelled with the New Zealand forces in North Africa, the Middle East, Italy and the Pacific as mobile broadcasting units. The recordings they made of New Zealanders and their experience of the war were sent back home to be played on on-air and explicitly, 'to form a sound library of the war for future use.' In this presentation Sarah will talk about findings so far in her research, including the way demand from Māori and Pākehā home front radio listeners shaped the work of the overseas units. She will also discuss real world uses of this surviving sound archive of New Zealand's wartime experience. Her presentation will include archival radio recordings from the era, courtesy of RNZ and Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision.

**Sarah Johnston** is an independent sound history researcher, investigating New Zealand radio during World War II. A former radio broadcaster and sound archivist, Sarah's research received initial funding from the Judith Binney Trust and Manatū Taonga. She is currently working her way through the archive of surviving World War II radio recordings held at Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision, and writing about what she hears at [www.worldwarvoices.wordpress.com](http://www.worldwarvoices.wordpress.com). When not listening to the war, she is coordinator at the Te Puna Rakahau o Macmillan Brown, Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury.

# Chronicle, celebration or work of serious scholarship? Marking the University of Canterbury's centennial and the challenges of writing university histories.

**Chris Jones**

What is the point of university histories? It is possible to make a case for assembling a “chronicle” of people and events, particularly where none yet exists, to preserve institutional memory. However, one might be somewhat sceptical of the value of revisiting well-trodden ground. Why retell an institution's origin story for the umpteenth time? It would be easy to give a cynical answer in an age when many such volumes, particularly in Aotearoa, appear to be little more than exercises in self-promotion. At a time when competition among tertiary institutions has led to unprecedented levels of concern about corporate image, professional historians recognise the challenge of offering honest analysis.

These issues were foremost in my mind when I was asked to chair the editorial board of Canterbury's sesquicentennial history. But I was by no means the first to face them. The tug-of-war between the historian's desire for an analytical approach and institutional preference for a “straightforward” chronicle strongly marked the development of Canterbury's 1973 centennial history. That story gained a unique twist when the project's principal investigator, Neville Phillips, became Canterbury's Vice-Chancellor in the mid 1960s and subsequently engaged in a very public dispute with Robert Muldoon over the value of tertiary education in New Zealand. The relationship between university and society became one of the volume's key themes.

This paper examines the challenges involved in writing institutional accounts, taking UC's centennial history as its case study. Can we escape presentism in the writing of university histories? And should we try?

**Chris Jones** is an associate professor in History at the University of Canterbury. Trained in the UK, France and Canada, his principal research focuses on the history of political thought in the Middle Ages. From 2019 to 2023, he chaired the editorial board for *A New History: The University of Canterbury, 1873-2023* as well as writing the book's introductory essay. He has edited eleven books and digital projects and holds editorial roles with Bloomsbury, Routledge, ARC-Humanities Press, and *H-France Review*, the latter as Chief Editor. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

# Immersive Boats and Story Sovereignty: a social art practice case study in experiential oral histories

**Mikayla Journée & Abann K.A Yor**

In 2017, social practice artist Tiffany Singh collaborated with Abann Yor from Aotearoa Resettled Community Coalition on an immersive public art installation. The artwork entitled *Journey of a Million Miles Begins With One Step* provided a platform for new migrants with refugee backgrounds to share their lived experience and stories of displacement within the framework of a large public art festival. On a Waiheke Island headland, overlooking the Auckland's Waitematā Harbour, a scattering of upturned and richly decorated dinghies played these oral histories, and the public could sit or lie underneath, immersed in these stories of forced relocation. Making space for underheard stories, this work also had political objectives to actively participate in the discourse and call to action to increase Aotearoa's Refugee Quota. And as an example of social practice and participatory public art, *Journey of a Million Miles* is also a robust case study in experiential pedagogy.

This co-presented paper will suggest *Journey of a Million Miles* demonstrates the impact of oral histories in contemporary social and political life and the potential of experiential storytelling in pedagogy and political advocacy. Drawing from PhD research on social art practices in Aotearoa and with reflections from the practitioners, this paper will share the unfurling and manifestation of the artwork, its context and impact for the resettled community in Auckland. We then discuss the dynamics of working in public space, and the complexities of displacement aesthetics and story sovereignty as they emerged in this work.

**Mikayla Journée** (she/her, Pākeha) is a PhD Candidate and Graduate Teaching Assistant in Art History at University of Auckland. Her research is on the history of Social Art practices from Aotearoa. Through contemporary case studies, her focus is on walking- and exchange-based practices and how these mediums are employed in the public realm as storytelling modalities to engage publics with place geographies, memory and counter-archives. Journée presented at AAANZ Conference (2022) on 'chaos' in socially engaged and participatory public art.

**Abann K.A Yor** (Aotearoa Resettled Community Coalition) has been working with Aotearoa Resettled Community Coalition for the past 18 years in various capacities as a community leader, board member, Chairperson and since 2014 as Chief Executive Officer. He is a community advocate, educator, and author. Abann has completed a number of qualifications on his continued pursuit of professional development, recently completing his Master of Applied Indigenous Knowledge through Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. He is a fellow of the Winston Churchill Memorial Trust, a recipient of the New Zealanders Local Hero Award, and Aotearoa Resettled Community Coalition 15 Year Service Award.

# Native Land Court treatment of tino rangatiratanga

**Laura Kamau**

'Recte si possimus, si non quocunque modo, Legally, but if not, by any means possible.' Daniel Pollard 1863.

The paper provides a historiography of the Native Land Court's treatment of tino rangatiratanga. The principal reason for this investigation is very much rooted in present tribal and national politics concerning tribal development and the Māori economy. In particular, the devolution of tino rangatiratanga from Post Government Settlement Entities (PGSE) to hapū and their marae. In May 2023 the Court of Appeal determined that the Māori Land Court and Te Ture Whenua Act 1993 had no jurisdiction in respect to 'general land owned by Māori' that had been transferred as a result of Deeds of Settlement. This decision has further disenfranchised Māori as now the aspiration of tino rangatiratanga is further away than it was in 1982. This means that hapū such as Ngāi Te Rākatō and Ngāti Poporo and their marae, have limited rights to redress worse still, the exercise of their tino rangatiratanga politically, socially and economically is now effectively subjected. The importance of Marae is compounded further as a result of this decision as the Marae is now the last bastion for tino rangatiratanga.

**Laura Kamau** is presently a Doctoral Student at the University of Otago. Her working title; A Question of Identity; Youth Connections to their Ancestral Marae investigates the importance of Marae and whether these connections matter vis a vis.

# Writing family history in someone else's country

## Emma-Jean Kelly

Te Pouhere Kōrero challenge all of us in their tenth volume (BWB, March 2023) to listen harder, to pay more attention to iwi and hapū experience, ngā kōrero tuku iho, oral histories passed down. They also challenge us to think about who we are to tell the stories of others.

In thinking through my practice and my own genealogical (dis)connections to Aotearoa and Ireland, I accidentally fell upon a silence in the telling of my diaspora history – I discovered an Irish immigrant Great Uncle had spent most of his life in Porirua Mental Asylum. Through an old travelling trunk returned to us by the owners of our old family farm at Pahiatua, a painful story emerged which helped my family today talk more openly about mental health and the history of our family members who had previously been labelled hypochondriacs, difficult, alcoholic, eccentric, or just plain embarrassing.

Through research on asylums in Aotearoa and also Irish history, we were able to contextualise my Great Uncle's story, and our settler family's experience. This presentation uses the [article published from this experience](#) of history in the real world to examine the implications for Pākehā learning their history in Aotearoa.

**Dr Emma-Jean Kelly**, Pou Hītori Matua Ataata Rongo, Senior Oral Historian, Manatū Taonga, Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Ko Ingarihi, Ko Airihi, Ko Kotimana, Ko Werehi hoki ōku iwi (I'm English, Irish, Scots and Welsh). Emma-Jean grew up in Taamaki Makau Rau, but lives in Te Whanganui a Tara today. Her PhD thesis on Jonathan Dennis, founding director of Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision examined the bicultural approach of that institution in the 1980s -2000 period. Her subsequent work at Waitangi Tribunal and Manatū Taonga has seen her continue to examine and question her historical practice.

# Power imbalance and New Zealanders' relationships in the Mediterranean during the Second World War

**Josh King**

The Second World War saw over 100,000 New Zealanders transplanted to the Middle East, Greece and Italy. Their interactions with people of these regions were constant and innumerable. And yet, relationships with local people do not often fall within the ambit of traditional military history. If New Zealanders' relations with local people are discussed at all, it is usually in simple and reductive terms. To move beyond the binary of 'good' and 'bad' relationships, this paper explores how New Zealanders' military position framed their interactions with people. Specifically, it argues that a two-fold power imbalance – both material and physical – existed in almost all wartime relationships between New Zealanders and civilians. As part of a large army, New Zealanders came to countries that were, in many parts, poor and vulnerable, suffering from the disastrous effects of war. They on the other hand, were backed by the financial and material wealth of the most industrialised nations in the world, and had at their disposal all the military might these nations could produce. This paper will discuss the imbalances in material and physical power in turn, and look at how they were exacerbated by New Zealanders' unique position outside ordinary legal or justice systems. All of these factors influenced the relationships New Zealanders had with people in the Mediterranean, whether they realised it or not.

**Josh King** completed his PhD in history at Victoria University of Wellington in 2023. His research explores the experience of New Zealanders who served in the Mediterranean during the Second World War. It moves away from a strict battlefield focus, instead delving deeper into complex and varied encounters with place and people in the Middle East, Greece and Italy.

# The X-Rated early history of Wellington; three violent & tragic events that surround the 1843 Wairau Affray

## Rose Laing

A robust historical story is not a simple linear narrative. Memorable and significant historical events often contain unexpected situations and have a practical implication for the real world of today. While studying for my Master's thesis, I discovered that a park I had played sports on as a child, was the location of the largest Māori Pā site in the lower North Island. How come I had never heard about this, having grown up in the area? This Pā site was also the location of a major battle between two rival iwi groups only weeks after the signing of the Port Nicholson Deed in 1839, the Deed which allowed the New Zealand Company to purchase lands which we now know as Wellington, the capital city of New Zealand. Again, why had I never heard of this battle before?

Practical history and the real world are interwoven and often have circular elements where one event will have an impact in an unforeseen way, at an unexpected time, on another event. This is how I found the context to unfold that surrounded the main historical topic that I studied: the 1843 Wairau Affray. It seems that the violence and tragedy, or 'X-rated history', surrounding the Wairau Affray played a part in the reasons why these contextual historical events relating to the Wairau Affray have remained generally unknown to the local people, such as myself. Three interconnected events relating to the Wairau Affray are examined in this paper, involving a battle, a court case and political revenge, which bring deeper understanding to early X-rated history of Wellington.

