



**Kanohi-ki-te-Kanohi:  
Histories for Our Time**

**New Zealand Historical Association  
Conference**

**Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of  
Wellington**

**27-30 November 2019**

## Supporters

The 2019 New Zealand Historical Association conference would not have been possible without the generous funding support of:

### The Canadian High Commission



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### Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of Wellington



The Joint Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and the School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations

Warm thanks also to **Wellington Museum** and the **Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa** for their support of the conference kaupapa.

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Tēnā koutou, Tēnā koutou, Tēnā koutou katoa!

Nau mae, haere mai!

Welcome to Kanohi-ki-te-Kanohi: Histories for Our Time.

Meetings, encounters, exchanges, kisses, words, conversations, attractions, glares, confrontations, curiosities: how have people come face to face? What histories are made in these moments? What happens when historians face their subjects? As Dr Wayne Ngata has stated: ‘Kanohi ki te kanohi’ or ‘face-to-face’ communication is a facet of human behaviour. It allows one to not only see who or what one is communicating with, but also to hear, feel, and smell the relationship.

We are very much looking forward to welcoming you to Wellington – Whanganui-a-Tara, and to discussions, debates and debates about these histories. Approximately 230 people have registered to attend, with the hui featuring 140 presenters across a wide range of papers, panels and roundtable discussions.

As many of us are keenly aware this is a critical juncture as students, teachers, and members of our communities cry out for more information, debate and discussion about the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. NZHA continues to welcome these histories alongside those that connect to broad themes and global currents. We are delighted to see such a large and diverse crowd gathered for this event. We are particularly thrilled to welcome colleagues from architecture, libraries, archives and museums and the wider public history community across Wellington and around the country. In 2019 the NZHA Conference welcomes colleagues from the New Zealand Archaeological Association to join discussions with histories above the ground to those whose work more often takes them to evidence that lies below the ground. Haere mai friends from archaeology!

We hope that you enjoy all that the conference has to offer and make the most of this wonderful opportunity to hear from some of New Zealand’s leading historians, along with some of our most promising young scholars, and our international guests.

*Kanohi-ki-te-Kanohi Organising Committee*

## **The New Zealand Historical Association NZHA**

### ***Executive Members***

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 Secretary: Cybèle Locke, Victoria University of Wellington  
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### **NZHA 2019 Conference Organising Committee**

Jim McAloon	David Green
Cybèle Locke	Leanne Tamaki
Georgia Cervin	Hayden Thorne
Oliver Skinner	
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Bronwyn Labrum	
Arini Loader	

**[www.nzha.org.nz](http://www.nzha.org.nz)**

# Conference Location



Marae – Te Herenga Waka

Main Conference Location

## General Information

### Getting here

The conference is held on Victoria's Kelburn Campus, located on Kelburn Parade. It is a short walk from the CBD (but up a fairly steep hill) or can be reached by several public transport options.

- Bus: A number of bus routes, including the 21, 22 and 18e run past the university. To plan a bus trip visit: <https://www.metlink.org.nz/#plan>
- Cable Car: For a more exciting journey to campus, take Wellington's famous cable car from Lambton Quay to the University stop, a 5 minute walk from the university – for more information visit <https://www.wellingtoncablecar.co.nz/English/Home.html>
- Wellington Combined Taxis are another easy option – phone 04 384 4444

### For more assistance and contact details

The Conference is being ably assisted by a team of volunteers. If you have any questions or need assistance, please ask one of our helpers – all the volunteers will be wearing grey Victoria University of Wellington T-shirts so you can find them!

If you need to get in touch with the conference organisers, please start by contacting Hayden:

- 0273058645
- [Hayden.thorne@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:Hayden.thorne@vuw.ac.nz)

### Emergency Information

In the unlikely event of an emergency, please follow the directions of the conference organisers and University staff.

The emergency meeting point for Alan MacDiarmid building is the Cotton Plaza – the large plaza running along the western side of the building.

For more information about visitor health and safety you can visit this webpage: <https://www.victoria.ac.nz/healthandsafety/visitor-safety>. Further guidance specific to particular situations can be found here: <https://www.victoria.ac.nz/healthandsafety/emergency/what-to-do-in-an-emergency>

The nearest AED is in the corridor in Cotton building, opposite the Fuji Xerox Print Shop.

In an emergency, ring 111. You can also ring 8888 from a campus phone, or 0800 842 8888 to contact campus security.

## **Registration**

Registration will be open from 8:00am on Thursday 28 November and will remain open throughout the conference. You will find the registration desk in Alan MacDiarmid building, room 103.

The registration pack will be provided in a ‘buffet’ style – take what you want, and feel free to skip over any items you don’t want.

## **Website and Social Media**

More information about the conference, and about the NZHA generally, can be found at [www.NZHA.org.nz](http://www.NZHA.org.nz)

We also have a conference Twitter account, which you can follow to keep up to date with all of the conference events: @NZHA2019 – and feel free to use the hashtag #NZHA2019 to share your own experience of the conference!

## **Wi-Fi**

The University’s guest Wi-Fi will be available to all participants.

1. Open your devices and make sure your Wi-Fi is turned on.
2. A list of available wireless networks will be displayed. Select “Victoria”.
3. Open a web browser and navigate to the internet.
4. Upon redirection to the Victoria Wireless Portal page, select ‘Don’t have an account?’
5. Enter your email address and after reading the terms and conditions, tick the ‘Agree’ box.
6. Press ‘Register’, and then ‘Sign On’ to complete the sign in process.



## **Conference Etiquette**

Please ensure that you respect your fellow historians. Mobile phones should all be turned off during sessions. No recording of sessions is permitted.

## **Guidelines for Presenters**

All speakers please note that we are working to a tight schedule. 20 minutes is allocated for each presentation, followed by 10 minutes of question time. There is very little wiggle room in the schedule, so we would appreciate adherence to these timings.

Computers and projectors are available in all rooms. Please ensure any presentations are set up prior to the start of each session to avoid any unnecessary delays – conference volunteers will be available in all rooms to help with set up.

## **Smoking on campus**

Please note that Victoria University of Wellington is a smoke free campus. No smoking anywhere on university grounds is permitted.

## **Catering**

Morning and afternoon teas and lunches will be served in the Alan MacDiarmid foyer. The only exception to this is morning tea on Thursday 28 November, which will be held at, and provided by, Te Herenga Waka Marae. The reception following the J.C. Beaglehole Lecture will be held in the foyer of Te Toki a Rata building.

Coffee and tea will be provided, but for those with particularly discerning tastes, the University Bookshop Vic Books has a great café attached, or you can visit Wishbone, Milk and Honey, or The Lab – all of which are located on campus.

If you specified particular dietary requirements when registering, including vegetarian and vegan options, please check in with one of the helpers at the catering table who will direct you to either a) the food that meets your requirements or b) a specially prepared meal.

## **ATM**

The nearest ATM is located on Kelburn Parade, near the lower set of traffic lights.

## **Bookshops**

Vic Books, the on-campus bookstore, will have a stand in the Alan MacDiarmid foyer. They will be selling a range of titles relevant to the conference, with input from the Conference Organising Committee and a number of local publishers. The stand will be open at various points during Thursday and Friday, but not on Saturday. Please do support our local publishers and booksellers!

## **Other Stands and Displays**

In the Alan MacDiarmid building foyer area, you will also find stands from the Alexander Turnbull Library, the Hocken Library, Archives New Zealand and Bridget Williams Books. You should also see a display of posters created by Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga on a range of interesting and relevant topics.

## **Keynotes, Receptions and Function**

### **Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke Lecture**

*9.30am Thursday at Te Herenga Waka marae, after the pōhiri, followed by morning tea*

Instituted in 2011 in honour of Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke recognising his work as one of Aotearoa New Zealand's most outstanding scholars and historians. This year it is presented by Associate Professor Alice Te Punga Somerville. See p.19 for details.

### **J.C. Beaglehole Lecture and Reception**

*5.30pm Thursday in Hugh Mackenzie Lecture Theatre 205, followed by drinks and nibbles in the foyer of Te Toki a Rata.*

Established in 1973 to honour the distinguished historian and scholar John Cawte Beaglehole. This year it is presented by Professor Jim McAloon. See p.20 for details.

### **Keynote Lecture and Reception**

*2:00pm Friday in Te Toki a Rata Lecture Theatre 1, followed by afternoon tea and reception sponsored by Canadian High Commission*

Associate Professor Susan Hill presents 'Accounting and re-counting in an era of Indigenous-Settler State reconciliation: An examination of the exonerations of Poundmaker and Deskaheh'. See p.21 for details.

### **Conference Function and Prizegiving**

*6pm at Wellington Museum followed by prizegiving from 7pm. Substantial pass-around food is provided with a cash bar*

Relax, celebrate and enjoy at the Conference function in the wonderful space of the Wellington Museum. The NZHA Prizes will be announced at this event. The John Dunmore Medal will also be presented at this occasion.

**Keynote Lecture and Conclusion**

*4.30pm Saturday in Te Toki a Rata Lecture Theatre 1*

Associate Professor Kate Hill presents 'Intimate Encounters with the Past in the Museum, c. 1880-1950'. See p.22 for details.

*5.30pm conference poroporoaki/conclusion*

## **Postgraduate/Early Career Day**

On Wednesday 27 November the Victoria University of Wellington postgraduates are hosting a postgrad/early career day at Te Herenga Waka Marae. This is the second major event organised by Victoria History Postgrads following the 13<sup>th</sup> annual New Historians Conference which took place in July 2019.

The postgrad day this year is focussed on opportunities and development, and is divided into two parts. The first part of the day features three sessions as follows:

1. Guest speakers Bettina Bradbury and Mrinalini Sinha will participate in a Q and A session about their careers and experiences as historians
2. Publishing Panel: a panel made up of Lyndon Fraser (NZJH), Adrian Muckle (Journal of Pacific History), Tom Rennie (Bridget Williams Books) and Emma Kelly (Ministry for Culture and Heritage) will discuss the publishing industry and give advice to our postgrads on how to maximise the impact of their work through effective publications
3. State of the Profession Panel: a panel made up of Rebecca Lenihan (VUW, Early Career Academic), Daniel Morrow (Waitangi Tribunal), André Brett (Australian Historical Association), and Basil Keane (Department of Corrections, and previously Ministry for Culture and Heritage) will discuss developments in the Historical profession and opportunities for the future

The second part of the day features a number of backroom tours of collections at Te Papa which all attendees were invited to take part in, followed by a social gathering at Macs Brewbar on the Wellington waterfront.

Thanks are due to all of our speakers and panellists, and to Te Papa for allowing us to see behind the scenes into some of their collections.

## **New Zealand Historical Association Prizes**

### **W.H. Oliver Prize**

The W.H. Oliver Prize is awarded to the best New Zealand History Book. The NZHA established the W.H. Oliver Prize in 2015, named after New Zealand Historian and poet William Hosking (Bill) Oliver (1925-2015). It is awarded biennially for the best book on any aspect of New Zealand History. For the 2019 award, the book must have been published between 1 April 2017 and 31 March 2019. The judges will evaluate the work on the quality of its research, the strength and effectiveness of its analysis and the significance of its contribution to historical knowledge.

### **The Erik Olssen Prize (Best First Book)**

The Erik Olssen Prize is awarded to the Best First Book in New Zealand History. The NZHA established the Best First Book prize in 2016. It was named in honour of Emeritus Professor Erik Olssen, University of Otago, a distinguished historian, inspirational supervisor of postgraduate students and of innovative research, and a champion of New Zealand history. For the 2019 award, the book must have been published between 1 April 2017 and 31 March 2019. The judges will evaluate the work on the quality of its research, the strength and effectiveness of its analysis and the significance of its contribution to historical knowledge.

### **The Mary Boyd Prize**

The Mary Boyd prize was established in 2013. It is named in memory of the New Zealand and Pacific Historian Mary Beatrice Boyd (1921-2010). It is awarded biennially for the best article in New Zealand history published in a refereed journal between 31 March 2017 and 1 April 2019.

### **The Best Postgraduate Paper Prize**

This prize is being offered as a one-off for the 2019 conference, although there is the potential for it to become a regular conference offering. All postgraduates who are presenting at the conference were given the opportunity to submit a paper of 4000-6000 words on the subject of their presentation. The prize will be awarded to the submission which the judges recognise as being most worthy of recognition.

## Te Herenga Waka Marae

In 1980, Victoria established the first marae (Māori meeting house/ place) at a university. Te Herenga Waka marae was in a refurbished building on Kelburn Parade. A few years later, Professor Hirini Moko Mead, along with Dr Wiremu Parker and tohunga (cultural expert), Te Rangiāhuta Ruka Broughton, were instrumental in the construction of a newly carved meeting house, Te Tumu Herenga Waka, which was opened on 6 December 1986. Located next to the meeting house at 46 Kelburn Parade is the wharekai (dining room and kitchen) called Ngā Mokopuna.

Since that time, the marae complex has been well utilised for a range of Māori activities and events. Its primary purpose is to serve the learning and teaching needs of Victoria's students and staff. It is used for lectures, tutorials, noho marae (marae stay overs), assessments, orientations, meetings, wānanga (seminars and forums), conferences and debates. It is also used for a range of social and cultural gatherings such as kapa haka practices, student association gatherings, weddings, christenings and tangihanga (funerals). Highlights of the marae calendar are the hosting of Te Hui Whakapūmau, a Māori graduation celebration held in May, and a graduation ceremony held in December.

For more information about Te Herenga Waka marae or to contact marae staff, go to [www.victoria.ac.nz/marae](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/marae)

### **Pōhiri: Māori Ritual of Welcome**

In traditional (pre-European) times, Māori developed a process to receive visitors that was designed to protect the hosts from attack and set an appropriate tone for the gathering. In contemporary times, the risk of confrontation has waned but Māori still take time to welcome guests formally and establish the purpose of their visit. This ritual, known as a pōhiri (or pōwhiri in some dialects), is routinely performed at the beginning of Māori events, meetings and celebrations. At Victoria, pōhiri are often held to welcome students and staff at the start of the academic year, to welcome new staff into senior leadership roles, to welcome international visitors, at the start of conferences held on campus and as part of graduation celebrations. In the pōhiri, men and women have different, but complementary, roles. The pōhiri is performed outside, in front of the wharenuī (meeting house) in the realm of the Māori atua (god) called Tūmataurangi. The

stages of the welcome are prescribed to ensure the physical and spiritual safety of the participants. Despite a number of tribal and regional variations, the basic flow of the pōhiri is described below.

### **Preparation for the Pōhiri**

As the manuhiri (visitors) assemble at the entrance of the marae (Māori community space), they should gather their thoughts for the pōhiri ahead. The speaker and/or leader of the group may recite a waerea (incantation) to prepare and protect the group. The group should arrange themselves to walk on the marae together, with their female elders towards the front, the remaining women and children gathered behind them and the men flanking the group and bringing up the rear.

At Te Herenga Waka marae, all formal pōhiri procedures are conducted entirely in te reo Māori (the Māori language). After the Māori cultural formalities are over, however, visitors may be invited to give speeches in other languages.

### **Karanga**

The first voices heard as part of the pōhiri are usually those of Māori women. First, a woman from the tangata whenua (host group) will call words of welcome (karanga), in the Māori language, to the visiting group. In reply, a woman from the manuhiri will reply. They will continue in their exchange of calls as the visiting group, led by the kaikaranga (female caller), enters the grounds of the marae and makes their way to the paepae (visitor seating area).

Generally, the karanga will include an exchange of greetings between the groups, the paying of respects to people, connected to either group, who have recently passed away and an acknowledgement of the purpose of the gathering. The karanga exchange will continue until the manuhiri have arrived at their seating area.

At Te Herenga Waka marae, the front row of the paepae is reserved for the male speakers and other male leaders within the group. For their protection, women and children in the group must sit behind the front row.

### **Whaikōrero**

The next phase of the pōhiri is an exchange of whaikōrero (speeches), delivered by men in each group. Traditionally, these speeches greet the other group,



emphasise their shared relationships and acknowledge the purpose of the gathering. The order in which these speeches are delivered depends on the kawa (sacred protocols) observed by the marae. The two different types of speech-making kawa are pāeke and tāutuutu. Pāeke refers to an exchange where the tangata whenua speakers deliver their speeches first and then the manuhiri deliver theirs. In contrast, tāutuutu refers to a speaking order where the two sides alternate their speakers, starting and ending with a speaker from the tangata whenua.

The kawa of Te Herenga Waka is pāeke. In pāeke, all speakers from the tangata whenua speak before the manuhiri during whaikōrero. The first speaker is seated closest to the house, and the speaking order continues away from the house until all speakers have finished. The order then crosses to the manuhiri side. Here, the order is reversed, with the first speaker seated furthest from the house, and the last speaker situated closest to the marae. Done in this way, the mauri (life force) of the ceremony begins with, and is restored, to the whareniui at completion.

Whatever the kawa, holding the pōhiri outside means that it is in the realm of Tūmataunga (the Māori god of war), speakers are welcome to use traditional Māori weapons and other adornments (such as tokotoko (walking sticks) and patu (clubs)) to enhance their oratory.

### **Waiata**

After each speaker, their group performs a waiata (song). This indicates the support of the group for the speaker and his speech. Different iwi (tribes) will often sing particular songs from their area. Groups should stand near their speaker to sing their waiata and then return to their seats as soon as it finishes.

### **Koha**

When the final speech from the manuhiri has finished, the speaker may place on the ground in front of him a koha (gift) for the hosts. In pre-European times, the koha would have been produce or treasures specific to the manuhiri. Today, the koha is more likely to be in the form of cash. Koha is a practical response to sharing the cost of coming together, so people should consider what they bring as their contribution. Usually, the costs of events at Te Herenga Waka marae that involve Victoria University staff and/or students are covered by the University

but it would be appropriate to give koha on some occasions, such as tangihanga (funerals).

## **Hongi**

The next stage is for the two groups to come together for the hongī. This involves the manuhiri lining up and, one-by-one, pressing their noses together with the tangata whenua to symbolise the unity of the group. Today, this usually includes a handshake and often a kiss on the cheek too.

It is usually appropriate for everyone in the visiting group to be involved in the hongī. However, there are a number of situations when this might not be appropriate:

- If a visiting group is really large and it would take too long to hongī everyone, the people nearest the speakers may be called forward to hongī on behalf of their group.
- If any of the visitors are sick, it is best for them to stay seated rather than pass on any illness.
- If it is against the cultural or religious beliefs of any of the visitors to be in such close proximity with another person, it is best for the specific members of the visiting group to remain in their seats during the hongī. No offence will be taken.

## **Kai**

A shared kai (food) marks the final formal stage of the pōhiri. Māori believe that the participants in a pōhiri move into a heightened state of tapu (sacredness) and that this sacred state is removed by eating food. Food is not eaten inside the wharenuī. Instead, the people move into the wharekai (dining room) next to the wharenuī for the meal.

## Keynote Lecture Abstracts

### Associate Professor Alice Te Punga Somerville, 'Out of order: histories, structures, sovereignty'

While preparing for an essay I wrote as a Masters student, I read Te Rangikaheke's manuscripts related to Maui. I still recall being intrigued that – at least in the version I was reading - they seemed to be in the wrong order: their sequence didn't take the structure that felt familiar. The temptation when things are out of order, of course, is to 'correct' them - to put them back in the right place. We should begin with a baby in a topknot, and work our way through various episodes until a crushing between legs. In my current work on published Indigenous texts 1900-1975, I often hear myself describing my work as a challenge to the idea that Indigenous people started writing in the 1970s and, although this is a helpful shorthand for what I'm up to at the moment and an accurate account of an initial impulse behind the project, it still relies on a corrective view of scholarship, in which I seek to throw out the wrong, broken, history and provide a better one.

In this talk I will explore some of the ways that histories can be "out of order:" broken; in the wrong sequence; and interrupting the accepted rules. Rather than triumphantly or saviourishly posing ways we can 'fix' them, by adding more things, or by putting them back in the right place, however, I will consider the kinds of disordered and disorderly histories that become visible when sitting in a specific place. Responding to the invitation of the conference theme, and because of who I am, I will think about some of the histories that seem 'out of order' when you meet them on an island at the centre of Wellington harbour.

**Alice Te Punga Somerville** (Te Ātiawa, Taranaki) researches, writes and teaches at the intersections of Indigenous, Pacific, literary and historical studies. Having studied at Auckland and Cornell, and having taught in various places, she is currently based at the University of Waikato where she is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies. Her first book was *Once Were Pacific: Māori connections to Oceania* (University of Minnesota Press, 2012), and in 2016 she co-edited a special issue of *Biography* entitled 'Indigenous conversations about biography'. Alice has recently published on Indigenous and Pacific writing, Indigenous engagements with archives, early Māori presence in Parramatta, and the memorialisation of Captain Cook; she is currently working on a Marsden-funded project, 'Writing the new world: Indigenous texts 1900-1975' with a focus on Indigenous people in New Zealand, Australia, Hawai'i and Fiji. She also writes the occasional poem.

**Professor Jim McAloon, 'Raw material drawn from the remotest zones':  
Aotearoa/New Zealand and Capitalism's Pacific Frontier, 1770s-1830s**

The historiography of Aotearoa/New Zealand in the decades before 1840 is rather fragmented. A significant body of literature emphasises cultural exchange from the 1770s to the 1810s. Some Waitangi Tribunal reports deal with events before 1840 in the context of particular claims; these have prompted some researchers to publish on inter-tribal relations. There are significant works of maritime history, as well as some environmental history overviews and some excellent discussions of iwi and hapū-led trade.

By the late 18th century these islands were beginning to be drawn into an expanding international capitalism. As the Oregon historian William G. Robbins has noted, 'capitalism is much more than a mere economic system; it is a mode of production, a particular take on the world that attaches ultimate significance to material effects and their transformation for purposes of acquiring wealth', and, as he might have added, capitalism radically alters social and political relations.

Capitalism transformed these islands over decades. The process was complex, uneven, and contested but well before 1840 Aotearoa was tied into networks of resource exploitation and trade that extended halfway across the globe. This lecture will suggest that recasting the discussion of the decades after 1790 in these terms could bring together the dominant cultural exchange themed approach with environmental and economic histories, and locate transformations in these islands in a global context.

**Jim McAloon** is a professor of history at Victoria University of Wellington, where he has taught since 2009. Before that he lectured in history at Lincoln University (the one in Canterbury). He has published widely on economic, social and political history, and his first foray into the subject-matter of this lecture was when invited to contribute to *Environmental Histories of New Zealand* (eds. Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking, 2002).

**Associate Professor Susan Hill, ‘Accounting and re-counting in an era of Indigenous-Settler State reconciliation: An examination of the exonerations of Poundmaker and Deskaheh’**

In May 2019, Canada’s Prime Minister Justin Trudeau officially exonerated the late Nehiyawak Chief Poundmaker. Poundmaker was convicted of treason in 1885 due to his leadership in the Indigenous resistance movement referred to by Canadians as the Northwest Rebellion. Canada laid formal and informal charges of treason against several Indigenous leaders prior to and during the first five decades of Canadian Confederation. This paper juxtaposes the Canadian exoneration of Poundmaker and the exoneration movement for the late Haudenosaunee/Cayuga Chief Deskaheh as symbols of Canadian-Indigenous reconciliation. It poses questions around the re-counting of history as a tool of both Indigenous Nation (re)building and contemporary state control over Indigenous peoples.

**Professor Hill** joined the University of Toronto in July 2017 and has a joint appointment with the Department of History and the Centre for Indigenous Studies.

Professor Hill’s research interests include Haudenosaunee history, Indigenous research methodologies and ethics, and Indigenous territoriality, with themes that benefit Indigenous communities while expanding academic understandings of Indigenous thought and philosophy. She is particularly interested in Haudenosaunee knowledge and thought, seeking to make sense of contemporary lives through an examination of how people got to where they are now, both literally and figuratively. Her 2017 book, *The Clay We Are Made Of: Haudenosaunee land tenure on the Grand River*, published by the University of Manitoba Press, takes up these themes in a provocative way.

**Associate Professor Kate Hill, 'Intimate encounters with the past in the museum, c. 1880-1950: Dressing up, lifestyle and identity'**

Museums are an important arena for encounters with a specific group of people - people from the past - but this has been a relatively recent development. From the late nineteenth century onwards, museums moved from a detached presentation of exhibits to facilitate 'objective' knowledge and education, towards a focus instead on using visitors' imagination, emotion and memory to stage these encounters. In this paper I will explore how and why museums, particularly museums developing a new genre of social history, moved from being repositories for study and knowledge to actively encouraging an emotional and personal engagement with the past. In doing so, these museums not only privileged different aspects of history, they also developed new styles of display which invited imagination and created 'authentic' experiences. With its roots in Scandinavia and the commercial heritage experiences of the international exhibitions, this way of encountering the past took off quickly in the UK and the US during the inter-war period, and the British museums framed themselves as resources for the whole of the British Empire.

