OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION

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 journal at least once a year and other publications in furtherance of these objects.

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ARCHIFACTS

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Archifacts is published twice-yearly, in April and October.

Articles and correspondence should be addressed to the Editor at:

PO Box 11-553
Wellington

Intending contributors should obtain a style sheet from the Editorial Committee. Articles and reviews should be submitted both in hard copy and on disk.

Printed by McKenzie Thornton Cooper Ltd, Wellington.

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ISSN 0303-7940
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Editorial

The Robert Stout Pamphlet Collection, held at the Beaglehole Room, Victoria University of Wellington, contains a short unpublished article entitled 'A New Zealand Record Office', penned, in 1891, by Edward Tregear for a forthcoming issue of The Monthly Review. Tregear - soldier, miner, surveyor, linguist and author - became a member of the Royal Historical Society, the Philological Society of London, and co-founded the Polynesian Society, acting as editor of its journal for many years. In addition, he worked for the Land Purchase Department and later became a force in establishing the New Zealand Institute of Surveyors. Tregear's knowledge of New Zealand records, and experience in record creation, was vast. His 1891 article called for the establishing of a state records office in New Zealand, and the systematic depositing, on an annual basis, of public documents already in existence, including government and parliamentary papers, land records, treaties and deeds with Māori, corporate records and maps, and also records currently held by private persons and museums. These records were to be 'judiciously selected' (appraised), and held in a 'substantial building - isolated, fire-proof, damp-proof, rat-proof and capable of extension as the yearly accumulation' went on. The position of keeper of records was to be no 'sinecure', nor its remuneration high enough to become 'a prize scrambled for by adventurers'.

Underlying Tregear's paper was his concern for the nation of not only the present, but also of the future, and the 'transmitting' of a 'faithful record of that which ha[dl] been done in the interests of the state'. Tregear was obsessed by the notion of risk; risk to the public record posed by bad procedures, neglect, and the disinterest of both individuals and the state. They are themes that are still present over one-hundred-and-ten years later in New Zealand archives and recordkeeping, and are addressed in various ways by some of our contributors in this April issue of Archifacts. In our first piece Terry Cook, in dealing with electronic records strategies for small archives, provides some harrowing examples of potential loss from neglect, indifference and lack of planning for the electronic records of our age, if there is no intervention at the records-creation stage and planned strategies for appraisal, migration and preservation; Heather Bauchop, in dealing with the records of Land Information New Zealand, focuses on those records Tregear helped create, and wanted preserved, and assesses their current state, access and neglect; Tony Ballantyne calls for a sustained analysis and critical scrutiny of our "colonial archives", reminding us that 'despite
its centrality in the practice of historical research and writing, the archive remains largely understudied and undebated in New Zealand; Nigel Murphy provides valuable insights as to the nature of sources and resources when approaching the study of the Chinese ethnic group in New Zealand; while Jeanette Wikaira asks us to decolonise our minds and ‘imagine a Māori world’, and how altered our concepts of knowledge, and the archive (as a storehouse of knowledge) could be, if we did imagine that world.

Kevin Molloy

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The archival profession is obsessed with electronic records. Conferences, workshops, journal articles, and major research projects seem to address issues around electronic or digital records more than any other. Most of the presenters, examples, and rhetoric in these forums come from large archival institutions dealing with large governments or business corporations. Yet many archivists work in smaller archives, for smaller sponsors. What solutions can they embrace for electronic records? What priorities should they set? What arguments can they use to convince sponsors for action and funding? Where do they start in capturing, appraising, and segregating the records for eventual archival preservation?

Certainly a starting point is getting past a fear factor, and recognizing that the whole solution is not resting on their shoulders or actions. Indeed, I would confidently assert that no one is qualified to speak about electronic records with full authority. No one yet has the solution, the one answer, for ensuring the reliable creation or capture now of electronic records, or their maintenance and preservation as authentic evidence across centuries. Bill Gates does not have the answer, although we know now that major software companies are at last recognizing the dual problem of capture and preservation of transient electronic data, and are beginning to develop solutions. Archival electronic records researchers working within archival circles, do not, especially given the significant disagreements between them - although their research to date undoubtedly contributes some important pieces to the puzzle's eventual solution. Margaret Hedstrom has very wisely suggested that,
in fact, there should not be one solution. There will be many answers depending on the size and complexity and type of digital information that is created; the organisational culture and partnership possibilities between the creating agency and the archive; and the size, maturity, staff competence, and technical and financial resources of the archive itself. In light of these circumstances, we therefore need, as implied in my title, to bite off what we can reasonably chew. And we will certainly need a vast array of tools, large and small, in our professional toolkit, rather than just ten identical hammers to beat the same nail over and over.

The point of this paper, then, is to suggest some introductory strategies that will enable small archives to cope with appraising electronic records, which used to be called machine-readable records, and now, increasingly, are called digital records, both "born digital" for those first created on a computer and "made digital" for those which began life on a paper, photographic, film, or sound medium and then later were scanned or otherwise converted to a digital format, usually for placement on a CD-ROM or website.

* * * * *

Let me start with two graphic stories from recent months. In April, Eduard Mark, a senior historian with the United States' Department of the Air Force, took a significant personal risk by publicly posting his thoughts on two listservs for historians of war and of diplomacy about the state of the federal government's recordkeeping system. Readers should remember that he is describing the records of military forces which, with the police, are usually the twin bastions of the most efficient recordkeeping in society, because personnel there are trained to follow orders and procedures, much more than public servants working in more liberalised and individualistic bureaucracies, or even businesses. Keep in mind, also, that this recounting by Eduard Mark relates to the most powerful, well-resourced military force in the history of the world. It is a relatively long quotation, but its words are haunting even after numerous readings:

On the subject of the current state of federal records I will be brief . . . I hold . . . that the crisis is so great that I cannot in good conscience say nothing when an opportunity presents itself to call attention to the problem . . . The federal system for maintaining records has in many agencies - indeed in every agency with which I am familiar - collapsed utterly.

The basic reason for the collapse of recordkeeping is that the computer and electric records were introduced into the federal
workplace in the 1980s in a fashion that destroyed the old system ... Before the computer every office had a typing pool. The typists made copies of their work - first carbons, then photocopies. These were collected and filed according to the agency's rules and ultimately retired to the Archives. With the computer almost all officials became responsible for their own typing. Out went the typing pool and no other system for collecting documents took its place, whatever the regulations may say. The appearance of electronic mail has only compounded the problem in ways too obvious to require mention. In the Department of the Air Force virtually no records are saved except for what passes over the desk of the Secretary and the Chief of Staff and what the historians of my office manage to save for an annual history of the Air Staff (a history which, I should add, we have resumed writing only this year since abandoning it in 1993). So far as I have been able to observe a similar situation exists throughout the Department of Defense. In 1990-1991 I wrote a history of the invasion of Panama, which remains classified. I began my research within weeks of the operation and found that many electronic records had already been purged from computers - not from calculation or malice but because the culture of recordkeeping had even then so broken down that the staff officers involved had no idea at all that they were supposed to preserve records. In the years since then several other agencies ... have approached me to see if I had copies of various records of theirs relating to Panama and others matters, they having lost all their own copies.

I will mince no words. It will be impossible to write the history of recent diplomatic and military history as we have written about World War II and the early Cold War. Too many records are gone ... I have long since grown weary of historians who forever and anon bleat about access to still classified records from the 1950s but who remain obstinately deaf when told of the daily hecatomb of contemporary records. When in decades hence they go to the Archives and find decades compressed into single boxes they will not be able to claim they were not warned. History as we have known it is dying, and with it the public accountability of government and rational public administration.3

Despite much advocacy and significant research by some archivists in the past decade or so, that revolution that Eduard Marks laments still has not permeated very deeply into the archival profession in terms of establishing viable, practical, operational programmes for the actual capture, contextual description, appraisal, acquisition, processing, and
preservation of archival electronic records. Meanwhile the technology marches relentlessly onward.

Will our generation of archivists mostly still mired, alas, with Paper Minds as they face Electronic Records, be seen, one hundred years from now, as vandals of neglect for not forcing this issue more aggressively, starting right now, even in small archives? Will we be viewed as the modern equivalents of those barbarians who destroyed classical Rome or burnt medieval monasteries, thereby wiping out generations of records, history, and civilisation, because of our continued inaction? We knew, but we did not act, or did not act wisely or decisively, or did not change priorities (and funding) from our comfortable curatorial practices to meet this recordkeeping crisis?

The challenge to each archivist is the same: to ask of her or himself what each will do differently starting next Monday morning in his or her archival jurisdiction - whether large or small - to avoid that charge, and to help rebuild that "broken culture of recordkeeping" of which Eduard Mark speaks so poignantly? What two or three practical steps can we take right now, even if the large overall solutions are still some time away. How can we now stop the blood-letting, even in small archives? How can we start making a difference rather than continue making excuses?

Small archives I would define as an institution or programme with one or two archivists, with perhaps some access to support staff, perhaps these shared with other operational units, plus an occasional summer student or volunteer helper. Often, the small archive is a one-person shop - the classic Lone Arranger. This seems a shared assessment of the nature of the small archives in New Zealand as it would be in Canada. Small archives so defined exist (in Canada at least) for schools, universities, and colleges; religious orders, dioceses, and churches; businesses, museums, and galleries; non-government lobbying, charitable, cultural, or ethnic organisations, and local or regional governmental authorities. For all these sponsors or jurisdictions, computers are now very widely in use, or they very soon will be. Yet small archives often do not know where to start in reversing Eduard Mark's lament that computerised records are not being captured in reliable recordkeeping systems at the point of creation or contemporary use. Archivists from small institutions have often complained to me in various workshops that they are overwhelmed with too much to do, pulled in too many directions, with too little funding, and without an IT (information technology) infrastructure, and so starting up an electronic records programme just seems beyond them - usually coupled with the assertion that we folks from big archival institutions simply do not understand their plight.
I have a fair degree of sympathy with this, but also some lack of patience, because for large archives as much as smaller ones, here is the stark bottom line: unless you can get substantial new financial and human resources, you will need to stop doing something important that you are now doing, and reallocate significant resources to electronic records, period. There is no other way. That requires, in the first instance, an act of personal will and professional commitment, not technological infrastructure or digital expertise. The will to change must come first, and I suggest that it will be your hardest decision.

However, small archives do have certain advantages as they contemplate such a change. The big archives that pioneered archival electronic records programmes in the United States, Canada, and later Australia, Britain, and Netherlands, and in some of their states and provinces, did not have the models of successes and failures, the results of major archival electronic records research projects, and the burgeoning archival literature on the subject that small archives' archivists can now easily access. While archivists in larger archives do have colleagues down the hall to share ideas and develop best practices as teams, those in small archives now have access to the incredible resources and international conversations of the internet, with hundreds of relevant sites, created by archivists and recordkeepers in many jurisdictions, containing models, policies, standards, bibliographies, case studies, and research results, as well as listservs, to all of which the electronic-records pioneers in big archives did not have access, save by rare international travel. The internet with e-mail also allows those in smaller archives to build inter-institutional virtual teams, and to engage in co-operative ventures, perhaps building a shared IT infrastructure or service bureau contract for computer processing where several small archives could pool together their needs and resources. In short, archivists in small archives need not be in the isolation many now feel. In fact, they have the great advantage of being now the third generation of archivists dealing with electronic records, with many useful precedents already established. What no archivist has, in large or small institutions, is the luxury of time to remain inactive, hoping for some magic solution to appear, or to wallow in self-pity just because they are in a small institution.

With readers now thoroughly offended, here is my promised second graphic story, which is much shorter, coming from this past July, and needing no further introduction:

In 1986, the British Broadcasting Corporation created the Domesday Book Mark II, an electronic version of the original record of English lands that was written at the instigation of William the Conqueror
in 1086 [nine hundred years earlier]. The BBC’s version contained 25,000 maps, 50,000 pictures, 60 minutes of video and millions of words. It cost 2.5 million pounds to create.

Only 17 years after its creation [in 2003], the Domesday Book Mark II can’t be read. The BBC computers used for the project no longer work and the disks on which it was stored are not readable by other computer systems. But the 917-year-old original is still available to researchers in London’s Public Record Office.6

This story underlines the second great archival challenge with electronic records: preservation across time. Whether made-digital records, like the Domesday Book, that so many archives are busily creating by scanning originals from their collections, or born-digital records like Eduard Mark’s office systems in the US Air Force, once these digital records have been created or captured, they must then be preserved across centuries - across centuries when each has an optimistic shelf life in digital format of perhaps 20 years before significant archival intervention is needed to refresh, migrate, or emulate the record to new formats, before it either disappears as unreadable or self-destructs physically.

The first axiom of recordkeeping from an archivist’s perspective, then, is a simple truth of continuum thinking: the better the record is created and captured; the richer the contextualised metadata or description surrounding the record during its pre-archival use; and the more astute the appraisal “keep-destroy” decisions; then the easier the long-term preservation of the record - or digital object - will be, once it is later transferred to an archival institution, or at least under the control of the archives. But even a perfectly captured and maintained digital record still presents preservation challenges across a time-frame of centuries which must always be the archival perspective.

At this point I offer the somewhat controversial assertion that the main focus of small archival institutions for the next ten years should be on recordkeeping activities up front, including appraisal, and less on the preservation of archivally valuable digital records across the centuries. Why? Four main reasons. First, if the archivist with other recordkeepers does not intervene effectively in the up-front or inner dimensions of the records continuum, there will be few reliable or trustworthy records created that will be worth preserving at all in archives. Secondly, effective appraisal (especially functions-based macro-appraisal) allows the archivist typically to authorise the destruction of 95% or more of the total record, including the electronic record, and thus reduces the amount (and costs) of digital “stuff” to be preserved by an equivalent large percentage.7 Thirdly, effective recordkeeping regimes “up front” should include encapsulating electronic records with
rich descriptive and functional metadata, including instructions for conversion to, or creation in, effective standardised formats, like XML, that will - if done properly - very much aid later preservation of such encapsulated digital objects, if not for centuries, at least for decades by your archives. Finally, solutions for preserving digital media without loss of information through changes that will have to be made to the "original" record, because of fragile physical storage mediums and technologically obsolete software instructions, will not come from efforts made by small archives, or indeed by any one big archives. Multi-million dollar projects using super computers and strategic precedents hard-won by national and international research consortia will provide answers, that once generalised into available commercial software will give individual archives the preservation strategies and standards they need. Preservation, then, should be limited now to storing electronic records transferred to archival control, whether in native or original software format like Word or Power Point or Lotus, or in software-independent formats like ASCII, TIFF, Rich Text Format, or XML, and maintaining these, in those same formats with their software, in appropriate environmental, refreshing, and handling conditions. The definitions, standards, and procedures for such conditions are readily available from numerous web-based sources and need not detain us here.

* * * * *

Turning then to explore some strategies and solutions for the pre-preservation, recordkeeping dimensions of digital media, and with apologies to Gertrude Stein, the first thing to grasp for beginners in small archives is that an electronic record is not an electronic record is not an electronic record. There are at least four distinct organisational environments (or cultures) in which digital media are created, and each involves very different players with different perspectives and expertise. Let us look at these four communities.

First, there is the traditional world of structured data, the systems world, the big databases, often located on mainframe computers or powerful workstations. This was the primary focus of the first generation of the machine-readable records archivists of the 1970s and 1980s, yet such systems have not gone away, but have evolved into multi-functional relational database systems often containing mission-critical information about the organisation, and its clients, as well as payroll, finance, inventory, and general administrative data. There are generally clear policies and good standards in place for the very efficient management of the data in these systems, but rarely for issues of data alteration, deletion, retention and disposal, and archival transfer. The focus is on
Archifacts

reliable, accessible, efficient, up-to-date data, not time-bound records wrapped in context-rich transactional metadata reflecting changes over time. Data in these systems is continually updated, altered, merged, and deleted, which in effect, in all such cases, destroys the previous version of the data, or record. Such changes under most archival legislation amount to de facto illegal destruction without authorisation, yet records managers or archivists rarely challenge this reality, despite it being their responsibility to do so. The systems world is composed of IT and database management specialists, where records managers, let alone archivists, are rarely consulted or involved as part of the normal business practices of that world.

The second electronic records environment is the unstructured world of the automated office - the PCs and desktop computers, whether stand-alone or connected in one or several internal networks through centralised servers. This is the automated workplace with which we are all familiar, which seemed so pioneering in the mid-1980s and which had become so pervasive by the 1990s - the world of e-mail, word processing, spreadsheets, small end-user databases, graphics, presentations, automated calendars and address books, and all the other features common to “office suites” of integrated software. This is also primarily the world so out of control that Eduard Mark laments for the US military. This is the world that my former National Archives of Canada colleague, John McDonald, has characterised as the “wild frontier,” where anything goes, with few rules and no corporate-wide perspective on managing the records in these office systems, a process not helped by massive resource cuts in “support” areas like records management in the 1990s, as governments retrenched and downsized, at the very time that these new automated office tools were being most widely implemented. This second environment is the world facing the second generation of electronic records archival pioneers, as they have attempted, from the early 1990s, to impose some order for the chaos “out there.” Examples include the pioneering Pittsburgh Project, New York State, Indiana University, University of British Columbia, Monash, Michigan, Cornell, and similar research projects, as well as major research and implementation initiatives at National Archives in Ottawa, Canberra, London, Washington, The Hague, and now Wellington, at least as reported in the English-language literature. All these projects attempt in different ways, often using different assumptions and theories, to discover and promulgate concepts, policies, rules, guidelines, prototypes, and standards that will turn the unstructured data and diffused information of the individualised desktop of this second generation or environment, into a structured, well-controlled, corporate-wide resource
of contextualised, trustworthy records that will serve as reliable evidence for business operations and for legal and public accountability, and, of course, from a longer perspective, that will also serve as the basis for a fuller, richer archives, rather than the bleak a-historical wasteland that Eduard Mark sees before us. In this second environment of the automated office, the primary recordkeeping contact for archivists is with the records management community, although many of that community’s policies and standards still address (or reflect) paper records only. While there is now a growing and impressive number of good recordkeeping tools available for controlling this second generation of electronic records, and model policies and best-practice guidelines exist aplenty, as a result of the many research projects and field trials noted above, it is still sadly a big struggle to convince senior management that these policies and tools are worth the expense of implementation, and then implementing them consistently as an integrated part of all work processes and business functions, across the entire organisation, using retrained or newly acquired staff capable of doing this job. And so, too, is it a struggle convincing many records managers and archivists that they have to abandon their comfortable Paper Minds and accept, indeed embrace, the challenge of managing this automated office information across the whole continuum.