**Rose Laing** completed her Master of Arts in New Zealand History in 2022 at Te Herenga Waka Victorian University of Wellington, focusing on the impact that the Wairau Affray had on the New Zealand Company settlers in Wellington, from 1843 to 1846. Rose has a background as a history teacher and was greatly influenced by a one-year voluntary teaching position at an international school in Kathmandu, Nepal. The skills produced from the profession of history have led Rose into a career in New Zealand government agencies where she is supporting the development of accountability documents, such as Budget, Annual and Quarterly Reports. Rose is currently an Advisor in the Strategy and Performance Group, for the Ministry of Social Development.

‘Drunk and outrageous.  
Threatening language etc etc’.  
Analysis of the British soldiers in  
New Zealand tried by General  
Court Martial, 1845 to 1870.

**Rebecca Lenihan**

The general court martial was the British army’s highest tribunal. Overseen by the Judge Advocate General, it heard cases that involved commissioned officers and the most serious cases involving other ranks – those cases that carried the death penalty, transportation, or prison sentences of more than two years. In this paper I offer analysis of the registers from the Judge Advocate General’s Office of general courts martial confirmed abroad. These registers give name, rank, regiment, place of trial, nature of the charge and the sentence given for those tried by general court martial in New Zealand but also in the other locations outside of Britain the British army was serving, offering a window into the ‘worst’ behaviours of these soldiers.

Who were these ‘worst offenders’ among the soldiers in New Zealand? Were Irish soldiers disproportionately represented among those tried by this highest tribunal? Were some offences more common in one regiment than another? Were certain offences more common during times of active conflict or during lulls in the conflict? Were offences seasonal? What can analysis of these registers tell us about the men serving in New Zealand, and about conditions in New Zealand for these soldiers? And did a sentence by this court signal the likelihood of further misbehaviour in post-army life?

**Dr Rebecca Lenihan** is an independent historian, and a recipient of a Whiria Te Mahara New Zealand History Grant for 2022/2023. Since 2015 she has been working with Charlotte Macdonald on the Soldiers of Empire project. She is the author of *From Alba to Aotearoa: Profiling New Zealand’s Scots 1840-1920* (Otago University Press, 2015).



# A New Intolerance: Portrayals of New Zealand's WW2 Conscientious Objectors

## David Littlewood

The literature regarding New Zealand's treatment of its Second World War conscientious objectors coalesces around a theme of intolerance. Unless they satisfied a narrow and arbitrarily applied criterion for being 'genuine', objectors were persecuted for their beliefs by the government, the appeal bodies, and the National Service Department, with many losing their liberty and their civil rights as a result. Such intolerance was evident to a much greater degree in New Zealand than in Britain or the other settler-colonies.

Yet adopting a problematic approach towards many conscientious objectors has not been the sole preserve of the wartime authorities. Pacifists were often highly critical of those objectors who decided that their beliefs permitted them to undertake non-combatant, civil defence, or productive roles in the war effort. Thereafter, historians have also tended to diminish the stance of individuals who 'compromised' with the conscription system, a practice that is readily discernable in Dunedin's new Archibald Baxter Peace Garden – the National Memorial for Conscientious Objectors.

This paper argues that lauding pacifists and sidelining other conscientious objectors not only obscures a huge variation in beliefs and attitudes, but also implies that a pacifist stance was fundamentally 'better' or 'more noble'. Ultimately, there is a risk of manifesting an intolerance somewhat akin to that which certain objectors fell victim during the war itself.

**David Littlewood** is a senior lecturer in history at Massey University's Palmerston North Campus. His research focuses on 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.

# Teaching Ethical and Critical Family History: questions and reflections

**Cybèle Locke**

This paper ponders the pedagogy of an assessment package I have set for my 300-level students. It culminates in a biography of a family member (or for first-generation students, someone they have a connection with) who has spent substantial time living in Aotearoa New Zealand. Biographical subjects can be someone who lived in the distant past or an older relative still living. Course content focuses on twentieth-century everyday working lives, with work defined broadly as all the labours we conduct to sustain ourselves. There are two issues I wish to consider here: the first, how do I ensure students do not produce a singular Pākehā settler success story, devoid of the big picture of settler colonialism, and the second, how to guide students through an ethical process that involves families in their projects, where this is possible, and within the constraints of a 12-week course. In sharing my experiences to date, I hope to spark a conversation on people's best practices for teaching critical and ethical family history.

**Cybèle Locke** is a Pākehā historian who foregrounds working-class narratives in her work. She is a senior lecturer at Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of Wellington and author of *Workers in the Margins: Union Radicals in Post-War New Zealand* and *Comrade – Bill Andersen: A Communist, Working-Class Life*. Her most recent publication is Chapter 21 'Dancing for the Revolution: Rona Bailey, New Zealand Artist Activist (1914–2005)' in F. de Haan (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Communist Women Activists around the World*.

# From Imperial Romance to Practical History: Australian and New Zealand Security in the Real World

**Greg Lockhart and Brian Cuddy**

With China now the dominant economic and military power in Asia, the ANZAC narrative is part of an increasingly impractical imperial romance. This is the narrative that has long tied the story of Australian and New Zealand security into a liberal, British-American imperial imaginary, one of a white, Anglo-race-based moral, intellectual, and economic as well as a geopolitical global order.

We plot this narrative, beginning with much Australian involvement in the New Zealand Wars during the global expansion of the British empire in the nineteenth century. Since 1900, the expeditionary military reflex has then worked in the new nations on the faith-based hope that support for the empire in its far-flung wars – from South Africa to Afghanistan – would ensure imperial protection when the need arose at home.

We then analyse the changing vocabularies Australia and New Zealand use to navigate the complications of (on-going) decolonisation in conservative settler societies. Empire becomes development. Western civilisation or the English-speaking peoples becomes the rules-based international order. Imperial small wars become counterinsurgencies. We wonder about the language used to construct the threat that triggers the expeditionary reflex. In Australia at least, the “yellow peril” is in fact the often, unspoken race-based dread. But there is no evidence that, even in 1942, Asian peoples intended to invade Australia or New Zealand. Considerable irrationality drives the expeditionary reflex.

The relationship between white superiority and empire has changed over time. Yet we argue that surfacing colonial racism as the dominant security pathology in Australia and New Zealand is an important step in the construction of practical histories wherein both nations may re-imagine themselves as independent ones in the world’s multi-polar security situation.

**Greg Lockhart** is a Vietnam veteran and historian. Formerly of the Australian National University, he is the author of *Nation in Arms: The Origins of the People’s Army of Vietnam* (1989), *The Minefield: An Australian Tragedy in Vietnam* (2007) and, lately, essays on Australian history. He is co-translator with his wife Monique of *The Light of the Capital: Three Modern Vietnamese Classics* (1996). His memoir *Weaving of Worlds: a Day on Île d’Yeu* is just published.

**Brian Cuddy** is a historian of US foreign relations and Lecturer in Security Studies at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia. He is the editor (with Fredrik Logevall) of *The Vietnam War in the Pacific World* (University of North Carolina Press, 2022) and (with Victor Kattan) of *Making Endless War: The Vietnam and Arab-Israeli Conflicts in the History of International Law* (University of Michigan Press, 2023).

# From mountain stalwarts to cragging superkids: How rock climbers found their footing in Aotearoa, 1974 to 1989.

## **Natalie Looyer**

Rock climbing in Aotearoa New Zealand had been practised as a training activity for mountaineering, or 'proper climbing', since the late 19th century CE. But rock climbing took off as an activity in its own right from the early 1970s on urban crags (rock cliffs) such as Mt Eden Quarry in Auckland and the Port Hills in Christchurch. As rock climbing evolved, the definition of climbing itself broadened, and climbing organisations such as the New Zealand Alpine Club and the Canterbury Mountaineering Club had to adapt in order to represent and cater for different forms of climbing beyond mountaineering alone. In this presentation I will explore the ways that rock climbing emerged out of a long-established mountaineering culture in Aotearoa and formed its own identity, at times in stark contrast to the practices and values of the mountaineering community. With reference to recent oral history interviews that I have conducted with past and present rock climbers, I will discuss how the practices of rock climbers and the developments and modifications they made to crags throughout Aotearoa during a short-but-intensive time of growth came to shape rock climbing culture in Aotearoa over the next several decades.

**Natalie Looyer** is in the second year of my PhD in History at Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington, where she is researching the development of rock climbing in Aotearoa. For Natalie, she has been carrying out oral history interviews with past and present rock climbers in Aotearoa. Natalie has an MA in Classics, and has worked on a number of oral history projects in recent years.

# Preservation and Protection: Environmental Writing and Representations of Māori in Forest and Bird

**Hanna Lu**

In a 2003 article for the *Environment and History* journal, historian Paul Star lamented that "there have been so few [environmental historians], and there has been so much basic spadework to do". This paper is derived from my Masters thesis, which takes up the spade of history relating to Aotearoa New Zealand and nature, and demonstrates that this field cannot be dug without also unearthing problems relating to the practical place of history in the real world. My point of access is through *Forest and Bird*, the now one-hundred-year-old journal of the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society of New Zealand. The Society is remarkable because of its early establishment, prominence, and endurance. Though the journal contains a variety of articles wide-ranging in topic, I focus on the pieces which self-consciously reflect on the authors' duties in the world and attempt to represent Māori people or ideas. I speak to three main conversations in history: the growing concern about climate change and interest in the way Indigenous people view the environment; settlers and the land; and epistemological critiques from both inside and outside the historical discipline about how 'legitimate' knowledge is judged and used. My findings are that the journal's recognition was limited and conditional, and that secondary historical work in this field, by taking on the challenge and analysis of Indigenous scholarship, gains more practicality and necessary integrity.

**Hanna Lu** is a student in History at the University of Auckland. She received a Bachelor of Arts with First Class Honours in 2021 with a dissertation on the use of conspiracy theories against civil rights in the United States of America. Hanna has also held a research scholarship doing work on Auckland Chinese histories and a research assistantship on New Zealanders' views and connections to small towns. She is currently completing a Master of Arts in History on conservationists' representations of Indigenous people and ideas.

# Vanishing acts? History in the contemporary university

**Charlotte Macdonald**

This paper examines the disappearing act of History in the 'unreal' world of the modern university.

History has never, and will never, exist solely in the halls of university History Departments but it has occupied a place there within the wider ecosystem of the production of historical narrative, understanding and imagination.

In 2023 two of New Zealand's universities suffered job cuts, including to Humanities faculties with long standing History departments (University of Otago and Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington). Over the past 5-10 years it is estimated that positions in History departments (or their equivalents) across the country have dropped from around 72 to 46.