Such developments reflect the complex ways in which modern identities were developing in the twentieth century. In privileging memory and emotion, they asserted that in a mobile world, identity was about roots. Roots-based identities were exclusive, but portable. The Highland Folk Museum, for example, explicitly intended to allow those with Highland roots throughout the British Empire access to their own heritage, whereas at the Cambridge and County Folk Museum, the approach was used to 'root' the otherwise rootless. The key feature of this new genre of social history and its development within museums, was the way they made encountering the past pleasurable, and thus their shaping of identities was obscured, and made more powerful than in museums with objective and classificatory approaches; this was, in Raphael Samuel's phrasing, history 'creeping in sideways'. The paper will explore the implications of this new role for museums in identity formation, considering how it may have played out in class, gender and racial identities.

Associate Professor Kate Hill is Deputy Head of the School of History and Heritage at the University of Lincoln, UK. She is a specialist in 19th century British cultural history, specifically the history of museums and of collecting. She is the author of *Culture and Class in British Public Museums, 1850-1914* (2005), *Women and Museums: Modernity and the Gendering of Knowledge* (2016) and editor of *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities* (2012) and *Britain and the Narration of Travel in the Nineteenth Century: Texts, Images, Objects* (2015). She is Chair of the Museums and Galleries History Group and co-editor of the *Museum History Journal*.

## Film Screening

### Title

*E Whiti E Te Rā: Shine*

### Abstract

With the question of what to do with Aotearoa New Zealand's colonial past hanging heavy in the air we explore an enduring theme: hope. Specifically, we present a short film based on our current research project which analyses a collection of waiata – compositions – written by captives taken from the battle of Rangiriri in 1863. Inlaid with critical and creative impulses, informed by archival research and community engagement and guided by tikanga, 'E Whiti E Te Rā' explores the repatriation of a song from a lonely library vault to Ngāti Hauā.

### Presenters

Arini Loader (Ngāti Raukawa) is a lecturer in History at VUW who moonlights as a film producer. Her research analyses early written texts in te reo Māori including waiata, kōrero tuku iho, pakiwaitara and whakapapa. Her PhD thesis 'Tau Mai E Kapiti, Te Whare Wānanga o Ia, o te Nui, o te Wehi, o te Toa: Reclaiming Early Raukawa-Toa Writing from Otaki' (2013) examines a small sample of the writing of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha and Mātene Te Whiwhi-o-te-Rangi, two early Ngāti Raukawa - Ngāti Toa Rangatira literati.

Mike Ross is a lecturer in Māori Studies at VUW. His PhD 'He iwi rangatira anō tātou nei i mua. Kia pai te whakahaere i ngā tikanga mō te iwi. Kia mangu ki waho kia mā i roto: An investigation into the guiding principles and stabilising processes of mana tapu, utu and rūnanga in Waikato-Tainui' (2015) focusses on the influence of traditional values in contemporary iwi governance practice. Mike is from Ngāti Hauā and this collaborative research has personal and professional aims to mediate re-connecting the people and history relating to this 1863 collection of waiata amongst Ngāti Hauā today.

## Roundtables, Panels and Forums (in order of appearance)

### Roundtable: Archive Frictions: Ethics and Politics of Knowledge-Making in Pacific Contexts

#### Chair

Professor Barbara Brookes, University of Otago, [barbara.brookes@otago.ac.nz](mailto:barbara.brookes@otago.ac.nz)

#### Participants

Charlotte Greenhalgh, Lecturer, University of Waikato:  
[charlotte.greenhalgh@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:charlotte.greenhalgh@waikato.ac.nz)

Miranda Johnson, Senior Lecturer, University of Sydney:  
[miranda.johnson@sydney.edu.au](mailto:miranda.johnson@sydney.edu.au)

Emma Kluge, PhD student, University of Sydney, [emma.kluge@sydney.edu.au](mailto:emma.kluge@sydney.edu.au)

Emma Powell, PhD student, Victoria University of Wellington, [emma.powell@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:emma.powell@vuw.ac.nz)

#### Abstract

History is not a value-free discipline. The creation of the sources we use to research our topics, the preservation (or not) of those sources, the context in which we construct our narratives, and the reception of those narratives within and beyond those contexts, often occur in relation to, or as a consequence of, political conflict, unequal exchanges, theft, and ongoing colonization, as well as mutual interest, curiosity, solidarity and friendship. In this roundtable, scholars who work on the recent past and with a range of disciplinary and interdisciplinary commitments and approaches consider the conditions of possibility for their own research. How did our sources and our fields or sub-fields come to be?

Drawing on specific examples and case studies from each of our research areas, we will discuss: the politics of the preservation of sources of anticolonial activism in international archives; the gendered labour entailed in the creation of social science surveys; the creation of sub-fields of historical inquiry in moments of heightened political activism; and the provenance and ownership of histories of subalterns, including for instance, indigenous peoples, racial minorities, and HIV survivors. We ask: should we be mindful of the moments of rupture and creation that enable us to do our work, and are we beholden to those origins? What sorts of ethical, political, and scholarly obligations do the contexts and communities about which we write impose on us, if any? In the spirit of a roundtable, our presentations will be brief and we intend to lead our audience to an engaging conversation.



**Charlotte Greenhalgh** teaches and researches the histories of gender, social science, and the lifecycle at the University of Waikato. She is the author of *Ageing in Twentieth-Century Britain* (University of California Press, 2018). Her current project on the history of pregnancy in 20th-century New Zealand is supported by a Marsden Fast-Start grant.

**Miranda Johnson** teaches and researches Pacific world history and colonial, Indigenous and cross-cultural histories of the South Pacific at the University of Sydney. She is the author of *The Land Is Our History: Indigeneity, Law and the Settler State* (Oxford University Press, 2016) and co-editor with Warwick Anderson and Barbara Brookes of *Pacific Futures: Past and Present* (Hawaii, 2018).

**Emma Kluge** is a historian of decolonization, human rights and the Pacific. She is a PhD candidate at the University of Sydney. Emma is currently in the final stages of writing her PhD thesis, 'Histories of West Papuan resistance and resilience', examining West Papuan activists' campaign for decolonisation at the United Nations in the 1960s.

**Emma Powell** is a PhD candidate in Pacific Studies at Va'aomanū Pasifika, Victoria University of Wellington. She has worked for various local government and state sector agencies and holds a BCA (Public Policy, VUW) and an MA (English Literature, University of Auckland). Her doctoral work focuses on 'akapapa'anga – the Cook Islands Māori practice of genealogy making – and proposes its efficacy as a scale for contextualising historiography, geographies and mobilities in the Cook Islands context.

## Roundtable: Remembering and Forgetting the New Zealand Wars

### Presenters

Joanna Kidman, Vincent O'Malley, Tom Roa, Leah Bell, Liana MacDonald

### Abstract

When Ōtorohanga College pupils petitioned Parliament in 2015, calling for a national day of commemoration for the New Zealand Wars, they sparked a vital debate about memory, identity and history. How do New Zealanders remember and forget difficult events in the colonial past? Why are some conflicts publicly remembered while others are forgotten or overlooked? And who decides?

This roundtable presents preliminary impressions and some initial findings from our Marsden Fund project exploring the role of memory and forgetting in the context of the violent and bloody conflicts that took place in 19th-century New Zealand. The project, with its large cross-disciplinary team, draws on historical and sociological strands to understand how different groups have commemorated these conflicts over time and considers how memory and silence about this difficult past permeates people's everyday lives in the present.

Our research is grounded both in the archive, formal and informal, but also in fieldwork conducted with and alongside kaumātua and taiohi Māori, mapping and recording the ways that these stories are passed down within communities. The research is significant because the narratives remain contested, and for some groups even buried, highlighting the need for reconciliation grounded in deeper dialogue and understanding—a call that is echoed by growing numbers of young New Zealanders. @NewZealandWars

**Joanna Kidman** (Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira) works in the field of indigenous sociology at Victoria University of Wellington. Her research focuses on the politics of indigeneity, Māori youth and settler-colonial nationhood. She has worked extensively in Māori communities across Aotearoa and with indigenous communities in central Taiwan.

**Vincent O'Malley** is a professional historian and founding partner of the Wellington research consultancy HistoryWorks. He has published widely on New Zealand history, including *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800–2000* and his most recent work, *The New Zealand Wars/Ōngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, both published by Bridget Williams Books.

**Tom Roa** (Waikato-Maniapoto) is Associate Professor at the University of Waikato: Title: Te Mata Ahurangi; Member of Te Kauhanganui/Te Whakakitenga o Waikato since its inception; former Chair; former member and Chair of Te Arataura (Executive of Waikato-Tainui); former Chair of Iwi Chairs' Forum; Trustee and former Chair of Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust and of Waikato Raupatu River Trust; Chair Trustees Taarewaanga Marae; Deputy Chair Trustees Pūrekireki Marae; Member of the Waitangi Tribunal. Tribal historian of Waikato-Maniapoto.

**Leah Bell** is a co-signatory to the successful 2015 petition to Parliament seeking a commemoration day for the New Zealand Wars, spearheaded by Ōtorohanga College students. Leah and her peers have advocated for this pivotal history to be included in the New Zealand curriculum, which has recently come to fruition. During this campaign without end, Leah has addressed multiple forums representing a voice for rangatahi in the progression of this kaupapa. Leah is currently completing an undergraduate degree in History and English Literature at Victoria University.

**Liana MacDonald** (Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne, Ngāti Koata) is a recent PhD graduate who studied silencing and institutional racism in settler-colonial education. She is currently a postdoctoral fellow for the project: He Taonga te Wareware: Remembering and Forgetting Difficult Histories in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

## Roundtable: Whanaungatanga

This roundtable of history practitioners, researchers, teachers, scholars and students will discuss whanaungatanga, ‘the defining principle’ – according to the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 262) – that allows a deep understanding of mātauranga. We take a lead from the Tribunal’s broad appreciation of whanaungatanga, noting that it structures rights and obligations, connections between and among the living and dead, and relationships between people and all things. At the same time, whanaungatanga encompasses reciprocity and manaakitanga.

Collectively, our current and recent projects span the 20th century and encompass subjects that include mana wahine, teaching and learning, Treaty settlements, Māori intellectuals, housing, wellbeing, and the Royal New Zealand Navy. Drawing from our distinct roles in and beyond the academy, we put our projects in conversation with the principle of whanaungatanga and with each other, exploring the ways whanaungatanga shapes our practice. How is whanaungatanga invoked and manifested in the histories that we research and write? How does it show up in the teaching and learning environments we are responsible for, or in the research relationships we each enjoy? In what ways does it operate as a method in our work? And, in what ways might whanaungatanga influence the production of history, wherever or however that history is produced?

**Melissa Williams**, [kotaiamai@gmail.com](mailto:kotaiamai@gmail.com), historian at large and in gumboots.  
Panguru4Life.

**Lianne Tamaki**, [lianne.tamaki@mch.govt.nz](mailto:lianne.tamaki@mch.govt.nz), Tuhoe. That is all.

**Kim Moore**, [kim.a.c.moore@gmail.com](mailto:kim.a.c.moore@gmail.com), a.k.a. The Kid, ihu hūpē.

**Nathan Williams**, [nathan.williams23@xtra.co.nz](mailto:nathan.williams23@xtra.co.nz), prodigal student recently returned to post-grad studies. ‘Rewa hard.

**Aroha Harris**, [a.harris@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:a.harris@auckland.ac.nz), spends far too much time cleaning her muskets.

**Hirini Kaa**, [h.kaa@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:h.kaa@auckland.ac.nz), Ngati Porou, but we try not to hold it against him.

## **Panel: Transitioning from School to University History**

What exactly is school history, how is it taught, and does it help students transition to university?

### **Panellists**

- Chair – Grant Collie – Head of Learning Social Sciences, Te Kauwhata College
- Mark Sheehan – Victoria University of Wellington
- Peter Adds – Victoria University of Wellington
- Liana McDonald – Victoria University of Wellington/Difficult Histories
- Steve Watters – Ministry for Culture and Heritage
- Graeme Ball – New Zealand History Teachers' Association
- Geoff Watson – Massey University
- Gregor Fountain – Wellington College Principal

### **Panel Focus Questions**

#### **Part A:**

- Do Humanities subjects, in particular History and Senior Social Studies at NCEA adequately prepare students for continuing tertiary study in History?
- Is there evidence of existing relationships between school and university history departments and what are some good examples of collaboration? Could this be improved?

#### **Part B:**

- Given the recent government announcement on the inclusion of NZ History in the compulsory curriculum, how will this be approached in schools and will this have any impact on the topics being taught at 100 level in NZ Universities?
- Is there scope for University academics and students to work with schools and possibly within classrooms to implement this policy? If so, are there any resources, ethical considerations or practical issues around this that need to be highlighted at this time?

## Panel: Materialising History: Face to Face with Collections and Communities

In this session Te Papa curators Sean Mallon, Stephanie Gibson, Dr Grace Gassin and Dr Katie Cooper will deliver short illustrated presentations on some of the challenges and cultural politics that come with curating and collecting New Zealand history at the national museum. There will be time for questions and discussion at the end of the presentations.

**Sean Mallon**, of Sāmoan (Mulivai, Safata) and Irish descent, is Senior Curator Pacific History and Cultures at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. He is a co-author of both *Tangata o le Moana: The story of New Zealand and the people of the Pacific* (Te Papa Press, 2012) and *Art in Oceania: A new history* (2012), which was awarded the Authors' Club's Art Book Prize. His most recent book is the prize-winning *Tatau: A History of Sāmoan Tattooing* (Te Papa Press, 2018).

**Stephanie Gibson** is Curator New Zealand Histories and Cultures at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. She is researching the material and visual culture of protest, conflict and reform, as well as everyday life in Aotearoa New Zealand. Her continuing museological research focuses on museums and community participation. She is the co-author of *Protest Tautohetobe: Objects of Resistance, Persistence and Defiance* (Te Papa Press, 2019).

**Grace Gassin** is Curator New Zealand Histories and Cultures at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. She has a focus on Asian New Zealand communities and is President of the Dragon Tails Association which focuses on Chinese-Australasian histories and is co-convenor of the 6th Dragon Tails conference held in Aotearoa New Zealand for the first time, here in Wellington.

**Katie Cooper** is Curator New Zealand Histories and Cultures at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Katie's research interest is the material culture of domestic life, focusing in particular on nineteenth-century New Zealand. She is also engaged in ongoing research into the social and cultural history of rural New Zealand.

## Panel: Taking up the Challenge of Doing History Now: Digital History

One of the major methodological challenges of creating history in this time is that whether we believe we are or not, we are all, already, digital historians. Our rituals of encounter with our sources are increasingly digital ones, even if many of us haven't yet thought about how that impacts our scholarship. HIST423 – Digital History, an honours level paper at Victoria University in 2019 has taken this as the start point, and aimed to take students from here to meeting another methodological challenge of creating history for our time, producing digital histories.

On this panel we will discuss the trials and triumphs of taking up this challenge of doing history now, talking about the work carried out in HIST423 this year. While the content of our research is quite varied (Maggie Blackburn examining women's suffrage and political activism in Napier, Ben Lindsay looking at masculinities in Palestinian nationalism between 1967 and 1993, Lydia Whiting examining Māori and Pākehā masculinities in the work of James Cowan, and Rebecca Lenihan working with Charlotte Macdonald on British soldiers serving in the New Zealand Wars), many of the challenges we have faced in utilising digital methods for our research and in presenting our research digitally are universal.

**Rebecca Lenihan** is a post-doctoral scholar and teaching fellow at Victoria University of Wellington, working with Charlotte Macdonald on the Soldiers of Empire ([www.soldiersofempire.nz](http://www.soldiersofempire.nz)) project, and teaching digital history methods. She is the author of *From Alba to Aotearoa: Profiling New Zealand's Scots 1840-1920* (Otago University Press, 2015).

**Maggie Blackburn** is an Honours student in History at Victoria University of Wellington (2019). Her long research essay, supervised by Charlotte Macdonald, examines the campaign for women's suffrage and subsequent patterns of female political activism in Napier in the 1890s.

**Ben Lindsay** is an Honours student in history at Victoria University of Wellington (2019). His major research essay, supervised by Alexander Maxwell, looks at masculinities in Palestinian nationalism during the period 1967 to 1993.

**Lydia Whiting** is an Honours student in History at Victoria University of Wellington (2019). Her major research essay, supervised by Arini Loader, is an analysis of the Māori and Pākehā masculinities in the work of James Cowan.

Keywords: Digital, methods, challenges, reflections

## Paper Abstracts (Alphabetical by Presenter Surname)

### Janice Adamson

**Title:**

Gardening to prosperity: the history and archaeology of a Chinese market gardener in Auckland

**Abstract:**

Hundreds of thousands of people left southern China in the 19th century, with New Zealand being just one of many destinations that received this great diaspora. The first Chinese immigration to New Zealand was driven by the desire to find riches in the South Island goldfields. Subsequently, the historical archaeology recorded to date of the Chinese in New Zealand in the 19th century has been predominantly focused on these goldfield sites. However, archaeological investigations on the site of Carlaw Park uncovered a neglected side to Auckland's history – that of the first Chinese market gardeners in the area, whose legacy and contribution continues to this day. This paper focuses on the history of Chan Dah Chee, market gardener of Kong Foong Yuen 江风园, or the 'Garden of Prosperity' and the material culture recovered that relates to this period of Chinese occupation. Research themes surrounding the history of Chinese market gardening in Australia has largely been focused around the notions of frugality, co-operation, and tradition, and whilst these aspects are identified from the material found at Carlaw Park, it is clear that the experience of Ah Chee challenges these ideas, with his time here being characterised by increasing wealth, social status, and a lifestyle many today would envy.

Janice Adamson is at Archaeology Solutions Ltd.



## Ella Arbury

### Title:

‘The Progressive Improvement’? Maori housing and health in Auckland, 1918–1935

### Abstract:

This paper will explore the relationship between Māori housing and health from 1918 to 1935 by focusing on the efforts of the Health Department, the Māori Councils, the beginnings of a Māori housing programme, and two Auckland case studies. I will examine how ideas about health shaped debates about Māori housing during this period by addressing how understandings of overcrowding, sunlight, ventilation, sanitation, dampness, and housing location impacted on housing. Furthermore, this paper will use the Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei’s papakāinga (home base) and the debates about the housing conditions of Māori working in South Auckland market gardens as case studies for the connections between Māori housing and health in Auckland at this time. The three main diseases affecting Māori health during the period 1918 to 1935 were influenza, typhoid, and tuberculosis. Health officials, politicians and journalists, amongst others, all connected these diseases to substandard housing at this time. Therefore, as part of this discussion about the connections between Māori housing and health, I will explore these infectious diseases’ relationship to Māori housing to argue that improving housing conditions was an important preventative health measure that aimed to reduce the incidence of these diseases.

### Keywords:

Māori, health, housing, Auckland, infectious diseases

Ella Arbury is a PhD candidate in History at the University of Auckland. She has an MA (First Class Honours) in History. Her MA thesis was a history of breastfeeding in New Zealand from 1900 to 1963. Her PhD thesis is about the connections between housing and health in Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland 1918–1949.

## Liam Barnsdale

### Title:

'Dancing or Drill': Conflicting priorities in New Zealand secondary school Cadet training, 1939–1945

### Abstract:

During the Second World War, untold numbers of teenage males underwent military training as a part of their secondary education. Although long-established by 1939, Cadet training in New Zealand secondary schools expanded in size and scope during the conflict. Boys from 16 to 18 years old, and often as young as 14, were trained by Army officers on School grounds as Signallers, Engineers and Medical orderlies, while being taught to use weapons ranging from rifles to howitzers. This training required approval and input from parties across New Zealand society and Government departments, blurring the lines between civilian education and military training. As the organisation grew in size and its training expanded in scope, interactions between all those involved became increasingly conflicted. Ministers, military commanders, teachers, and prospective cadets clashed as demands for more diverse and widespread training received varying responses from each party. This presentation will discuss the origins and outcomes of a selection of these interactions, and the resulting changes to Cadet units across New Zealand. The use of such issues as manpower shortages, funding, pacifism and ethical concerns surrounding the military training of children in these discussions will be examined, revealing the priorities of all parties involved.

### Keywords:

Cadets, Education, Military, War, New Zealand

Liam Barnsdale recently submitted his Master of Arts thesis in History at Victoria University of Wellington, examining the depictions of Royal Air Force aviators in British Second World War propaganda. He is currently carrying out preliminary research for a PhD on Secondary School cadet training in New Zealand and Australia during the Second World War, focusing on both changes in the training itself and the personal experiences of those involved.

## Avril Bell

### Title:

Facing George

### Abstract:

I am researching the life of my great-great-grandfather, George Graham, an early settler in Auckland, tracing his life through archives, secondary sources and visits to places in which he lived and worked. The data at the heart of this presentation is two letters written by George Graham in which, in different ways, he reported on his views of Māori and the colonial project. One was written to Andrew Sinclair, Colonial Secretary, in 1848 as George Graham, then Clerk of Works for the Royal Engineers, prepared to leave New Zealand for the first time; the other, written when George Graham was MP for Newton, was addressed to Governor George Grey as the war in the Waikato raged in 1863. Through this research I am developing a relationship with this long-dead ancestor, and in this paper I reflect on the work of 'facing George', both in the sense that I face, or encounter, George Graham in the material archive and that my writing will be a work of 'facing' him to the world, cladding/rendering him in my practices of representation. These 'facings' are shaped not purely by my biographical connection to George. My interest in his life and work is also informed by my interest in exploring the complexities of the colonial project he was so involved in. His story is a means to illuminate this larger story. In this presentation I will explore how the biographical and familial inflect my learning in this project.

### Keywords:

Settler family history; archival research; settler colonialism; subjectivity; representation

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

## Catherine Bishop

### Title:

Meeting the Market: Commercial Encounters in Colonial New Zealand

### Abstract:

Moneymaking was essential in colonial New Zealand, both for the progress of the colonial project as a whole but also for the survival and prosperity of individuals. Manufacturers, traders and importers needed to engage with suppliers, employees and customers to be successful. Most of these encounters were face-to-face and extra-familial, many involved dealing with complete strangers, some required standing up and speaking up in public, others included inviting the public into the private space of the home.

For 19th-century men, this was expected and acceptable, but what about for women? Women in business dealt with strangers, both male and female, spoke in public, opened up their homes and ventured out onto the streets as they engaged in the muddy, murky world of trade, all in apparent contradiction of public rhetoric about female respectability.

Drawing on research for my recent book *Women Mean Business*, this paper explores the ways women of different classes and ethnicities negotiated the boundaries of their idealised ‘domestic helpmeet’ roles, sometimes exploiting their femininity to run businesses, make money *and* remain ‘respectable’.

It will also reflect on how these gendered encounters in the commercial world and their significance have been recorded and remembered. While on the one hand there is a wealth of women’s and feminist history, in which enterprising women make their appearances, at the same time it is still possible to find recent social and economic histories that ignore the relationship between gender and business altogether.

Catherine Bishop is an ARC postdoctoral fellow at Macquarie University and author of *Women Mean Business: Colonial businesswomen in New Zealand* (Otago University Press, 2019). Her first book, *Minding Her Own Business* (NewSouth, 2015) won the Ashurst Business Literature prize. She is co-editing *Female Entrepreneurs in the Long Nineteenth Century: A Global Perspective*.

## **Toby Boraman**

### **Title:**

Global Labour History and Polynesian transnationalism: Did strikes spread from Aotearoa to the broader South Pacific during the 1970s and 1980s?

### **Abstract:**

Despite the ‘global turn’ in labour history, most scholars in that field have documented the transmission of labour conflict between various high-income countries and regions. In contrast, this paper probes whether strikes during the 1970s and 1980s spread outwards from a relatively wealthy country – Aotearoa – to many other Polynesian South Pacific nations, or whether the upsurge in strikes across the South Pacific was instead influenced by local (and transnational) conditions, such as the cultural and economic context. Drawing on Epele Hau’ofa’s observation that the Pacific peoples are connected rather than separated by the sea, this paper presents an analysis of such interlinkages, and also tensions. It appears some Pasifika migrants who had formerly lived in Aotearoa were pivotal in the development of local unions and eventually strikes in countries such as Samoa. Yet this upsurge across the South Pacific was shaped by local working conditions and a deep global and local economic recession. It also took different forms according to the local context. For instance, the tumultuous 1981 Samoan public sector strike was perceived by many Samoans as a foreign import from Aotearoa that was contrary to fa’asamoa or the Samoan way. Yet striking Samoans and their numerous supporters claimed they organised the walkout in accord with Samoan customs, and were also widely supported by Samoan migrants living in Aotearoa. This paper will also attempt to trace some of the transnational labour influences and tensions that developed between Aotearoa and the broader Polynesian South Pacific. Formal trade union transnational ties will be explored, as well as how interconnections were developed through more informal channels, especially through Pasifika migration.

### **Keywords:**

Global labour history, transnationalism, Polynesians, labour disputes

Toby Boraman teaches politics at Massey University and writes about labour and social movement history in Aotearoa. Previously he held a global history fellowship in Germany and worked at the Waitangi Tribunal.