The third environment is that of the World Wide Web, often building elaborate digital interfaces for the many publics that your sponsoring or parent institution wishes to reach with its message, products, holdings, or services. Websites can draw information from both the previous two worlds of large databases and the automated office, and then convert and export these, redesigned and connected in multiple ways, for viewing on a website, whether one restricted to internal business use only, for a limited number of external partners (such as suppliers or registered clients), or for the entire world. The key communities for this third environment are communications, publishing, and public relations people, and often the departmental librarians, who together usually manage the website(s) for an institution. There are frequently good policies in place governing web masters and web content, and senior managers are certainly sensitive to the external web-based image presented of their institution and the possibilities of web-based enterprise and profit. However, few in this community recognise the relevance of recordkeeping approaches for the website, issues of authenticity and accountability for its content, or requirements for retention, disposal, and long-term preservation, even though web content has rapidly evolved from publicity and image to include business transactions and operational guidelines. As with the systems
world, the first environment above, records managers are rarely consulted or involved as part of the normal business practices of the web world, and so again, archivists are also left out of the loop.

The fourth electronic records environment encompasses specialised digital applications of numbers one (the systems world), and especially two (the office suite software world), that in turn are frequently partly re-presented in number three via the website: examples include digital film and photography, special digitally designed software graphics for such functions as mapping, architecture, engineering, design, or forms management; special database applications like geographical information systems, records management or library control systems, and so on. These specialised applications tend to be attached to the operational unit directly involved and are found scattered throughout the organisation. Not surprisingly, these applications share all of the problems already outlined for one or more of their three originating environments, and, save for records management software, attract very little contact with either records managers or archivists.

So, my essential point is that the electronic or digital records of the parent, sponsoring, or other organisations, groups, and associations, that the small archives will appraise and acquire, involve many communities that do not talk to each other, and, save for some recordkeeping initiatives beginning in the second world of the automated office, these communities have little awareness and less interest in addressing recordkeeping issues: authenticity, metadata contextuality, retention periods, authorised and systematic disposal, and archival transfer. Three of the four categories rarely fall under the operational purview of the records manager, and for the fourth that does, this presents challenges so immense that those records managers, even with some answers, do not get the senior support or resources needed.

What to do now that we are facing this bleak environment where, make no mistake, as Eduard Mark details, the records of tomorrow's history and today's accountability are de facto being destroyed every second by our collective failure to intervene effectively? The first thing is for the archivist in small institutions - and I would assert in any-sized institution - to search for partners, and to identify and then build bridges between these four separated communities of systems and IT people, records managers, web-content communications and PR experts, and specialist groups of users. Here the archivist may be able to act as an honest broker to influence bringing these four communities together so that a corporate-wide approach to electronic recordkeeping is developed in your sponsoring or parent institution. The growing
appointment of Chief Information Officers (CIOs) in government and business is a welcome initiative to unify these disparate environments. Beyond these four core communities of specialists closest to the creation and daily management of the records, there are other, natural allies. Auditors, programme evaluators, accountants, lawyers and legal advisors, freedom of information, privacy and copyright officers, ombudsmen and similar people, all have a vested interest in having accurate, reliable, comprehensive, timely, retrievable, usable, and secure records - not forgetting either your potential allies of other archivists in other smaller institutions. Often there will also be experienced programme or “line” managers who will be interested because they have been burned in the past by not having such reliable information at hand when they needed it, as well as naturally any senior CIO that may be present.

Once you have this alliance, this partnership in place, what is the message that you deliver to both senior managers and every line worker? It is that contextualised, reliable records are essential to the organisation for positive or work-enhancing reasons and for negative or risk-avoidance reasons. This message we have to sell, uncomfortable as that may make the more traditional "paper minded" custodians among us who prefer to be processing old records in the stacks. For such selling, I commend Cook’s Top Ten List of why records are important to any organisation, which you should customise for frequent repetition to your partners and the senior managers, in person, in print, in handouts, in screen-savers, in training - not once and you’re done with it, not twice, but over and over and over again. Records are important to your organisation in order:

1. To support your own and others’ ability now to make good decisions based on reliable information, and thus to deliver effective programmes and services;

2. To help you to document how or why decisions and actions were undertaken on a particular case or project, thereby permitting you and the department to meet the accountability requirements and performance benchmarks associated with sound decision-making, the achievement of stated goals, and the use of institutional resources, whether these come from the public, legislators, shareholders, or private wealth;

3. To provide you with information about similar previous projects and past activities, in order to help you avoid “re-inventing the wheel,” thus making for better decisions now in similar cases;
To save (as a corollary of number one and number three), significant staff time and thus monetary resources, since data exists to show that professional and managerial staff spend 20 to 50% of their time searching for misplaced or missing information, when a reasonable amount would instead be 10%.

To provide the corporate memory and operational continuity required to permit those who follow you to understand how your programmes and services were developed and delivered;

To permit you and the department to meet the requirements of various laws, regulations, and policies, that necessitate good records be created and maintained, as, for example, laws governing workplace health and safety, environmental quality, taxation, employment equity, human rights, and many more, including permitting you to be in compliance with archives laws and regulations, and international records management standards, like ISO 15489, that require effective recordkeeping, retention, destruction and disposal authorisation;

To ensure the protection of legal rights and moral entitlements of citizens, members, clients, customers, and other relevant publics, including the public's right of freedom of information and the protection of personal information, which are guaranteed rights in law. The failure to facilitate or comply with rights and entitlements, because of poor recordkeeping or lost or destroyed records, could lead to negative public relations nightmares or a backlash against your organisation;

To enable your department to implement effective security and disaster readiness or recovery for its information resources against sabotage, technological failure, or accident;

To allow your department's programmes, activities, and decisions to be understood better by New Zealanders at large, thus strengthening public support for your activities, and for the general process of public administration in a democracy, thereby reducing cynicism and detachment; and

To contribute to the archival record so that your, and your institution's, role in the historical process, is not lost, and the country's (or region's, city's, church's or university's) heritage and culture is enhanced now and for future generations.

Note that only number ten and a passing reference in the second part of number six mention archives at all, or the heritage, cultural, and
historical purposes of long-term preservation. All the others are directly relevant to the organisation, or required of it, morally or legally, even if no institutional archives existed at all for the jurisdiction. The point is to make good recordkeeping appeal to their self-interest, in order to set up a win-win situation for the creator and the archive. But do not be afraid to remind them that the organisation is dangerously exposed legally and morally, in public relations and profits, if guilty of not exercising due diligence by changing its decontextualised transient data and its scattered unmanaged information into reliable, corporate, secure records.

Why have I spent so much time on these so-called “soft” people and “soft” environmental issues? Recent research suggests that the electronic records dilemma will not be solved so much by implementing some electronic document management system software, although that is a useful step, as it will by solving the people and commitment issues. Surveys and discussions with recordkeepers in the “real world” indicate that authenticity of records is achieved more by policy statements, best practice examples, international ISO standards, consistent and normal business practices, and committed people and managers, in a positive organisational culture, rather than by software magic based on theoretical precision. After all, even the best electronic document management software only contains an empty series of boxes or templates that must be filled in by record creators — consistently, accurately, reflecting corporate classification and work processes within the relevant business functions. For recordkeeping software, as for any other computing application, the now-classic mantra applies: garbage in equals garbage out. That is not a technical issue, or message, therefore, but one relating to organisational behaviour and organisational culture, and its capacity for change. Within the modern workplace, we need to re-create Eduard Mark’s missing “culture of recordkeeping.” Unless you do that, your electronic records programme in a small archives, as much as in a large one, will be limited to an ad hoc collection of snap-shots (one-time downloads) of data from compliant corners scattered across the parent or target organisation. While this is not utterly worthless, it is far from meeting the requirements for authentic and reliable records as trustworthy evidence that our researchers require, or for constructing the archive that posterity will rightly expect as a legacy from our profession. So, back to those practical action steps for you for next Monday morning, to help stop the bleeding that Eduard Mark laments. Here are seven possibilities for you to try, perhaps a lucky seven?

1 The very first thing you do next Monday morning, after taking a deep breath, is consider how to build these effective alliances I
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have been mentioning and how to tailor and then deliver a message – your customised version of Cook's Top Ten List above – that will generate a commitment in parts, and later all, of your parent or sponsoring organisation to facilitate a recordkeeping culture. And while you are at it, start rearranging your priorities: do we really need better indexes, right now, of paper or photographic records safely in our custody, while Rome burns?

2 Make a commitment to recognise and then adopt (or learn about so you can) the power of function- or work-process-based macro-appraisal in your archives, which is fully consistent with functional classification of records based on a DIRKS-like methodology. The rich contextualised information that the archivist or recordkeeper uncovers through her or his research in doing macro-appraisal creates a body of knowledge about organisational behaviour that can very much assist the records creator to establish a good functional and work process-based records-classification system, simply because the core task in macro-appraisal is to understand the functional whole into which all the organisation's programmes, activities, and transactions fit. In good continuum manner, researching macro-appraisal's functional knowledge does not just provide essential contextual knowledge for the archivist to make good, défendable “keep-destroy” decisions, or offer better access points and context for our researchers at the so-called “back end”, but also, potentially, to records creators and users at the “front end”. Such front-end functions-based knowledge will leave us with much less garbage-in garbage-out among the recordkeeping systems employed by our creators. Remember too, that macro-appraisal is media-neutral, and so the appraisal of electronic records is less the issue for you as appraisal of organisational functions, activities, and processes, in all media. E-mail is a tool, just like the typewriter. We do not appraise typewriters (at least not as archivists!). We macro-appraise the functions, programmes, and business activities that typewriters and e-mail technologies support.¹³

3 Recognise on Monday morning that there are vast quantities of digital “stuff” that have no archival value, and very little corporate value after a short period of time, just as in the paper world. By granting your sponsoring agencies authority to destroy normal administrative practice electronic records, or general administrative electronic records, as these are called in various countries, you eliminate some 40 to 50% or more of the total record; you permit your agency to save costs and gain efficiencies; you allow your
agency to be in compliance with various laws, regulations, and policies as outlined earlier; and you assert your presence and interest - and your credibility - in helping to manage their electronic records, and reduce their burdens. Expand this authority beyond administrative records to so-called transitory records created for all operational functions - such as copies, working drafts of documents, reference manuals, research and downloaded materials, personal stuff, system backups once superseded, and old batch and audit tapes - and by doing so, you once more allow for the generic destruction of large quantities of digital information while doing your sponsor a favour, and again building your own credibility, and not incidentally your own contacts, confidence, and comfort level with digital media.

4 Recognise that you do not now have the infrastructure or capacity of acquiring many types of data and their subsequent processing, preservation, and access. Pending that IT and human capacity in your own archives, or a regional alliance of small archives, or even when once acquired using the capacity in the most efficient way, you negotiate leaving electronic archives appraised as having long-term archival value in the custody of their creator, with appropriate preservation guidelines and monitoring. This is especially relevant to mission-critical databases, to cumulative and longitudinal data not subject to change or alteration, to data requiring very expensive and proprietary software licences, or to data still subject to very heavy reference use by the creator. There are models and standards for such distributed custody of electronic records, including one that has been operational for a decade at the National Archives of Canada.¹⁴

5 Your principal, specific action-step Monday morning in the database world, the first of our four environments, is to capture transactions of system processing rather than just taking annual or periodic snapshots of the data. Old data is not bad or redundant data, as the IT world believes, but evidence of change and programme activity. When an immigrant's or taxpayer's occupational code changes on 14 July 2003 at 2:57:04 p.m. from 39 (plumber) to 67 (teacher), that change - and when it occurred, under whose authority - needs to be captured, not just blown away into cyberspace. To do so means you have a time-bound recordkeeping system rather than merely an accurate-at-the-moment-only information system. Such a change, from plumber to teacher, without retaining the sequence of such changes over time, is a de
facto illegal destruction of the portion of that person's case-file record. For the vast majority of systems and data elements, this is not important - we do not need a record of six previous telephone numbers. But for those that have long-term value, as a whole, or as a part, for those data tables within the system that document processes and activities that have been appraised as archivally important, or as samples, extracts, or aggregates, such recordkeeping functionality must be insisted upon by the archivist.

6 In the second environment of the automated office, pending the implementation of DIRKS-like functions-based classification, and of records management software that has automatic triggers to dispose of records when their retention needs are finished, and to transfer to archival control automatically those records relating to work processes and activities already appraised as having long-term significance, pending that "ideal," there are three useful short-term action steps. One is to have workers create tree-like directory structures based on the 10 or 15 major programmes and their activities and sub-activities for their functional area of the organisation, that would be consistently named for all workers across that unit, and to file all documents - e-mail, word processor texts, spreadsheets, data, graphics, images, etc. - in that structure. There would also be folders - again consistently named - for transitory records and for non-corporate, personal material, thus allowing these to be easily segregated and destroyed. A second step is to implement within this directory structure a consistent naming and dating convention for all office documents that designates and distinguishes a memorandum from a report from a letter from an e-mail, spreadsheet, presentation, or downloaded research material, as well as version control and fixed dating. And the third step is to ensure that any electronic document management software adopted by your record manager allies not only supports all these conventions, but also includes automated retention, disposal, deletion, and archival transfer functionality.

7 In the web-based environment, as well as that of specialised applications like digital photography, GIS, and so on, the message is similar to that given to the database managers: maintain all older versions of the website pages appropriately, time and date stamped, allowing for a reconstruction of the site as it was seen by both the organisation's workers and its clients at any given time when they made decisions based on its ever-changing content. Of course,
this again applies only to those portions of the website appraised as being of long-term value to the organisation or to its archives. These seven steps are not an ideal recordkeeping regime, but they are, in my view, practical and achievable steps in that direction, and they will staunch the bleeding of records and evidence now going on. They do not require awesome levels of technical expertise, but rather people skills and recordkeeping knowledge, and good archival research skills into functional context, administrative history, and macro-appraisal thinking. In adopting such approaches, you as recordkeepers will do much more good rather than harm, as we await more standardised, commercial, and lasting solutions.

I began trying to inspire you with specious - perhaps spurious - comparisons between archivists of our generation and ancient barbarians destroying the records of civilisation. Let me end by returning to this image of civilisation. The National (then Dominion) Archivist of Canada, Sir Arthur Doughty, said in 1924, in a phrase that appears on posters and coffee mugs found in many archivists' offices in Canada, as well as being carved into the base of the only statue ever officially raised in Ottawa to honour a civil servant, that, 'of all national assets, archives are the most precious. They are the gift of one generation to another, and the extent of our care of them marks the extent of our civilisation.'

What digital gifts, to evoke Sir Arthur's phrase, will you, each of you, be leaving to the next generation? And how civilised will be judged your care of them? This is not an academic question, but, rather, an immediately relevant issue about your heritage here in New Zealand, your culture, your identity, your history, that is now critically threatened.

Society, collectively, has entrusted us as archivists the task of preserving these very things on its behalf. Will you let it down? You need first to decide that over the weekend before you start back at work on Monday morning!

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1 This paper is a reworked version of a speech I gave to the Twenty-seventh Annual Conference of the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand, held in Dunedin, 4-6 September 2003. I have deliberately retained the conversational tone of the original presentation, but added more context and some suggestive (but not exhaustive) footnotes. I wish to thank Stuart Strachan especially, and my sponsors (ARANZ, Archives New Zealand, and the Canadian High Commission in Wellington), for so efficiently arranging my attendance and for the warm hospitality they and other New Zealanders offered to me.

2 See Margaret Hedstrom, "Building Record-Keeping Systems: Archivists Are Not Alone on the Wild Frontier," Archivaria 44 (Fall 1997): 44-71; as well as her "Electronic
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4 The allusion here is to a speech I gave ten years ago on my first visit to the Antipodes in 1993, and published the following year. See Terry Cook, "Electronic Records, Paper Minds: The Revolution in Information Management and Archives in the Post-Custodial and Post-Modernist Era," Archives and Manuscripts 22 (November 1994): 300-29. While there has been significant progress in the intervening decade, not enough has occurred inside and outside the recordkeeping professions, as Eduard Mark's lament clearly shows, to alter the overall analysis I made then, or the factors for it, some of which Mark now rehearses.


7 My keynote address to the ARANZ annual conference in Dunedin, which preceded by a day the address on electronic records that is the substance of the present article, was entitled "Two Solitudes?: Appraisal and Access in the Postmodern Archive." The essence of that address, and my latest thinking about macro-appraisal, is being published as "Macro-appraisal and Functional Analysis: Documenting Governance Rather Than Government," Journal of the Society of Archivists (UK) 25 (forthcoming Spring 2003). I first articulated macro-appraisal in 1989-90 while writing The Archival Appraisal of Records Containing Personal Information: A RAMP Study With Guidelines (Paris: International Council of Archives, 1991), and later used its insights to develop, with the help of colleagues, the macro-appraisal programme at the National Archives of Canada, where it was formally launched across government in 1991 as the intellectual core of a new planned approach to the disposal of records. I was later the director responsible for the appraisal and disposal programme for government records in all media from 1993 to 1998, when I left the institution. The earlier articulations of the theory, strategy, and practice of macro-appraisal include Terry Cook, "Mind Over Matter: Towards a New Theory of Archival Appraisal," The Canadian Archival Imagination: Essays in Honour of Hugh Taylor, ed. Barbara Craig (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Archivists, 1992), 38-70; Terry Cook, "'Many are called but few are chosen': Appraisal Guidelines for Sampling and Selecting Case Files," Archivaria 32 (Summer 1991): 25-50; Richard Brown, "Macro-Appraisal Theory and the Context of the Public Records Creator," Archivaria 40 (Fall 1995): 121-72; and Richard Brown, "Records Acquisition Strategy and Its Theoretical Foundation: The Case for a Concept of Archival Hermeneutics," Archivaria 33 (Winter 1991-92): 34-56. For placing macro-appraisal within Australian continuum-based thinking about recordkeeping, see Terry Cook, "Beyond the Screen: The Records Continuum and Archival Cultural Heritage," Beyond the Screen: Capturing Corporate and Social Memory, ed. Lucy Burrows (Melbourne: Australian Society of Archivists, 2000): 8-21. For situating macro-appraisal within the history of archival thinking about appraisal, see Terry Cook, "What is Past is Prologue:
A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift” Archivaría 43 (Spring 1997): 17-63; and within the postmodern archives and our conditions of postmodernity, see Terry Cook, “Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernity and the Practice of Archives,” Archivaría 51 (Spring 2001): 14-35, especially 30-35.

