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The objects of the Association shall be:

i. To foster the care, preservation, and proper use of archives and records, both public and private, and their effective administration.

ii. To arouse public awareness of the importance of records and archives and in all matters affecting their preservation and use, and to co-operate or affiliate with any other bodies in New Zealand or elsewhere with like objects.

iii. To promote the training of archivists, records keepers, curators, librarians and others by the dissemination of specialised knowledge and by encouraging the provision of adequate training in the administration and conservation of archives and records.

iv. To encourage research into problems connected with the use, administration and conservation of archives and records and to promote the publication of the results of this research.

v. To promote the standing of archives institutions.

vi. To advise and support the establishment of archives services throughout New Zealand.

vii. To publish a bulletin at least once a year and other publications in furtherance of these objects.
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Firstly, it is my pleasure, as guest editor, to thank the editorial committee and contributors for this new and remarkable issue of *Archifacts*.

Generally, freeing ourselves from misconceptions and insecurities takes a great deal of courage. In this issue, and with the range of subjects and topics covered, this is certainly the case. In addition opinions are honest and frank. Information is shared with immaculate detail and approaches to future relations between Maori and Pakeha are explored.

In these articles, where the latter aspect has appeared, it becomes blatantly obvious that information managers, archivists, librarians, and historians will need to make some fundamental changes in their attitude. The 'isms' must go. History must take its course in this particular area and it should result in some positive directions. In particular, the process should be consultative between Maori and Pakeha.

The Maori contributors to this issue of *Archifacts* have advanced their views. There is Pakeha commitment here as well, but now, with great interest, I wait to examine the many reactions that will come from this issue.

In bringing this summary to conclusion, e ngaa reo, e ngaa mana, e ngaa rangatira maha o ngaa moutere o Aotearoa, teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou, teenaa taatou katoa

Rangitunoa Black
The Opening Address by Sir Paul Reeves,
Patron of ARANZ at the Thirteenth
Conference of the Association, October 1989

If the programme advertising this Conference ever finds its way into official archives, researchers of the future will note that the quality of your sessions and seminars was matched by the enthusiasm of your social activities. The programme has a picture of your President wearing his Boy Brigade uniform. That only increased my interest when I realised that your evenings vary between rigorous debate, low priced drinks in the College lounge bar and top entertainment following a superb meal with wine at the table. I pinched myself. Archives and archivists were never like this when I was a student. Or perhaps they were and I did not know it. I congratulate you on what seems to be, from several points of view, a stimulating programme.

James Belich in his book on the New Zealand Wars discusses the Victorian interpretation of racial conflict and he writes: "The European monopoly of the higher mental faculties was the inner tabernacle of Victorian racial attitudes. To question it was to question a whole world view." Consequently, and because the British dominated the historical record, they told it as they believed it.

Belich's other point is that all too often 'where important issues involve two or more groups, the written record of all but one is lost, is inaccessible or never existed. When the issue is one of some kind of conflict and that group which dominates the historical record believes itself inherently superior to its opponents, the problem is particularly acute.' So the British did preserve some Maori evidence of the nineteenth century conflicts but it is only a small fraction of the whole and comes across as anecdotal curiosities.

So the ideology with which a group understands the world around it and its own place within that world helps to determine their assumptions, narrative and conclusions. What Belich is able to do is to rediscover what has been ignored or suppressed or subsumed in the mainstream narrative. He can assess what you might call 'embalmed evidence', events preserved but not incorporated, discussed as romantic curiosity but potentially the source of historical insight.

In this there are many messages for archivists and record keepers. The main one is that future historians will be able to sidestep the ideologies which tend to skew history according to the time and teller only if the archival and source material is broad and accurate. The 1980s
and 1990s are pivotal times for New Zealand when we are dealing with fundamental matters of race, identity, social equity, distribution of power, the relationships with our Pacific neighbours. What we need from archivists is the compilation of sound and extensive records. The reporting agencies, the media no less, are part of the problem. They encourage an association between certain sorts of activity and particular groups which is quite unfair given the statistics. For instance, most New Zealanders would think that overstayers mean Pacific Islanders even though in the mid-1980s, only one-third of overstayers in this country were Pacific Islanders. The media are largely responsible for that perception and that is a subject in itself. I would expect archivists to lay the ground for a future study of the overstayer issue and media reporting by being a repository for records from government, police, immigration and Pacific Island community sources.

Let me finish with two further examples of the skewing of history and subsequent revision. They both come from Australia. One is the history of women in the early Australian settlements. Quite simply, women did not appear in the histories at all other than a mention as wives or servants. When records were found they appeared in reports written by sea captains, commissioners, governors, clergymen— all male. It was not until the 1970s with the work of historians like Miriam Dixson, Anne Summers, Patricia Grimshaw and Kay Daniels that women became visible in the early history of Australia. The scholars reassessed the eyes through which events had been observed and the assumptions of the observers, they searched for alternative accounts, family histories, albums, pictures, work songs, business accounts, graves, medical records, land transactions and so on. Much of that material was found in archives.

The second example concerns a remarkable novel *Pemulwuy, The Rainbow Warrior* by the Aboriginal writer Eric Willmot. The city of Sydney was built on Pemulwuy's land. Like others, he resisted the British rule in Australia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is Willmot's assertion that the British sought not only to destroy Pemulwuy physically, 'they and some of their descendants attempted to obliterate the very evidence of his existence. Until recently, Pemulwuy's name has never appeared in any white Australian history, yet he lives on in the unpublished records of his enemies and in the minds of Aboriginal Australians.' Willmot concludes 'It was apparently not in the interests of a crookedly intent or racist establishment to promote such parts of the Australian story. If this is true, then those people have stolen from generations of Aboriginal and now Aboriginal Australians a heritage as important, as tragic and as heroic as that of any other nation on earth.'

I have quoted Eric Willmot with sympathy but it is not my purpose to defend a position on this particular matter. That debate properly belongs on the other side of the Tasman. What I can say is that both of these latter two examples illustrate that the writing of history can reflect 'the normal subordination of commentators to their intellectual context', as Belich puts it.
The answer, if there is one, lies in substantial and fearless archives. There is more to it than that and I know that you will be discussing information management at this Conference. Last night I sat down to write something which might be appropriate for the opening of a conference of archivists. Perhaps I have extended that task a little bit, and I know why Mike Armour, my ADC, gave me a sample of his home brew which has been seething in the airing cupboard for the past week. I drank it and all I can say is that it put my mind into a curious fever.

It is my pleasure to declare this thirteenth conference of the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand open.
Historians and the Treaty of Waitangi

J M R Owens
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Historians as far apart as A S Thomson and Lindsay Buick have referred to the Treaty of Waitangi as ‘the Magna Carta of the Maori people’. This kind of ‘me-tooism’ used to be common in New Zealand. Samuel Marsden was the St Augustine of New Zealand, Chief Hongi the Napoleon of the South Seas. In fact, of course, the Treaty will not bear comparison with the Charter. The Charter took six months of hard bargaining and it was carefully revised by Chancery clerks. The Treaty was not negotiated in this sense. It was put together by those who were around to help the ailing British representative, Captain Hobson. Paternalistically, they worked out what they thought was best for, and acceptable to, the Maori who argued about it and then signed or refused to sign. No lawyer revised the wording. The result is not a charter of human rights either for the Maori or for all New Zealanders.

Yet the two documents have things in common. For New Zealand, the Treaty is a kind of ‘fundamental statute’ as Magna Carta has been for England, and yet both have had aspects which have dated and been repealed by statute. J C Holt’s book on Magna Carta makes many points about it which apply to the Treaty also. For example, he wrote ‘there is little point in discussing the detailed wording and legal connotation of the charter without examining the political circumstances which produced it’. Also ‘there is often no hope of establishing a precise contemporary meaning of particular phrases or clauses. To attempt to do so is itself to distort’. He also saw the history of the Charter as not only the history of a document but also the history of an argument – an argument in which there is repeated reinterpretation in successive ages as conditions and problems change. Keith Sinclair said of Waitangi ‘It was the fundamental act for the foundation of a bi-national people, and like other such acts, it had always to be “interpreted”’.2

Lawyers, we know, live happily with this constant reinterpretation. Law evolves with changing times despite lawyers’ love of precedent. Historians, on the other hand, are still arguing on the matter. One school of thought is represented in Herbert Butterfield’s The Whig Interpretation of History which claimed that we should not ‘produce a story

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Historians and the Treaty of Waitangi

which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present', that we should, rather, try 'to understand the past for the sake of the past'.

Geoffrey Elton has argued 'The task of history is to understand the past, and if the past is to be understood it must be given full respect in its own right.' We must, he wrote, deliberately abandon the present 'It is the cardinal error to reverse this process and study the past for the light it throws on the present.'

The other school of thought has the Italian Benedetto Croce, who is associated with the aphorism 'every true history is contemporary history' and the view that 'history in reality refers to present needs and present situations wherein those events vibrate'.

Ε H Carr wrote that we can achieve our understanding of the past 'only through the eyes of the present'.

If historians are of two minds about the past, those who see it as only making sense in its own right and those who see it as only coming to life in relation to our present age, there are also two perspectives on the Treaty and on the past - the Maori view and that of the European. Yet Judith Binney, who recently considered the two forms of telling history, oral narratives and Pakeha written texts, found in the end that the two approaches came together 'History,' she wrote, 'is the shaping of the past by those living in the present. All histories derive from a particular time, a particular place, and a particular cultural heritage.' The purpose of Maori oral narrative tradition was to establish meaning for events 'and to give a validation for the family's and the group's particular claims to mana and knowledge.' She concluded 'The "telling of history", whether it be oral or written is not and never has been neutral. It is always the reflection of the priorities of the narrators and their perspectives of their world.'

Many who write about Waitangi present their version as the final truth for all time, so that if only the Pakeha, or perhaps the Maori, would learn the right perspective, we would live thereafter in the best of all possible worlds. But the Treaty is a many-sided symbol, subject always to a kind of dialectic between two sets of opposites. It was a Treaty in two languages involving two peoples, so there will always be two perspectives, Maori and Pakeha, however elusive that concept Pakeha may be. It is also subject to the historian's dialectic between past and present the Treaty as it may have been in 1840 and as it seems in successive periods of time. This could be expressed diagrammatically.
Any perspective of the Treaty will be somewhere in the box, related to the two opposites Claudia Orange’s book, it seems to me, comes near to the ideal in this respect concerned with what actually happened in 1840, concerned with the continuing dialogue, concerned to balance Maori with Pakeha. Not many who have written about the Treaty have achieved this balance and this brings us to a major problem of this paper. What makes you an historian? As a teacher of history I would love to say that only those with professional training count as historians I have to admit that just as Grandma Moses produced some good canvases, not all the good history comes out of academia. Nor do all those finely honed minds with BA Honours have a monopoly of significant ideas. So for the purposes of this paper let ‘historian’ be defined as anyone who writes about the history of Waitangi.

When I began this study I expected to find that historical writing about the Treaty would have gone through a whole series of chronological phases. In fact there seem to be only two significant phases before about 1970 and after. There are of course differences of opinion over aspects and different writers have different emphases. One can occasionally group writers together into a kind of school of thought. But the basic fact is that before the 1970s our histories were written by Pakeha for Pakeha, after the 1970s there was a Maori presence in historical writing. It tells us something of the history of our race relations that the same kind of interpretation, the same terminology, appears in the 19th century and carries through to the 1960s.

In considering this first phase of writing I intend to concentrate on two main aspects which were much attacked in the next phase: the treatment of all the problems associated with sovereignty, and the supposed idealism of the Treaty.

There were many problems discussed concerning sovereignty. Was there an equivalent concept in Maori culture? Were the 1835 Confederation of Chiefs actually exercising sovereignty? How seriously should the British government have regarded them? Was the term adequately explained to the Maori in Treaty discussions? Did the chiefs understand they were transferring sovereignty to the British Crown? Was the British claim to New Zealand based on cession, or on some other grounds, such as discovery, proclamation or conquest? What of those Maori chiefs who had not signed the Treaty: were they subject to British sovereignty? Why indeed have a Treaty when the British representatives could perhaps have propituated chiefs with gifts and gradually established a presence? Was it that the Maori were too strong, was it that evangelical opinion in Britain insisted on cession, was it fear of other nations if British title to New Zealand was unconvincing?

The ambiguities of the situation were foreshadowed by Lord Normanby’s instructions to Hobson, which, while acknowledging New Zealand as a sovereign and independent state, went on to say ‘so far at least as it is possible to make such an acknowledgement of a people composed of numerous, dispersed and petty tribes, who possess few...
political relations to each other, and are incompetent to act, or even to deliberate in concert' 10 Hobson was to complicate the situation by gaining permission to annex the South Island on the grounds, not of consent, but of discovery since the 'wild savages of the Southern Islands' were less civilized and had not joined the 1835 Confederation 11 This doubt over Maori sovereignty was to find expression in Chief Justice James Prendergast's ruling in 1877 that 'no body politic existed capable of making cession of sovereignty' hence the Treaty must be regarded, he thought, as 'a simple nullity'

All of this led writers like Gisborne in 1891 to a paradoxical position. There was, he held, 'considerable technical force' to the view that the Maori did not have sovereignty, did not understand it, could not intelligently consent to cede it and did not all agree to cede it, yet for all practical purposes they honourably ceded sovereignty and Britain honourably made promises in return 12 In effect, they couldn't, but they did J S Marais in 1927 wrote that 'the native mind' could not understand sovereignty, many similar treaties of the time fell into abeyance, but Waitangi survived because it was 'the source from which Britain drew her authority' 13 Hight and Bamford, on the other hand, in their 1914 constitutional history, roundly denied that the native tribes of New Zealand were a sovereign state or that Britain needed their consent to declare sovereignty 14

In 1948, the Australian historian, J M Ward, also doubted 'whether the natives really had any sovereignty to cede' and he argued that in the early 19th century Britain had followed a policy of recognizing 'native sovereignty' because it fitted her policy of 'minimum intervention' When Britain moved to a policy of intervention, the doctrine of native sovereignty was promptly shelved, though to maintain consistency, and for political expediency, a treaty by cession was arranged in New Zealand 15 A year later, attempting to decide the exact date on which Britain acquired sovereignty in New Zealand, James Rutherford decided it was not any of the dates on which the Treaty was signed, but 21 May 1840, when Hobson proclaimed the country British, his proclamations being confirmed by the British Government on 2 October 1840 Rutherford described the Treaty as the 'essential political condition' of this assertion of sovereignty 16

As for the promises made in the year sovereignty was acquired (by whatever means), all these earlier historians agreed they were honourable and idealistic. In 1859 A S Thomson called the Treaty 'a wise measure, a Christian mode of commencing the colonisation of the country' He stressed that the Treaty clearly recognised the Maori 'title to all the land in the country, hence it was the Magna Carta of the people 17 Exactly a hundred years later, Keith Sinclair wrote that British policy proceeded from an assumption as just as it was unusual - that the country, or at least the North Island, belonged to its inhabitants. The Treaty, he wrote, 'was intended to lay a basis for a just society in which two races, far apart in civilization, could live together in amity' It merited
the symbolic significance which it came to assume in the minds of both peoples. The following year W H Oliver wrote 'The elaborate procedures of the Treaty of Waitangi enshrined an honest policy deliberately pursued.'

If these writers commended the idealism they saw in the Treaty, others disagreed. Today we are often assured that the Treaty was essentially a partnership between two peoples. A more negative view is that the Maori people were defrauded by the Treaty. Many past historians have rejected or not considered both views. They held, on the contrary, that it was an agreement, not between two peoples but between the Maori and the Crown (assisted by missionaries) and that it was essentially an agreement hostile to settler interests. All of this was echoing a contemporary view that it was a praiseworthy device for amusing naked savages, or that it was an injudicious proceeding.

Alfred Saunders echoed the New Zealand Company's hatred of the Rev Henry Williams who had translated the Treaty. 'If Mr Henry Williams had set his brains to work to devise an agreement which would reward murder, foster and perpetuate tyranny and slavery, demoralise the chiefs, instigate warfare, impoverish the taxpayers of New Zealand, and leave the main body of the Maoris unprotected and unprovided for, he could have found nothing more effective than his Treaty of Waitangi.'

William Pember Reeves, in *The Long White Cloud*, saw the settlers who had been excluded from the Treaty making as its victims. 'As a rule civilized nations do not recognise the rights of scattered handfuls of barbarians to the ownership of immense tracts of soil, only a fraction of which they cultivate or use. However, from the noblest and most philanthropic motives an exception to this rule was made in the case of New Zealand and by treaty some sixty to seventy thousand Maori were given a title guaranteed by England - the best title in the world - to some sixty six million acres of valuable land.' Marais made a similar point that before the Treaty the 'semi barbarous chiefs' had only held their possessions 'by right of the strong arm reinforced by custom.' Irvine and Alpers complained in 1902 that settlers who had paid a fair price for their land could now be 'ousted at a barbarian's caprice.' Guy Scholefield in 1909, while he thought the Government had lost all sense of proportion in its desire to render void the various pre-1840 land transactions still thought 'Nowhere can history show such an example of humanity and generosity to a comparatively helpless savage race.'

The same line of thought continued in the 1930s. E W Wilson wrote, 'we are proud to know that our Treaty sets a higher standard for the treatment of a primitive race than is held in any other part of the globe where white and coloured men come into close contact.' But she went on to ask, 'Was it fair to the thousands of white people settling in New Zealand to acknowledge the absolute rights of a comparatively small number of natives to extensive tracts of country which they could not possibly use?' Condliffe and Airey in 1938 called the Treaty 'more than just to the Maori, it was exceedingly generous, since it confirmed them
in the ownership of all the land of New Zealand whether they occupied it or not.' A.H. McLintock summed it all up in 1958 when he wrote that the Treaty 'as negotiated by Hobson and his missionary auxiliaries, must properly be regarded as an expression of unbalanced idealism, the epitome of principle divorced from practice.'

So, whether they liked the Treaty or not, all were agreed that New Zealand set an example to the rest of the world in race relations. In 1971 Keith Sinclair wrote an article entitled, 'Why are Race Relations in New Zealand Better than in South Africa, South Australia or South Dakota?' After considering a variety of factors he attributed most weight to Anglo-Saxon attitudes when New Zealand was annexed. Waitangi was symbolic of 'this new spirit in race relations.'

In all this chorus of self-congratulation, virtually a lone voice of scepticism was that of John Beaglehole, who wrote in 1936 'It is curious at this day, indeed, in view of the troubled career of the Treaty, its uncertain observance, the ambiguities of its interpretation, to observe the veneration with which it has been surrounded - not so much for its content or its intention (except by the Maori, whose faith has exceeded that of his conquerors) but for its actual place in the history of New Zealand as a canon of inter-racial relations. Those relations, in prosaic fact, have not been conspicuously successful. But a nation, as it has been observed, must have its myths, and to lay impious hands on the altar of apotheosis is not, it is possible, in the best of taste.'

Given that Beaglehole had this patrician disdain towards the popular view of the Treaty, it is perhaps not surprising that the two historians who were finally to shatter this long-lasting complacency had been closely associated with Beaglehole, Ian Wards and Ruth Ross. Their contribution merits a more detailed study. We can ask, for example, whether they were essentially ending the era of complacency, or laying the foundations for revisionism or were they achieving both? And why did they write as they did at that time? Were they sceptical historians, seeking, in the Butterfield manner to get back to the Treaty as it was, or were they reflecting the mood of their times?