## **Libby Bowyer**

### **Title:**

Women as Witnesses in New Zealand's Colonial Courts

### **Abstract:**

Over the course of New Zealand's colonial period legislative changes liberalised the ways in which women could have their voices heard in the colony's courts. These changes were implemented in a number of ways. One way was through the laws of coverture, where legislation such as the Married Women's Property Act 1884, allowed married woman to act as their own legal entity, separate from their husband. Whilst other legislation concentrated on who could and could not give evidence in court in certain case types. Looking at these changes alongside women's testimony in court records, brings to light the lived realities, legal incapacities and legal empowerment of New Zealand women within the legal system, as well as how they understood their own changing legal position. Much of the historiography has focused on women appearing as defendants, plaintiffs or even spectators in the courtroom. But little attention has been paid to the ways in which women spoke and gave evidence in New Zealand's colonial courts and how the changing legal and social norms gave or prohibited women's agency to appear as witnesses. My research explores the socio-legal dynamics of the colony's courtrooms and how the gendered characteristics of the law and society operated within this space in relation to women appearing as witnesses.

### **Keywords:**

gendered histories, colonial New Zealand, social legal history

Libby completed her Bachelor of Arts in History and English Literature at Victoria University of Wellington in 2017 followed by her Honours Degree in History in 2018. She is currently undertaking a Master of Arts in History at Victoria. Her research has focused on women in New Zealand during the 19th and early 20th century.

## James Braund

### Title:

J.C. Beaglehole versus J.R. Forster & Son: Unpacking Forty Years of Animus and Ambivalence

### Abstract:

John Cawte Beaglehole introduces us to a wide range of interesting and colourful characters in his magisterial edition of James Cook's journals, but on none of these characters does he heap as much criticism as he does on Johann Reinhold Forster, the German polymath appointed as a last-minute replacement for Joseph Banks as official naturalist on Cook's second voyage. Beaglehole's dislike of the highly qualified but temperamentally difficult Forster can be traced back to the first edition of his *Exploration of the Pacific* (1934) and continues into his posthumous *Life of Cook* (1974). It reaches its unquestioned nadir, however, in his introduction to Cook's journal of the second voyage (written in 1959), where he lists more than twenty alleged character failings of the German in the space of just one paragraph. Beaglehole's treatment of Forster's son George, who worked as his father's natural history assistant and draughtsman on the second voyage, is rather more sympathetic, though not always without criticism too. This paper briefly surveys the evolution of and changes in Beaglehole's frequently negative relationship to the two Forsters. It contrasts this with his largely positive relationship to Germans generally, and thus considers factors elsewhere in his life and background knowledge base that might explain his four decades of scholarly animus and ambivalence towards the two German naturalists.

### Keywords:

J.C. Beaglehole; Johann Reinhold Forster; George Forster; New Zealand historiography; Germans in New Zealand

James Braund is an Honorary Research Fellow in the University of Auckland's School of Cultures, Languages and Linguistics. He has researched, published, and lectured widely on aspects of science history, natural history, and the German connection with New Zealand and the Pacific.

## André Brett

### Title:

'Particularly Offensive': Smoke, Fire, and the Environment of the Steam Railway in New Zealand Prior to 1914

### Abstract:

New Zealand developed a large main-line railway network from the 1870s linking cities with each other, their ports, and their hinterlands. This paper examines the railway environment up to 1914, and responses to it. New Zealand's railways at the time were, like most the world over, operated almost exclusively with steam locomotion. This created a sooty, grimy, dirty industrial environment that affected workers heavily, bothered travellers, and had deleterious effects on properties near to railway corridors.

This paper will focus on three of the most notable aspects of the steam railway environment in New Zealand. It will address the workshops, where locomotives were fuelled, cleaned, repaired, and kept in steam ready for duty. Workers were exposed routinely to soot, ash, dust, and smoke, and often had to fight for adequate ventilation, while nearby residents and businesses complained when these undesirable emissions drifted onto their property. Second, steam locomotives require fire, and lots of it. The resulting sparks posed a serious hazard, especially in dry weather conditions. Third, the smoke nuisance for passengers became notorious on routes with long tunnels such as that between Christchurch and Lyttelton. The Railways Department received complaints regularly on all of these topics. They were not always responsive to complaints, and often disclaimed responsibility, but public pressure – and a desire for economy – could effect change, with increasingly significant efforts made to reduce the volume of smoke produced.

### Keywords:

Railways, environmental history, industry, mobility

André Brett is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Wollongong. He is the author of three books, including *Acknowledge No Frontier: The Creation and Demise of New Zealand's Provinces* (Otago University Press, 2016). He is currently researching the enviro-economic history of railways in Australasia, and passenger rail provision in New Zealand.



## Dean Broughton

### Title:

Salted Ink: The Tattoos of New Zealand and British Merchant Seafarers from 1930 to 1970.

### Abstract:

This paper discusses what we can learn about seafarers from the descriptions of tattoos recorded in the *New Zealand Police Gazette*. Long associated with seafarers, tattoos represent more than a physical marking. One popular perception characterises sailors as hard-drinking, rabble-rousing, marginal members of society. This paper employs evidence from the 1930 to 1970 issues of the *Police Gazette* to challenge the traditionally negative view of the seafarer. Although no longer used to provide information for finding deserting merchant sailors the descriptions of the tattoos in the *Police Gazettes* are an important source of historical information. The explanations help in understanding the thoughts, attitudes and ideals of sailors. Analysis of the tattoos illustrates sailors were more conscious of their identity than the traditional seafaring stereotype suggests. Images such as clasped hands, memorials to family members and references to events reflect connections and detachments to home ship and society. In addition to highlighting the beliefs, traditions, and practices that underpinned seafaring identity in the 20th century, the paper also provides commentary on historical trends, patterns and statistics.

### Keywords:

Sailors, tattoos, Police Gazettes, identity

Dean Broughton is a PhD candidate in the history programme at Victoria University of Wellington. His thesis investigates Merchant Seafarers as immigrants to New Zealand from 1945 to 1970. Dean's MA thesis investigated Lascar seafarers in the British Maritime World c. 1849–1912. Dean's current research interests focus on New Zealand and British Merchant Navy history in the 20th century.

## Hayley Brown

### Title:

The Establishment of Health Centres in New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s

### Abstract:

This paper explores attempts in New Zealand to improve the provision of primary health care from the 1970s. In the early 1970s government funding was provided to establish health centres around New Zealand which were designed on the British model of combining group practice with other areas of primary health care such as dentistry and counselling thereby creating an opportunity for providers to develop relationships with one another and provide a more integrated service to patients, and with lower charges than other GPs. The first two health centres at Mosgiel and Mangere were affiliated to the medical schools at Otago and Auckland, and this relationship reflected a growing interest in the study of community health and debates over the balance between primary and secondary health care in the 1970s.

A further addition was made to the concept of health centres in 1986 when the Labour government agreed to provide funding for union-sponsored centres which provided low-cost GP visits at a time of rising unemployment. This funding was part of the government's commitment to providing healthcare for all by 2000. The NZMA was unsupportive of health centres as it considered that the additional government funding provided to these clinics gave them an unfair advantage over other GP practices. Through exploring the history of these centres, this paper questions to what extent the centres were successful in addressing issues of equity of access to primary health care and expanding the definition of primary health care beyond general practitioners.

### Keywords:

health centres, health equity, community health, integrated health care, NZ welfare state

Hayley Brown is a Research Fellow in history at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. She is currently working on a Wellcome-funded project which compares the history of the NHS in England with the New Zealand healthcare system. She was awarded her PhD from VUW in 2012.

## Rachel Caines

### Title:

Through their eyes and words: 'face to face' interaction and emotional connectedness in New Zealand's First World War commemorative exhibits

### Abstract:

As part of New Zealand's commemorations for the Anzac Centenary (2014–2018), Te Papa Tongarewa organised the exhibition *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* with the assistance of Weta Workshop and leading First World War historians. This exhibition focused on evoking an emotional response from visitors in order to reinforce the significance of the Gallipoli campaign, the war more generally and its legacies. A key way this was achieved was through the use of technology and sculpture to mimic 'face-to-face' interactions between historical figures and visitors through the creation of eight monumental, life-like sculptures. This paper argues that the use of this 'face-to-face' mode of delivery in New Zealand commemorative exhibits was important in creating an emotional attachment to the subject matter being delivered, whilst simultaneously asserting dominant or subaltern narratives. By mimicking face-to-face interactions through recorded video, audio, and larger-than-life sculptures, this exhibit was able to personalise history, prompting visitors to create a deeper emotional link with narratives of Gallipoli, the Great War and its legacies. This paper uses *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War* as a case study to explore the link between 'face-to-face' interaction and emotional connectedness, and how this link has been used in the commemoration and dissemination of narratives of the Great War.

### Keywords:

War; emotion; museums; memory; commemoration

Rachel Caines is a final-year Master of Philosophy student at the University of Adelaide. Her research explores the nature of Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, and Māori inclusion in Australian and New Zealand commemorations of the First World War.

## Samuel Carpenter

### Title:

'A King for Myself': Wiremu Tamehana's conceptions of the native kingship and New Zealand's Civil War

### Abstract:

This paper will inquire into the way Wiremu Tamehana Tarapipi Te Waharoa adopted and adapted scriptural, British historical and contemporary global knowledge in constructing a new vision of indigenous political order. At one level the paper examines the influence of literacy and printed matter on the world view of 'the New Zealanders'/ngā iwi māori – including identifying specific texts and elucidating their content. As such, this is a piece of 'intellectual history' that is interested in the world of texts available to Tamehana, in the context too of actual relationships with missionaries and government agents. At another level the paper asks what influence this 'global knowledge' had on native conceptions of themselves as 'Māori' and in re-imagining their political community. It also seeks to interrogate the question whether the New Zealand wars were, for at least some Māori and at least some British settlers, an instance of 'civil war' – a 'war between brothers' or a war within a single community/ riri tara ā-whare. Along the way, the paper attempts a reappraisal of the Kīngitanga – or Wiremu Tarapipipi's conception of it – as an ideational and institutional response to a crisis of social and political order in an imperial situation. It does so in part by considering some other possible parallels in the history of (British) empire and indigenous polities.

### Keywords:

Law/ture, kingship/kīngitanga, nation-ality/iwi-wehe, global knowledge/mātauranga o te ao, civil war/riri tara ā-whare

Samuel Carpenter is a PhD Candidate at Massey University. His PhD is part of a Marsden-funded project, led by Professor Michael Belgrave, which is exploring the extent to which a civil society was created or imagined that transcended the scattered European settlement and different Māori polities, allowing the wars of the 1860s to be seen as 'civil wars'.

## Georgia Cervin

### Title:

Finding women in (sport) history: sources and methods to address the challenge

### Abstract:

The purpose of this paper is to explore and expand the historian's toolbox to allow for more space for women in how we write about the past. In particular, this paper is situated in the very gendered area of sport and its history. It questions the place of women in the 'man's world' of sport, and the way sport history has been written. It traces the slow integration of gender into sport history, and the challenges posed by the archives in their paucity of material on women. These challenges are not unique to sport history, but rather problems faced by historians in many sub-disciplines. However, our aim is to suggest possible solutions to the problem of 'finding' women in the past. We explore a range of methodological and interpretative tools that can aid the historian in their quest to tell richer, deeper, and more comprehensive stories through greater gender inclusivity. Using an intersectional feminist approach, we draw on a broad range of humanities and social science disciplines to suggest a number of ways for historians to incorporate more women into their work. We then discuss several studies that have demonstrated the usefulness of such novel approaches. This paper is based on an upcoming book.

### Keywords:

methods, sources, women's history

Georgia Cervin is an honorary research fellow at the University of Western Australia, where she also gained her PhD. Her research focuses on women in international sport.

## Paul Christoffel

### Title:

Avoiding a Brexit Fiasco: Lessons from New Zealand

### Abstract:

New Zealand's governments have conducted referendums on significant issues without risking the fiasco that Brexit became. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the country was deeply divided over alcohol. Prohibitionists pushed for a national referendum and the government eventually acceded. In 1911, 56% voted for prohibition in the country's first-ever national plebiscite. The background and result were therefore similar to the 2016 British referendum on EU membership, which was just the second national referendum in that country. But the similarities end there. In New Zealand, the vote for nation-wide prohibition was considered an insufficient mandate for such a significant change – 60% was required. In contrast to Brexit, prohibition could be introduced relatively smoothly if this threshold was reached. All the major policy issues were worked out in advance, including whether the industry would be compensated for prohibition, a timetable for implementation, whether private possession of alcohol would be outlawed, and what exclusions would apply. The law provided for further referendums in case future generations should change their mind.

This presentation will also discuss the referendums in 1992 and 1993 which led to a change in New Zealand's voting system. It will show how the process adopted helped ensure a clear mandate for change and a smooth transition to the new system.

### Keywords:

Referendums, Brexit, Alcohol, Prohibition, MMP

Paul Christoffel is a self-employed historian working mainly for the Waitangi Tribunal, the Office of Treaty Settlements, and the Crown Law Office. Other research interests include alcohol and censorship.

## Ali Clarke

### Title:

Beauty amidst the engines: railway station gardening competitions in New Zealand

### Abstract:

In 1925 the Otago Women's Club, an organisation composed largely of women of elite social standing, launched a new project – a competition for the most attractive garden at a railway station in the region. The working men of the railways took up the challenge with enthusiasm and created beautiful gardens at even the tiniest of stations. They were encouraged by New Zealand Railways management, who appreciated the beautification of these formerly highly utilitarian spaces, although employees were expected to garden in their leisure time rather than during working hours. The competition was inspired by similar schemes overseas and spread to other regions of New Zealand; it survived into the 1960s in Canterbury, where it was run by the Canterbury Horticultural Society.

These competitions may appear, at first glance, insignificant, but they provide an intriguing window into the lives of working-class men. Their working days were spent amidst smoke, steam, noise and large machinery – growing flowers introduced beauty into these industrial spaces, making them more appealing to the staff as well as to members of the public. The popularity of flower gardening among railway staff was also demonstrated in horticultural clubs and flower shows at some of New Zealand's railway workshops.

Gardening is a pursuit popular with people from many different backgrounds. The railway station gardening competitions brought contrasting groups face to face, as elite women judged the achievements of working men.

### Keywords:

Gardening, railways, leisure, class, gender

Ali Clarke works in the archives section of the Hocken Collections, University of Otago. She is also an historian and the author of several books, most recently *Otago: 150 Years of New Zealand's First University* (Otago University Press, 2018).

## Peter Clayworth

### Title:

‘To Combat Socialism, Syndicalism and Anarchy’: William Pryor and the employers’ campaign against Militant Labour, 1906–1914

### Abstract:

William Pryor (1867–1922) was one of the most successful union organisers and exponents of class war in New Zealand’s industrial history. The union he organised was the Employers’ Federation, of which he was secretary from 1906 to 1922. The class war he fought was against militant unions and socialists, in particular the New Zealand Federation of Labour (FoL), the ‘Red Feds’. Pryor used the rhetoric of class war and industrial unionism in an attempt to organise all employers in New Zealand into a union that could break the power of Red Feds and force militant unions back under the discipline of the arbitration system. William Pryor is almost completely unknown in 2019 (he has no entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*), but in the early 20th century he was one of the most powerful men on the New Zealand industrial scene. In his roles as Secretary of the Employers’ Federation, Secretary of the Coal Mine Owners’ Federation, Secretary of the Gold Mine Owners’ Federation and Secretary of the Shipowners’ Federation, Pryor was chief organiser of the successful employers’ campaign that defeated the strikes of 1912 and 1913.

This paper examines the employers’ campaign to defeat the FoL by looking at the work of William Pryor. In the process it considers how Pryor’s views on industrial organisation and class war closely resembled those of his opponents, though he was fighting for the opposite side.

Peter Clayworth is an historian with the Treaty Settlements Rōpū of Te Arawhiti. Lacking his Stoke family’s mechanical skills, Peter became a professional historian. He has worked for the Waitangi Tribunal, DoC, and the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. He is still trying to finish writing a biography of militant unionist Pat Hickey.



## Patrick Coleman

### Title:

'Croppies Lie Down and the Boyne Water': Loyalist Songs of Heritage or Hate?

### Abstract:

The Orange Order since its foundation in rural Ireland in 1795 has been dogged by accusations of bigotry and stirring up hate. Despite this, they managed to spread rapidly across the British World to countries like Ghana and New Zealand. Notable expressions of their Orange belief are in their music and songs. Yet to many Irish Catholics they are songs of hate.

This paper addresses the cultural and inflammatory use of the music and lyrics by examining Orange sources and other archival material in an international comparative context. What were the differences between the public and private contexts of these songs? What constitutes a party tune from a musical expression of culture? And to what extent was the Irish experience different compared to the Orange diaspora and why? These issues are important for they illuminate aspects of Irish Protestant migration and enable exploration of the fraternity's rituals of encounter.

### Keywords:

Ethnic identity, loyalist songs, Orange Order, ritual, sectarianism

Patrick Coleman is a PhD candidate at the University of Otago researching the Orange Order throughout the British World using a comparative and transnational framework. He is also Academic Coordinator in English Language at Lincoln University. His research interests focus on comparative migration & ethnicity, fraternalism, gender and material culture.

## Hera Cook

### Title:

The New Zealand Gun Lobby: From face to face politicking to social media

### Abstract:

Following the Christchurch massacre, the term gun lobby has been used to refer to groups within New Zealand, as it was in the 1990s. This is a change from recent years, when the Council of Licensed Firearms Owners (COLFO) had discouraged the term. A lobby is defined as a group of persons who work or conduct a campaign to influence members of a legislature to vote according to the group's special interest. Initially the term referred to those who frequented the lobby of a legislative assembly to meet face-to-face with politicians for this purpose. This paper considers to what extent gun owners and users and other groups such as retailers have made up a unified lobby. If so, have they been successful in shaping the formation of gun policy and legislation in New Zealand? How have gun owners exercised influence, and have political parties and governments resisted this, or has it been seen as an acceptable contribution of expertise? Have Māori been involved and has their engagement varied geographically? How and when did voices opposed to the influence of gun owners emerge, and to what extent and how do such voices appear to have influenced New Zealand gun politics? This paper considers the past half-century and concludes by asking what the history of gun policy reveals about the operation of influence in New Zealand politics.

### Keywords:

Guns; lobbying; influence; masculinity; politics

Hera Cook is a historian of sexuality and emotion who works in the Department of Public Health Otago University of Wellington.

## Janine Cook

### Title:

Charles Purnell's Early Animal Rights Treatise: Speaking to closed ears?

### Abstract:

In 1893, a reviewer in the *Asburton Guardian* reflected that the recently published work of local lawyer, Charles William Purnell, *The Intelligence of Animals* was, as far as they were aware, the first book on the subject by an Australasian writer. It was described as 'an eloquent and forcible appeal to civilised man' to inspire improved treatment of our animal brethren. His Whitcombe and Tombs paperback intended for the lay reader contained strong views. Purnell noted, for instance, that fortunately for us, 'the memory of the unutterable wrongs which dumb animals have sustained at man's hands cannot have been transmitted by them from generation to generation, or assuredly the entire Animal Kingdom would rise up in fierce rebellion against the common oppressor!'

Little academic attention has been granted to either Purnell or this book. Purnell is best known as a would-be politician and author of *An Agrarian Law for New Zealand* (1874). This paper explores the reviewer's claim that *The Intelligence of Animals* was the first Australasian publication on the subject, situating it within international literature on comparative psychology and existing Australasian and international literature on animal rights and the animal rights movement. It examines the reception to the text and Purnell's ideas internationally and locally.

This paper speaks to interdisciplinary conversations as a postcolonial lens is currently applied to the field of Human–Animal Studies. Purnell's text, produced within rural Canterbury in the 1890s, is an important starting point for local analysis. It reflects moral conversations that played out within New Zealand's education system, farming sector, and scientific communities.

**Keywords:** Human-Animal Studies, animals, rights, colonial, naturalist

After previous careers lecturing in health and working within the arts and heritage sector in Dunedin and Wellington, Janine Cook completed a PhD (History) at VUW in 2015. She currently teaches a course on civic action within the BA programme at Massey University, Palmerston North.

## Megan Cook

### Title:

Believing in the implementation of the 1972 Equal Pay Act

### Abstract:

Recent attention to pay equity in New Zealand followed a period in which it was generally accepted that the Equal Pay Act 1972 had been effectively implemented. What was the basis for this perception? It was supported in part by reviews of the Act's implementation undertaken in 1975 and 1978. The reviews included public hearings in which unions, women's groups and employers participated. They appeared before a review group that included those representing employers, who had generally opposed equal pay, and those representing campaigners for equal pay. Through these layered face-to-face encounters progress toward equal pay was judged. The context of the reviews was critical to their effect and to the historical record they left. Did the review committees consider the effort made by employers to minimise the Act's effect, the lack of commitment of some private sector unions to equal pay, or the failure of the labour inspectorate to pursue the matter? How was the Act itself understood? Was the need for equality in all elements of remuneration considered? Were female-dominated occupational groups, for which pay equity would be developed, focused upon? This paper will consider both content and context, and how these factors contributed to the pervasive belief that the Act had achieved the desired aim.

Megan Cook is a professional historian who has worked on Te Ara the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, the Waitangi Tribunal and on other government and academic projects. Her research interests include women and the labour market and the role of class in social life.

## Mark Crookston

### Title:

Enabling histories for our time? Collecting directions at the Alexander Turnbull Library

### Abstract:

The Alexander Turnbull Library is celebrating its centenary – 100 years of creating, protecting and providing access to national collections covering a range of publications, artistic expression, and archival documentation. Indeed, the legislated mandate of the Library is *to develop and maintain a comprehensive collection of documents relating to New Zealand and the people of New Zealand*. However, New Zealand society is in a constant state of change, and the means by which information is created, shared, accessed, and used has also significantly changed, which creates challenges to fulfilling this mandate.

This presentation reflects on the kinds of collections generated by the Library over 100 years, highlights recent acquisitions that might support histories of our recent time being generated, and outlines changes in collecting direction that are responding to challenges of constant societal and technological changes, so that the histories of now might be available for researchers of the future.

### Keywords:

Collections, histories, memory systems, digital archives

Mark Crookston is Associate Chief Librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library, in the National Library of New Zealand. He has worked in a range of archive and library roles across New Zealand, the UK, and the Pacific.

## Raewyn Dalziel

### Title:

The Eyes Scandal and Marlborough Politics

### Abstract:

In the early 1870s the public and private lives of W.H. Eyes, former member of the House of Representatives and former Superintendent of Marlborough, came together explosively in what became known as the Eyes scandal.

Eyes had a history of violence dating back to the 1840s and yet, first in Nelson and then in the Wairau and Blenheim, his class and relationships enabled him to be established as a stockman, runholder, political activist, office-holder and political leader. He was a major player in the faction-riven politics of Nelson and Marlborough throughout the 1860s, attracting both staunch allies and bitter enemies. In Wellington he was equally controversial. However it was when his finances began to suffer with falling wool prices in the later 60s and he turned from central politics to local office-holding that his personal life came under scrutiny. His open indiscretions resulted in turmoil in Blenheim and Picton, public meetings of support and censure, a civil service commission of inquiry, libel suits and his divorce. Eyes was forced to leave Blenheim but looked to return to its politics in 1881 and 1884. Until his death in a boarding house on Kent Terrace in Wellington in 1907, his life was interspersed with trouble.

Raewyn Dalziel is Emeritus Professor in History at the University of Auckland. After ten years as Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic) at the University, she is using her retirement to become an historian again.

## Jared Davidson

### Title:

The history of a riot: work gangs versus the New Zealand Company in Nelson

### Abstract:

In late August 1843, gangs of labourers employed building roads across the Nelson region violently resisted the imposition of wage changes and increased supervision by New Zealand Company officers. Timekeepers were stoned, thrown into a watery ditch, and had their dwellings torn down and destroyed. In the face of collective resistance, Company agents and the police magistrate were unable to properly prosecute the labourers, and when one was arrested, he was freed by his armed fellow-workers. During the power struggle that followed, military might was requested to diffuse the situation. Nelson, declared the Company's agent, was 'in state of anarchy.'

The emigrant labourers of Nelson brought with them traditions of collective rituals, shared labour, and memories of Swing Riots and agricultural unrest. How, then, did the class experience of the work gangs, before and after arriving in Nelson, play out in their struggle? What does this event tell us about the make-up of Nelson's settlers, class formation and, more generally, class in colonial New Zealand? How did the Wairau Affray influence events? And how did the struggle force the Company to rethink its plans for colonisation and restructure wage and property relations? Using Company pay lists and other archives to build a better picture of the labourers themselves, this micro-history of the struggle between Nelson's labourers and their colonial and Company 'betters' allows us to complexify settler capitalism and class experience in New Zealand.

### Keywords:

Class, settler capitalism, colonisation, labour, New Zealand Company

An archivist by day and labour historian by night, Jared Davidson is an award-winning writer based in Wellington. He is the author of three books, including his latest work, *Dead Letters: Censorship and Subversion in New Zealand 1914–1920* (Otago University Press, 2019). Through social biography and history from below, Jared explores the lives and struggles of working people – from radicals of the early 20th century to prison convicts of the 19th.