8 The idea of these four sectors builds on my "generations" approach, where each generation of electronic records is overlapped, not replaced, by its successor(s), (see note 5 above), but also borrows in its details and examples from some course materials shared with me by John McDonald, my long-time National Archives of Canada colleague, and now an independent (and international) information management consultant, who I gratefully acknowledge.


10 To give citations for all these national, state-based and university-centred research projects into identifying, capturing, and preserving authentic, reliable, usable digital records would amount to article-length footnote. Every project mentioned has both published articles, sometimes books, and rich websites with reports, studies, and models. The diligent reader will easily be able to locate these.

11 I am happy to acknowledge again John McDonald’s input to some of the factors on this listing.

12 On this, see the important conclusions from the InterPARES project that the authenticity of electronic records is not assured, as earlier assumed, through diplomatics theory, or related templates or models, but “in all cases . . . mainly through procedural means.” Furthermore, “the diplomatic approach, with its focus on the individual record or document, and the functional analysis approach (as in macro-appraisal or computer systems design), with its focus on business processes, can both yield valuable insights, but are incompatible as complementary research approaches.” The majority of world recordkeepers through international records management standards have opted for a DIRKS-like functional analysis approach that I am advocating with macro-appraisal. See Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, “Testing our Truths: Delineating the Parameters of the Authentic Archival Electronic Record, American Archivist 65 (Fall/Winter 2002): 206, 210 for quotations, and passim. For some parallel conclusions based on real-world practitioners, see Eun G. Park, “Understanding ‘Authenticity’ in Records and Information Management: Analyzing Practitioner Constructs,” American Archivist 64 (Fall/Winter 2001): 270-92. Margaret Hedstrom anticipated such conclusions some years earlier (see note 2 above).


14 For this policy, its background, and cross-references to other relevant archival literature, see Terry Cook, "Leaving Archival Electronic Records in Institutions: Policy and Monitoring Arrangements at the National Archives of Canada," *Archives and Museum Informatics* 9 (1995): 141-49.

Archives, Empires and Histories of Colonialism

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Over the last two decades, the 'archive' has become a key issue in exchanges over the theory and practice of writing about the colonial past. The stakes of these postcolonial debates are high as they not only subject the cultural impact of colonialism to sustained scrutiny, but also raise questions about the possibility of accessing the 'voices' and subjectivities of colonised peoples, especially women, children, and those of low status. In Australia, both indigenous and non-indigenous historians, politicians, and community leaders continue to dispute native title, the evidence that catalogues the manifold forms of violence directed against Aborigines, the meaning of the 'stolen generations', and the evidentiary weight that can be attached to the memories and narratives produced from within indigenous communities.1 A new generation of South African activists and scholars are exploring the archival basis of the apartheid regime and grappling with the complex historical, political, and psychological freight of the evidence collated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.2 In South Asia, there have been sustained debates over the history of 'communalism' and strong resistance from the Hindu right to attempts to document the history of marginalised groups, as they fear that these stories might call received visions of the nation and its past into question. Even though the "figure" of the archive has not been explicitly invoked in quite the same way here in New Zealand, the early reflections of Michael King and Judith Binney on the value of oral narratives for understanding the Māori past and the Waitangi Tribunal's sustained engagement with the multiple forms of Māori historical knowledge (from whakapapa to whakatauki, waiata to early written texts, from haka to printed te reo Māori documents), have opened up a new range of sources and perspectives on our colonial past.3

Taken together, these debates mean that the archives of empire have been subjected to a new interrogation as scholars have begun to
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reconstruct the concerns that generated them, to clarify the logics that organised them, to map their oclusions and to identify their points of silence as well as their recurrent concerns. This scholarship has jeopardised the faith in the archive that is still inculcated into undergraduate and postgraduate history students as the very basis of the discipline. G.R. Elton's injunction that the historian's aim is 'to know all the evidence' or the oft-cited insistence that historians should immerse themselves in the archives until they 'hear the past speak' seem grandiose, misleading, and politically naive in light of recent discussions of the archive. Only some 'voices' are clearly recorded in colonial archives and those voices are frequently unreliable. Many other voices are fleetingly recorded, surviving only as fragments, faint traces, or muffled in reported speech and translation. At the same time as historians rethink traditional archives and search for new archives - in oral history, literature, the visual arts, the built environment, material culture and bodily adornment - we can begin to imagine a wide range of innovative and imaginative ways of recording and debating the colonial past. Recent work on the history of colonialism has not only enlarged our sense of what colonialism was - as the place of medicine and hygiene, surveying, literature, the environment, child-rearing, and intimacy under colonial regimes have been submitted to new scrutiny by historians - but it has also drawn upon an array of new sources and alternative archives. Sources that would have been ignored or discounted by earlier generations of imperial historians, who viewed colonialism through narrow economic and political perspectives, have assumed new significance. Important perspectives on empire-building and the multifaceted nature of colonialism have been unlocked by Heidi Gengenbach's use of tattoos as an archive for re-reading the social history of colonial Mozambique; Ann Stoler's exploration of memory work in the Dutch empire; Timothy Burke's examination of soap as a window on "commodity" colonialism in Zimbabwe; the work of Arun Kumar on the history of rumour and anti-colonial resistance in India; Luise White's examinations of rumours, lies, and secrets in colonial Africa; Urvashi Butalia's use of memory and oral history in India; and Antoinette Burton's work on houses and homes as archives for women writers in late colonial India. In surveying debates over the archive in the recent historiography of the British Empire, this essay is designed to stage an encounter between this scholarship and New Zealand historical writing, potentially opening up the possibility of new approaches to the history of colonialism in New Zealand. It is divided into three sections. The first section of the essay focuses on debates over the archive in the
It has not been sufficiently recognized that colonialism was itself a cultural project of control. Colonial knowledge both enabled conquest and was produced by it; in certain important ways, knowledge was what colonialism was all about. Cultural forms in societies newly classified as "traditional" were reconstructed and transformed by and through this knowledge, which created new categories and oppositions between colonizers and colonized, European and Asian, modern and traditional, West and East. Ruling India through the delineation and reconstitution of systematic grammars for vernacular languages, representing India through the mastery and display of archaeological memories and religious texts, Britain set in motion transformations every bit as powerful as the better-known consequences of military and economic imperialism.6 Nicholas Dirks's statement neatly encapsulates key understandings that have emerged in recent work on the place of knowledge production and the role of archives in the colonisation of India. It is beyond the scope of this essay to rehearse the theoretical and historiographical shifts that underpinned the emergence of this body of scholarship, rather I will explore two key issues that run through this recent scholarship: the relationship between the colonial state and knowledge-production, and the gendering of the archive.

The role of colonial knowledge has assumed a central position in South Asian historiography, as historians have sought to explain the ability of a small group of Britons to incorporate India into British trade networks and eventually colonise most of South Asia. In a path-breaking 1985 essay, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak insisted that colonial archives
were the product of the 'commercial/territorial interest of the East India Company', forcefully underscoring a point that the early research of Bernard Cohn had pointed towards. More recently, Cohn himself mapped the various 'modalities' that framed the production and organisation of colonial knowledge in India. The research of Cohn's former colleague, Nicholas Dirks has focused on the production of colonial archives in south India and has stressed the centrality of colonialism in producing and policing 'traditional' India, primarily through the British valorisation of caste. Other scholars, especially C.A. Bayly and Eugene Irschick, have placed a far greater emphasis on the ability of South Asian groups to contest, mould, and appropriate the production of colonial knowledge, stressing the 'dialogic' nature of the colonial encounter.

Although these views of knowledge production are grounded in different visions of the nature of the British presence in India, draw upon divergent theoretical literatures, and have been fiercely debated (most especially, in Dirks's polemic against Bayly in the closing portions of *Castes of Mind*), they have transformed our understanding of the production and significance of South Asian archives. Collections of cartographic, linguistic, ethnological, ethnographic, religious, economic and historical knowledge relating to colonial India are no longer simply seen as repositories that record India's past, but rather they have been re-imagined as the very basis of British dominance in South Asia. Thanks to Lata Mani's study of debates surrounding *sati* (widow-burning) and Nicholas Dirks' work on 'collectors' such as Colin Mackenzie in South India, we are now aware that colonial archives were produced by the colonial state's ability to solicit indigenous opinion, textualise traditions and compose detailed pictures of the indigenous communities that were drawn into its ambit. At a fundamental level, this shift in understanding of the archive also reflects a growing awareness of its symbolic power, as we are sensitive to not only its central role in the day-to-day paperwork that drove the wheels of empire, but also to the power of the imperial fantasy of the total archive. Many colonial officials and British politicians were attached to the dream that world-mastery might come about through documentation, the construction of an empire of knowledge based on the pen rather than the sword. This was an endeavour that colonised communities in South Asia were deeply aware of themselves: indeed some Indians termed British rule 'kaghazi raf' (rule by paper), while libraries, offices, and the printed word were significant targets of indigenous resistance against British rule.

In effect, the archive has become deeply problematic for historians of colonial India, as we are increasingly aware that most of the sources
that historians conveniently use (government documents, manuscript collections, Parliamentary Papers, court records, periodicals and newspapers) are not simply documents that allow us to access the colonial past, but rather were themselves constitutive of the inequalities of that past. Therefore it is difficult to view the archive as a transparent store of sources from which we recover a total image of the South Asian past: rather the archive has been re-imagined as generated and saturated by power, a dense but uneven body of knowledge scarred by the cultural struggles of the colonial past. Given that this is the nature of the archive of colonialism, how must it be read? What perspectives are fore-grounded and what groups are privileged within colonial archives? More importantly, who is excluded, whose voices are silenced, what groups and individuals are reduced to fleeting traces and isolated textual fragments?

These questions are particularly pressing for historians committed to documenting the experiences of South Asian women and the dynamics of gender construction and performance. The colonial archive itself is heavily gendered; not only was the bureaucratic machinery of empire overwhelmingly male, but most of the texts produced by South Asians were written by those male indigenous experts, scribal professionals, and text-book authors recognised and supported by the colonial state. Beyond the confines of the state, the highly gendered pattern of literacy over the long sweep of South Asian history has ensued that male voices are over-represented in the historical record. Female voices, stifled by both the colonial state and the power of patriarchy, are difficult, and some would say even impossible to recover. As Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has argued, seeking South Asian women’s subjectivities in the archive is analogous to being ‘in the shadow of shadows’.14 Spivak is critical of Michel Foucault’s belief that oppressed subjects were able to speak, to articulate their subjectivity: Spivak asserts that this position is untenable within a context of colonialism and specially within the context of a heavily gendered colonialism saturated by masculinised ideologies. As Spivak makes clear, the Rani of Sirmur, the wife of the ruler of a small hill-state in what is now Himachal Pradesh, emerges in the colonial archives ‘only when she is needed in the space of imperial production’. As the expanding Company state attempted to consolidate its northern frontier in the Shimla hills it exhibited a strong interest in the political structure and courtly politics of those states on its borders. It is within this political and diplomatic framework, where the Company attempted to pacify and subordinate the hill-states through their ‘Settlement’, that the Rani appears so briefly in the Company’s archive as ‘a king’s wife and a weaker vessel’.15
Spivak’s conclusion that subaltern groups cannot speak has proved extremely controversial and has stimulated a large and discordant literature. Perhaps the most important gloss on Spivak’s exploration of the gender and subalternity is Lata Mani’s work on *sati*. While Mani acknowledges the importance of Spivak’s argument, reading within the context of the ‘multiple determinations of archival sources’, she guards against seeing Spivak’s argument as a set of ‘conclusions about colonial discourse in general’, instead using it as a starting point for an extensive re-reading of contemporary accounts of *sati*. Mani has revealed the highly uneven nature of this archive of materials surrounding this most contentious tradition generated by evangelical missionaries, state functionaries, and indigenous male reformers. These intense debates over the scriptural basis of the practice and its meaning with high-caste Hindu ‘tradition’, generally erased female subjectivity, as women became instead the ‘ground’ for debate about the nature of custom and modernity. While Mani’s powerful analysis follows Spivak to the extent that she makes it clear that any desire to affect a full recovery of female subjectivity is doomed to failure, it also suggests that a nuanced reading of colonial texts can unsettle the fundamental assumptions of male-produced eyewitness accounts. Mani traces acts of resistance to the coercive techniques that often enabled the performance of *sati* and highlights the occasional accounts that disrupt official discourses by focusing on the physical and emotional pain inflicted upon women: these accounts compromise and even rupture key ‘fictions’ about *sati*, especially the dominant representation of it as a ‘religiously inspired act of devotion to the deceased husband’. Equally importantly, Mani delineates the ways in which male indigenous elites were authorised as experts within the colonial system through debates on *sati*: pandits employed in the Company’s legal system, and Brahman, were subjected to ‘continual and instinctive questioning’ by British authorities, and out of their competing opinions and interpretations a new synthesised vision of ‘custom’ was textualised and ensconced as the bedrock of colonial policy. This incitement to discourse directed towards male ‘authorities’ must be set in contradistinction to the muffling of female voices in colonial archives, revealing the fundamentally gendered dynamics that shaped British knowledge-construction and policy-making, (not only in relation to *sati*), and that also moulded the fundamental contours of the political economy of British India.

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What might New Zealand archivists and historians learn from these debates? One point of departure is Lata Mani’s exploration of the ways
in which understandings of 'custom' and 'tradition' were produced by the colonial state's 'incitement to discourse'. As I have argued elsewhere, early functionaries of the colonial state, as well as explorers and missionaries, had great difficulty accessing Māori mentalities and had only a hazy picture of key aspects of pre-colonial social structure. Pākehā had a limited grasp of the tāngata whenua's conception of the relationships between the natural and supernatural worlds, their gods, and their rites de passage or key rituals, until the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Only through sustained contact with Māori, the growth of the Pākehā population, the expansion of the colonial economy, and the alienation of Māori land, did Pākehā begin to order their understanding of Māori into a coherent body of knowledge. The colonial state and its functionaries - from the governor to land negotiators, military commanders, translators, and surveyors - produced increasingly dense bodies of information pertaining to particular hapā and iwi (and the ways in which these kin groups related to their landscapes) as well as a more generalised picture of Māori culture and history. While some of this material was produced by travel and observation, the institutions of the colonial state itself produced large amounts of information about Māori. Most importantly, within the context of settler colonialism, the maps, diaries and reports of surveyors deepened the colonial state's knowledge of New Zealand's natural resources, potential communication routes, and highlighted areas that might be 'opened up' to settlers. After its establishment in mid-1860, the Land Court greatly expanded and attempted to order this knowledge, as it collated a vast body of information relating to resource use and ownership (it is important to stress that this knowledge was never complete, contained many conflicting accounts, and that representatives of the state frequently worried over its accuracy and reliability).

But perhaps the most valued knowledge was produced by those Māori who established working relationships with colonial officials. Like their counterparts in India and elsewhere in the empire, colonial officials in New Zealand typically believed that an accurate knowledge of colonised peoples was crucial to their 'pacification' and the creation of a thriving colony. In New Zealand this argument was most strongly (and famously) forwarded in the preface to George Grey's groundbreaking Polynesian Mythology (1855). Grey explained the importance of Māori language and mythology to a governor who had taken over a war-torn colony. 'I soon perceived that I could neither successfully govern, nor hope to conciliate, a numerous and turbulent people, with whose languages, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought I
was quite unacquainted." Grey noted that the 'rebel chiefs ... frequently quoted, in explanation of their views and intentions, fragments of ancient poems or proverbs, or made allusions which rested on an ancient system of mythology'. As Māori political discourse was grounded in 'these figurative forms', Grey believed that a close knowledge of Māori language and tradition was essential to the preservation of the Crown's authority. In Grey's view the effective amalgamation of 'natives', whether Aborigines, Māori or Africans, into a harmonious multi-racial society was dependent on a sound knowledge of their social organisation and worldview.

To achieve this end Grey provided several Māori with lodgings and wages in return for language instruction and recording various myths and historical narratives. The most important of these men was Wiremu Maihi Te Rangihanaheke, a high-ranking member of Te Arawa. Te Rangihanaheke quickly established a close working relationship with Grey. He lived with Grey in the Governor's residence, receiving £3 per month in return for his teaching and writing. Until Grey's departure from New Zealand in 1853 Te Rangihanaheke provided Grey with a series of manuscripts recounting various Māori traditions. These manuscripts, and the continuing dialogue between Te Rangihanaheke and Grey which grew out of them, formed the basis for much of Grey's published work on Māori. However, Grey's relationship with Te Rangihanaheke was not unique. Edward Shortland, a leading surveyor and Protector of the Aborigines, published two important works on Māori mythology, social organisation and religious practice. His *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* (1851) and *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (1854) revealed a substantial debt to Māori informants and clarified the extent of regional variation in Māori social life and cosmology. Meanwhile the ethnographer John White was beginning to build a vast web of Māori informants. A range of important government positions in various parts of the North Island from the 1860s allowed White to extend his networks of correspondents, resulting in a huge collection of historical and mythological narratives. These 'tales', collected over four decades, formed the basis of his monumental *The Ancient History of the Maori* (six volumes, 1887-1890).

The pioneering work of both Jenifer Curnow (on Grey and Wiremu Maihi Te Rangihanaheke), and Michael Reilly (on White and his 'informants'), provide richly detailed case studies of how such relationships were constructed and maintained. Their work also tells us much about how about the ways in which the state's 'incitement to discourse' worked out on the ground: the personal relationships, the economic contexts, and intellectual concerns that framed the
production of particular colonial archives. These types of projects - which nicely parallel the 'biographies' of colonial archives produced by Nicholas Dirks for colonial South Asia - need to be undertaken for many other archives produced in colonial New Zealand. In my view, New Zealand historians need to turn to their archives more critically, making the archives themselves the object of critical historical study. We desperately need to appreciate how our colonial archives were constructed, we must catalogue what is absent in these collections as well as what is present, and we need to reconstruct the ideological work that they have done. Over the past decade, many archives have been at least partially 'decolonised' as New Zealand institutions pay close heed to the Treaty of Waitangi and New Zealand archivists have grappled with the particular interests and needs of Māori users. Alongside this, however, historians need to rise to the challenge and recognise that our archives are important microcosms of the colonial processes that have moulded the development of modern New Zealand: in other words, the decolonisation of our archives must be accompanied by a full appreciation of their imperial histories.