Judging by reviewers' reaction to Wards in 1968, he was ahead of his time on the Waitangi issue. In a chapter called 'The Myth of Moral Suasion' he argued that historians had attached 'a far greater importance to humanitarian theories of the mid-nineteenth century than is warranted by the record.' Far from seeing the Treaty as the Magna Carta of New Zealand, or as the foundation document of race relations in New Zealand, he stated 'The facts as they emerge from the record demonstrate conclusively enough that the Treaty was never intended to be more than an internationally acceptable step of no lasting significance.' As Wards described it, Colonial Office policy was not 'an honest policy deliberately pursued', as W.H. Oliver had suggested. The aim was simply to obtain sovereignty 'All else had been subordinated to this. It is not possible to ascertain that any attention was given to the actual terms of the eventual treaty, no draft was prepared, no legal
opinion sought - it was all left to amateurs and to chance. Wards's views were scant comfort for most schools of thought. There was nothing for those who wished to be complacent. Equally there was nothing for those who wished to give the Treaty more teeth by ratifying it. As he put it by 1845 the Colonial Office had 'ended up with a “holy cow” in the form of a treaty that could not honourably be repudiated or, in the circumstances, be practically administered. He indicated he was in the Butterfield tradition by saying we should see the Treaty as it was 'nothing but frustration can derive from misplaced loyalty to an imperfectly understood past'.

In passing, we can note that three years after Wards's book there was an article in Landfall by Anthony P Molloy, arguing that whatever spiritual or emotional value it had, the Treaty was legally worthless and of no effect. There was nothing new in this. He was basically rehearsing the legal orthodoxy of the time, echoing Sir James Prendergast and also James Rutherford. It was an orthodoxy the legal profession was about to abandon. The interest of the article is that it was symptomatic of a mood of irritation at the pressure to ratify the Treaty.

The following year, 1972, saw two very significant articles by Ruth Ross which, again, were an attempt to cut the Treaty back to size. As with Ian Wards, her approach was to look again at the documents without presuppositions. For all that, she was influenced by her attitude to those who were attempting to re-create the Treaty as a 'useable past' for present day problems. She castigated the 'woolly mindedness' and 'hypocrisy' of current views of the Treaty. 'It is a symbol, of pakeha self-righteousness, of Maori disillusionment. The signatories of 1840 were uncertain and divided in their understanding of its meaning, who can say now what its intentions were? The Treaty of Waitangi was hastily and inexpertly drawn up, ambiguous and contradictory in content, chaotic in its execution.'

Ruth Ross had spent much of her married life working in Maori schools in isolated areas. She was a person of two worlds, Maori and Pakeha and yet fiercely independent. It was predictable that she would be as critical of Pakeha complacency over the Treaty as she was of some of the Maori claims under the Treaty - for example, the fisheries claim. Her articles argued that if one looked at the circumstances of the Treaty, studied the people involved, studied the various texts of the Treaty in English and in Maori, as few had done since the 1840s, the Treaty simply would not stand the interpretations now being placed upon it.

The same spirit of scepticism was seen in two notable histories which appeared in the 1970s. In Alan Wards's view, Hobson saw the Treaty-making as an exercise in public relations rather than a weighty mission and argued that he took no steps to utilize the Maori leadership. 'The Maori were placed in a position of subordination and tutelage from which they have ever since been trying to recover'. Peter Adams stressed the British feelings of cultural and racial superiority. The Treaty, he wrote, was 'intended to protect the Maoris only in so far as
their rights were compatible with British dominance, and the belief prevalent today that the Treaty enshrined a true equality between the races, powerfully illustrates the degree to which a historical myth can serve as a cloak against the cold wind of reality. So much for ‘partnership’

If historical writing took place in a vacuum and progressed simply as a result of research and the dialectic of ideas, the Treaty could at this stage have been consigned to the past and become a cold issue of academic interest only. Instead it was to make its take-off into sustained growth. The reasons lie not in the realm of ideas but in the social and political context of the 1970s and 1980s. Historical writing too, played its part in the political process, especially one line of interpretation which I will call ‘the Treaty was a fraud’ school of thought. This interpretation was a particularly effective application of ‘the politics of embarrassment’ and it attracted the support, not only of a large number of concerned organisations such as the National Council of Churches, but also of a small army of graffiti merchants who left their message throughout the country, so that it was conveyed at every level from the academic to the popular. One of the earliest versions was by Douglas Sinclair and it appeared in a book called *Te Ao Huhunui*, edited by Michael King in 1975. It was followed in 1979 by a very influential book, *Te Rua Pakeha* and in subsequent years by a succession of articles by Ranginui Walker. The interpretation was not based on original research and it is difficult to find in it material which has not appeared in earlier publications. They certainly drew on Wards and Ross, but as the thrust and emphasis of their view was different, the insights took on a new meaning. For example, whereas Ross had concluded that the Treaty was hastily and inexpertly drawn up by a bunch of amateurs, Douglas Sinclair wrote of the ‘diplomatic genius of the British’, compared to which the Maori were ‘novices, babes in the woods’. Wards’s point that no ready-made Treaty had been brought or legal advice sought, and Ross’s evidence of all the inadequacies in translation (and her passing, cautious reference to Henry Williams’s land claims) were all used to construct a conspiracy theory whereby the Maori had been tricked by clever and self-interested men. It is interesting that many of the arguments used to discredit Hobson, Busby and the missionaries derive originally from propaganda put out by the New Zealand Company and taken up by early historians. The word ‘fraud’, for example, was used by E.G. Wakefield concerning the Treaty in a letter to Gladstone in 1846. What began as proof that the Treaty was a conspiracy against settlers now became proof it was a conspiracy against the Maori. At this point it is only fair to indicate that I have already published writings which indicate my dissent from the conspiracy theory and my agreement with Ruth Ross’s view that the Treaty was a muddle. But there is no disputing the central point of these writers that in subsequent years the Treaty had been frequently broken or ignored. Since the point was easily made and readily accepted the old...
complacency about the Treaty vanished and a new sense of urgency emerged about righting old wrongs. It was an effective way of putting the Treaty back into a central position.

There are, however, two perceptions related to this school of thought, which continue to be debated. One is the concept of Maori sovereignty and the other is biculturalism.

Moana Jackson, in a recent Listener review of the collection of essays on Waitangi edited by Sir Hugh Kawharu, singled out the essay by Ranginui Walker as different from the rest. Ignoring the article by Sorrenson, Jackson claimed that the other articles all accepted that sovereignty was ceded to the British Crown in the Treaty. Walker, however, taking his stand on the Maori text, argued that those who signed ceded kawanatanga, or governorship, which did not mean sovereignty. Jackson commented that in 1840 the Iwi 'were regarded by themselves and the Crown as autonomous sovereign nations who did not give away the powers inherent in that status.' Walker's article also pointed out that many notable chiefs, such as Te Wherowhero of Tainui and Te Heuheu of Tuwharetoa refused to sign and that many who did sign, did so cynically for blankets, which he suggested gave credence to the New Zealand Company view that the Treaty was 'a praiseworthy device for pacifying the savages for the moment.' (In passing one can note again the New Zealand Company propaganda coming through.)

The term 'Maori sovereignty' has been much used, particularly since Donna Awatere first wrote her articles on the topic in Broadsheet in 1982. Awatere defined the term as 'the Maori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries. In essence, Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgement that New Zealand is Maori land, and further seeks the return of that land. At its most conservative it could be interpreted as the desire for a bicultural society.'

The confusion over the term sovereignty is a graphic illustration of the problems involved in making a treaty in two languages, each the product of a very different culture. Bruce Biggs, in an article on the problems of translating the Treaty, refers to sovereignty as a 'culture-bound concept', as difficult to translate into the context of Maori culture as it would be to find English words equivalent to tapu or hau or mana. I have not come across a careful definition of Maori sovereignty. Is it thought to reside in iwi, or other groups, or is some corporate body thought to exercise it over Aotearoa as a whole? Does it co-exist with another sovereignty? In English the word carries the meaning of pre-eminent or supreme authority over all others in a given territory. Walker ends his article by welcoming the Waitangi Tribunal, which would seem to imply some kind of acceptance of the sovereign authority which appointed that tribunal.

The other important concept, related to that of Maori sovereignty, is biculturalism. The first systematic use of the term seems to have been by Erik Schwimmer in The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties, published in...
1968, which was the same year as Ian Wards’s book *The Shadow of the Land*. Here he sought to replace the term ‘integration’, used in relation to the Maori, with two other terms, ‘inclusion’ and ‘biculturalism’. The term ‘inclusion’ has not caught on, but ‘biculturalism’ has become widely accepted. It is difficult to summarize Schwimmer’s exposition of the term. In New Zealand, he wrote, it is ‘a most unsystematic and elusive phenomenon’. Everybody learns one culture in his childhood and owes it primary allegiance. The bicultural person, in addition, accepts as legitimate the values of a second culture, is to some extent familiar with these values, and can turn to them, if necessary, for subsidiary relationships. In this sense, the Maori is already, for the most part bicultural.

In retrospect, what is interesting about Schwimmer’s use of the term, is that it is a description of the individual experience born into a Maori culture and gradually relating to another culture. It can be suggested that this is not an exclusively Maori experience. The immigrant New Zealander grew up with the culture of the homeland and moves into the culture of the adopted country. A somewhat similar experience might be that of the rural or small town New Zealander who moves to the city. However, with time, the meaning of biculturalism seems to have changed. It is no longer a way of analysing a variety of individual experiences, it has become a statement that New Zealand society is made up of two cultures, Maori and Pakeha. This is disturbing for those who see New Zealand as a multicultural society.

This conflict of views has been especially apparent in education. The former Director of Education, Bill Renwick, summed it up that Maori New Zealanders saw biculturalism as their safeguard against backsliding by Pakeha, an acknowledgement of their special status as tangata whenua and under the Treaty. However, he also stated that ethnic minorities saw it differently while not wishing to frustrate policies focussing on bicultural relations. They wanted policies in education which valued diversity. Renwick’s solution was ‘policies under the heading of multiculturalism developed alongside those for biculturalism’.

Raj Vasil, a Victoria University political scientist born in India, has urged the need for caution in his booklet *Biculturalism*. To insist on multiculturalism, he suggests, would create ‘an unnecessary and damaging controversy’. It should not be beyond the Pakeha majority to accept biculturalism. Non-Maori minorities, he wrote, 'are not seriously dissatisfied with their position in New Zealand'. The booklet was reviewed in the *Listener* by C K. Stead who argued that we should have policies which target the real needs of the disadvantaged groups in our society, not groups defined by ethnicity. He argued that while seeking to establish its post-colonial identity, New Zealand was pushing Maori culture and pushing back the predominant culture. ‘We may end up,’ he wrote, ‘with a firm grip on neither culture’.

Richard Mulgan also related the concept of biculturalism to our post-colonial situation. He asked whether the two cultures ‘can ever tran-
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Second the relationship of oppressor and oppressed in which they began? Biculturalism, he argued, incorporates a fundamental dilemma. 'If the colonial experience remains significant, then equal partnership without recrimination and guilt is impossible. If the colonial experience becomes irrelevant, the cultures lose their identity.' Assuming this analysis is correct, biculturalism relates to the colonial phase of New Zealand's development and should be abandoned in the subsequent democratic, independent nation phase of development. But the problem with this is that many would argue that, from a Maori point of view, New Zealand still is in a colonial situation. The settlers have not gone away, the old problems remain.

Richard Mulgan is, understandably, somewhat ambivalent on the matter. New Zealand, he writes, has many cultures and must count as multicultural. But there are two peoples, Maori and Pakeha, who only find their identity in New Zealand. The Pakeha, he asserts, are 'a distinctive group, at home in New Zealand and unique to it.' They no longer look to Britain as 'Home.' So he claims for Pakeha culture the status of a second indigenous culture. 'New Zealand', he writes, 'thus has two peoples, Maori and Pakeha. The most accurate summary of New Zealand would therefore be one nation, two peoples, many cultures.' Bicultural, however, is a potentially misleading word to describe the existence of two peoples because it appears to deny the separate cultures of other ethnic groups. More accurate, perhaps, would be the use of a term like "two peopled" or "bi-popular."

The passage could have been the starting point for rejecting the concept of biculturalism. But Mulgan accepts that multiculturalism is often used 'consciously or unconsciously as a means of denying separate recognition of the Maori.' Biculturalism is certainly often used, not as a statement that there are literally two cultures but as a shorthand for accepting and promoting Maori cultural identity, as opposed to the old assimilationist policies of the past. So while Mulgan is aware that biculturalism is not a good descriptive term, nonetheless he accepts it and bases his book on the assumption that there are two indigenous cultures in need of nurture, Pakeha and Maori. One can certainly agree that assimilation had its dangers, but there are perils also if we forget that there is a mainstream culture to which all New Zealanders have contributed. If the mainstream culture is seen as Pakeha we have the problem which Mulgan refers to, that some Maori believe they should not be aiming for success in Pakeha terms, and some government agencies question whether they should be encouraging such success. A paternalistic concern for the preservation of Maori culture, and an overemphasis on separateness, could discourage the full participation of the Maori in the mainstream culture they have helped create. The problem is how to preserve cultural heritages while forging a national identity, in which all can participate.

New Zealanders, it seems, have a long standing tradition of perceiving their national identity in terms of duality. This is in large part the
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legacy of the symbolism of the Treaty which has left us a bewildering number of terms to describe the two participants tangata whenua and manuhiri, two partners, two nations, two ethnic groups, two races, two cultures, two peoples. As these words have such different meanings, one can only speculate at the reality behind them. Once again it is apparent that we are not in the habit of using words with precision.

However, a body now exists which is attempting to hammer our thinking into a reluctant coherence, and that is the Waitangi Tribunal. In the process it has made many historical judgements, so much so that Keith Sorrenson writes of its 'radical reinterpretation' of New Zealand history. The Tribunal soon established some important ground rules which, if we accept its authority, put to rest many historical and political controversies. The Act setting it up stated that both the English and the Maori texts of the Treaty were to be drawn upon. The Tribunal itself soon established the important principle that "It is out of keeping with the spirit of the Treaty...that the resolution of one injustice should be seen to create another." In its 1983 report on the Motunui-Waitara claim the Tribunal stated that its role was to determine the 'principles' of the Treaty, rather than its 'provisions'. The Treaty, it stated, was not intended to 'fossilise a status quo' but was intended as 'the foundation for a developing social contract', provided there was a measure of consent and an adherence to the Treaty's broad principles. As Judge Durne said once of the Treaty, 'it must be always speaking.'

In its Motunui-Waitara Report, the Tribunal appeared to favour the concept of Maori sovereignty. It said that the phrase in clause two of the Treaty, 'te tino rangatiratanga' could 'be taken to mean "the highest chieftainship" or indeed the sovereignty [sic] of their lands.' A somewhat similar comment had been made by Claudia Orange. Commenting on the Tribunal's statement, Keith Sorrenson wrote that this 'struck at the very heart of the long-standing Pakeha doctrine that the transfer of sovereignty in Article I [of the Treaty] provided the foundation for one system of law, British law.' However, while the book in which Sorrenson's article appeared was in the press, the Tribunal produced its 1988 Munwemua Report, which stated 'the essentials of sovereignty were not lost on the Maori in the debate at Waitangi.' (Once again, there is a similar comment in Orange.)

Sovereignty, in law, is not dependent on the Treaty, but on the proclamation that followed the signings at Waitangi. From the Treaty as a whole it is obvious that it does not purport to describe a continuing relationship between sovereign states. Its purpose and effect was the reverse, to provide for the relinquishment by Maori of their sovereign status and guarantee their protection on becoming subjects of the Crown. We are satisfied that sovereignty was ceded. Tino rangaturatanga therefore refers not to a separate sovereignty but to tribal self management on lines similar to what we understand by local government.
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On the question of ‘partnership’, the Tribunal echoes the ruling of the Court of Appeal in 1987 and states ‘the key to defining the principles of the treaty is to be found in the idea of a partnership between Pakeha and Maori and that cooperation is at the heart of the agreed relationship of the two partners. A principle of protection is nonetheless inherent in that partnership’.

In its Manukau Report the Tribunal defends the missionary choice of words in translation as ‘fair and apt’ adding that the word ‘kawanatanga’ was an appropriate choice of word.

On the question of Henry Williams’s decision not to use the word ‘mana’ to translate ‘sovereignty’, often taken as evidence of his intention to mislead the Maori, the Tribunal has commented ‘Williams was careful to avoid using ‘mana’ for ‘sovereignty’ in the Treaty, for due to its spiritual and highly personal connotations, no person of mana could cede it.

On the question of biculturalism, the Tribunal does not appear to use the term very often, but it was very specific about it in the Motunui-Waitara Report. ‘The Treaty was an acknowledgement of Maori existence, of their prior occupation of the land and of an intent that the Maori presence would remain and be respected. It made us one country, but acknowledged that we were two people. It established the regime not for uni-culturalism but for bi-culturalism.

Of all the specialist submissions which have come to the Tribunal, one of the most interesting from an historical point of view was that of P G McHugh, in the Katuna Report. He argued that from as early as 1609 the colonial policy of the British Crown wherever the British flag was raised maintained the punctilious recognition of indigenous people. The policy of Crown pre-emption of land had emerged as early as 1618 in relation to the colony of Virginia. He cited a large number of North American and West African treaties which were fore-runners of Waitangi. These findings, if correct, undermine the long-standing view that the Treaty was unique in colonial history. They also render rather pointless the concern of some with the possible motivation of Hobson, Busby and Williams — they and their motives had no bearing on major policy. In other writings, McHugh has argued that the British (contrary to Chief Justice Prendergast’s view) accepted that the Maori, like other indigenous people, enjoyed sovereign status and transacted with them on that basis. He has argued also that by 1840 there was a well-established legal tradition in British colonial practice, of aboriginal rights (or title to ancestral lands), and this covered traditional fishing rights. He concluded that the Treaty was no more than a declaration of rules which would have applied in any event — ‘the treaty was a legal irrelevance not because of the Maori’s “primitive” character but because it purported to confer protections which already existed. The source of Maori traditional rights lay in the common law not the Treaty’.

In 1987 Claudia Orange’s book on the Treaty appeared, in many ways a most hopeful portent. It sold widely, demonstrating a widespread
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desire to be well-informed on the topic. It gained wide acceptance -
which was a surprising achievement given the strong feelings generated
by the issue. It also presented the Treaty as a continuing debate, at the
centre of race relations in New Zealand.

That debate was given considerable impetus - or perhaps I should say
should have been given considerable impetus - when in 1989 the
Government issued a document called Principles for Crown Action on the
Treaty of Waitangi. At the time the then Prime Minister, Mr Lange,
commented that in attempting to bring justice his government was not
going to be ‘hog-tied’ to what may have been in people’s minds in
1840. (So much for ‘understanding the past for the sake of the past’)
In the foreword to the principles, however, he claimed it was not an
attempt to re-write the Treaty. He asserted, the Treaty ‘has the potential
to be our nation’s most powerful unifying symbol. I trust that these
principles demonstrate that there is a place for all New Zealanders
under the Treaty of Waitangi.’