Does that matter?

History has continued to thrive. There is much 'practice of history in the real world'. Perhaps History has migrated from universities to other places, and that is something we should celebrate and embrace.

Or are we in danger of losing one element in our diverse History world?

As we meet in Ōtautahi, we might do so cognisant of the vanishing and spectacular reappearing act of Ngāi Tahu history. Since 1991 Ngāi Tahu has staged a systematic and magnificent resurgence. The telling of Ngāi Tahu stories in the 'real world' is transforming the milieu which we all inhabit.

That is an inspiring history to draw on in times that are otherwise full of dark clouds, heavy with the rain of an overheating planet.

At the time of writing **Charlotte Macdonald** was Professor of History at Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington with long term interests in the 19thC. Her major work on the garrison world will appear in 2024. She has recently completed a 3-year term as Chair of the Academy of Fellows, Royal Society of New Zealand Te Apārangi.

# A future for economic history?

**Jim McAloon**

'Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back.' So wrote John Maynard Keynes, in *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (1936: ch 24, section v).

One could infer that Keynes would welcome a conference theme of 'practical history in the real world' and he might even have thought economic history was important, if only to place present concerns in some sort of context. Self-identified economic historians, however, are few and far between in Aotearoa, whether in history or economics departments. Internationally, much of the practice of economic history seems to be the province of economists; one might wonder whether economic history is a branch of history at all.

This paper will review various approaches to economic history, ways in which economic history is done without being called economic history, and consider whether economic history is too important to be left to economists.

**Jim McAloon** is a professor of history at Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of Wellington, and has for many years been a member of the Economic History Society of Australia and New Zealand (which, naturally, should not be associated with the views expressed in this paper). Among his publications are *Judgements of All Kinds: Economic Policymaking in New Zealand 1945-84* (VUP, 2013) and some reflections on the history of capitalism in New Zealand.

# Towards a More Cross-Cultural and Global Perspective on the Aotearoa New Zealand Gold Rushes: Chinese and Irish Gold Miners as a Case Study

**Barry McCarron**

The role of individual minority ethnic groups in the Aotearoa New Zealand gold rushes has recently received much attention in scholarship, the new Aotearoa New Zealand's histories curriculum, museum exhibitions, cultural centres, and other venues, particularly in local, national, or trans-Tasman context, but we have only scratched the surface of exploring these groups in cross-cultural and global perspective. More studies on comparisons and interactions between Chinese, First Nations people, German, Irish, Scottish, and other ethnic groups in the Aotearoa New Zealand gold rushes and the broader nineteenth-century global gold rushes of which they were part, will enrich understanding of the contributions and experiences of each ethnic group and, more broadly, the Aotearoa New Zealand gold rushes. In this vein, my paper examines comparative experiences and the nature and significance of interactions between Chinese and Irish miners, two groups that significantly shaped gold rushes in Aotearoa New Zealand and despite shared histories are generally studied in isolation from one another, with a particular focus on Aotearoa New Zealand and attention to other major goldfield sites of encounter and exchange such as in Australia and North America.

**Barry McCarron** is a lecturer in the Department of History at Sun Yat-sen University. He earned his PhD in history from Georgetown University and previously taught at New York University. His research on Chinese and Irish gold miners in Aotearoa New Zealand is part of a broader forthcoming book project that examines relations between Chinese and Irish in global perspective.



# ‘This story is a mix of fact and fiction’: The First World War, popular culture and capturing the public’s imagination

**Jessica McLean**

During the First World War centenary period, the WW100 Programme sought to ‘deepen understanding’ of the war through ‘personal connections’ and telling stories. While the Programme released its official-looking volumes of print histories, authors and filmmakers outside the realm of historiographical rigour were releasing texts aimed at the general public, often using the framework of ‘historical fiction’ – texts that were ‘based on a true story’. With war narratives in vogue, New Zealand saw biopics, period dramas, and young adult novels that sought to deepen the general public’s understanding of WWI through entertainment. These texts used a variety of techniques to immerse their audiences in the narrative, looking to draw readers and viewers in with everything from surrealist animation to Shavaughn from What Now?. Though fictional teenage diaries and shakycam are likely more effective at luring the everyday New Zealander in to a war story than heavy hardbacks, these works of historical fiction come with their own problems. Is twisting facts to suit the story and putting words into real people’s mouths justified by the greater reach these texts have? And can fictional stories deepen understanding of historical events?

**Jessica McLean** is a PhD candidate from Massey University. After examining New Zealand WWII propaganda for her MA, her doctoral research is assessing and comparing the narratives of the First World War centennial period, as presented by the WW100 Programme’s print histories and a selection of pop culture texts from outside academia, including fiction, film and children’s stories.

# Memory, Inheritance and Objects: Family History in a Museum Context

**Paulien Martens**

Museums are repositories of inherited family objects which connect to both family memories as well as collective narratives. These narratives and memories speak to, but can also challenge and subvert, stories about gender, class and colonial history. Taking inspiration from historians like Ashley Barnwell and Tanya Evans, this paper will explore some of the practices, challenges and ethical considerations involved in researching and writing about family history and narratives as a curator in a museum context. In doing so this paper will also consider the presenter's own reflections about the transition from completing a PhD largely based on the social history of the family to working with family history in a museum setting. This includes reflections on methods of working more closely with family historians and museum objects. The paper will use examples from Canterbury Museum's collection and locate this topic within the history of Canterbury while speaking to broader trends in the field of family history research.

**Paulien Martens** has recently completed her PhD on the history of fatherhood in colonial Dunedin, and she is particularly interested in the history of gender relations and the family in New Zealand. She has been employed as Curator Human History at Canterbury Museum since 2022 and has a particular interest in the Museum's collection related to the social history of Canterbury.

# One Photograph, Many Histories

## **Peter Meihana**

Whakapapa, waiata, haka, whakairo, oral histories, documents and manuscripts, newspapers and diaries are examples of the many sources historians can draw on to construct their narratives. Photographs are another important source of information. Photography arrived in Aotearoa soon after the invention of the daguerreotype in 1839. In the wake of European expansion and colonisation photography became an important tool for recording the 'progress' of British civilisation, the transformation of wilderness areas, and the 'civilising' of Māori.

In this paper one photograph, taken sometime between 1899 and 1914, is used to help retell the many histories of one Te Tauihu community. Ruapaka, in the Pelorus Valley, became a centre of political and religious revival for the Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne, and Ngāti Apa people following the disruptions of the musket wars and onset of colonisation. Hemmed in on small reserves and failing to gain any satisfaction through the Native Land Court processes the Kurahaupō iwi aligned themselves with the Māori Parliament Movement.

Until 2018 whānau were unaware of the photograph's existence. Since then whānau have reconnected with the photograph and in doing so histories that have hitherto been kept within whānau have been shared with the wider iwi community.

**Peter Meihana** is from Te Tauihu o Te-Waka-a-Maui, and is of Rangitāne, Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Apa ki Te Rā Tō and Ngāi Tahu descent. He is a trustee on Te Rūnanga o Rangitāne o Wairau, a former trustee of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Kuia, and sits on committees for Ngāti Apa ki Te Rā Tō. He is a senior lecturer in History at Te Kunenga ki Purehūroa - Massey University. *Privilege in Perpetuity, Busting the Pākehā Myth* (2023) is his most recent publication.

# The Transformative Power of Podcasting: Sharing and Preserving the Stories of Women in NZ's Public Service Typing Pools.

## Meg Melvin

Oral history podcasts present an invaluable opportunity for history practitioners and enthusiasts alike, to publish stories that effectively engage with a broader audience, connect generations and preserve history.

The Keystrokes Per Minute podcast shares the untold stories of women in NZ's Public Service Typing Pools from 1945 till the present day. Despite their vital contributions, the work of these women had gone unrecognised and undervalued, perpetuating gender pay inequity and other societal issues. But now, through the power of podcasting, their stories have been recorded and shared, allowing us to:

- Join the dots
- Connect generations
- Share collective narratives
- Preserve history
- Be a catalyst for change

**Meg Melvin** is a visual storyteller, producer, digital nomad and wild swimmer, from Aotearoa New Zealand. Travel has always played a large role in her life, having lived in Glasgow as a child, then Edinburgh, London and Melbourne, in her twenties and thirties, before returning to Te Whanganui-a-Tara in 2007. A spirit of curiosity has led Meg on many adventures, and throughout her 32 years of commercial, government and non-profit experience, spanning multiple industries, from administration to web development. Through StorycollectiveNZ, Meg endeavours to capture unheard stories from unheard voices, and welcomes you to do the same.

# Baby Starvers and child benefits: The contradictions of the Welfare State during the 1951 Waterfront Dispute.

**Grace Millar**

During the 1951 waterfront dispute, the teachers at Thorndon School told the children of watersiders to sit separately from the other children, as they believed that emergency regulations made it illegal for anyone to share food with the child of a waterside. At the same time, the mothers of those children continued to receive 10 shillings a week from the Social Security Department. The Holland government introduced extreme restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly, utilised the army and criminalised the sharing of food to win the 1951 waterfront dispute. However, they were not prepared to leverage the considerable financial power of the welfare state.

This paper discusses the apparent contradiction between the stringent emergency regulations and the continuation of welfare state support during the 1951 waterfront dispute. The powers that a government is both prepared and able to use is revealing of both that government and the society that it exists in. This moment, where a National government could have used the welfare state to achieve its ends and refrained from doing so was key in cementing the post-war political consensus.

**Grace Millar** wrote her PhD thesis on the 1951 waterfront dispute. She is a committee member of the Labour History Project.

# ‘The Preservation of the History of the Royal New Zealand Air Force’: Establishing an Air Force Museum to preserve and publicly present the history of New Zealand military aviation

**John Moremon**

In 1976, the Royal New Zealand Air Force issued an Air Force Order, ‘The Preservation of the History of the Royal New Zealand Air Force’, opening a path to establishing a museum at Wigram, Christchurch. Over the decade that followed, the RNZAF assembled a collection and constructed a museum that opened on 1 April 1987 on the fiftieth anniversary of the RNZAF’s formation. Originally known as the Royal New Zealand Air Force Museum, it would be briefly renamed ‘Air Force World’, before embracing its current title of Air Force Museum of New Zealand. This is one of three New Zealand Defence Force museums that together collect, record, interpret and exhibit the history of the NZDF and of New Zealand’s wider involvement in armed conflict.