One other potential avenue of research hinted at by the South Asian literature is the history of 'colonial disciplines'. Indian historians have paid considerable attention to the role of disciplines, such as geography, medicine, botany, and literary studies, in enabling the cultural project of colonialism and exploring ways in which the authority of these distinctive forms of knowledge and idioms of interpretation were established. These disciplines were crucial in both ordering British knowledge of India and in disseminating 'European' forms of knowledge to Indians through the colonial education system and print culture. This kind of approach to the cultural and intellectual history of colonialism has not featured prominently in New Zealand historiography, even though European disciplines did encounter the distinctive knowledge systems fashioned by pre-colonial Māori. Brad Patterson and, more recently, Giselle Byrnes's work on the history of surveying on the New Zealand frontier, hint at the new perspectives that can be opened up by this approach (and can be read as an interesting counterpoint to Mathew Edney's work on the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India). Given the centrality of surveying to the success of settler colonialism, the history of surveyors, surveying, and maps as colonial artifacts require further detailed examination.

Two aspects of colonial science have received good treatment in recent years. In an important arc of essays, John Stenhouse has highlighted the religious, political and ethical debates surrounding science in the colony (especially surrounding the reception of
As well as foregrounding the persistence of Christianity as a key framework for shaping Pākehā understandings of race, the natural world, and 'universal history', Stenhouse has traced a range of intense conflicts that erupted around these issues within the context of colonialism. Environmental thought has also received sophisticated treatment, in the work of Ross Galbreath and Paul Star on colonial environmentalism as well as throughout Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking's recent *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*. One of the most important features of these works, and one which could be further developed, is that they move beyond simply examining a particular individual's 'attitude' or a single set of representations of Māori, to embed colonial science in its institutional, political, and intellectual contexts. Future work on colonial science could, however, be enriched by closer attention to the processes of archive construction and how these new forms of knowledge engaged with and 'supplanted' Māori epistemologies.

The gendered dynamics of colonial knowledge production and the gendering of colonial archives also remains largely unexplored in New Zealand historiography, which is surprising given the large and sophisticated literature on New Zealand women's history. In part, this lacuna reflects the uneven temporal focus of the research on women's history. This historiography is very strong for the Liberals and post-Liberal period, but comparatively underdeveloped for the years before 1890. Perhaps the neglect of this earlier period is not simply produced by a narrative sensibility that is ordered around the development of feminism, but is also partly determined by the more restricted range of sources and greater difficulty in accessing female 'voices' in the pre-1890 period. There is no doubt that sources produced by women and female voices - especially non-European ones - are under-represented in New Zealand's colonial archive, but the precise extent and nature of this gendering remains unclear. Frances Porter's and Charlotte MacDonald's 'My Hand will Write what my Heart Dictates' does suggest, however, that some very rich sources produced by colonised women do exist in our archives and it seems that in comparative terms we have a much better range of documents left by indigenous women than is the case in South Asia. This reflects two key divergences between South Asian history and the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Firstly, in the colonial period Māori women were much more likely to be literate than their South Asian counterparts. For much of the nineteenth century the male vernacular literacy rate in South Asia was about 10%, with female literacy probably in the vicinity of 1%. Although the figures we have for Māori literacy remain fiercely debated, there is no doubt that
rates of Māori women's literacy were much higher and as a result of this we have some rich documents which we might use to access their experiences of colonialism. Secondly, because Māori social structures were more flexible than many of the forms of social organisation that had developed in India, the functionaries of the colonial state had a more direct relationship with Māori (men and women) than was the norm in colonial South Asia. Within this context, Māori women could exercise considerable authority (in a variety of forms) and a significant number of Māori women were able to access colonial political processes and institutions. Māori women signed petitions, wrote letters to colonial officials to clarify the nature and extent of their land ownership, sent messages to Pākehā visitors to remind them that they should be reimbursed for their labour and hospitality, or, as in the case of Ruta Tamihana Te Rauparaha, used letter writing to maintain the close bonds of friendship that some Māori established with colonial officials and their families. Close reading of such sources, together with broader assessments of how gender constituted colonial archives, will greatly enrich existing analyses of ways in which various forms of difference constituted and mediated the social formations that developed on the New Zealand frontier.

If New Zealand historians were to subject our colonial archives to critical scrutiny and sustained analysis, by viewing the archives themselves as artifacts of colonialism rather than simply the repositories where the data pertaining to the colonial past is stored, important new perspectives of empire-building and the dynamics of colonisation would be enabled. The existing historiography on 'race relations' in the nineteenth century remains organised around two poles - conflict and assimilation - and while these were crucial dynamics, they do not allow us to map the diverse and shifting relationships between the developing colonial state and various Māori individuals, hapū and iwi. The rich and highly localised evidence produced for the Waitangi Tribunal offer some windows into these complex dynamics, but this material has had little impact on academic history writing. The work undertaken by and for the Tribunal needs to be complemented and supplemented by a new body of research that is less narrowly focused on resources and resource use, exploring language, cross-cultural communication, and the many different interfaces between Pākehā and Māori ways of knowing the world. Most crucially, we need to assemble a full and rich understanding of the 'colonial information order', or better still the 'colonial knowledge order'. This would identify the place of knowledge production within the broader colonial social formation, highlighting the role of 'knowledgeable' groups (within Māori, Pākehā and other tau/iwi
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populations), the changing shape of communication networks and technologies, debates over the status of particular forms of knowledge (an exemplary case of this would be the disputes around the 1907 Tohunga Supression Act, and more crucially the connections between knowledge production and the fundamental processes of colonisation: the alienation of land, rights, and cultural authority.

* * * * *

One other important way that historians of New Zealand might approach the histories of our colonial archives is by reframing them within the broader context of the British imperial system. My own research has tried to bring these discussions of creation and power of colonial archives into dialogue with the 'trans-national' approaches to the imperial past. 'Trans-national' histories of the empire focus on the movement of commodities, capital, people, ideologies and ideas across the boundaries of nation-states, reconstructing these integrative structures, and tracing the cultural transformations and translations enacted by these networks and patterns of exchange. My research work in the Public Record Office, India Office Library (part of the British Library), the Alexander Turnbull Library and the Hocken has convinced me these processes frequently operated over great distances within imperial contexts and this cultural traffic brought colonies as disparate as India and New Zealand into close connection. As I have conducted this research I have reconsidered the very structure of the empire and rethought how one might write about its complex pasts.

In my Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire, which placed particular emphasis on the Polynesian Society Collection in the Turnbull, I argued that it is productive to conceive of the empire not in the terms of a spoked wheel with London as the 'hub' where the various 'spokes' (whether flows of finance, lines of communication, or the movement of people and objects) from the periphery meet, but rather in terms of a complex web consisting of 'horizontal' filaments that run between various colonies in addition to 'vertical' connections between the metropole and individual colonies. This metaphor of the web has several advantages for conceptualising the imperial past. At a general level, it underscores that the empire was a structure, a complex system of overlapping and interwoven institutions, organisations, ideologies and discourses. The web captures the integrative nature of this cultural traffic, the ways the empire connected disparate points in space into a complex mesh of networks. Archives of various types - the libraries of learned societies, the records produced by missionary organisations and reform movements, private libraries assembled by
colonial intellectuals and the official archives of colonial government – can be understood as crucial nodes in these webs. Identifying archives as nodes within a larger system of imperial knowledge production recognises the double function of the archive. At one level, archives are the product of centripetal processes, as various webs of correspondence, institutional exchanges and publication networks draw material together into the archival space where it is collected, organised, and stored. But archives also have a centrifugal function; they are centers from which knowledge was distributed, whether through the act of reading, correspondence, the intertextual nature of print culture, or the exchange of manuscript or printed material.

Unfortunately we have a very limited understanding of the circulation of ideas and the movement of information across the empire, largely because of the ways in which historians imagine the spatial significance of the archive. Even after the cultural turn, most historians view the archive as providing the materials for studying a carefully delimited space, whether it is a city, a district or the nation: effectively, the archive comes to stand as a proxy for the unit of analysis.\textsuperscript{29} Even those historians sensitive to the occlusions of the imperial archive typically view archives as enclosed, static, and discreet, rather than the product of the constant circulation of information and the heavy intertextuality of many forms of knowledge.\textsuperscript{30} By emphasising the mobility of colonial knowledge and the interweaving of the archives of empire, we can place greater emphasis on the trans-national cultural and intellectual traffic that was the very lifeblood of empire. To my mind, this understanding might help us not only understand the conditions that produced many of the key archives in New Zealand, but also re-contextualise New Zealand’s history within the British imperial system, the fundamental structure that shaped the transformation of Aotearoa/New Zealand from 1769 through to the second half of the twentieth century.

* * * * *

Despite its centrality in the practice of historical research and writing, the archive remains largely understudied and undebated by New Zealand historians. This essay has charted the place of colonialism in the current ‘archival turn’ in humanities scholarship, in the hope that those of us interested in New Zealand’s past might engage with these important international debates. I have also argued that by making archives the actual focus of research rather than viewing them simply as source repositories, we can gain many important insights into the colonisation of New Zealand. More generally still, this essay has suggested that by viewing New Zealand archives within the larger
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formation of the British empire, we can gain important insights into networks, institutions and discourses that moulded the development of the colony. Close scrutiny of the imperial frameworks of our archives reminds us that nineteenth century colonial culture was by its very nature porous, fluid and that it was energised by the circulation of people, ideas, and ideologies through an almost bewildering array of institutions, networks, and forms of cultural production. Although New Zealand archives have been increasingly tied to the fate of the nation and the history of the nation-state since World War II, they were produced within an imperial world that was shaped by conflict, mobility, and an almost insatiable desire for knowledge. Rethinking and re-reading our archives is a crucial step towards grappling with the painful legacies of that imperial past and its contemporary resonances.

1 See, for example, Robert Manne, ed., Whitewash: on Keith Windschuttle’s Fabrication of Aboriginal History (Melbourne: Black Inc. Agenda, 2003).
2 Carolyn Hamilton et al., Refiguring the Archive (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002).
4 G.R. Elton, The Practice of History (London: Fontana, 1969), 87. Elton did hint that such evidence may not be total: 'the physical survivals from the events to be studied.'
8 Cohn identifies the five chief modalities as: historiographical, investigative, the survey, enumerative and the museological: Bernard S. Cohn, Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).


14 Spivak, 265.

15 Spivak, 266, 270.


17 Mani, 403.


19 Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology, and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand race, as Furnished by their Priests and Chiefs* (London, 1855), iii-iv.

20 Grey vii.


22 Curnow argues that Grey's copious commentaries on Te Rangikaheke's manuscripts and Te Rangikaheke's corrections of Grey's work reveals a very close collaborative relationship. Curnow, 102-3.


25 These include John Stenhouse, "The Wretched Gorilla Damnification of Humanity": the "battle" between science and religion over evolution in nineteenth-century New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History* 18 (1984): 143-162; "A disappearing


28 Bayly adapts the phrase ‘information order’ from the sociologist Manuel Castells: Bayly, 3. While Bayly is aware on the distinction between ‘information’ and the more culturally encoded form ‘knowledge’, I think in the context of colonial New Zealand, the radical nature of cultural difference between Europeans and tangata whenua means that ‘knowledge order’ is more applicable as an overarching analytical framework. Bayly, 3 n.9.

29 See, for example, Richard Eaton’s valorisation of ‘local knowledge’, found in “District archives, local libraries, private collections, zamindari records”: Richard M. Eaton, ‘(Re)imag(in)ing Other’ness: A postmortem for the postmodern in India”, *Journal of World History* 11 (2000), 72.

30 These arguments are developed in a more expanded form in Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*, and in “Rethinking the archive, opening up the nation state in South Asia (and beyond)”, *After the Imperial Turn: Critical Approaches to National Histories and Literatures*, ed. Antoinette Burton (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2002).
Comment

Issues of Access at Land Information New Zealand*

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Introduction

I am a self-employed heritage researcher based in Dunedin. My work has been mainly in public history, working on land-based research. After graduating with a history degree from Otago University I was employed to write and research evidence for iwi for the Taranaki muru raupatu claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, and subsequently researched buildings, sites and landscapes for heritage organisations such as the New Zealand Historic Places Trust and the Department of Conservation, and for individuals such as conservation architects. The main sources for this kind of detailed work are archival – official government archives, photographic collections, council property files, and land title and survey information. It is this last group – land title and survey information – that I would like to consider in more detail.

Land title and survey information sounds dry. In fact, these records can be sensitive and revealing windows into New Zealand’s history. Plans can provide fascinating details about what was on the land, the patterns and timing of settlement, and are often beautiful in their own right. Certificates of title and other associated records reveal the intricacies of family history, changes of ownership, and a basic tracking of the history of an individual place. Land title and survey information is complex, interrelated, and intricate. In addition it is also inconsistent, difficult to follow and exceedingly complicated.

This paper has been written after many discussions with other users who consistently experienced frustration in trying to access this vital information. Those of us who use these records for historical purposes are usually engaged in heritage-based work: historians, archaeologists,

* A paper presented to the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand Annual Conference, Dunedin, 4-6 September 2003.
surveyors and other heritage researchers. I cannot emphasise enough how vital these records are to this work, and to the public understanding of their own past: if you own land, or if you ever want to find out about its past, access to this information directly concerns you. As heritage professionals we all recognise the value of these records and would be overjoyed at improvements to both the intellectual access (that is, the understanding of the records system as a whole), and the physical access (being able to use the records).

In Dunedin, land title and survey information records are held by two main organisations. The first body of records is held by Land Information New Zealand, formerly known as the Department of Survey and Land Information, which itself was formerly known as the Department of Lands and Survey. A second, substantial holding of former Lands and Survey Department records from both Otago and Southland, is in the possession of the Dunedin Regional Office of Archives New Zealand.

The complexity of the land title system is bewildering for those trying to find their way in for the first time (and even for those of us who have been around for a while). Each individual record has cross-references to other relevant records, both back in time, and across the record group contemporaneously. These references are not evident initially (if you do not have a friendly guide to show you) and can take a long time to navigate. Difficulties are compounded by the current access system and policies, and it is access to these information systems that I would like to address.

**Physical Access**

The records in Dunedin can be accessed at the office of Land Information New Zealand and at Archives New Zealand. Primary public access at Land Information New Zealand (LINZ) is gained through either the Landonline computer system, or authorised access to the records room. For those in the know, and who provide adequate proof of their credentials, access into the records through the historic records room, previously one of the main ways into the land information system is available to authorised key holders. The records room is unstaffed, with users left to their own devices, in a place with extraordinarily valuable research sources. This includes such gems as an 1844 Walter Mantell sketch in an unmarked plan drawer (shown to me by another researcher who was rather startled to find it there when he was looking for something else), and which has since been removed to an unknown location; and incredibly fragile indices to the whole deed and title systems.
The Landonline computer network is a complex search programme designed, it would appear, from my experience of using it, for conveyancing purposes. There are particular access issues related to Landonline. These include: pressure on access, the complexity and design of the computer system, the quality of reproduction of historical records, loss of regional access, staffing and, last but not least, cost, cost and cost.

Being able to access Landonline is of course crucial, but can be difficult. Let me describe the circumstances: the public counter and reception area provides two computer terminals for searching Landonline. There is also internet access as long as you pay the large fee for accessing the system, with further payments for either viewing or printing the desired records. As I cannot afford that fee, nor can any of the individuals or organisations for whom I have worked, I will focus on the use of the public terminals.

The public terminals are used mainly by those wanting to print current titles for building permits or for legal purposes such as property conveyancing. The terminals are in demand, with people lining up behind those already tapping away on the computer. Having people sighing behind you does not do a lot for your computer performance, especially if stumbling through a particularly difficult search. Thankfully there is not too much sighing, with more competent members of the public offering to help those drowning in the difficulties of a complex search, or those first-time users who are staring blankly not even able to enter the system.

Researchers like me are an unwelcome sight. My work can involve intricate, detailed searching for a whole day (or even days), particularly when using multiple survey plans and moving in and out of different records on screen tracing through the history of a place. There used to be a computer terminal in the historic records room where I could happily tap away largely unnoticed for hours and hours, getting lost and then re-finding myself down the track somewhere. Now however, I act as a traffic jam. I am a very polite and helpful traffic jam though. If anyone comes in I always offer to move aside, and if bewildered first-time users are stuck I will help them find an entrance point. But a traffic jam I am, and the staff will ask me to move even when I have only been there a short time, and there are others who have been there longer. Quite simply the system is not designed for researchers.

The Complexity of Landonline

As alluded to in the previous section, another problem, and an additional pressure when using Landonline, is the complexity of the computer
system. You have to know exactly what you are looking for, otherwise it will not work; you have to put the spaces in exactly the right place, otherwise it will not work. You have to know that sometimes (and only sometimes) information was originally wrongly entered and you must endeavour to replicate the possible mistakes in descriptions. If you are wrong, it will not work. You have to know the nature of the record and the land title system you are trying to call up, otherwise you cannot fill in the boxes, and again will not work. Sometimes it is inconsistent and it will not work. Sometimes, all by itself, it will not work.

The computer system imposed on top of an already complex record group can make things very confusing. The confusion is compounded by a lack of help in accessing the system. I should like to make it clear that I am not criticising staff; this is a systemic issue. However, staff are unable to prioritise training for members of the public in the use of the system, and at times discourage public enquiries if they are relatively complex. General queries are not always answered, and it is often up to the goodwill of other users to help these people. I have personally helped people with queries that were fairly obvious, because I understand how bewildering such entries to bureaucracy can be, and eavesdropping on their conversation at the public counter or on the adjoining terminal, I realise I can actually find out what they want to know (a more experienced user helped me on my first shaky visit!).

There is an instruction manual but it is about an inch thick, and until you have got into the system it does not make much sense. It is also hard to sit and read an instruction manual with other desperate users breathing behind you; hence the reliance on physical help from other members of the public. The sad thing for me is the effect such a discouraging experience can have on a user, who leaves bewildered, confused and disempowered. These records, I would like to emphasise again, are wonderful sources. It is a thrill to see the reproduction of a hand-inked plan on screen, and people miss out if they cannot get into the system to start with.

