

Worlds Apart:
Indigenous Re-engagement with Museum-held Heritage:
A New Zealand - United Kingdom Case Study

by
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To my family

Margaret MacKenzie, Basil Horwood, Nicola Horwood,
John Verstappen, Henry Horwood Verstappen, Mackenzie Horwood Verstappen

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Abstract

For several decades a decolonised museology has been manifest within Western museum practice through, among other things, enhanced indigenous engagement with museums. Even so, indigenous communities still fail to access their cultural heritage housed in museums *at distance*, when they have no institutional affiliation which can facilitate contact and communication, and because they are often disadvantaged in terms of resources. Furthermore, the museums' lack of online collection databases, coupled with other practical constraints centred on resources and priorities, inhibits their ability to work with indigenous communities.

In post-colonial settler nations the democratisation of museum practice for indigenous collections has been one outcome of the political presence of indigenous peoples and the assertion of indigenous autonomy, as well as the proximity of indigenous communities and museums. Innovative practice has therefore differed from elsewhere as a result of the need for negotiated relationships with indigenous communities and recognition of indigenous authority. This has been the case in New Zealand where Māori epistemological frameworks are acknowledged and there is effective Māori participation within museums. This research addresses this issue of access to indigenous collections when they are held in other countries, and a corresponding gap in the literature, by exploring ways in which Māori communities can negotiate ongoing relationships with museums that hold collections of their ancestral heritage, when they are geographically remote from these collections.

Using an analytical framework drawn from assemblage theory, the research has focussed on a detailed, situated New Zealand-United Kingdom case study, and is the first contextualised study over time of a heritage assemblage, comprising a collector and his collection, an indigenous community and a museum. A kaupapa Māori research methodology has enabled the acknowledgement and incorporation of Māori values into the research strategy which is an interdisciplinary approach centred on museum studies, but drawing also on related fields, indigenous knowledge systems and my own professional experience as a curator in a regional museum. The research has also employed methods such as archival research, interviews and hui/focus groups.

Through the disassembly of this research assemblage I was able to document the impact of different value systems and epistemologies on access to heritage objects and clarify their meanings for specific communities. A number of entities emerged from this disassembly which were temporally and spatially contingent, and manifest as power, agency and values. Analysis of these entities has revealed their potential for beginning the task of decolonising the museum when power and authority are negotiated within this network and our difficult histories are acknowledged and communicated. Analysis of the data gathered has also reinforced the idea that taonga objectify social relationships in which they are transformed from passive ‘things’ to active actor-entities and as such are capable of enacting relationships prompting contemporary responses from human actors.

The research findings show the emergence of an indigenous engagement praxis in which actor-networks are ongoing and reassembling, a process which is visible in contemporary indigenous people’s re-engagement with their museum-held heritage at distance. This praxis combines a range of developments in contemporary museum practice for community engagement which have proved effective in New Zealand and other settler-colonies and has potential application elsewhere for community members, academics and museological practitioners when forging relationships based around indigenous cultural heritage collections when distance is a factor.

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Abbreviations

GRASAC	Great Lakes Research Alliance for the Study of Aboriginal Arts and Cultures
NSTP	National Services Te Paerangi
NZ	New Zealand
PRM	Pitt Rivers Museum
RDF	Pitt Rivers Museum Related Documents File
Te Papa	Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
UK	United Kingdom
VUW	Victoria University of Wellington
WM	Whanganui Regional Museum

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Introduction: Worlds Apart

In 2006 the director of the Whanganui Regional Museum, Sharon Dell, while exploring the recently launched online database of the Pitt Rivers Museum, discovered a large collection of taonga Māori that appeared to originate from a Whanganui settler, Charles Smith. Dell's museum trust board received this information with great interest as one member of the board was a direct descendant of the chief, Takarangi, who was the source of much of the material Smith had collected, and another, Ken Clarke, was a local iwi historian who lived at Kaiwhāiki where Smith had farmed. This is the beginning of a narrative that has embraced a relational assemblage of people, places, events, and things that span nearly two centuries and 19,000 kilometres, and which is the focus of this thesis.

Framing the Research: Introduction

The post-colonial museum is fundamentally about inverting power relations and the voice of authority.

Christina Kreps (2011, 75)

In post-colonial settler nations, such as New Zealand, Australia and Canada, the democratisation of museum practice for indigenous collections has been one outcome of the political presence and power of indigenous peoples and the assertion of indigenous autonomy, as well as the proximity of indigenous communities and museums, empowering varying degrees of self-determination for traditional owners in the management of their heritage collections. Innovative practice in museology and related fields has therefore differed from elsewhere as a result of the need for negotiated relationships with indigenous communities and recognition of indigenous authority. In New Zealand (NZ), acknowledgement of Māori epistemological frameworks and authority over cultural heritage has resulted in effective Māori participation within museums at governance and operational levels and in the application of practices (tikanga), specific to individual communities, for the cultural safety of taonga Māori (treasured Māori objects),¹ staff and visitors. This has been happening in NZ museums for more than a decade (Clarke 2002, Johnstone 2006, McCarthy

¹ Taonga Māori in this case specifically refers to tangible ancestral heritage items and their associated intangible qualities such as historical narratives, referred to hereafter as taonga.

2011, Mead 1986, Tamarapa n.d.), but has not always been the case elsewhere. In some museums in the United Kingdom (UK), although strategies are employed to engage with source communities² (Bolton et al. 2013, Knowles 2008, Kreps 2006, Krmpotich and Peers 2013, Peers and Brown 2009), it appears that there is a reluctance to move beyond this practice and embed these strategies in institutional policy.

This thesis contributes to our knowledge and understanding of these issues, in particular building on and contributing to work in museum studies, anthropology and related fields, by examining a network assemblage comprising a collector and his collection, an indigenous community and a museum, through time and across space, to explore the impact of different value systems on access to heritage objects. Through this research I recommend ways for indigenous groups to negotiate relationships with museums that hold collections of their ancestral heritage when they are geographically remote from these collections. This study is important because there is often very little *ongoing* engagement between these groups.

For several decades, a new museology has been manifest within Western museum practice, which has developed through enhanced community engagement with museums, among other factors. This will be discussed further in chapter two. However, from my experience over more than two decades working with Māori communities in New Zealand as a museum curator, I suggest there are a number of reasons why indigenous communities have difficulty accessing their cultural heritage housed in museums *at distance*.³ One is the lack of affiliation with academic or other cultural institutions which could facilitate contact and communication; another is that these communities are often disadvantaged in terms of human/fiscal/technological/educational resources, which can limit opportunities to engage with museum-based custodians of their heritage. Further reasons include the lack of online collection databases until recently which made finding objects difficult, and the lack of desire, or resources, on the part of overseas museums to work with communities.

The core subject of this thesis, therefore, is the difficulties that indigenous communities have in accessing their cultural heritage in museums that are geographically

² The term source communities, also called ‘communities of provenance’, was defined by Peers and Brown (2003a, 2) as referring “both to these groups in the past when artefacts were collected, as well as to their descendants today. These terms have most often been used to refer to indigenous peoples in the Americas and Pacific, but apply to every cultural group from whom museums have collected.”

³ The specific meaning of *at distance* in this context refers to indigenous collections that are housed in museums in different countries from the source community.

remote and engaging in face-to-face interactions and establishing ongoing relationships with the institutional custodians of this heritage. In this thesis the analysis of the different cultural perspectives and knowledge systems of a tribal community and a museum community enable the meanings of a group of indigenous heritage items to both groups, over time, to be better understood. This helps to show how ongoing relationships can be developed between them. This thesis, therefore, makes a contribution to the field in which the research is situated, namely museum studies and, in particular, to the community engagement work that is such a feature of current professional practice. I specifically analyse the relationships between three constituent parts of this network, a collection of indigenous heritage items in a museum collection in the UK: the Charles Smith collection; Ngā Paerangi: a Māori tribal community in NZ who are the customary owners of many items in this collection; and the Pitt Rivers Museum: the current custodians of the collection. I also analyse the outcomes of the recent reconnection of these components.

This chapter introduces the research problem and objectives, provides an overview of the pertinent literature and includes limitations of the study and an outline of subsequent chapters. At the conclusion of the literature review, I outline the theoretical framework I am using for this research—*assemblage theory*—which is applied to the network of events and effects falling out of the in-depth analysis of a case study.⁴ Findings from this research, combined with my own museum experience and with developments in museum studies, leads to an analysis which clarifies the meaning of heritage objects for specific communities. This research builds on literature exploring relationship-building between museums and source communities, specifically that of Krmpotich and Peers (2014) and Onciul (2011) relating to community engagement. It makes a contribution to the field through highlighting the efficacy of a number of factors that impact on relationships over time and space, namely power manifestations, indigenous and material agency, and divergent principles and values. Emerging out of this research, I develop an argument which identifies new ways for indigenous communities to initiate, enhance and perpetuate relationships with museums holding collections of their ancestral heritage.

⁴ In recent museum studies' scholarship *assemblage theory* is being drawn on by scholars to provide a theoretical basis in the reconceptualisation of heritage as heterogeneous assemblages of people and things (Bennett and Healy 2011, Harrison, Byrne, and Clarke 2013, Macdonald 2011).

Research Questions

Historically, indigenous material heritage in museums has been forced into Western epistemological and ontological frameworks where their ‘value’ and ‘meaning’ is constrained by the contexts in which they are held, as well as by who has access to them (Bouquet 2013, McCarthy 2007). This study counters this historical museographical⁵ development, informed by a review of relevant literature, by addressing the following primary research questions:

How can Māori communities in NZ initiate and develop ongoing relationships with museums that hold collections of their ancestral heritage when they are geographically remote from these collections?

Why should the disparate cultural perspectives of both groups be taken into account and how can this improve the understanding of the past and present life of the objects for the source community today?

Research Aims and Objectives

The research aims to improve understanding of the meaning of heritage objects to a tribal community in a former settler colony and a museum community in the colonising society today through analysis of the different cultural perspectives of both communities over time and, through a theoretical lens, to identify how this could change the nature of relationships between them. This is achieved through a number of interrelated research objectives.

The first objective is to investigate the historical association between **Ngā Paerangi iwi**, a Māori tribal community from the Whanganui River, NZ, and a collector, **Charles Smith** and his collection, as well as the influence on him of the **Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM)** in England. During the mid- to late nineteenth century Charles Smith was developing his collection as well as personal relationships with some of the original owners of the material he was collecting. Ngā Paerangi iwi (tribe) were one of the communities from whom he obtained items while living nearby. The PRM bought Charles Smith’s collection in 1923 and are its current custodians. I document, here, the historical relationship between the different

⁵ Museum practice (Desvallées and Mairesse 2010, 52).

components of this study as well as the influence of evolving anthropological thought and museum practice in the UK on Smith's collecting motivations.

The second objective is to identify methods whereby a contemporary relationship can be developed between the iwi and the museum and explore ways in which this relationship can be enhanced and perpetuated. Included in this enquiry is the investigation of why, with the lapse of more than a century since Charles Smith's death and nearly one hundred and fifty years since he began collecting items from the Whanganui River, Ngā Paerangi were unaware of the existence of these taonga until recently. An additional important aspect of this is my exploration of Ngā Paerangi's perspective on the sale of this collection to a museum and their inability to access it physically, care for it, or influence the care of it. To further contribute to this objective I examine the reasons why PRM has become aware of a responsibility to work with Ngā Paerangi people and assist them to access, care for, understand and interpret their ancestral heritage and the strategies they have in place to achieve this.

The third objective is to investigate the ways in which Ngā Paerangi can reconnect with their taonga within their own tikanga (cultural practices). This is achieved through an analysis of the Ngā Paerangi taonga in the Charles Smith collection, in partnership with members of Ngā Paerangi and within their tikanga, to identify the importance of the taonga for Ngā Paerangi—culturally, spiritually and physically—from the mid-nineteenth century to today. The collection represents a significant proportion of extant taonga for this iwi today. Therefore what it means to lose this connection with the practices and products of tūpuna (ancestors) is explored as well as the contemporary reconnection to it. For Māori people there is a close relationship between people and things. Taonga are viewed as living entities, the instantiation of the tūpuna with whom they were associated, and are central to Whanganui iwi identity. Hence, it is important to consider whether the historical response would have been the same if Ngā Paerangi had been aware their taonga would eventually be sold to a museum. Furthermore, investigation of the collecting strategies employed by Smith and the roles of members of Ngā Paerangi in this process will determine whether indigenous agency in the development of this collection can be identified.

The fourth objective is to present an analysis of the socio-political situation at Kaiwhāiki, the home of Ngā Paerangi on the Whanganui River, in the mid- to late nineteenth century. This provides a contextual framework for the historical participants, describing a



Figure 0-1: Map of New Zealand showing major settlements and location of Kaiwhāiki.

culture affected by change—technological, cultural, spiritual—and shows where Charles Smith fits within it. It is a longitudinal study that diverges around the turn of the twentieth century with the transfer of these taonga to England and their subsequent sale, while concurrently massive societal changes transformed life on the Whanganui River. I conclude this analysis with the recent convergence of these separated participants through the re-discovery of the collection in 2006, taking into account the outcomes to date of Waitangi Tribunal processes, including the Whanganui River and Whanganui Lands inquiries recommendations, for Ngā Paerangi social, economic and cultural aspirations.

The fifth and final objective is to provide a summary of the PRM evolution and history within museum culture in the UK and in relation to the discipline of anthropology, to provide a contextual framework for current museum policy and practice relating to indigenous collections. This is contrasted with current practices in NZ museums that may inform collection management practices for Māori collections in overseas institutions.⁶ NZ museums have been at the forefront of changes in heritage management that have empowered indigenous communities to control the care of, and access to, their heritage. This summary answers the following two questions: what avenues have museums in the UK explored to empower indigenous communities in this way and can experiences in England and Māori aspirations be brought alongside one another to produce a mutually beneficial outcome?

Literature Review: Museum-Indigenous Community Relationships

This research is interdisciplinary and, though centred on museum studies, which deals with museum theory and practice relating to the origins of the museum and the role of the museum in society, museum collections, governance, management and public engagement, it draws on related disciplines anthropology, archaeology, and Māori and indigenous studies. Although focussed on contemporary museum practice it illustrates the close relationship between museum history, theory and practice and is situated within the strand of scholarship paying particular attention to the relationships between museums and (indigenous) communities.

⁶ As has been described regarding Canadian Museum practice applied to two British museums (Krmopotich and Peers 2011), for Native American cultural practices at the Smithsonian NMAI (Rosoff 2003), and by the Auckland Museum (Tapsell 2002) for example.

Numerous authors have explored a multiplicity of aspects of the museum-indigene relationship. Few, however, have applied theoretical models (Kelly, Cook, and Gordon 2006, Krmpotich and Peers 2011, Onciul 2013), described a case study over time connecting the historical and contemporary aspects of a collection and its communities (Hafner 2010, Hafner, Rigsby, and Allen 2007), compared different cultural perspectives (Clavir 2002) and resources, nor identified the agency of indigenous communities in historical collection development (Torrence and Clarke 2013). Additionally, although online access to museum collection databases has been possible for more than a decade, and developments in Web 2.0 based technologies are ongoing, non-web-based means of interacting with ancestral heritage collections in museums are difficult for groups who are geographically remote from these collections. This study, therefore, provides additional insights about relationships between source communities and museums holding collections of their heritage. In these ways this research differs from previous studies in the field. In so doing, it draws strongly on the work of Lynch (2011a, 2011b), Crook (2006) and Watson (2007) about museums and communities, Onciul's (2011, 2013) work expanding the contact zone model, that of several authors (Harrison 2013, Knowles 2013, Torrence and Clarke 2013) in the volume by Harrison et al. (2013) who have explored new ways of examining ethnographic museum collections and how they have been developed and understood, and Malafouris' (2008b, 2013) re-conception of material agency.

The research undertaken for this study, embracing a temporally and spatially diverse collection of people and things, utilises a reassembly model incorporating interrelated concepts of indigenous and material agency. In the analytical framework developed through the following literature review, I draw together the emerging body of writing that is re-evaluating the way in which museums and indigenous communities interact. Much of this is focussed on colonial encounters and is situated in post-colonial societies, and utilises methods that enable a reframing of ontologies to progress museological responsibilities in the early twenty-first century. Recent consideration has been given to the long tradition of indigenous agency within museums in NZ (McCarthy 2011) and elsewhere (Harrison 2011, Torrence and Clarke 2011) as well as museums as exclusive instruments of colonial power (Marstine 2011b, McCarthy 2007, Peers and Brown 2009, Sleeper-Smith 2009), while other studies have considered the role of objects "in mediating and constructing colonial encounters" (Harrison 2011, 56), which clearly articulate the complexities of developing innovative curatorial practices involving source communities. The focus of current

ethnographic collection research and access, and subsequent publication, has been on major collections achieved through well-resourced institutions, and, in particular, through the mechanism of exhibitions (for example, Clifford 2004, Hamby 2005, Raymond and Salmond 2008, Starzecka, Neich, and Pendergrast 2010, Tapsell, Hennessy, and Pfeiffer 2006). As well, innovative developments in Web 2.0 technologies have enabled *some* indigenous communities to access and input digital information regarding both tangible and intangible heritage.⁷ In this regard, PRM staff are recognised for their exemplary collections research which, over the past decade in particular, has resulted in global access to significant collections and databases. As well, several projects at PRM have reconnected material culture directly with source communities.⁸ In 2003, PRM curator, Laura Peers, with Alison Brown (2003b), provided the first overview of work in the area of museums and source communities.