## Michael Dudding

### Title:

Architectural canonisation: Some methodological challenges of oral history research for our time.

### Abstract:

Oral histories arise from *kanohi ki te kanohi* encounters between interviewers and interviewees. Oral history theorists have long recognised, however, that resulting narratives are shaped as much by the characteristics of these encounters as they are by any notion of objective historical ‘truth-telling’.

Architectural history, like all ‘high cultural’ histories, is a canonical construction. Conducting oral history interviews in this context means that the characteristics of the encounter are not confined to the two people, but occur between each person and their socialised understandings of the canon – which hovers over the encounter as an unacknowledged third presence. This presence guides the interviewer’s questions and, more significantly, provides a socialised time and space within which interviewees construct their memories of experience and ultimately their identities.

This paper describes a speculative attempt to find meaning in this complex encounter – the ‘multidimensional’ time and space of both authorised canonical narratives and the voiced selves of individuals who might be located within those narratives. It is superficially focused on the oral histories of a small number of New Zealand architects who studied in the United States during the 1940s and ‘50s, illustrating how these recorded testimonies, grounded in the ‘present’ of the encounter, simultaneously give voice to both ‘pasts experienced’ and ‘futures projected’.

### Keywords:

Oral history; architecture; canon; time

Dr Michael Dudding is a Lecturer in architectural history at Victoria University of Wellington. His 2018 doctoral dissertation was based on oral histories of New Zealand architects who undertook postgraduate study in the US during the 1940s and 50s. His research is focused primarily on post-World War Two New Zealand architectural history.



## Marie Duncan

### Title:

The cocktail cabinet or the medicine cabinet, where did the gin belong?

### Abstract:

In the first half of the 20th century many alcoholic drinks were advertised claiming medicinal properties and benefits. The adverts for alcohol promised alleviation of pain and other symptoms, and cure was suggested if not declared. Advertisements for gin made claims aimed at both men and women. The ads targeting men featured sport or men in pairs talking about the benefits of various brands of gin. Females, meanwhile, were described as victims of 'feminine indispositions' and 'little troubles'. Both sexes were targeted with alarmist ads referring to the perils of growing old, with 40 nominated as the age when this decline would begin.

At the turn of the 20th century the ads were short, but clearly promoted the products as an alcoholic drink, for example, *Wolfe's Schnapps cheers the mind and invigorates the system. Professionally recommended.* By 1930 a Wolfe's advertisement was headed, *Thousands of homes have Wolfe's in the medicine chest.* This paper will examine how the prohibition and temperance movement and legislation moved gin into the medicine cabinet and then returned it to the cocktail cabinet.

Marie Duncan is a Masters student in History at Victoria University of Wellington. She is researching how patent medicines containing alcohol and alcoholic beverages were advertised in New Zealand newspapers and magazines, 1900–1945.

## Mark Dunick

### Title:

How German were the 1870s German Vogel immigrants?

### Abstract:

Between 1871 and 1876, around 3000 Germans settled in New Zealand as part of Julius Vogel's assisted immigration scheme. But what makes a German? This paper will analyse data from passenger lists to show that the majority of the German Vogel migrants came from a few specific regions in the German Empire, and that many did not consider themselves German at all.

More than half the New Zealand-bound German migrants originated in just three provinces with large non-German populations. Often specific rural localities produced large numbers of New Zealand-bound migrants, who remained together and formed small communities in New Zealand too. National identity in the German Empire was politicised and contested, so passenger records and other data are often unreliable. For many, religious or ethnic identity played a major role in the decision to emigrate, but others were 'nationally indifferent'. This paper will examine the New Zealand-bound 'German' settlers in detail, exploring both the problems with national classifications and some of the more interesting patterns revealed by the data.

### Keywords:

Germans, New Zealand, Settlers, Nationality, Nineteenth century

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

**Bill Edwards****Title:**

The battle of Kororāreka (Russell)

**Abstract:**

I have produced an overview of the battle of Kororāreka using historical documents and drawings that are interpreted through a landscape archaeological perspective. These documents were made the day before and on the day of the battle and allow for a detailed review of how the battle proceeded over time and may help to explain why a superior armed force of British troops and sailors was so easily defeated by Ngāpuhi hapū.

The viewpoint is that of an observer, looking in, much like the archaeological process that finds meaning from landscapes and artefacts. By using historic sources as artefacts that are carefully and forensically examined, we are able to challenge later stories that become distorted over time.

Bill Edwards works at Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga.

## **Eva Foster-Garbutt**

### **Title:**

Tom and Jessie: A New Zealand story

### **Abstract:**

The combined findings of historical research and archaeological investigations can provide us greater insights into the lives of everyday New Zealanders. This is explored through the example of a house and property occupied by Thomas and Jessamina Shalders and their 13 children from the late 1860s to 1894 north of Oamaru, North Otago (archaeological site J41/179), which was investigated by archaeologists from New Zealand Heritage Properties (Dunedin) in 2017.

Eva Foster-Garbutt is a Senior Heritage Advisor at Wellington City Council.

## Karen Fox

### Title:

Melbomania: Nellie Melba Visits New Zealand

### Abstract:

When the opera singer Nellie Melba arrived in Wellington during her 1909 tour of Australasia, she was greeted rapturously. Fire regulations were ignored as people packed into the Town Hall. As a prima donna on the operatic stage, Melba was among a small group of highly talented women whose musical abilities enabled them to scale the heights of wealth and fame. Her face, and potentially her voice, would have been familiar to many fans now encountering her *kanohi ki te kanohi* – or at least in the flesh, if distanced upon the stage – due to the dissemination of her image and voice via newspapers, periodicals, postcards, and recordings. Perhaps, like fans today, these early 20th-century concertgoers already felt an intimacy with her due to this commodification of her visual and vocal persona.

Scholars are increasingly interested in the historical underpinnings of the modern phenomenon of celebrity, and one rich and exciting area of developing research concerns the specific contours of celebrity in Australasia. This paper asks what happened when Melba – an international superstar and one of the most famous women in the world at the time – visited New Zealand. What does the example of Melba reveal about the shape of celebrity during the long 19th century in Australasia? How does it illuminate the nature of female celebrity during a period of rapid change in women's social and political positions? And how did New Zealanders, having recently declined to join Australia in Federation, experience Melba as local, imperial, or global identity?

### Keywords:

Celebrity; Feminism; Australasia; Encounter; Nellie Melba

Dr Karen Fox is a Research Fellow at the National Centre of Biography in the School of History at The Australian National University, and a Research Editor for the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. She is fascinated by questions of significance and reputation in the representation of famous lives.

## Lyndon Fraser

### Title:

The Place of the Dead: Religion, Remembrance and the New Regime on the Edge of Empire

### Abstract:

I have observed in print that the historical study of cross-cultural encounters with death in Australasia in the 19th and early 20th centuries inevitably faces problems of ‘voice and evidence’. There is a formidable body of scholarship that looks at the demographic and epidemiological dimensions of contact and interaction, as well as topics like indigenous deathways, the theft of human remains, warfare and violence more broadly. Yet we know far less about the ways in which ordinary men and women shaped their mortuary beliefs and practices, including their relations with the dead, in response to momentous changes wrought by mobility and colonialism. This paper explores one key aspect or site in which the dead did their work among the living and where we, as historians, come face-to-face with a new regime of death on the edge of empire: the religiously pluralistic Victorian cemetery. In what follows, I build on the pioneering research of Stephen Deed, who recently offered a sensitive and highly visual treatment of local burial places. His work vividly demonstrates the value of making death central to histories of cross-cultural engagement and further underlines the importance of combining documentary, visual and material evidence. But it leaves aside for future historians some fundamental questions about context, symbolism, materiality, writing and memory. I begin that task here in a close study of three South Island graveyards that brings together the field and the archive. In so doing, I critically engage with Thomas Laqueur’s recent claims about the ‘newly configured idolatry of the dead’ and the interests served by the ‘historicist jumble’ of the 19th-century cemetery.

### Keywords:

migration; death; material culture; religion; memory

Lyndon Fraser is Co-editor (with Linda Bryder) of the *New Zealand Journal of History*. He works at the University of Canterbury and as Research Fellow in Human History at the Canterbury Museum.

## Jessie Garland

### Title:

The Archaeology of Retail: Where the domestic and the commercial meet

### Abstract:

The opportunity to investigate the material culture of a place from a retail perspective is rare. The processes of distribution and retail are often under-represented in the archaeological record and overshadowed by the refuse of domestic consumption. However, work in Christchurch has uncovered several sites associated with the importation and retail of 19th-century goods, from fancy goods stores to bonded warehouses. These sites, particularly that of London and Paris House, an 1860s–1870s fancy goods store with aspirations of grandeur, draw back the curtain on hidden retail practices and the role of the retailer – and retail space – in shaping the social, cultural and economic meaning of domestic material culture. The shop can be seen as a curated space that bridges the divide between commercial and domestic processes of consumption and consumerism through the material encounters between retailers and consumers on a daily basis. These transactions and interactions are as important to understanding the role of material culture within broader Christchurch society as those that take place entirely within the domestic sphere.

Jessie Garland is a PhD Candidate at La Trobe University.

## **Anna Gilderdale**

### **Title:**

Little Humanitarians: children's responses to global events and humanitarian crises in the anglophone press, 1880–1920

### **Abstract:**

This paper examines young people's relationship with the world beyond their doorstep. Social networking and globalisation are often touted as new and novel features of today, yet children's profound engagement with the anglophone periodical press in the latter half of the 19th and early 20th centuries fundamentally changed children's interactions with the world around them. Exponentially growing rates of literacy created a new class of juvenile reader who not only consumed fairy tales and Dickens, but also gained access to the realm of global current events and politics. Part of a larger doctoral project about children's transnational correspondence in the anglophone press, this paper looks at New Zealand children's reactions and responses to global events through their own letters to newspaper correspondence pages. Now preserved on the page, children voiced their opinions on countless events and debates from wars, to famines, epidemics, politics, Royal Visits, exploration, scientific inventions, natural disasters and so on. Children have often been confined to the domestic sphere in historical study, but by using the lens of the transnational, this paper aims to extend existing understandings of colonial childhood experience. It argues that children's interactions with the wider world and each other through print (both as readers and as writers) reveals the importance placed on fostering transnational social connection and being an informed and active citizen not only of one's own local community or nation, but of the world.

### **Keywords:**

Children, Transnational, Print Culture, News/Current Events, Connection

Anna Gilderdale is a current doctoral student at the University of Auckland. Her PhD thesis is provisionally titled 'A Page Without Borders: The Transnational World of Anglophone Youth Print Culture, 1880–1930', supervised by Dr Felicity Barnes and Associate Professor Caroline Daley. Anna is in her final year of doctoral study.



## Peter Gilderdale

### Title:

Wishing you Luck?: The Postcard and Attitudes to Chance, 1900–1920

### Abstract:

In his study of luck in America, Jackson Lears sketched two very different approaches to life. One sees success as a by-product of hard work while the other sees it as random and governed by the fickle hand of fate – in other words an argument hinging on the *classical* distinction between *virtu* and *fortuna*. This paper explores Lear's theory in a local context, concentrating particularly on attitudes to chance as they were expressed in New Zealand through the medium of greetings postcards. Postcards – sometimes called the Edwardian Twitter – were designed to mediate space and help facilitate virtual encounters between people unluckily parted by distance. Greetings postcards highlighted the formalised ritual aspects of these encounters. As objects, these cards represented both the pre-printed values of a commercial apparatus (the texts and images on the front) and the ways that people responded to and used them for their own purposes (the handwritten texts on the back). Both sides of the card reflect the attitudes of their time, and my current research aims to look at the ways that *fortuna* persisted within this aspect of Edwardian popular culture. Luck represented the unruly impulse that had early brought so many people to New Zealand to seek their fortune in the goldfields, and it appears to have still held considerable sway, despite the best efforts of the protestant ethic to instil virtuous behaviour.

### Keywords:

Luck, Postcards, New Zealand, Popular Culture, Symbolism

Peter Gilderdale is Associate Head (Research) in AUT's School of Art and Design, where he teaches Design History and Communication Design theory. His PhD examined the historical contexts of Hands Across the Sea Postcards, which he recently wrote about in Frances Steel's *New Zealand and the Sea*.

## Sandra Gorter

### Title:

Oral History and the Civil Foundations of a Nation

### Abstract:

How have neo-liberal politics impacted work practices and the cost of work? A three-year study of civil engineering contracting from 1973 to 2007 based on oral histories compares changes in the workplace, and changes to the cost and practice of civil engineering: the building of New Zealand's roads, subdivisions, and drainage.

The starting point of the study were 252 transcribed oral interviews of people who had worked with or for HEB Construction. The size of the New Zealand industry, and HEB's established practice of using sub-contractors rather than payroll employees, meant that the people interviewed had also worked either with or for New Zealand's other four largest construction companies; Fletcher, Fulton Hogan, Downer EDI and McConnell Dowell, providing a representative overview of an entire industry.

The work revealed the impact of neo-liberal politics and policies on social change and work practice, and much about the role of specific groups in the workplace such as Māori, women, and immigrants recent and historic. Documentary confidentiality meant that largely, apart from publicly available information, the information provided in the interviews became the foundation of the work. The quality and techniques used to gain the information was therefore crucial to the outcome of the study as a whole.

This paper discusses how the interviews were conducted, how trust was achieved, how information was used, the value of interviewees guiding the direction of the research into more formal, documented areas, and how conclusions were reached from a combination of wider research and oral evidence.

**Keywords:** HEB Construction; civil engineering; neo-liberal politics; oral history interviews; social change and work practice

Sandra Gorter has an MA Hons (English) BA History and English, UoA; HonsDip, London School of Journalism; Publications: *HEB Construction, Ranger, Fidelis, Scout, Working in the dirt* Circa 6, 2018; Presentations: *Auckland, Hobson's choice for a New Zealand Capital* NZHA 2017, *Where has all the documentation gone?*

## Hineitimoana Greensill

### Title:

He kurapae, he kura huna: Encountering the lives of four Māori women

### Abstract:

The complex and challenging lives of Māori women in the 1970s have been articulated in various forms of scholarly and creative work, including academic publications, poetry, film, and visual arts. Māori women were on the frontline of political struggle and contributed to the social, cultural and economic fabric of New Zealand society, while at the same time meeting whānau obligations, maintaining identity, and asserting their values and ideas as Māori women in a changing world.

In this presentation, I discuss the 1977 film *Maori women in a Pakeha world* and the various encounters in my own research journey that led me to this taonga. The film, as an historical document as well as a documentation of history, considers the lives and work of four prominent Māori women in the 1970s: Donna Awatere, Mira Szaszy, Merata Mita and Eva Rickard. It foregrounds both the resistant and revolutionary spaces occupied by these women as well as their everyday expressions of mana wahine. This discussion of the film in turn provides a platform for further exploration of the political history of Aotearoa through the voices and actions of Māori women.

### Keywords:

Māori women, Political history, Māori Identity, Mana wahine, Film

Hineitimoana Greensill (Tainui, Ngāti Porou) is a senior lecturer and PhD candidate in Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies at the University of Waikato. She researches and teaches at the intersections of Māori language, mātauranga Māori, Māori and Indigenous studies, and mana wahine.

## Nadia Gush

### Title:

Facing a catastrophic past: historical empathy at Waikato Museum

### Abstract:

Waikato Museum currently invites visitors to come face to face with the past through a series of interactive voting stations in the Hamilton survey exhibition *Shaping Hamilton / Huringa Kirikiriroa*. In this exhibition, visitors are presented with the history of the Kirikiriroa Hamilton region up until the 1970s. At various points they are asked to imagine themselves in the shoes of decision-makers and vote on key events that shaped the region. Would you sign the Treaty of Waitangi Te Tiriti o Waitangi when it is written in a language you cannot understand? Would you invade the Waikato rather than continue peaceful negotiations? Would you rename the place 'Hamilton' if you did? Through posing such questions the Museum hopes to engage the historical imagination of its visitors.

Because Waikato history is catastrophic history, facing the past requires not just historical imagination, but also historical empathy. In this paper I consider how asking the question 'what would you do?' brings visitors face to face with both the past and their own responsibility towards the present, creating in the process a much more human encounter within the museum.

### Keywords:

Empathy, Museums, Encounters, Hamilton, History

Dr Nadia Gush is social history curator at Waikato Museum and an honorary research associate with the University of Waikato.

## Nick Haig

### Title:

The time is out of joint: A spectral materialist approach to remembrance (now)

### Abstract:

In Eric L. Santner's work *On Creaturely Life* (2006), he describes 'spectral materialism' as a methodology or 'mode' that 'serves to register and archive a certain *real* whose status is, paradoxically, *virtual*'. For Santner, the *practice* of spectral materialism – which is exemplified in the work of German author W.G. Sebald – involves, among other things, 'a capacity to register the persistence of past suffering that has in some sense been absorbed into the substance of lived space, into the "setting" of human history.' My broad concern is this paper, a paper formed at least contextually around and out of the debris of New Zealand's museum-based centennial commemorations of the First World War, is with exploring questions relating to the representation, temporalisation and historicization of violent legacies. My speculative contention is that rather than providing opportunity to trace the various lines of flight of barbarism and suffering that occurred in the war and its aftermath – flight lines that undoubtedly congealed in different (and new) sites, regimes and affective affiliations – the 'temporal signature' that characterized New Zealand's centennial exhibitions, that is, a focus on simulacral experiences aimed at taking visitors 'back' to the war, worked to occlude the possibility of such 'spectral material' archaeology and, in a Benjaminian sense, further ramified the homogenous 'empty' time of capitalist temporality. Alongside this critique I also intend in this paper to sketch out some of the possibilities (and indeed paradoxes) that may be 'released' when a spectral material approach to such legacies is foregrounded.

### Keywords:

Spectral materialism; remembrance; WW1; violent legacies; temporal regimes

Based in Nelson, I completed an MA in Museum Studies in 2016 and am currently a Massey University doctoral candidate. My research focuses on contemporary memorial formations and the social and political functions of museums.

## David Haines

### Title:

When the whales went away: southern right whaling in New Zealand and the end of the ‘middle ground’

### Abstract:

Environmental degradation is often cited in colonial histories as a major reason for cross-cultural conflict and eventual settler domination. In the case of southern right whaling in New Zealand, historians now emphasise a ‘middle ground’ of co-operation and mutual dependence. Less attention is paid to violence and exploitation, human or otherwise. But what happened when the whales went away? Using examples from Banks Peninsula and elsewhere, this paper surveys Māori engagement with bay and shore whaling from the late 1830s to c. 1850, when the industry peaked and then collapsed from chronic overfishing. It assesses the impact of the decimation of whale populations on Māori-whaler relationships, alongside other factors such as deepening kinship ties, diversification into land-based activities, the proximity of other white settlers, and an encroaching colonial state.

### Keywords:

whaling; southern right whales; ‘middle ground’; environmental history

David Haines works as a principal advisor for Te Arawhiti, the Office for Māori Crown Relations. He is most recently the author (with Jonathan West) of ‘Crew Cultures in the Tasman World’ in Frances Steel (ed), *New Zealand and the Sea: Historical Perspectives*, published by Bridget Williams Books in 2018.

## Will Hansen

### Title:

Trans Communities and Politics in New Zealand, 1970-1989

### Abstract:

Wendy, a transwoman and member of the trans organisation *Hedesthia*, wrote soberingly in 1977 that she wondered ‘where would I be today, if I had never joined *Hedesthia*?? Probably in a mental hospital, in a cemetery, or at best perhaps an alcoholic.’<sup>1</sup> For Wendy, the existence of a community of people like herself saved her life. Particularly important for marginalised groups, ‘community’ can provide safety, friendship and a family. Nonetheless, a community of some kinds of people inevitably excludes others. How transgender communities have developed in New Zealand’s history is an enormously understudied aspect of our shared history. New Zealand’s trans communities in the 1970s and 1980s were for some a ‘safe-haven,’ and for others a reminder of pain, existing within and reflecting society’s structural oppressions. Trans communities also operated within, alongside, and in opposition to a broader queer political movement through these two decades, which was largely focused around homosexual law reform. Although trans individuals were political activists in their own right, and also contributed a great deal to gay liberationist efforts, their involvement has been almost entirely ignored in the historical record. Through conducting interviews and using resources at LAGANZ, I hope to investigate these dynamics and paint a picture of what has thus far been ignored in New Zealand’s historical record, exploring new ways of conducting a specifically *trans* oral history project.

I am a 22-year-old transperson, a Masters history student at Victoria University of Wellington, and a trustee of the Lesbian and Gay Archives (LAGANZ). There is nothing I am more passionate about than trans history, and it is my dream to make our history known.

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<sup>1</sup> Wendy, ‘Why do we need Hedesthia?’ *S-E-L-F* no.14 (March 1977), p.3

## Rachel Harris

### Title:

Women's Land Work in World War Two: Some Perspectives from Australia and New Zealand

### Abstract:

In her conclusion to *The Land Girls: In a Man's World, 1939–1946*, Dianne Bardsley asserts that the Women's Land Service in New Zealand offered more post-war opportunities for women on the land than comparable services in Australia, Britain and the United States. This paper aims to further explore this argument by offering a comparison of women's experiences as rural land workers in New Zealand and in Australia, and the effect of their war work on their post-war lives. Focusing on the Australian Women's Land Army (AWLA) in South Australia – relatively unique in the Australian context due to its small size and the state's distinctive economic conditions, which meant the vast majority of its members were employed as seasonal harvest workers – this paper argues that while South Australian women had limited opportunities after the war to use the land skills they had gained, the unique workplace dynamics of seasonal AWLA work and the camaraderie that formed between workers meant many found their wartime experiences, albeit as they understood them to be temporary, as nevertheless personally liberating. In contrast, the individual placement on farms and stations that the majority of members undertook in New Zealand offered more opportunities for women to continue with rural work in the post-war period. But common in both instances was male resistance to women on the land; that women's involvement in rural labour was incompatible with, or posed a threat to, desirable femininity and women's domestic aptitude was a notion that persisted throughout the war in Australia and New Zealand.

### Keywords:

Women, World War II, rural labour, Land Army, Land Service

Rachel Harris is a final year PhD candidate in the Department of History at the University of Adelaide, Australia. She is writing her thesis on the lives of civilian women in South Australia during World War Two.



## **Innez Haua**

### **Title:**

A little whare in Sydney, Australia

### **Abstract:**

One in five Māori now lives in Australia, and the number of Australian-born Māori is increasing, yet most conversations around Māori in relation to indigeneity and identity tend to assume that Aotearoa, New Zealand is the only site of Māori experiences and history. This presentation focuses on a little carved whare, which was built in Sydney, Australia in 1976. The little whare draws attention to the rootedness of the Australian Māori diaspora within Indigenous lands in Australia and the ensuing uneasy entanglement of indigeneity, migration, colonisation and identity.

Examination of how a little whare came to be in Sydney illuminates aspects of Australian social and political environments in the 1970s and the self-perception of the Australian Māori identity. Tracing the construction of the little whare invite broader discussions around intersecting indigeneity, histories, encounters, peoples, places and cultural expression.

### **Keywords:**

Indigenous Australia, Indigenous Diaspora, Māori, Urbanisation, Colonial

Innez Haua is Aotearoa Māori and her iwi are Ngāti Porou and Ngāi Tāmanuhiri. Innez has spent most of her life in Australia and is currently completing her PhD in Indigenous Studies at Macquarie University, NSW. Innez's research areas include Indigenous diaspora and the entanglement of Indigenous identities, spaces and places.

## Jamie Hawkins Elder

### Title:

From 'Home sweet home' to 'refugees + wanderers?': Settler anxiety and assertions of belonging during the 1860s Land Wars

### Abstract:

On 17 March 1860 Taranaki transformed into a place of war. Over the succeeding months settler women and children in Taranaki left the area after being ordered under martial law to evacuate. Although some resisted, the majority left for Nelson and were accommodated with the assistance of the Nelson provincial government. Similarly, at the time of conflicts at Poverty Bay (at Waerenga-a-hika in 1865 and Matawhero in 1868) women and children also evacuated, leaving by sea for Auckland or Hawke's Bay.

In both Taranaki and Poverty Bay the label 'refugee' came to be used by the New Zealand settler population to refer to those leaving. The very use of this term was predicated on the idea that the 'refugees' had a home in these places and belonged there. For the 'refugees' the concept of home took on various forms, be it an emphasis on family, memory, nature, the wider region, or labour and livelihood. A zealous articulation of 'home' grew in a relatively short time period and aided settlers in attaching themselves to a new and unfamiliar environment. It served the purpose of justifying settlers' right to be in Taranaki and Poverty Bay, in Aotearoa as a whole and ultimately of justifying the settler side in the wars. The responses of the Poverty Bay and Taranaki 'refugees' are telling of how settler colonialism and the condition of settler colonial anxiety operated during the Land Wars.