**Design and Cost**

The design of Landonline is also a problem in that it appears to have been mainly set up for commercial conveyancing and related enquiries. For a heritage researcher and for others this creates several problems. Firstly, there is no real historical connectedness about the computer records, particularly as it is not possible to see vital, prior information, without paying for the most modern record (which is not really the one that you wanted). Certificates of title provide the most obvious example. These record the changes in title of a particular section of
land, and often create a fairly complex trail through sales and subdivisions. As a researcher I am often required to trace the history of a particular section from its first record (be it Crown Grant, or an entry in the deed book, or a town allotment book, or the issue of a certificate of title). Often each section will go through a number of titles, the references evident on the document itself. If all you have is the current street address or title number then you need to see that title to be able to get to the prior reference. The older SDI computer search at LINZ would pull up that information; these terminals are no longer available for public use.

A second issue is cost. The Landonline system will not let you see that information without paying six or seven dollars for the privilege of printing the title. For one record that is perhaps reasonable, but when, like me, you are doing a heritage inventory involving 40 properties then it is unaffordable. Avoiding costs leads to a complex fossicking in the records room to try and find the first reference, and numerous trips to Archives New Zealand to check the old Land Transfer Registers. The current system generates income, but not easily accessible quality information for researchers. It is hard to overestimate the burden of paying for access to the simplest information. I have now worked on three projects involving the assessment of 25 to 40 properties. These contracts are for organisations with very limited research funding, but for whom the quality of research is vital to their functioning. While the lack of funding for heritage research is a wider issue, the cost of accessing LINZ information exacerbates the situation. These organisations are not operating for commercial imperatives. They are trying to identify and protect heritage, and part of that role is understanding the past through these records. There is no recognition by LINZ of these special circumstances, which require a different type of access, using the records for purposes other than conveyancing. It is perhaps up to organisations that work in heritage to negotiate better terms with LINZ, and there have been attempts to do this, with as yet no result. Having to waste time trying to avoid paying for information makes the work more difficult, more complex and more time consuming than it might otherwise be.

Record Quality
The quality of the information retrieved from Landonline is also of concern. Certificates of Title, survey office plans and deposited plans are often colour coded. These records were scanned from paper copies into the computer system, and some reproduction on screen is done at the expense of these colour codes. This can render information
meaningless. When you have a title concerning the section coloured red, and excluding an area coloured blue, and the printout you see is only available in black and white, then you can see the problem. Survey plans detail land areas with colour coded land tenure. This is available on screen in some cases, but again it can only be printed in black and white.

There is also an issue with the scale of reproduction. Land titles are reduced to an A4 sheet. Survey plans, originally up to two-metres square, are reduced to A3. This reduction renders some of the hand-written text unreadable, and for surveyors checking bearings, which can be hard to read on the original, this is vital information. Surveyors who now have to go back to the original records to check the information have inundated Archives New Zealand. If reproduction had been of better quality, and colour reproduced, then there would not have been a problem.

**Loss of regional access**

The centralisation of LINZ offices created additional problems. Originally there were offices in outlying centres such as Invercargill and New Plymouth. These have now been closed. Some of the Southland records were transferred to Dunedin, others to Christchurch. Some Dunedin records were also transferred to Christchurch and put into storage. This kind of centralisation means that those with the local knowledge and understanding on the ground are now separated from the records. Travelling for such vital information is again a big limitation for access. It also means that record groups are split, making access and understanding far more difficult.

**Staffing**

Staffing is a problem. Again I would like to emphasise that staffing is a matter of institutional priority and that these observations are directed at the organisation not individuals. Staff contact with the public is not given priority, and staff do not appear to have time allocated for helping the public access the complex computer system or physical records. Access to the physical records is of particular concern. Once a keyholder is authorised, access is unsupervised, other than by closed circuit camera. While I enjoy trying to figure out what all these unlabelled registers are, it is with the realisation that they are extremely fragile and that they constitute the vital foundation for the rest of the system. Once these are lost then access is further limited; and once the chain is broken it cannot be mended. The records, I emphasise again, are a pleasure, and it is a privilege to work with them. They are worthy
of a staff member, an archivist even, to assist the wider public to use them, and to protect those that are fragile. The records are worthy of both adequate care and more carefully supervised access. Neglect of these paper records is frightening; if you lose the indexes then you lose the meaning of the whole body of material. Even the thought of that loss makes me feel queasy.

Staff knowledge of the old system is vital to the whole process. The thirty minutes from a staff member who was really meant to spend his time elsewhere, but who showed me through the survey plan room, explaining the intricacies of the different numbering systems, was insightful and allowed me to understand what was on the computer. He mourned the loss of institutional knowledge. He described “grovelling” (his words) through the plans as the best way of getting to interrelated material. Now if that is the best way for someone who knows the system, those stuck on a computer screen certainly have little chance of understanding the intricacies without good staff support. Again, these records are fabulous and deserve to be seen and understood.

**Intellectual Access**

As should be evident by this point in my discussion, the land information system is complex and requires good support to access information. That there is no dedicated staff member to explain the system, or to interpret the information in the historic records room, does the information a disservice. The lack of understanding of the records as a whole is made worse by a split system of access. This split occurs on two levels: regional and institutional. The regional split is quite simple. Some of the records from Dunedin and Invercargill are now in Christchurch. I presume that these were record groups that staff felt they did not use regularly or which had been displaced by the computer system. Well, I still want them. For example: I need to find out the subdivision patterns in Bannockburn. I need to identify all the plans that apply to the Bannockburn Survey District. In order to do this, I need to look at the record sheets that record all the plans in a particular area on huge sheets of tracing paper. The record sheets are in Christchurch and have to be ordered - which, given that this information underlies the whole system, I think silly, and a waste of valuable staff time (incidentally, the plans to which these record sheets refer are in Dunedin). The alternative is to undertake a spatial search for survey plans on Landonline. If you have ever tried to find a needle in a haystack then you will appreciate the difficulty of conducting a
search on a spatial scale (read landscape), on a small computer screen. It is extremely difficult.

In regards to the institutional split, in Dunedin some records are held by Land Information New Zealand, and others by Archives New Zealand. These records are part of an interrelated system. I have a complex interrelationship with both institutions, due mainly to the pathway I am gouging out between them. If I find the record on the computer at LINZ, in order to read the original, and to trace further back through now inactive titles, I have to go across town to check the Archives New Zealand reference. The lack of connection is frustrating, time consuming and ultimately unacceptable.

Also of concern for understanding land title and survey information records is the depth of institutional knowledge of the record systems. In order to access these vital records well a user needs to understand them. Understanding is made difficult through the complexity of computer access, the lack of interpretation, the lack of staff assistance and the splitting of the record groups. With the records in this state, if the institution loses a key staff member then access to the record group could be compromised. In short, it could take a long time to rebuild the depth and breadth of knowledge necessary to interpret these systems to users. With an interrelated system, when the links are broken meaning is lost. These links consist of people, as well as paper and computers. Retention of meaning seems increasingly fragile.

Also fragile are the records themselves. Volumes that have been in public areas, such as old title registers and particularly the indices, literally fall to pieces in front of your eyes. The edges of the pages (on which are written the references to other documents) are crumbling. When the references crumble an access point to another record is gone, forever. Some volumes have been subject to vandalism, with pages missing. In such a complex interrelated system missing pages are a tragedy; the damage irreparable. The Historic Records Room relies on the good behaviour of users; to put things back in the right place (which is not indicated anywhere on the shelves); to handle decaying volumes with care; and to leave these things for others to use. The lack of supervision does the records a disservice.

These records are of huge intellectual value. The hand-inked coloured plans, the hand-written titles, the associated surveyors' notebooks - all represent the development of surveying as a profession, and the changing of methodologies and technologies over time. These are primary records, revealing a way of working no longer evident in computer drawn plans and records. It is important to preserve them, and provide good access systems. Land title and survey records are
Issues of Access at Land Information New Zealand

fundamental for understanding wider aspects of New Zealand's past. They are a part of everybody's history. Limitations on access are unfortunate, the lack of good interpretation sad. The maps and plans are a historical treasure and a joy to work with. They need to be managed carefully so that future generations can enjoy them. In addition there is an urgent need to recognise the non-commercial value of the record group. These are not simply conveyancing tools. They provide insight and structure to the history of people and the land itself. These records are crucial to unearthing aspects of the past that cannot be discovered elsewhere.

Conclusion

Dastardly complex, confusing, frustrating, intricate, stunning and fabulous; every time I have worked with land-title and survey records I have found things to clarify and confuse. Yet, I have always learnt something new about the system, even if it was only that I had been doing it all wrong for the previous week. The issues of access are obviously complex for the institutions involved. However, I hope that from a user's perspective I have been able to provide some useful insights into identifying problems. In addition I want to emphasise that access to this information is crucial and should be available as of right, without being burdened by heavy costs. The cause is one that perhaps deserves more attention from professional groups such as archivists, particularly as one of the fundamental problems at LINZ is that there is no archivist. Solutions, however, are more difficult. In an ideal world I would like to see an integrated, well-staffed and well-interpreted system that recognises a range of user groups. It would be fantastic to see the institutions involved thinking flexibly about what is a fabulous asset, and one that is growing in value over time.
Kaitiakitanga: The Role of the Māori Archivist*

Jeanette Wikaira

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For Māori the past and present can be seen as a continuum; the past being integrally connected with the present. The past can be viewed as a taonga to understand the present, to grow and develop and learn from those who have gone before you. Taonga, such as archival collections, form part of Māori living traditions and these living traditions continue to exist now, changed over time but nonetheless vital and nourishing for they connect us to our past, to our identity - to who we are as Māori.

Thus for Māori the transmission of Māori historical knowledge continues orally and archival materials contribute in part to this transmission. As Māori we value the knowledge embedded in such materials as part of the continuum of past and present - as a living tradition. Archivists also value archival materials and esteem them as important heritage materials that document the life of the country. We are all concerned with giving special protection to them and preserving them, but we are different people, from different cultures, and we express that concern in different ways.

Therefore with this in mind, I felt it important to re-visit the past and examine previous conference papers and articles in order to acknowledge those who have voiced similar words in relation to the role of the Māori archivist. Being new to the archives world and having not yet been inculcated into the profession, I was curious to know how much had been learned and how far the archives world had moved in terms of kaitiakitanga. What I discovered was that there have been a number of impressive people who have already voiced the concerns

* Kaitiakitanga: the role of the Māori Archivist was first read at the Annual Conference of the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand, 4-6 September 2003. The purpose of this discussion was to foster a climate of understanding related to issues of kaitiakitanga and the role of the Māori archivist in heritage and archival institutions.
Kaitiakitanga: The Role of the Maori Archivist

to be discussed here. They have either stood in front of numerous ARANZ Conferences in the past, or published lengthy articles year after year repeating the same issues over and over again. People such as, Bernard Makoare (1999), Steven Chrisp (1998), Jane McRae (1990, 1986, 1983), Cleve Barlow (1990), Buddy Mikaere (1990, 1987), Wharehuia Hemara (1990, 1989) and Ranginui Walker (1986). The list goes on and stretches back for some time as testimony to the fact that issues of kaitiakitanga and the role of the Māori Archivist have long been brought to the notice of the profession. What is there to be learnt from this? Perhaps one thing is that year after year we are not listening and learning from the past.

For the sake of not repeating the same words that have already been spoken I am going to present what I have to say in a new and imaginative way. Imagine a Māori world. Imagine if Māori were the majority in this country and that we had collected a range of Pakeha cultural heritage materials such as books, archives, photographs and art works. Māori had collected all this Pakeha knowledge and placed it within our own cultural framework. Imagine if it was all put inside a big wharenui - a meeting-house on a marae. How would you get at it? You would have to know how and when to go on to a Marae, you would need to understand Marae protocols, you would need to have a woman to do the karanga and a man to do the whaikorero. You would have to sing a waiata and you would definitely need to know how to speak Māori. Imagine how hard it would be to do that, imagine the effort required. Imagine yourself going to work on that marae, being the only non-Māori person, being perhaps the only person who understands the cultural importance of all that Pakeha knowledge stored in that wharenui on that marae. Imagine that. Wouldn’t you want to get all those materials out of that Marae? Put them in your own cultural repositories. But I’m sorry, you can’t, Pakeha materials are preserved for all New Zealanders, it’s part of New Zealand’s cultural heritage and needs to be accessible to every New Zealand citizen. But this seems ludicrous because hardly any Pakeha go to the Marae and most Pakeha don’t even understand how the Marae works - it’s too culturally different.

Then what do you do? Well, you could encourage more Pakeha to work on the Marae and you could create a Specialist Pakeha position dedicated to Pakeha archives and to bring a Pakeha cultural perspective into the Marae in order to make Pakeha archives more accessible to Pakeha people. When the Pakeha Specialist has been employed, he or she will be responsible for a whole range of Marae projects. When a
Pakeha dignitary comes to visit they will have to take charge, get the fine china out and set the table with the best white linen make sure everything is in place, make sure all Marae colleagues know what to do and understand "Pakeha Meeting Protocols". In addition they will also have to give tours of the Marae to Pakeha visitors, explain how the Marae works and where things are kept. The Pakeha Archives Specialist will also have to develop their memory quite considerably because in this Māori world all knowledge is memorised and orally transmitted. They will also be expected to assist the Marae committee in writing policy, "Responsiveness to Pakeha" papers, and sit on "Pakeha Advisory Boards" and go to Hui and give talks entitled "Custodianship: The role of the Pakeha Archivist". This fictional person would be so tired and over-worked because they would be the only Pakeha in the whole marae and would feel as though they were employed to do everything.

Then what’s the answer? More Pakeha working on the Marae is one answer. But more realistically the Specialist Pakeha Archivist comes to understand that change is not going to be effective until a Pakeha worldview permeates at all levels of the Marae, a worldview that incorporates Pakeha values, perspectives and people who work together with mutual respect and can make decisions about Pakeha cultural heritage in equal partnership with Māori.

This is a very simplistic analogy - in reality the situation is far more complicated than this. But looking at the flip side, if you like, does help to put the enormity of the Kaitiaki Māori role in perspective.

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What is the lesson to be learned from those who have voiced these same concerns over the last 20 years? As far as I can see it is that Archival Institutions that hold the cultural heritage of Māori can no longer continue to frame Māori culture within Pakeha terms. They must allow Māori to control their own heritage and define their own identity, their own past, present and future, based in their own system of knowledge, and presenting their culture to the world, and more importantly to themselves in their own unique way. How this is done is certainly not easy and there is no one magic answer; each institution will need to shape their future by exploring who they are and what their purpose is in terms of their collections, the communities that they serve and the services they provide. This is a challenge and a difficult path to embark on, but one that can no longer be neglected.

Finally I leave you with this brief story, one that I feel is important to share. I was at a hui recently and in the dining room one night I got
talking to a koroua who asked me what I was doing and where I was working. As I told him he began to look at me rather sceptically and said that he had visited an archival institution recently and likened it to visiting a relation in prison. He said he had to wait for the doors to open to be allowed to go in, inside it was quiet, cold and clinical. He had to fill out forms, wait for a while and was then ushered into a room with cameras so he could have a korero and shed some tears with an old relation. It was a powerful image the thought of which made me feel sad and tired.

‘Unsmeltered Gold, Uncut Jade’: Sources and Resources for the Study of the History of Chinese New Zealanders*

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One cannot help but note the irony of having a series of lectures on Chinese New Zealanders being hosted by the Stout Research Centre considering that the man the Centre is named after, Sir Robert Stout, was so anti-Chinese. He was President of the Anti-Chinese League in 1896 and during the debates on the 1896 Asiatic Restriction Act stated, ‘I am in favour – and have always been in favour – of passing stringent laws against the Chinese . . . the reason I object to them is first, on racial grounds, and secondly, they have a lower civilisation, which, if introduced into this colony, is bound to affect our civilisation.’ On the other hand Anna Stout, Sir Robert’s wife, took the opposite position, describing the Chinese as ‘desirable immigrants on account of their honesty, sobriety, industry, thrift and kindness . . . ’ She made these comments to the Lyttelton Times at the same time as her husband was making his anti-Chinese comments in Parliament. The conversations at the Stout household on the subject of Chinese must have been interesting.

So to the topic of this paper: sources and resources for the study of the history of Chinese New Zealanders. This will not be so much a ‘how-to’ on researching Chinese New Zealand history, but more of an exploration of the principles involved, a discussion of and introduction to the subject based on almost twenty years experience researching Chinese New Zealand history.

* A revised version of a paper first read at the Victoria University of Wellington Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies seminar series Chinese New Zealand, 19 March 2003.
Definitions
But first, who is a Chinese New Zealander? One must define who one is studying before one can study them, surely. My definition of 'Chinese New Zealander' is based on the one used by the Prime Minister in her apology to the Chinese community in 2002, which was 'those people who paid the poll tax and their descendants.' This definition, therefore, applies to the old Chinese New Zealand community, the community whose parents and grandparents paid the poll tax and those who arrived in New Zealand in the fifteen years before the tax, the community that has its roots in the gold-rush era of the 1860s, the community that has been in New Zealand for over one hundred and forty years. The sources to which I will refer therefore relate to the study of these people, and they can be divided into two areas: those that are held in public collections, and those that are held in private collections. The public collections are, of course, those that are held in libraries and archives of various sorts. However, as the title of this talk - 'unsmeltered gold, uncut jade' (bun jin pu yu) - suggests, many of the sources for researching Chinese New Zealanders comprise primary source material; raw, buried, undiscovered, diamonds in the rough, and not readily available or easily accessible. Like gold they have to be dug for, and this, I venture to say, is unlike many other forms of New Zealand history research, much of which can be done purely from secondary sources.

Naturally it all depends on what form of history one wants to write. If one wants to write about public policy about Chinese - immigration policy, the Chinese 'question', European New Zealanders' attitudes and reaction to Chinese - then Chinese primary source material is not so essential. Newspapers, politicians' biographies, parliamentary debates and other official publications, existing post-graduate theses on the subject - of which there are many - all these will be sufficient to research these aspects of Chinese New Zealand history. But is this really Chinese New Zealand history? Well, yes, it is. But now we're talking about two forms of Chinese New Zealand history; Chinese New Zealand history from the outside or from the top-down, and Chinese New Zealand history from the inside, from the bottom up. It is my contention that there is a distinct division between these two forms of history.