The present research differs from these previous studies, as it is concerned with developing and perpetuating ways and means for geographically remote indigenous communities and museums to interact, through a reframing of ontologies, so as to articulate why this is beneficial for both communities as well as how this can progress museological responsibilities in the early twenty-first century. This task will be advanced by documenting interactions over time and space as expressed through the evidence for indigenous agency in historical collecting strategies in addition to that effecting contemporary relationship development. Although there has been some focus on the material agency of things, no studies have focussed attention on how this is manifest in indigene-museum relationships.

⁷ For example, *Mukurtu*, a collaborative community directed mobile digital archive for remote Australian communities (Christen 2008, 2011, Christen and Ashley 2012, Srinivasan et al. 2009, 2011), and *Te Ataakura*, Te Āitanga ā Hauiti iwi's collaborative international project re-connecting Cook collections through the creation of digital taonga (Ngata 2012). Other notable developments include the *Great Lakes Research Alliance for the Study of Aboriginal Arts and Cultures* (GRASAC 2008), the *Reciprocal Research Network* in Northwest British Columbia (Museum of Anthropology 2012), *Ara Irititja* the collaborative community directed mobile digital archive for remote Australian communities (Pitjantjatjara Council Inc. 2011), *Creating Collaborative Catalogs Project* in New Mexico (Srinivasan et al. 2009, 2012), the *Traditional Micronesian Navigation Collection* at the University of Hawaii Library (Smith 2008) and new projects such as the developing database of taonga Māori held in museum collections internationally (Hakiwai 2012).

⁸ For example: Peers and Brown's 2010 Canadian collaboration, Kaahsinnooniksi Ao'toksisawooyawa: Our Ancestors have Come to Visit; Reconnections with Historic Blackfoot Shirts, Pitt Rivers Museum, accessed May 5, 2012, <http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/blackfootshirts/>, 2001–2 visual repatriation project with the Kainai Nation of southern Alberta (Brown and Peers 2006) and Haida Material Culture in UK Museums: Generating New Forms of Knowledge project (Krpmotich and Peers 2013); Sadan's 2007–8 postdoctoral research in Burma, Economies of Ethnicity: Material, Visual and Oral Cultures and the Formation of Ethnic Identities in the Burmese Colonial and Postcolonial State, Pitt Rivers Museum, accessed May 5, 2012, <http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/PostDocFellowship.html>; Harris's 2004–8 collaboration with the British Museum to develop *The Tibet Album: British Photography in Central Tibet 1920 -1950*, accessed December 9, 2014 http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/tibet_project_summary.html.

This study focusses on understanding the impact of different ontologies on social relations with heritage items, while endorsing the contention that museums have a moral imperative to grant source communities the right to determine appropriate access to, care and interpretation of their tangible and intangible heritage.

Central to this study is the concept of taonga as differentiated from other types of cultural heritage. Hakiwai (2014, 3) recently defined taonga as

cultural markers and symbols linked to place, space and time, connecting past generations to contemporary descendants, marking an array of relationships to overcome conflict, creat[ing] knowledge relationships and act[ing] as catalysts for sustainability and tribal social and economic development.

Taonga embody and reflect the mana of the people (Mead 1984, 36) and have been described in terms of “relationships that give life to material forms” (Whaanga 2004, 233), as having “enduring power” (Hakiwai 2014:2), and as the bridge between the world of the living and the world of the dead (Mead 1984, 23, Tapsell 2006a, 17). Salmond (1984, 118) states that “Taonga captured history and showed it to the living.” With reference to museums Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998a, 165) considers, “What is at stake is the restoration of living links to taonga that never died,” a central concern of this thesis. Tapsell (1997) used metaphors, a bird the *tūi* and a comet, to illustrate the role of taonga in tribal Māori society. Like the flight of the *tūi* and the trajectory of the comet, taonga disappear, are hidden away or gifted, and reappear, sometimes generations later, at times of tribal crisis or celebration where they act as “guides that link up the myriad of interconnecting relationships within the genealogically patterned universe of Maori society” (ibid., 335) and are “the spiritual personification of particular ancestors who were originally associated with them” (ibid.).

Henare (2007, 47) provides further clarification of the difference between a taonga and other types of cultural heritage item in regard to transactions. She states that “distinctions between the material and the ephemeral are not relevant here. Nor are ideas about animate and inanimate entities; women and children may be exchanged as taonga and taonga such as woven cloaks are often held as ancestors or instantiations of ancestral effect”. Taonga is not a term that is translatable into English when considering transactions, as the exchange of taonga transforms the taonga, it becomes the ‘hau’ (translated by Best 1900, 189) as “the vital essence or life principle [of the gift,] it is the hau” (ibid.).

Indigenous Community-Museum Engagement

One manifestation of a new museology within Western museum practice over the past several decades, as stated, has been enhanced community engagement with museums. This has not always been an equitable process with, as I argue here, indigenous communities often having difficulty accessing their cultural heritage housed in museums at distance. An increasing body of literature is exploring the ways in which museums are seeking to engage with source communities (Byrne et al. 2011b, Harrison, Byrne, and Clarke 2013, Herle 1994, Peers and Brown 2003b), and the need to move beyond the asymmetry of the contact zone model through shared authority (Boast 2011, Onciul 2011). While geographical distance has provided challenges for initiating, developing and maintaining relationships between museums and source communities, these challenges are often used as opportunities for development (Bolton 2003, de Stecher and Loyer 2009, Fienup-Riordan 2003, Hakiwai 1995, Krmpotich and Peers 2013, Lyons et al. 2011, Peers and Brown 2003b). Few studies, however, have documented the “difficulties and complexities” of museum-community engagement (Onciul 2011). I aim to address these in this study, while bearing in mind Marstine’s (2011a, 5) point that in “museums today creativity and risk taking are often funnelled through one-off projects”.

Acknowledging the validity of the different knowledge systems of participants is also crucial (Mignolo 2009) and the values that guide our interactions in the world. I concur with Clavir (2002 after Swentsell (1991)) who has suggested that the identification of differences as well as commonalities in value systems between indigenous people and museums, and methods to bridge the cultural distance between them, is central to an appropriate museology in the twenty-first century. Importantly, a recent critique (Lynch 2011b) of community engagement in UK museums identified commitment to ongoing and open reflective practice as the only means for true engagement to be embedded and therefore effective in museums. The same author also suggests that museums must face up to their “legacies of prejudice and unlearn them” (Lynch and Alberti 2010, 30) for a more radical trust to take effect in museum-community relationships and to enable museums to become spaces for true democratic exchange. This study will acknowledge the validity of different knowledge and attendant values systems and identify the specific benefits of each for a collection of heritage items, and whether a focussed and detailed study of the relationships these items generate can result in more than a one-off project for a museum and a source community.

There is extensive literature on collaborations between museums and indigenous communities (for example, Allen and Hamby 2011, Bolton et al. 2013, Gadoua 2010, Hafner 2010, Nightingale and Swallow 2003, Raymond and Salmond 2008), some of which involve visual repatriation projects to evoke memory (for example, Binney and Chaplin 2003, Bolton 2011, Brown and Peers 2006, Peers and Brown 2009, Poignant and Poignant 1996) perhaps more aptly titled e-patriation (Glass 2015). This study will contribute to the notion of ‘curatorial responsibility’ and the willingness to ‘generate new conceptions of relationships of care and curation’ (Byrne et al. 2011b).⁹ There are few NZ examples of collaborative practice in the literature (for example, Spedding 2006), however it is well illustrated by policy and practice in some NZ institutions.¹⁰ Hafner (2010, 261), citing McMullen’s (2008) review of Native American consultation by museums, has noted that indigenous consultation in United States (US) museums is not as recent as previously thought. No comprehensive review of Māori consultation by museums has been undertaken in NZ, however, although McCarthy (2007 2011) has reviewed public visitation at the National Museum, and since its inception the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) has, through the principle of Mana Taonga,¹¹ instituted a range of strategies to involve iwi in programme development, which have clearly illustrated the benefits of partnership projects.¹²

While a range of strategies for engaging with source communities have been tested by museums, most comprehensively articulated by contributors in Peers and Brown’s (2003b) authoritative volume *Museums and Source Communities*,¹³ few have been community led (Potaka and Butts 2003). Moreover, the concept developed by Furniss (2006, 190) of an ‘ethnography of silence’, which may be a Ngā Paerangi result of a variety of causes—deliberate, repressive, or traumatic—has potential for placing Ngā Paerangi and Whanganui iwi history narratives within a broader regional history framework. More recently in NZ

⁹ Which have been described (Byrne et al. 2011b, McCarthy 2011) and employed by numerous authors (for example, Brown and Peers 2006, Poignant and Poignant 1996, Sleeper-Smith 2009).

¹⁰ Such as Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision’s practice for films with indigenous content (Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision NZ Archive of Film 2014), Te Papa’s Mana Taonga principle which guides access and research for the collections (Schorch and Hakiwai 2014), and the Whanganui Regional Museum’s policy for use of images of Māori people, places and objects (Whanganui Regional Museum 2009).

¹¹ For a discussion of the principle Mana Taonga at Te Papa see Schorch and Hakiwai (2014).

¹² For example, iwi exhibitions (Sciascia 2012), Ngāti Hinewaka’s reconstruction of the Makotukutuku whare (Archibald 2007), Hakiwai and Te Whānau-a-Ruataupare’s involvement with the Ruatēpupuke whare whakairo at the Field Museum in Chicago (Hakiwai 1995).

¹³ Including partnerships and collaborations (Nightingale and Swallow 2003, Peers and Brown 2003a), museums as opportunities for cross-cultural dialogue (Herle 2003), museum policy and procedures (Rosoff 2003, Tapsell 2003), visual repatriation (Binney and Chaplin 2003), and innovations in exhibition development (Herle 2003).

recognition has been given to indigenous authority over and control of tangible and intangible heritage (Battiste 2008, Bishop 2008, Jones and Jenkins 2008), reflecting the emergence of kaupapa Māori theory and non-Māori equivalents (Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith 2008). This is the kind of more equal “contact zone” which Boast describes, “of equal reciprocity and mutual benefit ... [rather than] asymmetric spaces of appropriation ... [where] dominance wins” (2011, 63). In the NZ context, O’Sullivan (2007) has likewise critiqued the unequal nature of biculturalism.¹⁴ A community-led strategy embracing kaupapa Māori methodology will be employed by the present study to address these issues.

There is consensus that longstanding relationships between researchers/museums and indigenous communities have been fundamental to the continuation of partnerships between these groups (Christen 2009, 2011, Hafner, Rigsby, and Allen 2007, 91, Krmpotich and Peers 2013, 196). Where these partnerships fail is when longstanding relationships end, through the death or withdrawal of key participants or departure of key staff. Museums must therefore embrace a more permanent form of relationship driven by policy, giving attention to post-collaborative developments, to ensure succession is in place to maintain relationships.¹⁵ There has been some signalling of the intention to future-proof these relationships, such as that of scholar-practitioners Krmpotich and Peers who suggested developing “a Memorandum of Understanding or through policies” (2013, 227). However, the challenge for institutions is to expand this in order to embed principles of partnership in policy grounded in practice, which can be achieved through the recognition of indigenous authority as legitimate in heritage management. As Tapsell (2011a) observed, when questioning whether the value of objects in museums had been fully explored in terms of ancestral relationships to source communities, are museums ready to share power from the ground up? The complexity of these initiatives may test institutional resilience, but the evolution of these practices is a valuable contribution to museum practice in the twenty-first century and one which this study progresses. As Krmpotich and Peers (ibid., 53) observed “rethinking museum rules and expectations (or rewriting them altogether) might actually be a way to make better museums”. One successful strategy is the employment of community-supported indigenous staff in museums. I have not, however, considered this strategy in this review as it would

¹⁴ In NZ, biculturalism is based upon the partnership between Māori and the Crown implicit in the country’s founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, but which, until the Māori renaissance of the 1980s, foundered in an unofficially monoculture society that favoured the Pākehā majority (Hayward 2012).

¹⁵ For example, in the form of a memorandum of understanding such as Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision’s current embryonic plans for *Te Hokinga Mai o Nga Taonga Whitiāhua*, and the Museum of North Arizona and Hopi referred to by Hays-Gilpin and Lomatewama (2013).

distract from the central focus of this study and is not especially relevant in terms of building relationships between source communities in NZ and museums in the UK.

Although numerous authors have explored a multiplicity of aspects of the museum-source community relationship, with the exception of the authors in Harrison et al. (2013) as noted, few have applied theoretical models (Kelly, Cook, and Gordon 2006, Krmpotich and Peers 2011, Onciul 2011). Additionally, it is my contention that regional or community museums have far greater ability to develop innovative methods of power-sharing with regard to cultural heritage and that this is a direct result of social inclusion, relationship-building (face-to-face and ongoing) and empowerment through access to knowledge (collections and collection records). I am not therefore considering national museums in this study. In other words, innovative practice results from experiment and experience and this can occur most frequently when museums and communities are nearby and can interact face-to-face. These advances rarely surface in the literature, mainly because of resource issues. Priorities are usually focussed on developing and implementing the practices, with little consideration given to sharing their benefits through publication. Examples of NZ regional museums' governance and constitutional reform have been disseminated through publication (Butts 2006, Butts, Dell, and Wills 2002, Spedding 2006) but little has been published about innovative management and practice (McCarthy 2011). In this thesis I therefore apply a theoretical model to a study of a museum-indigenous community relationship based upon my professional experience of community inclusion and relationship-building processes in a regional museum in NZ. I acknowledge that relationships of more than two decades developed with members of Ngā Paerangi while I was the curator at the Whanganui Regional Museum, influenced my ability to engage with this community for a research project centred on their taonga in the Charles Smith collection.

Current literature (Coombes 2005, Hays-Gilpin and Lomatewama 2013, Torrence and Clarke 2013) has revealed that in any cross-cultural or inter-cultural engagement, recognition of the unique character of the engagement is an essential mandate requiring contextualisation; this entails specific negotiations between participants to ensure anticipated outcomes are fulfilled from all sides of the engagement. Generic factors can move across engagements and be employed elsewhere; therefore it is important to document practice. Additionally, the concept of assembly and reassembly discussed below, where agency is distributed across networks, will prove useful in drawing together the different strands of this study. Lastly,

acknowledgement of the validity of different world views and the values they embody is a key factor in these engagements and fundamental to recognition of indigenous authority as legitimate in heritage management.

Non-Western Knowledge Systems and Ways of Being

The single most important aspect of an indigenous world view is the notion that the world is alive, conscious and flowing with a perennial energy. The natural world is not so much the repository of wisdom as wisdom itself, flowing with purpose and design.

Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal (2003, 44)

A central premise of this research is that taking into account epistemological and ontological differences will improve understanding of the past and present life of heritage items for source communities and museums. Epistemological perspectives or world views develop through cultural identity and experiences in the world. I concur with Kreps (2003b, 3) when she states that “it’s no longer sufficient to treat indigenous objects as inert relics” and that “taking into account different indigenous practices and interests serves to decentre the dominance of scientifically based museology.” Similarly, Lonetree (2012, 25) argues for museums as sites of decolonisation achieved by “honoring Indigenous knowledge and world views, challenging the stereotypical representations of Native people produced in the past, serving as sites of ‘knowledge making and remembering’ for their own communities and the general public, and discussing the hard truths of colonization in exhibitions in an effort to promote healing and understanding.” Acknowledging disparate world views enables consideration to be given to the different meanings for communities, and the roles within them, that heritage objects may have.¹⁶

A major tenet of anthropology and a central tenet of this thesis, as described by Clarke (2014, 18), is “that lines between persons and things can vary by culture”. For example, Isaac (2009, 306) points out that power is based on knowledge not wealth for Zuni in New Mexico, so social hierarchy is structured through differential rights of access to knowledge. Hays-Gilpin and Lomatewama (2013) discuss indigenous ontology specifically for Hopi in the US where objects “are animate in the sense, that they are part of the flow of life in a meshwork of

¹⁶ As discussed by Bennett and Healy (2011), Boast (2011), Clarke (2002), Clifford (2004), Henare, Holbraad and Wastell (2007b), Kreps (2006), Sleeper-Smith (2009), Smith (1999). Tamarapa (2011), Tapsell (2006b) and Viveiros de Castro (2004), for example.

relationships” (ibid., 266). They are thus ‘living’ in a specific sense where human-like requirements such as ‘feeding’ are analogous to Māori ontological perspectives of ‘keeping taonga warm’, first described within a museological context in NZ by Māori museum professional Mina McKenzie (1993). To recognise the animacy of objects and thereby consider their relationships with the world rather than the nomenclatural classification within which they fit, broadens our thinking when we are responsible for museum collections, and expedites the development of sensitive processes for the care of and access to collections. Correspondingly, recognition of the knowledge and expertise of museum professionals as equally relevant and meaningful within their own contexts to that of indigenous people, and that both perspectives are equally valid, as Muñoz (2009, 13) states, “aids the process of democratizing knowledge as well as access to it.”

Nakata has posited theory from an indigenous perspective to understand the place of indigenous people in society, in this case Torres Strait Islanders in Australian society, and uses the broadly encompassing term cultural interface to shape the frameworks through which people are understood. He referred to this as a,

multi-layered and multi-dimensional space of dynamic relations constituted by the intersections of time, place, distance, different systems of thought, competing and contesting discourses within and between different knowledge traditions, and different systems of social, economic and political organisation (Nakata 2007, 199).

This discourse is especially pertinent when considering the relevance of a number of terms commonly encountered in the literature but which are inherently inadequate when considered from multiple (cross-cultural) perspectives, for example, source community, indigenous, heritage, traditional, material culture. Onciul (2013) has defined a number of terms in her consideration of museum-community engagement, describing communities not as “homogenous, well-defined, static entities” but rather as “porous, multifaceted, ever-shifting, loosely connected groups of people” (ibid., 81). Indeed, it is opportune for this study, as Tapsell (2011a) has suggested, to unpack the ‘source communities’ label, showing how every community carries uniquely diverse values that continue to evolve according to crises and opportunities in the absence of their departed taonga. This applies specifically to the distinctiveness of the iwi Ngā Paerangi within the iwi of the Whanganui River as well as within the broader Whanganui community and how this has evolved over time. Documenting this change will provide a valuable insight to and overall understanding of how communities have reorganised themselves to re-engage with their taonga.