The first of the principles is the kawanatanga principle, that the
Government has the right to govern and make laws. The second is the
rangatiratanga principle that the iwi have the right to organise as iwi
and, under the law, to control their resources as their own. These two
principles are presumably a reiteration of the official interpretation of
the Treaty, as against recent claims of Maori sovereignty. The third
principle, the principle of equality, is particularly interesting. It states
that the third article of the Treaty constitutes a guarantee of legal
equality between Maori and other citizens of New Zealand. ‘This means
that all New Zealand citizens are equal before the law.’ This relates to
common law rights, going back to Magna Carta in the British tradition.
It relates to human rights (such as equal treatment, free speech,
freedom of religion, and peaceful assembly) under international law. It
relates also to social benefits such as health, education and housing. The
fourth principle is that of co-operation, which is seen as involving duality
and unity - duality implying distinctive cultural development and unity
implying common purpose and community. The fifth and final prin-
ciple is that of redress, involving procedures for the resolution of
grievances arising from the Treaty. ‘The provision of redress, where
entitlement is established, must take account of its practical impact and
the need to avoid the creation of fresh injustice. If the Crown dem-
onstrates commitment to this process, it will expect reconciliation to result.’

The principles are significant, both as an attempt to set limits and as
an attempt to expand the meaning of the Treaty. In particular, it is
significant that the third principle attempts to make the Treaty appli-
cable in terms of rights for all New Zealanders. The principles are
revealing also in what they do not say. There is a reference to ‘partners-
ship’ and to ‘two peoples in one country’, but the document avoids
reference either to biculturalism or multiculturalism.
This survey of historical writing about the Treaty demonstrates that very little of it has been in the Butterfield tradition of understanding the past for the sake of the past. Rather, the perception of the Treaty's history has continually reflected the evolving contemporary society. Since the Treaty has always been the central symbol of race relations it is hardly surprising that this should be so. We have seen that the first perception of the Treaty was that it was an example of unique idealism, to the detriment of settler interests. This view was appropriate to the period when the colonial settler mentality was self-confident. As we moved into the post-colonial era there were two perceptions. Although they were post-colonial, both derived from the era when there were two peoples, colonizers and colonized. One view saw the Treaty as a partnership and spoke the language of biculturalism. The other saw the Treaty from the perspective of Maori sovereignty, which was essentially a third world, anti-colonial perspective. Related to these two views was the view that the Treaty had been a fraud as far as the Maori people were concerned. For others in New Zealand, colonialism had become a very distant memory. In this view, sovereignty derives, not from whatever went on in the 1840s but from the recent ballot box. We are seen as a multicultural and democratic society.

From this perspective there are two roles for the Treaty. One is to preserve minority rights, since it is recognized that democratic majorities are not always tolerant. To achieve this, the Treaty has in some respects to be unchanging. The other role comes from an expansion of the Treaty so that all gain some benefit from it and so all wish to preserve it. In this way the Treaty, originally a foundation document of colonialism, becomes democratized and multicultural.

All of these perceptions of the Treaty are present in our society for ideas do not drop out of currency because times change. If we look to the future there will be further perspectives on the Treaty which we have not yet thought about. We can only guess what these will be.

We can predict that our colonial past and our British heritage will fade more and more from memory. New Zealand will come increasingly under Asian and Pacific influence, through cultural and economic pressures and through immigration. Those who are 'Pakeha' may end up trying to claim some kind of tangata whenua status (Grade Two, perhaps?). We can expect in the future much closer links with Australia and that we will come more under the influence of United Nations' agencies as the world attempts to cope with global ecological and other problems. All of this and the growth of multinational corporations may well render the concept of sovereignty meaningless what was thought to have been ceded or claimed in 1840 will have dispersed in all directions. Or it may be that unanticipated developments will nullify these expectations.

It is difficult to predict what the future holds for New Zealand and its Treaty. If there is continuity for our society then I would expect the
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Treaty to continue to play a role but just as Magna Carta has evolved over time, so also the Treaty of the future will be ‘something different, something Nobody counted on’.

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21
An Alternative Format for Maori Archival Materials

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While the ideas discussed in this paper may be applied to written material in practically any language, I will restrict my comments to Maori archival materials, and in particular, to handwritten materials, such as Maori Land Court minute books and private manuscripts. Over the past five or six years, I have devoted considerable time and effort to the transcription and analysis of Maori written records on computer, and one particular reason for this article is to foster an awareness of the need to reformat manuscript material so that it might be made more easily accessible to researchers and library patrons. I believe that a number of advantages, for both libraries/archives and their users, will result from the use of the computer based format elaborated upon in the following discussion:

(i) the original manuscripts can be better preserved through reduced handling,
(ii) it would be much easier and cheaper to make multiple copies of the records and to distribute them to other institutions or centres, and to meet constant demand once they have been inputted onto computer disk,
(iii) when the information has been transcribed into the alternative format it can be more readily categorised, indexed, and accessed in ways that are phenomenally faster and more efficient than traditional manual methods.

In this paper I will discuss the processes involved in transcribing handwritten data into computer format, under the following headings:

(1) data preparation - including computer architecture and transcribing techniques,
(2) data reference coding,
(3) data analysis - using the Oxford Concordance Programme (OCP), Wordcruncher and other appropriate text analysis programmes,
(4) data banks - discussion of types and availability.

Data Preparation

Without a doubt, the most difficult and time consuming task in creating an alternative format for Maori manuscripts involves the transcription of the texts onto the computer. It doesn't really matter what make or model of computer one has since the material can be
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transcribed in ASCII format ASCII is an abbreviation for American Standard Code for Information Interchange. Basically, what this means is that almost every type of computer can share information with another computer by using the ASCII character set which comprises essentially, the English alphabet (upper and lower case letters), punctuation marks and the numeric characters. Information becomes more difficult to share or exchange when special formatting codes such as underline, italics, and boldface are incorporated into the text. If a text contains these non-ASCII characters, the difficulty of manipulating data is compounded and it may even be impossible to transfer textual information from one machine to another, because there are major differences in the computer architecture of the machines that handle these special formatting codes.

Although there will be considerable typing, editing and checking in the initial transcribing of the data, there is the distinct advantage that it only needs to be done once. Given the situation with current library research methods for manuscripts, each new researcher or user of a manuscript has to go through the same procedures of searching, deciphering and interpreting a text - especially, for example, when the writing of the original manuscript is of an inferior quality.

Techniques for Reference Coding

A straight ASCII file is of little value on its own. In order to gain ready access to the material, special reference codes need to be entered into the ASCII file, such codes might include book title, chapter numbers and line numbers. I have included a sample ASCII file of Maori poetry in the Appendix. Although this example relates to poetry, the principles apply to other types of texts, for example, narrative texts.

In order to facilitate the explanation of the coding of Maori language texts, I shall describe the process using a sample text. The text consists of three Maori waiata (poems) which have been entered into the computer in ASCII format. The file is identified as TEST DAT and is shown as Appendix 1. The coding of data is usually accomplished by writing a series of simple computer programmes in a computer language called Snobol. This language is particularly suited for applications in the humanities, including literary analysis. I have written a number of Snobol programmes which when run on the sample data, produce a series of subsequent changes to the text. The final outcome is a coded file as represented in Appendix 2.

Regardless of the text type in the ASCII file (i.e., poetry or narrative text) there are a number of steps that one has to go through in order to arrive at a useable coded text (as shown in Appendix 2). These tasks are listed below in the sequence of execution:

1. The elimination of unnecessary blank lines within the text.
2. The deletion of hyphens in hyphenated words at the end of lines and concatenating the remainder of the word (occurring on the
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next line inclusive of any punctuation) to the first part of the hyphenated word

3 The inclusion of level two Wordcruncher codes - in this instance it consists of the addition of the characters ‘lw’ to the front of the lines containing the numerals 01, 02, and 03 in the data set. These codes represent the number of the waiata.

4 The addition of line numbers (‘lr’ level three codes in Wordcruncher) to each line of the individual song texts with line numbering restarting at 01 for each new song in the data file.

5 The elimination of unnecessary hard returns and the inclusion of newline codes to facilitate formatting in Wordcruncher. (Note, however, this is not necessary in the illustration of this data set, but I have found it to be a very useful programme for use with ASCII text files that require considerable formatting modifications so that they can be appropriately structured for Wordcruncher.)

6 The addition of the title code at the beginning of the text - in this instance ‘lpNga_Moteatea’

Data Analysis

After the data has been properly transcribed and coded (for a particular application) a number of analytical functions can be applied to the data. One of the most useful functions is to create a complete index of the text. This can be created as ‘on line access’ or as a hard copy printout. Two of the most popular programmes available in New Zealand are OCP and Wordcruncher. My personal preference is for Wordcruncher as it can handle very large data sets (several megabytes) and access to material is very fast. Appendix 3 is a book type index of all of the words beginning with the letter ‘t’ found in the songs in TEXT DAT.

Besides the production of indexes, collocations and concordances, portions of the reference text can be printed out along with more readable copies of the original text.

Data Banks

In this section, I list some of the Maori texts that are presently available in the electronic format described above. Hand written manuscript materials transcribed on to computer include:

- Papatupu Block Committee Minute Books (3 volumes), Matorohanga Manuscript, Mahupuku Manuscript, Te Rangikāheke Manuscripts, Maori Land Court Minute Book, Northern Maori Minute Book No. 7.

In addition, electronic and hardcopy indexes have been created for each of these works. Published texts available in computer format include:

- Ko Te Paspera Tapu (The Holy Bible), Nga Moteatea (Vols 1, II & III), Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna, The Lore of the Whare Wananga, Selected Readings in Maori.
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This is an area of ongoing input and research analysis, but the results in terms of ready access to material is well worth the effort

Research Projects

In the discussion above I have outlined the general procedures for creating an alternative computer format for Maori manuscripts. At this point I would like to suggest some possibilities for collaborative projects between libraries, archives and university Maori Studies departments. I see that by sharing human and material resources, a number of benefits will accrue for everyone concerned with the sharing of knowledge through more efficient means of accessing and disseminating archival information.

Perhaps a useful starting point would be for a library or archive to engage in a small project in cooperation with a university department to put their most frequently used Maori manuscripts onto computer. For example, the Auckland Public Library and the Maori Studies Section at Auckland University could work together to transcribe all the writings by Te Rangihaeke in the Grey Maori Manuscript collection onto computer. The work could be achieved by using secretarial services, equipment and financial resources organised between the two institutions. Projects of this nature could easily be coordinated around the country so that there would be no repetition of work done. Likewise, work done by one institution could be shared with other institutions. Finally, besides the normal output of indexes and concordances, this kind of effort can assist tremendously in the detailed cataloguing of material.

Conclusion

In this age, computer technology is used widely by students and researchers in tertiary education, and because of this fact, archivists and librarians, who have the responsibility for the care and administration of information, including such manuscripts as described above, are becoming increasingly aware of the effect that the new technology has on the way information can be disseminated. I simply wish to propose that archivists and librarians give serious consideration to the issue of upgrading their Maori archival materials (especially hand written manuscripts) by allocating financial and other resources to achieve this goal. In this way libraries will be better placed to provide expanded services to meet the needs of customers who are becoming more technically orientated in their research endeavours, and of the Maori people who, in increasing numbers, are wanting access to their manuscript collections.

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APPENDIX 1

ASCII File - TEST DAT

01
engari te kai atua
e purea e ora, teenaa ko te aroha
tuu tonu i roto raa
hoomai ki hika-
1a, ko whati mai ngaa tai
o Tuupaa o Taane,
ripo rawa kei te awa, ii -
whai noa atu ana,

Whare, kia moe,
ka riro ia koe,
ka mana i te rango
te motu o Pahiko,
e kore nei e taea, ii

02
kai kmikini ai te mamae i ahau, ee,
tootataua raa, ki wawe au te mate,
koi noho au i te ao taka maero ai, ee,
haere maiangi ai, aanaewa raumatu ai, ee
hirihirua raa, e hika, too taakiri, ee,
no te mea i ahau kei rangi tawhiti rawa,
he tira koua tuu, koua rohea i mua raa, ee,

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2 For a detailed discussion on how these programmes work see Cleve Barlow, 'Computer Processing of Maori Language Texts', Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Symbolic and Logical Computing, Dakota, 1989

3 Papatupu Block Committee Minute Books, Department of Maori Affairs, Whangarei, Matorohanga Manuscript, C - 8, Auckland University Library, Hikawera Wiremu Manuscript, C - 8, Auckland University Library; Te Rangihaeke, Grey Maori Manuscripts (GNZMSS), Auckland Public Library; Maori Land Court Minute Book, Northern Minute Book 7, Whirinaki Case, Maori Land Court, Whangarei

An Alternative Format for Maori Archival Materials

koteikaatewhiu, atetaa, atehinganoaiahau, ee.
ko aku haere hoki e aronui atu raa, ee,
he mea teenei au kia tiro noa atu,
ko Kopuatai e kore nei e tahuri, ee,
ka piua e te taimo a au hai tokorua, ee.

03

kaaoore te mamae, ngau kino ki te hoa.
i tiaria mai too mata whakarewa,
kia whakatauria te uhi a Whara-whara. teenaakia riro kei te one i Matangi-teuru,
taau kawenga e te toa;
tee ai he mahara ki te ao,

whakarere rukaruka te moenga i te wahine,
rere aamanu tonu ki te hui matangohi,
kei hoki te ingoa, kia taarewa ki runga raa -
e waiho ana koe hei koohure i te iwi.
ka ngaro noa koaa nge a Te-Rangihiroa, na te poo i here; kei too kaahua he roi,
i whiuai koe ki te aroaro no Irohanga.

APPENDIX 2

Coded Data for Wordcruncher

lpNga_Moteatea
lw01
lr01 engari te kai atua
lr02 e purea e ora;
lr03 teenaakoi aroha
lr04 tuu tonu i roto raa.
lr05 hoomai ki hikaia,
lr06 kowhati mai ngaa tai
lr07 o Tuupaa o Taane,
lr08 ripo rawa kei te awa, ii -
lr09 whai noa atu ana,
lr10 e Whare, kia moe,
lr11 ka riro iako,
lr12 kamania i te rango
lr13 te motu o Pahiko,
lr14 e kore nei e taea, ii.
lw02
lr01 kai kinikini ai te mamae i ahau, ee,
lr02 tootatatia raa, ki wawe au te mate;
lr03 koi noho au i te ao taka maero ai, ee,
lr04 haere maiangi ai, aanewa raumati ai, ee.
Archifacts

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APPENDIX 3

Complete Book Index of TEXT DAT
Bus Stop, Wet Day, She's There, I Say

Cushla Parekowhai, Librarian, Wellington, talks to
Rangitunoa Black, Māori Specialist, Auckland Public Library

This is the story of a talk I had with Rangitunoa Black - the Kāwhakahaere of Māori Services at Auckland Public Library. It was a bit scary, because Rangitunoa is older than me and speaks beautiful Māori. Anyhow, I just hung around and hoped for an interview and one day just after New Year, I got lucky.

Not really knowing where I should start, I asked Rangitunoa why had she become interested in the Library? Speaking very slowly, Rangitunoa said,

'I knew that it was going to be quiet and centred about reading, but more importantly I knew the library was going to be part of the process of providing a service to Māori people. Giving something back.' Then she said, 'I think the library is really like waiting for a bus. If you know the system, then you can get off at the right place. But first you have to know where the bus stops are, otherwise you could be waiting for the rest of your life.'

'Let's call one bus the Salmond bus - you just can't go and stand anywhere in the library waiting for the Salmond bus, you have to find out from the timetable where the Salmond bus is going to stop. It's a system, eh? That's what a library is, it's a system and if you don't know the system then you don't know what the library is here for. And if Māori don't know the system, then we won't know how to find ourselves in it.'

'When you look at it, the library has different sorts of buses. There's newspaper-buses and journal-buses and magazine and maps-buses. If you don't know that you have a range of buses or ways of being transported, then you're only going to keep using the bus that you know like the Salmond bus. So you're only ever going to have a Salmond bus knowledge of the world.'

'In the library we receive all the different buses. We have official papers, bills before the House, parliamentary debates and so on. Generally Māori people don't have access to this up-to-date information about what's happening in different parts of the country. So I'm here to help and assist them to catch those buses and to discover all the things they would not necessarily know unless they can read the timetable.'

'Māori people need to have confidence, so that when they come into

The contributors of this article are grateful to Brenda Watson of Wordpro, P O Box 38747, Petone, for her typed transcription of their recorded conversation.
the library they feel as if they know about the bus timetable. I mean as soon as you look at the catalogue cards and see numbers and pages, and then you see O/S Ports [out-size portrait sequence], well you start panicking. Knowing how to interpret the details, is very very important. Maori people freak out because this confidence has been taken away from us. It’s part of this business of colonization, scrutinizing our lives in alienating detail.

So then I said, ‘How do you think Maori people see the “bus station”? What does the library really mean to them?’ Well Rangitunoa got thoughtful again and she winked at me and said,

‘I think Maori people see the library in the same way that Pakeha people see it. The library is a resource. The library is a reflection of ourselves. It tells what’s happening to us or our people. It tells us what has happened and what might happen. I think that Maori people without question should see the library as part of their own development. For another thing, the library sits on tangata whenua land and anything that’s on tangata whenua land should always be part of them. The resources in the library belong to Maori people. They pay their rates like anyone else. It should be a place where they can bring documents that they value, which tell them about their families and their past.’

Then Rangitunoa stopped talking for a bit and I said, ‘OK, if we agree that the library is an important resource for Maori people, how do we move the structure forward so that this relationship can be strengthened and developed?’ Rangitunoa quietly tapped her finger on the table and then she said,

‘First of all, I think we have to give our Maori people more resources. We have to extend the number of Maori people working in the library. We have to decide on what space we’re going to give Maori people to house their material in the library. As managers or city librarians, we have to start feeling confident and start seeing Maori people as professional equals, so that we do not remain under a regime run by Pakeha people. We have to be able to make decisions for our people. Our people must have access to Maori librarians without having to go through all the bosses so to speak.

‘Pakeha people don’t necessarily have to do that. They’ve got each other, they’ve got the structures set up in the library to provide them with access to their resources. They already have specialist librarians, community librarians, librarians working for youth, for the aged. We don’t have Maori librarians servicing the different sections of our community and we should.’

Well I had a think about that one, and then I said, ‘But what should happen next? How do we prepare a strong base for the development of Maori expertise in libraries?’ Rangitunoa got short with me and then she said,

‘All I can see with respect to that question, is that we have to sit down and do some real talking, get a bigger plan, have a look at what we’re doing. Have a hui. At the moment nobody really knows what they’re
"Bus Stop, Wet Day She’s There, I Say

doing - everyone’s shooting off in their own directions

‘My greatest fear is that if we are going to increase the number of Maori librarians they’re not going to be able to go to Maori pre-school first. There won’t have been the opportunity for us to talk, argue and organize and we will continue being under the supervision of Pakeha librarians. That’s my greatest fear because the Pakehas have equity amongst themselves. It’s not a true partnership with Maori. When we talk about a library like any institution, we’re really talking about wairua [the spirit], hinengaro [the emotions], tinana [the body], those aspects of ourselves we see as necessary requirements. But the present structure never acknowledges these qualities in the people they appoint. There’s no good spirit or wish to recognize the whole person.’