These two different forms of history require different research approaches and different skills. The policy-style, top-down view of Chinese New Zealand history, mostly done in universities, requires knowledge of standard official, library and archive resources. The view of Chinese New Zealand history from inside the community requires access to first-hand and Chinese primary source material not readily available to the university historian or the general public.
The difficulty in obtaining first-hand accounts or privately-held primary source material probably accounts for why most academic studies of Chinese New Zealanders have been confined to immigration policy and similar topics, where the need to consult Chinese sources is minimal. Yet it is my opinion that this is how research on Chinese New Zealand history must be done, at the coalface, talking to people, searching out the raw material of history. It is long-term work, and long-term relationships must be built up. As Charles Sedgwick noted in 1982, if the researcher was not able to talk knowledgeably about the finer points of curing bananas, and was not prepared to spend many hours drinking tea with people, then the necessary oral, manuscript and published material would not be forthcoming. Much of the history of Chinese New Zealanders resides with the people who have lived it, and nowhere else. One must therefore respect the people, build and earn their trust and learn their history before they will share it with you. Afterwards you must continue to respect them and what they have shared with you; otherwise the next time you go to ask for something the door will be shut.

To get the Chinese side of the history ideally requires language skills and a long-term commitment to the community one is studying, skills and commitment few have or are prepared to acquire. And to answer the obvious question, no, I have not acquired the language skills that I suggest are necessary for studying Chinese New Zealand history properly, but I maintain and believe it is necessary to have these skills. As a comparison, it would be difficult or impossible for example to study Hegel or Diderot at doctoral level without German or French language skills, yet the need to learn Chinese for Chinese New Zealand studies is not recognised. In Chinese language departments in New Zealand universities, post-graduate work is based largely on classical Chinese sources - which I guess in the context is logical - yet the resources of such language skills do seem go to waste somewhat, when one sees what could be done with such skills in the New Zealand context.

Historians such as James Ng, Manying Ip and Bickleen Fong have, or have had, such language skills and connections with the community needed to produce top quality work. Not surprisingly their work is among the best, if not the best produced on Chinese New Zealand history. Another worth mentioning is Charles Sedgwick. Although having no Chinese language skills, Charles Sedgwick's 1982 thesis on the social history of Chinese New Zealanders was the result of a long-term commitment to and active engagement with his subjects, taking eight years to complete. It was based very largely on sources from
within the community. Bottom-up Chinese New Zealand history is founded on the work of such people. The extensive personal and published records of Alexander Don and George McNeur - Presbyterian missioners to the Chinese goldminers - have long provided most of the material for goldfields study. In fact, the history of the goldmining period and beyond would be almost non-existent without them. Both men were fluent in written and spoken Chinese. McNeur's daughter Margaret also wrote a major Masters thesis on Chinese New Zealanders using the extensive connections she had with the Chinese community, based on her father’s work.

One of the major dilemmas facing Chinese New Zealand history studies is that much of it is based on the work of a small group of scholars who have the skills and resources to undertake such work; and the discipline is rather over-reliant on the work of this small group. I am not implying a criticism of the discipline, but pointing out the issues as I see them, and exploring ways of overcoming them, because if something is not done to tackle these problems there will continue to be a division between those who have access to the essential skills and resources, and those who do not; between community and academic work; and between access to insider and outsider material. One way of overcoming this situation would be to get Chinese sources into the public domain and to make the community and academic worlds meet. There should be a combination of the two worlds, of the two sets of skills, a partnership between academia and the community.

Publicly Available Sources of Information
As mentioned above, the standard sources for history research provide much information. These sources include published material such as books, newspapers and periodicals and are particularly useful if there are indexes available. Many libraries have indexes to local newspapers as well as subject indexes that include mention of Chinese. In fact, newspapers are one of the main sources of information on Chinese New Zealand history and there are untold treasures buried in those old volumes. Unfortunately, very little indexing of Chinese New Zealand subjects has been done, so getting to these treasures requires an awful lot of digging.

Manuscript and archival material is also available in public institutions. Archives New Zealand, the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, and the Hocken and Hewitson Libraries in Dunedin hold the strongest collections of material on Chinese New Zealanders. The Alexander Turnbull Library has good holdings of manuscript, photographic and published material, much of it collected over the past 15 years. The
Hocken and Hewitson libraries are particularly strong in the goldmining period, the Hewitson holding a wonderful collection from the Presbyterian Church's Chinese mission, including two-and-a-half thousand photos of Chinese in New Zealand and Guangdong, four hundred of which are images of Chinese New Zealanders before 1920. Archives New Zealand's four regional centers hold material relating to Chinese people's interaction with government, and are especially strong in policy issues and immigration matters. Other institutions around the country hold material relating to their regions, and can be very useful. There is a brief description of the major holdings of various archives and research libraries around the country in the newly-published Unfolding History, Evolving Identity. Of course, even where indexes and finding aids do exist, original research, using publicly available resources such as newspapers or manuscript collections, often requires prolonged and time-consuming work. In addition, a great deal of material is in Chinese, like for example the journal the New Zealand Chinese Growers Monthly, the Man Sing Times, the Auckland Chinese Journal and Chinese manuscripts held in the Turnbull and Hocken libraries.

**Primary Source Material**

In my opinion, primary source material, or more specifically Chinese primary source material, is an essential starting place for the study of Chinese New Zealand history, and, although some material is held in public collections, much is still in private hands. But how much? Anecdotal evidence suggests perhaps there is an El Dorado of Chinese New Zealand material out there somewhere, just waiting to be found. Perhaps there is. Certainly such suggestions keep researchers like myself going, and as evidence of this, some great collections have surfaced over the past ten years. Material such as the twenty-six boxes of records of the Otago-Southland branch of the New Zealand Chinese Association donated to the Hocken Library, and the donation to the Alexander Turnbull Library by the late Young Tong-sing and Lionel Chan of material relating to the New Zealand Chinese Association and the Chinese Growers' Federation, wonderful material containing manuscripts, Chinese language publications and photographs. In addition, an entire run of the New Zealand Chinese Growers Monthly Journal, 1949-1972, was donated to the Alexander Turnbull Library in 1989 by its first editor, Dan Chan. Further, attempts have recently been made by the Turnbull to preserve photographic collections. Oral history is also of course a major source of research material, and more work in this area is urgently needed. The Haining Street Oral History project has spent the past ten years collecting and preserving the memories of the old Chinatown
area of Wellington, and a new oral history association for Chinese New Zealand history, the Chinese New Zealand Oral History Foundation, has recently been formed in Auckland. Most of this activity has occurred in the last decade, and has been initiated from within the Chinese community itself. Initiatives like this project bode well for the future of Chinese New Zealand history studies.

Collecting and Preserving Primary Source Material on Chinese New Zealanders

Chinese primary material constitutes one of the main sources for studying Chinese New Zealand history, but how then does one gain, or improve, access to it? We cannot expect all researchers to spend eight years drinking tea like Charles Sedgwick, surely? The answer could be for existing research libraries and archives to seek out and collect the records and archives of Chinese New Zealand individuals and organisations. This could be done on both a long-term basis and through one-off projects with defined aims and timeframes. A good example of a one-off project is the Chinese Heritage of Australian Federation Project (CHAF), set up as part of the commemorations for the hundredth anniversary of Australian federation in 2001. The aims of the project are to 'recover and recall neglected aspects of Australian Chinese communities and China's view of Australia.' Outcomes of the project are to include, 'the recovery and preservation of historical materials and indexes concerning Chinese Australians, translation of Chinese-language historical documents, a world-wide website; traveling exhibitions and publications.' Indeed, one positive outcome for New Zealand from this project is the online index to the Sydney Chinese-language newspaper the Tung Wah Times 1898-1936, which includes many references to Chinese New Zealand issues and events. The Alexander Turnbull Library has recently acquired the entire run of this newspaper on microfilm as an aid to Chinese New Zealand history studies.

How successful are these one-off "search and preserve" projects? How appropriate are they for safeguarding the history of the Chinese in New Zealand? In my opinion they can be very effective, if done properly and with sensitivity, and the CHAF project does provide an appropriate model for how New Zealand could proceed. Nevertheless, projects like this need to be combined with a long-term strategy for working with the Chinese community, a commitment to build trust and to consult with them on all aspects of their history.

Problems and issues

My next point concerns matters relating to building collections on Chinese New Zealanders. These issues are different to concerns relating
to building collections on other groups in New Zealand. The main problem is ambivalence to the past. On the one hand, Chinese New Zealanders are very proud of their history and of being Chinese New Zealanders. On the other hand, there is an element of not wanting to focus on or be reminded about the "bad old days" of racism and marginalisation, and, make no mistake, Chinese did suffer racism and marginalisation in New Zealand. In many ways, old Chinese things are a reminder of that past. The legacy of racism and assimilation has led to a desire to not stand out or be different from white New Zealanders, and to avoid rocking the boat. Focusing on the history of the community might do both. A traditional distrust of officialdom by the Chinese community, combined with the history of racism, has, in some cases, resulted in uneasiness about white official institutions.

A further issue is that Chinese New Zealand history is often personal and private. It is very much clan, family and county-of-origin based. There is not quite so much a sense of public history for all to share as in the mainstream New Zealand community. On one hand, this may result in suspicion of outsider's motivations: 'Why do you want to know about my auntie?' On the other hand, within the Chinese community there may be a reluctance to be seen as being more special or important than others. Of course all these issues may be of greater or lesser importance in each individual case and some of them no doubt reside more in the past. Since the Prime Minister's 2002 apology there has also been some change in attitudes amongst the Chinese community. However, they continue to create an ambivalence among Chinese New Zealanders about their own history and about how and why to preserve it.

**Ethics of Targeting Collections within the Chinese Community**

There are a number of ethical considerations in targeting the community for material, both for the institutions involved and for the community itself. The question that must be raised is: whose history is it, and who should control it? Does Big White Brother know what's best? Some in the Chinese community feel little connection or identification with large white institutions such as archives and museums, and feel it may be a loss of power to hand over their history to such bodies. Should public institutions force the donation of material from community groups in the interests of preservation of that heritage? These are difficult questions. While acknowledging the wish of Chinese to control their own historical records, the problem does remain that material staying in private hands may be lost, thrown out, or so poorly preserved that
it is destroyed. One could argue that by remaining in someone’s garage or basement, or in the storeroom of an Association, it is effectively as lost as if it never existed.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the sources for researching Chinese New Zealand history may be divided into two distinct fields: those that are inside the community and those that are outside. Sources inside the community give the voice of the community, the lived experience. Sources outside provide the context in which those experiences took place. Although there is some meeting and overlap between the two, those researching from outside the community and those researching from within are condemned to continue working in isolation unless something is done to bring the two together. There is at present little incentive for academics to go into the Chinese community, and that is understandable. But unless this happens there is danger of a constant rehashing of the same themes, with little new being said. As far as the two sources go, neither can give the full picture; both have gaps that can and should be filled by a combination of the two. It seems one approach could be to encourage community historians to learn academic techniques and learn how to complement their insider knowledge and access with knowledge of how to use standard library and archival sources. Encouraging oral history projects, identifying, indexing, collecting and preserving primary source material held by both the community and public institutions, publishing key documents, materials, records and guides; initiatives like these would give all researchers of Chinese New Zealand history equal access to sources and would go a long way towards producing the type of Chinese New Zealand history that New Zealand and the Chinese New Zealand community deserves.

7 Margaret McNeur, "The Chinese in New Zealand", MA Thesis (History), Otago University College, 1930.
10 Ibid., "Tung Wah".
Book Reviews

Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh, eds.

*Refiguring the Archive*
ISBN 0 86486 507 4

*Refiguring the Archive* originated from a 1998 project at the University of Witswatersrand. This project was undertaken in collaboration with four South African archival institutions, and included a series of thirteen seminars, workshops within the institutions, an exhibition, film screenings, musical and dance stage performances. The book is primarily based around the seminar series. The book encompasses three broad themes. The first relates to thinking about what archives are; the second, to how they are constructed, what is included and excluded and the relationship of the archive to political and social power. The third covers the extension of archival boundaries into areas such as art, literature, DNA, and oral history. The inclusive breadth of these themes challenges traditional notions of what an archive is and does, although the diversity of approaches and interpretations can give the impression of an eclectic mix rather than a coherent whole. Central to the book is transformation: the transformation of South Africa from an apartheid state to a democracy, transformation of the place and role of archives in society, and transformation of the concepts and manifestations of what archives are and to what use they can be put. Explicit is the assertion that under apartheid South Africa's archival institutions were agents of a colonial power structure. Behind all is the reconceptualising spirit of Jacques Derrida, himself a seminar participant and the subject of at least one contribution, by Verne Harris. Literally so, as on the back cover he is quoted thus:

The questions ... addressed by [this work] - that is, the current situation of the archive in this country, the challenge of memory, the reference to the past, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission [are] burning things here.

The chapter by Verne Harris, 'The Archival Sliver', paints a picture of the South Africa National Archives in the late apartheid era as isolated, administratively insignificant within the government, and professionally conservative. This resulted in the institution having little influence or ability to prevent of the destruction of records in the lead-up to democracy. In addition, it had little outreach to audiences that had
traditionally not used archival resources, and a user base that had evolved from being primarily white middle class academics, to being primarily white middle class genealogists. This description could apply as easily to many national archives of the early 1990s (and later) and implies that the profession worldwide has since been in a state of transformation, the success of which is by no means assured.

The chapter on the human genome, containing two case studies of the use of DNA analysis, is particularly interesting. In one case DNA was used to verify official records of births on the Atlantic Island of Tristan da Cunha, where the small population has been comprehensively documented; and in the other to verify the oral tradition that the Lemba people of South Africa are of Jewish descent. The implications of DNA analysis for historical research are quite significant. The first case study illustrated the fallibility of official records when it was discovered that of the six mothers who first established the population at Tristan da Cunha, two recorded as sisters did not share the mitochondrial DNA passed through the mother (which does not preclude them being half-sisters or related through kinship ties). The second provided confirmation of the Jewish ancestry of the Lemba people in South Africa.

The chapters on oral history address issues arising from bias within records and the limitations of records in documenting experience. The place of oral testimony and its reliability is questioned and explored, including blurring of the distinctions between oral and written sources, and greater exploration of the subjectivity of records. The evolution of oral history techniques to meet the challenges of such testimony is also investigated, including such issues as loss of context and meaning through recording processes, the cultural acceptability of recording oral traditions, and the legal status of oral testimony. Carolyn Hamilton asserts, for instance, that oral history's great strength is its fluidity, and that oral history programmes which impose rigid recording processes risk removing the control over oral narratives from those who have always created them; and that preservation efforts might be better directed to ensuring that the opportunities and places for the exchange of oral narratives exist. This challenges many oral history programmes and established methodologies.

Questions of reliability also feature in Sarah Nuttall's chapter 'Literature and the Archives: The Biography of Text'. This very interesting chapter addresses the differences between the manuscript version and the published version of the first novel by a black South African woman in South Africa, dealing with issues of state censorship and self-censorship by publishers for both political and commercial reasons. Also

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examined is the debate over the autobiographical writings of the author Bessie Head, whose account of her life has been challenged as factually incorrect and counter-challenged as legitimate self-identity.

Not omitted are electronic records and the impact of technology, including a thought provoking concluding chapter by Martin Hall, in which he argues that modern media and digital technology have supported national identity through tapping into and globalising local sites, monuments, objects and records of significance. Hall highlights and contrasts the destruction of historical sites and resources in the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia with the nationalist forces adopting clothing styles and paraphernalia derived from mass culture movies. He argues that in the digital age archives are both local in the significance of their content and global in their claims to national and ethnic identity. This paints a somewhat bleak picture of the value of the digitisation of cultural objects, including records.

Refiguring the Archive is a book that aims to challenge and expand the reader's view of records and archives. It is reflective rather than dogmatic. While at first glance imposing and grappling with reasonably complex issues, the book is generally quite accessible in language and form, with extensive and imaginative use of images, extracts, and pictures to enhance the text.

Jeremy Cauchi
Archives New Zealand

_Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane McRae, eds._

_Rere Atu, Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language and Politics in the Maori-language Newspapers_


ISBN 1 86940 279 0

_Niupepa: Maori Newspapers_

Hamilton, New Zealand Digital Library Project, University of Waikato, 1999-.

http://www.nzdl.org/niupepa

A major and underused source for the study of New Zealand history is Maori language newspapers. There were over forty of them and they flourished from the early 1840s until well into the twentieth century. Initially these newspapers were produced by the Government, or by Pakeha churches and philanthropists, for colonising and evangelical purposes. Later, Maori began producing their own newspapers, beginning with the King Movement newspaper _Te Hokioi o Niu Tirenī_
e Rere atu na, first published in early 1863. Many of these newspapers had very short lives, but they provided an important vehicle for Maori political thinking and information. Into the twentieth century the newspapers declined in importance, becoming more local and sectional, and eventually fading away. Nevertheless, for almost a century these newspapers provided a unique insight into Maori thinking, colonising attitudes, race relations, and the changing use of the language itself.

A new book and a website (which has been around a little longer) now make these newspapers much more accessible to scholars. Both are reviewed here. The website is Niupepa: Maori Newspapers, produced by the University of Waikato New Zealand Digital Library, which provides comprehensive, and innovative web access to the newspapers. The book, Rere atu, taku manu, contains a rich range of essays about the newspapers and is an end product of a three-year research project on the newspapers at the University of Auckland Maori Studies Department.

Although quite different in genesis, the two projects are closely related. In addition to this book, the Auckland University research project also produced the English abstracts of the contents of the newspapers, which have been incorporated into the website, and make the content of the newspapers finally accessible to those who cannot read Maori. Any researcher interested in exploring the newspapers will want to use both sources, side by side.

Rere atu, taku manu! begins with two introductory essays, by Timotu Karetu and Jenifer Curnow. Curnow's essay provides a brief introduction to the newspapers, describing the history, purpose and contents of the major titles and the changing patterns of ownership and purpose over time. This useful introduction provides the context for the more detailed and interpretative essays that follow. A very minor point is that some mention could have been included of Ko te kahiti o Niu Tiren, the Maori language gazette. While perhaps not strictly a newspaper it was major commitment by the Government, from 1865-1933, to communicating with Maori on official matters.