Authors in Golding and Modest's (2013) volume on museums and communities have unpacked phrases that are often taken for granted, such as community participation and collaboration which, as Tapsell pointed out above, obscure the complexities of participants, limit action and can result in "tokenistic claims of inclusion by museums" (ibid., 1). Furthermore, Nakata (2007, 202-3) clearly articulated a non-Western epistemology for understanding continuity of culture which can equally be applied to NZ, expressed as looking back into the future. This is also described for Hawai'i by Clifford (2010, 12), and further by Gell (1998, 258) in relation to Māori whare whakairo (carved houses) where he positioned such objects as collectivities of thought, memory and aspiration that transcend time. Indigenous articulations of time will be considered further below. It must be kept in mind, however, that the location of the author and this study has created a NZ-centric twenty-first century focus.

On a similar note, Besterman (2006, 432) pointed out that museum collections have the ability to embody relationships across the four dimensions of time and space. Therefore, the conception that taonga are "time travellers that bridge the generations, enabling descendants to ritually meet their ancestors face to face" (Tapsell 2006a, 17) succinctly encapsulates one incentive for the development of innovative practices in museology and related fields in NZ and describes why these practices have differed from elsewhere. These innovations also stem from the need for negotiated relationships with source communities for whom indigenous authority over cultural heritage is recognised. Acknowledgement of Māori epistemological frameworks and authority over cultural heritage has, for example, resulted in the application of customary practices (tikanga), specific to individual communities, within the museum and, as stated earlier, this has been happening in NZ for more than a decade (Clarke 2002, Johnstone 2006, McCarthy 2011, Mead 1986, Tamarapa n.d.). Clifford (2010, 11) describes the Inuit conception of time as a one-way river of loss using the metaphor of a weir for "selective capture" of material heritage. This can be compared to a Māori perspective that what is lost now will be found when the time is right, it is never truly lost. For Ngā Paerangi people it appears that much *has* been lost, although Young (2007, 11) cites Ngā Paerangi informant Haimona Rzoska's clear message, "In time they will come back if they are needed". With few extant taonga in current ownership, however, this has contributed to the loss of iwi narratives for Ngā Paerangi, who are now trying to reassemble these narratives from fragmentary oral traditions and historical documents.

The conception of ownership is also pertinent to this discourse. Kramer (2006, 90) describes ownership as “a process, an activity among people, rather than a static relationship between people and objects.” With “First Nations trying to teach the West that relationships to cultural objects are not about object ownership per se but, rather, about an inalienable connection between objects and their custodians” (ibid., 94). This is in accord with Clifford’s (1997, 212) observation that many indigenous groups do not desire physical possession of their material property but, rather, an ongoing connection with and control of it. In NZ this has been clearly communicated to museums and resulted in policy and practice recognising kaitiakitanga, such as the Mana Taonga principle at Te Papa (Schorch and Hakiwai 2014).

For this NZ study, a number of authors have provided clarity around pertinent customary Māori concepts, the understanding of which is essential for development of successful relationships with Māori source communities.¹⁷ These concepts include mana (ancestral authority), tapu (ancestral restriction, respect and discipline), noa (to be free from the extensions of tapu), mauri¹⁸ (life force), hau (vital essence), ihi (presence), wehi (awe), wana (authority), whakapapa (kinship), rangatiratanga (trusteeship), manaakitanga (service) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship). A number of these concepts will be encountered again in this thesis and elaborated upon contextually at that time.

Indigenous Agency in Historical Collection Development

Agency, or the ability to make things happen within relationships, has received considerable attention in recent decades within the social sciences and humanities (for example, Boivin 2008, Byrne et al. 2011a, Hicks and Beaudry 2010, Knappett and Malafouris 2008a, Malafouris 2013). The identification of indigenous agency in collection development has potential for providing insight into historical relationships between collectors/museums and communities. Recent reviews, however, have identified the lack of recognition of indigenous agency in forming museum collections past and present (Gosden 2000, Hamby 2005, Harrison 2013, McCarthy 2007, 2011, Tapsell 2006a). As part of this research, I investigated the claim that indigenous communities have been active partners in collection development not merely victims of ethnographic collecting, and investigated the strategies they employed in this process. In any discussion of indigenous agency, however, the meanings of both the

¹⁷ Adds (2012), Henare (2007), Henare, Holbraad and Wastell (2007), Johnstone (2006), Mead (2003), Moutu (2007), Salmond (1984), Shirres (1982), Smith (2006, 2011), Tapsell (1997, 2006a, 2011).

¹⁸ Mouri in Whanganui dialect.

terms 'indigenous' and 'agency' within the specific context must be clear. Here, this means specifically as they relate to the development of museum collections.

The term 'indigenous' evolved from the notion of 'native' (as well as 'primitive', 'savage', 'tribal') to describe societies outside imperial and colonial Western European societies, or the 'Other' (Bennett 2010, Stocking 1985b). It is used to embody all first nations' cultures today but has lingering reference to marginalised peoples and discriminatory practices by settler-colonists. Harrison (2013, 9-11) provides a useful and comprehensive review of the concept 'indigeneity' within the museum context. He includes Merlan's (2008) two definitions for the term's contemporary use; 'relational' for those defined in relation to another category such as 'settler colonist' or 'the state', and 'criterial' for those defined as having an historical continuity of occupation of place and cultural practice from pre-colonised times, which they maintain and are determined to pass to future generations. He concludes that "indigeneity must be perceived as contextual" (ibid., 11). It is important, therefore, to address the suitability of the word 'indigenous' for a NZ study.

The term is recognised internationally and has been "adopted by many peoples for political recognition, [however,] it doesn't always map exactly onto local perspectives and histories."¹⁹ Following advice from a Māori language expert,²⁰ it is appropriate to consider the following terminology to contextualise 'indigenous' for this NZ-focussed study,

- tangata whenua - people of the land ('tangata' - people, 'whenua' - land) used in NZ to describe the country's original inhabitants, and
- iwi taketake - people that originate from that place ('iwi' - a tribe or a people, 'taketake' - indigenous, aboriginal or original people) for use elsewhere.²¹

I acknowledge that to distinguish between groups of indigenous people is valuable. In NZ it is commonplace to hear the term 'tangata whenua' referring to people of Māori descent. The term 'iwi taketake', however, is rarely encountered. Furthermore, the term 'indigenous' is rarely heard in NZ. Indigenous people from NZ, therefore, are referred to as 'tangata whenua' in this study, while for clarity I retain the use of the term 'indigenous people' for those from places other than NZ.

¹⁹ Peers, e-mail message to author, September 29, 2012.

²⁰ Che Wilson, an iwi historian and also a Ngā Paerangi informant for this study.

²¹ Wilson, e-mail message to author, July 19, 2012.

Agency is described as “the ability of an individual (‘agent’) or group to act of their own volition, without constraint by structure” (Morris 2012, 4). Within the social sciences this concept has generally been considered as an attribute of humanity, although earlier works (particularly that of Mauss (1954) and Appadurai (1986)) did illustrate that “commodities, like person, have social lives” (Knappett and Malafouris 2008b, x). Since the mid-1980s “the idea of decentralised agency has gained momentum across the social sciences” (ibid., xi) being particularly influenced by actor-network theory (ANT),²² with the agency of objects within social networks, as popularised by Latour and his contemporaries, which has proved extremely influential in material culture studies (Clarke 2014, 19). Agency is therefore symmetrical in that human and non-human agents participating in relational networks are of equal weight or importance (Knappett and Malafouris 2008b, xi). Latour (1995) redefined this to encompass non-human agents’ ability to act in a broadly human-like way, through what things do. Thus, in certain contexts, as Hoskins (2006, 74) describes it, “persons can seem to take on the attributes of things and things can seem to act almost as persons.” The concept was later interrogated by Gell (1998) with reference to art, where art became the artist’s ‘distributed mind’, turning their agency into the effect of this on others. At the same time the importance of aesthetic recognition as not always transferable between cultures was acknowledged. More recently, Harrison (2011, 58) has argued that although Gell’s theory is useful “for describing the *social* agency of objects”, it fails to address their *material* agency, as it maintains the primacy of the human agent within the relationship. Harrison (2013, 16) subsequently defined agency as the temporal and spatial interactions of people with other people and with things in relation to action; agency is “contingent and emergent within social collectives” and can take many forms.

Following Harrison’s definition, my interest for the present study relates to the identification of indigenous agency in the development of historical museum collections. That is, that indigenous people were involved in decision-making around what material was made available to collectors and collections. Rather than considering contemporary changes in curatorial practice that embody new conceptions of the agency of things (after Gell 1998) and the effects of this on museum practice specifically in regard to relationships with

²² Actor-network theory is a social theory devised to overcome the primacy of humans in social collectives or networks by way of the focus falling also on objects (or ‘non-humans’). In ANT agency is “distributed and possessed in relational networks of persons and things” (Malafouris 2013, 123). Law (1999, 4) described ANT as “a semiotics of materiality” that is symmetrical with regard to human and non-human agents, while Latour (1999, 15) described it “more a method to deploy the actor’s own world building activities than an alternative social theory.”

indigenous communities, instead I aim to discover the relativity of indigenous actions to other types of agency within Western collecting practices, as a means of understanding how museum collections developed. I will employ this explicitly as a means to explore the outcomes of the taonga exchange processes employed by Ngā Paerangi members and others with Charles Smith in Whanganui during the nineteenth century. This will be achieved through historical research into the strategies that appear to have been used in these interactions, as Torrence and Clarke (2013) were able to do for a Papua New Guinea case study from museum collections—although the size of the Charles Smith Collection (272 Māori items) has somewhat limited this approach within the overall study.

Byrne et al.(2011b) was one of the first volumes to compile a number of studies identifying indigenous agency in museum collection development from different sites (Australia, Melanesia, UK, US, South America). Conversely, there has been no in-depth study to date assessing the involvement of Māori people as contributors of items to museum collections. My research will explore this aspect of museum history and may challenge current views, as McCarthy (2007) did for Māori engagement with the exhibition of their ancestral heritage in museums, by revealing the active social agency of Māori individuals in collectors’ acquisition processes and their motivations for this.

Material Agency

Material agency, or the ability of inanimate objects to affect humans and society, is a contested concept, which is receiving increased attention from scholars across a range of fields including archaeology and cognitive studies, anthropology, sociology, art and architecture. Of particular relevance to this study is the importance of the agency of objects, advocated in ANT, in the recent revival of material culture studies. For ANT, agency is not considered exclusive to humans or non-humans but is distributed throughout the network²³ formed by their collaboration, requiring a symmetry where neither is privileged over the other (Ingold 2008, 214); this led Latour to posit that we live in collectives of people and things rather than only people (Jones and Boivin 2010, 346).

²³ Latour (1999, 15) warns that the term ‘network’ when originally proposed meant a series of ‘transformations’ and differs considerably from its common usage today where it means to transport information instantaneously without deforming it.

For material agency to be manifest, the interaction of two (or more) things, one human, one material, is required, with the material element moving from a passive to a more active role in the relationship. The various articulations of and debates about this concept (including Hays-Gilpin and Lomatewama 2013, Jones and Boivin 2010, Knappett and Malafouris 2008a, Latour 1995, Malafouris 2013, van der Leeuw 2008) have especial relevance to my argument; that Māori heritage items have material agency, including but not restricted to their ability to make things happen. That is, that they can be animate themselves, within specific frames of reference, and perceptions of this innate agency vary depending upon access to culture-specific knowledge. As Gosden (2005) warns, the power of an object is contingent upon the ability to recognise characteristics of its form and these attributes are not always recognisable between cultures, which has considerable relevance for this new area of study.

While studies emphasising the equal weighting of material culture within social relations have gained momentum over the past three decades, Knappett and Malafouris (2008a) were the first to consider a non-anthropocentric approach, with Malafouris (2013) taking this approach further. Malafouris (2008a, 34-35), as have other scholars (such as Jones and Boivin 2010), promotes the active nature of the object, with agency becoming the relational and emergent product of our engagement with the world rather than being a fixed property of humans, with the ultimate cause of action being “the flow of activity itself”. Furthermore, he proposes that human and material agency are interdependent in that agency and intentionality are “properties of material engagement, that is, the grey zone where brain, body and culture conflate” (ibid., 22). Intentionality is often perceived as at the core of agency maintaining its human asymmetry as no thing can intend action (Malafouris 2013, 136-137). Malafouris (2008a, 28) further argues that the claim “no physical phenomena are in themselves *of or about* anything,” is based upon a misunderstanding of the issues involved. He debates this through identification and temporal disassembly of ‘prior intention’ and ‘intention in action’, with only the latter being in association with agency “not as an internal property but a component of extended cognition” (Malafouris 2013, 140), thus making a case for the symmetrical collaboration between humans and things through the processes of material engagement. Consequently Malafouris developed Material Engagement Theory as a cross-disciplinary analytical tool for investigating the different ways in which things have become cognitive extensions of the human body. Material Engagement Theory is useful as a framework for considering individual objects in the Charles Smith Collection and the

collection as a whole that is not reliant upon their provenance but rather on the effect they have in their own right, both in affective terms and in the way in which they move us to action.

Museum Ethics and Access

The participatory turn in museology is best understood from within the context of the new focus on museum ethics.

Bernadette Qureshi (2011, 3)

Two further key issues important for any exploration of museum-indigenous community relationships are access (or participation) and contemporary museum ethics. In Marstine's (2011b) volume, recontextualising the discourse on the new museum ethics, she explores three museological themes for moral agency: social inclusion embracing democracy and diversity, radical transparency acknowledging accountability, and shared guardianship of heritage to provide "an ethics of sustainability, not accumulation" (2011a, 19). In the same volume Kreps (2011, 75) discusses the decolonising of Western museums, requiring the inverting of power relations and the voice of authority. I have quoted Kreps at the beginning of this chapter to indicate the centrality of this principle to the present study. Similarly Hays-Gilpin and Lomatewama (2013) recommend the acknowledgement of alternative indigenous ontologies and a revision of museum practices such as classifying and conserving to enable the contemporary contextualisation of museum collections. The importance of equal and two-way relationships between museums and stakeholders is not a new concept (for example, Besterman 2006, Boast 2011 citing Clifford 1997, Poignant and Poignant 1996). Furthermore, Whaanga (2012) discusses the importance of identifying appropriate customary practice and ethics when working with indigenous collections to ensure the integrity of the collection is maintained and the collection is contextualised. These themes have particular relevance to the present study however; as Qureshi (2011, 3) points out, "obstacles to genuine partnerships are inadvertently created by the institution itself and are very often invisible to those most involved".

It is acknowledged that current research and publications that provide access to museum collections have focussed on sizeable collections in well-resourced major or national institutions (for example, Te Papa 2004, Starzecka, Neich, and Pendergrast 2010, Tamarapa 2011). Regional and community-based museums, however, are not usually resourced to

enable staff to disseminate information (via publication or online) about achievements in community engagement and empowerment, let alone comprehensive information about their collection holdings. There are notable exceptions (for example, Horwood and Wilson 2008). In reviewing the ways in which museum collections have become accessible to source communities within an international theoretical and practical framework, there is a paucity of literature specifically addressing the developments for regional or community museums (Butts 2002, Isaac 2012, Rassool 2009, Spedding 2006). However, it should be pointed out that this review is not considering the role of tribal museums and cultural centres.

To conclude this section on museum ethics, I quote Krmpotich's (Krmpotich and Peers 2013, 188) argument relating to the concept of knowledge repatriation. This may occur when an indigenous group, a museum and a collection come together, but knowledge repatriation can be a means to avoid the actual repatriation of items when employed by museums.

Rather than repatriating knowledge, the museums were arguably simply doing their job: providing researchers with access to collections; helping to educate its publics; preserving physical objects; evoking wonder; stimulating discussion. Since these are core functions of museums, they are things that museums should have done quite a long time ago, rather than waiting for a specially-funded project or claiming an ethical high ground and calling such work 'knowledge repatriation'.

While museums may not hold the knowledge that the communities are seeking, as is often the case for historical museum collections, they can however provide the stimulus for the exploration of other knowledge-eliciting opportunities such as the revitalisation of cultural practices or knowledge-sharing networks like the GRASAC mentioned previously (footnote 7).

This brief review of pertinent literature has identified the centrality of acknowledging different world views and value systems in indigenous-museum community engagement and that recognising indigenous authority in heritage management is fundamental to this process. Documenting the agency of indigenous owners in historical collection development will also be fruitful in providing insights into historical relationships, while material agency has the potential to illustrate the affective impact of object encounters. Finally, sharing responsibility for the guardianship of heritage in post-collaborative museum-indigene engagements may

ensure continuity of the relationships between them. I will now describe the theoretical framework I have applied to the research problem posed by this thesis.

Conclusion: Theoretical Framework

An assemblage is, first, an ad hoc grouping, a collectivity whose origins are historical and circumstantial, though its contingent status says nothing about its efficacy, which can be quite strong. An assemblage is, second, a living, throbbing grouping whose coherence coexists with energies and countercultures that exceed and confound it. An assemblage is, third, a web with an uneven topography: some of the points at which the trajectories of actants cross each other are more heavily trafficked than others, and thus power is not equally distributed across the assemblage. An assemblage is, fourth, not governed by a central power: no one member has sufficient competence to fully determine the consequences of the activities of the assemblage. An assemblage, finally, is made up of many types of actants: humans and nonhumans; animals, vegetables, and minerals; nature, culture, and technology.