While the NZDF’s museums are each cultural institutions of national importance, to date there has been little study of the motivations, the development, and the enduring presence of these museums in the country’s social and cultural landscape. This reflects an incongruity internationally wherein both military and aviation museums (in the Air Force Museum’s case, it is both) are comparatively little-studied –notwithstanding a flurry of research activity around the Centenary of the Great War. This paper considers the context in which the Air Force Museum was established, including the intentions of the RNZAF, museum staff and volunteers to educate serving members and the general public on New Zealand’s history of military aviation—serving as an example of ‘practical history in the real world’.

**John Moremon** teaches in the School of People, Environment and Planning, Massey University, including courses on the history of warfare, war and society, and legacies of war. He studied History at the University of New England (BA) and the University of New South Wales (PhD), and recently combined his professional interest in History and Defence Studies and a personal interest in museums to complete a Master of Arts in Museum Studies at Massey; his research report is a historical study of the Air Force Museum, potentially forming part of a wider social history of NZDF museums.

# Volunteers and the practice of history

## **Carol Neill and Elizabeth Ward**

Many public history organisations rely on the help of volunteers. From large museums to tiny historical societies, a considerable amount of our local, community and family history in Aotearoa is practiced by volunteers.

In 2022 we undertook a 'regional history resources stocktake' for the Ministry of Education funded research project to assess and catalogue the capabilities of local history organisations to support the Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Curriculum. It quickly became apparent to us that a significant extent of volunteer labour – often of older people – contributes to the running of local, community and family history organisations across this country. This led us to want to map the volunteer activity, and to learn more of the motivations and experiences of 'history volunteers' across Aotearoa.

This presentation will discuss the results of our research run through a survey and focus groups with local, community and family history organisation volunteers across Aotearoa New Zealand regions. In doing so, we will consider how those findings suggest opportunities and challenges for the future of public engagement with those sectors.

**Carol Neill (Auckland University of Technology)** has wide-ranging experience in teaching across history, education and the broader social sciences, including global citizenship studies. Her academic research background was originally in Aotearoa New Zealand history, and her PhD, completed in 2010, examined New Zealand's trade policy history in relation to political, economic and social goals of New Zealand society over the twentieth century. Since then, her research has expanded across economic and social development, education and social history.

**Elizabeth Ward (Marlborough Museum)**

# Towards a Historical Analysis of the Early Development of Table Tennis (Ping Pong) in New Zealand.

**Song Ze Ngo**

Table Tennis (Ping Pong) has a long history in New Zealand making its debut locally in the early 1900s. However, scholarly discussion and literature on the topic of table tennis in New Zealand has been scarce. Although Table Tennis (Ping Pong) is now a major international sport and has been contested at the Olympic and Commonwealth Games, it was very much a minor sport at the time of its introduction onto New Zealand. The sport initially arrived in New Zealand as a vogue but became more widely played during the interwar period. Despite eventually becoming an organized sport, resistance towards table tennis (ping pong) was also evident. Possibly because of its origins as a game played primarily at social functions, the perception of table tennis (ping pong) as a “sport” became somewhat ambiguous. Investigating table tennis (ping pong) in New Zealand offers valuable insights into the construction and understanding of “minor sports” and how these codes may have influenced the contemporary sporting scene and culture in New Zealand.

**Song Ze Ngo (Amos)** is studying towards a Master of Arts in History at Massey University.



# Three Times Removed and Four times Jailed for Indecent Assault on a Male

## **Tony Nightingale**

This presentation is my response as an older gay man to my grandfather's uncle' life, to his convictions for indecent assaults on males, his imprisonment and treatment. I began a family history of my mother's family in part to rekindle her long-term memory as her short-term memory failed. My mother and her sisters knew almost nothing about the Byrons –my mother's grandmother's family and in particular my grandfather's uncle Lewis Weeks Byron (1887-1968).

**Tony Nightingale** was a freelance historian from 1991 until 1998 and has produced five books, Waiuta 1906-1951 (co – authored with Gerry Morris), White Collar and Gumboots: A history of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries; Mobil: 100 Years in New Zealand, The Pacific Forum Line: A Commitment to Regional shipping, and Our Picturesque Heritage: 100 Years of Scenery Preservation in New Zealand. He has worked as an historian for the Department of Conservation, and in Treaty Settlements 1998-2016.

# Cultivating the 'Critics of the Present' via the Past - American New Left Historians, Abolitionism, and Civil Rights Activism in the 1960s

**Luis Paterson**

New Left historian Staughton Lynd wrote his 1968 book *The Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism* for a particular type of reader: the 'critics of the American present.' In tracing the significant, foundational, yet ever-contested influence and utility of radicalism in American democratic society, Lynd consciously sought to avoid the 'detached analysis' of the politically neutral history that was championed by the Consensus School of the 1950s. Rather, he candidly admitted that his inquiry was primarily 'ahistorical,' – he examined the radicals of the past not in situ but to gain direct insight for and forge connections to contemporary Civil Rights and antiwar activists.

Lynd's professed intent to ply the past to inform the present was not unique amongst the New Left. Though the majority of his colleagues did not state their ahistorical focus as directly as Lynd (with the notable exceptions of Howard Zinn and Jesse Lemisch) their works of history, particularly those concerned with abolitionism, were influenced by their sympathy to and direct involvement in Civil Rights activism. Yet the New Left's ahistorical turn was as controversial as it was principled – at the 1967 AHA Conference Consensus stalwart Irwin Unger decried the New Left's 'exaggerated present-mindedness' that suggested a 'contempt for pure history' and the 'natural dialogue of the discipline.' This paper explores the watershed moment the New Left's ahistorical turn caused in American history and how these young historians strove to write history with a practical, contemporary purpose.

**Dr. Luis Paterson** is an Americanist by trade and his research focuses on slavery, abolition, reform, and self-construction in the United States. Delineating the role of the radical reformer in America is one of Paterson's research focuses. When he is not engaged in history, Paterson moonlights as a guitarist and music producer.

# The Fourth Service in the Four Corners: New Zealand's Seafarers in the Second World War

## Grace Penlain

Thousands of New Zealanders served in the Merchant Navy during the Second World War. At least 160 lost their lives and 140 were taken prisoner. The role of the Merchant Navy was so essential to the allied war effort that they were known as the 'fourth service' alongside the Navy, Army, and Air Force.

From the home waters to the four corners of the globe, New Zealand seafarers sailed on ships from many different countries and faced extraordinary danger and challenges at every turn. The first merchant ship was lost on 3 September 1939, and the Merchant Navy remained heavily involved throughout the duration of the war. New Zealand seafarers were in the thick of it from start to finish.

They transported troops, refugees, and supplies through some of the most dangerous waters in the world, acted as hospital ships, evacuated the beaches at Dunkirk, and supported the Normandy landings. They fought through U-boats and the notorious Arctic winters to supply the Soviet Union and kept the transatlantic lifeline alive throughout the Battle of the Atlantic.

Despite this, the story of New Zealand's seafarers in the Second World War remains largely unwritten and many feel their contribution has been forgotten. This paper will discuss how this came to be, what has changed in recent years, and some of the challenges involved in researching those who served in the Merchant Navy.

**Grace Penlain** is a PhD student at Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa (Massey University). Her MA thesis was on the New Zealanders who participated in the Arctic convoys of the Second World War, including those in the Merchant Navy. Her doctoral research seeks to build on this to further tell the story of New Zealand's seafarers in the Second World War.

# Food Propaganda for the Public: Maud Pember Reeves, Dorothy Peel, and the Ministry of Food in First World War Britain

**Kate Pickworth**

In the First World War propaganda was utilised on a mass scale, and its production was not solely a man's role. Many women were involved in official and unofficial capacities to produce propaganda that supported or opposed the war. Whilst historians have predominantly analysed women as recipients of propaganda, and how they were depicted in propaganda, their role in creating it has been a neglected area. Two such women are Maud Pember Reeves and Constance Dorothy Peel, who were employed in an official capacity at the Ministry of Food. In this paper, I will discuss key aspects of their practical propaganda work that was used to engage the public in the war effort. These efforts include taking lectures and speaking tours, producing educational material, creating communal kitchens, educational programmes, and publishing material. My research aims to contribute to the expanding analysis of home front propaganda. This propaganda of the everyday often stressed patriotism and how the ordinary individual could contribute to the war effort through small daily actions.

**Kate Pickworth** is a current doctoral candidate in First World War history at the University of Canterbury. She has recently completed a year studying at the University of Oxford as the Edward Gibbon Wakefield Scholar at Christ Church college. Her research interests focus on women, war, and propaganda.

# Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga's Rainbow List Project

## **Kerryn Pollock**

Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga is the country's leading historic heritage agency and an important public sector user and creator of history through the New Zealand Heritage List/Rārangi Kōrero, the national statutory list of historic places, containing almost 6,000 entries. Each new entry on the list requires substantial historical research and analysis to support the identification of a place as heritage.

A national heritage list is not neutral and reflects dominant power structures, meaning it will inevitably contain representation gaps. Rārangi Kōrero is no different. One representation gap we identified is our country's queer histories and communities. Until recently, only one place on our list was acknowledged as having a queer connection – Frank Sargeson House, a Category 1 historic place. We knew many more listed places would have a queer history that we didn't talk about and were keenly aware that we had no places listed for their queer history as a predominant heritage value.

Now, thanks to our Rainbow List Project, which aims to improve the diversity of the list by recognising places of significance to Aotearoa New Zealand's diverse queer communities, we have 25 listed places whose queer history is acknowledged and the number is growing every year. This paper will traverse the project, exploring in more detail why Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga is doing this work (including the broader social benefits it brings) illustrated throughout by examples of queer heritage listings.

**Kerryn Pollock** is an area manager and senior heritage assessment advisor for Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga, and have previously worked at Bridget Williams Books and as a writer/historian for Te Ara, the online Encyclopedia of New Zealand published by Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture and Heritage. Kerryn is the lead for Heritage New Zealand's Rainbow List Project, an initiative that brings me great professional and personal joy.

# Just another way of wriggling off the hook'? How Pākehā memoirs engage with the history of Aotearoa New Zealand

**Judith Pryor**

Between 2018 and 2023, four popular memoirs were published that engage in diverse ways with what it means to be Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand: Peter Wells, *Dear Oliver: Uncovering a Pākehā history* (2018), Alison Jones, *This Pākehā Life: An unsettled memoir* (2020), Richard Shaw's *The Forgotten Coast* (2021) and John Bluck's *Becoming Pākehā* (2022). Each writer engages with history to both contextualise their personal stories and practically participate in the work of building a more just national discourse.

These are not the first books by Pākehā writers to grapple with questions of identity, belonging, their relationship to tangata whenua and the historical and ongoing impacts of colonisation. Each author engages to some degree with the work of their literary predecessor: journalist and historian Michael King and his groundbreaking, if at times problematic, books *Being Pakeha* (1985) and *Being Pakeha Now* (1999).