The following essays are mostly concerned, in varying ways, with the use of language, reflecting the language research background of most of the participants. Several discuss the way the oral traditions of Maori are continued in the language of the newspapers, most notably in Jane McRae's essay. She explores how traditional rhetoric and poetry were used and adapted, using as a key example the extensive use of bird metaphors by both Maori and Pakeha editors. She traces change in the use of such devices and suggests that further research could reveal more about how literacy itself changed Maori thinking about the
Book Review

world around them. Christine Tremewan's study of the rich use of poetry in *Te Waka Maori*, also emphasises that it was used both for traditional purposes, and as a way to engage with a new world. Language adaptation is also the theme of the article by John Moorfield and Lachy Paterson and their ongoing project to identify the use of loan words in the newspapers, as a way to better understand change in the language through the nineteenth century.

Other essays examine the texts of the newspapers more for the purpose of political analysis. Lachy Paterson's essay looks at the contrasting ways Government and Maori-owned newspapers used terminology and imagery to convey their respective political messages, during the years immediately before the Waikato invasion of 1863. He shows that the language of the Government newspapers, and those of some Maori newspapers that supported the Government, promoted concepts of assimilation through the consistent use of negative characteristics for things Maori. In contrast the Kingitanga *Te Hokioi* looked to new concepts that promoted Maori independence. Particularly fascinating is Paterson's description of that newspaper's presentation of Haiti as a model of a black state wrested from white power. In other essays Lyn Waymouth analyses the arguments about Maori parliamentary representation that flowed through the pages of the Government *Te Waka Maori* and the Maori-owned *Te Wananga* in the mid-1870s; Yvonne Sutherland explores the religious messages of the Wesleyan *Te Haeata* (1859-1861); and Hazel Petrie recounts the efforts of the privately-funded *Te Korimako* (1882-1888) to promote the values of hard work, thrift and capitalist individualism.

The text-based focus of most of the essays outlined above does mean that there is less investigation of the surrounding social, political and economic context of the newspapers, and on questions such as who read the newspapers, what influence did they actually have on Maori, and how Maori communities financed their own newspapers. Some of these wider questions are touched on in two essays by scholars not directly part of the University project at the heart of the book. One is very local in its concern, the other much wider.

Steven Chrisp's essay, 'The tribal society of Wairarapa newspapers' tells the story of three Wairarapa Maori newspapers produced between 1897 and 1913, and of the small Maori population that supported them. He explains the newspapers' survival as due to the relative prosperity of local Maori at that time, and to the commitment to community development of local chiefs. As prosperity declined that balance disappeared. It is an intriguing local insight. Lyndsay Head's essay has a much wider focus. She argues for a greater recognition of the
importance of Maori writing in newspapers, and other primary sources, as a source for the study of late nineteenth-century Maori society, and gives examples of the complexity that such sources can reveal. An undercurrent to her essay is the point that these sources have not been well used up to now, despite the enormous amount of research that has been done on nineteenth-century race relations in recent years.

The website means that such new research is now much easier. It is a very impressive example of what researchers can gain through the digitisation of primary sources. At the most basic level the website provides facsimile reproductions of nearly all the known Maori newspapers, taken from the Alexander Turnbull Library microfilms of the newspapers. That was a relatively straightforward exercise. Much more of an innovation was the team's success in providing keyword searching of the newspapers. Although they could not obtain 100% accuracy, they have come very close. Finally the website incorporates two further features. Bibliographic commentaries are provided, which are taken from an unpublished 1990 bibliography compiled by Gail Dallimore, which is still the definitive work (although the Alexander Turnbull Library's forthcoming bibliography of printed Maori will supersede it). Particularly useful for researchers has been the incorporation of the English-language abstracts done by the University of Auckland project team. The final essay in Rere atu, taku manu! gives a very clear account of how the digitisation project was achieved, and the problems that had to be resolved on the way.

The website is easy to use, although it is not perfect. Apart from the bibliographic information it includes very little background context about the newspapers. The inclusion of the essay by Jenifer Curnow, referred to above, would be very useful, as not everyone can be expected to have Rere atu, taku manu! to hand. Another improvement would be a clearer statement about the coverage of the English abstracts. Many of the newspapers have not yet been abstracted, but it is hard to tell that from the introductory pages.

The book and the website provide an impressive model of what can be achieved when scholars and digital experts work together. It is one that, as a manuscript librarian, I would much like to see applied to Maori manuscript sources. For the nineteenth-century Maori letters that survive in our libraries and archives are even richer sources than Maori newspapers for analysing early Maori literacy, or changes in Maori political thinking on issues like land and government. Those in the George Grey and Donald McLean papers are two particularly important examples that have still only been picked over by historians. New

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Zealand scholarship would benefit greatly if similar funding, digital expertise and scholarship were applied to such collections

David Colquhoun
Alexander Turnbull Library

P.D.A. Harvey
*Editing Historical Records*
ISBN 0 7123 4684 8

In this brief study, the author restricts his scope to what he calls the strategies of editing rather than the nuts and bolts of tactics. Harvey's role as general editor of the distinguished Portsmouth Record Series has put him in contact with a wide range of archival material in the UK - from 12th century charters to records of adult education in the 20th century. He draws on this experience to the full in expounding his topic. Harvey has only three unbending rules for the editing of archival records and historical texts: 'be accurate'; 'say what you are going to do and do it'; and 'give full references to the document and describe it'. His book constitutes an extended gloss on this trio of deceptively simple maxims.

As an experienced hands-on editor, the author emphasises the importance of thinking through all the issues, from expansion of abbreviations in manuscript to details of layout - and devising a workable set of conventions that will apply not only to the work in hand, but to future volumes in a projected series with room for modifications deemed necessary in the light of experience. He is aware of the problems of electronic publishing, such as cross-platform compatibility and durability, as well as its advantages. Refreshingly, the aesthetics of book production loom large in his priorities. Harvey sees the production of texts in sound editions as an activity on an intellectual par with academic writing and research, and pleads for an enhanced status for textual editing in the academy.

The author confines his attention to archival documents, produced to serve a functional purpose. While this rules out literary texts - my own experience of textual transcription and editing concerns prose and poetry of the 16th and 17th centuries, in English and Latin, and in early printed editions and manuscript - Harvey has much to teach the literary editor. Sometimes this comes down to differences of methodology, as in the discussion of textual authority in the case of medieval cartularies (p.23).
In chapter one, 'The rationale', Harvey discusses the ways in which archival documents have been preserved and presented by chroniclers and historians in the past - sometimes embedded in the (mainly narrative) text, often collected in appendices as pièces justificatives, or presented as collections in their own right, whether for practical purposes, as in medieval cartularies, or, in modern times, for general reference, as in Stubbs' Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History.

Harvey then focuses on the different approaches used by the archivist and the historian for editing texts. He sees the editor's task as sitting on a continuum from the extreme normalisation favoured by the 'all-for-history' school to the semi-diplomatic editions produced for a broad audience whose practical requirements cannot - and should not - be anticipated. Indeed, the 'all-for-history' approach does a disservice even to the historian. He cites J.S. Drew's discussion of 14th century manorial accounts that shows that older editorial methods obliterated the evidence of covert dialogues between key players that give these documents much of their value. The proper role of the editor of archival documents is to make available the raw material of the text for research by a wide spectrum of end-users—not just historians. With this in mind, extreme attention to detail - 'being pernickety', in Harvey's phrase - is a prime virtue in an editor.

In chapter two, 'The form', the author turns his attention to the choice of material for publication, with emphasis on the work of national and local record societies in the UK. The qualities required of an editor, and the difficulties involved in finding suitable candidates for the job, are canvassed. The thorny question of 'strategy of choice' is discussed in the light of personal experience - should the mandate of the Portsmouth project be to make available the sources preserved locally or would it extend its brief to documents preserved in repositories outside the area?

Again, Harvey emphasises that because the editor's task is not to second-guess the needs of any one type of end-user, materials should be brought together by archival type rather than theme. This leads on to a discussion of the dangers inherent in publishing selections of documents and practical strategies to be employed for minimizing these drawbacks when selection from a vast mass of documents is the only practicable option. Editorial practice that follows the agenda of the archivist rather than the historian will then encompass a spectrum beginning with the full edition and proceeding to the calendar (a systematic précis), to summaries, and finally to catalogues, bibliographies and indices. Any particular edition may include carefully considered
combinations of these forms to represent accurately the contents and
defavour of the original corpus of material. Chapter two ends with a
discussion of the advantages to be achieved both in flexible formatting
and searching capabilities of the electronic edition; and the merits of
editions of texts presented in translation.

Chapter three, 'The text', begins with a look at Harvey's first rule,
'be accurate'; he shows how errors beget further errors, sometimes
finding their way into such authoritative publications as the Oxford
English Dictionary. The author then turns his attention to his second
cardinal rule, 'say what you are going to do and do it', a principle he
regards as more important than the particular set of conventions
adopted by an editor. With this principle in mind, he discusses the levels
of normalisation to be adopted in typography, spelling and orthography,
punctuation and word division. The question of abbreviations and their
expansion, especially in Latin texts, is dealt with in detail and his
arguments are usefully supplemented with plates that illustrate the very
different solutions adopted in the past. Chapter three concludes with
a discussion of the conventions appropriate to calendaring.

Chapter four, 'The visual presentation', deals with the merits of good
book design and layout, its value and advantages in planning a multi-
volume series. Harvey discusses the conventions appropriate to layout
including lineation and paragraphing, reproduction of tables and lists,
the signalling of editorial interventions (including the merits of different
systems of bracketing emended text), and the use of footnotes. The
external presentation of printed volumes and marketing issues are also
briefly considered.

Chapter five, 'The intellectual presentation', explicates rule three, 'give
full references to the document and describe it'. Harvey begins by
underlining the need for accurate titling and pagination of edited
documents so that readers can easily refer back to the original
manuscript from any point in the text. He stresses the importance of
competent archival description to our understanding of a document's
contents, discussing several cases in useful detail. Where an editor
wishes to provide some historical context, this can be done in four
ways: in footnotes to the text; in the introduction; in illustrations; and
in appendices. These are discussed in turn, with a cogent analysis of
the merits and pitfalls of each method. The section on appendices is
especially detailed and helpful, showing how they can be broken down
into logical categories from the essential to 'the real fun ones'. The
chapter ends with a discussion of the issues involved in making a
glossary, and the level of detail required when explaining editorial
method to the reader.
Chapter six, 'The index', draws on R.F. Hunnisett's *Indexing for Editors*. In addition to setting out general principles, Harvey discusses the arrangement of problematic entries, especially early personal names with their complex variant forms, and the merits of a unified index as opposed to multiple subject indices in a given work. Appendix one lists the volumes in the Portsmouth Record Series, and there is a select bibliography and index. Appendix two sets out the main subject headings used in the indices to the Portsmouth Record Series, there are thirty-four of them; any other subject entry is linked to one or more of these by cross-reference.

Eight plates that provide a useful, and sometimes amusing, supplement to matters raised in the text enliven *Editing Historical Records*. Since so many of Harvey's examples are taken from texts edited in the Portsmouth Record Series, often in considerable detail, a few plates showing relevant pages from the series would have been a useful bonus.

This short book can be thoroughly recommended as a reliable guide to what it sets out to be: an explication of the larger issues involved in archival editing. Harvey writes in an easy, accessible style that belies the complexity and rigour of his arguments. His judgments are always sensible and balanced and the reasons for them fully argued and logically laid out, with practiced awareness of both the benefits and drawbacks of competing solutions to a host of editorial problems. Above all, this is a practical guide, detailed and technical but never, despite the author's avowed preference, pedantic.

Paul Sorrell
Dunedin

**Philip Temple**

*A Sort of Conscience: The Wakefields*

Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002. 584pp $69.95
ISBN 1 86940 276 6

Eleven years in the making, Philip Temple's biography of the Wakefields was the most important New Zealand book to appear in 2002, and has already won three prizes - the Montana best biography award, the Ernest Scott History Prize, and ARANZ's own Ian Wards Prize for Historical Writing. Its subject is principally Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796–1862), the most prominent theorist and 'projector' of planned colonisation of his time, and to a lesser extent other members of his family, particularly his younger brothers - Daniel, Arthur, William and Felix - and his son, Edward Jerningham, all of whom became enmeshed
in his New Zealand project. Two women, who did not come to New Zealand, their grandmother, the remarkable Priscilla, who was an aunt of Elizabeth Fry, and who founded the savings bank movement, and Catherine, their eldest sister, are also portrayed, emerging as the major stabilising forces in the family. Despite spending just the last ten years of his life here, amidst great disappointment, Edward Gibbon Wakefield's prior influence on this country was immense: he was responsible, directly or indirectly, for the planned settlements of Wellington, Nelson, Wanganui, New Plymouth, Otago and Canterbury; and had a large hand in the Durham Report that led to the acceptance of the principle of responsible government, fully achieved in New Zealand in 1856. Karl Marx in Das Kapital considered him, in Temple's words, the 'most notable political economist of the 1830s'.

Yet it was a tainted life and career. Wakefield's runaway marriage with Eliza Pattle in 1816, and his conviction and imprisonment for the abduction of the heiress Ellen Turner in 1826, not only marginalised him socially, but effectively excluded him from ever holding public office, including the parliamentary career in England that he desperately wanted. These actions also limited permanently the prospects of other members of his family. Forever afterwards Wakefield was obliged to make good his influence through his writings and through others. As his Canterbury friend and then foe, J.E. Fitzgerald wrote, 'he may be the screw under the stern, but he won't do for the figurehead.' In addition, the manifest failings of the New Zealand Company were, however unjustly, laid at his door by disappointed investors and immigrants. Latterly he has been viewed as a chief propagator of the evils of colonialism. In short, Wakefield - energetic, ingenious, notorious, compelling, visionary and divisive - has been, and continues to be, a deeply ambivalent figure in our past.

Philip Temple, who combines real literary talent with genuine scholarship, here achieves a partial rehabilitation, at least to the extent of making Wakefield much more sympathetic, for his personal kindness to family and friends, and in the altruism of his ideals, however imperfectly realised. His flaws, Temple suggests in modern style, are attributable to bi-polar disorder, expressed as 'euphoric highs and glaring lows, and the wild swings from warm praise to violent attack of friends and associates', which ultimately led to his self-destruction in the first New Zealand parliament of 1854-55.

In tackling his subject, Temple ranges over more than a century, encompassing the life of Wakefield's Quaker grandmother, Priscilla, a reformer in her own right, through to the death of his ebullient, but ultimately dissolute, son in poverty in Ashburton in 1879. The chief
locale is England, where Wakefield's friends and admirers included Charles Buller, Sir William Molesworth, John Lambton and where he was acquainted with Frances Place, Thomas Malthus and John Stuart Mill, but there were very significant periods in Canada with Lambton, 1838-39, and finally in New Zealand. For New Zealand readers the English and Canadian chapters probably offer most. They are likely to find less that is new in the New Zealand ones to add to what is already known from the work of Ruth Allan, John Miller, Ian Wards, A.H. McLintock, Peter Stuart, Edmund Bohan and others. But even these chapters provide a needed Wakefieldian perspective in a welcome, fresh telling. Through all, however, a very strong, at times multiple, narrative is impressively maintained with exceptional mastery of detail, and providing just enough context for readers to hold their bearings. A natural stylist, Temple is greatly helped by the quality and quantity of the surviving correspondence. Many Wakefields, particularly Edward Gibbon, were prolific, vivid letter writers. Temple writes very close to his sources, so that the text, too, is vivid, close-textured, and absorbing to read. Seldom a page passes without a direct quotation, often two or three. Sometimes too much so, as there are times when less detail and more editing could be wished for. And occasionally he allows himself the luxury of imaginative reconstruction, though generally within acceptable limits of what is, after all, a literary work.

A major feature, and virtue, of the book is the extent to which it draws on unpublished sources - fifty-two collections from thirteen repositories in four countries. As an archivist, however, it is disappointing to report their rather perfunctory listing in the bibliography. Date ranges are not given, and in the case of larger archives, such as those of the New Zealand Company and the Colonial Office, consulted series are unspecified. Under the Turnbull Library the Canterbury Papers are not manuscript but published, nor is it indicated whether the archives used were originals or transcripts. This is a pity as Ian Wards, after whom the prize is named, was in his Shadow of the Land a model recorder of primary sources. While the same criticism applies to newspapers, the listing of secondary publications consulted is better, though there is confusion in the listing of theses and pamphlets. The only notable omissions are Richard Greenaway's 1972 thesis on Henry Selbe and Herron's 1959 article on Sir George Grey and the introduction of the 1852 constitution in Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand. British Parliamentary Papers relating to New Zealand, though clearly used, are also missing.
These aside, however, Temple's book is a monumental achievement, essential reading for anyone interested in the beginnings of the modern New Zealand.

S.R. Strachan
Hocken Library

**Linda Bryder**


**Anna Rogers**

*While You're Away: New Zealand Nurses at War 1899-1948.*

ISBN 1 86940 301 0.

Here are two welcome additions to the New Zealand history bookshelf. In *While You're Away*, Anna Rogers recounts the little-known story of those New Zealand nurses who served overseas in the wars of the first half of the twentieth century. It is a fascinating and moving tale. When war broke out in South Africa in 1899, women were as anxious as men to serve Queen and Empire, and New Zealand nurses believed their skills could be put to practical use at war. The New Zealand government thought otherwise: immediate care of the wounded was the province of male doctors and orderlies, for women must be kept distant from battlefields. Despite the discouragement of the powers that be, about thirty New Zealand nurses served in the South African war, some with the British Army, some funding themselves, and others receiving funding from their local communities. Military authorities, which had apparently learned little from the horrors of the Crimean War, soon discovered the worth of these women. In particular, they learned the great value which wounded and ailing servicemen placed upon being nursed by their own countrywomen, who related to them in a way no others could.

The experience of the South African War led the New Zealand Army to found a nursing service, initially a reserve. Here, however, the military demonstrated its genius for bureaucracy, and more than ten years passed before the idea became reality: only the outbreak of World War One would overcome the difficulties. Delays then continued as the New Zealand government initially refused to send New Zealand nurses overseas with New Zealand troops, because Britain had not specifically
invited them. Eventually, however, New Zealand nurses headed overseas and again proved their worth. By World War Two, ‘military nursing was an accepted part of New Zealand’s response to war’. The remarkable Hester Maclean, Inspector of Hospitals and later the Health Department’s Director of Nursing Services, both promoted the establishment of the military nursing service and led it herself.