Jane Bennett (2005, 445)

Assemblage theory is useful for its ability to provide a framework for the analysis of a network of events and effects. In this study, assemblages can be material or social and comprise all, but not only, the following components—people, things, places, organisations, institutional policies, knowledge systems, events, actions, state/indigenous politics—and these are temporally and spatially contingent. Assemblages are considered analysable, as they have the ability to be broken down into their constituent parts, or disassembled, so that these can be considered separately, and then reconstructed from these parts, or reassembled (Harrison, Byrne, and Clarke 2013). Components can be extracted from one assemblage and inserted into another where their relations may be different. For this study, which involves relationship-building between two contemporary groups—one a tribal community in a former settler colony, the other an academic institution and museum within the colonising society, framed around a collection of historical heritage items—this framework is useful in terms of the interactions of the heritage items with the institution and with the community over time and space, where different value systems create different meanings and relationships. The result is contingent and, as Macdonald (2011, 137) states, “inevitably partial—[as] it is never possible to follow all of the chains of connections that might be involved.” For this study nonetheless, this disassembling can be reassembled drawing objects and people together to

create benefits for the community, museum and the collection. It will also reveal the effects of the agency of heritage items, leadership change, relations of power, and organisational priorities on things such as contemporary museum practice, indigene-museum interactions and the revitalisation of cultural processes.

Bennett (2010, 202) uses assemblages as they relate to bodies, as first defined by Deleuze and Guattari and developed further by De Landa (2006), as a means of analysing societal complexity, specifically in terms of the history of relations between the colonised and coloniser and the development of “indigenous governmentality” in twentieth-century Australia, with the outcome of dislocation resulting from assimilation policies (ibid., 192). Furthermore, Bennett and Healy’s volume *Assembling Culture* similarly explores how culture “is assembled by bringing together heterogeneous elements (artefacts, people, texts, architecture, etc.) and organising these into distinctly configured relations to one another” (Bennett and Healy 2011, 2).

Assemblage, deposition and taphonomy, appropriated from archaeology, are all useful for the current study.²⁴ In an archaeological context “an assemblage is a collection of material related through contextual proximity” (Joyce and Pollard 2010, 292), with the contextual association important in interpreting the material as evidence of specific events. “Deposition ... refers to the process of laying-down or accumulation of ... material to form an archaeological context”, with the delimited deposits making up an assemblage (ibid.). Taphonomy is the study of the depositional process including the effects of actions, materials or events that impact upon the deposits’ formation.

Harrison et al. (2013, 20ff) attest to the salience of the application of the assemblage metaphor. Firstly, considering an assemblage as a group of artefacts found together representing a particular activity at a point in time and place, they employed taphonomic processes borrowed from archaeological analysis to provide new ways to understand museum collection formation and maintenance (ibid., 22). This concept is similarly used by Byrne et al. (2011a, 12) to denote museum collections as archaeological assemblages that have accumulated through metaphorical taphonomic processes requiring the study of both object and people. Harrison and others (2013, 23) also describe the analysis of a collection by multiple experts as a ‘reassembling’ as it draws not only objects but people and objects

²⁴ An “archaeological sensibility” as used by Harrison (2013) and others to inform past and present relationships between people and things in a museum context.

together. Secondly, these authors also draw on Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage theory to describe "a series of heterogeneous groupings in which the grouping itself could be distinguished as a whole from the sum of its parts" as a product of histories and relationships with other parts of the assemblage (ibid., 23-24). This serves to connect humans and things across time and space, enabling the identification of 'friction and conflict' in relationships, but also concurrence and agreement (ibid.).

Likewise, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998c) has used the metaphor of assemblage in relation to the fragmentary nature of ethnographic museum collections. This theory is useful for developing a model to bring together Ngā Paerangi, the Charles Smith collection and PRM. Its usefulness lies in its application to the coloniser-colonised relationships in NZ, by providing a context for the case study that will assist with the formation of contemporary, museum-source community relationships. It will enable the evolution of indigenous identity in NZ (Durie 2009, Hakiwai 2014, Hokowhitu et al. 2010, Nakata 2007) to be better understood, also the effects of self-determination articulated through restitution sought via the Treaty of Waitangi processes (Butts 2007, Durie 1998, Hakiwai 2014, Walker 1984, Waitangi Tribunal 2004), and engagement with and dislocation from national politics and formation of alternative strategies, including land occupation (such as the seventy-nine-day occupation of Pākaitore-Moutoa Gardens in Whanganui in 1995).

Marcus and Saka (2006) discuss assemblage, with regard to ethnographic anthropology, as it has been used as a structure to describe values (including emergence, heterogeneity, the decentred and the ephemeral) in descriptions and analyses of social life. I agree with this consideration of assemblage theory in terms of the "always-emergent conditions of the present" as a means to analyse the contemporary (ibid., 101-102), which has specific relevance to my investigation of notions of 'value' or difference of value systems as well as the nature of relationships between museums and source communities in contemporary society. The use of assemblage as a "time-limited" (ibid., 102) theory has particular appeal for an analysis which embraces temporal and spatial parameters in a range of ways in relation to analysing the interrelatedness and/or interactions of the different object and human relations, and their reassembly. However, a word of warning from De Landa seems apt when considering the fragmented nature of assemblages in this context and the need to find practical ways in which to reassemble them. He writes, "The identity of any

assemblage at any level of scale is always the product of a process ... and it is always precarious, since other processes ... can destabilize it” (De Landa 2006, 28).

Harrison, Byrne and Clarke’s (2013) volume provides innovative approaches for current museum practice. Byrne (2013, 29), for example, suggests that contextualising the object and paying particular attention to the relationship between objects within original social practices will potentially be beneficial in building collaborative relationships providing contemporary contexts for these collections. That is, the realignment of the previous focus by collectors on form (with consequent lack of collection of provenance information) to a focus on function as articulated within a contemporary context. Similarly, the aim of this study is to situate and ground this research in current practice, contextualised within the NZ situation through my experience working with communities.

Application of assemblage theory as a structure to describe values in analyses of social life is useful for this cross-cultural research that takes into account different value systems. Multiple world views and a mixed-methods approach are important for a study in which it may not be possible for essential features of the research to be reconciled, owing to the different cultural backgrounds of participants. Material engagement theory, as discussed above, provides a further structure for the analysis of the different components, as it promotes the active nature of the object, with agency as the emergent product of our engagement with the world, rather than as a fixed property of humans. There was one aspect of this approach in particular that I wished to pursue. That is to “assign primacy to the processes of formation” (Malafouris 2013, 235). Malafouris (2013, 235), referencing Tim Ingold (2010, 92), discusses this with reference to objects and cognition, but I wished to extrapolate to the formation of collections, rather than to the resulting product, the collection itself. However, I did not have time to pursue this during the present research but will look at exploring this approach in the future.

To summarise, in this chapter I have stated that the democratisation of museum practice for indigenous collections has been one outcome of the proximity of indigenous communities and museums and has resulted in empowering varying degrees of self-determination for traditional owners in the management of their heritage collections. However I have also documented a number of reasons why indigenous communities have difficulty accessing their cultural heritage when it is housed in museums *at distance*, and argue that this study is important because there is little *ongoing* indigene-museum

engagement where geographic distance isolates these groups from one another. I suggest that a new approach to investigating indigene-museum relationships where distance is a factor is through the application of a theoretical model to a detailed, situated case study over time, comparing and contrasting cultural perspectives, and incorporating the interrelated concepts of indigenous and material agency. I argue that the analysis of the different cultural perspectives and knowledge systems of a tribal and a museum community will enable the meanings of a group of indigenous heritage items to both groups, over time, to be better understood. This will contribute to the development of ongoing relationships between them. I aim to add to the emerging body of writing that is re-evaluating the way in which these communities interact by documenting some of the ‘difficulties and complexities’ (Onciul 2011) of museum-community engagement, and the mechanisms whereby ‘true democratic exchange’ can occur in relationships between them (Lynch and Alberti 2010, 20). In the following section I conclude this chapter with an outline of the organisational structure of this thesis.

Thesis Organisation

This thesis comprises three parts: the introduction, the background or research context, and the results of the research. The **introduction** and **chapter one** frame the research and outline the methodology, research participants and research methods used as the research strategy for this investigation of museum-indigenous community relationships in the twenty-first century. To illustrate the contribution of this research a brief overview of the literature is given above as this relates to relationship-building between these museums and indigenous communities. The research is described in terms of a network of events and effects comprising temporal and spatial factors that through analysis and synthesis contribute to this field. Chapter one describes how the research was designed and the research methods employed as well as their successes and limitations.

The second part, **chapter two**, provides the contextual background identifying the network components which together comprise the case study and set the historical scene and a theoretical context for these components.

The third part provides the results of research and fieldwork and their synthesis. **Chapter three** outlines the tangible heritage network identified in this research (Charles

Smith, Ngā Paerangi and PRM) while **chapter four** (PRM visit and interviews) considers the insight that an understanding of the disparate cultural perspectives of each component will have to the past and present lives of the tangible heritage at the centre of this research and the effects of a recent convergence of these components. **Chapters five and six** provide an extended discussion of these results and their meaning. The **conclusion** summarises the research findings and suggests opportunities for future research.

1 Methods for Reconnecting Indigenous Communities and Museums

The aim of this research is to analyse the different cultural perspectives of a Māori community in NZ and a museum community in the UK over time, to improve understanding of the meaning of heritage items to both communities today, and, through a theoretical lens, to identify how this might enable change in the nature of the relationships between them. To achieve this I have employed assemblage theory (Bennett and Healy 2011, De Landa 2006) to develop a model within which the analysis of the research could be framed, drawing on actor-network theory (Latour 2005) and material engagement theory (Malafouris 2013) to explore social interactions within a museological setting and historical museum collections development. The intention was to understand the nature of the different components of this study individually and together as well as over time. A number of current challenges in museum practice for both museum professionals and indigenous communities were identified in the data gathered, and in analysing this material, fresh approaches to museum-community relationships were sought. In the previous chapter I outlined the research context and identified the objectives of the research, provided a literature review relating to museum-indigenous community relationships, and defined key terms. In this chapter I explain the research design and methodology that were developed from this review of the literature, and describe the research participants, data sources and limitations of the study.

Research Design

The research design evolved from an understanding of the discourse around indigenous community engagement with museums, and professional ethics and access as these relate to indigenous collections in museums. Analysis of my results suggested that acknowledgement of different epistemologies and value systems become foremost in any discourse centred on indigenous communities requiring inversion of my original research questions to address this. Therefore I ask,

How can awareness of the different cultural perspectives of a Māori community in NZ and a museum community in the UK over time improve understanding of the meaning of Māori heritage items to both groups today?

How will this enable Māori communities in NZ to initiate and develop ongoing relationships with museums that hold collections of their ancestral heritage when they are geographically remote from these collections?

Significant underlying questions that contribute to the research relate to the principles and values that differentiate Western museums and source communities. What are these principles and values, have they changed over time, and what effect do these differences have on the ability of these communities (indigenous and museum) to work towards a common purpose (in terms of effecting a long-term and mutually beneficial relationship around heritage collections)? A number of secondary research questions developed from this which firstly addressed the epistemological differences between these groups.

1. What are the differences in epistemologies for these groups?
2. What are the underlying values (personal, cultural) that influence non-Western epistemologies, specifically Māori?
3. How have these epistemologies evolved over time?
4. Will the documentation of this transformation provide insight into understanding how Māori communities have reorganised themselves to engage with their ancestors/taonga?
5. How will an understanding of the evolution of museum culture in the UK as evident at PRM contribute to relationship-building between museums and source communities?

Further sub-questions addressed the nature of the relationship between these communities as well as the benefits of investment in it.

6. What could the nature of relations between museums and geographically remote source communities be?
7. What are the benefits for Māori source communities of investing in relationship-building with museums that hold collections of their taonga/ancestors when the collections are geographically remote?

8. What are the benefits for museums of investing in relationship-building with geographically remote source communities?

The final sub-questions concerned the biography of heritage items/taonga.

9. What do we know of the past life of the taonga?
10. What do we know of the present life of the taonga?
11. How do descendants feel about their taonga/ancestors being at such distance and inaccessible?

I approached these questions through a multiple interpretivist research paradigm, embracing community-based participatory and pragmatic approaches (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011). This was grounded in kaupapa Māori methodology (Smith 1999), whereby meaning was created and negotiated by interpreting events and relations through an experiential lens within a theoretical framework. Adopting such an approach, informed by assemblage theory (Bennett and Healy 2011, Byrne et al. 2011a, De Landa 2006, Harrison, Byrne, and Clarke 2013), revealed a pattern of meaning which illustrated the interrelatedness of components. Thus application of assemblage theory served to connect humans and things across time and space, providing opportunity for a metaphorical taphonomic approach (Byrne et al. 2011a, 12) in which layers of meaning were uncovered. By drawing together a diverse group of people and a fragmentary collection of objects (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998c) separated from their intangible qualities, I aimed to substantiate a reassembly model both theoretically and empirically. A further advantage of this approach was the ability to draw together multiple perspectives (the “experts” described by Harrison, Byrne and Clark (2013, 23)) to assist in the reassembly of my object of enquiry. This provided a holistic approach to the study as well as bringing people together to progress a shared goal.

In the conclusion of the literature review I advocated a cross-cultural research strategy within a kaupapa Māori framework to enable relationships between an indigenous community, a collection of heritage items and a museum to be reassembled through time and space. This framework also enabled data collection methods within a culture-specific context to converge with museum-specific contexts and practices to derive meaning. Combining pragmatism with critical academic analysis ensured that the research questions remained central to the study and also that practical and guaranteed methods of data collection were applied.

Moisander and Valtonen (2006), cited by Silverman (2011, 360), suggest detailed description of research strategy and data analysis methods creates transparency in the research process, which is one way to satisfy reliability criteria in qualitative research. A detailed description of the methodology and primary research methods used are provided in this chapter: a case study involving an historical museum collection, an indigenous community and a museum was investigated using archival analysis, qualitative interviews and hui/focus groups, supplemented with participant observation. The Project Team who assisted with this community-based participatory research (kaupapa Māori methodology) is introduced, as well as the research participants from the indigenous group and the museum. The reasons particular research methods were used are discussed, as well as the challenges encountered in the field and the successes and limitations of each method.

Research Strategy

I used methods and theories from a range of disciplines, with a case study constituting the primary strategy. This enabled an in-depth exploration of inter- and intra-cultural engagements centred on an assemblage of people and things. This approach utilised qualitative data analysis to address the research problem as follows,

- historical sources contextualised the case study,
- hui/focus groups identified aims and objectives and ensured consensus,
- interviews with key participants enabled investigation of the meaning of an ethnographic museum collection to an indigenous community and the museum sector today,
- hui identified the means by which a relationship could be built between the groups, and
- participant observation provided opportunities to observe project participants and their interactions with each other and the collection in context.

I adopted a comparative approach to articulate the differences between Māori and museum perspectives on museum collections based upon belief systems as determined from research data specifically interviews and observations, augmented with reference to literature and my own professional experience. Finally, a material culture study was initially proposed to support reconnection with the heritage items for the indigenous community as they re-

experienced and re-engaged with them today. This was reduced to a systematic visual analysis, as the study re-oriented to focus more upon the contemporary museum-community relationship.

Kaupapa Māori Methodology

There are significant ontological and epistemological differences between participants in this project, the indigenous community, the museum staff and myself. In recognising these differences, one aim of embracing kaupapa Māori methodology, which is participatory and acknowledges the legitimacy of Māori forms of knowledge (Smith 1999, 205), was to reconcile project participants with disparate perspectives so that together they could identify a process for arriving at agreed outcomes. It was also an organic approach as the research required community input whereby people could change their minds and identify new preferred outcomes; this could necessitate the reconfiguration of research objectives.

Kaupapa Māori is a ‘body of knowledge’ distinctive to Māori people “accumulated by the experiences through history, of the Maori people” (Taki 1996, 17). Kaupapa Māori research is considered that which is culturally safe, relevant and “undertaken by Māori, with Māori, for Māori” (ibid.) recognising that it can involve “the help of invited others” (Bishop 2005, 113). It is in essence a philosophy that directs research methods to acknowledge and encompass Māori values, conceding that many intangible concepts, such as mana and mauri, “will only be partly understood and never completely known by non-Māori” (Pope 2008, 70).

Six principles that guide kaupapa Māori have been identified (Bishop 2008, Smith 1997, Smith and Reid 2000).

1. Tino Rangatiratanga - a principle relating to sovereignty, self-determination and independence essential to the focus of kaupapa Māori research, that allows “Māori to control their own culture, aspirations and destiny” (Rautaki Hogsden and Poulter 2012).
2. Taonga tuku iho - a cultural aspirations principle acknowledging the legitimacy of Māori language, customs and knowledge (ibid.).
3. Ako Māori - reciprocal learning/culturally preferred pedagogy promoting Māori teaching and learning practices which are unique to tikanga Māori, while acknowledging borrowed pedagogies (Smith and Reid 2000, 10).

4. Kia piki ake i ngā raurau o te kāinga - mediation of socioeconomic and home difficulties, a principle that recognises disadvantage and asserts mediation with “Kaupapa Māori research to be of positive benefit to Māori communities” (Rautaki Hogsden and Poulter 2012).
5. Whānau - extended family structure; this principle recognises that whānau (family) and whakawhanaungatanga (the process of establishing relationships) are fundamental to Māori society and culture, acknowledging that the researcher has responsibilities to care for these relationships (ibid.).
6. Kaupapa - collective vision, philosophy of Māori communities and their aspirations, with the research being undertaken as an important contribution to this collective vision (ibid.).