### Keywords:

Land Wars, Settler colonial anxiety, home, "refugees", gender

Jamie is currently a Historian at Te Arawhiti (Māori Crown Relations), having completed her MA in history at Victoria University in early 2018. Her research interests include New Zealand social history, empire and colonialism, histories of women and gender, and environmental history.

## Matthew Henry

### Title:

Turbulent Air: Encountering, Knowing and Territorialising the Upper Atmosphere

### Abstract:

During the early decades of the 20th century the upper atmosphere was transformed from a place of distant contemplation into a place central to the emergent fabric of a globalizing world. This paper explores how meteorologists, and other actors such as pilots, came to encounter the atmosphere, the ways in which those encounters were materially coded by arrays of instruments and objects, and the transformations that occurred to shift atmospheric encounters from the fleeting to the infrastructural. The paper focuses on the program of upper atmospheric research initiated in New Zealand in the late 1920s in support of the empire-wide airship service being developed by the Imperial Airways Mission. In this program meteorologists, in conjunction with pilots and policy makers, grappled with how to conceptualise and inscribe new environmental spatialities, while simultaneously framing those spatialities within equally new, demanding forecasting temporalities. The result was encounters that transformed the turbulent upper atmosphere into an infrastructural place mapped and diagnosed by an increasingly infrastructural meteorology. The paper concludes by reflecting on the long-term implications for our understanding and governance of the atmosphere stemming from those initial, fleeting encounters in the early decades of the 20th century.

### Keywords:

New Zealand, meteorology, upper atmosphere, pilots, infrastructure

Dr Matt Henry is a Senior Lecturer in Massey University's School of People, Environment and Planning. His research interests revolve around the technopolitics of science. He was one of the co-editors of the 2014 volume *Climate, Science, and Colonisation: Histories from Australia and New Zealand*.

## Nicholas Hoare

### Title:

*Face-à-face, pierre-à-tête*: Cinematic Encounters on Makatea, French Polynesia

### Abstract:

Thanks to the discovery of phosphate at the turn of the twentieth century, ‘modernity’ came to Makatea sooner than most islands in French Polynesia. Makatea had the first steam-engine, the first flood-lit basketball court, and were possibly even the first to taste ice cream. As current mayor Julien Mai remarks: it was like ‘Papeete was still cooking with Tahitian ground ovens when Makatea had microwaves’. Makatea also possessed perhaps the greatest marker of modernity of them all: a cinema. *Ciné ‘Tony’* – named after Tony Bambridge, the man responsible for popularizing the moving image on Tahiti – was situated in the middle of the Rarotongan camp, home to Cook Islanders who worked on the island between 1942 and 1955. The problem? *Ciné Tony* screened only French romances when they craved American Westerns. Sick of the same saccharine fare, in February 1948 a group of Cook Islands’ men launched a series of rocks onto the cinema’s roof, with one piercing the ceiling and narrowly missing the head of a small child. The event itself, though relatively innocent, was not the first of its kind and resulted in the cinema’s relocation to another part of the island. For the Cook Islanders, it was the latest of series of disappointing encounters on the phosphate island. That the scene unfolded around a cinema, however, is of interest to me as I begin a new project exploring the impact of cinema in the colonial Pacific with a particular focus on the cinema as a site of resistance.

### Keywords:

French Polynesia, Makatea, Cook Islands, Cinema, Phosphate

A graduate of VUW, Nicholas Hoare is in the final months of his PhD candidature at the ANU, where he has been researching and writing about phosphate mining on Makatea (a French Polynesian atoll), as well as working for the *Journal of Pacific History* and the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

## Rohan Howitt

### Title:

The Company-Microstate: A Colonial Venture in the Subantarctic

### Abstract:

From 1849 to 1852 the subantarctic Auckland Islands, 465 kilometres south of the South Island, were home to the British Empire's smallest, newest, and most remote crown colony. Officially a crown colony administered by a Lieutenant-Governor, the Auckland Islands was effectively a private settlement bankrolled and controlled by the London-based Southern Whale Fishery Company. The Company envisioned a prosperous colony that would both revive the British whaling industry in the Southern Ocean and become an important port of call on the clipper route by selling provisions to passing ships. When the colonisers arrived, however, they found the islands already inhabited by a group of Ngāti Mutunga settlers and their Moriori slaves, who had migrated there from the Chatham Islands in 1842.

This paper examines the experience of the three groups on the islands, Ngāti Mutunga, Moriori, and British, during the colony's brief three-year existence. It considers the relationships that developed between the three groups, the ideas about systematic colonisation that underpinned this colonial experiment, the links between the Auckland Islands and the other Australasian colonies, and the implications of this history for understandings of sovereignty and imperial expansion.

### Keywords:

Auckland Islands; systematic colonisation; subantarctic; empire; company-state

I completed my PhD in History at the University of Sydney in 2019. My research focuses on global processes of imperial expansion and settler colonialism in the context of Australia, New Zealand, and the Southern Ocean, with a particular interest in attempts to occupy and colonise the subantarctic region.

## Wanda Ieremia-Allan

### Title:

‘O le lotonu'u moni': Le Sulu and histories of Sāmoan transnationalism

### Abstract:

Under the auspices of the British colonial project, *O le Sulu Samoa (Le Sulu)*, translated as *the Lantern of Samoa*, was first published in 1839 by the London Missionary Society as a monthly newspaper to disseminate news of missionary activity and church affairs in the growing network of Sāmoa, Niu Kini (Papua New Guinea), Tokelau, Niue and Ellice Islands. Throughout the 20th century and during the period of New Zealand administration, *Le Sulu* increasingly became a literary, religious and political tool, wielded by Samoans to propagate a particular brand of transnational Samoan Christianity throughout the Pacific. This presentation specifically looks at *Le Sulu* from 1910 to 1957 as a site for investigating what transnational mobility around and beyond New Zealand's empire looked like from the perspective of Sāmoa. It argues that the genealogy of Samoan indigenous writing can be traced to the longstanding traditions of Samoan church writing, and that the study of such church newspapers provides insight into a vibrant, active and mobile cosmopolitan indigenous community that is not visible in the dominant discussions of New Zealand imperial history.

Wanda Ieremia-Allan teaches in the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies, The University of Waikato

## **Nigel Isaacs**

### **Title:**

Understanding the History of the Technology of the New Zealand House

### **Abstract:**

Houses are buildings where people live, sleep, eat and sometimes work, as is evidenced by numerous papers, reports, books and studies on these topics. Even the building appearance has been studied, often in great detail. For example, the conventional New Zealand timber house can be viewed through the evolution of design styles (e.g. cottage, villa, bungalow, art deco, modern), which are often seen as the only changes worthy of research. Yet under the surface appearance there have been many significant technological changes. The historian of technology-in-use is faced with a mixture of issues which are too often ignored.

For example, the assumption is that a nail is a nail is a nail, yet the technological record reveals that as New Zealand house construction evolved contemporaneously with nail manufacture, at least four different nail-types have been used. The availability of these, and other technologies, can impact on the timing of style changes in ways that are not recognised in existing narratives.

The problem addressed in this paper is one of encounter, or reception of technological history within the paradigm of conventional art history-based scholarship.

The paper will explore how a technological history results in a very different understanding of the evolution of the New Zealand house, and how the resulting insights can help develop not only our understand of how our houses became to be as they are today, but also to help improve future housing.

### **Keywords:**

Construction, houses, dwellings, technology, history

Nigel Isaacs is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Architecture, Victoria University of Wellington, where he lectures on environmental science and the history of building technology. His current research explores the development of the technology of house construction and building controls from earliest European settlement.

## **Cherie Jacobson**

### **Title:**

Who's afraid of Museum Theatre? The opportunities and limitations of immersive historical performance

### **Abstract:**

For two weeks in November 2013, groups of people in Wellington found themselves faced with not only a pandemic, but a pandemic in 1918. Last year, visitors to the Great War Exhibition were able to navigate the sounds, smells and sights of Quinn's Post, Gallipoli in 1915. Using very different methods, both experiences offered a chance to 'step back in time' and come face to face with history. Museum theatre has been looked down on by museum and heritage professionals and misunderstood by creative practitioners. Yet many visitors love it. Immersive situations based on real historical events can attract different audiences and achieve deeper engagement, but they also leave room for misunderstanding and risk an emphasis on style over substance. This paper uses case studies to explore the limitations and opportunities of museum theatre and asks why two sectors who have a lot to offer each other, have often tried to keep their distance.

### **Keywords:**

Museums, Heritage, Theatre, Performance, Immersive

Cherie Jacobson is a Master of Museum and Heritage Practice student at Victoria University of Wellington. She has a varied professional background which includes public policy, writing and producing theatre, venue and event management, and research and writing about architectural and women's history.



## Dolores Janiewski

### Title:

From Labour Rights to the Right to Work: Anti-Communism and the Resistance to Social Citizenship in the United States, 1936–1947

### Abstract:

My paper examines the effort to incorporate labour and social rights into the American conception of civil liberties and the right to privacy undertaken by a U.S. Senate special subcommittee chaired by Senator Robert La Follette, Jr. and his colleague, Elbert Thomas. The Senators and their allies conceived of the National Labor Relations Act [1935] as a cornerstone of the effort to achieve ‘economic justice’ and set out to investigate and prevent the anti-union strategies used by employers including industrial espionage, lethal force, and front groups from 1936 to the mid-1940s. The paper also examines the opponents to federal protection for labour rights, including the National Association of Manufacturers and a conservative alliance between southern Democrats and Republicans in Congress who set up a House special committee to investigate what they defined as ‘un-American activities’. A prewar Red Scare prevented legislation outlawing industrial espionage and lethal weapons in labour disputes. Continuing to use anti-communism as a major weapon, the opponents of social and labour rights recast their supporters as un-Americans and redefined civil liberties as requiring the protection of workers from labour bosses and ‘racketeers’. The paper concludes by discussing the successful effort to replace labour rights with the so-called ‘right to work’ for workers opposed to unions in 1947 legislation which also mandated the signing of anti-communist affidavits by union officials to retain federal protection. Anti-communism thus enabled individual ‘rights’ for protection *from* unions to substitute *for* labour and union rights during prewar and postwar Red Scares.

Dolores Janiewski is Associate Professor at Victoria University of Wellington teaching U.S. history, Cold War, and Media and the Modern USA topics. She has recently published ‘Through a Glass Darkly: The NLRB, Employer Counteroffensives, Investigative Committees and the CIO’ in *Against Labor: How U.S. Employers Organized to defeat Union Activism*.

## Alex Jorgensen

### Title:

Persistent Places, New Stories: Perspectives from Ahuahu/Great Mercury Island

### Abstract:

Following the settlement of Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 14th century AD, movement continued around the coast of the entire country, connecting tangata whenua with whanaunga and resources for the next 500 years. However, some locations seem to reveal deeper and more complex archaeological landscapes, reflective of long-term occupation in persistently utilized locations, and Ahuahu/Great Mercury Island is one of those examples. The University of Auckland, in partnership with the Auckland War Memorial Museum, Ngāti Hei and the owners of Ahuahu/Great Mercury Island, have been undertaking archaeological research on Ahuahu for the past eight years, and this research has revealed much about the nature of persistent places of occupation in Aotearoa, and the formation of the archaeological record associated with that occupation. This paper will outline the Ahuahu archaeological research programme and present some of the evidence discovered for regional connections, early horticulture and environmental adaptations.

Alex Jorgensen is at the University of Auckland.

## Margaret Kawharu

### Title:

'The Two Faces of Conversation'

### Abstract:

The context in which the Treaty of Waitangi claims process continues to evolve is part of a longer conversation between the Treaty partners who have a history and quality of relationship deeply embedded in colonialism and post-colonialism in Aotearoa, New Zealand.

In this paper I explore some of the nuances of engagement between Ngāti Whātua o Kaipara, a Treaty of Waitangi claim committee and the Office of Treaty Settlements officials in face to face negotiation meetings. I draw attention to two levels of interaction Comaroff and Comaroff (1991) describe as the two faces of conversation; one involving the conversation i.e. the content of the talk, and the other at a deeper level of consciousness, the conversion. The Comaroffs' study is of the colonisation of consciousness and the consciousness of colonisation among the southern Tswana people in South Africa and provides some insights to the New Zealand context. In the business of negotiations to achieve a settlement, the claim committee found their identity was on slippery ground. Until the claimant definition and mandate were in the form determined by the Office of Treaty Settlements, negotiations for items of redress were on hold. I argue that at one level the conversation was technical; it was about ticking the boxes of procedure, but at another level, there was a struggle between the parties to gain mastery over the terms of the encounter, terms that the Crown officials regulated.

### Keywords:

Conversation, consciousness, conversion, Treaty of Waitangi claim negotiations, identity

Margaret Kawharu is currently doing her PhD on Treaty settlements at the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies. She has been involved in the Treaty of Waitangi claim settlement process with her own people Ngāti Whātua since 1995. She serves on the post-settlement governance entity and commercial arm, and chairs the co-governance entity over Kaipātiki Reserve, in Kaipara.

## Josh King

### **Title:**

‘Dhobies, hawkers, tailor blokes’: New Zealanders and the people of the Middle East during the Second World War

### **Abstract:**

New Zealand encounters with the people of the Middle East during the Second World War were defined by difference. Different customs, clothing, language, appearance and lifestyle all combined to make Middle Eastern people completely alien from anyone most New Zealanders had encountered before. Limited overseas travel and restrictive immigration policies meant that most New Zealanders serving in the Second World War had known only a largely homogenous white population before travelling overseas for war service. While they had heard tales of foreign people and cultures from relatives who had been overseas – especially fathers or uncles that had served in the First World War – their own personal experience of racial others was limited. This paper explores interactions between New Zealand servicemen and women, and the people they met in the Middle East during the Second World War. It is the racist attitudes of New Zealanders that usually dominate understanding of wartime relations with Middle Eastern people, and certainly many New Zealanders brought racial prejudices with them to the Middle East. However, a tendency to overemphasise the negative paints far too simplistic a picture. This paper examines wartime diaries, letters and photographs for evidence of how New Zealanders contextualised their varied relationships with the people of the Middle East. In doing so, it seeks to expand our understanding of these face-to-face encounters, emphasising the growing complexity of New Zealanders’ attitudes as they encountered different peoples.

### **Keywords:**

New Zealand, Middle East, Second World War, People, Relationships

Josh King completed his MA in History at Victoria University of Wellington in February 2019. His research focussed on New Zealanders in the Middle East during the Second World War, exploring their service in the region through the lenses of place, materiality and people. He hopes to start a PhD in History later in 2019.

## Benjamin Kingsbury

### Title:

'Losing faith in the stability of the earth': disaster relief and Māori land after the Tarawera eruption

### Abstract:

Mount Tarawera erupted in June 1886, killing around 150 people (most of them Māori) and covering much of the Bay of Plenty in volcanic ash. The livelihoods of the tangata whenua, Tūhourangi and Ngāti Rangitihi, disappeared overnight. Settlements and crops were buried, forests were flattened, and Te Otukapuarangi and Te Tarata, the Pink and White Terraces – a major source of tourist revenue – were destroyed. This paper examines responses to the eruption by the affected iwi, their Te Arawa kin, Pākehā settlers, and the government. It focuses especially on the exercise of power in these responses: the eruption had been a disaster for some, but for others it was an opportunity to gain influence, develop commerce, and take control of land and resources.

### Keywords:

Tarawera; disaster relief; Māori land; environmental history

Benjamin Kingsbury works as a historian at Te Arawhiti, the Office for Māori Crown Relations. His first book, *An Imperial Disaster: The Bengal Cyclone of 1876*, was published by Oxford University Press in 2018; his history of leprosy in New Zealand, *The Dark Island*, will be published by Bridget Williams Books in 2019.

## Angela Lassig

### Title:

Clothing as currency: the exchange of European clothing and textiles for Māori land in 1830s Northland

### Abstract:

It is well documented in most narratives concerning pre-1840 Northland that many of the transactions enacted for Māori land involved an exchange of cash, and, more usually, goods. While firearms, tobacco and tools were the principal goods of trade before 1830, Māori desire for European clothing and textiles increased markedly during the 1830s, with the intensification of the economy – ‘more ships, more acres planted, more pigs herded, more food exchanged for goods.’

While these ‘material’ goods ‘did not, of themselves, cause [Māori] to think or act differently, abandon cherished beliefs, or adopt new ones,’ the documented receipt and wearing of European clothing and textiles by Māori provides rare tangible evidence of the importation of European dress and textiles in this country, and specifically utilitarian working class dress, which is a neglected area of study.

My paper is based almost entirely on the narratives of evidence provided in the case files compiled in the early 1840s by the Old Lands Claim Commission, to assist in determining the validity of pre-treaty land purchases from Māori.

This paper provides an analysis of the clothing and textiles documented in these files, noting any Māori appeal for particular styles, colours or quality of goods. It will also examine the import of these goods into New Zealand, focussing primarily on the Australia / New Zealand mercantile trade.

This work forms part of a comprehensive research project on European dress and textiles in 19th-century New Zealand. The results of this study are being disseminated through conference papers, public lectures, articles and, ultimately, a major illustrated publication.

Angela Lassig is an Auckland-based independent historian, specialising in dress and textiles. She is currently researching and writing a book on 19th-century New Zealand dress and textiles towards which she was awarded major grants by The Friends of the Turnbull Library and the New Zealand Historical Association in 2018.

## Nicola Lemberg

### Title:

New Zealand's Gendered Futures

### Abstract:

My paper offers preliminary findings from my PhD research on the 'history of the future'. Focusing on New Zealand print culture as a case study, my thesis explores how and why past societies produced and communicated ideas about their future, in order to determine the value of 'the future' as a lens for historical inquiry.

My paper will explore specific examples of 'gendered' futures, asking what these sources reveal about contemporary cultural preoccupations, anxieties, dreams, and hopes. Analysis will place the production of 'the future' in relevant social, cultural and/or political contexts. I will also consider whether these imagined futures disrupt or support current understandings of New Zealand's past.

### Keywords:

Future, cultural history, print culture, New Zealand, gender

Nicola Lemberg is a PhD candidate and teaching fellow at the University of Waikato. Her thesis explores 'The History of the Future'. Her Masters examined New Zealand and Australian goldfields narratives. Nicola has also completed undergraduate degrees in law and politics, and currently teaches an introductory New Zealand history course.

## Rebecca Lenihan

### Title:

Encounters with the British military archive / Tracing Redcoats

### Abstract:

Around 18,000 men served in the British Army in New Zealand in the mid-19th century. Tracing who they were is, on the one hand, much easier to do than had they not served in the army. British Army records for this time are comprehensive, capturing rich information about thousands of men who would otherwise likely be lost to the pages of history, as many of their contemporaries have been. It is, on the other hand, actually quite difficult to do, because British Army records for this time are comprehensive, yes, but not well integrated; the 19th century military archive is dense and vast.

This paper will briefly relate some of the methodological challenges in bringing these records together in order to create a profile of these men as a whole before presenting profiles of a few individuals who demonstrate some of the different patterns emerging from the data.

### Keywords:

19<sup>th</sup> century, military, visualisations, digital, sources

Rebecca Lenihan is a post-doctoral fellow at Victoria University of Wellington, working with Charlotte Macdonald on the Soldiers of Empire ([www.soldiersofempire.nz](http://www.soldiersofempire.nz)) project. She is the author of *From Alba to Aotearoa: Profiling New Zealand's Scots 1840–1920* (Otago University Press, 2015).



## Susann Liebich

### **Title:**

Encounters at Sea: Literary Practices and Maritime Mobility across the Pacific, c. 1850–1900

### **Abstract:**

In the second half of the 19th century, millions of seafarers crossed the oceans. Some searched for new lives, for respite or adventure; some pursued work opportunities; others travelled to defend their countries. Time spent at sea often constituted a period of transit and transformation, moving across space and to new lives and experiences. Far from being a period of suspension in an ‘empty’ space, travellers’ experiences and practices at sea were crucial components of a globally connecting world and could have long-lasting effects. This paper explores encounters at sea: with fellow travelers, marine animals, texts and ideas, and new environments. I will pay particular attention to how print and texts, and reading and writing reflected and mediated such encounters. Passengers wrote diaries; produced and circulated ships’ newspapers; exchanged and read books, sometimes aloud in groups; staged theatrical performances; and attended religious services. The geography of ships and oceans shaped such practices, while literary practices in turn contributed to the construction and perception of ship-board spaces, e.g. for privacy, sociability, and individual agency, in which numerous and various encounters took place.

### **Keywords:**

ocean voyages, reading, print culture, Pacific

Susann Liebich is a print culture scholar at the Heidelberg Centre for Transcultural Studies, Heidelberg University. She has published widely on reading cultures in New Zealand and the British Empire, and on Australian and New Zealand popular magazines of the 1920s and 30s. Her current project investigates reading and writing at sea.

## **Rowan Light**

### **Title:**

Protest encounters and the transformation of Anzac

### **Abstract:**

This paper explores protest encounters on Anzac Day from 1965 to 1987. Anti-war and feminist protest movements advanced various critiques of nation, commemoration, and violence during this period. I am interested in how these ‘protest encounters’ called into question the boundaries of memory and public culture. Although this is an under-studied period in New Zealand history, it is my argument that protest was fundamental to the transformation of Anzac Day in the late 20th century.

Rowan Light is a Lecturer in History at the University of Canterbury. He has research interests in indigenous-state relations, imperial identities, and comparative histories of the nineteenth-century Anglo world.

## David Littlewood

### Title:

Hiding in Plain Sight: New Zealand's Second World War Conscripts

### Abstract:

While the recent Centenary produced several major developments in New Zealand's Great War historiography, most analyses of conscription adhered to well-established patterns. All too often, the implications of the 1916 Military Service Act were ignored by concentrating solely on those men who volunteered to fight, or the experiences of conscripts were wholly subsumed into narratives of war resistance and disillusionment.

If these trends have been problematic for advancing understandings of New Zealand society during the first global conflict, replicating them in studies of the Second World War is potentially disastrous. Between 1916 and 1918 conscription was used solely as a means of obtaining recruits for the army; during the Second World War it was the very basis of New Zealand's military and economic mobilisation. In less than five years, 306,000 19-to-45-year olds were called up for military service (nearly 20% of the total population), alongside hundreds of thousands of men and women who were 'manpowered' into essential war industries. Ultimately, New Zealand fought the Second World War as a conscripted society.

This paper argues that historians must move away from the trends evident during the Centenary to study Second World War conscription in a holistic and nuanced fashion. They must pay conscripts at least as much attention as volunteers. They must treat conscripts as individuals rather than as a homogenous mass. And they must consider the many New Zealanders who supported, or at least tolerated, conscription alongside those who opposed it.

### Keywords:

Conscription, Second World War, conscripted society, manpower, historiography

David Littlewood is a Lecturer in History at Massey University. His research focuses primarily on how the two world wars affected New Zealand and British society. He is the current recipient of a Marsden Fast-Start Grant for a project that examines New Zealand's implementation of conscription during the Second World War.

## Cybele Locke

### Title:

'The Northern Drivers' Union: anti-racist organisation since 1960'

### Abstract:

In 1960, the Northern Drivers' Union recognised that a colour bar existed in New Zealand and 'agreed it must be vigorously stamped out, root and branch.' Northern Drivers' Union secretary Bill Andersen deplored 'local instances of the cruelty and viciousness of apartheid,' labelling racism a disease and connecting the local to what was going on in South Africa. With this understanding, the Northern Drivers put an anti-racial discrimination policy in place, called on the government to cancel the proposed All Blacks tour of South Africa and led a boycott of South African goods. This paper explores what gave rise to the Northern Drivers' social movement unionism, particularly its anti-racism stance, and how this developed into coalition work with the Citizens' Association for Racial Equality, Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination, Halt All Racist Tours, Polynesian Panther Movement, People's Union, Ngā Tamatoa, and Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei in Auckland in the 1960s and 1970s.

Cybele Locke is a Senior Lecturer in History at Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of Wellington. She is a twentieth-century New Zealand social, cultural and labour historian. In her first book, *Workers in the Margins: Union Radicals in Post-war New Zealand*, she explored the roles women, Māori, Pasifika and unemployed workers played in working-class organisations and protest. Oral history enabled the recovery of people's experiences who have been marginal to the historical record. She is currently working on a book-length biography of Auckland communist and trade union leader Bill Andersen (1924-2005). It acts as a counterpoint to *Workers in the Margins*, examining the decline of New Zealand's Old Left and blue-collar, male-dominated trade unions. Post-1972 New Zealand campaigns to eradicate the gender wage gap and the organisation of office workers in the United States are the subjects of her next research projects.