Then I said, ‘But what about your job here at Auckland Public Library? Hasn’t there been some attempt to create a specialist position which acknowledges your tikanga Maori?’ Rangituna became resigned and said,

‘At the moment people don’t really know what a Maori Specialist is. It’s just a term that’s used, but my skills are not being recognized. I do specialist things that other people can’t do, like reading Maori text, handling Maori clients - I don’t think that Pakehas can handle Maori clients like the Maori can. I mean, I’ve been called everything. I’ve been labelled Maori Specialist - bicultural expert. I’m a Maori. I’m a Maori speaking librarian. I’m a Maori librarian for Maori people or for Pakeha people for that matter. Really, there’s nothing more to say except that the position doesn’t have any mana. I’m just a senior assistant and that’s it.

‘One of the things I’ll have to consider soon is going to library school, but I don’t know if that’s going to improve my status. Another piece of paper. So I don’t know really what the future holds. It’s something that I have to work on, keep plugging for recognition, for validation of Maori knowledge. I’m a Maori speaking librarian and nobody else is. As far as I can see, I’m here to safeguard Maori knowledge, to ensure that it’s not exploited. For example, if I say there’s not enough of me to go round I get into trouble. They’re asking you to do about ten different things together, Maori expert, Maori elder, Maori on the desk, Maori on the phone, Maori at oral history meetings, everything. Dual roles! The position that I’m holding now has a dual role and the main emphasis is Pakeha business not Maori business.’

Then after I’d thought about that for a while, I said, ‘So I guess that’s where the change has got to come?’ And Rangituna said, ‘Yes, to refocus that Maori specialist position to make it one hundred percent a Maori position rather than just a general position with Maori interests tacked on.

‘The isolation in this job is very real. I am isolated from my community, from the Maori people, and from everybody because I’m never released. The community is alienated from me, because I’m too busy.
I'm always bargaining for space. Oh yes you can use the reading room, but only if you know how it is. I have seen Maori people being directed to a desk for just one person. They're all standing around because we're just too mean to give them their own space. It's terrible, eh?

Rangitunoa paused for a moment and then she said, 'I'm sorry about that, but I have to talk about the things that make my job really hard. They're not negative things, they're positive things, but they need to be said.' Then, trying to be helpful, I said 'But what about changes? There must have been some changes in the library since you were appointed.' And Rangitunoa said,

'If I didn't force changes, then change would not have taken place. Mainly I have had to make people look at their own racism. I think in any institution it's there. It's not just here at the library. There's a lot of ignorance.'

'I think we won't know what's going on in each other's heads unless we communicate, unless we talk. That's a big problem here. I think more importantly the Pakehas should be patient. They should learn to listen, because they might hear what you're saying, but they're not attending to it. It shouldn't be left to me to provide anti-racism education for Pakehas. My job here is to provide a service for Maori people. I've seen the impatience of Pakeha librarians with Maori clients who can't explain themselves, and it's racist because they can't be stuffed sticking around long enough to find out what those people want. I've seen Maori clients come up to me and they've said, "We don't want that Pakeha helping us. She's looking down at us." And these are the facts.'

Feeling slightly overwhelmed, I said, 'Do you think a change is going to come? Will it ever be more positive?' And Rangitunoa looked straight at me and said,

'Well I think it won't right itself by itself. Maori people have to be firm. We have to say what we want and how it might work. We've got to speak for ourselves and spell it out. Now we're getting down more to the bones of this discussion and that is the library isn't separate to us. We are it. We're going to try and change it and make it more real to us. What we need is a team of Maori librarians getting together and doing some thinking and planning. We have to get more Maori people in the library. I mean, it's a great place for us to be in, you come off the street - go somewhere quiet, read a book. Just socialize, meet mates. It's really good. The library is a neat place. It's much better than what our kids are doing out on the streets. I'm sure of that. But we need to spend time with them, get their confidence, rebuild their self-esteem. These kids go into a video library, no problem. They are very comfortable with that. Well they should feel the same way about the library, but when they come in with some Pakeha librarian going sssh, sssh, chasing them away, what do you expect? Still I'm happy to be here because it's the only way that I can protect a space for myself and for Maori people and their resources.'

So then I said, 'What do you think can be done to raise the status of the Maori Specialist librarian? How can we give real expression to their
assertion of mana?’ Softly Rangitunoa said, ‘It’s space. Our Māori people haven’t the space.’

Well, I got a little confused and I said, ‘Isn’t that what the manuscript reading room exists for now? Wasn’t that a significant step forward for this library to have a space where Māori could be with their taonga in peace?’ And Rangitunoa said,

‘Yes, yes of course I think that, but it has been a battle for space and the people wanting to share it. It’s not easy because the majority of Māori people come in groups and they talk and work together. It’s trouble for other users who sit there and work individually on one manuscript. So, we need space and Māori people to occupy that space.

‘I’d like to see the Māori material brought into one collection, and one place. If Māori people are wanting material from ten years ago I have got to go ten different places to get it. I’m not running up and down the stairs, wasting my Māori time. We need Māori space so that Māori people can come together as groups and sit down and do their research. My hope would be to see an indigenous library established within this library, so that we’re looking at an indigenous collection. That it’s Māori space with Māori material. That it’s separate and it’s special because it’s ours. Our material and our stuff should be given the proper mana so that Māori knowledge can assume its rightful place in Aotearoa.’

And then I said, trying to be helpful again, ‘What might this indigenous collection look like?’ And Rangitunoa said,

‘To my mind the indigenous collection could include the Grey collections, the White papers, the Taylor material, Māori letters, the Māori Land Court Minute Books, any archival material that Māori Affairs would want to hand over to us. I think a good deal of that material can be handed over to libraries so that our people can research it. Otherwise it’s just sitting there rotting away. And, children’s books of course. I have a feeling that Māori people are going to start producing manuscripts in Māori. The indigenous collection is the place for their work.

‘Then there’s all the nineteenth century stuff. We’ve a Rare Books Room full of it. I’d facsimile the lot and put them in the indigenous collection so that Māori people can have easy access to them, instead of the case now where you ask for one book and you get one book. It is much better, I think, for people to walk into a room and see all the books. Actually see them. You know, such a lot of the stuff here is hidden away.’

Then forgetting myself I said, ‘So you’d envisage quite a vigorous copying programme, with your first priority being to have manuscript material available in facsimile form?’ And Rangitunoa without a moment’s hesitation said,

‘Yep that’s right. I’d have the facsimiles displayed in a way in which people can physically see those covers. If you can actually see and touch something then that’s another step towards rediscovering what was always there. I think that when you hide information from people, when you keep it from them you are actually denying the culture, denying
them their rights to their history, and their past. This is how I have seen this whole library business.

'For a long time we have been alienated from being ourselves and from knowledge of our history from the time that the Pakeha set foot on this country right up until now. Take whakapapa as the major tool of historical research. Where the resources available to research Pakeha whakapapa are really comprehensive, with shipping indexes and early settlers' rolls, Maori people haven't been provided with those resources. We have to look at the way we are treating Maori people as they come into the library, because they're not going to come in if they sense that they're not really wanted. It is not a Maori space. There are a lot of Maori people holding whakapapa in their own personal collections who know who we are and where we come from. We as librarians need to look at how we're going to treat Maori people if we're wanting to have dialogue with them in order to set up a database for the collection of whakapapa. Otherwise, Maori people are not going to know about their past, the kids in Auckland are not going to know any more about themselves except when they came to the city and when they left, and when they died. But the information is still there. The whakapapa before them is missing.'

Then taking time out to digest this a bit, I said, 'Were there any other ways manuscripts and archives could be used to help fill in the whakapapa flow chart?' Rangitunoa smiled and then she said,

'When Grey and others first collected Maori manuscripts they were written straight from word of mouth to paper. If you read them now, it seems to me that they are just like talking books. The manuscripts that we have at the Auckland Public Library tend to sit and wait for Pakeha experts, linguists and researchers to come and look at them. I think it might be better to have these stories read and recorded with a music soundtrack and then made accessible to a Maori public that way. Everybody could have a whole set of talking manuscripts in their homes and listen to their language when and how they want.'

Then getting terribly excited, I said, 'So you see the talking manuscripts as an extension of the facsimile copying programme? The audio cassette would accompany the high quality facsimile edition of the original manuscript. It would be a sort of complete package where quite accessible technology gives a new voice to an ancient text.' Rangitunoa was much more cautious and she said,

'Well we'd have to hire a studio, select the stories and look at the imagery and the pictures that the stories create. So for instance, if Hinemoea is swimming in the lake you want to hear her swimming. It gives the narrative texture because our kids at kohunga reo haven't had the experience of swimming across to Mokoia. I think the thing with the talking manuscripts is that Maori people can begin to choose for themselves the places and spaces that they want to be in so that they can interpret this material. They put on the walkman and take the manuscript anywhere they want. In other words what the library is actually doing is freeing itself. The talking manuscript is really effective commu
nity outreach, in fact, it's the longest reach that you can have. No strings attached.

'We've also got all the waiata that have been collected. We've already got the Tainui top ten for our alternative Maori playlist just sitting there in the safe. You know heaps of waiata were collected from people taken prisoner during the Waikato wars. There's no reason why as people we can't be looking now at giving a rangi or tune to some of those waiata for a talking manuscript, so that these waiata get used and sung and remembered like they should. In time I reckon even if we provided a text with the talking manuscript to read while the story was being told, I guarantee that Maori would eventually throw that text away.'

Not really understanding, I said, 'Well I guess that's a good thing. I suppose according to a Maori view there is no distinction between reading and listening and talking and writing. It's all the same process. For the manuscript taonga nothing's ended, nothing ever disappears. It's just the shape that changes. Written or spoken the wisdom expressed remains the same.' And Rangitunoa looked at me as if I was really dumb and then she said,

'That's right. Basically this is what the talking manuscripts are about. It's a recording of a story that was handed down from our people last century. It's about their lives and their experience, but it's also about ours. That's what the library is about too, it's about what's happening out there now.'

And then Rangitunoa said, 'Let's find a cup of tea.' She had to be on desk at three. So I got up to go and Rangitunoa laughed and said, 'Kua mutu Finished?' And I said, 'Kua mutu Finished.' So I turned off the tape and took a deep breath and that was the end of that.
Here is a tale which can be told from many points of view. From one point it can be seen as a part thrown loose from a steady, chugging machine. From another point, as a piece of fabric fraying at the edges. Perhaps it seems like a creek changing course. It could also be seen as a vision quest or a love affair, and like either of those it has its challenges, its ecstasies and a self-renewing persistence of purpose. The story is asking to be told this time in a particular way, although it belongs to many different people who might perhaps choose to tell it in other ways, or not at all.

Four years ago I found reference to a Hauraki letter by a certain Riwai Te Kiore. I took the reference back to a kaumātua of Hauraki who instructed me to ‘Get it and bring it back to us.’ There was a strong feeling both for me and for the kaumātua that Riwai’s letter had a location where it ‘belonged’ which was quite different from ‘belonging’ in the Alexander Turnbull Library. And likewise for all the other Riwais and their letters. A bibliography indicated that the letter was held in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington. So I filled out an interloan form and requested a photocopy. This arrived in reasonable time duly stamped with colourful threats of hellfire if Riwai decided to increase and multiply without solemn parental permission.

Riwai and I abstained, and he settled into temporary residence in a box. He was joined by a steady stream of Hauraki whanaunga who had been discovered in manuscript collections, in print, in photos, in government documents. He waited for fifteen months while we endeavoured to parole two cousins from the Hocken Library. The reference had been vague, the nineteenth century Maori language difficult to translate, and a professor at last prevailed upon to find these folk for us. We were again solemnly warned, this time with rather pursed lips. Not only was it forbidden for them to be reproduced without papal authority, but we were not to request any further documents in this manner, thank you.

The boxes were filled and stacked, developing squashed sides as they weight increased. So Riwai and his kin moved to a larger home - a suspension file.

There are the voices of the speakers, and the voices of the spoken-to. How can they really belong to anyone but themselves and each other?
Can I own Riwai simply because I wrote his name down here, or kept him free from silverfish in my sitting-room filing cabinet? Soon there came a time when I was given to understand that although it was nice to be together with one’s kin in a cabinet, it would be even nicer to move back at long last to Hauraki. So Riwai and I and the others gathered ourselves up and moved back to Hauraki. And why should I have all the fun of finding the other whanaunga? Why not have whanaunga finding whanaunga? So a Maori Access Course called Historic Research Skills was begun, and we proceeded to learn together how to identify and retrieve kin from ‘Public Places’.

If you looked at it one way, they seemed safe, protected, cared for, and ‘accessible to the Public.’ At least this is what many people said. If you blinked and looked again, they seemed to be imprisoned in isolation and far from home. Perhaps it depends on whether you are wearing Treaty of Waitangi Article One or Article Two. Model Magic Spectacles.

Trips to the city by seven people on search and retrieve missions were fun and quite successful. However, they were costly in energy and in other resources. So an approach was made to National Library to help with interloan concessions so that perusing for Hauraki tribal content could be done on home ground. Oh, but then, how does one learn to catalogue and index, and what about putting it all onto database, and can one borrow bibliographies, and what about premises for access to the material, and what about training?

Months passed. Sleeping Beauty slept and slept, and the hedge grew higher and higher. What was that? Oh yes. We’ve slipped into some other story, although much the same sort of stuff. Masked in that romance of the Handsome Virile Rescuer, lies the tale of the One with power to decide, to act, to develop, to utilize resources. And the tale of the Other, who has become progressively dispossessed of resources, by various forms of violence, and feels underskilled and powerless to decide and manage. Nevertheless, just when all seemed doomed, suddenly there was an Angel or Fairy Godmother, or rather the US Cavalry from National Library rode in with a posse of librarians, bearing all manner of bright ideas and practical solutions. Choice.

Meanwhile Riwai wasn’t quite sure whether he wanted permanent abode in yet another public library. Strange folk, strange clients, strange bedfellows, strange ways and places. Why were his whanaunga shut up under plastic in a photo album? Would there be his own people as staff there, to say ‘Kia ora’ each morning to him when they started their mahi [work] for the day? Would his mokopuna visit him there, and so have his name echo there? Would the old ones be too shy to come and to explore their links to him? Would those authors and teachers, lawyers and district council workers plunder his story and distort it, while scavenging to feed their careers? But let’s move to another part of the story.

The Hauraki Maori Research Unit was formed in February 1989. It oversees the continued re-patination of Hauraki tribal information which already exists in documented form. It intends to document.
further material and to catalogue this, in order to make a collection available. This may be in the form of a further public facility, a section of an existing public library, or at a facility with more focus to its access. The aim will be to focus service towards the Hauraki people themselves. These decisions have yet to be made.

Under Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Maori people as tangata whenua were guaranteed protection of their resources, their treasures, their ways, and their continuing management over them. It seems to me that we later arrivals have been given every right to live and belong here, provided we actively live out what Article Two states. In terms of libraries, archives, and records, this means that there are issues of ownership and access to be negotiated, and much more besides.

Because Article One of the Treaty has prevailed for 150 years, our existing beliefs and practices regarding documented material have been quite partial, based on monocultural laws and practices. We all need those tangata whenua voices to speak about their values and ways, and to have the skills and resources for active management of their information. This can become real in creative and enjoyable ways which will enrich us all. 1990 seems a good year to overhaul our Juggernauts.

And what of Riwai-in-the-letter? He is still waiting, but with a smile on his face, I think.

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Maori Manuscripts and Archives in the Alexander Turnbull Library

Wharehuia Hemara, Alexander Turnbull Library

The Maori manuscripts held at the Alexander Turnbull Library belong to one of the largest collections in the world written by an indigenous minority in their own language. These manuscripts are a dynamic record of Maori history and of responses to a changing political, economic and cultural environment, from the early nineteenth century to the present. The wealth of this resource is in its content, and in the writers and the events that prompted its production. Koorero tawhito [history], waiata and whakapapa that have been contributed by both men and women are well represented. Letters make up a large part of the collection of Maori manuscripts and they often include texts of history, waiata and whakapapa as well as day-to-day business.

As present most material is accessed under the names of Pakeha collectors (e.g. government agents, missionaries, politicians etc.) Most Maori collectors/donors are associations, such as the New Zealand Maori Purposes Fund Board and the Maori Women's Welfare League, but there are also manuscripts which are accessed under individual

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Archfacts

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names, for example, Karaka, Arama

It is difficult to define the criteria that make a manuscript a part of the Maori Collection. Material which is written in Maori is usually designated as part of the Collection, unless it is part of a larger non-Maori collection. Material written in English by, for and/or about Maori is easily identified as part of the Maori Collection. Manuscripts written in English by Pakeha about Maori for general reference usually belong to non-Maori collections. Because of changing demands on all the collections by an increasing Maori usership, a definition of what constitutes the Maori Collection needs to be worked out.

A collection which is presently not part of the Maori Collection (e.g. the Donald McLean Papers) but has a large proportion of Maori material, could cause some future problems if and when the Maori community wishes to extend their tino rangatiratanga over all their ancestors’ work. Over the last two or three years there has been a change in the use of the material. The demands of the Waitangi Tribunal, the Justice Department and Maori claimants have increased use exponentially. The spinoff has been that Maori who had never used the Turnbull and under most circumstances would have been reluctant to enter the National Library building, have become regular users and enthusiastic promoters of the institution. Maori use may still be below the national average, but the growth rate is quite exceptional. It is difficult to gauge whether Maori usage has increased because of initiatives taken by the Library or whether the Library has responded to increased and different demands. The initiatives and responses are probably running neck-and-neck.

The Turnbull has employed a full-time Maori librarian (Kaitiaki Ngaa Koorero Maori), a part-time library assistant (Kaiaawhina) who will launch into the diploma of Librarianship in 1990, and a temporary part-time researcher. These initiatives have increased the number of Maori users because they can now feel comfortable in what was formerly a foreign environment.

In 1989 a pilot outreach programme was undertaken with the Ngati Porou of Tai Rawhiti. The Maori librarian has informed key people of Ngati Porou of the services the Library has to offer (e.g. conservation, storage) and also has informed them of their rights of ownership over their tribal intellectual property. This has not only been an informative process for the iwi but has helped both this librarian and others at the Turnbull Library to understand the Maori community that the Library serves.

In 1990 the Turnbull is mounting a major exhibition relating to the Treaty of Waitangi. There has been a large Maori input in the preparation of this exhibition, and it will publicise throughout the community the large and important Maori collections which the Library holds. These initiatives have generally been well received by the Maori community and bode well for the future.
The Archive of Maori and Pacific Music  
Twenty Years On  

Mervyn McLean, University of Auckland

In 1990 the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music will celebrate the twentieth anniversary of its founding. This article reviews progress during this period and updates articles about the Archive published in earlier issues of Archifacts.

The Archive was established by the writer at the University of Auckland in 1970. At first it occupied a corner of the Anthropology technician’s workshop in an old house (now demolished) at 17 Symonds Street. Later when this building was refurbished the Archive moved to more commodious premises upstairs. The move to its present quarters took place in 1979 with the commissioning of the University’s Human Science building where the Archive is now located.