In true kaupapa Māori methodology my role would be confined to provision of advice and co-facilitation, deferring to the Project Team for all matters that relate to the community interface, thereby “avoiding insincere, inappropriate and paternalistic claims” (Ahuriri-Driscoll et al. 2007, 66). The research methods described, however, fulfil critical elements of community-based participatory research (Chilisa 2012, 230-234) to increase the level of involvement of the researcher in the research. My relationship-building and interpretation skills were developed through self-reflexive practice to overcome limitations of subjectivity and sample bias (the effects of indigenous community socio-political structure). Furthermore, and essential in participatory research, the reporting back to the community is part of the commitment to reciprocity and partly a process of accountability (Smith 1999, 223).

Although hui a-iwi were attended to seek permission and develop a strategy to proceed with this research, identify participants, and communicate research outcomes, and a Project Team guided my actions, it was, however, still necessary to initiate some elements of the study, due to time constraints within the timeframe of PhD study. Furthermore, my position as curator at the regional museum had resulted in opportunities for relationships of trust to develop with Ngā Paerangi individuals over many years which provided opportunities for an outsider researcher to take on a leadership/advocacy role at times during this project.

Participants

The participants in this study are grouped into the three constituent parts of an assemblage, or components of analysis: a collector (Charles Smith and his collection), a Māori tribal

community or iwi (Ngā Paerangi) from Kaiwhāiki, NZ and a museum (Pitt Rivers Museum) in Oxford, England.

Charles Smith was a collector who, after emigrating from England to NZ in 1859, settled on a farm at Te Korito opposite Kaiwhāiki on the Whanganui River where he lived for the next fifty years. There he developed a relationship with the Ngā Paerangi community; in particular with the principal chief, Te Oti Takarangi, his cousin, Wiremu Pātene, and nephew, Tāmati Takarangi, from whom he obtained numerous items of material culture. Smith donated regularly to the newly formed Whanganui Public Museum (WM)¹ and sent a large number of items (more than 450) to his nephew in England, who, in 1923, sold them to the PRM.

Ngā Paerangi are members of the Whanganui River confederation of iwi, Te Wainui-a-Rua (Te Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangi); Kaiwhāiki is their home. In 2006 they were reacquainted with a collection of their taonga (the Charles Smith collection) held at the PRM. Until this study, however, despite the raised awareness of the historical and cultural significance of these taonga to Whanganui iwi and the PRM, no practical outcomes for Ngā Paerangi had resulted.

Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) is a department of the University of Oxford and a world-renowned centre for teaching and research displays. Staff analysis of the history of the museum's collections in projects such as *The Relational Museum* has, over the past decade in particular, resulted in global access to significant collections and databases, including, in 2006, awareness in Whanganui of the Charles Smith collection.

Ngā Paerangi Project Team

Relationships between people and objects, as well as the affective qualities (Classen and Howes 2006, Dudley and Pearce 2011, Phillips 2005) of objects within these relationships, are clearly central to this study. Community-based participatory methodologies (Chilisa 2012) combined with a self-reflexive approach promoted community inclusion and confronted traditional exclusivity in an academic culture of research expertise. I relied upon traditional knowledge holders from Ngā Paerangi iwi to sanction and assist my exploration of their heritage. I reciprocated this support by facilitating, for Ngā Paerangi, a way into a

¹ The regional museum in Whanganui has had several names over its one hundred and twenty-year history. When Charles Smith was donating to the museum it was called the Wanganui Public Museum. It later became the Alexander Museum, Wanganui Regional Museum and, since 1992, Whanganui Regional Museum. For clarity I refer throughout this thesis to the museum as the Whanganui Museum (WM). Whanganui with an 'h' is the preferred spelling of the town, river and region, with the 'h' silent or aspirated in the regional Māori dialect.

Western paradigm the exclusivity of which had denied them access to their heritage for more than a century. For this relationship to work it was essential to appreciate underlying values such as kaitiakitanga, have familiarity with the specific socio-political and cultural context, and provide assurance that all information produced would be disseminated to participants, while at the same time acknowledging my own subjectivity. Community participation was therefore afforded through a Project Team of advisors who together had the authority, cultural knowledge and expertise to represent and speak for Ngā Paerangi and provide credibility to the research.

The Project Team is a group of people from the iwi who have been nominated or volunteered to guide and assist me in the development and implementation of a plan for this research. The team comprised the following:

Morvin Te Anatipa Simon, Ngā Paerangi rangatira (leader), kaumātua (respected elder),



chairman Kaiwhāiki Pa Trust, a renowned orator, composer, kapahaka exponent and teacher. His health precluded as active a life as he enjoyed in his younger years but, despite tri-weekly kidney dialysis and regular hospital admittance, up until early in 2014 he still taught at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa daily and maintained a full schedule of hui (meetings), events, meetings and whānau activities. His personal mana and support were key to Ngā Paerangi participation in this study.

I have known Morvin Simon for twenty-five years. When I was appointed curator at the WM he was a member of the museum's Māori Advisory Group comprising leading Whanganui kaumātua who supported the museum in matters relating to tikanga and exhibition development. Born at Kaiwhāiki marae (settlement) on the Whanganui River, Simon was of Te Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangi, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Apa descent. He was educated at Hato Pāora College, Holy Name Seminary in Christchurch, Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) and Massey University. When I met Simon, he was one of the leaders at Rangahaua, the Māori Department at the Whanganui Polytechnic, and a teacher of the Te Rangakura Programme there. With his skills as a composer and orator Simon supported the museum through exhibition development and articulating cultural identity through performance. In

2011, I approached him about a potential doctoral research project involving Ngā Paerangi and the Charles Smith collection seeking advice and support. Despite failing health, until early in 2014 he was a guiding influence for this project attending meetings and was our mentor when his health allowed. Morvin Simon died on 13 May 2014 following a long battle with diabetes. He is remembered as a composer, “a cultural advisor, a te reo Māori tutor, a historian, a passionate follower of the Māramatanga, and, most important of all, as a father of eleven children and close to fifty mokopuna [grandchildren]” (The Maori Party 2014).

Hera Te Upokoira Pēina, Ngā Paerangi kuia (respected elder), was secretary of Kaiwhāiki



Pā Trust until 2014 as well as involved in many other whānau and community activities. Pēina is kaitiaki of a portrait of her Ngāti Tūpoho tupuna Wikitoria Keepa, wife of great nineteenth-century military and tribal leader Keepa Te Rangihwinui, by artist Gottfried Lindauer. The portrait hangs in pride of place in her home at Kaiwhāiki and is shown to all first time visitors to the house. Pēina is immensely proud of this

valuable taonga and her responsibility for it. She is also very familiar with conservation practices around the care of such a taonga. As a descendant of Takarangi-Atua she has a close affiliation with many taonga in the Charles Smith collection.

Ken Clarke, Ngā Paerangi kaumātua and iwi historian, manages a bull farm on the



Whanganui River, and facilitated the involvement of Pēina and Haimona Rzoska in the Project Team. A major constitutional reform at the WM in 2001 established a bicameral governance structure comprising a Tikanga Māori House representing the six iwi of the region and a Civic House representing other community stakeholders. Clarke was elected to the TMH representing Ngā Paerangi. With his enthusiasm for heritage, community knowledge and contacts he was an asset on the museum’s Joint Council over its inaugural decade. His passion for the Whanganui River and rohe (lands) of Ngā Paerangi, and skills as a researcher, led to his involvement as a claimant on

behalf of Ngā Paerangi Claims Committee at the Waitangi Tribunal hearings for the Whanganui District Inquiry (WAI 903), for which he identified through research more than 200 wāhi tapu and wāhi tūpuna from an area of around 250 square kilometres. He jumped at the chance to visit the PRM in 2006 to view the Charles Smith collection, accompanied by the WM director Sharon Dell and iwi historian Che Wilson, and was disappointed that so little resulted from their efforts at that time. In 2011, I approached Clarke about pursuing access to the Charles Smith collection for Ngā Paerangi at which time we met with Rzoska to ascertain iwi support and discuss project options. Later that year I spoke at a Ngā Paerangi hui ā-iwi at Kaiwhāiki about a potential project centred around their taonga at the PRM and sought approval to proceed with research. At this point Clarke was nominated as my iwi liaison.

Haimona (Sam) Te Iki Rzoska is Ngā Paerangi whakapapa (genealogy) exponent and iwi



historian, nephew of Morvin and Kura Simon and a member of the Kaiwhāiki Pā Trust. Rzoska describes himself as a member of many Whanganui hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi from surrounding areas, a father and grandfather and has lived in Whanganui all his life. He was a claimant and the main researcher for the Waitangi Tribunal Claim of Ngā Poutama nui a Awa hapū based at Matahiwi marae and the “whakapapa contact for Ngā Paerangi as well as being versed in Ngā Paerangi history and tūpuna especially those tūpuna belonging to Kaiwhāiki and its surrounding rohe.”² Before this project was initiated, I had not met him. The reasons for this are two-fold; firstly Haimona is extraordinarily shy,

therefore incentives have to be significant for him to expand his relationships beyond his whānau and iwi. Secondly, he is a very astute judge of the benefits of a situation to himself, his whānau and iwi, and as a consequence, elects non-participation more often than not. Therefore, I am extremely grateful that he embraced the potential of this project and agreed to be an active participant.

² Rzoska e-mail message to author September 29, 2013.

Katrina Hāwira is a niece of Clarke and a te reo Māori teacher with previous experience



working as an educator at Te Papa and in a curatorial/kaitiaki Māori role at the WM. Hāwira was an asset on the Project Team, foremost in her support role for the elders at meetings and for those who travelled to Oxford, where she was translator for Wīpaki Peeti, maintaining a quiet, respectful and unflappable manner. She often reflected on our activities and

actions beginning with a pepeha (proverb) followed by succinct summaries of events and discussions. Her skills in tikanga Māori and with history and heritage items impressed PRM staff, with whom she discussed opportunities such as internships at PRM.

The Project Team met regularly at Kaiwhāiki between July 2012 and September 2013 and identified the project's primary aim, to develop a relationship with PRM, initiated by Ngā Paerangi, focussing upon reconnecting not repatriation, a wairua (spiritual) journey to fulfil tikanga requirements for taonga. It was also agreed that a group representing Ngā Paerangi would travel to Oxford accompanied by the author to reconnect with their taonga and meet with museum staff. The Project Team identified and completed the following tasks,

- iwi pānui asking for expressions of interest for those wishing to travel to PRM,
- identification of participants for interviews,
- identification of potential funding sources for travel to England,
- reciprocity - identification of what we were offering in return for PRM staff providing us with access to the taonga,
- funding applications on behalf of group: NSTP, Whanganui River Māori Trust Board, Ātihaui-Whanganui Incorporation, Te Puni Kōkiri, Whanganui Community Trust, Pākaitore Trust, Puketarata, Poutama, Kaiwhāiki Land Trust, Ngāporo, Maramaratōtara, Omaru Trusts, Kaiwhāiki Pā Trust Whānau Ora,
- development of ethics application requirements,
- seeking support from Hon. Tāriana Tūria MP/deputy leader Māori Party, Pro-Vice Chancellor Māori Prof. Piri Sciascia VUW, Whanganui mayor Annette Main,

- identification of those who would travel to Oxford,
- training in object handling and care,
- travel to and within England and accommodation logistics,
- development of agenda at PRM,
- development of iwi/museum Protocol Agreement (see Appendix I),
- identification of koha (gifts) for PRM, and
- development of long-term plan.

Ngā Paerangi Travel to Oxford



Figure 1-1: Ngā Paerangi iwi members, Oxford, November, 2013, photographer Haimona Rzoska.

In November 2013, nine members of Ngā Paerangi iwi travelled to the PRM in Oxford England to visit the taonga there and liaise with PRM staff on behalf of Ngā Paerangi. In February 2013, a pānui (invitation) had been included in the regular newsletter sent out to Ngā Paerangi inviting expressions of interest from individuals to be a part of the group who would travel to Oxford. Over the next six months the group was confirmed as (from left in Figure 1-1),

- Tuata Angus, niece of Takahia Tawaroa, who travelled from New York to Oxford to support her aunt,

- Ereti (Reti) Wisneski, Ngā Paerangi kuia, sister-in-law of Pēina, who travelled from Perth, Australia to Oxford to support Pēina and reconnect with her Ngā Paerangi whanaunga (relatives),
- Takahia (Sister Makareta) Tawaroa together with
- Luana Tawaroa are Ngā Paerangi kuia and great granddaughters of Teretiu Whakataha,
- Hera Pēina, Project Team,
- Teresa Peeti, Wīpaki Peeti's daughter, who joined the group to support her father,
- Katrina Hāwira, Project Team,
- Wīpaki Peeti, Ngā Paerangi kaumātua and great grandson of Tāmati Takarangi,
- Haimona Rzoska, Project Team (not pictured).

This group spent one week in Oxford facilitating the reconnection of the Charles Smith collection taonga with Ngā Paerangi and establishing a relationship with PRM staff. This was a momentous undertaking for all members of this group. Although some were seasoned travellers, age, health, distance and the emotional strain of such an undertaking impacted upon all of them. Some had never travelled out of NZ and were especially overwhelmed by the distance. For these reasons I met them at Heathrow Airport, accompanied them to Oxford and helped them settle into their accommodation. I had arrived in Oxford three weeks earlier and during that time completed interviews with museum staff, made a systematic visual analysis of items in the collection, examined collection records and met with staff to discuss welcome protocols, hosting and to organise an itinerary for Ngā Paerangi's visit (see Appendix II).

Pitt Rivers Museum staff and students who facilitated the Ngā Paerangi visit³

Jeremy Coote, Curator for the Oceanic and African collections and Joint Head of Collections, has worked at the PRM since 1994. One of the major focuses of his work has been the early collections, particularly those from the Pacific, including those made on the voyages of Captain Cook.

Laura Peers, Curator for the Americas collections, has helped with a number of tribal delegations from across North America and welcomed the Ngā Paerangi group on behalf of the Museum's Director.

³ From information compiled by Faye Belsey November 16, 2013.

Madeleine Ding, Assistant Curator, has worked at the Museum since 2008. She facilitates research visits to the Museum, retrieving objects from display and storage and making them available to study. She facilitated Horwood's visit to the Museum and photographed and catalogued the Charles Smith collection in preparation for Ngā Paerangi's visit.



Figure 1-2: Pitt Rivers Museum staff Faye Belsey, Heather Richardson, Jeremy Coote and Laura Peers, November, 2013.

Faye Belsey, Assistant Curator, has worked at the Museum since 2008 where she catalogues items from across the collections, facilitates visits and answers collections-based enquiries. She helped prepare the logistics and assisted throughout the week of the Ngā Paerangi visit.

Zena McGreevy, Assistant Curator at the Museum, catalogues and researches collection items and responds to research enquiries. She has relatives among the Ngā Paerangi group and has visited the Whanganui River.

Heather Richardson is Head of Conservation and has worked at the Pitt Rivers for 12 years. While working there, and previously during internships in the US and Canada, Heather has

helped to facilitate source communities re-engagement with their material culture and she sees these relationships as a key part of her job.

Kate Jackson, Conservator, has worked at the Museum for five years. The engagement with community groups is a very rewarding part of her work. She prepared a number of items from the Charles Smith collection for the visit.

Ailsa Martin, Izzy Durham, Kathy Clough, Ashley Knowles are graduate students in Visual and Museum Anthropology at Oxford University. They acted as tour guides and hosts for the Ngā Paerangi group during their visit to Oxford.

Data Sources

As stated, I have used a combination of qualitative methods centred on a case study, including archival research, semi-structured interviews and hui/focus groups which were supplemented with participant observation. These methods will now be described.

Case Study

Case study research enables an in-depth understanding of a case, set within its real-world context (Yin 2012a, 4) and, as Phillips (2011, 21) notes, has potential to provide models for innovative practices. By gathering data from a variety of sources using a range of methods, new learning about real-world behaviour is possible (Yin 2012b, 142). Furthermore, this has been viewed as a robust research strategy, as the multiple sources of evidence enable data triangulation and thus strengthen the validity of the study (Creswell et al. 2007, 135).

However, Silverman (2011, 370) disputes this view for cultural research with its focus on social reality, again citing Moisander and Valtonen (2006, 45), as “the object of knowledge *is* different from different perspectives”, social interaction is therefore always context bound. As one aim of this research, however, is to identify epistemological and ontological differences between the participants (historic and contemporary) or “multiple realities” (Lincoln & Guba 1985, cited by Creswell 2014, 206), different perspectives are a pertinent and meaningful result. Furthermore, qualitative validity is ensured through a “member checking” strategy (Creswell 2014:201), in this case the involvement of a Project Team which is a pre-requisite of kaupapa Māori methodology.

For the current research, the Charles Smith collection of taonga Māori, the current custodian of this collection and the primary source community provided the case study. There were a number of reasons for the selection of this particular case study. The potential for temporal and spatial analyses of multiple sources of evidence and the development of a model with wider theoretical and practical applications in the field of museology was significant. This case has special meaning because it enables the exploration of an actor-network through time and across space as demonstrated by Harrison, Byrne and others (Byrne et al. 2011b, Harrison, Byrne, and Clarke 2013). As Phillips points out (2011, 21), case studies enable “the distinctive quality of the network of people, politics, and resources in which each museum is situated” to be recognised and addressed. I will focus upon an historic analysis of the case study components as well as a contemporary descriptive analysis of the museum collection in conjunction with an exploration of contemporary perspectives through qualitative interviews and participant observation.