In this paper, I explore these books in dialogue with each other in a burgeoning field that extends beyond the academy. I argue that this recent focus on Pākehā identity and its relationship to the history of Aotearoa New Zealand marks a significant attempt to work through the discomfort generated by the awareness and acknowledgement of the writers' membership of the dominant group. Nonetheless, there are limits to this work: the centering of histories of individuals and their families, for example, simultaneously engages with and disavows the racialised power structures rooted in the past that still shape the present.

**Dr Judith Pryor (BA, MA, Waikato; PhD, Cardiff)** 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](http://www.judithpryor.com)

# Te Aho Mutuka Kore: The Role of Weaving in Māori Memory

## Ereni Pūtere

This kōrero challenges the influence of ethnological recording on academic understandings of what constitutes Māori history and knowledge. Ethnological methods and judgements created a perception of mātauraka that excluded and diminished the mana of wāhine and their kōrero tuku iho. As a result, certain forms of mātauraka have been largely neglected and lost to academic understandings of what qualifies 'useful' Māori knowledge and historical sources. This kōrero will assert the authority of wāhine as knowledge holders and seekers through examining the role of wāhine in the creation and transmission of kōrero tuku iho in Kāi Tahu tradition and the mana of kā mahi a te whare pora (weaving) as invaluable physical manifestations of Māori memory. This kōrero argues that this is a necessary indigenisation of historical perceptions of mātauraka Māori and evidential authority to ensure that the mana of wāhine, their expertise and kōrero, is evident and upheld in our understandings and methods of recalling our pasts.

**Ereni Pūtere** (nō Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Te Ātiawa o Taranaki) is a doctoral candidate in History at Kā Waimaero | the Kāi Tahu Centre at Te Whare Wānaka o Waitaha. Her doctoral research examines the impact of recording mātauraka and how those recordings have influenced our understandings of whakapapa and the Māori past. Her research and approach are informed by her ongoing training as a kaiwhatu (weaver of traditional garments) by the Ōtautahi Weavers collective of Rehua Marae in Ōtautahi.

# A Queer Oral History Project: Nonbinary History in Aotearoa

**Erin Ramsay**

The label 'nonbinary' emerged in the 2010s and has become a common gender identity descriptor in the West for people who are neither men nor women. Queer oral history is a methodology with great potential for uncovering queer stories, which have frequently been obscured from the historical record as a result of homophobia and transphobia. This paper outlines the methodology, findings and significance of an MA queer oral history project which used interviews to showcase the life-stories of five nonbinary adults and elders from New Zealand. These five stories, which reach back as far as 1953, provide a window into what being nonbinary has looked like in Aotearoa in the post-war period and later decades of the twentieth century. The narrators (interviewees) of this history project have had to navigate urban, rural, queer and non-queer spaces, each of which has allowed and disallowed nonbinary gender in various ways. Across these spaces the narrators continued to exist, carving out space for themselves. Both the label 'nonbinary' and oral history have been useful to this project in bringing together and making accessible these stories of gender queerness—they are tools which have shed light on experiences which have been missed out of New Zealand's straight and queer histories alike.

**Erin Ramsay** has recently finished their Masters in History at Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington. Their thesis was entitled “‘I Love Who I Am as a Nonbinary Person—That’s When I’m Most at Home’: Life-Stories of Nonbinary Adults and Elders from Aotearoa New Zealand Spanning 1953 to 2022’ .



# Surgeons, Stinks and Sewers: Report on a Christchurch project in the social history of medicine.

## **Geoffrey Rice**

Christchurch in the 1870s had New Zealand's worst death-rates from typhoid and other fevers. A pioneering analysis of causes of death over a decade by Dr Llewellyn Powell, the city's first Medical Officer of Health, found that typhoid made up a quarter of all deaths and these were preventable. On the basis of this research ('Practical History in the Real World?') Powell persuaded the city council to ban cesspits and commence night-soil collection from a pan system. However, his proposal for deep sewers met with strong opposition not only from vested business and political interests but also from the city's older doctors, who were not persuaded by Pasteur's germ-theory and still clung to miasmatic beliefs. Even the doctors at Christchurch Hospital were slow to adopt Listerian antiseptic surgery.

This project was undertaken in order to understand and explain the deep divisions among Christchurch's doctors, which arose from personal differences and quarrels over medical registration. Older doctors with the basic LSA qualification were resentful of younger doctors with university degrees who also advocated new surgical techniques and chloroform anaesthesia.

In the absence of personal papers, individual careers have been reconstructed from newspapers and hospital archives. The aim is to compile a biographical dictionary of Canterbury doctors 1840-1900. Thus far four substantial biographies have been published along with booklet-size studies of hospital inquiries and other episodes.

**Dr Geoffrey Rice** is an Emeritus Professor at the University of Canterbury where he taught European History for nearly forty years. (He was the founding secretary of the NZHA in 1979.) His interest in the social history of medicine started with his book *Black November* on the 1918 influenza pandemic in New Zealand. Its second edition in 2005 was used by the Ministry of Health as a worst-case scenario for the 2016 Pandemic Plan. He has also published books on Christchurch local history and several biographies. He is secretary of the Canterbury History Foundation and was appointed ONZM for services to historical research in 2021.

# ‘The stain of blood that writes an island story’: Investigating Abel Tasman’s Significance to New Zealand’s National Identity through Commemorative Objects, Places and Events.

## **Xanthe Rose**

The Dutch explorer Abel Tasman has a unique role in New Zealand’s history as the first European to ‘discover’ New Zealand in 1642. Tasman’s expedition also marked the first known encounter between Māori and Europeans. However, in historical writing he is often overlooked in favour of figures such as James Cook and the British imperial legacy that is associated with him. While Tasman indeed left a comparatively small impression, investigating how Tasman has been publicly commemorated in New Zealand despite this being a place where he neither set foot, lived, or died reveals a much different picture about Tasman’s significance to New Zealand.

This work is based on an honours-level paper, *Rediscovering Tasman: The Place of Abel Tasman’s Commemorations in the Construction of New Zealand’s National Identity*. It draws upon a variation of source material including interview data and multiple forms of commemoration. By locating and analysing the level of commemoration that has occurred outside of relevant historiographies, this paper seeks to highlight how Tasman’s name, imagery, and history has taken on a practical function based on how these aspects have been re-appropriated and implemented into material objects, physical places, and events of national significance. It considers what we can learn from Tasman’s commemorations about how New Zealand has thought about its national identity, its relationship with Britain and the Netherlands, Māori and Pākehā relations, and decolonisation over time. It discusses how this knowledge may aid in developing practical solutions to recent discourse surrounding commemorating colonial figures in New Zealand.

**Xanthe Rose** (Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Porou) is a current History Honours student at the University of Canterbury working on investigating the role that commemorating European Explorers in Aotearoa New Zealand has played in the construction of ideas about national identity, Māori and Pākehā relations, international relations, and decolonisation. More broadly, her research focuses on combining elements of historical geography, the analysis of material objects, and the inclusion of cross-cultural perspectives and voices into the study of this aspect of New Zealand’s past and its current relevance.

## Too grandiose, too complicated and too over-organised: New Zealand anti-Olympism and the embrace of the British Empire Games during the inter-war years

**Greg Ryan**

From the early 1920s, and especially following well publicised British complaints over the conduct of the 1924 Paris Olympic games, there were various strands of hostility towards the Olympic movement in New Zealand in the context of a wider critique of the excesses of international sport. While some of the criticism emerged from the press, and raises the perennial question as to whether this shaped or reflected wider public opinion, one of the stronger critics by 1936 was world renowned middle-distance runner and Berlin 1500m gold medallist Jack Lovelock. In turn, New Zealand's embrace of the British Empire Games from 1930 needs to be understood as in some part a reaction against Olympism and an emphasis on the imperial family rather than aggressive nationalism and internationalism.

## The Battle for New Zealand Rugby: class conflict and sacrifice 1915-25

In part this paper traverses how class and other tensions between rugby union and rugby league following the arrival of the later in New Zealand in 1908 played out during the war amid wider debates as to whether sport should continue at all. More specifically the focus is on reform proposals promoted by the Auckland and Canterbury rugby unions in particular to counter the new game. The fierce opposition to these within some sections of New Zealand rugby and especially from conservative administrators of the game in Britain rather undermines the conventional understanding of a nexus between rugby and nationalism. Indeed, these debates also reveal certain strands of anti-imperialism.

**Greg Ryan** is Professor of history and Proctor at Lincoln University.

# Facilitating Public Servants' Understanding of Te Tiriti – A Case Study of He Tohu

## **Tanja Schubert-McArthur**

Since May 2017 the National Library is the home of He Tohu, a permanent exhibition of the original documents of He Whakaputanga – the Declaration of Independence, Te Tiriti o Waitangi – the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Petihana Whakamana Pōti Wāhine – the Women's Suffrage Petition. While the documents themselves are public records in the care of Archives New Zealand, each year the National Library's Public Experience team delivers hundreds of guided tours and programmes to schools and adult groups.

This presentation will focus on public servants who make up the lion's share of adult groups visiting He Tohu. To reach out-of-town kaimahi and help bridge the perceived gap of knowledge about Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the public sector, the Public Engagement Team have developed a webinar providing the historical background for each document and initiated a Te Tiriti o Waitangi workbook for public servants which was published in 2023. It responded to demand from public servants and was designed to complement a guided or self-guided visit and be worked through in their own organisations individually or in teams. Understanding Te Tiriti's place in Aotearoa New Zealand's histories, particularly as the foundation of the Māori-Crown relationship is a pre-requisite to understanding the public servants' role in becoming a better Treaty partner.

This presentation showcases the various offerings for public servants of accessing public history through He Tohu, their challenges, benefits and impacts. It will discuss the different methods used in public visitor experiences to bring history alive, and the role that libraries can play in supporting the education of society.

Biography:

**Tanja Schubert-McArthur** is a learning facilitator at the National Library. She delivers tours and programmes related to the He Tohu exhibition and curates the E oho! Waitangi series of lectures. Tanja's background is in cultural anthropology. She has studied at Tuebingen University in Germany and completed her PhD at Victoria University of Wellington. Her book 'Biculturalism at New Zealand's National Museum: An Ethnography of Te Papa' was published in 2019 (Routledge). Tanja has worked at Te Papa and the Waitangi Tribunal. Her passion is educating diverse audiences about Aotearoa New Zealand's histories.