At first the Archive was severely constrained by lack of funding. The University had provided premises, and the duties of the Anthropology Department technician were simply expanded to include Archive work. Money for everything else had to be found externally, including salaries for part-time assistants to work on the Maori collections. The first funding breakthrough came with the move to the Human Sciences Building. The Archive was able to upgrade its equipment with its share of the commissioning grant for the building. Finally in 1982, the University provided the Archive with a small annual grant for running expenses and later assumed responsibility also for the Archive Assistant’s half-time salary. Meanwhile, in terms of collecting and other activities the Archive has gone from strength to strength. By 1978 Archive holdings had exceeded 2000 reel-to-reel tape spools together with a small number of audio cassettes and the beginnings of a video library. Holdings since then have more than doubled to 4200 reel-to-reel tapes, 737 audio cassettes, 391 video tapes and over 500 commercial discs. By two years ago the Archive had run out of shelf space and incoming collections were being accommodated in cardboard boxes on the floor. This situation is soon to be remedied. During the coming summer vacation the University Works Department will be refurbishing the Archive premises to provide more shelving and to improve the physical layout. When this work has been completed the Archive should have sufficient space to see it through for another decade.

A major Archive undertaking was the recording on audio tape of the entire South Pacific Festival of Arts which took place in Rotorua from March 6-13, 1976. Each of more than 20 participating countries provided a one-hour programme, a three-quarter hour programme and a lecture recital. Additionally there were opening and closing ceremonies and a programme in which each participating country presented a
hymn of its choice at an informal religious celebration. A three-man team from the Archive led by the writer made mono recordings of all these events. The recordings occupy 70 hours of tape on 113 reels (acc nos 76/143-256). Besides the audio recordings, the Archive was fortunate to obtain video copies of some performances made available by courtesy of South Pacific Television (acc nos VA 001-9). Additionally, the Archive itself made video tapes of the Tongan contingent dress rehearsal at Atalangi, Auckland (VA 023), and of a post-festival concert by the Cook Island National Arts Theatre at the YMCA, Auckland (VA 025-6).

Five years after the Rotorua festival, another recording venture by the Archive took place at Avondale, Auckland. At the request of the Polynesian Festival Committee of New Zealand and in association with the Audio-Visual Centre of the University of Auckland, audio and video tapes were made of the entire New Zealand Polynesian Festival held on February 6-8, 1981. Nagra audio recordings were made on 37 tape spools (acc nos 81/004-40) and 18 hours of superb colour video was recorded on Sony Umatic cassettes (VD 003-22).

After this success, the Archive contracted to make similar recordings of the 1984 South Pacific Festival to have been held in New Caledonia. Two years of preliminary work and planning unfortunately came to nothing with the eleventh hour cancellation of the Festival by the organizers. The cancellation came just in time to retrieve $200,000 worth of A/V Department equipment from the airport only hours before it was due to be freighted to New Caledonia. Most of the funding raised for this venture had to be returned to the donors. Approval was gained, however, to reassign some to a concurrent recording initiative by the Archive entitled a Territorial Survey of Oceanic Music.

The Territorial Survey of Oceanic Music began in 1984 and will finish in 1990. Funding has come mostly from Unesco and from the Institute for Polynesian Studies, Hawaii. The object is to record areas as yet unstudied and to pinpoint areas for further in-depth research. In each area surveyed, a representative sample is recorded of all extant categories of music. The work is carried out by a principal researcher assisted by a local worker who receives training in recording and documentation techniques. So far nine surveys have been carried out. Principal researchers have been recruited from around the world. Those taking part so far have been Richard Moyle (New Zealand) with trips to Niue (acc nos 84/200-224, 230-46, 85/003-33) and the Northern Cook Islands (86/001-27, c86/1-11), Amy K. Stillman (USA) to the Austral Islands and Mangareva (c85/116-55), David Goldsworthy (Australia) to Kadavu and Taveuni, Fiji (86/047-78, VE 041-4), Allan Thomas (New Zealand) to Tokelau (86/238-47, VE 124-7), Lisa Lawson (USA) to the Marshall Islands (c89/017-33), Wolfgang Laade (Switzerland) to the Pomio area of New Britain (89/009-072), Jenny Little (New Zealand) to Mauke, Mituaro and Atiu in the Southern Cook Islands (89/073-112), and Jane...
Moulin (USA) to the Marquesas Islands (89/113-175, VE 237-49) All of these collections are superbly documented with detailed listings and indexes and typed texts for most items

One of the objectives of the Archive is to make its collections as widely available as possible both for teaching/research and on behalf of Pacific peoples Since its inception the Archive has operated a dubbing service for Maori people who wish to learn traditional waiata For many years this was running at about 60 requests annually Recently the number of requests has declined, possibly because some of the demand is now being met by copies of recordings which have been placed in the Maori Studies Library of the newly commissioned University marae Another means of disseminating materials is by exchange with other institutions In recent years exchanges have been carried out with Indiana University, the University of Illinois, the University of Washington and with the British Institute of Recorded Sound (now National Sound Archive) Also an exchange is pending with the United States Library of Congress.

Most importantly, the Archive has made sure that copies of materials recorded by or on behalf of the Archive are repatriated or made available to the people concerned Each Rotorua Festival group leader was sent a complimentary audio cassette of his group’s own programme And after the Avondale Festival many group leaders took up the Archive’s offer of video copies on reimbursement of a small dubbing fee charged by the University Audio-Visual Centre Finally, the recordings resulting from the Territorial Survey programme have been distributed in multiple copies complete sets of both recordings and documentation are placed with the principal researcher, one or more institutions in the survey area, the Institute for Polynesian Studies, Hawaii and Unesco’s Office for the Pacific States, Western Samoa

It is a fundamental truth of archiving that a recorded collection is only as valuable as its documentation will allow The archives of the world are filled with collections of potential value which in practice are useless because they are bereft of essential information Fortunately, with patient listening and research and by reference to better documented collections of similar material, it is sometimes possible to supply the missing documentation and restore such collections to useful life This has been a major task of the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music, especially with regard to its Maori collections which have been given priority attention since the inception of the Archive A succession of speakers of Maori have been employed part-time to assist with this work When the Archive first began, Tilly Reedy made invaluable transcripts of materials collected mostly by Bruce Biggs Subsequent workers have included Taku Trotman, Rangi Motu, Ata Pederson and the Archive’s half-time Assistant, Hilary Pound, who has been a staff member since 1975 She is responsible for the Archive’s card index system and the Archive’s recent database With the above work as an essential preliminary, catalogues are in progress of the earliest Maori collections, typed by Hilary Pound, and others are currently being typed on to word
A catalogue of the Maori Purposes Fund Board collection\(^2\) has been published with the assistance of grants from the Turnbull Library Endowment Trust and the Maori Purposes Fund Board. It provides detailed contents (song type/first lines/performer/duration), together with indexes and concordances of some 60 hours of recordings held in the Archive and recorded by Mr W T Ngata in the East Coast, Northland and other tribal areas of New Zealand between 1953 and 1958. The recordings include a large number of traditional Maori waiata (love songs and laments), together with action songs and speeches and hymns in Maori.

Concurrently with the compilation of the above catalogue, work began on even earlier materials recorded by Radio New Zealand. This work has gone very slowly but volume one of two or more planned catalogues has now been completed and typed on to word processor files and is scheduled for publication next year. It documents recordings of ten Maori events of historical significance beginning with the Opening of Turongo Meeting House, the Wairoa Hui and the Ringatu General Assembly of 1938. The voice of Sir Apirana Ngata can be heard on many of these recordings as he comperes the events. The recordings contain many fine performances of haka and waata as well as speeches in Maori together with speeches in English from Prime Ministers, Governors General and other dignitaries of the day. Documentation is in the same style as the Maori Purposes Fund Board catalogue with introductory information about the events gleaned from newspapers and other sources.

Also on word processor files and due for publication next year is a catalogue of the writer’s own collection (McLean collection) of about 1300 waiata recorded mostly in 1958 and from 1962-63. Visits were made to tribal areas throughout New Zealand and recordings made from the acknowledged best singers of the day. The catalogue includes hitherto unpublished information about the songs supplied by the singers. Indexes of first lines, duplicated songs, songs in *Nga Moteatea*, composers and performers are also provided.

The National Museum cylinder collection is an extremely important collection recorded by Sir Apirana Ngata and others from 1919 to about 1934. Recordings were made in Gisborne, the Wanganui area and elsewhere. Transcripts of all audible material on these recordings were completed by the Archive several years ago. Work on them will resume next year and will result in a definitive catalogue which the Archive hopes to publish in 1991.

A new series of Occasional Papers in Pacific Ethnomusicology will be inaugurated by the Archive in 1990. Dr Richard Moyle has agreed to act as editor for them. The first paper will be a study of the structure of Tikopia music by the present writer. Subsequent papers will include reports resulting from the Territorial Survey of Oceanic Music described above. The series will be devoted to Archive-based or data...
Maori Land Court Minute-books Photocopying Project

Liz Wilson, National Archives

The Maori Land Court minute-books are the richest single written source of information on Maori genealogy and land tenure in New Zealand. The Native Land Court was established in 1865 to, as one cynic put it, 'facilitate the transfer of Maori land to Pakeha ownership'. By identifying and naming all the individual owners for a piece of land, these individuals could then sell the land. Over the years the Court's role gradually changed to be more protective of Maori ownership of land.

The minute-books are a record of evidence put before the Court and decisions made by the judge. The majority are handwritten, usually by the judge concerned. They often have whakapapa and maps appended. There are approximately 3000 volumes, covering the years 1865 to 1965, held in seven Maori Land Courts and these are being copied by the project.

The first stirrings of the project started in 1983 through the interest taken by Mark Stevens of National Archives in Maori Affairs material in Whangarei. The minute-books of the Papatupu Block Committees were at considerable risk owing to age, heavy usage and inadequate storage conditions. The Taitokerau office of the Department of Maori Affairs proved reluctant to relinquish these minute-books to National Archives, and National Archives staff instead did some basic conservation work on the series.

In 1985 Jane McRae (then a researcher for the Department of Maori Affairs) wrote to National Archives to find out what was happening about a 'copying and preservation' project for the Papatupu volumes. This kicked off considerable consultation, thinking and investigation by National Archives into the feasibility and process of such a project. Somehow this expanded from the Papatupu volumes to all the Maori Land Court minute-books! The first proposal in July 1987 looked at how this might work through a project set-up to travel around the country, copying the minute-books in the same city as the Maori Land Court.
By the time Jane wrote again to National Archives in August 1987, work on the project had advanced to the stage that the three departments involved (Internal Affairs, Maori Affairs and Justice) were starting to approach their senior management and respective ministers to get approval, funding and responsibilities sorted out. This process took nearly two years. Although the byways of bureaucracy are infamously obscure, one particular hold-up will be of interest to archivists. At a meeting of a Steering Group in December 1988, Justice (which was taking over the Maori Land Court as a result of the devolution of Maori Affairs) came up with the idea of microfilming the minute-books, sending the microfilm to the Philippines where it would be transcribed and put onto magnetic computer tape. This proposal had some apparent advantages over the envisaged photocopying project - it would be cheaper, take less time, indexing would be possible and varied output formats could be produced. The drawbacks, however, immediately had archivists concerned. The claimed 98% accuracy rate in transcription was questioned - the minute-books are largely handwritten, containing many Maori names and placenames. Could a Filipino student successfully transcribe such information? The contrast between transcription and replication of the information had obvious implications for legal admissibility as well as perceived reliability. Also, the physical storage media of the information were to be microfilm, magnetic tape and possibly optical disk, none of which appear to have as long a life as paper. Archivists and Maori Land Court staff predicted user-resistance by Court staff, researchers and the general public to high-tech computers compared with a duplicated volume.

The time taken to evaluate and eventually reject this proposal added months to the delay. Funding was affected by the hold-ups. $100,000 from the Department of Maori Affairs was lost (the financial year and the government financial system conspired here). The Lotteries Board was approached to fund the entire project as a 1990 project. To ensure a favourable response, costs on the project were cut drastically. The project would now be based entirely in Wellington and three copies, not five, would be made. During this period, Mark Stevens and Hank Driessen (Acting Senior Archivist) were busy evaluating and choosing photocopiers (U-Bix 3032 machines won out), specifying the chemical make-up of the paper and arranging for the binding of the copies. 2,500,000 sheets of paper were ordered from Strathmore Paper Company in New York. The contract for hand-binding 6000 copies was awarded to the Government Printer.

In July 1989 a final project proposal and costing was drawn up. The amount granted by the Lotteries Board came to just over $12 million. I was appointed as Project Manager and started work in September 1989.

I knew four sure things about my new job! I had a budget, photocopiers had been chosen, paper ordered, and binding arranged. What I didn't have was a venue for the project, staff, and much idea about how
the project would work. My first priority, coming from a background as a records management consultant and archivist, was to set up an administration and records system. This would help me plan my work for the next few months and National Archives would eventually accession a well-run series as archives at the end of the project. Once I had an idea of the major areas of work, I charted a simple time-line of what needed to be done and when. About this stage I looked to the beginning of December as the time to begin the copying. So it was a matter of marshalling many tasks to be ready at the same time.

My first efforts went towards finding and setting up a venue. Fortuitously space was available in the Government Print Building on Mulgrave Street, which was in the process of being bought by Internal Affairs as the future site of National Archives in Wellington. Once the space was agreed upon, I designed the layout, storage space, shelving, electrical points and so on, and started getting prices from contractors and suppliers. As well as office furniture I decided to purchase a computer (an Atari 1040ST) which serves me as word processor, spreadsheet, address book, diary and allows me databases for staff, recruitment, expenditure and control sheets.

As the physical environment gradually took shape, my second task was to meet the Registrars of the Maori Land Courts. It was uncertain how much they (as opposed to Head Office) knew about the project and what concerns and contributions they had. Over four weeks I visited seven cities, spending from two to four hours at each registry. The visits had two main purposes. Firstly, for the Registrars to meet me as the Project Manager. It was important to look after their volumes properly and to listen to (and hopefully accommodate) their needs. Secondly, I needed to see the volumes myself. It is very easy to say ‘3000 volumes’ but the reality is a little different. The storage conditions varied hugely, but the Registrars’ concern for the well-being of the archives was constant. No matter what the other difficulties attending the project, the archives and the information they contained was always the first consideration.

While jet-setting around I was also advertising for and preparing to interview staff. With ten machines to keep going, I envisaged hiring about 20 staff, most of whom would be part-time. However, the demand for full-time work was overwhelming, so I currently have ten full-time and one part-time staff photocopying, one conservation technician and one supervisor. I hired only staff who either read or spoke Maori, for two reasons. Firstly as a further quality control check, and secondly, because the archives are Maori taonga and deserve the dignity and reverence accorded to them by a mostly Maori staff.

Because the Registrars of the Maori Land Courts need to have relatively undisturbed access to the minute-books, the routine of photocopying them relies on a turn-around of three to four weeks, the volumes are assessed, copied and the copies sent to the Land Court within four weeks of their arrival in Wellington. Ten volumes are sent from each of the seven Courts each week. Each volume is assessed by...
Honiana Love, the Conservation Technician, supervised by Tony Clark of the National Library. The minute-books are then copied. Most of the workers work alone, some work in pairs which reduces both the time taken on any volume and the boredom factor. Three copies are taken of each volume - one bound copy for the Land Court, one bound copy for National Archives, one unbound master copy for any further copying or micro-imaging work. Further copying may be necessary if pages of the copies are destroyed, damaged or lost, or for more entire or partial sets. A new Maori Land Court is being set up at Turangi, incorporating areas from Aotea (Wanganui) and Waikariki (Rotorua). An extra set of some volumes of these two Courts is being made, so far Tokaanui and Taupo, comprising approximately 140 volumes.

The workers are using specially designed trolleys, constructed by Malcolm McNaught of Levin, as work tables and storage areas. They have stability, mobility and 2.88 square metres of flat space over three levels. One of the major ongoing difficulties in the work is maintaining concentration. Photocopying all day is hard, boring work. Ten minute breaks are taken every hour, music is provided as well as comfortable chairs, a café-bar and a fridge, well away from the archives. The work area is well ventilated, with fans and open windows to assist in reducing any fume leakage and heat from the machines. Another difficulty is that staff have to make many decisions, for example, whether or how to copy an insert, maps, whakapapa or letters, or where to put stray letters that have been slipped into bound volumes. A decision is made based on the archival principle of original order by the resident archivist - me. The volumes also differ in size. As the U-Bix photocopiers are used without the lids, templates are required. These are made from heavy duty cardboard, cut to size and secured over the platen. If a volume is copied with a template that is too large a black line is left around the copied page. After some experimentation standard templates have been abandoned. Each volume is now measured, an appropriate existing template used or a new one made up.

A major problem is turning out to be volumes that have been rebound, thereby decreasing the spine margin so that words written in the margin go very close to the gutter. These are almost impossible to photocopy onto the standard flat platen photocopiers. Xerox's book photocopier is being investigated, but it caters only for books of A4 size, without reduction, and only A4 size paper. Using reduction and then recopying with enlargement onto archival paper will be tried early this year and may prove cheaper and faster than disbinding otherwise sound volumes. When copying is completed, the volume, master copy and two copies are stored awaiting the final check before going to binding or National Archives storage. We are fortunate to have Roka Nathan, who has experience working for a printing firm, checking the copies before going to the Government Print binder. Enough mistakes in page order and rejected pages left in have been found to make this an essential step. The copies go to binding with a title page on each copy, giving the

Shorter Articles
provenance and date of the copies Each copy is being bound in red cloth with 'Maori Land Court' and the 1990 logo on the spine I have refrained from adding the name of the Maori Land Court district. As Lindsay Wilson, the Registrar of the Land Court at Hamilton, pointed out, the name of his district, Waikato-Maniapoto, excluded tribes whose material is included So the reference on the spine of the original volume is duplicated on the spine of the copy This also means the Land Court staff will still be familiar with the way the material is arranged and titled

When the copies are bound, one set is then sent to the Land Court and one to National Archives Following National Archives' policy that locally generated records should be held locally as archives, the original volumes and their copies will be held in the nearest regional office, that is, Taitokerau in Whangarei, Waikato-Maniapoto in Hamilton, Waariki in the Auckland Regional Office, Taarawhi in Gisborne, Takitimu in Hastings, Aotea in Wellington and Te Waipounamu in Christchurch While in the custody of the project, the minute-books are insured, each volume (up to 100 volumes at any one time) is insured for $5000, this being a reasonable cost for major conservation repair after a disaster.

The conservation aspect of the project was an unknown quantity until the minute-books actually started to arrive Tony, Honiana and I drove up to the Aotea Court in Wanganui to give the conservation staff their first look at the volumes Previous assessment of the volumes had been made either by archivists or Maori Land Court staff, not trained conservators Our first priority was to avoid further damage to the volumes The second was to repair as necessary so they could be copied There have been many minor tears (especially across texts), some pressure sensitive tape and a lot of dirt About 17 volumes of the 180 received so far have been in need of extensive conservation repair The master copies are put in archival boxes from Dykeshire, made to our specifications These will also be held by National Archives, but in different Regional Offices Those master copies whose originals are in Auckland and Christchurch will be held in Wellington and those belonging to Wellington will be stored in Auckland Although this may make recopying a little more difficult, it ensures that original and master copy will not go up in smoke or down the crevasse together

Once the minute-books arrive at the project they are kept under tight control Each volume has a control sheet which is filled in at every stage in the process The fields are Maori Land Court name, volume title, volume reference, date arrived, assessed, conservation treatment, when copied, by whom, date to binding, date to National Archives' location, accession number, date of bound copy to Maori Land Court, date of bound copy to National Archives This sheet is the basic control of the archives whilst they are in my custody They obviously constitute a vital record in the event of an insurance claim They will also form the basis of National Archives’ accession controls, location guide and finding aids for the series
Shorter Articles

At the time of writing (January 1990) the project is still fairly much in a shake-down period. We are doing time trials to establish more exactly how long the project will take, although our scheduled finish date is December 1990. For those researchers wishing to use the minute-books during the project, the first point of access is still the Registrar of the appropriate Land Court. After the project, the copies will be available at the Court and through National Archives. I hope this will increase the usage of these fascinating volumes, while also safeguarding the originals for future generations.
Archifacts
Protection of Movable Cultural Property Bill
Issues Paper - Two Comments
Andrea Te Po Roa Irihapehu Tunks
Auckland

Basically, the issues paper is the Antiquities Act 1975 in designer clothing (with a few nips and tucks). It is trendy these days to mention the Treaty of Waitangi in a proposed Bill, so that it looks good to (and for) Maori people. In this paper the mention of a promise to fulfill Treaty obligations concerning taonga Maori has no substance. Apart from being too bureaucratic and tangled, such a Bill cannot effectively honour the Treaty of Waitangi for the following reasons.