## Caitlin Lynch and Sian Smith

### Title:

Facing past, facing tīpuna: History and film in Aotearoa

### Abstract:

‘The fusion of physics and the human image put us in touch with ourselves and others in a way never before dreamed of.’ – Merata Mita

What does historical film contribute to our national historiography? How can Kaupapa Māori approaches enrich the fields of film and history? In what ways might historical film generate kanohi-ki-te-kanohi encounters? Considering early cinema from Aotearoa Te Waipounamu New Zealand, we discuss how analyses of production and filmic text, inspire and challenge us to think differently about history. Interpreting *Rewi’s Last Stand* (1940/1949), a romanticized narrative based on the battle of Ōrākau (1864), we investigate the collaborative nature of film, and its resultant physical and metaphysical implications. *Rewi’s Last Stand* brought individuals with different interpretations, knowledges and whakapapa, kanohi-ki-te-kanohi, to ‘do’ history, compelling us to view history as active, layered, and ongoing processes of encounter. Western theories of film-history tend to unsatisfyingly underplay the metaphysical significance of watching historical film. Engaging in Kaupapa Māori theory through textual analysis, we explore how *Rewi’s Last Stand* and other filmic texts provide opportunities for contemporary audiences to come kanohi-ki-te-kanohi with tīpuna and our collective past.

**Keywords:** Historical Film, Kaupapa Māori, Production, Reception, Ōkawa

Caitlin Lynch’s interests lie at the intersection of film, history and national identity. Her honours thesis explored the history of New Zealand Wars cinema. Her current Masters’ research investigates how Australian ‘mash-up’ film *Terror Nullius* (2017) uses the national cinema archive to intervene in contemporary politics.

Sian Smith (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Māmoē) considers history across disciplines through textual film analysis. An honours thesis discussing representations of Māori women’s voices in 1970s protest documentaries led to Sian’s current Masters’ research on the films of Ramai Te Miha Hayward and Merata Mita, considering their works through transnational decolonial and Kaupapa Māori discourses.

## Charlotte Macdonald

### Title:

‘The scarlet tide that separates the widow from the bride’: Unmaking marriage in 19th-Century Aotearoa New Zealand

### Abstract:

The lines of the folk song speak to the situation of the soldier’s wife, made a widow through war. In this paper it is the *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi*, face to face, ties of husbands and wives, wives and husbands, that are under discussion. What happens when such ties are broken in colonial warfare? Or when marriage ties are discouraged or denied to those who are involved in such war. The large-scale military presence in New Zealand, 1840s–1870, peaking in the 1860s, presented a sharp contrast, even a contradiction, to a marriage-focused Christian society. The emphasis on marriage as a central tenet in both Christian missionary evangelisation and systematic colonisation across 19th-century New Zealand, has obscured the ways in which colonial circumstances also un-made or marginalised marriage. Widow and widowerhood, and bachelor lives formed part of the less spoken yet no less lived dimension amongst *iwi* and ‘settler’ populations. This paper explores the the political, intimate, cultural and economic meanings of marriage and its absence; women and men as married and military actors in Aotearoa New Zealand and the broader settler empire, c. 1850s–1880s.

### Keywords:

marriage, widowhood, military, settler colony, empire

Charlotte Macdonald is Professor of History at Victoria University of Wellington Te Whare Wānanga o Te Ūpoko o Te Ika a Māui. She is a historian of gender, empire and colonies. She has recently published: ‘Woolwich to Wellington: from settler colony to garrisoned sovereignty’, *New Zealand Journal of History* (53: 1, April 2019); ‘Power that Hurts’, *Itinerario* (42: 1, 2018), ‘Paper Soldiers’, with Rebecca Lenihan, *Rethinking History* (22: 3, 2018). Her recent research has been supported by a Marsden grant ([www.soldiersofempire.nz](http://www.soldiersofempire.nz)).

## Jatinder Mann

### Title:

Redefining Citizenship in Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand

### Abstract:

My presentation at the conference will be my forthcoming book: *Redefining Citizenship in Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2019). Adopting a political and legal perspective, my book undertakes a transnational study that examines the demise of Britishness on the conceptualisation of citizenship and the impact that this historic shift has had on Indigenous and other ethnic groups in Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand. During the 1950s and 1970s, an ethnically based citizenship was transformed in a civic-based one (one based on rights and responsibilities). The major context in which this took place was the demise of British race patriotism in Australia, English-speaking Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand. Although the timing of this shift varied, Aboriginal groups and non-British ethnic groups were now incorporated, or appeared to be incorporated, into ideas of citizenship in all three nations. The development of citizenship in this period has traditionally been associated with immigration in Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand. However, the historical origins of citizenship practices in all three countries have yet to be fully analysed. This is what my book does. The overarching question addressed by my book is: Why and how did the end of the British World lead to the redefinition of citizenship in Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand between the 1950s and 1970s in regard to other ethnic and indigenous groups?

### Keywords:

Citizenship, Ethnicity, Indigeneity, National Identity

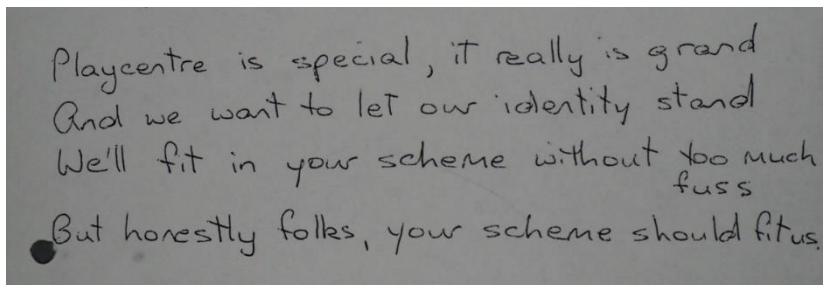
I am an Assistant Professor in History at the Hong Kong Baptist University. I am the sole editor of *Citizenship in Transnational Perspective: Australia, Canada, and New Zealand* and the sole author of *The Search for a New National Identity: The Rise of Multiculturalism in Canada and Australia, 1890s–1970s*.

## Suzanne Manning

### Title:

Purple Poetry

### Abstract:



In 1988, the Before Five changes to the early childhood education and care administration were announced. The following year, the new set of minimum standards for all centres was released, in a distinctive purple folder. Because of the potential impact of these new standards, the New Zealand Playcentre Federation called a special national meeting of all the regional associations to discuss implications and plan how to support centres in the time ahead. An official from the new Ministry of Education attended the meeting, to introduce and explain the standards *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* – and he also bore the brunt of the delegates' reaction. This presentation will examine the human aspects of that national meeting, which – in true Playcentre style – resulted in an anonymous poem being written and circulated. Why was the face-to-face discussion chosen as a medium for decision making, and what impacts did this have, for both the Ministry and Playcentre, and for Playcentre association delegates?

### Keywords:

Playcentre; Early childhood education and care; Policy; Educational reform; Before Five

Suzanne Manning has recently completed a PhD through the University of Auckland which examined the impact of early childhood policy on Playcentres, a parent cooperative service unique to Aotearoa New Zealand, from the late 1980s. Her research interests combine the disciplines of history, policy and education, fitted around work as a learning advisor at Whitireia NZ.



## Nancy Marquez

### Title:

Textual Encounters: Chimalpahin's Rewriting of Gómara's *General History of the Indies* (1553)

### Abstract:

Whereas face-to-face encounters have the potential for communication in two directions, texts typically convey ideas in a single direction: from author to reader. At times, however, a reader will encounter a text which inspires their own writing in response. Such was the case in the early 1620s when Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin (1579–1660), an indigenous chronicler in Mexico City, rewrote a history of the Spanish conquest, Francisco López de Gómara's *General History of the Indies*, with interpolations based on his people's oral histories. Gómara's book had been banned by the king of Spain for excessive praise of the conquistador Hernán Cortés (1485–1547), but it circulated widely enough that Chimalpahin found the book in New Spain and felt spurred to correct it. Among other interpolations, Chimalpahin identified the names of specific indigenous city-states as well as the deeds of individuals from these places. In Chimalpahin's rewriting we can see both the role that he inhabited as a disseminator of indigenous knowledge for readers of Spanish, and the vantage point from which he made sense of a violent encounter whose centenary may have been on his mind.

### Keywords:

Indigenous Perspectives, Rewriting Conquest, Local Histories, Colonial Mexico, Tenochtitlán - Mexico City

Nancy Marquez is an independent scholar researching the history of seventeenth century Mexico in all of its fascinating complexity. Her doctoral thesis explored the construction of early modern science in New Spain through the works of the botanist Francisco Hernández (1514–1587), astronomer Sigüenza y Góngora (1645–1700), and science enthusiast Alexandro Fabián (c.1625–c.1695). She received a PhD in History in 2017 and is currently pursuing a Master's of Translation Studies within the School of Languages and Cultures (VUW).

## Gillian Marie

### Title:

Sarah Henry's geographical and cultural passing through the Pacific: 1797–1822

### Abstract:

Sarah Henry was born in Tahiti in 1797. She was the daughter of two of the first British Protestant missionaries in the South Seas, and the first child born to the Tahitian Mission. This paper focuses on two ways in which she passed through Oceania in the first 25 years of her life, 1797–1822. Firstly, Sarah's physical journeying in space, and secondly her journeying through cultures. These passages throw a light on the connectedness through *he Moana* of peoples: between the islands; between the islands and Sydney; and between Sydney and Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands, and back to the island of Tahiti. Relationships were established and extended through a network of connectedness (people traveling back and forth, and a knowledge network created by the passage of letters and gossip). Following her journeys in this period of her life demonstrates the extensive geographical links between the various societies in the Pacific in this period.

Sarah's upbringing took place during the second stage of encounter in Tahiti, after the first European intrusion and prior to the conversion of the Ma'ohi to Christianity. Ma'ohi culture and way of life dominated Tahiti then, and the future of the island was contested. Her early childhood experiences provided her with the social skills to pass through fluidly through the several layered and fractured societies that she encountered throughout her life.

Gillian is a current PhD student at VUW. She has a BA from Macquarie University, Sydney and a MA in History from Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, Canada. Her MA research concerned the Institutionalisation of Racism against Chinese Immigrants in the colony of British Columbia. The topic for her PhD is: 'The Missionary's Wayward Daughter: How Sarah Henry Bland passed through the Pacific, 1797–1843'.

## Paulien Martens

### Title:

'I Could Not Help Picturing you as a Stranger in a Strange Land': Fatherhood, Migration and Emotion

### Abstract:

Texts such as Charlotte Macdonald and Frances Porter's *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates* have uncovered the lives of 19th-century mothers in Aotearoa. Yet there is a lack of knowledge about how men operated in domestic spaces at this time. Where they are mentioned, fathers are often presented as rough caricatures: painted as either drunk or absent figures. This paper addresses this gap by analysing how men operated between the public and private sphere as fathers in nineteenth-century Otago and Canterbury. Parenting at a distance was a significant part of the colonial experience and the exchange of letters was often a substitute for 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (face-to-face) communication. This paper uses a selection of migrant correspondence between parents and children to illustrate some of the emotions, identities, language and symbolism associated with fatherhood at this time.

### Keywords:

Masculinity, emotions, family, migration, correspondence

Paulien graduated from the University of Canterbury in 2015 with an Honours degree in History. She is a doctoral student at the University of Otago, studying fatherhood in 19th-century New Zealand. Her supervisors are Associate Professor Angela Wanhalla and Professor Barbara Brookes.

## Tessa Mazey-Richardson

### Title:

Wero: Socio-Cultural Responses to Youth Suicide in Aotearoa, 1978–2000

### Abstract:

Within the present historical scholarship on suicide, there is little focus on youth suicide specifically. In this korero, I will address how the people of Aotearoa engaged with this issue. I will examine the representation of responses to youth suicide within cultural spaces such as newspapers, magazines, media coverage. I will also discuss the discourse surrounding youth suicide as demonstrated within the coronial inquest files, as well as archival material from organisations such as Youthline, Lifeline, and the New Zealand Mental Health Foundation. Responses to suicide illuminate perceptions of ordinary men and women concerning themes such as the purpose of life; socially accepted values and beliefs; one's responsibility to fulfil expected duties and roles; and how people located themselves within over-arching socio-cultural beliefs. With this in mind, I will examine how and why factors such as class; gender; age; locality; ethnicity; and sexuality affected responses to youth suicide. I will also observe any intersections and possible conflicts between socio-cultural responses, and those of institutions such as hospitals and mental asylums in addition to the broader medical establishment. For reasons including but not limited to, accessibility of primary source material and confidentiality, my research is located within the time period 1978–2000. An assessment of how contemporaneous external events and movements were reflected in responses to youth suicide might enable one to gauge the extent to which historical actors perceived youth suicide as being linked to factors beyond mental health. As part of this approach, I will consider continuity versus change over time.

Tessa Mazey-Richardson is a PhD candidate at the University of Auckland. Having completed her Master's thesis on the political engagement of young American women, Tessa is shifting focus to a New Zealand setting, whilst continuing to study the history of youth, looking at the socio-cultural responses to youth suicide 1978–2000.

## Sue McCliskie, Delwyn Blondell and Read Wheeler

### Title:

Community and migration studies in the age of Ancestry and PapersPast

### Abstract:

The development of large-scale community studies, illustrated most notably in New Zealand by the Caversham project, has always been dependent on technological innovation. From the time historians gained access to mainframe computers in the 1960s, they used the ability of these machines to process large amounts of data, to explore the individual records of many thousands of people. The studies have contributed to understandings of class, social and spatial mobility, gender and community formation and integration. The digitisation of newspapers has greatly increased our capacity to locate disparate information about large numbers of individuals. This paper will use three different studies, to explore the challenges of using Ancestry, and the genealogical records it contains, as a means of extending the range of information available to us, particularly allowing us to use material on individuals once they have left the community under study.

In the first study, Sue McCliskie is examining the migration, mobility patterns, and personal connections of 2950 people who travelled steerage on New Zealand Company ships to Nelson between 1841 and 1843. In the second, Read Wheeler is examining the settlement of Albertland, founded in 1862 and established by the Albertland Special Settlement Association, in Birmingham. In the third, Delwyn Blondell is exploring the Brogdens' navvies who were recruited in England as railway construction labourers in 1872. These were single and married men, many with families, who arrived in New Zealand in debt to the Brogden contracting firm that engaged them anticipating lucrative government contracted throughout the colony.

Read Wheeler completed a Master's degree in History in 2016 before moving to Europe for two years. He has recently begun his PhD research at Massey and looks forward to all the challenges this will bring.

Delwyn Blondell is a postgraduate student working on her Master's thesis through Massey University. She was a former RNZAF photographer, and office administrator. Her research interests focus on New Zealand settler history, including family, faith and farming.

Sue McCliskie is a Massey University PhD student. She is also involved in a family business growing wine grapes in Nelson. Her current research interests are centred on migration and colonisation in New Zealand, Australia, and the Pacific.

## Fiona McKergow

### Title:

'Let us stand up face to face': The Moutoa Flag

### Abstract:

On Saturday, March 4, 1865, Anne Logan and Mete Kingi Te Rangi Paetahi came face to face at the Market Place, Whanganui. The presentation of a large, double-sided, white silk flag, made to commemorate the Battle of Moutoa in the previous year, was the basis for their formal, public interaction. Anne Logan created the Moutoa flag with the assistance of 'the Ladies of Wanganui, Rangitikei, and Manawatu'. Today the flag survives in a fragile state in the textiles store at Whanganui Regional Museum. It has an improvised Union Jack made from red, navy, purple, and white dress silks in the top left canton. The central emblem has four parts; a gilt and red crown sits above pink and brown hands clasped in friendship, and these are encircled by dark green laurel leaves and the word MOUTOA. The Moutoa flag has had an existence between the living and the dead for over 150 years. Was this intended by Anne Logan and Mete Kingi when they came face to face?

### Keywords:

needlework, materiality, locality, death, memory

Fiona McKergow is a doctoral student working on an investigation of colonial textile culture in mid-19th century Aotearoa New Zealand. She has a background in collaborative history – *Women Together* (1993, 2018); *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1996); *Looking Flash* (2007); *Te Hao Nui* (2011) – and museum curatorship.

## Amy McKernan

### Title:

Confronting the Past: Learning Empathy and Open-Mindedness Through Difficult History

### Abstract:

History is often touted as a ‘solution’ to issues of intolerance and injustice; in theory, if we truly understand the past, and in particular the perspectives of those who are different to us, we are likely to move towards empathy and cultural recognition. Increasingly, history education focuses on teaching young people to engage with – even ‘take on’ – conflicting perspectives in order to understand and consider the injustices of the past.

This learning is rarely applied only to historic events though, and the interconnectedness of the past, present and future means that learning about what *has* happened can support understanding of what *is* happening, and at times what *will* happen. This paper presents a reflection on several years’ research into the ways we learn with ‘difficult’ histories of collective trauma, and the impact our confrontations with the past can have on our development of particular values. Drawing on research in museums and schools, I focus in particular on the ways history learning can push us into encounters with those in the past (and present) who are different to us, and consider the ways these encounters can challenge and open us to new understandings of difference and a greater commitment to recognition and inclusion.

Amy McKernan is an early career academic at the Graduate School of Education, University of Melbourne. Her doctoral thesis, completed in 2017, explored the ways Australian museums ‘teach’ with confronting histories of trauma, violence, and injustice. She is currently researching values learning in history in the International Baccalaureate.

## Jessica McLean

### **Title:**

“Very many thanks for your very kind letter”: The personal connection between the Publicity Department and the New Zealand public during World War Two

### **Abstract:**

New Zealand’s status as an ‘educated democracy’ in the 20th century has often been emphasised by researchers. During World War Two, this idea of the general public as intelligent and discerning was exemplified in the interactions between them and the Publicity Department – particularly J.T. Paul, the nation’s head censor and chief propagandist. Despite the negative connotations of his position, Paul consistently aimed to be approachable and responsive to the public he was tasked with guiding. The considerable volume of personal correspondence held by Archives New Zealand is testament to the relationships that Paul and his Department fostered as they endeavoured to build trust with the public whose minds and morale they were melding. This paper mines this archival material to demonstrate how the wartime public of New Zealand considered themselves to be astute and intelligent consumers of propaganda, and Paul and his small team felt a sense of respect and responsibility to them. The Publicity Department consistently aimed to produce material that was tasteful, sensitive, factual, and appealing, and if these goals were not met the public were quick to let Paul know. When the material was successful, Paul and his Committee happily read, shared, recorded and filed the numerous compliments the Department would receive. This sense of accountability to the public drove New Zealand’s publicity campaign and reflected the uniqueness of wartime New Zealand – small, connected and deeply faithful to the idea of the war effort as a ‘personal matter’.

### **Keywords:**

WWII, Propaganda, Educated Democracy, Censorship, Home Front

Jessica McLean completed her MA in History at Massey University in 2016. She has presented at a number of conferences, including NZHA in 2015. She has tutored at Massey University for the past two years and has just begun doctoral studies, researching the effectiveness of the WW100 centenary programme.



## Grace Millar

### Title:

Middle-class Feminists and Working-Class Heroes: Class, Gender and Clerical Work

### Abstract:

In 2017, Therese O'Connell, who spent the 1980s as an organiser for the Clerical Workers' Union, remembered a series of conversations that she had had over a single day with Pat Kelly, President of the Wellington Trades' Council. When she said something he agreed with, Pat Kelly called her a 'working-class hero' and when he disagreed with her he called her a 'middle-class feminist'. She responded by pointing out his contradiction and asking if she could be both.

In oral histories, those involved in the Wellington Clerical Workers' Union explored the class position of clerical workers by describing their own experiences, the physical layout of their work, relationships within the workplace and conversations in the wider union movement. Pat Kelly's response to Therese O'Connell was part of a wider ambivalence around class and clerical work within a union movement that conceptualised class around men's work and breadwinner wages.

In December 1991, the Clerical Workers' Union was put into liquidation (the Council of Trade Union was its major creditor). Thousands of women workers were deunionised at a time where technology was driving rapid changes in their work. This paper argues that the gendered construction of class within the New Zealand union movement had a material impact on women's wages and conditions at work that is still being felt today.

### Keywords:

Class, gender, work, union

Grace Millar completed her PhD at Victoria University on Families and the 1951 Waterfront Dispute. She is currently working as a postdoctoral fellow in the UK researching class and community in the nationalised British Coal Industry.

## Keri Mills

### Title:

The Bones in the Closet

### Abstract:

Te tūtakitanga ki ngā tūpuna Pākehā

He Pākehā au, e ako ana i te reo Māori. He Pākehā e rangahau ana i te hītori o Aotearoa nei. I neke mai ētahi o ōku tūpuna Pākehā i te tau 1842, i te tīmatanga o te tāmitanga, ki Ngāmotu. Engari katahi anō au ka mōhio i whawhai tētahi o ōku tūpuna, ko Thomas Wills, i ngā pakanga i Waitara. Nā, ka rangahau au i raro i te whakamā. He aha i kore ai au e rangahau i tōku whānau i mua? Mā hea haere tonu ai i konei? He aha te mahi tika a te Pākehā i ēnei wā, kia maumaharatia ngā hē o te tāmitanga?

It isn't fashionable to study your family's history, as a western historian. Family history is seen as the domain of the non-scholar, the zealous great aunt or uncle, squirreling up tales of scandal, celebrity, and distant connections to royalty. I have been guilty of thinking this way. The first time I looked into my family history was as a result of taking a Māori language class in 2018, in which one of the assignments was to research a tupuna. I chose my great-great-great-grandfather, Thomas Wills, who I knew had been a speaker of Te Reo Māori. I googled him experimentally and a photo leaped out of the ether. There he was, at his son's wedding, white-bearded and resplendent. The caption noted he was wearing a medal awarded to him as a result of his involvement in 'the Waitara wars'. This was the first I knew he had fought in the wars, but I was not surprised. I was ashamed, and I was ashamed it had taken me so long to find this out.

This paper is personal, political and scholarly. It engages with Māori scholars of whānau, whakapapa and colonisation. It engages with work on the family in colonial history being undertaken in Aotearoa New Zealand and abroad. How should Pākehā face colonialism, in the past, in the present and in the family? How do we handle the bones, disturbing fragments rather than whole skeletons, we find in the closet?

Keri Mills is a Senior Researcher with The Policy Observatory, AUT, and a research fellow at the James Henare Māori Research Centre, the University of Auckland. She has a background in academia and the public service. Her research interests are in indigenous–settler relationships and environmental history.

## Andrew Moffat

### Title:

Sketching the Past: W.F. Gordon's Close Encounters with History

### Abstract:

Memorialist, mapmaker, musician and artist, William Francis Gordon (1846–1936) was a committed public historian. Through art, writing, memorial making and music he left a varied, sometimes eccentric, record of his subjects. Gordon was driven to fill the gaps in history, capturing heroes and underdogs alike as he encountered them. His skills and interests gave him great influence over civic memorials and heraldry, some of which endured for generations. His writings, research and art are scattered throughout public collections in New Zealand and are often still used as source material. Gordon's surviving output and enthusiastic correspondence and conversations with his subjects, shows how personal encounters and relationships shaped his work. It also sheds light on how New Zealand's history of colonisation and warfare was being captured during this period.

### Keywords:

New Zealand Wars, material culture, memorials, art, archives

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

## Kirstine Moffat

### Title:

‘The only place of amusement where a happy evening may be spent’: The Lydia Howarde Troupe

### Abstract:

The theatre is a place which enables people to come face to face in a variety of nuanced and varied ways: the interactions between cast and director during the rehearsal process; the pooling of talents (from choreography to make-up, music to lighting, set design to front-of-house) that combine to create the magic of a show; the exchange between performers and audience when the production is staged. This paper explores the stage as a place of encounter by focusing on the adventures of the Lydia Howarde Troupe who toured New Zealand in the 1870s and 1880s, entertaining audiences with burlesque plays and operas and first introducing New Zealanders to Gilbert and Sullivan. In addition to the rituals of theatre listed above, the archive relating to this travelling troupe illuminates the many off-stage encounters that were part of the theatrical experience: financial negotiations to hire halls, secure accommodation, and commission costumes; social interactions at balls, parties, dinners, and church services; dialogue with local media on whose goodwill and reviews the survival of the troupe often depended. Led by a woman who also frequently played the part of on-stage male lead, the troupe challenges perceptions of gender roles in the 19th century. The troupe played largely to settler audiences, but the historical record also provides tantalising glimpses of Māori reaction to their repertoire. Above all, the history of the troupe demonstrates that the stage in 19th-century New Zealand was a place of joy, risk, innovation, and transnational connectedness.

### Keywords:

theatre, performance, music, gender, cultural encounter

Kirstine Moffat is Associate Professor in the English Programme at the University of Waikato. She has published widely on 19th-century New Zealand literature, music, and culture and is the author of *Piano Forte: Stories and Soundscapes from Colonial New Zealand*.

## Ewan Morris

### Title:

'People here are fair stricken at such an ending': New Zealand reactions to the death of Sir Hector Macdonald

### Abstract:

In 1901, at the height of his fame as a hero of Britain's imperial wars, Sir Hector Macdonald toured New Zealand and Australia. Less than two years later, Macdonald was dead, having committed suicide after news broke that he was facing court martial on 'grave charges'.

Macdonald's death caused a sensation throughout the English-speaking world, but nowhere more so than in New Zealand, where memories of his visit were still fresh. Margaret Beeches of Masterton wrote to Macdonald's brother: 'People here are fair stricken at such an ending to a great & noble life. While out here he endeared himself to all he came in contact with as a soldier & a gentleman.'