# Historian, Archivist, Practitioner: capturing ephemeral arts in the here and now.

## **Marianne Schultz**

This paper explores my work as a historian and archivist of the performing arts. Utilising my training and practice as a historian and researcher, as well as my personal embodied history as a professional dance artist, my career has taken a new turn, working as an archivist for several performing arts organizations. Recent clients include the Royal New Zealand Ballet, the New Zealand Dance Company, Massive Theatre, The Auckland Arts Festival and Tempo Dance Festival, amongst others. The recent push for digital access by the funders of these mainly non-profit organizations has seen an increase in urgency towards preservation and organization of records in the performing arts. Likewise, as the on-line presence of the arts has increased, not only through technological innovations but also the practical necessities imposed by Covid-19 lockdowns, archives of theatre and dance companies and arts festivals have become increasingly vital in both looking back at the histories of these organizations but also in keeping their presence alive in the here and now.

In developing my work, I have discovered variations in the individual needs of each organization, from preserving paperwork and photographs, creating inventories of costumes and working journals to organizing archival spaces, disposing of redundant records and marketing collateral, writing potted histories of organizations for their website, to creating online digital booklets consisting of photographs, reviews, film clips and sound recordings of past performances. Most recently I have been approached to create a 'working archive' to assist a choreographer as she develops a new major work.

**Dr Marianne Schultz**, PhD, History from the University of Auckland, MA Performing Arts from Middlesex University, London. Marianne has danced and taught professionally in the United States and New Zealand. She is the author of two books; *Performing Indigenous Culture on Stage and Screen: A Harmony of Frenzy and Limbs* and *Dance Company: Dance For All People*. Her articles and chapters have appeared in several peer-reviewed journals and in edited collections including *Staging the Other in Nineteenth-Century British Drama*, and *Music, Dance and the Archive*. She currently works as an archivist for several performing arts organizations in Aotearoa and the USA.

# Locating Pacific History: materials, methods & manifestations at Canterbury Museum

## **Hatesa Seumanutafa**

Locating Pacific History in and of itself is a complex exercise in patience, as one tries to navigate the historical and contemporary politics of authenticity, regional designations and cultural determinates present within the thousands of inhabited islands scattered throughout the largest Ocean in the world.

Canterbury Museum is going through a five-year major redevelopment of its buildings. This includes a refreshing of exhibition narratives, programmes and spaces, as well as reviews and adoptions of cultural and operational strategies. This paper discusses the Pacific History located in materials, methods and manifestations at Canterbury Museum, as the potential nexus to developing a Pasifika space in the new Museum.

**Hatesa Seumanutafa** (MMHP) is the Curator Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Human Histories at Canterbury Museum. Her research interests include the material culture and natural world of Aotearoa, the wider Pacific and world's Indigenous peoples.

# Islamophobia and New Zealand's Imperial Past.

**Daniel Steel**

Frequent anti-colonial resistance, coupled with reductionist understandings of the Islamic doctrine of jihad, established Muslims in the British imperial imagination as inherently disloyal subjects whose faith imposed upon them an immutable and inescapable command to religious violence against non-Muslims. Many scholars claim direct continuity between this imperial worldview and modern Islamophobia, arguing that the enduring cycle of anti-Muslim prejudice can only be broken by exposing and critically discussing its historical roots—an example of 'practical history in the real world'. Others find in such enterprises the dangers of presentist analyses of history, where approaching the past with modern political concerns in mind can distort our understanding of it. This subject poses important general questions for efforts to make history relevant for contemporary audiences. The 2019 Mosque Shootings also lends the subject particular local importance. Essentialised views of Islam and Muslims in contemporary New Zealand society have been traced vaguely back to prejudices associated with 'British colonialism' and 'white privilege' without considering New Zealand's specific historical connections with the Muslim world through the British Empire. As this paper shows, New Zealanders frequently engaged in nuanced debates surrounding the perceived threat of jihad to their empire throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Amidst varying degrees of Islamophobia there was a consensus that Muslim unrest directly impacted New Zealanders as members of the self-described 'Greatest Muslim Power in the World'. New Zealand's imperial past connects our nation to wider debates about history's relevance to contemporary global issues than is typically recognised today.

**Daniel Steel** is a PhD Candidate in History at the University of Canterbury, studying British and New Zealand views of empire during the First World War, with particular reference to the Middle Eastern theatre. He holds the Brownlie Scholarship, awarded to the top doctoral scholarship applicant, and Edward Gibbon Wakefield Scholarship, which funded a year's stay at Christ Church, Oxford.

# The 'Harper incident', 1903: Mobile whiteness and the limits of transpacific exchange

**Frances Steel**

In 1903 21-year-old Kenneth Harper left his hometown of Dunedin, travelling north to Auckland to board the Oceanic Company steamship Sierra. He was heading to the United States to assume a clerk's position at the Bank of British North America in San Francisco. Yet his entry would be refused as a breach of America's contract labour law. Furthermore, during his passage back home, Harper would be briefly detained by police at Honolulu. In this paper I chart the diplomatic and popular responses in New Zealand and elsewhere to the 'Harper incident'. The rise of white men's countries around the Pacific have typically been read through the shared attitudes underpinning exclusionary immigration legislation targeted at 'Asiatics' from the late nineteenth century. This incident, in contrast, offers insights into the limits of such imagined ties of 'blood brotherhood'. It also prefigures later responses to the US immigration quotas introduced in the 1920s, which allocated New Zealand and Australia the lowest possible annual quota of 100. More than a contribution to the history of border controls, however, I want to suggest that the Harper incident can also be usefully read alongside New Zealand's anxieties about rising American power in the Pacific, particularly following the annexation of Hawai'i in 1898.

**Frances Steel** teaches at the University of Otago. Her research centres on colonial networks and transoceanic mobilities, with her current book project focused on the empires of Britain, its settler colonies and the United States in the Pacific, as framed by transpacific routes of passenger shipping and aviation (c.1860-1950). Her publications include *Oceania under Steam: Sea Transport and the Cultures of Colonialism, c.1870-1914* (Manchester University Press, 2011), the co-authored *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).



# The Aeolian Harp: Nature and Sound in the Nineteenth Century Mission Station

**Elisabeth Stegen**

Now an obscure item, the aeolian harp was once a popular possession of nineteenth-century British and imperial homes. The aeolian harp was an object that was a part of the material culture of Te Papa Mission Station in Tauranga, which was the home to Archdeacon Alfred Nesbit Brown of the Christian Missionary Society and his family from 1838 to 1887. In the aftermath of the 1960s Land Wars, the mission station dissipated, becoming a private residence; in 1999, it began to operate as a public historic site, known today as The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. This paper engages with the aeolian harp's history as a part of Te Papa mission station's stories, considering how that history can develop The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga's interpretation. House museums tend to present interpretations that eulogise the nation; previous research then has considered material culture in historical contexts and its relation to the museum interpretation. This study builds on that scholarship and the development of material culture studies' consideration of objects' sensory characteristics. Examining this aeolian harp enables us to consider how an object of the domestic interior is interwoven with broader social, cultural, and environmental discussions of imperialism as colonists recreated spaces that felt like 'home.' Such an analysis means that seeing, and listening to, the aeolian harp may then enable the visitor of the public historic space a visceral experience that gives insight to the complicated local histories of Aotearoa New Zealand's past

I'm **Elisabeth Stegen**; I'm studying at the University of Waikato for a Master's in History. In my thesis, I examine the material culture of the house museum The Elms | Te Papa Tauranga. I consider how a historical lens may develop the narratives and interpretations of a house museum. I examine past narratives of the house museum and some of the recent approaches of museum interpretation. I consider the histories of three items which is an analysis that is then brought into a discussion of what these histories may mean for the house museum today.

# Tāhuhu kōrero whakaari. Establishing the elements in a history of Māori theatre.

## **Pip Stephenson**

This paper outlines proposed work toward constructing a history of Māori theatre in Aotearoa, being undertaken to establish a foundation for my doctoral research. As an enduring practice of artistic expression, theatre in its varying configurations has been captivating audiences through storytelling for centuries. Drawing on existing literature, this examination will trace the movement of Māori theatre from its origins through contentions of colonial interruption to resurgence.

This paper is energised by a passion for celebrating Māori theatre and an aspiration to further illuminate contributions Māori theatrical expressions have made to the tapestry of Aotearoa performing arts. It endeavours to contribute to the thorough exploration of past and present Māori theatre as a possibility to understand the development of this vibrant part of our indigenous history.

This work towards the representation of a development of Māori theatre grasps the desire from Roma Potiki in 1991 for easily accessible documented research from Māori to ensure the whakapapa of Māori theatre is not lost (Potiki, 1991). The challenges and benefits of conducting this research across varied digital and physical archive materials will also be discussed.

**Pip Stephenson (Kāi Tahu)** is a current PhD student with Aotahi: School of Māori and Indigenous Studies, University of Canterbury. Her research focuses on representations of Māori contemporary theatre in a range of diverse archives while considering the philosophical concepts of time, space, and place.

# Hunting down a 19th century criminal

## **Kathleen Stringer**

My paper will tell the story of John Miller Christie. Not significantly famous or important in a historical sense, but a man with an interesting story.

John Christie, 'a mere lad' was convicted of rape in 1863 and in 1891 John Campbell 'an expert and dangerous criminal' was convicted of armed robbery. While chronicling his exploits I will consider how, or why, he became a career criminal. Was he just inherently bad (as the legal profession considered him to be), or was he, as he proffered as an excuse, traumatised by lengthy periods in prison which affected him mentally as well as physically. What part did alcohol play in his activities.

His story has many twists and turns, not made easier by variations on his name in official records and, in later years aliases. It is also not only the story of one man, but of a number of other players and communities.

**Kathleen Stringer** is proudly born and raised in Otago, she is currently residing in Canterbury. A trained archivist and museum curator, she recently left the GLAM sector to work as a freelance advisor to schools trying to establish their history curriculum studies. She has a passion for social history, discovering the stories of people who are largely invisible in many histories. Her MA looked at the ways charitable aid was administered in Otago and Canterbury, with an emphasis on how it affected the people in need. Her current interest is the lives of prisoners in the 19th century. This study will eventually become her PhD thesis.

# Punishing indecent crimes against children: a trigger point case and the Offences Against the Person Amendment Act 1868, New Zealand.

**Christiana Taigel**

In New Zealand in 2022, children could be seen protesting in the streets; school uniforms, and red paint and writing across their bodies. These school children protested the perceived weak punishment of a young man who had been found guilty of raping, sexually violating and indecently assaulting multiple underage girls. Such crimes against children, however, are not new phenomena and neither are attempts to change the law to better protect them. This paper explores one case that led to a change in the law. In 1868, an indecent assault against a seven-year-old girl was reported in Westport. Later that year the case went before the Supreme Court in Nelson. The Jury and Judge then went on to write to parliament where an amendment was ultimately made to the Offences Against the Person Act 1867, which increased the punishment for the crime. It is not often that a trigger point case has such a liner effect on the law, especially in the present. The children who protested in 2022 certainly did not see such a change, but it is a moment that is connected to a longer history than many of them realised. Moments such as this help connect the present to the past and provide a lens for people to learn from. Hopefully, with the new New Zealand History curriculum, these moments can be embraced and used to encourage the youth of today to learn about the past.