Rogers details the establishment and development of the Army Nursing Service, but her main focus is the experience of nurses who went to war. She states that it is time to tell the story of these women and hear ‘of their experiences in their own words, both spoken and written’. She succeeds well in this goal, bringing these women to life. In doing so, she has used a wide range of archival sources, but it is effective use of oral history that is her main achievement. She interviewed some women especially for the book, but has also made good use of the holdings of the Oral History Centre. However, for the South African and First World Wars she has had to depend on written sources. In relation to the First World War, she has relied extensively on Kai Tiaki (later the New Zealand Nursing Journal, now Kai Tiaki again), which, then edited by Maclean, published many letters and reports from nurses serving overseas. Diaries, letters and reminiscences, mostly from the Alexander Turnbull Library and Auckland War Memorial Museum collections, supplement this valuable source.

Rogers comments in her introduction on the frequent ‘highly sentimentalised idealisation of white-veiled angels of mercy’, and the continuing presence of ‘inflated language in praise of nurses’. Unfortunately, her own coverage of the South African and First World War nurses only furthers such images: these women appear to have no flaws. This reflects, perhaps, the weaknesses of available sources, for the nurses of the Spanish Civil War and World War Two appear much more human, a result, probably, of the use of oral history. There can be no denying, however, the remarkable achievements of these women. They coped with extreme conditions ranging from typhoid outbreaks to working under enemy fire, and their workload was often immense. Some were taken prisoner of war, others died of injury or disease. The story of the nurses who died when the transport ship Marquette was torpedoed in 1915 is here movingly told. And while the nurses wanted, above all, to serve King and country, war was an adventure as well as a means of service; one providing travel, sightseeing, and sometimes romance, and we learn of these as well.

Like the New Zealand servicemen who served overseas, these women had no small confidence in their own abilities. Sensible and practical, they had little patience with military bureaucracy or the British class
system. They believed their abilities to be superior to those from elsewhere (notably Britain), and Rogers cites authorities backing such beliefs: there is a distinctly nationalist tinge to this book.

Anna Rogers has a background in writing and editing, while Linda Bryder is an historian, and the difference shows. Both books are well written, but Bryder's work has a depth of historical analysis that is missing from While You're Away. Her study of the Plunket Society, A Voice for Mothers, is an important book, which recounts the history of twentieth-century New Zealand's most significant voluntary organisation, the Royal New Zealand Plunket Society. Founded in 1907 as the Society for Promoting the Health of Women and Children, the organisation has had a remarkable influence on New Zealand society. But this is more than an institutional history of Plunket: as Bryder notes, she has here presented something broader, 'a history of the politics of infant health and welfare in twentieth-century New Zealand'. Bryder succeeds admirably in this ambition and, indeed, ranges further, for she also provides interesting insights into the changing roles of women, to a lesser extent of men, and also into the changing role of voluntary organisations during the century.

Bryder has drawn on a wide range of archival sources in this study, making good use of the large Plunket Society archive at the Hocken Library, alongside records of various Plunket Society branches, notably the Auckland branch, whose history she published as Not Just Weighing Babies in 1998. Official Health Department files, numerous official and medical publications, and the papers of various individuals round out the story. Another source used effectively is the unpublished public health theses produced by medical students, held at the University of Otago Medical Library: some of these provide valuable insights into the interaction between families and Plunket. Although oral history plays a less significant role here than in While You're Away, Bryder does use the Plunket Society interviews held by the Oral History Centre, and those created by Joyce Powell, to provide a more personal note.

The Plunket Society and its founding inspiration, Frederic Truby King, have not always had a good press from historians. Most influentially, Erik Olssen analysed Plunket's 'prescriptive ideology' as a deliberate form of social control, aimed at producing obedient citizens suited to a capitalist society. Furthermore, he argued, by promoting domesticity it discouraged women from moving into the professions. Bryder's is not a celebratory history of the organisation, but it certainly presents a more sympathetic view than Olssen's. She debunks some of Olssen's claims and, while admitting that some Plunket nurses could be rule-bound, argues that many were not. Often nurses showed considerable flexibility.
towards the strict routines that have given early and mid-century Plunket a certain notoriety amongst scholars studying its publications. Furthermore, mothers were not passive recipients of ‘expert’ advice: Bryder demonstrates that most adapted such advice to suit themselves.

Over the century, Plunket’s focus has shifted, proving remarkably adaptable to the changing health needs of young children. In the early twentieth century, gastric diseases were the main killers, and proper nutrition was the society’s chief concern. Plunket has always, despite changing fashions, promoted breast-feeding, but it also catered to those who could not or would not breast-feed their babies by recommending alternatives. Infant feeding formulas have been, at various times, greatly disputed, and the society’s financial support from the Karitane Products Society opened it to criticism. Nevertheless, the society had an extensive influence on nutrition, and proudly accepted credit for New Zealand’s greatly improved infant mortality rates - at one time the lowest in the world. As gastroenteritis declined as a cause of death, Plunket, while always maintaining its interest in nutrition, campaigned on other issues - a tuberculosis-free milk supply, hydatids control, immunisation, cot death, child abuse and accident prevention (including child restraints in vehicles and the fencing of swimming pools).

Plunket campaigns often met with considerable success because the society had, particularly in early and mid-century, real political clout. One important feature of A Voice for Mothers is its analyses of the politics of Plunket, and of the wider field of child health. No government facing an election could afford to offend an organisation which provided welcome and practical support to most New Zealand families, and which had a very positive public image. Plunket took full advantage of its political power, which was further strengthened by the involvement of politicians’ wives as leaders within the organisation. Although the society gained support from politicians, public servants were quite another matter: Plunket’s relationship with the Health Department has been a rocky one. Departmental authorities regularly complained that Plunket received considerable funding from government, yet the department had little control over the way in which that money was managed. Some departmental officials resented Plunket’s philosophy of free services to all mothers and babies, regardless of income. The society countered that first-time mothers from comfortable backgrounds often had less practical experience of baby care and needed more advice and support than their poorer counterparts, and argued that targeting the poor would stigmatise, alienating some in need. The department also believed a specialised child health service was inefficient in many districts, and that nurses providing both child health and general nursing
support would more effectively serve these areas, as with public health nurses in largely Maori districts.

Further political struggles occurred within the organisation itself. At various times the society's voluntary leaders and its health professionals (medical and nursing) have disputed for control. For many decades it was the executive of the central council, made up of volunteers, which led the way. This was truly a maternalistic organisation: one that valued the experience of mothers, and believed that volunteers could often be useful as health professionals. The women who ran the society were impressive figures who channelled their considerable talents into furthering its cause. Bryder compares them with influential women of modern times - Jenny Shipley, Sian Elias and Catherine Tizard - whose talents are directed beyond the voluntary sector. It is, in part, the changing role of women in society, and their reduced commitment to voluntary organisations, which has led to a change of leadership within Plunket. Recently, power has shifted towards its health professionals, and, in line with changing management fashion, towards paid administrators.

Bryder covers many other topics in this well-structured book. We learn about the rise of paediatrics as a medical specialty, changing beliefs about the nature of childhood, the rise and fall of Karitane Hospitals, the education of nurses, race relations, and, not least, the personalities and achievements of some remarkable New Zealanders who have served Plunket. Its heyday has long gone, along with that of many voluntary organisations. It now competes with other agencies for contracts to supply child health services and those services are considerably cut back: the society is now funded for far less support than mothers and children once enjoyed. Still, Plunket's original goal, 'to help the mothers and save the babies', remains much needed in an era when New Zealand's child health statistics are shameful reading. Plunket has a proud history and it is regrettable that in the early twenty-first century, as in the early twentieth, its campaigns on behalf of children and families should be so desperately needed.

Both books are well-produced by Auckland University Press (although I noticed seven typographical errors in A Voice for Mothers). Both are generously illustrated. While You're Away is particularly attractive in its presentation and features some marvellous photographs. Many come from the Kippenberger Military Archive, and the Alexander Turnbull and Hocken Libraries, but others are from smaller institutions; and a considerable number, generally the most interesting, come from private collections. Rogers has clearly carried out considerable picture research, so it is a loss that her illustrations are not better integrated with the
Archifacts

text; Bryder's work has the same weakness. While the captions are adequate, neither author analyses the images in any depth and, indeed, none are referred to in the text. Any quibbles are, however, minor, and the overall standard of these books is high: I recommend both.

Alison Clarke
Historian, and Archivist
Hocken Library
With the death of Ian McLean Wards on 21 September last year, a week after his 83rd birthday, the New Zealand cultural scene lost one of its most devoted servants of the past half-century. While Ian will be widely remembered as a defender of civil liberties, historic buildings, and amongst other things the Alexander Turnbull Library, the cause of archives was always close to his heart. It will be an injustice if his strenuous efforts from the 1940s to promote a properly funded and independent National Archives are not subsequently recorded, but his late 1990s spearheading of the joint ARANZ/NZSG campaign to block department of Internal Affairs plans to restructure National Archives and incorporate the institution within a Heritage Group will still be fresh in the minds of many. Outraged by what he considered the trivialisation of a major constitutional (as well as cultural) organ, he was prepared to take the Crown to the High and Appeal Courts. While the civil suits ultimately failed, they nevertheless highlighted the issues sufficiently to ensure a change of policy after the election of the Labour government in 1999. It was of great satisfaction to Ian that he should live to see Archives New Zealand as a separate state department, in its own building, with new legislation on the way.

Born in Nelson on 13 September 1920, the son of Ruby Bay orchardists, Ian was educated at Mapua Primary School, Nelson College, then Canterbury and Victoria University Colleges, graduating MA in 1947. His studies were interrupted by his enlistment in early 1941 as a gunner with the 2nd NZEF's 32nd Survey Battery, and subsequent service in North Africa, Crete and Italy. Demobilised in late 1945, in the following year he married Diana Taylor and moved to Wellington, their home for the next 57 years. Joining the War History Branch as a research officer, his entire public service career - if not always comfortably - was to be with the Department of Internal Affairs. By his own account, Ian enjoyed the immediate post-war intellectual ferment in the Branch.
presided over by Major-General Howard Kippenberger, and under the patronage of that far-seeing civil servant Joseph Heenan. His tales of both were always affectionate. Initially employed to prepare narratives of campaigns in Greece and Tunisia, he also assisted in the preparation for publication of a number of related studies, so honing his editing and publishing skills. If inevitable leadership changes and diminishing official enthusiasm for the project eventually took some of the gloss off life in ‘War Histories’, Ian, all the while ascending in the pecking order, nevertheless sought new challenges, the most ambitious a projected three-volume history of the Army in New Zealand. Just how this study was undermined by outside influences is beyond the scope of this memoir, but by the mid 1960s the War History Branch itself had become a target for government cost-cutters, its disestablishment being announced. Yet, despite the redeployment of other staff, Ian refused to be disestablished. Presaging actions some 30 years later, he skilfully enlisted the support of community leaders and, not least, the RSA, orchestrating protests that ultimately led to a back down and the creation of the Historical Publications Branch (the forerunner of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage’s current History Group). In 1968 he was appointed first Chief Historian, the post he was to hold until his retirement 15 years later. Without Ian’s highly irregular actions, it is unlikely the present unit would exist, something not always appreciated by current official historians. But the victory was far from total. Relations between the upper echelons of Internal Affairs and their Chief Historian were not always wholly cordial, and the Branch during his tenure was understaffed and under-resourced. Ian, however, provided the foundation upon which more liberally funded successors have been able to build.

As a scholar, Ian Wards was generous to a fault. At first glance, the corpus of his personal writings may appear relatively slight. His best known book, *The Shadow of the Land - A Study of British Policy and Racial Conflict in New Zealand, 1832-1852*, published in 1968, was immediately controversial, being panned by academic historians with far less a familiarity with the issues and primary sources than the author. Ironically, while *Shadow* has subsequently been vindicated, acclaimed for its foresight, and continues to feature on tertiary education reading lists, the contributions of a number of the detractors have tended to drift into obscurity. It is possible the sometimes churlish carping dulled Ian’s creative instincts, but it is more likely that in later years he too frequently permitted himself to be diverted from writing by other calls. While in the 1970s he edited several major publications, most notably the sumptuous *New Zealand Atlas* (1976), and a trickle of papers, commentaries and reviews continued until very recently, there
was to be no other work of similar stature to *Shadow*. In his last months Ian indicated that his one major professional regret was that he had not written more. And yet his writings have been far greater than any bibliography might suggest. With contemporaries in the War History Branch, he 'ghosted' volumes that appeared under the names of others. There is the classic posthumously published provincial history - Ruth Allan's *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement* - of which Ian might almost be regarded the co-author (he chose to edit J.C. Beaglehole's note to that effect out of the text); and there are the later war history volumes to which he devoted years of scholarly editing and moulding. The pattern continued in retirement, notwithstanding the exhortations of friends to work on the extensive draft manuscripts still in his papers. As late as 2002, at the request of a relative, he turned his attention to Ross Galbreath's biography of the Thomsons, father and son. As his energy flagged, but it was not yet apparent why, he uncomplainingly acceded to a request to cast a critical eye over a book manuscript I was then editing. It was what you did for friends.

Ian's keen interest in archives was a natural outgrowth of his early work with the War History Branch and his own thesis research. Almost immediately after his arrival in Wellington he formed a firm friendship with another young Internal Affairs officer, Michael Standish, the newly appointed guardian (under the designation Research Assistant!) of the nation's public archives. It was an intimacy that was to remain strong until the latter's untimely death in 1962, a mere two months after appointment as New Zealand's first Chief Archivist. Beyond putting the administration of the archives on a professional basis, Standish's memorial is the 1957 Archives Act. There is every indication that Ian had considerable informal input into Standish's planning and the drafting of the legislation. He always considered Standish's death a public as well as personal tragedy, a critical opportunity missed, recollection having the power to distress him right until his own death. It was regarded as logical by many that Ian should be considered a leading candidate to succeed his close friend. It was not to be. In somewhat murky circumstances, an initial offer of appointment being rescinded, the post went instead to John Pascoe. While Pascoe's biographer has recently suggested that later criticisms by Ian of the administration of National Archives arose from hubris at non-appointment, this demonstrates a fundamental misunderstanding of the critic. While often sharp on actions or policies he considered inappropriate, Ian was never a player of the man. Whatever, by the mid 1970s National Archives was in an enfeebled state, arguably as much the result of parsimony and neglect on the part of the controlling department as from any
deficiencies in respect of Pascoe or his successor. While unable to comment publicly, Ian made his views widely known. He also solidly backed ARANZ when it was formed in 1976, encouraging the new organisation to adopt an advocacy stance. When in 1978, in response to public disquiet over the state of the Archives, a Committee of Inquiry was established to make recommendations for future management, Ian was invited to take the chair. It is not too much to state that the Wards Report provided the blueprint for many of the innovations of the 1980s and early 1990s. A further invitation, to himself pilot the recommended changes in the newly created post of Director, was declined, but his concern for the welfare of the institution was to be maintained for the rest of his life. In 1984, the year following his retirement, Ian was appointed by the State Services Commission to a three-person working party to report on National Archives' future accommodation needs. Though the working party's recommendations were not followed, the way was paved for eventual transfer to the current Mulgrave Street building. By this point, in recognition of his already distinguished contributions, Ian had already been elected ARANZ's third Honorary Life Member, an honour that has been bestowed sparingly. It was an award of which he was proud. Over his 20 years of retirement he continued to serve the Association: on committees; as an intermediary; as a drafter of submissions to those in power; as its foremost elder statesman. As his campaigning in the mid and late 1990s demonstrates, there was no diminution of vigour - or commitment - with advancing years. ARANZ's decision in 2000 to establish an annual Ian Wards Prize for outstanding published writing making imaginative use of archival and/or manuscript sources, reflected its determination to further honour its father figure. Despite his weakness, just a month before his death he took part in the judging of the 2003 award from his Mary Potter Hospice bed.

While Ian's services to archives and to historiography may be best known to readers of this journal, they were but two linked aspects of his many interests. As fierce a defender of the Alexander Turnbull Library as he was of the National Archives, Ian served on the committee of the Friends of the Turnbull for many years, as chair for nearly a decade. His battles with bureaucrats, including a succession of National Librarians, for the independence of the Turnbull, were frequently fiery. He gave many years to the Wellington Regional Committee of the Historic Places Trust, which he also chaired for an extended period. Amongst triumphs were the retention of Old Saint Paul's and the saving of the old Bank of New Zealand. He was instrumental in the preservation of Turnbull House, being then largely responsible personally, through the Turnbull House Council, for its management as a community
Memorial Notice

asset for nearly 20 years. When a less than sympathetic Minister of Conservation endeavoured to turn the House into commercial office space in the early 1990s, he - like predecessors - found Ian an immoveable object. Ian was also a founder and early chair of the Wellington Civic Trust, an early stalwart of the Council for Civil Liberties, an executive member of PEN, chair of the Wellington Historical Association, chair of the Roseneath Residents Association, and an enthusiastic patron and active supporter of many other cultural and artistic organisations. A number of them, in addition to ARANZ, honoured him with Life Memberships. Yet one of the great mysteries is that Ian was never honoured by the state, nor by the city whose cultural life he enriched for over half a century. Possibly his militant integrity got under too many official skins. Just prior to his death there were attempts to remedy the omission, but there was insufficient time. Ian Wards' monuments, however, are all around: in buildings saved; in an independent Archives in its own building; in a safeguarded Turnbull Library; in a thriving History Group; in books in homes and on library shelves; in the memories of his friends and acquaintances. Not many can claim as much.

Ian Wards was a man of principle, a man of commitment. He was a man for whom ethics were not just a philosophical concept, rather a code for living. To many younger people Ian possibly appeared slightly old-fashioned, and he probably was, but in the very best sense of holding to values. Courtly himself, he believed that people should, generally would, do 'the right thing' given the opportunity. The duplicity and philistinism often encountered today, sometimes at very high levels and in unexpected places, both dismayed and saddened him. As tributes at his funeral indicated, he was a friend to many. Ian's friendship was constant; never conditional, never fair weather. He was a staunch defender of friends, as well as of principles. He will be missed.

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