Additionally, while providing an opportunity to continue prioritising the connection of communities with their heritage items in museum collections, which is central to my own museological practice, this particular case study was also an opportunity to give something back to a community who had supported my museum activities over the past two decades. I hoped that the relationship I had established with Ngā Paerangi members individually and collectively over this period would hold me in good stead in advancing a proposal for such a study in partnership with them. This was important within the kaupapa Māori framework essential for a study of this nature in NZ. I was also determined that outcomes for all participants would be reasonably equal, with more benefits for the community and the museum than had resulted from previous research (Kefalas 2012), and that this study would not result in the contact zone asymmetry criticised by Boast (2011). The study would also reflect the importance of the work by the PRM in collection access developments, particularly web-based, in recent years, as well as the significant contribution of staff in the area of museums and source communities, especially by Peers in North America and Harris in Tibet. Additionally, there would be opportunity to contribute knowledge about a collection for which little is currently known. I had visited Oxford in 2009 to view the collection and confirmed its potential for study. This specific case study, therefore, provided ample data for an approach involving a range of methods which I will now describe.

Archival Research

Brief assessments of Ngā Paerangi and the Charles Smith collection in terms of their historical (and for the latter, museological) contexts were undertaken. This was achieved through archival research using primary and secondary data from the following sources.

Table 1-1: Data sources for archival research.

Primary data sources	
PRM	Charles Smith collection records & photographs
Papers Past	Historical newspapers
Whanganui Museum	Archives collection, museum collection records
Alexander Heritage and Research Library	Military, club and society records, biographical information
Wanganui District Council Archives	Land transactions, public office, NZ and South Seas Exhibition Wanganui Committee 1889
Archives NZ	NZ immigration records, Probate Records, Resident Magistrate's and Colonial Secretary's letter books
National Library of NZ	Resident Magistrate's letter books and diaries
Hocken Library	NZ and South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin 1889
Toitū Otago Settlers Museum	NZ and South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin 1889
Other UK sources	Probate Records
Secondary data sources	
PRM	Charles Smith collection records (institutional documentation and research); website; collection database; publications
Whanganui Museum	Waitangi Tribunal Reports; regional history publications
NZAA	ARCHSITE - NZ Archaeological Association site records
Project Team	Correspondence; personal communication
Land Information NZ	Maps

Using these sources, a picture of nineteenth-century life and relationships on the Whanganui River at Kaiwhāiki was developed. Within this context, I examined Charles Smith's life at Kaiwhāiki, acceptance within the rohe of Ngā Paerangi, and relationship with the original

owners of the objects he collected. Nineteenth-century collecting behaviour provided a context for understanding Smith's collecting zeal and consideration was given to his relationship with WM founder Samuel Drew.

Hui/Focus Groups

Hui with Ngā Paerangi iwi were identified as a research strategy by the Project Team specifically to develop and confirm project aims and objectives and ensure consensus. Hui means a gathering or meeting and they are structured social phenomena (Salmond 1975). In some cases during this research they took the form of what would be described as a focus group in academic disciplines. The value of focus group studies lies in their ability to assimilate information from a number of stakeholders in one event in an environment that promotes discussion and interaction (Yin 2011, 142). By July 2014 I had attended 11 meetings with members of the Project Team at Kaiwhāiki, three hui with the Project Team and the individuals travelling to Oxford and their extended whānau at Kaiwhāiki, three hui ā-iwi (tribal meetings) at Kaiwhāiki marae, and one hui with the Oxford Ngā Paerangi team and staff from the museum to disseminate information about fieldwork (PRM visit) and to ensure all iwi aspirations were met in the fieldwork aims. Since July 2014 the Project Team and I have communicated via email and telephone.

Semi-structured Interviews

To elicit empirical data relating to the proposed research questions, qualitative (semi-structured and unstructured), face-to-face (kanohi ki te kanohi) interviews were undertaken with key participants from Ngā Paerangi iwi and the staff of the PRM. The research sample design was purposive, as a non-probability sample enabled the Project Team to use our judgement to select participants who were good prospects for accurate information, were knowledgeable about the subject and had authority to discuss it, and whose views were representative of the group. As well as producing comparable data between interviews, the aim was to elicit new knowledge from the participants' varied responses to the same questions. Two main themes were investigated: the first addressed the reasons behind the transfer of objects between the original owner and Smith and contemporary perspectives on these transactions, while the second explored the perceived cultural, historical and spiritual value of the collection to the source community today in contrast to that of the current

custodians, the PRM. Eleven interviews were undertaken, six with members of Ngā Paerangi, primarily identified by the Project Team, between March and December 2013, and five with members of PRM staff during October 2013.

Key Participants

Ngā Paerangi iwi members interviewed were,

- Morvin Simon was an obvious choice because of his leadership skills and role within iwi, networks, museum experience (advisor to WM, kaumātua for Whanganui iwi exhibition at Te Papa), knowledge of Ngā Paerangi tikanga, kawa (marae protocol) and ability as an orator,
- Haimona Rzoska is a direct descendant of Teretiu Whakataha, who was his great, great grandfather. He was also selected because of his knowledge of Ngā Paerangi history and whakapapa,
- Ken Clarke was also an obvious choice because of his considerable knowledge of heritage matters both iwi and landscape, museum governance experience in WM's two-house stakeholder model, and passion for history,
- Wīpaki Peeti, kaumātua, was selected for his close familial link to the two main people who facilitated iwi interaction and made gift exchanges with the collector,
- Merekanara Ponga, educator, was nominated by Simon, and was initially travelling with the group to Oxford but had to withdraw, and
- Che Wilson, iwi historian and cultural expert, has extensive experience working with museums in NZ and in the UK.

PRM staff interviewed were,

- Dr Jeremy Coote, curator Pacific and Africa Collections and joint head of collections,
- Dr Laura Peers, curator Americas Collections,
- Heather Richardson, head of conservation,
- Jeremy Uden, deputy head of conservation, and
- Faye Belsey, assistant curator.

This selection was at the suggestion of Peers to ensure a mix of senior and junior staff, those working with Oceanic peoples, and others with experience working with source communities.

Museum director Michael O’Hanlon was unavailable during the Oxford fieldwork and did not respond to any requests to participate.

A set of interview questions was developed with the assistance of the Project Team. Each participant was provided with an information sheet, consent form and a copy of the interview questions ahead of the interview. For Ngā Paerangi these questions centred on knowledge of and connection to the Charles Smith collection, maintenance and transmittal of cultural knowledge, and project outcomes, including the development and maintenance of relationships with current custodians of Ngā Paerangi material culture. Interview questions for PRM staff were similar to those developed for Ngā Paerangi although modified slightly to have more direct relevance to staff of an ethnographic museum in the UK rather than members of an indigenous community. These questions centred on professional background and experience, knowledge of the Charles Smith collection, access to indigenous museum collections and museum responsibilities for this, and project outcomes, including the development and maintenance of relationships with descendants of original owners of Charles Smith collection items. All interviews were recorded digitally on a Sony IC Recorder. Richardson requested she be interviewed jointly with Uden. Interviews were transcribed and copies of the transcripts were returned to the participants to check for accuracy of meaning and whether they wished to restrict any part/s of the interview.

Material Culture Study

A historical collection of things forms the central focus of this study and these things have traversed both space and time to reach this new moment in their existence. Hodder (2003, 165) notes that, “material culture is durable and can be given new meanings as it is separated from its primary producer.” Furthermore, these meanings are contested over time and space as part of social and political strategies; therefore studies such as this, in which a range of methods and viewpoints enable these variable experiences and viewpoints to be enunciated, are valuable. To maximise potential future outcomes for Ngā Paerangi, expansion of current knowledge about this collection was a useful objective. Where the distance between the original owner and their descendant today is too great for information about the makers and users to have been directly transferred between generations, a close systematic visual analysis where the agency of the object is considered, attempts to bridge this gap. Malafouris (Malafouris 2013) suggests that Palaeolithic stone tools have the ability to identify the voices

of their makers through the inseparability of intentionality and action in their creation. Similarly, fibre arts have the ability to reveal their makers' personalities and signatures through an explicit "sense of agency" that emerges out of this "artificial alliance" between the material and the artist (ibid., 176). Additionally, objects have a lot to say about emotion, a relatively recent consideration for material culture studies (Tarlow 2010). Whereas for Ngā Paerangi the first response to a heritage item (specifically a Charles Smith collection taonga) was a range of emotions (awe, delight, sadness, frustration, empathy, inspiration) and consideration of this is a major contribution of this study.

It was initially proposed, therefore, to undertake a material culture study as a primary research method within this study. During the visit to the PRM, a detailed examination of individual items within the collection was made, entailing a systematic visual analysis concentrating on detailed observation. The items were also photographed and the cultural context of many of them discussed. Originally this was to be combined with a deductive (sensory, intellectual, emotional) assessment involving Ngā Paerangi, following Caple's (2006) FOCUS approach combined with documentary analysis of the collection records to support Ngā Paerangi's reconnection with the taonga as they re-experience and interpret these taonga today (Byrne et al. 2011b, Henare, Holbraad, and Wastell 2007, Hicks and Beaudry 2010, Dudley 2010). I also visited Professor Caple at Durham University while I was in England in 2013, to discuss his process and its suitability for this project. Time limitations, however, precluded maximising this opportunity, although a systematic visual analysis was undertaken and later combined with findings from archival research so that this aspect of the study can be followed up at a later time by any member of Ngā Paerangi wishing to pursue it.

Participant Observation

The advantages of participant observation (Denzin and Lincoln 2003, Yin 2011) are the ability to observe people and their actions in context. As a participant observer fully involved in the research, I was therefore able to record observations first-hand. As described above, I am a member of the Project Team who together developed the aims and objectives of the study. I usually facilitated Project Team meetings, recording decisions and discussion and distributing these back to the team. I observed Ngā Paerangi and PRM staff interaction with each other and with the taonga in Oxford in 2013. I attended subsequent hui-ā-iwi where information was disseminated to the wider community.

Analysis

I kept a field journal throughout this study to record observations and first impressions (both of data and participant reactions), particularly following each interview and hui and during fieldwork in Oxford. I became very familiar with interview data during the transcription process. I initially considered detailed coding of interviews following an approach outlined by Saldaña (2013). As I wanted to combine these results with other data, I instead considered the interview data based upon four emergent themes. I thus organised the research questions and objectives as well as potential outcomes around these themes. This is presented in Table 1-2 below. As described at the beginning of this chapter, analysis of data resulted in the inversion of the research questions, moving back that question relating to relationships and foregrounding the one relating to epistemologies.

Other Factors

As data were collected for this study from and about people, I needed to anticipate potential ethical issues. These included credibility, confidentiality, appropriate communication and the role of the researcher in a cross-cultural context. Smith (1999, 220) outlines a set of ethical guidelines developed by Te Awakōtuku that go beyond “issues of individual consent and confidentiality” and are the responsibilities researchers have to Māori people as a part of kaupapa Māori practices.

1. Aroha ki te tangata - a respect for people.
2. He kanohi kitea - present yourself to people face-to-face.
3. Titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero - look, listen and then later, speak.
4. Manaaki ki te tangata - look after people, share, host, be generous.
5. Kia tūpato - be cautious and culturally safe.
6. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata - do not trample over the mana (dignity) of people.
7. Kaua e māhaki - do not flaunt your knowledge, be humble.

These guidelines can apply to any study involving people. All are practices familiar to the Māori participants in this research and which I observed consistently throughout this study.

Table 1-2: Themes of analysis, sources of evidence, objectives and outcomes.

A. EPISTEMOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES	
<p>What are the differences in epistemologies for museums and geographically remote source communities?</p> <p><u>Evidence</u> - interviews, participant observation, professional practice, literature</p> <p>What are the underlying values (personal, cultural) that influence non-Western epistemologies, specifically Māori?</p> <p><u>Evidence</u> - literature, interviews, participant observation</p> <p>How have these epistemologies evolved over time?</p> <p><u>Evidence</u> - archival research, interviews</p> <p>Will the documentation of this transformation provide insight into understanding how Māori source communities have reorganised themselves to engage with their ancestors/taonga?</p> <p><u>Evidence</u> - analysis of qualitative research</p> <p>How will an understanding of the evolution of Western collecting and UK museum culture as evident at PRM contribute to relationship-building between museums and source communities?</p> <p><u>Evidence</u> - literature review, interviews</p>	
<p>Objective: To develop a participatory methodology that acknowledges the legitimacy of the diverse value systems of project participants.</p>	<p>Outcome: Improve understanding of diverse value systems and epistemologies (indigenous, academic, museum—NZ and UK).</p> <p>Outcome: Define the importance of heritage to the different participants.</p>
<p>Objective: To summarise the PRM evolution and history within UK museum culture.</p>	<p>Outcome: Improve understanding of PRM history and UK museum culture.</p>
B. NATURE OF RELATIONS	
<p>What could the nature of relations between these groups be?</p> <p><u>Evidence</u> - literature review, discussion with NZ colleagues at WM, Te Papa, hui/focus groups, participant observation</p>	
<p>Objective: To develop a contemporary relationship between Ngā Paerangi and the PRM, as well as determine methods whereby this relationship can be enhanced and perpetuated.</p>	<p>Outcome: Identify and develop methods by which communities can initiate and enhance relationships with museums holding collections of their ancestral heritage, with practical application for Māori groups in general seeking access to museum collections at distance.</p> <p>Outcome: Develop a collaborative partnership between project participants, sharing information generated between partners and further as mutually agreed.</p> <p>Outcome: Initiate discussions with PRM about feasibility of tūpuna visiting Whanganui.</p>
C. BENEFIT OF INVESTMENT IN RELATIONSHIP	
<p>What are the benefits for Māori communities of investing in relationship-building with museums that hold collections of their taonga/ancestors when the collections are geographically remote?</p> <p><u>Evidence</u> - literature, hui/focus group, interviews</p> <p>What are the benefits for museums of investing in relationship-building with geographically remote source communities?</p> <p><u>Evidence</u> - literature, interviews, participant observation</p>	
<p>Objective: For Ngā Paerangi to spiritually, physically and intellectually reconnect with the taonga at the PRM within their tikanga.</p>	<p>Outcome: Reconnect Ngā Paerangi spiritually, physically and intellectually with their taonga within their tikanga.</p> <p>Outcome: Link individuals and whānau with related</p>

	<p>taonga.</p> <p>Outcome: Reconcile the effect of the absence of these ancestral taonga through knowledge gained from reconnection with them.</p>
<p>Objective: To develop a contemporary relationship between Ngā Paerangi and the PRM, as well as determine methods whereby this relationship can be enhanced and perpetuated.</p>	<p>Outcome: Develop a collaborative partnership between project participants, sharing information generated between partners and further as mutually agreed.</p>
<p>Objective: To support revitalising of cultural heritage and disseminating of historical and traditional knowledge and practices as triggered by the taonga.</p>	<p>Outcome: Inspire Ngā Paerangi cultural revitalisation.</p> <p>Outcome: Disseminate historical and traditional knowledge and practices.</p>
<p>Objective: Provide opportunities for skill development.</p>	<p>Outcome: Develop skills for Ngā Paerangi in Museum collection care procedures.</p> <p>Outcome: Disseminate these new skills within whānau, hapū, iwi and more broadly.</p> <p>Outcome: Enhance UK museum staff experience working with indigenous communities.</p>
<p>Objective: To identify current practices in NZ museums that can influence collection management practices for taonga Māori collections in overseas institutions and thereby contribute to the museum profession.</p>	<p>Outcome: Improve understanding of Māori cultural practices that can usefully be employed by museums for collection care.</p> <p>Outcome: Highlight the significance this research has within the field of museum studies and for museum practice in general.</p>
<p>Objective: To recommend appropriate use and care of the taonga within Ngā Paerangi tikanga.</p>	<p>Outcome: Effect PRM policy and procedural changes relating to indigenous collections.</p>
<p>D. BIOGRAPHY OF TAONGA</p>	
<p>What do we know of the past life of the taonga?</p> <p><u>Evidence</u> - object analysis, archival research (collecting practices & history)</p> <p>What do we know of the present life of the taonga?</p> <p><u>Evidence</u> - participant observation , interviews, object analysis, archival research (PRM database & archives)</p> <p>How do descendants feel about their taonga/ancestors being at such distance & inaccessible?</p> <p><u>Evidence</u> - interviews, hui/focus group</p>	
<p>Objective: To undertake a detailed analysis of the taonga in partnership with Ngā Paerangi specialists guided by their tikanga.</p>	<p>Outcome: Improve understanding of</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> the Charles Smith collection for Ngā Paerangi; the biographies of individual taonga in the Charles Smith collection; NZ cultural heritage; specifically everyday items of Māori material culture from the mid-nineteenth century as illustrative of adaptation and change during this period of technological integration and innovation. <p>Outcome: Develop a database/archive of new information and images of Ngā Paerangi taonga as well as methods for its appropriate dissemination and safekeeping for future generations, for example, digitally through link to Māori Maps.</p>
<p>Objective: To determine if indigenous agency in the development of this collection can be identified.</p>	<p>Outcome: Improve understanding of collector/source community/museum relations.</p>
<p>Objective: To present a brief analysis of the socio-political situation at Kaiwhāiki, the home of Ngā Paerangi on the Whanganui River.</p>	<p>Outcome: Improve understanding of Whanganui history specifically relating to the Kaiwhāiki area.</p>

Prior to commencing research, ethical clearance was sought from VUW Human Ethics Committee with approval received on November 7, 2012. Members of Ngā Paerangi iwi enthusiastically supported this research and willingly participated in the exploration of ways and means by which they could engage with their taonga in England. Senior staff at PRM were also willing to participate in this research. All participants interviewed signed a consent form.

No information discussed in my presence either at hui, in conversations with individuals, or during interviews was considered private or sacred to the extent that I was asked not to record it. This does not mean they do not have private or sacred information that stays within the iwi or individual hapū, but rather that no such information was divulged to me in the course of this research.