This paper explores the reactions of New Zealanders to Macdonald's death, and seeks to answer a number of questions. Did the scandalous circumstances of Macdonald's passing change public opinion of the popular hero? How did the experience of having encountered Macdonald face-to-face shape New Zealand reactions? Why did mourning for an imperial warrior become an unlikely site for the expression of class resentment?

### Keywords:

Imperial, military, class, hero-worship, scandal

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

## Doug Munro

### Title:

Eric Richards, social historian

### Abstract:

Eric Richards (1940–2018) was a social historian of world renown who was trained at the University of Nottingham. He started as an economic historian who embraced the quantitative thrust of the ‘New Economic History’ but broadened into identifying himself as a social historian, although the questions he asked were always driven by economic history. There was also a creative continuity in that each new interest he pursued arose naturally out of the previous one and at the same time strengthened his current concern. Thus, his initial interest in the British industrial revolution (especially the investments and indebtedness of the Sutherland dynasty) segued into a major study of the Highland Clearances (in which the Sutherlands were involved) and from that to aspects of emigration to Australia and beyond. The present paper traces the contours of Richards’ career, tracing the influences on his work, and asking what sort of social historian he was. I also ask how an Adelaide-based historian could write ten empirically-based monographs when remote from his sources.

### Keywords:

Eric Richards, social history, emigration

Doug Munro (Adjunct Professor of History, University of Queensland) is currently working on studies of historians, history departments and academic controversies. His publications include *Clio’s Lives: Biographies and Autobiographies of Historians*, co-edited with John G. Reid (ANU Press, 2017) – available as a free download:

<https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/series/anu-lives-series-biography/clio%E2%80%99s-lives>.

## **Sarah Murray**

### **Title:**

Great Scott: The Story of a Christchurch Memorial

### **Abstract:**

On 9 February 1917, the people of Canterbury unveiled a marble statue of Antarctic explorer Captain Robert Falcon Scott. Carved by his widow, British sculptor Kathleen Scott, the memorial commemorates her husband and the four members of the Polar Party, Edward Wilson, Henry Bowers, Edgar Evans and Lawrence Oates, who perished on their return journey from the South Pole in 1912.

Almost a century later, on 22 February 2011, the statue was thrown from its plinth by the magnitude 6.3 Canterbury earthquake. Broken on a steep angle through the legs, it was uncertain if the statue would be able to be repaired and returned to its original plinth. Presenting the story of this internationally important memorial, this talk reflects on the value of the significance assessment methodology, particularly the benefits of community consultation and involvement, to the project team and considers the history, context and importance of this magnificent example of public art.

### **Keywords:**

Antarctic history, memorials, significance assessment, Canterbury earthquake, public history

Sarah is Curatorial Manager at Canterbury Museum in Christchurch. Her areas of research include New Zealand and the First World War, the history of natural disasters and public history.

## Carol Neill

### Title:

'Suicide at Mangawhare': Understandings of sensationalism in late nineteenth century New Zealand

### Abstract:

Emma Meurant's death in 1890 at the age of 16 gave her very brief but sensational national recognition. Her suicide was described in newspapers as being agonising, and the result of her taking the poison 'Rough on Rats'. Later, Emma's death was explained by a coroner as caused by her engagement with sensational literature, which had, he determined, put her in a state of temporary insanity – he had arrived at this after hearing the testimony of a cast of community and family members two days after Emma's death. Sensationalism therefore reigned not only in the report of her death, but also in how it was explained – and, one might read, in how that conclusion was drawn.

This presentation is an examination of the context of Emma Meurant's death and the historical setting within which it was embedded, particularly in effort to develop understanding of how sensationalism was understood, explained and acted out in late-19th-century New Zealand. It explores the record of interactions amongst those who were involved in the event of this death, and how they appeared to fashion their own positions in relation to their social standing, their connection with Emma, and their own perspectives on sensationalism. This will be framed with reflection on my own interaction with this history, and the challenges of creating analytical distance when the historical subject is family and the connection therefore very personal.

Carol Neill's historical research has been built on a platform of examining New Zealand's economic and social development over the 19th and 20th centuries. Her PhD examined New Zealand's trade policy development, and she has also researched a range of aspects in Auckland's historical development. Her research presented at this conference is the product of her following more personal connections with New Zealand's colonial history.



## Mary O’Keefe

### Title:

The Archaeology of Home

### Abstract:

The concept of ‘home’ is a physical, social, cultural and emotional one. Most groups of people have a concept of home, as a place for meeting and caring for family groups, and a place to feel safe and nurtured. What ‘home’ looks like has varied through time and through cultures.

In New Zealand Aotearoa the first people to call these islands home were Polynesians, who quickly spread through the country discovering its resources, and developing a modification of Polynesian culture based on available resources and opportunities. They were followed by subsequent groups, who often arrived for particular reasons or opportunities, and whose idea of home was based on their activities or objectives.

Archaeology can help us see how the concept of home has changed in New Zealand. Archaeology reveals physical structures – their size, material and construction. Archaeology can also reveal the things that people used at home. Artefacts can tell stories of lifestyle, relative wealth, resources available, social status and aspirations.

Mary O’Keefe works for Heritage Solutions.

## Matthew O'Meagher

### Title:

The Other '76 Tour: Rugby, Empires and Transformations in New Zealand–Argentine relations

### Abstract:

Although the All Blacks' 1976 tour of South Africa attracted vastly more attention, it was not their only tour to a controversial destination that year; a month later they also went to Argentina, then under appalling military rule. This paper places this tour, and rugby ties more generally, within the context of wider interaction between New Zealand and Argentina. It will explore when and why these two nations have been seen as relevant or irrelevant to each other in different historical eras, and explore the complex interplay of race, commerce, geography and culture that has underpinned those shifts.

Dr Matthew O'Meagher is the Director of the Latin America Centre of Asia-Pacific Excellence and Principal Advisor, International Reputation at Victoria University of Wellington. Previously he taught New Zealand and Latin American history at the University of Auckland, and was the founding director of the New Zealand Centre of Latin American Studies, New Zealand's first Education Counsellor to Latin America, and President of the Latin America New Zealand Business Council. He is one of the historical experts in the documentary series *The Story of Rugby* now showing on TVNZ on Demand.

## Genaro Oliveira

### Title:

In fake we trust: internet memes as a source for historians

### Abstract:

The emergence of ‘born-digital’ sources has challenged the ways 21st-century historians research, write, present and teach the past. This paper reflects on the impact that one of the Digital Age’s most popular media – the internet meme – has had in shaping the way history knowledge is currently being produced, preserved and disseminated. The first part of this presentation is devoted to a brief historiography of digital memes, from its emergence as a fringe media slang for the millennial generation, to its current omnipresence as a viral visual entertainment and platform for the spread ‘fake news’. The second part looks at pioneering digital archiving initiatives, including the first museum entirely dedicated to this digital genre, *The Museum of Memes* at Federal Fluminense University, and the KnowYourMeme website, the world’s most comprehensive online meme database. Both initiatives raise questions about how historians can use new methodologies and conceptual tools to analyse digital sources. The last part is devoted to an educational analysis of internet memes that directly deal with historical topics. By drawing on classroom examples from New Zealand and overseas, it investigates how internet memes are redefining the way history is being taught in a self-declared post-truth period. The paper concludes with reflections about how internet memes offer historians effective ways to communicate key topics in local and global histories especially to digital native and ‘screenager’ audiences.

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

## Hazel Petrie

### Title:

Mirages of The Mind: Non-British immigrants to Auckland, c. 1890–1930s

### Abstract:

Around 1890, as New Zealand's economic depression deepened, the number of incoming settlers from Britain dwindled. Perhaps subject to stronger push factors from their homelands, immigrants from China, India, Lebanon, and Dalmatia began to arrive instead, especially into large centres and especially into Auckland. Although Pākehā had long outnumbered the tangata whenua by that time, many British settlers feared being 'swamped' by those new arrivals. While some saw the incoming group as hard-working, honest, and worthy additions to their community, others insisted that they were smelly, immoral, criminal job-stealers, and a threat to all they held dear. There were warnings of other calamities that non-British migrants threatened to bring with them, too. The stridency of those negative attitudes was the catalyst for increasingly severe and restrictive legislation aimed at preserving the country for the British. But to what extent were those proclaimed fears based on reality or were they mirages of the mind? Not the thirsty traveller's illusion of an oasis in the desert but a more pessimistic oasis defiled. If the negative characterisations of these four groups were manifestations of what their creators wanted them to be, what were their purposes and how did those manifestations and purposes shift? Drawing on examples from those four ethnic groups that settled in Auckland from around 1890 to the 1930s, this paper will consider the factors that tweaked sensitive nerves and enabled so many Aucklanders to accept deceptive portrayals that blighted many immigrant lives.

### Keywords:

Auckland, Immigrants, Race, Gatekeeping, Social Change

Independent historian Dr Hazel Petrie has previously published two monographs, several articles, and book chapters on Māori–Pākehā relations historically. She is now drawing on family histories to discover how seven generations of immigrants from several ethnic backgrounds experienced immigration to Auckland and contributed to its social history.

## Floro Quibuyen

### Title:

‘The Parable of the Tribes’: The fateful encounter between a Chinese castaway, a Jesuit missionary and the Chamorros in the Spanish colonization of the Marianas, ca 1668

### Abstract:

My paper focuses on two antagonists at the beginning of the Spanish-Chamorro wars in the 17th century. One is Fr. Santivores, who founded the Jesuit Mission in the Marianas in 1668 – a momentous event that led to the Spanish–Chamorro wars and the decimation of 90% of the Chamorro population. The other is Chocco, a Chinese castaway from the Philippines. In 1648 (nine years after the massacre of 23,000 Chinese), Choco sailed from the Philippines towards Ternate (Indonesia), but was caught in a storm and ended up in the Marianas. He assimilated into the native population, married and raised a family.

Upon his arrival in the Marianas, Santivores immediately baptises Chamorros – resulting in the death of 100 baptized infants. Choco blames the infant deaths on the Jesuits and dissuades Chamorros from converting. Consequently, Santivores challenges Choco to a debate, which lasts for 3 days. Soon after, the Spanish–Chamorro war ensues. The Jesuit demonized Choco as the ‘Devil’s agent’ and singled him out as the ‘origin of all the wars and persecutions’ against the Spaniards.

Today, Santivores is commemorated by a church and a shrine alongside the Pale San Vitores Road in Guam’s tourist district. But there is no sign of Choco anywhere. Yet, Santivores and Choco epitomize two alternative modes of encounter between the ‘civilized outside’ and the ‘primitive native’: Santivores deploying power to civilize and colonize the Chamorros; Choco embracing the Chamorros in a spirit of solidarity, thus forming, in Leela Gandhi’s words, an ‘affective community’. But why was Choco forgotten?

**Keywords:** Santivores, Choco, Marianas, Chamorros, Jesuits

Floro Quibuyen obtained a PhD (Political Science) and an MA (Anthropology) from the University of Hawaii at Manoa, and a BA (Philosophy) from the University of the Philippines. His works include *A Nation Aborted: Rizal, American Hegemony and Philippine Nationalism* and a video documentary on Polynesian navigation – ‘Stars Across a Sea of Time’.

## **Bojana Rimbovska**

### **Title:**

An active front: Weather as a site of colonial encounter in nineteenth century art in Aotearoa New Zealand

### **Abstract:**

Colonial encounters with the landscape in Aotearoa New Zealand can be examined through the ways weather was perceived and visualised in landscape painting throughout the nineteenth century. By being such a ubiquitous feature of the landscape, representations of weather have largely eluded critical discussion in art history. However, its symbolic richness – including in the construction of a British national identity and its reconfiguration within an ‘antipodean’ context – means that weather can be seen as an important tool in the establishment of a colonial settler culture in Aotearoa New Zealand, and its visual representation therefore merits close attention. By examining the cultural and artistic contexts that these images were created and circulated in, I show how weather can be understood as an important site of encounter that helped shape attitudes towards the environment and its people. These images of Aotearoa New Zealand form a significant part of our artistic collections and through their presence in exhibitionary and scholarly contexts remain active agents in presenting narratives around art, science and colonial expansion. In positioning weather as both atmospheric phenomenon and a cultural construction I foreground its presence in the images. Thus, I reconsider its previous treatment as a background of the image rather than an active part of the settings in which colonial encounters took place.

### **Keywords:**

Weather, landscape painting, Antipodes, colonization, art

Bojana is a Masters candidate in Art History at the University of Canterbury. Her research considers how weather has been visualized within an ‘antipodean’ context throughout the nineteenth century and locates it at the intersection of discussions around landscape painting, meteorology, and Victorian attitudes towards colonization and the environment.

## James Robinson

### Title:

Unity in Diversity: A multidisciplinary approach to the human history of the Poor Knights Islands, Northland

### Abstract:

This paper uses a multi-disciplinary approach, drawing on natural science techniques, archaeological methods and historic and traditional sources, to establish and explain when and why the Poor Knights were settled. The data collected using these three disciplines is robust and reliable but the interpretations are open to question. This is because all the data sets contain differing strengths and weaknesses which, if not fully understood can lead to interpretations in one discipline that can appear contradictory both within and across other disciplines. It is suggested that an integration and reconciliation of these apparently conflicting data sets is possible.

Results of the palynology research create a vegetation history of the island that provides proxy evidence for 500 years of gardening starting around 1300 AD at the beginning of New Zealand's prehistory. Archaeological survey and excavation show a complex constructed landscape that shows some direct garden activity in the middle of Māori prehistory around 400 years ago but most significantly show a significant increase in human activity at the very end of the prehistoric sequence that continues on onto the early historic period. Ethnographic and traditional history places these islands within the tribal territory of Ngatiwai that currently incorporates coastlines and islands from the Northland mainland out to Great Barrier Island, and identifies that gardens, mutton-bird and refuge potential as the primary reasons for many generations of use of Tawhiti Rahi.

However, the traditions are ambiguous when it comes to a chronology of island settlement. Although clearly identifying an early discovery and naming, they surprisingly place the arrival of the islands first chief as occurring very late in the sequence only 200 years ago. Finally there is the absence of the Polynesian rat kiore, (*Rattus exulans*) on the Poor Knights. Since kiore are commensal with Polynesian settlement and they are found everywhere on the New Zealand mainland and on nearly all inshore and offshore island groups, their lack here raises serious questions about our assumptions on how long these islands were settled, the intensity of that settlement and on the role of agency.

James Robinson works at Heritage New Zealand, Pouhere Taonga.

## **Nigel Robson**

### **Title:**

'What a trophy for one Christian to loot from another!'

### **Abstract:**

'What a trophy for one Christian to loot from another!' uses the removal of Boer religious items by New Zealand soldiers during the South African War of 1899–1902 to examine the wider role of religion in New Zealand's responses to the war and the collision of British and Boer cultures that occurred during the conflict. In particular, the paper discusses the removal of Boer family bibles by New Zealand soldiers as war trophies and the attempted removal and transportation to New Zealand of bells from a Boer church – a move supported by Richard Seddon. To the deeply pious Boers, the significance of their family bibles extended beyond the books' spiritual importance, as they were often the repository of family genealogical records and personal items like locks of children's hair. The paper contextualizes the removal of religious articles by briefly examining New Zealand religious figures' position regarding the conflict. It also describes the initially unsuccessful efforts to send chaplains with the New Zealand contingents, and considers manifestations of troopers' faith while they were serving in South Africa. Despite historic denominational tensions remaining, the paper also discusses the extent to which various faiths made common cause regarding the war and the limitations of this consensus.

### **Keywords:**

bibles, bells, South African, chaplain, looting

Nigel Robson currently works as a senior historian for the Office of Māori Crown Relations – Te Arawhiti. He holds a Master's degree from Massey University and has conducted extensive research on the South African War, initially for his Master's thesis and more recently for 'Well Done, Little New Zealand', a book he is writing in his spare time on the impact of the South African War on New Zealand society. Among the themes examined in the book is the looting of religious items by New Zealand Contingent members during the war.



## Michael Roche

### Title:

Facing Extinction: The Huia and W.W. Smith

### Abstract:

Huia (*Heteralocha acutirostris*) numbers declined rapidly from the 1890s and the species was widely regarded as extinct by the early 1900s although various sightings were reported into the 1920s. Valued by Māori for their tail feathers, captivating to early naturalists for males and females having differing bill sizes and shape [dimorphism], the huia were not among the species that were protected on Flora and Fauna reserves in the 1890s. A pair of huia was sighted by naturalist W.W. Smith in 1907. Around 1908–1910 specific collecting expeditions were organised in an attempt to capture a pair. This expedition and Smith's sighting, later accepted as the last 'authentic' sighting, is the subject of this paper. It provides a palliative to the usual historical geography focus on the relationship between the human and botanical world in settler New Zealand.

### Keywords:

Avifauna, conservation, extinction, nature

Michael Roche is an historical geographer and Professor of Geography and Massey University, Palmerston North. He remains sensitive to the suggestion that he is really an environmental historian.

Dr Julianne Warren, Center for Humans and Nature, Dobbs Ferry NY, and now based in Alaska is an ecologist who works in the environmental humanities with particular interest in soundscapes and extinction.

## Emily Rosevear

### Title:

The mission work of the Aranui Sisters of Mercy in eastern Christchurch, 1973–2004

### Abstract:

This paper explores the mission work of the Aranui Sisters of Mercy in the communities of Aranui, Burwood and Parklands in Eastern Christchurch. It examines the impact the sisters, and the religious institution they represented, had on those local Christchurch communities. I draw upon interviews with the two surviving sisters, as well as extensive written material including archival material and newspapers.

Existing missionary history tends to focus on the early colonial period and early mission work amongst Maori. Few scholars have considered the role of missionary work in modern New Zealand society, especially of those with feminist intentions.

Sister Pauline O'Regan, Sister Helen Goggin and Sister Teresa O'Connor moved into the Aranui community in 1973 to work amongst the people of God helping to empower women and spread the Gospel through their missionary work. They were later joined by Sister Marie McCrea, Sister Monica Stack and Sister Colleen McBride, as the success of their mission saw them move outwards to Burwood and Parklands.

### Keywords:

Women; Religion; Community; Mission

Emily is a current Master of Arts student at the University of Canterbury. Her research interests include New Zealand women's history and the role of religion in everyday day life, particularly in the lives of women. This paper combines these interests and is based on her MA thesis research which explores the work of the Aranui Sisters of Mercy.

## Greg Ryan

### Title:

'The reckless and callous section of motorists': drink and driving in New Zealand before 1939

### Abstract:

Although breath and blood alcohol tests and limits for drivers were instituted in 1969 and anti-drink driving campaigns were common from the 1970s, concern at the volatile relationship between motor vehicles and alcohol has a much longer history. This paper traces the earliest awareness of the problem and the limited police and judicial response before 1914; growing public debate by the early 1920s; explicit legislation and 'drastic' penalties from the mid-1920s; and the more consistent portrayal of the 'motoring menace' amid the dramatic increase in motor vehicle ownership by the 1930s. While these responses tended to parallel aspects of those in Britain and other parts of the world, they must also be set against New Zealand's shifting alcohol culture, and especially the impact of six o'clock closing from 1917.

### Keywords:

Alcohol, Driving, New Zealand

Greg Ryan is Professor in the Faculty of Environment, Society & Design and Proctor at Lincoln University. His most recent book, co-authored with Dr Geoff Watson, is *Sport and the New Zealanders: a history*. He is currently writing a social history of beer and brewing in New Zealand and exploring related anti-prohibition themes.

## **Paul Sendziuk**

### **Title:**

The History Curriculum in New Zealand Universities

### **Abstract:**

This paper reports the key findings of a comprehensive survey of the History curriculum taught at 44 universities in Australia and New Zealand, with a specific focus on the New Zealand results. It reveals the fields of History that were most commonly offered in 2016, as well as how many students took courses in particular fields. The results for Introductory and Upper level courses are separated, and the results for each country compared. The findings dispute recent contentions that the university History curriculum is unduly influenced by ‘identity politics’ and fails to adequately engage with core topics in the history of Western Civilisation.

### **Keywords:**

teaching and learning, curriculum, identity politics, survey

Associate Professor Paul Sendziuk teaches Australian History at the University of Adelaide, Australia. Commissioned by the Australian Historical Association, he and Martin Crotty recently completed a comprehensive review of the staffing profile and curriculum taught by History departments at Australian and New Zealand universities.

## Mark Sheehan

### **Title:**

Selective memories: How do young people make sense of First World War remembrance?

### **Abstract:**

This paper problematizes challenges of investigating how young people negotiate the process of war remembrance and commemoration of the First World War. While young people play a prominent role in commemorative activities and are encouraged to participate in practices of remembrance that keep particular cultural memories of the First World War experience alive, they have limited agency in how they participate in rituals of remembrance. They are publicly discouraged from considering the purpose of war, military involvement in contemporary society or which narratives of war are being commemorated at the expense of others (such as soldiers who were executed for reasons such as 'desertion' or 'cowardice' or conscientious objectors). In this context conceptualising how young people make sense of the First World War is methodologically challenging given their closely circumscribed role in remembrance activities and the expectation that they demonstrate an empathic, reverential demeanour that respectfully acknowledges the experience of war and those who died in it. This is further complicated as the nature of remembrance changes from generation to generation and in the case of the First World War (where there are no longer living veterans) it has become a mediated or second-hand reality that is part of powerful national myths about identity. Young people are at a distinct disadvantage in thinking critically about contemporary portrayals of the First World War as they are far removed from the actual events remembered and questioning and critique is, in large part, neither encouraged nor welcomed. This paper is informed by the Teaching and Learning War Research Network and explores this question in relation to recent research projects, with the aim of developing youth-centred, inclusive and participatory methodologies that unpack the cultural memories of war and where young people's voices are prominent in the research process.

### **Keywords:**

Remembrance; Commemoration; First World War; Youth; Memory

Mark's research interests connect with the intersection between history, education and memory. He has a background in teaching and researching in the secondary and tertiary sectors (history and teacher education) as well as museums and heritage sites.

## Brendan Sheridan

### Title:

Land Wars or New Zealand Wars? The Differing Perspectives of Maurice Shadbolt and Witi Ihimaera

### Abstract:

How two people depict military aggression often differs. The manner in which an event occurs will always have multiple perspectives; these perspectives are affected by the age, culture, and gender of the witness. The matter of perspective is also apparent in fiction.

This paper will draw on the work of scholars such as Danny Keenan, James Belich, Judith Binney, Ranginui Walker, and Vincent O'Malley to examine two fictionalised treatments of the New Zealand Wars and discuss the affect from how these depictions differ.

I hold the writing of two novelists, Witi Ihimaera and Maurice Shadbolt, face to face and examine their commonalities and differences in how they interpreted two events from the New Zealand Wars. These events are the Battle of Ōrākau (1864) in *Season of the Jew* and *Sleeps Standing* and Te Kooti's actions at Matawhero (1868) in *Season of the Jew* and *The Matriarch*.

While they were contemporaries in the 1980s, both writers interpret the events from different perspectives. Ihimaera presents them through adult and youth, male and female Māori protagonists and Shadbolt through predominantly adult Pākehā men. Another particular point of difference is that Shadbolt treats history as a past event that is ended, but from Ihimaera's perspective, the events of history directly affects the present.

### Keywords:

War, Fiction, Shadbolt, Ihimaera, Novels

Brendan Sheridan is from the University of Waikato and has recently submitted his doctoral thesis. His thesis examined various fictional representations of the New Zealand Wars ranging from Henry Butler Stoney's *Taranaki: A Tale of War* (1860) to Witi Ihimaera's *Sleeps Standing* (2017), also including films and stage performance.

## **Evan Smith**

### **Title:**

From Wellington and Sydney to Salisbury and Johannesburg: Anti-communist and white supremacist solidarity in Australia and New Zealand with apartheid South Africa and Rhodesia in the Cold War Era

### **Abstract:**

Throughout the Cold War era, various groups on the right in Australia and New Zealand supported the apartheid regime in South Africa and white minority rule in Rhodesia, seeing these countries as bulwarks against international communism and multi-racial democracy. In Australia and New Zealand, this support ranged from the hard right of the Liberal Party (as well as its coalition partner the Country/National Party) in the former and the National Party in the latter through to the neo-Nazi parties that existed on the far right. Alongside these parties, there were a number of pressure groups that expressed 'solidarity' with the southern African settler colonies. Much of this support centred around the belief in an international white settler colonial kinship, with South Africa and Rhodesia as frontline states and Australia and New Zealand as islands of 'civilisation' at the end of Asia. The links between these former settler colonies also tapped into wider globalised anti-communist and white supremacist networks, primarily in the USA, Britain and Canada. This paper will investigate these links and explore how the hard/far right in Australia and New Zealand attempted to develop close relationships with South Africa and Rhodesia during the Cold War and the era of white minority rule. The historical networks can help us understand the contemporary internationalisation of the far right in the 21st century.

### **Keywords:**

Anti-communism, apartheid, neo-Nazism, settler colonialism, far right

Dr Evan Smith is a Research Fellow in History at Flinders University, South Australia. He has written widely on political extremism in Australia, Britain and South Africa.