Article Two of the Treaty guarantees Maori people the full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of all their taonga - tangible and intangible, however or whenever made or found. These taonga are what is known as 'taonga tukuhiro' - our reo Maori, haka and waiata, tikanga [customs], fisheries, wahi tapu [sacred sites], urupaa [burial grounds], whenua [land] and so on - that is, anything that our ancestors entrusted to our people. Taonga tukuhiro does not have the narrowly defined meaning of a movable material object.

The Treaty guarantees Maori people the right to determine what happens to their taonga. Yet in 7 (a) of the issues paper, the first thing mentioned is that the Secretary for Internal Affairs will have overall responsibility for taonga Maori. That person is, and will almost definitely be in the future, non-Maori. The only Maori members concerned with this Bill are those in Te Ropu Wananga Taonga, who exist only in an advisory capacity, and thus can be ignored.

The issues paper tries to include the Treaty by attempting to involve iwi runanga (spelt wrongly as 'rununga') in the whole process, yet each runanga is subordinate to the Secretary, and if an iwi does not have a runanga in official terms, the Secretary is able to decide himself what is best for that iwi, hapuu, or whaanau's possessions.

For the Treaty to be honoured in its true sense, and for government departments such as Internal Affairs to fulfill their obligations under it, then Maori people must be able to determine themselves what is appropriate for their taonga tupuna. Real decision-making is not given to runanga iwi or to Te Ropu Wananga Taonga. For example

Paragraph 10 The Secretary only has to consider Maori advice (just as the government only considers the recommendations of the Waitangi...
Tribunal) He does what he thinks is appropriate, for example, in deciding on interim custodians, which runanga should help in the decision-making process and so on. Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi promises power over Māori taonga to Māori people alone. Māori people continue to be kept in an advisory role because departments like Internal Affairs are afraid or unwilling to release that power back to them, and so they continue to manipulate Māori actions.

Paragraph 13 Just because a runanga is not officially established does not mean that an iwi is not capable of looking after and deciding what is right for its taonga tupuna.

Paragraph 15 The long process of appeal, the costs and distress it causes, can only serve to disadvantage Māori people.

Paragraph 19 (c) The Secretary only has to consider advice when it has been sought from the appointed people. It is obvious from past experience that in many situations such advice will not be sought and Māori needs will therefore not be met.

Paragraph 20 The Minister of Internal Affairs has discretion over appeals on decisions. Although it may be more concerned with the export of Māori artifacts, this executive power means decisions can be made on personal opinion and a reason need not be given for a decision reached in that way. Also, the Minister’s obligation to consult with Te Roopu Wananga Taonga is suspicious. Government departments have had obligations to do many things for Māori people and they do not have a favourable record in this regard.

Paragraph 25 The Department has the power to seize taonga at risk from destruction or damage. Who is the Department to say what is appropriate for the ancestral taonga of Māori people? Destruction, burial and so on may well be carried out for culturally appropriate reasons. Māori people do not tell their Pakeha counterparts what to do with their antique chairs or picture frames. Māori people are indeed capable of deciding what is right for their taonga, and are probably quite willing to consent to their preservation or to study of them, but on their terms.

In the recent and not so recent past, a balancing of Māori interests with those of the wider New Zealand community has most often meant that Māori people have come off second best. Because the Pakeha media is backed by a huge majority, the scales always tip the Pakeha way. The point is that Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi means that decisions concerning Māori and their taonga must not affect the taonga or Māori people detrimentally. The only way to achieve this is by enabling Māori people to make the decisions themselves.

The definition of the word ‘ethnographic’ is ‘an object made by an indigenous person for use within his/her own culture’, so let it be so. Taonga Māori were made for appropriate use within the Māori cultural milieu, not to be seized and placed on a museum shelf or storeroom without Māori consent. If it is culturally appropriate for my kui to retain the hei tiki of my tupuna wahine so that my whaanau can have access to
This issues paper presents us with two problems, firstly the concept of protection of cultural property implied in the existing and proposed Antiquities Act, and secondly the proposed role of Maori people in the administration of the new Act.

1. The central concept of the Antiquities Act and its administration appears monocultural and, as far as private ownership goes, interventionist. Despite a statement that 'the legislation dealing with taonga Maori needs to take greater account of the Treaty of Waitangi' (p 1 (2)), the proposed framework does not give actual expression to this, for example, the Secretary of the Department of Internal Affairs has in every case the final authority (see paragraphs 12, 13 (b), 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23). It is misleading to refer to the Treaty of Waitangi as a primary concern when the proposed legislation shows no evidence of real power sharing.

We have no quarrel with the protection of cultural property from illegal acts, but we have doubts that the state has a role to play with regard to cultural property owned by individuals or groups. Those doubts are increased when cultural property is not defined more precisely than it is in the proposed Heritage Control List, which covers very wide categories and has notable exceptions, for example, philately.

The paper states that the proposed legislation will address three issues, none of which explains the reason for the legislation. We agree that the state has a role in encouraging the preservation of the national heritage and ensuring that legal and official documents are safeguarded, but we are concerned that the issues paper makes no distinction between official documents and the ownership of private property. The issues which should be addressed first in the paper are: Who has ownership of the materials cited in the Heritage Control List and what does that ownership mean?
By not addressing these questions, we understand that the writers of the issues paper assume it is justifiable for the state to protect the cultural property outlined in the List. But there are no arguments put for this assumption or evidence given to show that their assumption has been tested by, for example, survey of public opinion. Unilateral decision-making in preparation of a Bill is counter to open, democratic government. A lack of public knowledge of and support for the Bill and the broad reach of the List are likely to invite either a deceitful ignorance of the Act, or frequent appeals to the Court (and the recent case involving the Cook letter, a document merely ‘relating’ to New Zealand would support this).

Administering the existing Act or an Act which derives from the issues paper as it stands, looks difficult and, perhaps inevitably, autocratic. As Maori manuscripts’ librarians we are aware that, for example, handwritten Maori text is rare and valuable (in the widest sense of the word). We could well look at a manuscript book of tribal history and deem it ‘significant’ in terms of the Act, and on this advice the Department could require the owner to register and/or leave it behind if leaving the country. Yet we are also aware that the owner may have intense personal attachment to that document and require that it remain with him/her. The issues paper does not discuss these very real aspects of ownership, the dilemmas of private property and public rights.

Another aspect of concern regarding administration of the Act occurs from experience of the working of the 1975 Act. Those involved in the process of decision-making are currently asked to keep information about a case strictly confidential. We would hope that such a requirement would not pass into the new Act. Given that this is a public Act, everything relating to it should be publicly accessible and discussable. If the decisions made about protection of cultural property are not to be open to public scrutiny, then the Act will be open to abuse by both the public and departmental officers.

The issues paper assumes a position on protection of cultural property that has not been widely tested. Without explicit reasons for the existence of the Bill, and without more precise definitions in the Heritage Control List, it can only remain little known or understood, ignored or abused, and therefore ineffective.

2. As librarians who deal with Maori materials, we noted the emphasis in the issues paper on the Treaty of Waitangi and Maori people. At first this seemed encouraging, but on closer reading we found that there is no definition of the Department’s understanding of the Treaty, and that the role for Maori people is almost entirely advisory. For example, Te Ropu Wananga Taonga has ‘an advisory role to the Secretary in regard to the export of taonga tukuiho, and an advisory role regarding taonga the origin of which is unknown’ (p 2, 7(c)). Likewise, while the Runanga will determine the custody and ownership of newly found taonga, they will only ‘advise the Secretary where application is made for the export of taonga tukuiho’ (p 2, 7 (d)). Advice can be sought but not taken.
While we cannot speak for Maori people, and we are aware of the Government’s assertion that it must govern, one of the principle concerns for Maori people since the Treaty of Waitangi seems to us to have been that they have lost effective say in the decision-making that primarily affects them. With regard to this Bill, decisions about Maori taonga being made by Maori would perhaps be a way of returning to them effective say in the working of this legislation. It is again a question of defining who owns the taonga, and what that ownership means.

Pakeha used to decide what was in New Zealand’s best interest for Maori to give away, for example, land. This Bill proposes that they (that is, the Department of Internal Affairs which we can expect to be almost all Pakeha) decide what is in New Zealand’s best interest that Maori keep. As an extreme example, it is recommended that the Department of Internal Affairs should intervene when damage may occur to cultural property (like the burial of carvings when there is a dispute as to who is to have custody of them (p 725)) and remove them to a place of safety. This begs the question of whose idea of safety? Is a museum safer than the earth?

It was perhaps rather the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi that decisions over such complex questions be made by Maori people. The writers of this Bill are in the important position of being able to create new legislation that actively incorporates the Maori viewpoint and is satisfying to both cultures.
Tomorrow's History

For this issue we asked users and custodians of Maori manuscripts to give their views on the future use and management of these materials.

Michael Belgrave
Historian

The 1990s should see the full emergence of a new Maori history. The need is pressing if Maori claims under the Treaty of Waitangi are to be adequately addressed, giving the Treaty a kind of retrospective ratification. The feeling that claims need to be settled quickly is creating new demands on Maori hapuu and iwi to articulate their past to the Waitangi Tribunal, to the wider Maori and Pakeha community and to the Crown. The Crown’s recently announced intention to boost its ability to negotiate directly with iwi is intended to speed up the long and drawn out process which is, however, an essential part of the Waitangi Tribunal’s enquiry. If the policy is adequately resourced, more tribes will be in a position to have their claims investigated and addressed. But this will still require research, still demand that Maori present their claims and convince the Crown that the Maori interpretation of the Crown’s action is valid and that remedies are required. Common ground has to be reached. Before the Tribunal at least there is a filter, a Maori argument can be made to Maori ears and the cultural differences worked out in the deliberations of the Tribunal. In direct negotiation tribes are going to have to be prepared to take their grievances directly to a Cabinet committee through a negotiating team.

The presentation of a claim goes well beyond the story of a few blocks of land, often leading to a journey through the whole relationship between tribe and Crown, from 1840 down to the present. The story needs to be told in a way that is true to the Maori dimension from which it comes, but also in a way that allows it to be heard by others. Whether the usual conventions of historical research or legal investigation are sufficient to ensure that this occurs is a matter of some debate.

It is sometimes argued that all that is required is a recognition of the equality of oral tradition, seeing whai koorero, whakapapa, waiata and the forum of the marae, the Maori means of replicating knowledge, as the equal or even superior to the book, the manuscript and the thesis. While there is much to be said for elevating the status of oral tradition,
the problem goes much deeper While the claimant tribe and the Crown may have different views of the past to reconcile, these views cannot be neatly divided into oral and written. The two streams have long been intertwined, flowing on and over each other, changing the character of both traditions. In other societies oral history has emerged not only as a way of giving meaning to other ways of replicating the knowledge and experience of the past, but as the only way of reaching the historical experience of the world beneath that of the ruling elite, in particular the history of indigenous societies and working class men and women.

The failure of oral history to come of age in race relations and Maori history has many causes. Historians have been more comfortable in reading rooms than on the marae, they are rarely bilingual, and are often sceptical of the validity of folk memory. The wealth of documentary evidence has been such that alternatives have been readily available. The European records of governors, of native secretaries, of surveyors, of land purchase agents and of soldiers are so full of the daily interaction of Maori and Pakeha, that few historians felt the need to stray beyond the familiar records of academic scholarship. While New Zealand's archive record is clearly skewed towards a Pakeha interpretation of events, Maori voices are sufficiently common to bring a strong Maori dimension to the record, and to ensure that in many cases the direct statement of the Maori participants in the events of the past is available to their descendants. In some sources, particularly parliamentary petitions and Maori Land Court records, the voice is particularly strong. The records of the alienation of land and other resources are voluminous. They must be confronted, and measured along with any other form of evidence.

Because Maori records exist it does not necessarily mean that they are accessible to claimants or to other parties intent on resolving Treaty claims. The European records of land transfer are clear, standardised and familiar to courts and to researchers. The European intent is often easily discerned. Maori documents are often much more difficult to comprehend. Translation often raises more difficulties than it resolves. For a particular manuscript to have meaning its dual context needs to be fully explored. Firstly, the relationship between the writer and the tribe, and between the writer and the resources under discussion needs to be unravelled. Secondly, the manuscript is often part of the ongoing dialogue with the agents of government, and that too requires a context. Only when the two sides of the document are explored can the item be understood. The new history depends on the emergence of tribal historians, skilled in te reo, able to put the tribal perspective on both Maori and Pakeha documents, but at the same time able to place their tupuna in the broader context of the colonial and post-colonial past. It is only to be hoped that tribes gain access to such skills while New Zealand's European society is still prepared to listen to the history they will tell.
The extraordinary speed and power of the new personal computers and the range of ingenious software available now enables language research to be carried out with unprecedented facility.

**Given a modest computer, say an IBM PC or one of many compatible machines, with 640 kilobytes of memory and 30 megabytes of storage on a fixed disk, given a good text indexing and retrieval program such as Wordcruncher, and a fast and efficient sorting program such as Opt-Tech Sort, given some knowledge of a language suited to textual analysis, such as Snobo14, and only your imagination limits what can be done.**

The possibilities for textual analysis have been enormously enhanced by the new tools. But first the text must be in a form that can be read by your machine. Until very recently this meant typing text on a computer keyboard, using some suitable editing program. Now (for printed text) this is no longer necessary. The new optical scanners will read and store it in machine-readable form on your disk and you need never get RSI.

Most of the printed Maori in the standard Maori texts (and some unpublished manuscripts) has already been copied into computer files, with the aid of scanners, by a handful of researchers including Ray Harlow of Otago University, Cleve Barlow, Margaret Mutu, and myself at Auckland and Richard Benton at Wellington.

*Te Paspera Tapu, Nga Mahu a Nga Tupuna, Nga Moteatea* (parts 1 to 3), *Selected Readings in Maori*, Pei Jones’s Maori manuscript ‘Tainui’, and the headwords and definitions from Williams’s *Dictionary of the Maori Language* are among the works available for computerised analysis. Further entry of such things as White’s six volumes of *The Ancient History of the Maori* and the files of the Maori newspapers will be made much easier by the new technology.

What I would most like to see done now is the storing of the vast amount of unpublished Maori material in our libraries. Unfortunately it may be some time before optical scanning of script is feasible so keyboarding will be required. Such work should only be entrusted to those whose competence at reading and interpreting early Maori manuscript is proved.

It could be useful to convene a group of interested people to discuss such matters as problems of elucidating early Maori script, a style for copying it to computer and a way of letting researchers know what computerised Maori text is available and where.
My comment is an endorsement of Keith Sinclair's observations made in the last issue of Archifacts—the need to make accessible the huge body of Maori letters written in the nineteenth century and deposited in our libraries. Sinclair suggested the need for a complete index, I would urge the necessity for translations so that parallel texts exist. In the Donald McLean papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library, for example, there is folder after folder labelled simply 'Inwards letters in Maori (untranslated)', followed by the year of the file. In National Archives there are similar files identified only as 'Letters to and from Maoris', with the years. Some of these have been intelligently indexed, such as Hawke's Bay Provincial Government's inwards letters from Maori, 1861-7, 4/13. The point I want to make here is that translation is not simply a matter of language, it is also a matter of context. Some translations which have been made reveal a woeful ignorance of the historical context, with serious misreadings of proper names and the occasion, let alone the contextual meanings. These sorts of errors would be rife in a simple index system approach.

I would therefore like to see the Internal Affairs Department and the National Library develop a systematic project of indexing and translating the letters. If the Maori Studies departments in the universities would recognize the urgent need for their students to have a sound training in history as well as in the language, we could rapidly generate the people with the necessary abilities.

The availability of these letters would transform our knowledge of New Zealand's history. They would reveal the extent of Maori political and economic initiatives taken in the nineteenth century. Awareness of the written documents would disabuse the common notion of the failure of literacy among Maori, expressed, for example, in D F McKenzie's *Oral Culture, Literacy and Print in Early New Zealand* The Treaty of Waitangi (1985).

These letters are of particular importance because they reflect Maori opinion and actions throughout the entire nineteenth century. They include not only letters to governors and administrators, there are also many letters written between Maori and Maori. These are the voices that have not yet been heard in our written histories.
Buddy Mikaere
Waitangi Tribunal

Kia ora I am grateful to Archifacts for this opportunity to say what I think about the nation's archives. Like the new format of the magazine, it is an expression of positive, humanising change.

The Maori manuscripts and material concerning Maori history in our archival collections are an under-utilised resource. This is proven by the bibliographies of books on nineteenth-century New Zealand. It has become very clear in the cases before the Waitangi Tribunal in which what Maori had to say has, at last, become of critical importance to the nation's history and future.

The work of the Tribunal in the larger framework of the new Maori consciousness, and the search by Pakeha for an identity which expresses their belonging here, have both meant that it will never again be possible to write credible New Zealand history from one point of view. What a responsibility this places upon archivists. If they realise it, there is nothing further that needs to be said. The rest — the nuts and bolts of making archival resources available must surely follow. But past difficulties which people have experienced in dealing with some archives mean that confidence has yet to be built.

Most people do not know that the Maori material exists. But even if they do it's hard to get past the keepers of the gates for reasons such as these:

(i) Inadequate description and indexing of material. Travel and accommodation costs are a major hurdle for many, yet days must be spent away reading 'the lot' because, for example, a description of a letter only says who wrote it to whom and the date. No content! Comprehensive indexing is urgently required. This means that archivists must be competent readers of nineteenth-century Maori. Being anxiously apologetic that they're not isn't good enough.

(ii) Lack of translations. I rely on a specialist in nineteenth century Maori language to understand nineteenth century Maori, because changes and the decline in the written Maori language tradition in this century have made translation a task for a specialist. Archivists sometimes allow incompetent translations to exist in their collections. Work which leaves the impression that the translator was hired because they were Maori, or because they'd 'done' some Maori, reinforces Maori feeling that our material is misunderstood and undervalued.

(iii) Inadequate public relations skills. Remember that many people will give up or thank you politely for information they can't use, rather than admit ignorance in situations where they seem to hold none of the cards. Do not assume that a Maori user reads Maori. Few do because it is generations since the written language was taught to children. I feel embarrassed when archivists, out of the kindest of motives, assume that because I'm Maori I somehow know all about Maori history. Most Maori
Margaret Orbell
University of Canterbury

First, a practical matter I look forward very much to the microfiching of Maori-language periodicals, which I understand is due to start soon. Some of these periodicals are very rare, surviving only in broken runs in a few libraries, and some are so fragile and/or unwieldy that they cannot be photocopied. They are amazing storehouses of social and political history, and oratory, and poetry — and at present most of them are virtually inaccessible to people in most parts of the country. This is an urgent task.