Limitations—Delimitations

Limitations are the influences and conditions beyond my control that place restrictions on my methodology and conclusions. At the outset of this study I identified a number of factors or potential limitations that might have arisen during the course of this research,

- acceptance of a non-indigenous scholar (Chilisa 2012),
- iwi liaison,
- prioritising the project,
- unwillingness to divulge information (Whanganui tikanga),
- sourcing funding for travel to Oxford, England for myself and the Ngā Paerangi group,
- ability for access to and authority over taonga to be acceptable to all stakeholders, and
- time constraints dictated by the doctoral research schedule.

This research was limited by my cultural and linguistic knowledge. I cannot speak or read Māori however I can translate simple written text and understand Māori terms inserted into conversations as is common practice in NZ English. All Ngā Paerangi participants in this project were bi-lingual in Māori and English. Hui were sometimes partially conducted in Māori. Without an interpreter on all occasions, there were times when I did not fully understand the meaning of a discussion and had to seek clarity later if possible. There were

other occasions when speakers used te reo Māori only. W Peeti, the official speaker for the group in Oxford, spoke only in Māori on all formal occasions. He would then ask Hāwira to translate for him. On another occasion Rzoska spoke only in Māori when responding to a suggestion he did not agree with. On occasion I sought assistance with translations of Māori texts. Although I have a basic understanding of tikanga Māori, especially as it relates to practices on a marae and behaviour around taonga, it is very easy to misjudge a situation or respond inappropriately. I relied on the Project Team and the group in Oxford to guide me, as they did each other, in aspects of tikanga, to ensure that I did not endanger myself, the taonga or others.

As an outsider to this community I was not involved in iwi politics and although this was advantageous, I still had to negotiate currents of discontent over some of the decisions made affecting the project. Seeking funding was also an enormous task for Ngā Paerangi participants and their whanaunga as well as for me. Limitations in funding and the expense of staying in Oxford restricted accommodation options for the group, some of the activities possible and the duration of the visit. Ongoing communication with key Ngā Paerangi and PRM people has been central to the success of the research as well as ensuring transparency of research objectives and commitment to reciprocity and accountability.

Delimitations are choices I have made relating to the boundaries I set for this study. Several have been mentioned earlier, including restricting the scope of the examination of indigenous agency in museum collection development in NZ and reducing the scope of a material culture analysis. Further to this, although the constituents of the assemblage at the centre of the study will have different trajectories after its conclusion, the study itself is time and space delimited, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century in NZ, then diverging around the turn of the twentieth century with the transfer of the taonga to England and their subsequent sale, where the study concludes in the early twenty-first century.

To conclude this chapter, applying an assemblage approach to the analysis of a museum collection has the potential to develop new ways of understanding historical collections development, documenting epistemological and ontological differences over time and space as well as effecting relationships building between museums and contemporary indigenous communities. This chapter has outlined my research approach, participants and methods. In the next chapter I describe the constituent parts of this assemblage to set the historical scene and provide theoretical context.

2 An Assemblage—Charles Smith, His Collection, Ngā Paerangi and Pitt Rivers Museum

In the previous chapter I began the disassembly of the heritage network at the centre of this study by describing the methods employed as the research strategy for this investigation of museum-indigenous community relationships in the twenty-first century. I also introduced the constituent parts of this network, the participants in the case study: Charles Smith and his collection, Ngā Paerangi and the PRM. In this chapter I develop a fuller picture of these components through a brief analysis of the socio-political situation in the mid- to late nineteenth century at Kaiwhāiki, the home of the source community Ngā Paerangi on the Whanganui River. This will provide a contextual framework for the historical participants, describing a culture affected by change, and where the collector, Charles Smith, fits within this assemblage. An understanding of this historical settler-indigene relationship in NZ will be articulated within the constraints of my case study, and the effects of nineteenth-century collecting practices on this relationship will be examined. I will also consider the collector's personal collecting impetus and position this concurrently within the evolution of the case study museum. This is a time and space delimited study that begins in the mid-nineteenth century in NZ and diverges around the turn of the twentieth century with the transfer of the taonga to England and their subsequent sale. Lastly, an outline of the history of the PRM within UK museum culture and the discipline of anthropology in this chapter will provide a contextual framework for the later analysis of current museum policy and practice relating to indigenous collections.

In addressing the network at the centre of this study, I want to identify the motivations and expectations of the different components of this network, the participants in this relationship, and the influence of events that were taking place around them. I acknowledge that PRM had no direct relationship with Ngā Paerangi and Charles Smith. Instead, I am considering the influence of current thought and action in relation to indigenous cultures and collecting, to which the PRM founder, A H L F Pitt Rivers, was a primary contributor, and the indirect effect this may have had on Charles Smith and his contemporaries. At the same time I acknowledge that some actors within this network, namely the human actors Smith and Ngā Paerangi individuals, will receive more attention than individual taonga.

The Source Community: Ngā Paerangi, Whanganui

Whanganui is located on the west coast of the North Island of NZ (see Figure 0-1); the town and region take the name of the river, which was the main highway into the interior of the island until the early nineteenth century. For more than 700 years¹ the iwi of Ngā Paerangi have continuously occupied lands on the lower Whanganui River around their present marae at Kaiwhāiki. A settler colony of British migrants was established at the river mouth in 1841.

By the late 1830s Christianity had been introduced to Whanganui; initially by Māori converts from the north, then by the Church Missionary Society in the early 1840s. NZ's founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, was signed in Whanganui in May 1840. A few Europeans were already living there when the first official group of 11 British settlers disembarked from the schooner *Elizabeth* on 27 February 1841, following the alleged New Zealand Company purchase of Whanganui land from Māori ten months earlier. Eight years of controversy and misunderstanding over the land sale followed, until final resolution in 1848 by British-appointed land claims commissioner, William Spain, after which the settlement rapidly expanded.

Ngā Paerangi iwi descend and take their name from Paerangi II, the great grandson of Paerangi o te Maungaroa who arrived from the ancestral homeland of Hawaiki possessing the power of flight. This eponymous ancestor has no waka tradition (Young 2007, 21).² “Some stories say that he changed himself into a bird and flew here; others say that he came on the back of a bird,” explains iwi informant Clarke. “This is one of the reasons why we are known today as the ‘Bird People’” (Clarke 2007a, 10) or Te Kāhui Rere. Simon (quoted in Young 2007, 93) confirms this historical narrative, stating that these tūpuna “were Kahui Rere, as were Nga Rauru and Ngati Rangi and a number of other people too - there's quite a few of them.” He elaborates further, referencing the descriptive beauty of te reo Māori,

¹ “some 18 generations, or maybe 450 years, before the Aotea [waka]. This considerable span is almost exactly the same number of generations as Broughton ... gives between Paerangi-o-te-Maungaroa [Ngā Paerangi founding ancestor] and Major Kemp (Te Rangihwinui)” (Young 2007, 16) who was born in the early 1820s (Hayes et al. 2012).

“When Kupe came into the land ... he went as far up as Kauarapaoa, where his slave was lost. He was about to lay claim to the land ... but he saw smoke from the Ahi Ka and said, ‘Kua ka ke te ahi’ - ‘the fires of occupation have already been lit’” (Young 2007, 21 citing Simon).

² “Though all the Whanganui natives say that Kupe only found the tiwaiwaka and tieke or kokako here - yet when questioned closely the old men admit the existence of tangata whenua in the valley of the Whanganui. These were the Ngapaerangi [sic], descendents of Paerangi-o-te-moungaroa [maungaroa], whose ancestors came from Hawaiki some five generations before Aotea, brought hither by his atua, he had no canoe” (Best ca 1895).

The old people ... talking about the depth of history. They said that [Paerangi] ... alighted on Wharetoka [Ruapehu], which was the house of stone, [not] literally, but gives a connotation of eternity, of endurance.

And from there dissipated his mana through the various sub-tribes right from the mountain to the sea. Our own particular turn on that was that he looked down and saw the beautiful landscape further downstream and came and landed on Tunuhaere, where he looked across the plains ... and cast, if you like, his wai ora—the waters of life into the people who are still here. And that's us who are Nga Paerangi.

Ngā Paerangi people's descent from the tupuna Paerangi II not only establishes their relationship with other iwi, it also defines their rights to and obligations over specific lands. Of importance is the recognition given to the antiquity of Ngā Paerangi's occupation rights, as Downes (1915, 3), citing Elsdon Best, describes,

The Ngapaerangi originally occupied the river of Whanganui, in fact the whole country from Whangaehu to Operiki (Corinth). They were here when Aokehu and the ancestors of Te Ati-Hau came from the north.

Traditional Ngā Paerangi lands include some of the most extensive river flats on the Whanganui River, capable of supporting a large population in the pre-colonial period. By the mid-1800s the Kaiwhāiki area was Ngā Paerangi's main mahinga kai or māra kai, their food growing area, while Tunuhaere was a fortified pā (village)³ on the hill 100 metres above the Whanganui River across from Kaiwhāiki. Most of the iwi lived at Tunuhaere until 1840, by which time a move to Kaiwhāiki had begun (White 1851, 284). The numerous Ngā Paerangi settlements and fortified places north as far as the neighbouring lands of Ngāti Tuera and Ngāti Hinearō and south to Aramoho are illustrated in Figure 2-1. By 1874, Ngā Paerangi villages were identified as Aramoho, Kaiwhāiki, Upokongaro, Kānihinihi, Mangawhero and Rakato.⁴ Census data from various settlements during the mid- to late nineteenth century is provided in chapter three.

Before 1840, as stated, there was a move by some Ngā Paerangi to the river flats on the east of the river around Kaiwhāiki (see Figure 2-2). "Wiremu Patene ... lived at Tunuhaere as a child and then moved onto Kaiwhāiki to occupy and build a pa ... Te Oti Takarangi's people were at Tunuhaere when the pa at Kaiwhāiki was built at Hapuku ... Te

³ See Best 1995, 272 for a description of Tunuhaere pā.

⁴ *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1874, Session I G-07, 16.

Oti Takarangi precisely identified that this movement to Kaiwhaiki occurred four years before the Wairau incident” (Walzl 2004, 48-9) in June 1843. Walzl (ibid.) concludes that this movement to Kaiwhāiki may have reflected Ngā Paerangi’s response to the need to protect the rich Kaiwhāiki lands from the movement of upriver hapū (who wished to be closer to the advantages of European settlement) down to the lower river. Young (2007, 100) concurs but adds that other contributing factors, “

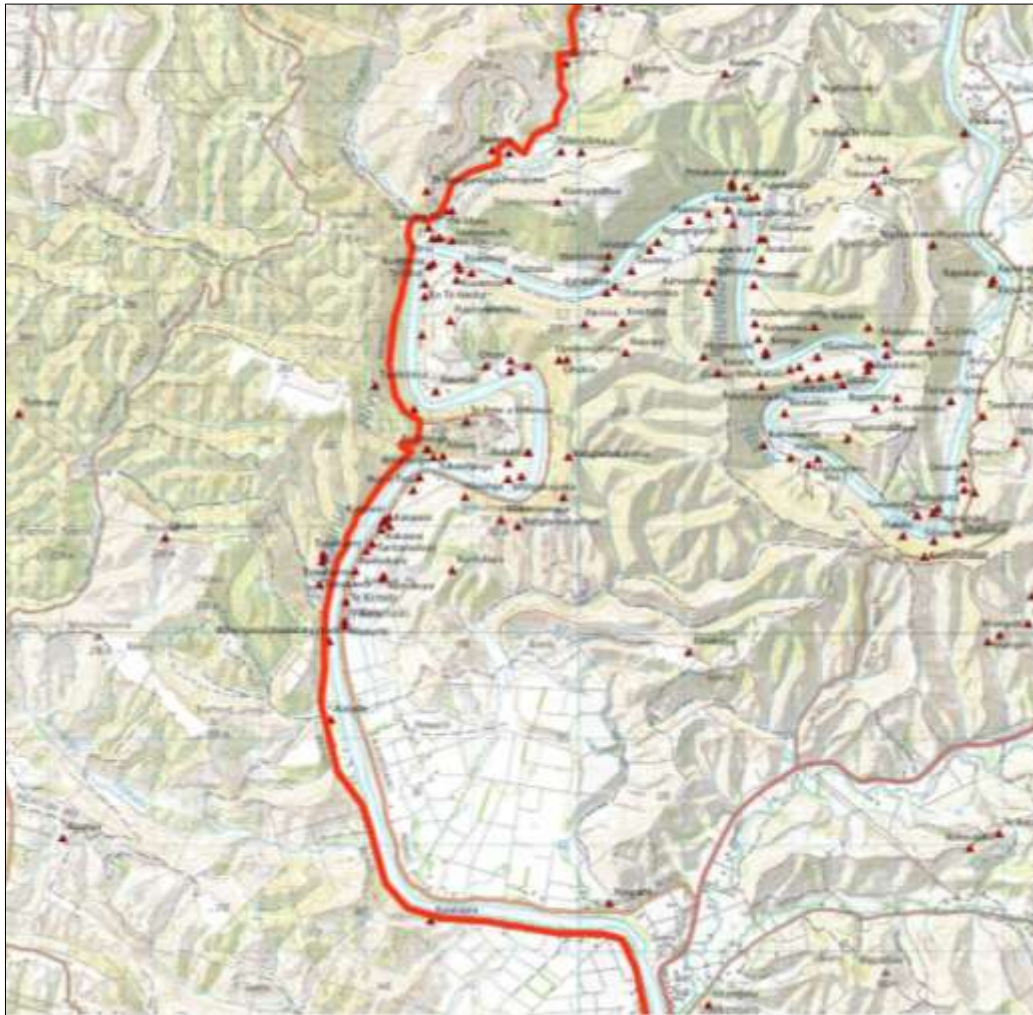


Figure 2-1: Ngā Paerangi sites of significance (Clarke 2007b).

Before 1840, as stated, there was a move by some Ngā Paerangi to the river flats on the east of the river around Kaiwhāiki (see Figure 2-2). “Wiremu Patene ... lived at Tunuhaere as a child and then moved onto Kaiwhaiki to occupy and build a pa ... Te Oti Takarangi’s people were at Tunuhaere when the pa at Kaiwhaiki was built at Hapuku ... Te Oti Takarangi precisely identified that this movement to Kaiwhaiki occurred four years before the Wairau incident” (Walzl 2004, 48-9) in June 1843. Walzl (ibid.) concludes that this movement to

Kaiwhāiki may have reflected Ngā Paerangi’s response to the need to protect the rich Kaiwhāiki lands from the movement of upriver hapū (who wished to be closer to the advantages of European settlement) down to the lower river. Young (2007, 100) concurs but adds that other contributing factors, “

included the fact that with a reduced likelihood of intertribal warfare, there was less of a need to protect, in particular, the western flank of the river and to live, therefore, close to a defensible pa. But the community’s river flat gardens of Kaiwhaiki were extensive and highly productive, offering the chance for a continuous, reliable food source, but [sic] a chance for trade with the new settlers.



Figure 2-2: Kaiwhāiki Marae, Whanganui River from Tunuhaere pā looking south, photographer Ken Clarke.

There is evidence that from 1844 Ngā Paerangi wished to be nearer to and have Europeans among them. For example, Māori at Upokongaro offered Moreing 400 acres and would “give me immediate possession, in fact are anxious for me to settle at once” (Walzl 2004, 50). Even so, they were resistant to European occupation without the required permission. For example,

Tunuhaere people opposed Wansey's settlement on a New Zealand Company section. However, Walzl (ibid., 49-50 citing Stirling) states, "Wakefield dismissed Tunuhaere as 'a den of thieves', who were simply attracted by Wansey's toods [sic] and made, numerous excuses for annoying and plundering him."

The settlement at Kaiwhāiki during the early part of Charles Smith's time was Te Hāpuku (Simon, 34). This area is known today as the urupā (cemetery) Namukura, which is about 500 metres north of the present marae and slightly inland from the location of Mere Te Aroha Kōhanga Reo at 618 Kaiwhāiki Road. Most of the timber for construction of settler houses in Whanganui town was sourced from around this area during the mid-nineteenth century (Downes 1921, 73). Note "Kaiwhaiki Bush" in Figure 2-13 adjacent to "Kaiwhaiki pa" from a copy of an 1842 plan. No remnant of this bush survives today, as can be seen in Figure 2-2. Smith would have seen the move from Te Hāpuku to the present site of Kaiwhāiki marae, which probably followed the death of Te Oti Takarangi in 1885.⁵ T W Downes recollects summer trips in the early 1880s to harvest fruit from "the acres and acres of wild cherries, plums and peaches" planted around Kaiwhāiki, the "picturesque little settlement of thatched native whares [houses] and irregular fences" (ibid., 74).

Te Oti Takarangi's wharehau (meeting house) at Te Hāpuku was named Te Kiritahi⁶ to reflect its purpose as the place to unite the people of the region. The following extract from a document associated with the Charles Smith collection (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923 for 1923.87.5, corrected and translated by author) illustrates this,

Kaiwhāiki te kāinga te ingoa o te whare ko te Kiritahi tēnei ingoa
Ko te kotahitanga o te Māori o tēnei motu
Kaiwhāiki is the name of the village of this house named Te Kiritahi
For the unity of the Māori people of this region.

Rzoska suggested that Te Kiritahi was dismantled after Te Oti Takarangi's death because of the tapu associated with his death.⁷ Walzl (2004, 60) records a further house at Kaiwhāiki in 1869 called Mata a Ruru which, according to Ihaka Te Pēina, "was built by all the people."

Many Whanganui River Māori were converted to Christianity, following European

⁵ Rzoska e-mail message to author, October 2, 2014.

⁶ Rzoska e-mail message to author, February 28, 2014, also called Te Kiritahi by GF Allen in 1883 during a trip to Charles Smith's property (Allen n.d.).