## Louise Stevenson

### Title:

New Zealand Medical Missions in South China, 1900-1918: Surgical notebooks, photographs, and doctor's letters in the Presbyterian Archives of New Zealand

### Abstract:

In September 1907, the Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand authorised its missionaries in Canton to buy property to establish a hospital in the bustling market town of Ko Tong, some twelve miles north of Canton. Built between the local pig market and the timber yard, the Po Wai Yi Yuen, or 'Hospital of Universal Love', was the first medical mission hospital to be built in China from any New Zealand church. Far from being an arbitrary location, the missionaries of the Canton Villages Mission chose to focus their medical and missional efforts in the same region from which 67% of New Zealand's Chinese mining population had come from, and without this connection it is likely that the mission and its hospital would have been very difficult to establish. The story of the hospital at Ko Tong sits at the heart of my current research and it is possible to uncover the richness and significance of its history in the ample source material held at the Presbyterian Research Centre Archives in Dunedin. This seminar focuses on how medical sources held in the archive can be of use to historians, and sheds light on how a biographical study of Po Wai hospital in Ko Tong can contribute to our current understandings of New Zealand Chinese history – and along with this – histories of medicine, missions, and migration.

### Keywords:

Chinese-New Zealand cultural history, Canton Villages Mission, new archives

Louise A. Stevenson studied History, Linguistics, and Chinese at the University of Waikato, completing her Bachelor of Arts in 2018. Currently she is studying towards her Master's in History at Victoria University of Wellington. Her main areas of interest in history include New Zealand Chinese social and cultural history, world history, and biography.



## **Tui Summers**

### **Title:**

A Case Study of One Woman's Social Justice Leadership

### **Abstract:**

Women are under-represented in the social justice leadership literature. This research aims to develop an enhanced understanding of the origins and orientation of women's social justice leadership from a case study of one woman leader. This presentation focuses on the story of Constance (Connie) Summers, who was the only woman imprisoned in New Zealand during World War Two for publicly voicing anti-war sentiments. Throughout her life Connie demonstrated a strong commitment to social justice including being arrested five times during the 1981-1982 Springbok Rugby Tour. This research is an exploration of Connie's story focused on how and why Connie became such a strong pacifist and how and why she was committed to wider social justice issues. Research methods used include an analysis of archival records and interviews with several of Connie's family members. In this presentation initial themes emerging from the case study will be explored including family influences, temperament and some of the costs Connie experienced due to having such strong beliefs. The benefit of this research is that it can give voice to women's leadership for social justice. Furthermore it can elucidate the origins and orientation of women's leadership potentially supporting the future development of women leaders.

### **Keywords:**

Women's social justice leadership, Pacifism

Tui Summers is in her third year of Doctoral Studies at the University of Canterbury. Her research interests include social justice, leadership studies, inclusive education and feminist theory. Tui acknowledges the support of her employer, Te Rito Maioha, Early Childhood New Zealand and the support and guidance of her supervisors Professor Katie Pickles and Associate Professor Annelies Kamp, both at the University of Canterbury.

## Alice Templeton

### Title:

'Foes to freedom, Faugh-a-ballagh!': The rhetoric of the Irish National League tours of 1883 and 1889

### Abstract:

In 1883, Australasian colonists came face-to-face with the Irish nationalist cause when a young John Redmond was sent by the leadership of the Irish National League on a ten-month speaking tour of Australia and New Zealand. His assignment was to raise support – public, political and financial – amongst the colonial communities for the League and its constitutional campaign for Irish self-government. Redmond was followed six years later by John Dillon on a mission similarly intended to boost the organisation's rapidly dwindling funds. Both delegations toured extensively throughout Australia and New Zealand, meeting with prominent Irish-born citizens, addressing local communities and collecting donations to be returned to Ireland.

While successful, the tours were not without controversy, with the delegates at times encountering hostility from opposition groups and criticism from sceptical factions of the press. In response to accusations of sedition and the spreading of dissension, Redmond, Dillon and their associates frequently and explicitly stressed the moderation of both their rhetoric and the cause they represented, a sentiment largely echoed in the modern scholarship which features the tours.

Utilising the vast volume of archival source material available, this paper undertakes an in-depth examination of the rhetoric employed by the delegates and their supporters. It explores the various ways in which their speeches were designed to engage with and appeal to the colonial communities they encountered and argues that the language used was in fact far more nuanced and tactical than has been recognised to date.

### Keywords:

Kai, nationalism, Ireland, colonial, rhetoric

Alice Templeton is an MA student at the University of Canterbury. This paper is drawn from her thesis examining the tours of the Irish National League representatives throughout Australia and New Zealand during the 1880s.

## Hayden Thorne

### Title:

Backlash! How the United States Supreme Court decision in *Furman v. Georgia* (1972) contributed to the revival of the death penalty

### Abstract:

This paper discusses the 1972 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Furman v. Georgia*. It will argue that, although the outcome of the case – an effective moratorium on the use of the death penalty in the US – was ostensibly a win for civil liberties, the divided and conflicted nature of the judgement rendered proved as much a burden for civil liberties advocates as it did a success.

At the time of issue, the *Furman* judgement was the longest in Supreme Court history, at around 230 pages in the reports. Each of the nine Justices wrote a separate opinion, five in support of at least some limitation on capital punishment, and four in dissent.

Although *Furman* advanced civil liberties, particularly in addressing the impact of race and class on the judicial process, the conflict and division within the Court meant that it was not an enduring decision. The Court attracted widespread criticism from death penalty supporters and legal scholars alike, and the moratorium on use of the death penalty was ended by the 1976 case of *Gregg v. Georgia*.

Hayden is a PhD student at Victoria University of Wellington. His research is focussed on the role of legal representation in significant criminal procedure decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1960s and 70s.

## Brooke Tucker and Johannes H. Fischer

### Title:

Two worlds collide: preserving archaeological heritage on Codfish Island/Whenua Hou

### Abstract:

The dual environmental and cultural significance of Codfish Island/Whenua Hou is encapsulated by the island's designation as both a Nature Reserve and a Statutory Acknowledgement Area. Best known as a sanctuary for the Kākapo Recovery programme, the island is also the location of the earliest permanent Māori-Pākehā settlement in the southern South Island. Abandoned by the 1840s, it has since remained uninhabited. However, the site of the short-lived village continues to hold a significant place in contemporary tribal history, as large numbers of Ngāi Tahu whanui whakapapa to Codfish Island/Whenua Hou. Identified by oral tradition and historical documentation, the location of the settlement (Sealers Bay Camp D48/5) was confirmed by archaeological investigation in 2007. During 2017 archaeological monitoring noted naturally occurring processes of erosion as a threat to a portion of the Sealers Bay Camp site. The exposure of archaeological material grounded the history of the village to a specific geographic context with a wide range of stakeholders including tangata whenua, conservation biologists, the Department of Conservation and Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga. Negotiation and successful interaction with these parties proved crucial to the archaeological management of accelerating erosion in 2018–2019, which coincided with the commencement of the most anticipated kākapo breeding season to date. The ongoing archaeological project has benefitted from this collaboration and from a multi-faceted approach to the landscape through time.

Brooke is at the School of Social Sciences (Archaeology), University of Otago.

Johannes is at the School of Biological Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington.

## **Ailish Wallace-Buckland**

### **Title:**

‘The Menace of Effeminacy’: New Zealand and Sexuality in the Interwar Years

### **Abstract:**

The prevalence of, and increased exposure to, men’s mental illness during the Great War (1914–1918) created somewhat of a crisis in Britain regarding understandings of masculinity, as well as of madness. Whilst British historians have examined the disruption of the war to sexual identities in the interwar period, and despite continued imperial ties, we know little of how those in New Zealand responded either to wartime changes in psychological/psychiatric knowledge, or to popular conceptions of sexual identity. This paper aims to explore how both experiences and expressions of male gender and sexuality were discussed and understood in New Zealand between 1918 and 1939. These explorations of sexuality acknowledge the evolutionary framework of understanding that was pervasive in medical circles during this period, and therefore touch on topics such as eugenics, emotionality, and insanity. Thus by examining the connections between constructions of the male body, homosexuality and effeminacy, late 18th-19th century ideas around eugenics, and psychology/psychiatry this paper proposes to further uncover the state of male sexuality in New Zealand during the interwar years.

### **Keywords:**

Gender and sexuality; masculinity and effeminacy; Psychology/psychiatry; interwar period; New Zealand

Ailish is a current Masters student at Victoria University of Wellington, her interests lie in gender and queer history in the early 20th century. Her Master’s thesis looks into how medical and psychological/psychiatric discourses interplayed with discussions of masculinity and homosexuality in interwar New Zealand.

## Michelle Walmsley

### Title:

Face-to-Face With My Disabled Self: Embodied Narratives and Subjective Methodologies in NZ Disability History

### Abstract:

My identity as a disabled person brought me to my topic, disability identity in post WWII New Zealand. So did my queerness and so did curiosity about myself as a disabled New Zealander in relation to others who are ostensibly 'like me'. Kanohi-ki-te-Kanohi, to me, in the context of my research on disability identity in New Zealand, means facing myself and my own narrative and it means coming face-to-face with people who share an identity that I have a complex history and relationship with.

In this paper I will explore how my own identity and positionality have informed the decisions I've made and will continue to make throughout my research. I will interrogate how language can shape an embodied disability identity and the particular language I have chosen to use, with purpose, in my research. These words, the language we use to describe ourselves and others, bring us face-to-face with the complexities of identity and narrative. They can also be the beginning of a conversation.

Ways of doing history have privileged certain voices and narratives over others in a way that had the potential to distance ourselves from both our subjects and our own subjectivity. I will discuss the ways in which autoethnographic and oral history methodologies bring me face-to-face with myself and others in ways that wouldn't happen otherwise and the implications of exploring methodologies that take us beyond the archives.

### Keywords:

Disabled, queer, identity, narratives, autoethnography

Michelle Walmsley is an extramural doctoral student studying history at Victoria University of Wellington. Michelle is a physically disabled genderqueer lesbian who is researching physical disability and identity through embodied narratives in post-World War Two New Zealand.

**Liz Ward****Title:**

Ko Rauru Ki Tahī: (translation) Māori and the Reform Party

**Abstract:**

There is little research on the participation of Māori in the first political parties formed in New Zealand. However, one of those parties, Reform, placed a heavy emphasis on party organisation. As part of its organisational drive, Reform began to form Political Reform Leagues in the Māori electorates from 1912. This paper will show that Māori were interested and engaged with the Reform Party. It will explore the relationship between Māori and Reform, focusing on the efforts of the party to draw Māori into membership and gauge whether it was successful. It will also examine what Māori hoped to gain from a closer relationship with Reform. The participation of Māori in the Reform Party indicates that Māori were more interested in the partisan politics of the early 20th century than has been previously assumed.

**Keywords:**

Political History, Māori Political History, Reform Party

Elizabeth Ward recently graduated with a PhD in History from Massey University. Her thesis topic was the origins and early development of the Reform Party. Her research interests include the interwar period, conservative and anti-socialist political organisations and political party formation and organisation.

## Geoffrey Watson

### Title:

'Historically speaking, what is it reasonable to expect from Sport? Sporting Encounters and their Impact on New Zealand society'

### Abstract:

It is generally agreed that sport is a reflection of our society. In relation to New Zealand, it has been argued that, historically sport has played an important role in creating national identity. Some have asserted that sport reflects the multicultural and egalitarian nature of New Zealand society. Yet while it is generally accepted, that sport, like many activities reflects society, the question of to what extent, if at all it actively shapes society is more complex and requires deeper consideration. Historically, New Zealanders have placed high expectations on their sports teams, indeed arguably sport has become more important, rather than less important, over time as a barometer of national self-worth. Not only are national athletes expected to win, sport in general is commonly presented as a social good in and of itself. In the last year, however, there have been a series of reviews in a number of national sports organisations that have questioned both the ways in which sports have been administered, and the wider question of whether sport is good for its participants. With reference to key examples from New Zealand's history, this paper investigates the contribution of sport to New Zealand's self-image and asks what, historically speaking, can reasonably be expected of sport as an agent for social change.

### Keywords:

Sport; New Zealand; Social Change

Geoff Watson is a Senior Lecturer in History in the School of Humanities, Massey University. He has written and contributed to many books on sport, including *Sport and the New Zealanders: A History* (Auckland University Press, 2018) and *Sporting Foundations of New Zealand Indians* (New Zealand Indian Sports Association, 2012).



## **Katharine Watson**

### **Title:**

Ideology, Colonialism and Domestic Architecture

### **Abstract:**

Joseph Brittan, Charles Fooks, Dr Burrell Parkerson and John Cracroft Wilson built four very different houses in 1850s Christchurch, New Zealand. These men were part of the first wave of European settlers of the new city, and their houses differed not just from each other, but also from the majority of houses built by the first European settlers. Most new settlers built either simple saltbox cottages or houses that reflected the prevailing ideology of the organisation behind the settlement of Christchurch. Drawing on the techniques of buildings archaeology, this paper examines why these men built such different houses, and considers the role the houses played in the lives of their builders. It looks, too, at how these men used their houses to position themselves in a new society, particularly in relation to the predominant ideology of this time and place.

Katharine Watson is a PhD Candidate at the University of Canterbury.

## Ross Webb

### Title:

'In Defence of Living Standards': Organised Labour, Economic Crisis, and Politics in the Muldoon Years (1975–1984)

### Abstract:

In the two decades after 1975, organised labour in New Zealand was forced to reckon with a swiftly changing political and economic environment. The long economic crisis of the 1970s and the neoliberal response to that crisis after 1984 has resulted in organised labour's declining size, bargaining power, and political influence since the 1980s. The Muldoon years (1975–1984), the focus of this paper, were marked by a major increase in strike action, accelerating inflation, rising unemployment, declining living standards, industry restructuring, and several major confrontations with the government over legislated wage restraint. This paper contributes to an understanding of organised labour's declining fortunes during these years by examining the political and economic strategies of the Federation of Labour (FoL) during the Muldoon years. While scholars have detailed aspects of the FoL's story during these decades, there is no thorough analysis of how it responded to the numerous economic and political challenges of the period. Where scholarship does address these issues, it is defined by sweeping generalisations. While some treat the economic changes of the period, and with it the decline of organised labour, as necessary and inevitable, others are largely critical of how organised labour and the FoL in particular responded. By contrast, this study aims to move beyond the traditional questions of what organised labour ought to have done and instead seeks to understand and assess the important role that organised labour did play in political and economic life, assessing it within the context of its successes, its failures and its limitations.

Ross Webb is an historian with an interest in labour history. He is currently a PhD candidate at Victoria University of Wellington. His thesis traces the relationship between organised labour and politics in New Zealand during the long economic crisis of the 1970s and the neoliberal response to that crisis after 1984. Before starting his PhD, Ross completed an MA thesis on freezing workers in New Zealand at the University of Auckland and worked as a Senior Researcher at the Waitangi Tribunal. Ross is a member of the Professional Historians' Association of New Zealand Aotearoa, the New Zealand Historical Association and a committee member of the Labour History Project.

## **Kathryn Wells**

### **Title:**

Hearing, transforming and creating history through public song, Darwin, 1970s

### **Abstract:**

In Australia, song was used by Indigenous performers to unsettle racist ideologies of Australian political culture as part of local rights campaigns since the early 1800s. Perhaps not until the 1970s when rock 'n roll became a dominant influence in Darwin, Northern Territory, that new styles from Native Americans, especially Cherokee performer Jimmi Hendrix were adopted by Indigenous bands, such as The Reflections. Bagot Reserve (the previous reserve for Wards of the state), and home to the first Australian Aboriginal union organisers (involved with the Gurindji walk-off), was the centre of new protests about both its conditions and for a land claim at Kulalak. Following Gough Whitlam's election win in December 1972; land rights, legal aid and self-determination were on the agenda. 'Celebrations were planned to the beat of a black band', so the Darwin Town Hall was booked – with the Reflections to perform on 'Australia Day' 26 January 1973. They arrived by barge with half their settlement, wearing white trousers and floral shirts. Derek Lippo twanged like Hendrix and Johnny Singh sang 'Proud Mary'. Whilst the Kenbi land claim process is documented; the leadership of this struggle through song and singers is not, and yet, it embodies new truths. The performances of Indigenous bands, combined with street protests, coming face-to-face with audiences and the wider public were part of new public self-interpretations by Indigenous people. In this process and through the sensory experience of song; new revelations about both the past and the present, as well as their political identity were being expressed and understood.

### **Keywords:**

song, political identity, Indigenous, rock 'n roll, Darwin 1970s

Kathryn Wells is currently a PhD candidate, School of History, ANU working on 'Song, swing and survival: Indigenous global intersections and local rights movements'. Previously she worked for Indigenous advocacy organisations, engaged academically with institutions including the Australian Museum, National Museum and University of Canberra. Publications include journal articles and a book.

**Title:**

Adkin's archive: histories of Waipunahau/Lake Horowhenua

**Abstract:**

Waipunahau, or Lake Horowhenua, is now infamous as one of the most degraded lakes in New Zealand and a source of longstanding and ongoing community conflict. Sometimes its waters are so toxic they could kill children. Some remedial action is underway, but it is unclear how far restoration can or will succeed. Better understanding the pace and extent of historic environmental change may help sustain political action. This paper explores histories of Lake Horowhenua crystallised in the moment in 1926 when Leslie Adkin visited the lake, and was inspired to investigate Māori history when he encountered and photographed the waka *Hamaria*, 'the last of the old war canoes ... now used by the Taueki family for eel-spearing'. Adkin's efforts created a substantial and influential archive. This paper considers the uses of Adkin's archive for telling lake histories, alongside the lacuna his work leaves behind.

**Keywords:**

Waipunahau/Lake Horowhenua; Leslie Adkin; archives; environmental history

Jonathan West has been a historian in the public service for ten years, most recently leading the team of historians at Te Arawhiti, the Office for Māori Crown Relations. His 2017 book *The Face of Nature: An Environmental History of the Otago Peninsula* was shortlisted for the New Zealand Book Awards. As the current J D Stout Fellow he is working on a new project, 'Mirrors on the Land: An Environmental History of New Zealand's Lakes', which will examine how Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders have lived with lakes, and how that relationship has shaped their histories.

## Moira White

### Title:

‘A forum where women could associate’: meetings of the Otago Women’s Club literary circle

### Abstract:

The Otago Women’s Club held its foundation meeting on 10 June 1914. Its aim was to ‘provide a forum where women interested in public, professional, scientific, literary or artistic work could associate’.

Before the widespread prevalence of the later 20th-century book clubs, tome-toting, Otago female followers of novels and narratives might have applied to join the Literary Circle of the Otago Women’s Club (whose interests sometimes overlapped with those of the Play Reading Circle, and the Poetry Circle). Both readers and writers attended.

The Club was fortunate enough to have premises in Dunedin; they had their own clubrooms. The meetings were (usually) gendered occasions of shared interests. The Club’s membership criteria, however, limited access and the attitude was serious, if the approach was sometimes humorous. While planned by local participants to meet their own requirements, its programme could also be said to illustrate what Benton described as book owners’ expressions of ‘social stature and cultural values’.

This paper examines the subject and context of the Otago Women’s Club’s Literary Circle in the 1920s and 1930s: its membership, selections, activities, and interactions.

### Keywords:

Otago, women, Literary Circle, books

Moira White is Curator – Humanities at the Otago Museum. While most of her writing focusses on the contexts of material culture, she is currently undertaking researching on Otago women’s engagement with books, journalism and literature, in the first decades of the 20th century.

## Craig Wilcox

### Title:

Armed Encounters on Sailing Ship Decks

### Abstract:

Ship decks were a common arena for armed combat during the European infiltration of the Pacific. The taking of the *Boyd* by Māori at Whangaroa in 1809 was the most spectacular example in New Zealand waters, a triumph for the victors and a shock to Britons unused to effective indigenous resistance anywhere in Australasia. What was the face of battle in clashes like this? Why did combat begin, how was it fought out, and what usually gave the advantage to the outnumbered defenders? Provisional answers to this last question point us to the semi-disciplined pugnacity of British male civilians in the first half of the 19th century, a powerful engine of informal imperial expansion.

### Keywords:

Frontier Conflict, Masculinity, Musket Trade

Craig Wilcox is a historian who lives and writes in Sydney. His books include *Australia's Boer War* (2002), *Red Coat Dreaming* (2009), and *Badge Boot Button* (2017). His next book will draw connections between conflicts in New Zealand in the first half of the nineteenth century, the commercial ambition of colonial Sydney and Hobart, and the relaxed culture of the British military garrison in Australia. He last spoke at VUW two years ago at the Garrison Towns symposium.

## Madi Williams

### Title:

‘Talking past each other’: Ngāti Kuia and the Waitangi Tribunal

### Abstract:

This paper will explore the experience of Ngāti Kuia in the Waitangi Tribunal process. Ngāti Kuia’s claim was heard by the Waitangi Tribunal from 2000 to 2004 along with the other seven iwi of Te Tau Ihu.

To what extent is Joan Metge’s phrase ‘talking past each other’ a relevant description of encounters between iwi and the Waitangi Tribunal? This paper primarily seeks to examine the complexities of engaging with Māori perceptions of the past in a forum such as the Waitangi Tribunal. How were two approaches to making sense of the past reconciled? Were they reconciled? The idea of ‘competing histories’, the use of history as evidence, and the issues that emerge from this, will also be analysed.

This research engages with a wide range of previously underutilized source material and evidence including the Waitangi Tribunal reports, research reports, the Tribunal hearings transcripts, and Ngāti Kuia pānui and meeting minutes. The challenges and benefits of this wealth of source material will also be discussed.

### Keywords:

Waitangi Tribunal, Ngāti Kuia, Māori, iwi

Madi Williams is Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō. She is in the second year of her PhD in History at the University of Canterbury. Her research is focused on Ngāti Kuia identity and historical perspectives. More broadly her work examines Māori and Pākehā perceptions of the past and the relevance of history in Aotearoa New Zealand.

## Philippa Wyatt

### Title:

Sinclair and the History of Humanitarianism

### Abstract:

In 1968 Keith Sinclair was studying at Cambridge University where he presented a paper that was later published under the title, 'Why are Race Relations in New Zealand Better than in South Africa, South Australia or South Dakota?'. His answer was a surprising one: the only factor that could account for New Zealand's exceptional race relations was the Christian humanitarian ideology that dominated British thinking at the time of annexation and its commitment to realising racial equality. Renowned for his revisionism and secularism, Sinclair was in effect arguing what an older generation of historians had argued: that something exceptional had been attempted in New Zealand that left a defining imprint, and that religion lay at the very heart of that vision. As New Zealand headed into what was to be an extended period of racial unrest, such talk of racial equality and harmony appeared out of touch – a history out of step with its time. From the 1970s a more binary and material view came to dominate in which the notion of harmonious race relations having ever existed was deemed little more than a 'myth'. The purpose of this paper is to revisit Sinclair's view of New Zealand exceptionalism. It provides a means of exploring how history is influenced by its times, and how the drive to revise can sometimes obscure. Coming face to face with history can sometimes mean being out of step with your present.

### Keywords:

Humanitarianism, Sinclair, exceptionalism, Christianity, binaries

I am a doctoral student at Massey University studying British humanitarianism in New Zealand in the period to 1870. From 1992 to 2002 I worked as a professional historian assisting Muriwhenua and Ngati Whatua iwi in their claims before the Waitangi Tribunal and for the CFRT.



## Rose Yukich

### Title:

Facing/not facing Māori: Treaty things and a Pākehā paradox

### Abstract:

The Treaty of Waitangi did not become attached to official education discourse on paper until April 1987. A file in the national archives, however, provides evidence of earlier doings of the Treaty in education that have long since receded from view. One specific folder created in 1959 contains traces of intra-action with Treaty things amongst public servants and government advisers connected to the Department of Education. By Treaty things I mean facsimiles of the nine original Treaty sheets. Coined by Karen Barad (2003), the term intra-action is concerned with how the material and the discursive are mutually constitutive; *intra*-active as opposed to *interactive*; where encountering/facing the thing is a relational event; where the human and non-human are not discrete actors but together engaged in world-making. Pākehā intra-action with Treaty facsimiles in the mid- 20th century as revealed by the above archival folder points to a paradox in Pākehā/Crown attitudes towards the Treaty. On the one hand, there was a desire to neutralise the Treaty via a narrow focus on its material reproduction but at the same time a will to hold fast to its 'thingness' as a tangible expression of a special relationship with Māori. This seminar considers the story of how a book of Treaty facsimiles was first sent to schools in 1960, the characters, things and politics involved, and how the implications of this event resonate today.

Rose Yukich is a first generation Pākehā-Croatian. In 2018, she completed a doctoral study into how the Treaty of Waitangi first entered national curriculum discourse. Based at the University of Auckland, she currently holds a post-doctoral fellowship on *Tāngata Tiriti*, a Marsden-funded project that explores the engagement of non-Māori with the Treaty across a range of professions.