More generally, I would like to see more people actually using the vast Maori-language resources in our libraries. More tribal kaitaaki realising what is there, most definitely — and others too. Pakeha as well as Maori. I know of only one New Zealand historian, for example, with a command of Classical Maori. Are there others? Not too many, I think. Where is there curiosity? I know the language is not easy to learn, it is not
Tomorrow's History

particularly well taught because there is a shortage of good textbooks, and the usual emphasis is, naturally and properly, upon spoken, contemporary Maori. But we are talking now about reading early texts, and for this you do not need to speak Maori. A good language scholar can start reading Classical Maori in a few months (I'm watching someone do this at the moment, and basically she's teaching herself, what's more). It is largely matter of motivation, of getting away from inherited attitudes which make it difficult for Pakeha to take early Maori texts as seriously as those in Greek, Latin, Old English and the rest. For a Pakeha, fighling one's way out of post-colonial paralysis requires a change of heart. As always in such cases, this has its own reward. Our history comes into focus, becomes real, there is access to a great poetic tradition, and powerful narratives, even the landscape, the birds and plants, look different as one acquires new sets of associations. Not least, one looks with new eyes upon Maori people's determination to maintain the continuity of past and present. It is essential for our country's future that many more people should read Maori writings and make them accessible.
Sketches of Maori Life
Dr Gerda Elizabeth Bell's biography of Ernst Dieffenbach Rebel and Humanist (Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1976) tells of that German scientist, who came to New Zealand in 1839 as Naturalist to the New Zealand Company. Dieffenbach travelled extensively in New Zealand (including the Chatham Islands), he made the first ascent of Mount Taranaki, and he was the first Pakeha to describe the Pink and White Terraces at Lake Rotomahana. He had to leave in 1841 after Governor Gipps refused permission for Lt-Governor Hobson to provide any financial support for Dieffenbach, to enable him to continue his scientific study of New Zealand. Dieffenbach's book on Travels in New Zealand (2 vols, John Murray, London, 1843) is the best early scientific study of New Zealand. Dr Bell explained that it was difficult to write a detailed biography of Dieffenbach, since much relevant material in Germany had been destroyed in World War II. Since 1976, several letters from Charles Darwin to Dieffenbach have been published, and some valuable new information about Dieffenbach is provided in The Correspondence of Charles Darwin, Vol 3, 1844-1846 (edited by F H. Burkhardt and Sydney Smith, Cambridge University Press, 1987). Now, Peter Messenhöller has written an article 'Nachlass Ernst Dieffenbachs entdeckt', which has been published in New Zealand Headlines, No 133, June 1989, p 9 (which is published by the New Zealand Embassy in Bonn.) Messenhöller reports the recent discovery of a private collection in Munich with abundant material of Dieffenbach, with letters to his family and to friends and colleagues, notes and other documents. And a private collector in Trieste has Dieffenbach's 1841 sketchbook, with over 100 pictures depicting Maori life! That sketchbook is currently being studied, to prepare it for publication. The Hessian Historical Commission intends to publish the correspondence in the 1989 issue of the Georg Buchner Jahrbuch (Marburg). These newly discovered collections are likely to provide much material of interest for New Zealand history, and for the history of science.

Garry J. Tee

Edward Shortland Papers
The Hocken Library is to copy for the Auckland Public Library, Te Hukatai, University of Auckland, and the University of Canterbury Library, the papers of Edward Shortland. Comprising over 4,000 manuscript pages, the papers were acquired by Dr T M Hocken from Shortland's widow in New Plymouth in December 1899 and were subsequently donated by him to the University of Otago as part of his original bequest in 1910. Edward Shortland (1812-93) has a claim to be regarded as the first systematic, 'scientific' Pakeha observer and recorder of Maori life and custom. The third son of a Royal Navy captain and a younger brother of Willoughby Shortland, the Administrator of New Zealand and Colonial Secretary, Edward was a graduate of Cambridge University and a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. He was appointed Governor Hobson's Private Secretary in 1841 and the following year Police Magistrate and Sub-Protector of Aborigines. In these positions he travelled extensively in the Waikato and Bay of Plenty regions and, as an advisor to Colonel Godfrey during the South Island land claims investigations, to Banks Peninsula and Otago. During these journeys he kept detailed journals and notes, not only of daily happenings but also of the Maori people as he found them. A very competent speaker of Maori, he wrote down karakia, waiata, and whakapapa, word lists, and traditions and legends, as told to him by contemporary Maori. Much of this material found its way into a number of major publications, The Southern Districts of New Zealand (1851), Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders (1854), and Maori Religion and Mythology (1882). Because of his disinterested curiosity and
early date, Shortland’s work has a particular importance, and the wider availability of his papers will substantially assist understanding of nineteenth century Maoridom.

Survey of Maori Resources
During 1990 we are intending to publish a directory of significant unpublished resources relating to Maori subjects. The directory, to be in pamphlet format, will list by institution, manuscript and archival holdings throughout the country. The survey is to be stored on a database for updating as needed. If you have yet to receive the survey and would like to contribute to the project or know of deposits we may have overlooked, please contact us as soon as possible.

Curators of Manuscripts, New Zealand & Pacific Department, Auckland Public Library, P O Box 4138, Auckland Tel (09) 377-773 Fax (09) 371-558 DX226

Maori Portraits Return Home
A historic collection of portraits of prominent Maoris is back in New Zealand after being taken away on a whaling ship more than 100 years ago. The collection of 19 watercolour portraits includes Te Rauparaha, Rangihaeata, and Homana Te Pumi, the paramount Wellington chief at the time of European settlement. Several of those in the portraits were signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi. The collection has just been bought by the Alexander Turnbull Library for $106,850 from an art dealer who bought it from a New York dealer earlier this year. Dominion Sunday Times 17 September 1989

Maori Thesaurus
During 1990 the National Library will be joining forces with the Maori Language Commission to create a bilingual Maori Thesaurus. The thesaurus will be used within the National Library to provide subject access to Maori materials held in all of its collections including those of the Turnbull Library. It will also be available for use by other libraries wishing to standardise subject access to their Maori collections.

A plan for developing the Maori Thesaurus was drawn up by a working party established during July this year. They investigated the type of thesaurus needed and the procedure for creating it. Their major recommendation was that a bilingual Maori Thesaurus should be created which will form the nucleus of a bilingual New Zealand Thesaurus. The decision to create the thesaurus both in Maori and English recognises the fact that many users of Maori collections in libraries approach their search with Maori words in mind. The National Library is seeking to ensure that all New Zealanders have equitable access to library materials and is putting an emphasis on strengthening its services to Maori people, recognising the Library’s obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi.


Historical Funding Boost to Tribes
Historians from each Maori tribe in New Zealand will be awarded annual fellowships to record the history of their people. The Internal Affairs Department has established an annual award to recognise the significance of 1990 for the history of the Maori people.

The principal of Manutuke Primary School, near Gisborne, Mr Joe Pere, has been appointed the first fellow in Maori history in the Historical Branch of the Department. The department chief historian, Mr Jock Phillips, said about 20 tribes could receive a fellowship if funds were available. The fellowship was valuable, he said, because it allowed Maori people to record their history from elders who held the information in their memories.

Mr Pere is from the Ngati-porou and Te Atanga-a-Mahaki tribes and recently wrote a master’s thesis about Mr Wi Pere, an early member of Parliament. Mr Phillips said Mr Pere would spend this year documenting the life and traditions of the East Coast ancestor Ruapani. New Zealand Herald 17 February 1990

Maori Language Newspapers on Microfiche

The Alexander Turnbull Library intends publishing on microfiche all Maori lan-
language newspapers To this end, and in association with the National Library's Microfilm Production Unit, it has begun filming titles from its collection, supplemented by unique holdings from several other institutions.

A directory to Maori language newspapers compiled by Gail Dallimore will be published at the same time. The directory will include all bibliographical details, as well as extensive notes.

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Environmental Control in Archive Storage

The most critical factor in the success or failure of archive storage is the ability to maintain an acceptable environment. The ideal situation is to maintain constant temperature and humidity levels regardless of external climatic influence. However, the cost of achieving this ideal in New Zealand tends to be prohibitive and consequently little or no environmental control is provided for even the most important of our national archive collections.

Some ten years ago the University of Otago Department of Physics established an applied research team to examine the general principles of environmental control adopted in New Zealand and to investigate strategies for providing acceptable environments with low capital investment and minimum operating costs. From this beginning the University of Otago has developed numerous systems and strategies for both simple comfort and complex environmental and process control. This technology is now available on a commercial basis through Univord Energy Limited, a University of Otago technology transfer company.

The fact that the Hocken and other nationally important archive collections are located in Dunedin presented an ideal opportunity for careful analysis of the performance of traditional air conditioning systems. The data gathered from these studies and the development of computer modeling techniques has resulted in significant developments in the maintenance of an acceptable environment at low cost.

It has become clear that the building design is the single most crucial factor and that traditional high cost air conditioning and control systems tend to create more problems than they solve. It is feasible to store artifacts in almost any warehouse type building providing certain precautions are taken to ensure a well insulated, dust and vapour proof shell. The environmental control is then adequately handled by minimum heating or in some extreme instances cooling or dehumidifying systems with both low capital and operating costs.

If you are having problems with existing archive storage or are contemplating new or expanded facilities, it is suggested that you arrange for a detailed analysis of your problem by computer modelling before investing in expensive and frequently unsatisfactory air conditioning or cooling/heating systems. It is also suggested that consideration be given to the basis for specifying strict environmental control criteria as recent studies tend to indicate there is adequate flexibility providing the total concept is well designed from the beginning.

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Books and Book Reviews

Paul Thompson  Maori Rock Art An Ink That Will Stand For Ever Wellington GP Books, 1989  96pp $49.95 and $29.95

This is a very personal book. The author tells us in his introduction that his aim has been 'not to present a scientific or ethnographic interpretation of the images but rather a reverential look at the forms and figures and the landscape which may have helped to create them.' The landscape in fact looms large in the book. Nineteen pages are devoted to colour plates (uncaptioned) of the shelters and rock formations where the great bulk of Maori rock art is found - the limestone areas of North and South Canterbury and North Otago. A further 16 pages are devoted to coloured plates of some of the drawings, and 13 to black and white illustrations of others. The coloured photographs are stunning, and could almost have stood alone as a 'photographic essay'.

Interspersed with the photographs, however, is a text about rock art in general, Maori rock drawings in particular, what they might mean, and the ways in which they have been perceived by some of those who have studied and recorded them. Because of the stated aims of the book, I cannot criticise the text for being selective, personal and less than definitive. Prospective readers should realise, however, that it is very much one man's musings on the drawings.

The author stresses the importance of stone, both in the natural landscape and as a medium for carving and building, and consequently the possibility that the limestone landscape had a special significance for the early artists. He also emphasises the point that what we and earlier observers see or have seen in the rock drawings is very much influenced by our own background and times, that 'what we see in things tells others who we are'.

The text begins with a chapter on 'The Distant Past' - a little about the people who are supposed to have made the drawings, interspersed with remarks about other matters. Then follow sections on various approaches to the Maori drawings. The first deals with the Victorians, exemplified by Julius von Haast. The next discusses the work of Theo Schoon, who began recording the drawings in the 1940s. The third looks particularly at the ongoing work of Michael Trotter and Beverley McCulloch. The general reader might be forgiven for thinking that these were the only people who have studied and written about the drawings, but there have been many others, beginning with Mantell in 1852 and including such notable figures as the painter Tony Fomison. There are also very brief sections on subjects and styles, sites, and colours.

In general the author follows the views of Trotter and McCulloch, who assert that the drawings were mostly done by early semi-nomadic hunters who ceased to visit the limestone areas once the birds they had hunted declined in numbers or became extinct. Readers should be aware that an equally convincing case can be made that the South Island drawings are a regionally-distinctive tradition which was more or less continuous from early settlement into European times. This view is outlined by Atholl Anderson in a short but perceptive article in Ka Tuhituhi o Nehera, the catalogue of an exhibition of rock drawings curated by the
Archifacts

National Museum and the Manawatu Art Gallery in 1988 Other economic resources (including the cabbage trees which appear in several of the photographs) continued to draw people into the interior long after moa disappeared Anderson also touches briefly but far more effectively than Thompson on the possible meanings of the drawings.

The marvellous subtitle, 'an ink that will stand for ever', is taken from a nineteenth century southern Maori recipe for the pigment used Apart from one mention of the drawings as fading, there is no discussion of the problems of ensuring that the ink will stand for ever Indeed there is reassuring mention of drawings being fenced off, thereby preserving them from future damage by stock or visitors unheedful of their worth There may well be a need for active conservation measures, however, if natural weathering processes are not eventually to result in the obliteration of most if not all of the drawings

The book is very attractively produced, and is a valuable addition to the literature on rock art because of the quality of its illustrations For authoritative texts on the subject, however, the serious reader must look elsewhere

Janet Davidson
National Museum, Wellington

F L Phillips *Nga Tohu o Tainui Landmarks of Tainui* Otorohanga Tohu Publishers, 1989 214pp $90

The first point that struck me when I picked up this book was the grammatical error in its title, which should read *Nga Tohu a Tainui* The author, publishers and distributors must be alerted on this score.

Tainui people will welcome this poignant record of their landmarks, as will many others who are interested in the Tainui's history since their ancestral canoe made landing at Maketu, Kawhia, some 650 years ago. It will be significant for other reasons, especially in providing a companion to L Kelly's *Tainui* published in 1949 Until *Landmarks* appeared, Kelly's work was the only history of Tainui available.

Phillips's account thus fills a need - one which the author recognised early and spent most of his working life researching. He gathered the material from a variety of sources Living in the King Country allowed him access to many kaumataua Some confessed to being ignorant of crucial details, while others were able to recall only fragments of their ancestral past. What they knew, however, they were willing to impart and have recorded for the next generation. Like many of us, Phillips discovered too late that many kaumataua had taken their knowledge to the grave, a double tragedy because their information could also have served to cross-check oral evidence and the Native Land Court records to which Phillips's law practice afforded access. His practice also brought him into contact with Tainui people outside the King Country, in the Waikato and Hauraki, people who were involved with early land claims and the investigation of tribal boundaries.

In the course of his research the author confronted the classical problem of historians - that of building up a picture from fragmentary and secondary sources This Phillips has tried to do, even though his sources are not always adequately referenced in the narrative. For example, I would like to have known
Reviews

whether the Land Court records conflicted or corroborated the information of kaumaatua. Moreover, it is clear that he relied upon Kelly for much of the early accounts, but this is not always acknowledged specifically. The author does, however, refer to specific materials gleaned from the Journal of the Polynesian Society and early ethnographers like Gudgeon, to round out particular events and places.

While evidence given in the Land Court is invaluable to reconstruction, it too has its limitations. Being documented does not necessarily guarantee reliability or accuracy, although once written down it tends to become accepted as ‘fact.’ It should be remembered that Maori society had changed vastly by the time the Native Land Court came into being, and would change even more as a consequence of its operations (and/or manipulations). It would have been interesting, therefore, to have learned about the extent to which such records were used in the narrative.

For all this, Phillips says he applied his ‘best judgment’ and ability to the facts as far as he was able to gather, collate and interpret them. We cannot expect more. As he points out, his rendition is no more than an outline which he hopes future (hopefully Tainui) historians will flesh out. It is a challenge well worth making in the present climate.

Nga Tohu a Tainui is timely given Treaty of Waitangi issues, the 1990 celebrations of the Treaty, and Tainui endeavours to seek redress of grievances caused through the loss of land and of the very taonga Phillips so innovatively records.

Beginning with Te Puea’s legendary efforts to make Tainui a people again, Phillips’s book makes a significant contribution to that emerging and continuing reality in a quite creative and stimulating way. He describes many key events over the 500 years of Tainui’s diaspora, and captures through splendid photography the places where these events occurred. Armed now with both Kelly’s Tainui Landmarks, kaumaatua and others concerned with the rehabilitation of Tainui and the establishment of a secure historical base will be able to point out, substantiate or offer alternative stories to mokopuna about known and less well-known ancestral sites. It can be anticipated that there will be dispute over details of some events and the names of some earlier sites, Rangiatea for instance, though this need not necessarily be bad. As Koro Wetere points out in his foreword, ‘the book may provoke disagreement, for the descendants of different ancestors will naturally wish to record their account as they have been told it. If so, their further contributions may add to our knowledge of the past.’

The book should be appreciated too by Pakeha, because it will provide balance in a nation’s history which has been too long preoccupied with European events - Hastings and Waterloo, the Tudor and Cromwell, to name a few.

Most of the landmarks described are paa sites in the northern King Country and Waikato basin. But the author located others in the Hauraki Gulf, Hauraki Plains, South Auckland, both coastlines of the Coromandel, and at Mokau. Together with accompanying accounts, these sites support the intrepidity and intrigues of leaders, the alliances they created and broke, and the basis for continuity and extent of their influence expressed in the tribal aphorism [denoting tribal boundaries]

Tamaki ki raro, Mokau ki runga, ko Pare Hauraki, ko Pare Waikato ki te kaokao roa o Patetere
[Tamaki to the north, Mokau to the south, Pare Hauraki, and Pare Waikato to the long side of Patetere]
Archs facts

Within this domain, the author visited and recorded nearly 200 paa, some so inaccessible that they could only be photographed from the air. According to the archaeological record, there are many more yet to be researched fully. Phillips has paved a way to introducing and supplementing such an undertaking. Of particular interest is the fact that many of the paa sites still exhibit outstanding archaeological features, including ramparts, defence trenches, food pits and so on. Where these have been covered by scrub, obliterated by the plough or built upon, the author’s camera lens and descriptions prompt one’s imaginings. However, a few maps would have helped the exercise.

The first part of the book covers a vast period of time, and includes the voyage of the Tainui canoe and its landfalls at various points along the coastline before it finally came to rest at Maketu. While the author attempts to deal with each landmark in chronological order ‘of the first known history of each’, the reader is frequently lost in a confusion of tribal names and genealogies. While these are never easy to unravel, a rohe (district) by rohe approach might have introduced greater coherence into the narrative.

The second half of the book deals with more recent events which are described in greater detail. Among them are the great battles of Hingakaka, Taumatawii and Matakitaki. Hingakaka, for example, is brought to life by descriptions of the strategies employed and sketch maps showing the movements of the hapuu involved.

Despite the limitations mentioned earlier, and the problems of historical reconstruction, Nga Tohu a Tainui will nonetheless be an important source for all those interested in the archaeological and early historical puzzle of Tainui. Mr. Phillips is to be acclaimed for his devotion to researching the pieces while acknowledging that many more remain to be found if half the tapestry (the most we can hope for) is ever to be complete. We also support his hope that the book ‘will enable New Zealanders, of whatever racial origin, to recognise the landmarks left as a record of past history, and will promote more effective measures for their protection.’