**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 volunteers for the Canterbury Historical Association and is currently their postgraduate representative.

# The spaces in between: Pioneering Pasifika women in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Gisborne

**Kesaia Walker**

Situated on the East Coast of the North Island, Tūranganui-a-Kiwa Gisborne (Tūranga) is the site of many historical firsts. A windy 500-kilometre drive from Auckland, two young Pasifika women arrived in Tūranga in the 1950s and 1970s. What makes their individual stories unique is that geographically and culturally they inhabited “the spaces in between”. That is, they were a long way from their Pacific homelands and from established Pacific diasporas in Aotearoa. But, despite their isolation, they forged from the ground up a new and burgeoning Pacific community in small town provincial New Zealand. Their lives were centred around family, faith, education, language and culture. Aspects of their lives will be traversed using snippets from family archival material and recollections.

**Kesaia Walker** works as a historian in the public sector. She is interested in Pacific migration stories and Pacific language revitalisation. She is of Tongan and Pākehā heritage and has an MA from the Stout Research Centre at Victoria University of Wellington.

# Back Issues, Manawatū Standard

## Virginia Warbrick

For 18 years the Manawatū Standard published Memory Lane, a series of local history features by journalist Tina White. In that time, she developed a devoted following amongst the Manawatū Standard readership. On Tina's retirement from Memory Lane in 2021, the Standard was keen to continue a weekly history series and turned to the Palmerston North City Library for advice on finding a new writer. With the benefits of being a university city, and a rohe with its own Manawatū Journal of History, there was no shortage of potential writers for the series. The editor had a preference for the new Back Issues series to reflect on news moments or issues from Manawatū's past, recount key events, decisions, voices, and potentially include a contemporary context. As well as providing Weekend Standard readers with an informative and entertaining article, each feature would likely be the first online account of these historic news events. As features in the series are designed to have a substantial visual component, the City Library's award-winning Manawatū Heritage repository of more than 20,000 digitised images would be a primary source for most features. The Palmerston North City Library did not find one writer for the new series, but 12 writers with an interest in writing about their own local history specialist areas. During 2023, the series will have accumulated more than 100 features and has since gathered 30 writers into the Back Issues community.

**Virginia Warbrick** trained as an architect at Te Herenga Waka, with an interest in heritage conservation, having worked on the restoration of Wellington's Randell Cottage during her studies. Preferring to work at the Manawatū Museum over becoming a registered architect, Virginia has worked in the arts and heritage sector for the past 25 years and currently develops a range of arts and local history projects in Pāmutana / Palmerston North. She coordinates the Back Issues series for the Palmerston North City Library.

# Being a Palmerstonian

## Warren and Virginia Warbrick

Palmerston North city celebrated its 150th year in 2021. However, when city officials were unable to articulate what significant event happened at any point in 1871, Warren and Virginia Warbrick set out to research and determine key markers in the early development of the deliberately designed place of Palmerston (North). The Pākehā settlement, named after British Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, was called Pāmutana by mana whenua leaders at the time. What followed was the revelation that the 'start' of Palmerston was arguably seven years earlier on 23 July 1864. During 2021, the Warbricks sent Anniversary 1864 cards to 200 locals and staged an undercover 'geeky graffiti' campaign in the central city to encourage Palmerstonians to consider different ways of thinking about local history. An anniversary card recipient sparked the idea for a 'history lessons for dummies series' and the Warbricks later developed a one-day workshop, Rakau: Being a Palmerstonian. Rakau participants say that by beginning to understand the histories of Palmerston North, by finding out about historical changemakers and by visiting significant sites, that their relationship with the city and their own sense of identity changed. The Warbricks will share their experience of asking difficult questions, using activist art techniques, and sharing histories through storytelling and games with educators, local government workers, not-for-profit staffers, members of the arts and heritage sectors, and business owners.

THEN – Histories of Pāmutana is the local history practice of **Virginia Warbrick (Pākehā) and Warren Warbrick (Rangitāne ki Manawatū, Te Arawa)**. Their project work ranges from creating postage stamp-sized drawings to being 'Creatives in Schools' to designing a 500m long kōwhaiwhai-style path at the edge of Te Awa o Manawatū. They have performed historically inspired mahi at the Medellín International Poetry Festival, Colombia and the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, Scotland. In 2021, the Warbricks were named the Local Historian of the Year by the Palmerston North Heritage Trust.

# The New Zealand Company and me: becoming comfortably uncomfortable with my family history

**Emma Ward**

Historians embarking on a family history project may uncover confronting evidence about their ancestors. But how can we process this information once it's uncovered? This paper discusses the experiences of my ancestor with the New Zealand Company in Nelson, and how I've learned to become comfortably uncomfortable with how my personal history intersects with the colonisation of Aotearoa.

Motivated by the launch of the new history curriculum, I finally began my family history research earlier this year. Using gravestones, newspapers, wills, births/deaths/marriages records, Archives NZ, the Alexander Turnbull Library, discussions with my parents and grandmother, and a very sceptical perusal of ancestry.com, I created a family tree dating back to the 1500s.

I struck discomfort when researching my 4x-great-grandfather, John Kidson. In 1842, John and his family arrived in the New Zealand Company settlement of Nelson, part of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's scheme for the systematic colonisation of Aotearoa. John soon found himself among the rag-tag group of settlers who participated in the Wairau Affray. His personal account of the event, while shocking, also throws into sharp relief how unprepared these men were for confrontation.

Historian Joanna Kidman has said that the new curriculum 'will make people feel a little bit uncomfortable at times', while its critics have decried it as 'divisive'. I hope that this excerpt from my family history demonstrates how we can move beyond such critiques of New Zealand history by making it more personal and human – both for our subjects and historians uncovering uncomfortable truths.

**Emma Ward** is a historian of English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh descent, currently working at Te Arawhiti. She has a First-Class Honours degree in History from Victoria University of Wellington. She grew up in Mohua/Golden Bay; her family has been based in Te Tau Ihu/top of the south since the 1840s.



# A Path of Its Own: New Zealand's Aviation Integration with Asia, 1938-2019"

**Evan R Ward**

In the years leading up to World War II, it might have been conventional wisdom that New Zealand's integration with international aviation in the Indo-Pacific ran through Sydney, Australia, what with the incorporation of Tasman Empire Air Line in 1938. In contrast, this paper argues, following World War II, New Zealand's aviation and community leaders charted their own path for integration not only in the South Pacific, but increasingly after the completion of Auckland International Airport and the shift from TEAL to Air New Zealand, planned its own integration with Asia. Developments for routes to Hong Kong, Singapore, and Tokyo will be discussed in detail.

Using papers from the New Zealand National Archives and public histories from Christchurch and Auckland airports, this paper establishes as a sub-theme the internal competition between the two cities for hub primacy in the country.

This paper builds in a comparative context on my forthcoming book, "Hubbing for Tourists: Airports, Hotels, and Tourism Development in the Indo-Pacific, 1934-2019," with DeGruyter Press. The paper will make explicit comparisons and contrasts with Australia's path to integration with aviation integration with Asia.

**Evan R. Ward** is Associate Professor at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, United States of America. He is a historian of tourism development. He has written a monograph on tourism development in the Caribbean, published by the University Press of Florida in 2008 and is currently completing a study of Indo-Pacific aviation tourism development scheduled for publication later this year.

# The Development of Hockey in New Zealand c. 1860-1914

## **Geoff Watson**

Until the development of online newspaper repositories in the early twenty-first century, accounts of the development of field hockey in New Zealand tended to be heavily oriented towards the province of Canterbury. Reverend H. Mathias is widely credited with introducing the game to New Zealand when he formed the Kaiapoi Hockey Club in 1895. The following year the Hinemoa Club, also based in Kaiapoi, became the earliest recorded women's hockey club in New Zealand. There is an element of truth to this foundation story in the sense that the formation of clubs in Christchurch acted as a stimulus to the development of the 11-a-side form of the game, which subsequently saw the New Zealand Hockey Association founded in 1902 and the New Zealand Ladies Hockey Association founded in 1908. A more nuanced prehistory of field hockey in New Zealand, is however, evident in online repositories. These indicate a widespread presence of informal games from at least as early as the 1860s, through to the formation of the Dunedin Hockey Club in 1876, which lasted for several seasons. In addition, there are periodic reports of informal games among youths, some of which associated hockey with 'larrikinism' among youths. This presentation considers the possibility that a 'civilising process' occurred in New Zealand hockey during the nineteenth century.

**Geoff Watson** is an Associate Professor in History at Massey University where he teaches a course in sports history. He has written and contributed to a number of books in this field including *Sport and the New Zealanders: A History* (Auckland University Press, 2018); *Seasons of Honour: A Centennial History of New Zealand Hockey 1902-2002* (Dunmore, 2002) and, with Alec Astle and Sarah Leberman, *Sport Development in Action*, (Routledge, 2019).

# 'Wages versus Rogernomics': The Federation of Labour and Economic Reform, 1984-1986

**Ross Webb**

This paper examines how New Zealand's peak private sector union body, the Federation of Labour (FOL), responded to the rapid neoliberal economic reforms of the Fourth Labour Government between 1984 and 1986. It begins by tracing the economic policy debates between the FOL leadership and Labour Party in the lead up to and in the immediate aftermath of the crucial 1984 election. The final term of Robert Muldoon's National Government (1975-1984) was dominated by a wage and price freeze and a political economy stalemate that profoundly shaped the trajectory of economic and political change after 1984. Following a discussion of the FOL and Labour Party strategy during these years, this paper traces the negotiations between the FOL and the Labour Government. In Government, Labour would do much that pleased the FOL, from restoring compulsory unionism and wage bargaining, to increasing the minimum wage. Yet the direction of economic policy alarmed trade unionists. While lobbying for wage relief and for a change in the direction of economic policy occupied the FOL's energies in the early months, the recommencement of bargaining in late 1984 put the FOL and Labour on a collision course. Union efforts to restore living standards by pursuing large wage increases ran up sharply against the calls for wage restraint that were a central tenet of the new economic policy. If unions showed some wage restraint in 1984 in the year after the election and amidst the early calls for consensus, the 1985-1986 wage round marked an historic peak in strike action and the last of the major award rounds. By then, the FOL's hope that the economic reform agenda could be reversed was shattered. In an environment of austerity, deregulation, tight monetary policies, and a bitterly contested wage round, the FOL was forced to seek new strategies.