N. K. Hopa
University of Waikato


Riwha Titokowaru, of Ngarauru and Ngatu Ruanui descent, was born about 1823 on the slopes of Mount Taranaki. He spent the early part of his life as an important but secondary figure in tribal life, and in absorbing knowledge of both the Maori and Pakeha worlds. He joined a mission station and became fully literate in Maori in the 1840s, and spent ten years as a Methodist teacher. The turning point in his life appears to have been the 1854 Maori land-holding meeting at Manawapou which acted as a springboard for Maori nationalism and resistance to Pakeha land confiscation.

For the next ten years Titokowaru was involved in several Anglo-Maori conflicts in Taranaki, but in 1866 he became a convert to the Pai Marire religion and consequently to passive resistance. His rise to pre-eminence began when in 1866 he succeeded the great Pai Marire prophet Te Ua Haumene, to whose
It was inevitable, however, that this peace could not continue forever. Incursion into Ngati Ruanui territory had begun with the invasion of South Taranaki by imperial troops under General Cameron in early 1865, which was followed quickly and disastrously by General Chute's campaign, incorporating the infamous 'bush-scouring' raids (sudden attacks on soft targets), and then by a colonial expedition under Major Thomas McDonnell.

The fragile 'peace' which followed these devastating incursions was eroded as the government persisted in a policy of 'creeping' confiscation which left Ngati Ruanui little choice but to retaliate. After a series of sporadic incidents, and escalating government intervention, Titokowaru's people killed a soldier and ritualistically removed his heart. No longer the man of peace, Titokowaru announced, 'I have begun to eat human flesh, and my throat is constantly open for the flesh of man. I shall not die, I shall not die. When death itself is dead I shall be alive.' (p. 57)

This speech effectively sets the scene for the remainder of Belich's book, which traces the remarkable achievements of one of this country's greatest, yet previously little-known leaders. It is Belich's thesis that Titokowaru, through his knowledge of European tactics and psychology, and understanding of the weakness of his own position, led the colonial forces during 1868-69 into a protracted guerrilla war in which they lost several battles and skirmishes and suffered the death of the colonial folk hero Von Tempsky. Never losing the initiative, Titokowaru's forces were finally overcome only after the inexplicable evacuation of his fortress at Tauranga Ika, just a few kilometres north of Wanganui.

What is most remarkable about this work is that Belich has transformed what could have been a relatively one-dimensional academic history into a highly readable narrative of a formative period in New Zealand's history. It is a tribute to his skill as an historian that his lively account is so thoroughly researched and well supported by documentary evidence. Much of the success of this work depends on Belich's ability to intersperse the facts and figures of history with colourful reconstructions of events which are by turns comic, tragic, exciting and horrifying.

Belich has consulted an array of sources to arrive at this synthesis. Some of these are familiar, most notably the works of Cowan and Gudgeon, but much is new and interesting, and new interpretations are given to older accounts. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the author's emphasis on military history, some of the most memorable parts of the book concern the military, and military engagements. There are extremely amusing accounts of the incompetence and human frailty of officers and men, including drunkenness, petty jealousies, and cowardice. These are based on army archives and the personal papers of senior officers, as well as on newspaper articles and secondary sources. Likewise, the accounts of actual combat, always vivid, synthesize the evidence of a variety of sources. The work is well supported throughout with photographs, maps of battlefields, and cartoons, most appearing adjacent to the relevant text.

Given the interest which these accounts stimulate, it is regrettable and puzzling that no footnotes are supplied for particular sections, or even for quotations. Instead the reader has to make do with an alphabetical list of sources for each chapter. Presumably this was part of the publishers' attempt to make the book more palatable to a non-academic readership, but given the importance of this work for historians and for a wider understanding of race relations...
Archfacts

in the New Zealand context, it is important to know whether, for example, an account of a massacre was based on evidence presented in a court of inquiry, the recollections of a witness writing years later, or the report of a military officer. Another difficulty which results from the way in which documentary sources are used by Belich, is the greater exposure, and therefore criticism, which the European protagonists receive compared to their Maori counterparts, simply because of the lack of written evidence which might condemn or exonerate the latter. Moreover, some fascinating profiles of Maori characters emerge which the reader is eager to enlarge upon but which are never given sufficient substance. Titokowaru, like such figures as Katene Tuwhakaruru and Takiora, remains a shadowy figure even after the final incongruity of his abandonment of a virtually impregnable fortification. Belich offers several possible explanations for this critical action, including failure of ammunition supplies and, most plausibly, Titokowaru's adultery with a chief's wife and consequent loss of mana, as reported by Kimble Bent. It is perhaps inevitable, given the lack of written or oral evidence from the Maori perspective on these events, that the reader must share Belich's interpretation based on the 'conventional historian's tools of probability, shreds of evidence, and speculation' (p 243).

This said, one must commend his work as a major contribution to New Zealand's historiography and to a wider understanding of race relations in this country, and for being presented in a readable and accessible style. Belich is at pains to present a fair and balanced account of events in Taranaki in 1868-69, and whilst the reader may sometimes squirm at this exposure, neither side in the conflict entirely escapes blame. By alerting us to our shared past, rather than running from it, Belich awakens a sense of a distinctive New Zealand history which in other cases has often been obscured by less imaginative or less skilled approaches.

Stephen Innes
University of Auckland Library

Buddy Mikaere  *Te Māharaa and The Promised Land*. Auckland: Heinemann, 1988 159pp $24.95

Ko Aoraki te mauka,
Ko Waitaki te awa,
Ko te tangata o te wai whaanui o Kai Tahu, ko Tahupotiki,
E mihi nui ana aha ki a koutou katoa

[Aoraki is their mountain,
Waitaki their river,
And the chief of the whole of Kai Tahu is Tahupotiki
I greet you all ]

This timely book is part of a refreshing genre. Maori people are writing about matters Maori. For too long the commentators on Maori lives and times have been Pakeha. Even with the best of intentions, the reality of Maori people has been filtered through the cultural grid of writers whose perceptions have been very different. At worst it has been deeply patronising, distorting and overloaded with values which have their basis in Victorian England. For Maori the sense of refreshment is accompanied by relief. Buddy Mikaere is a Maori who has
western training in writing history, whose basic assumptions are that ngaa mea Maaori (things Maaori) are valid. It is that difference in approach which brings relief to Maaori and, surely, refreshment to all readers.

Mikaere has retained the integrity of the Maaori language. Maaori words are not pluralised in the western style. More recent Pakeha historians (who have been called revisionist) are following this practice. Also pleasing is the use of correct Maaori place names in the historical context. Many Maaori words have altered under the pressure of European use. Some have buckled into unrecognisable sounds and spelling. Mikaere has replaced the modern words with the originals, thereby restoring their meanings and replicating parts of the original oral maps established by the old people.

The story of Te Maiharoа is powerful and sad, in common with much of the history of this country. We are now reaping the bitter harvest of those times. This is the first exploration of the South Island, Kai Tahu, response to the horrifying pressure of the colonial process. Mikaere has chosen to begin his account with the inter-hapuu and inter-tribal strife of the 1820s before moving through the forced land sales which disenfranchised and impoverished the Kai Tahu people. He describes their attempts to cope with the impact of colonisation. Introduced disease rapidly eroded Kai Tahu numbers, forcing many hapuu to adopt a collaborative survival strategy.

Te Maiharoа chose to trek with his people to remote land which in their view had not been sold in the purchases of the late 1840s and early 1850s. By re-establishing occupancy the Kai Hurapa leader was making a traditional statement of ahi kaa the home fires of his people were rekindled. In keeping with a man of Te Maiharoа’s gifts and stature, several miracles occurred in the course of the journey. The author does not attempt to justify, explain or denigrate these happenings, as would tend to happen in western writing. The miracles are discussed in the context of the story and the integrity of the people’s beliefs is retained. The great trek of Te Maiharoа and his people was not a simple matter of moving away from fruitless contact with Pakeha. As a prophet and tohuka (expert) Te Maiharoа offered the revitalisation of Maaori spiritual life and values, and control of the negative effects of contact with the new settlers, such as alcohol, gambling, loose living and idleness. The new community at Te Ao Marama (The World of Light) lasted for only two years. Pakeha farmers put pressure on the government to have the Maaori evicted from land which they considered to be in Pakeha ownership despite the Maaori argument of no sale. The facts are complex. The influences on Te Maiharoа and the reasons for his choices in the setting up of his faith and the actions surrounding them are profoundly Maaori. They reach intertribally throughout both the major islands of Aotearoa. I believe that only a Maaori historian could fully explore and do justice to an explanation of them.

Being Maaori and writing history is fraught with its own difficulties, particularly if, like Mikaere, you are not a member of the subject group. Between tribes there are differences in approach and interpretation, just as there are between the views of MacDonalds and Campbells. Each tribe and hapuu has its own dynamic view of history, and in an oral culture this is a tapu reserve. The gauntlet all historians run is many times magnified in the Maaori world, where history is lived every day and ancient tipuna are talked about as though they had temporarily left the room. Mikaere has been strongly challenged on questions of intertribal attitude and details of history. The fact that he is challenged is welcome evidence of a healthy culture concerned that these matters are in safe
hands Maori people are well aware of the potential danger of freezing interpretations of history between the covers of books

Clearly, one of Mikaere's difficulties has been deciding what he must leave out of the book from the rich store of information his research has unearthed I for one am glad that he has included boxed inserts of specialised information on the old-time Kai Tahu way of life Hunting weka and the gathering and preparation of kauru (tree pith) are activities of the recent past which have succumbed to the ubiquitous sheep

This complex, fascinating part of the history of Aotearoa has been carefully put in place by Mikaere His writing style is easy and clear The book is extremely well illustrated, always an asset in reading history All the major protagonists in this brave story are depicted except the prophet himself There will be a reason for this perhaps a spiritual Maori one, or perhaps there are simply no available images of Te Maiharo

It is not an easy matter for someone who belongs to this story through a thousand years of whakapapa to read it or to review the writing of it The less palatable facts of history in this country have been omitted from the formal education process in favour of a pallid myth of 'civilisation and one peoplehood' This has laid the groundwork for confused and strained race relations Disease and two world wars have deprived Maori people of generations of oral historians I had heard tales of Te Maiharo, his power and his commitment to the survival of his people If one of the consequences of Mikaere writing this book has been to stimulate the oral tradition and the correction of perceived inaccuracies so that history becomes more accessible to its survivors, then he is to be thanked

Irihapeti Ramsden Wellington

Hazel Riseborough Days of Darkness Taranaki 1878-1884 Wellington Allen & Unwin/Historical Branch [Department of Internal Affairs], 1989 267pp $29 95

At any time a well researched, objectively appraised, coherently and attractively presented account of the aftermath of the Taranaki wars is to be welcomed Dr Hazel Riseborough's Days of Darkness arouses expectations that here is such an account Her Preface advises us that the work is a 'study of policies and personalities at a time of intense feelings and reactions resulting from cultural misunderstanding and racial intolerance' So far so good But the blurb tells us, with no qualification, that it is a story 'of the government's efforts to destroy Maori separatism and self determination' Thus it is necessary to approach the text itself with an underlying note of caution are the cultural misunderstandings too one-sided to achieve the desired standard of objectivity?

The text imposes further problems Is there anything new, anything not already set out, perhaps more im temperately, by Rusden, or more equably by Cowan, or more briefly but more sagely by Alan Ward? Has Dr Riseborough made her goodies, all Maori, too good and her baddies, all politicians and those in government service, too bad? Perhaps of greater consequence, Dr Riseborough has embraced the notion that only Maori from Maori sources can supply
informed accounts of Maori participation in events that make up our history

This reviewer will remain uncommitted on the last point until there is more evidence, more 'supply', but it is difficult to overlook the learned criticism of generations of scholars who have spent a lifetime with cultures other than their own. Moreover, and inevitably, Dr Riseborough has been inconsistent in this area. There is a good description of manaaki, the philosophy underlying Te Whiti's generous gifts of food (p. 94), told fairly much in Te Whiti's words and important to an understanding of the unfolding drama. Similarly, the discussion of Pihama's fear and Bryce's use of it is illuminated by Te Whiti's own definitions. There are other examples, notably the explanation of Te Whiti's intentions in the concluding chapter (p. 212), and the earlier explanations by Tohu of the real meaning underlying Te Whiti's speeches. These are just enough to make it clear that the book would have been greatly improved had Dr Riseborough thrown her inhibitions aside and used all the Maori material that she could lay her hands on.

The procrastination, the blundering, the unnecessary harshness of the New Zealand government in all the events surrounding the destruction of the peaceful, prosperous settlement of Parihaka is too well established for there to be any surprise at Dr Riseborough's merciless treatment of Fox, Bell, Hall, Whitaker, Atkinson, Rolleston, Sheehan and, of course, Bryce, as well as of the lesser characters Charles Hursthouse, Wellington Carrington, Parins, Messenger. Yet the question must be asked, to what end? Is not the nub of the issue the incompatible aims of the protagonists? If, as one suspects, Te Whiti really wanted to form a settlement at Parihaka that would be the headquarters of all the Maori people, that would rule itself by its own laws, that would 'live at peace with the Europeans by a sort of International treaty', was not the government of the day entitled to regard this as an unlawful attempt to challenge its sovereignty? Many years earlier, Governor Hobson had been quite clear on this point when advising de Thierry that the only sovereign chief in New Zealand was Her Majesty Queen Victoria: 'To suppose such an anomaly as every man being sovereign of his acre, or ten thousand acres, is really so absurd that it admits of no argument.' Nor is enough attention given to the condition of politics at that time, the difficulties of forming stable governments, financial stresses, economic uncertainties, and above all, of settler pressures. That New Zealand was a colony of settlement appears to have been lost sight of. To these difficulties could be added that of understanding Te Whiti, a difficulty undoubtedly shared by many contemporary Maori.

None of these issues can excuse the insensitivity which surrounded the government's handling of the Parihaka debacle, but they, and Te Whiti's long-term aims, must be dealt with fairly, and this Dr Riseborough has failed to do. There must always be room to wonder, had Te Whiti's bid for separatism been permitted to flourish, what would have been the final outcome? Was the destruction of Parihaka inevitable sooner or later? Was Parihaka, however regrettable, a certain consequence of colonisation?

Yet there is a place for this book: it gives rise to these questions, it is well written, it excites the hope that Dr Riseborough will write more.

Ian Wards
Wellington
Accessions

Alexander Turnbull Library

BAKER, COLONEL FREDERICK. Papers, c 1937-1957 1 3m Restricted

BAKER, MARY Papers, 1876-1952 30cm

BRANDON BROOKFIELD Legal records, 1840s-1983 3.5m

BURNS, PATRICIA Draft manuscript of A Fatal Success a History of the New Zealand Company (1989) 1 folder

CUSACK SMITH, THOMAS BERRY Papers, 1891-1898, 1901 60cm and 18v [Cusack Smith was the British Consul in Samoa between 1891-1898]

HARPER, GEORGE Diary, 1864-1865 1 folder [Diary kept on board the Rachel which sailed from Gravesend to Lyttelton]

HARRIS, WILLIAM Journal, 1879-1880 1 folder [Journal kept on board the British Empire]

HAWK PRESS Records, 1978-1987 3 folders

KIDMAN, FIONA. Papers, 1962-1985 8m and 104 video tapes Restricted [Prominent New Zealand writer and reviewer]

LAINGS ROAD METHODIST CHURCH Records, 1848, 1916-1982 60cm and 60v

NEW ZEALAND CITIZENS ADVICE BUREAU Records, 1975-1987 3m

NEW ZEALAND FEDERATED NEWSPAPER PROPRIETORS INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION OF EMPLOYERS Records, 1916-1970 1 folder

NEW ZEALAND HOCKEY ASSOCIATION Records, 1910-1988 3.3m

NORWOOD, HUGH Notes, c 1908 1 folder [Copy of notes made by Katherine Mansfield on a copy of the Housman poem A Shropshire Lad]

REVANS, SAMUEL Letters from his uncle, Samuel Revans, 1858-1871 1v [Revans Senior was a prominent New Zealand newspaper proprietor]

SEWELL, ELIZABETH Papers, 1978-1984 60cm [Sewell was a prominent campaigner for the rights of women]

SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS Records, 1894-1980 3m

STANNAGE, S GILLMAN Letters, 1920s-1950s 1 folder [Letters from Sir Ronald Storrs and D'Arcy Cresswell]

STEAD, CHRISTIAN KARL Literary papers, 1960s-1980s 60cm

WAITANGI TRIBUNE Shipboard newspaper, 12 February 1876 1 folder [Newspaper written by passengers on board the Waitangi]

WELLINGTON ROWING CLUB Records, 1890-1959 1v 18v Restricted

WILSON, DAVID Papers, c 1908-1978 30cm [Politician and civil servant]

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION Records, 1906-1983 4m

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE HOKIO BEACH SCHOOL Records, 1948-1989 7m Restricted
Accessions

DUNNE, P F Political papers, 1984-1989 6m Restricted
EDUCATION ADVISORY CENTRE, WELLINGTON Halley's Comet School
Tour material, 1986-1987 1m
HEALTH DEPARTMENT AUDIO-VISUAL LIBRARY Films 7m
JEFFERIES, HON W P Political papers, 1972-1987 16m
MCLEAN, J Political papers, 1984-1988 8m Restricted
MINISTRY OF COMMERCE HEAD OFFICE Ministerial briefs, 1976-1978
4m
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE 141 Flight Singapore multiple number subject files,
1965-1989 3m
MINISTRYOF WORKS RESIDUAL MANAGEMENT UNITS HEAD OFFICE,
WELLINGTON, NELSON, NEW PLYMOUTH, WANGANUI, PALMERSTON
NORTH Multiple number subject files, maps and plans, contract tender
documents, personal files, 1864-1987 800m
MOORE, HON M Political papers, 1984-1988 14m Restricted.
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NEW ZEALAND Plans, 1945-1982 1m
NEW ZEALAND RAILWAYS HUTT WORKSHOPS Multiple number subject
files, 1930-1980 1 5m
POLICE DEPARTMENT HASTINGS PHOTOGRAPHY SECTION Photo-
graphic records, 1983 33m Restricted.
TELECOM CORPORATION POHQ multiple number subject files, P & T
multiple number subject files, 1926-1977 9 6m
VOCATIONAL TRAINING COUNCIL Multiple number subject and block
numeric files, 1968-1989 20m Restricted.

National Archives Northern Regional Office, Auckland

DEPARTMENT OF SURVEY AND LAND INFORMATION, AUCKLAND
Registers, Correspondence of Chief Surveyor, Native Secretary's Office cor-
respondence, Indexes to Crown Grants and Titles, 1849-1935 1m
HELENSVILLE SCHOOL Registers of admissions, 1882-1964 1m
MINISTRYOFENERGY INSPECTOR OF MINESAND QUARRIES, HUNTLY
Multiple number subject files, 1938-1988 3 8m
MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT MARINE DIVISION, AUCKLAND Register of
ships, transaction book, 1860-1890 75cm
ST LEONARD'S SCHOOL, GLEN EDEN Admission registers, 1962-1980 3v

National Archives, Southern Regional Office, Christchurch

CANTERBURY MUSEUM Justice Department bankruptcy files, 1884-1930,
conveyances, leases 56m Restricted
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, HIGH COURT, CHRISTCHURCH Court rec-
ords divorce, criminal, actions miscellaneous, 1913-69 102m Restricted.
GOVERNMENT PROPERTYSERVICES LTD, CHRISTCHURCH Ex-Govern-
ment Office Accommodation Board registered files and building plans
1950-1985 3m

77
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