**Ross Webb** is a historian based in Wellington. He works as a Principal Researcher Analyst in the Research Team at the Waitangi Tribunal Unit. He is currently working on a book, entitled *In Defence of Living Standards: The Federation of Labour, Politics, and Economic Crisis, 1975-1987*.

# Threats of Bombing': How Te Anau saved Manapouri

**Jonathan West**

Te Anau residents only realised their lake and town were threatened by plans to raise Lake Manapouri in June 1970. Controversy over Manapouri was already a decade old; the famous petition had already been presented; the Royal Commission was about to sit. Save Manapouri is commonly counted our first great conservation success; to this point it was a failure. Opposition from Te Anau perforce took a different tack. Threats to blow up control structures and transmission pylons generated a stream of press headlines in the run up to the 1972 election. The Prime Minister Jack Marshall, compelled to visit, faced passionate protests; when Labour leader Norman Kirk did the same television cameras captured dramatic shoreline slumping. This paper assesses the effect of the Te Anau tactics in shaping the decisions by Norman Kirk in 1972 not to raise the lakes and to appoint 'the cream of the rebels' as Guardians of the Lakes, and then Robert Muldoon's commitments in 1975 to continue them. It concludes by considering the practical lessons of these campaigns for making history.

**Jonathan West** is an environmental historian, author of the award-winning *The Face of Nature: An Environmental History of the Otago Peninsula*. This research on Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau is part of work towards his next book *Mirrors on the Land: Histories of New Zealand Lakes*. This project has been generously supported by the J. D. Stout Trust, Friends of the Hocken Collections, Ministry of Culture and Heritage, and the Judith Binney Fellowship. It examines how people and lakes have shaped one another over the history of Aotearoa New Zealand.

# Unity is Strength”: Rising prices, consumer activism, and the Campaign Against Rising Prices

**Cameron J. Wilkinson**

Inspired by the current cost-of-living crisis facing Aotearoa New Zealand now, and by contemporary discourse around the supermarket duopoly, my paper will analyse the consumer response to rising prices and the rise of supermarkets from the 1950s through the 1980s. The Campaign Against Rising Prices (CARP), a consumer/housewife society with branches across New Zealand fighting to lower prices between 1966 and 1981, is my main case study. Using records left behind by the Wellington branch of CARP, I piece together the story of this organisation, the people involved, the actions taken by them during this time, and the organisations they interacted with, including splinter organisations and the trade union movement, as a lens to look at the history of food prices and consumer activism. I aim to situate the activism of CARP within the many other stories of protest in 20th century New Zealand, and within New Zealand’s larger post-war economic story. I argue that this is a historical narrative with many parallels to the current New Zealand situation, instructive for those interested in restructuring the New Zealand food sector and fighting rising costs of living. Therefore, this research seeks to uncover and reveal an overlooked, but important, narrative, and to show how uncovering the stories of historical actors can be useful for people in our present.

**Cameron J. Wilkinson** is a Masters student in the History programme at the University of Waikato. He is researching the social and economic history of 20th century Aotearoa New Zealand. His Honours dissertation in 2022 was an exploration of the intersections between food price changes and supermarkets in 1960s Aotearoa New Zealand. His current thesis expands on this history, with a particular emphasis on the Campaign Against Rising Prices as a case study to examine consumer activism in New Zealand between the Second World War and the early 1980s.

# Okoha te kainga: A whānau exploration of Ngāti Kuia history

## **Madi Williams**

Ngāti Kuia are an iwi from Te Taihū o Te Waka a Māui, northern Te Waipounamu | South Island. They are named after the eponymous ancestress, Kuia, who married Rongotamea from the closely related Ngāti Apa tribe. By 1820 Ngāti Kuia, along with their Kurahaupō waka relations, Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne, were the three tangata whenua tribes of Te Taihū. The 1820s and 1830s brought about significant shifts in the tribal landscape due to northern tribes arriving in the region and European colonisation.

Following the arrival of these new groups, Ngāti Kuia rights were repeatedly ignored and dismissed. Ngāti Kuia were not invited to sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi and were not part of the 1839 New Zealand Company 'purchase' of Te Taihū. Ngāti Kuia became increasingly dispossessed of their tribal lands. The small amount of land that was reserved was inadequate, leading to Ngāti Kuia being described as 'the poorest tribe under the heavens'. The loss of land had disastrous impacts on the hauora of Ngāti Kuia whānau. Following protests and petitions from whānau, some further lands were reserved through the South Island Landless Natives Reserves (SILNA). One of these land blocks was at Okoha in the Marlborough Sounds.

Okoha and the whānau living there will be the focus of this paper. It explores the history of Ngāti Kuia through a whānau lens. Using my whakapapa as the framework, I will illuminate important aspects of the Ngāti Kuia past.

**Madi Williams (Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō, Rangitāne o Wairau, Ngāti Koata)** is a lecturer in Aotahi: School of Māori and Indigenous Studies at the University of Canterbury. She is currently working on turning her PhD thesis on Ngāti Kuia history into a book for Auckland University Press.

# Race and Capitalist Expansion into Te Rohe Pōtae

**Meghan Williams**

In 1870 Aotearoa, Te Rohe Pōtae (or the ‘King Country’) iwi and hapū retained the majority of their land, having safeguarded it from alienations and war by uniting to enforce a boundary to prohibit settlers from entry. By 1910, however, the settler government had alienated 50 percent of Te Rohe Pōtae land, established settlements, and played an active role in developing the region’s settler agricultural industries. While today’s activists and academics, both local and international, readily acknowledge a relationship between race, capitalism, and colonisation, the nature of that relationship becomes clear when we engage closely with history. In this paper, Meghan Williams draws from the history of capitalist expansion into Te Rohe Pōtae, from 1870 to the early twentieth century, to explore aspects of the relationship between race and capitalism. In looking at the ways powerful colonial figures deployed race when explaining policies and practices, Williams asks what role race has played in the Aotearoa capitalist economy, and what role capitalism has played in upholding Aotearoa racial ideology.

**Meghan Williams** is a History PhD candidate at the University of Auckland researching race and capitalist expansion into Te Rohe Pōtae under the supervision of Associate Professor Aroha Harris and Dr Paul Taillon. She was editor of oral history book *START: The Story So Far* (2020), and her oral history essay, ‘Wellington’s “Drag Kings”: Comedy, cabaret and community,’ was published in the 2020 edition of *Aotearoa’s Women’s Studies Journal*. In 2020, she was awarded the Theodore Roosevelt Postgraduate Prize in United States History and the N.A.C. McMillan Memorial Prize for New Zealand History.

## 'One frustration after another': Writing history to a deadline

### **John Wilson**

The expectation of any serious work of history is that it will be based on thorough, far-ranging research. One problem those writing a 'commissioned' history face is that such histories usually have to appear on time, to mark an anniversary, and are commonly broad in scope and span long periods of time. In the case of my recently completed history of the University of Canterbury I had to look at 150 years of the life of a large, complex institution. I could not escape the problem by focusing only on the 50 years since the University's centennial history appeared; to write a satisfactory 'new' history of the University I had to 'rework' the first hundred years to be able to put the developments of the past 50 into perspective. When PhD theses have to be completed within four years and the 'research performance' of academic historians is closely monitored, all historical research is done under pressure. But the pressure is unusually acute for those writing commissioned histories. To my great frustration I had, when working on the history of the University of Canterbury, to cut short research on several topics which were of intrinsic interest and promised to throw light on the University's history. This paper discusses some of those topics. The paper also assesses the extent to which the final book suffered – or did not – because time constraints obliged me to do less research on some topics than I wanted to.

**John Wilson**, a graduate of the University of Canterbury (MA, history, 1966), went on to further study in the United States and completed his PhD in Chinese history at Harvard University. On his return to New Zealand he became a journalist (leader writer for the Christchurch Press) and editor (of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust's magazine) but continued also to work as a historian. His commissioned works include histories of two Canterbury rural districts (Cheviot and Waikakahi), of the Christchurch suburb of Addington, and of the Christchurch Civic Trust. He has also written extensively on the historic buildings of Christchurch and Banks Peninsula. In 2019 he was commissioned to write a new history of the University of Canterbury, for publication in 2023, the University's 150th year.



# Ka mua, ka muri\*; How lessons from the past prepare NZDF personnel for the future

## **Peter Wood**

The New Zealand Wars Study Centre analyses battles and campaigns from New Zealand's colonial past to help prepare members of the New Zealand Defence Force for future operations and to showcase our nation's military heritage to them. These are more than just lectures, for an essential element is to walk the ground where battles took place to highlight those military lessons applicable to the contemporary operational environment.

Nor is it about delivering an Imperial or Colonial perspective. Actions and decisions made (or not made) by all parties to an engagement are analysed, on the basis of the information available, to obtain as balanced a perspective as possible. Battlefield tours last one or two days and typically include three to eight engagements or battles from within a particular campaign, with occasional reference to Musket Wars battles where appropriate.

This paper will showcase the battle of Te Porere 4 October 1869 to illustrate how the New Zealand Wars Study Centre utilises battlefield tours to identify lessons from New Zealand's military heritage to acknowledge combatants on all sides and to prepare members of the New Zealand Defence Force for the future.

\*Ka mua, ka muri is a Māori proverb that expresses a great truth around a simple image. The image is of a person walking backwards into the future.

**Lieutenant Colonel 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.

# History Education in the Public Service

## Matthew Woodbury

In 2023 historians at Te Arawhiti - the Office for Māori Crown Relations began delivering monthly workshops titled Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Aotearoa New Zealand History. Developed for public servants who are unfamiliar with the Treaty and know little about the history of the Māori Crown relationship, this full-day programme is designed to help individuals build their familiarity with the Treaty and its principles, deepen understanding of key areas where the Crown breached the Treaty, and demonstrate the importance of history within a policy setting.

While these workshops share many characteristics of other forms of historical communication and instruction, the public service setting of the programme and its purpose as practical history for employees of central government also creates specific parameters. This paper describes the workshop's pedagogical design, canvasses decisions about content and delivery, and highlights what the programme shares with other forms of history education and areas where it differs.

Biography:

**Matthew Woodbury** is a senior historian at Te Arawhiti – the Office for Māori Crown Relations whose work focuses on developing redress for Māori groups settling historic Treaty of Waitangi claims against the Crown. Prior to joining Te Arawhiti in 2020, he was a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Michigan where he also taught classes on environmental and imperial history. Trained as a historian of Britain and the British Empire, his research interests focus on how communities learn from, utilize, and seek to regulate environments at both local and global scales.