⁷ Rzoska e-mail message to author, October 2, 2014.



settlement. The first missionary influence at Kaiwhāiki was in 1840, when CMS minister John Mason had a small chapel built at Tunuhaere. Reverend Richard Taylor followed three years later, staying at Kaiwhāiki and crossing the river to preach a service in the chapel at Tunuhaere. He also took a census; Kaiwhāiki had a population of 24 and Tunuhaere 157.⁸ Taylor sketched a settlement at Ngāmahanga above Rākato, approximately 1 kilometre north, in 1848 (Figure 2-3).⁹ In 1849 he held a service at Tunuhaere “in a near new church” and the following day called at Kānihinihi further upstream “where one of the early [Māori] Missionaries was established” (Church 1986-7, 139).

Figure 2-3: Sketch by Richard Taylor of Ngāmahanga above Rākato, Kaiwhāiki, Whanganui River, looking south-west, February 28, 1848. Ref: E-296-q-109-4 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Despite Taylor’s efforts, by 1852 Kaiwhāiki had become the site of the first Catholic mission on the Whanganui River, following an invitation from rangatira Kerehoma Tuwhawhakia of Ngāti Rongomaitāwhiri/Ngā Paerangi of Kaiwhāiki.¹⁰ Father Vibaud (n.d., 35) of the Society of Mary describes Kaiwhāiki during this period,

⁸ Census of Native Population of Wanganui River 1843 and Native Population of Taranaki and outlying places in my District 1843, compiled and written by Reverend Richard Taylor, 1953.29.6 Whanganui Regional Museum, Whanganui.

⁹ “Ngamahanga was an area at the top of Rakato (māra kai) and also the name of the stream that ran past where what used to be about 12–15 whare stood (1943 aerial photograph).” Clarke e-mail message to author, October 12, 2014.

¹⁰ “In 1852 Father Lampila had his headquarters at Kaiwhaiki, 12 miles above Wanganui, where he soon established stations at Ramahiku, Atene, Koriniti, Ranana, Kauaeroa, Hinemutu, Utapu, Manganui-o-te-ao, Tieke and Tauwhata.” (Vibaud n.d., 19). At the request of Topia Tūroa, Father Lampila abandoned Kaiwhāiki and moved the Catholic mission north on the Whanganui River to Kauaeroa in 1854, as Kaiwhāiki people had supported the opposition of Pākehā settlement, but more importantly had not enthusiastically embraced Catholicism (ibid., 36-7).

our Missionaries found a native village of some 200 inhabitants. Amongst them were war refugees, who had fled before the Ngati-Raukawa attacks on the fertile Wangaehu valley... Under his guidance, extensive plots were put under cultivation at Kaiwhaiki. The Government of the day was offering wheat, oats, maize, to be sown and fruit trees to be planted by willing workers ... for several years the Wanganui population was supplied with not only potatoes, maize, oats, apples, pears, plums, peaches, melons, kumaras, taros, but also with the flour ground at Father Lampila's Kaiwhaiki mill" and building lumber from their timber mill established at the same time.

Conflict between Protestant and Catholic missionaries, however, resulted in these flour mills becoming a bargaining tool for souls on the Whanganui River during this period. The mill at Kaiwhāiki, considered "a snare of Satan" by Protestant Taylor,¹¹ fell into disuse, and the mission (and its millwright) moved upriver to Kauaeroa in 1854 (Vibaud n.d., 19). Taylor swooped, Te Oti Takarangi was baptised, and by 1860 the missionary had made serious inroads into Father Lampila's established Catholic congregation at Kaiwhāiki (Waltz 2004, 57).

During the 1860s Ngā Paerangi's upper-river cousins became involved in a new religion called Pai Mārire or Hauhau, which combined Christian and traditional Māori beliefs and which opposed European settlement (Elsmore 1989, Clark 1975). It was also the religion of the Kīngitanga. Ngā Paerangi, however, maintained their alliance with the Protestant mission while remaining opposed to the government. This was manifest in support of the Kīngitanga (Māori King) movement for example (Papa and Meredith 2012). Stirling, cited by Walzl (2004, 56), suggests this opposition was influenced by the difficulties Whanganui Māori, including Ngā Paerangi, had in leasing their land and thus deriving benefits from their reserves. During this period, Ngā Paerangi were in a unique position: located amongst their lower-river cousins but, through their affiliation with the Kīngitanga (which opposed Māori land alienation), were considered 'rebels' by Pākehā (European), along with their upper-river relatives (White 1864-5, 230).¹² Stirling, cited by Walzl (2004, 57), documents Ngā Paerangi Kīngitanga support from the end of the 1850s through the early 1860s, including the raising of the Kīngitanga flag by one of these upper-river relatives, Tahana Tūroa, at Kaiwhāiki. Kaiwhāiki was also the assembly point for iwi groups from the south travelling overland to

¹¹ Reverend Richard Taylor Journals 1833–1873 transcript, 29 October, 1852, MS161/8 Apr 1852–Dec 1854 2000.4.168 Whanganui Regional Museum, Whanganui.

¹² On 6 January 1865 White described "Te Kiritahi [as] a Rebel settlement on the Whanganui River about 12 miles from town."

Taranaki (through Smith's farm) to support their relatives in the Taranaki wars of the 1860s (Allen n.d.).

Like many iwi on the Whanganui River, Ngā Paerangi fought on both sides at the Battle of Moutoa in May 1864.¹³ This ritualistic battle¹⁴ on Moutoa Island near Rānana on the Whanganui River was the culmination of Pai Mārire efforts to drive settler-colonists from Whanganui while their lower river relatives were defending their mana and authority over this part of the Whanganui River in their support of the British settlement. One actor in the present assemblage, Matene Te Rangitauira, who will feature in a narrative involving another actor, the prow *Tunuhaere*, in chapter five, led the Pai Mārire force and died in the conflict at Moutoa. In describing the Battle of Moutoa and subsequent events, Wellington Superintendent, Isaac Featherston, commented that in Whanganui town, despite the pro-government Māori risking their lives in combat against friends and relatives on the settlers' behalf, some of the settlers "grudged them the arms and ammunition the Government had supplied them with, and deplored the infatuation of the Government in trusting them, *or*, as they expressed it, in arming savages against their own race."¹⁵ However, by October 1864, officials would no longer accept anti-government sentiment along the lower reaches of the river. Featherston demanded allegiance from Ngā Paerangi by threatening removal. He declared, "I have heard that you have joined in the fanaticism of Te Ua. If so you must at once remove either to Pipiriki or beyond Waitotara ... with all your goods and property, and when the war is over you may come back again" (White 1864-5, 187-8). Although Te Oti Takarangi then swore the Oath of Allegiance to the Queen, Kaiwhāiki remained a Kīngitanga kāinga (village).

After the wars of the 1860s, however, Ngā Paerangi joined with lower-river people travelling to Parihaka in about 1876 to support the peaceful resistance movement of the prophets Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti o Rongomai.¹⁶ These religious leaders had established a community at Parihaka in Taranaki in 1866 with the blessing of the founder of the Pai Mārire movement, Te Ua Haumēne. Prophetic movements had developed in NZ during the 1860s, merging Māori and Christian traditions (Elsmore 1989). Pai Mārire (good and peaceful) grew

¹³ Rzoska, e-mail message to author, February 27, 2014.

¹⁴ Described by Clark (1975, 15) as "a set-piece in the tradition of resolving inter-tribal rivalries."

¹⁵ *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* 1864 Session I E-03, 80.

¹⁶ Extract from Māori Land Court Minutes referred to in evidence of Kerehoma Tuwhawhakia, 9 December 1897, Whanganui Minute Book, volume 139.

out of the conflict over land in Taranaki. Te Ua's statement of mana motuhake, independence, "had a profound influence on the course of Māori Christianity" (Head 1992, 7). Despite the movement's ideals of goodness and peace, some followers turned to violent resistance. They were seen as rebels by Europeans and became known as Hauhau. The warrior/prophet Tītokowaru was influenced by Te Ua and rose in prominence in Taranaki following Te Ua's death in 1866. His religion included elements of Pai Mārire, Christianity and traditional religion. After the wars, Tītokowaru advocated peace and became involved in the passive resistance of prophets Te Whiti and Tohu who had established the settlement at Parihaka.

During the 1870s Parihaka grew into the largest Māori settlement in the country. In response to government surveying of the confiscated southern Taranaki lands which started in 1878, they reclaimed land by ploughing it. As their followers were imprisoned for this, more people came to take their places. In 1881 troops ransacked Parihaka and took many people prisoner including Te Whiti and Tohu who were held without trial for two years and sent to the South Island. Parihaka continued as a centre of non-violent resistance to settler laws until the deaths of both men in 1907 (Elsmore 1989). When the Kaiwhāiki people returned from Parihaka they renamed their iwi Ngā Tamariki ā te Iharaia (Children of Israel), a name given by Tohu Kākahi.¹⁷ Support for the cause at Parihaka had resulted in sale of land to private purchasers from 1867, soon after title to Ngā Paerangi land blocks, such as Upokongaro and Puketarata, was awarded (Walzl 2004, 68).

The current wharepuni (meeting house) at Kaiwhāiki, a unique double-gabled structure, is also named Te Kiritahi (Figure 2-4). The house was originally the home whare of rangatira Teretiu Whakataha and kuia Te Kietapu. It had been named Te Whakahāwea after Ngā Paerangi people returned from Parihaka. This name was borrowed from the phrase,

Kauā e whakahāwea ko ngā mahi a ngā poropiti a Tohu rāua ko Te Whiti.
Despise you not the teachings of the prophets Tohu and Te Whiti (Simon 2013, 15).

About 1910 these tūpuna gifted Whakahāwea to the iwi. It was then extended and renamed Te Kiritahi, meaning to unify or bring together (ibid., 16-18), thus mirroring the symbolic

¹⁷ "Our old people were there during the time the militia invaded Parihaka and afterwards the people were made to return home by the militia but our people wouldn't move and it wasn't till Tohu addressed them and said 'Whanganui, e Te Iharaia hoki atu koutou ki o koutou nei marae, ki reira whakaparihaka mai ai'" (Rzoska, e-mail message to author, October 2, 2014). Peoples of Whanganui, the Israelites, return to your various marae and emulate Parihaka (translation by Basil Keane October 3, 2014).

reference of the earlier house of the same name. Te Kiritahi is uncarved. Simon has suggested this may be in consideration of Tohu and Te Whiti and their teaching, with “the children of the marae... the living tekoteko, and their task was to ensure a vitality that would always be present” (2013, 18).

Ngā Paerangi organise themselves today around their descent from the five children of Te Rangituawaru (the great great great great grandson of Paerangi II) and Hinekehu—Tōmairangi, Whararakia, Te Rangitokona, Te Uira and Tutamou.¹⁸ “Ngā Paerangi is the tribal name. There are several sections in it.” Here, Pehira Tūrei was referring to the various hapū of Ngā Paerangi when giving evidence during the Maramaratōtara case, 20 January 1879. Today Kaiwhāiki marae is home to about 50 closely related families (Simon 2013, 5), and is one of two remaining Catholic marae on the Whanganui River. While the absence of material heritage for this iwi today is noted elsewhere, Ngā Paerangi people are instead renowned for oratory, composition, waiata (song), whaikōrero (oratory) and kapa haka (performance).



Figure 2-4: Te Kiritahi wharepuni, Kaiwhāiki Marae, Whanganui River, 2014.

¹⁸ Rzoska e-mail message to author, April 14, 2013.

Clarke describes Ngā Paerangi today as “a very close knit community” and uses the example of the recent tangihanga (funeral rites) for Morvin Simon to illustrate this: “people are always there to awhi/tautoko [support] the families in times of need.” Furthermore, hui are regularly held to explore ways to support the marae and develop facilities. These include such ways as water and sewage systems, or the extension of existing papa kāinga [communal land] sections to enable more whānau to move back home to the marae from elsewhere or to develop kaumātua housing, while debate on the marae focusses upon ways in which land trusts can assist the running costs of the marae and facilities. Clarke also describes some of the challenges facing this community, including the “huge gap” left following Simon’s passing in both leadership and spokesperson roles, although several members of the younger generation are developing skills to fill these roles. Matters of major significance are normally brought to hui ā-iwi forum for discussion with the community making final decisions.¹⁹ To conclude, as Ponga states,

Ngā Paerangi are very fortunate. Very fortunate that we have a base, that we have a community, that we have so many of our uri [descendants] still occupying the lands around our papa kāinga. So we’re very, very fortunate in terms of being able to transmit that knowledge to the next generation, or to hold onto certain aspects of our culture and our traditions.²⁰

I will now present a brief account of the main historical Ngā Paerangi actors within this relational network who are described in the records of the Charles Smith collection: Te Oti Takarangi, his cousin Wiremu Pātene, and his nephew Tāmati Takarangi.

Te Oti Takarangi (?–Jul 1885)

Te Oti Takarangi descended from Ngāti Te Uira/Ngāti Hinekehu line of Ngā Paerangi and was the rangatira of this iwi during the nineteenth century. He had one son, Tāmati Te Oti, and one granddaughter, Ngārongokahira who had no children. Both are thought to have predeceased him.²¹

In 1867 when the Te Korito case came before the Native Land Court, the block was claimed by and awarded to Te Oti Takarangi, of Ngāti Hinekehu²² together with five other

¹⁹ Clarke e-mail message to author October 12, 2014.

²⁰ Mērekanara Ponga interview, August 18, 2013.

²¹ Rzoska e-mail message to author, April 18, 2013.

²² Evidence of Te Oti Takarangi, Te Korito case, 26 January 1867 (cited by Walzl 2004, 61).



grantees including Kararaina Pukeroa and Erana Tamairangi (tūpuna of the Pēina whānau).²³ Could Te Oti Takarangi's claim to this land and as the senior member of Ngāti Hinekehu have therefore placed Charles Smith (who was resident on this block from 1859) in the position of being Te Oti Takarangi's 'Pākehā'? This idea is discussed further in chapter five. However, "even after Te Korito [land block] was sold the Peina whanau maintained a connection to the place. They not only continued to work for the new owner but also resided there" (Clarke 2007a, 43). One of this whānau, Reti Wisneski, who was a member of the group who travelled to PRM in November 2013, recalled living at Te Korito with her family when she saw the photograph of Smith beside his house (Figure 3-3). Her father worked on the farm and the family lived there until the end of World War II, by which time it was owned by the Cave family.

Figure 2-5: Te Oti Takarangi, Ngā Paerangi rangatira, Kaiwhāiki, ca.1877. Ref: 1998.243.18.1 PRM (cropped).

The few surviving contemporary accounts of Te Oti Takarangi provide a picture of a competent tribal leader in a tumultuous period of colonial history. His obituary in the *Wanganui Chronicle* August 3, 1885, while not altogether complimentary, shows his loyalties were with his people. Also, that he was a protagonist in support of his relatives over the human rights issues in Taranaki that culminated in the sacking of Parihaka,

Takarangi was a notable man in his way, and will be long remembered by Europeans for his unconquerable dislike to the alien race. He was a Maori of the old school and could not brook anything like opposition or dissent from his opinion on the part of the members of his tribe. When the Parihaka trouble was

²³ Rzoska e-mail message to author, October 2, 2014.

in full swing, he and his people who accompanied him were found to be ringleaders in every hostile movement against the whites.

Although Te Oti Takarangi was a Protestant, thanks to missionary Taylor's persuasion, when Teretiu Whakataha led Ngā Paerangi people to Parihaka in 1876 to support the philosophy of peace practised there, he accompanied them.²⁴ Te Oti Takarangi was, however, open to new alliances that advantaged his and his iwi's situation, as reported, for example, by Resident Magistrate Richard Woon to the Under Secretary of the Native Department in 1876,

The Henare Matua [Ngāti Kahungunu leader of the Repudiation movement] disaffection is fast dying out here, and one of his most influential and staunch supporters (Te Oti Takarangi, an old chief of some note) has quite turned round, and the other day availed himself of the means provided by my Court to recover a debt against a member of their own clique, and has assumed quite a friendly tone since (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1876, 35).

He was also a shrewd negotiator and maintained control as leader. For example, following protracted negotiation over gravel extraction within iwi lands for the Whanganui Harbour Board, upon final resolution and payment,

Takarangi's notion of a chieftain's rights was made strikingly apparent ... he received the money in ten ten-pound notes and the balance in ones. Putting the tens under his hips, and sitting on them with an air of perfect self-satisfaction, he complacently took up the bundle of one-pound notes and carefully distributed them amongst a number of natives whose claims to an equal division were equally as good as his own (*Wanganui Chronicle* August 3, 1885, 2).

Only two photographs of Te Oti Takarangi are known. One is housed in the wharepuni Te Kiritahi; the second is a group photograph including Te Oti Takarangi that was re-discovered in the PRM collection in 2006 (Figure 2-5 and 2-14). Four items in the Charles Smith collection at the PRM represent the gifts presented to Charles Smith by Te Oti Takarangi: Te Pā o Hinematiaro 1923.87.121 a fishhook and heirloom (Figure 2-6), the carved tuki (wooden collar for a storage gourd) 1923.87.138 (Figure 2-7), tā moko (tattoo) material 1927.83.189-191 (Figure 2-8), and ko hei (pendant) 1923.87.229 crafted by Te Oti Takarangi.

²⁴ Rzoska e-mail message to author, October 1, 2014.



Figure 2-6: Te Pā o Hinematiaro 1923.87.121.



Figure 2-7: Tuki 1923.87.138.



Figure 2-8: Ipu wai ngārahu (container for tattooing pigment) 1927.83.189.

Wiremu (Wī) Pātene Te Rangituawaru (Ngārangierua) (?–29 Dec 1874)

Wiremu Pātene was the second cousin of Te Oti Takarangi and next in senior rank at Kaiwhāiki.²⁵ He was the older brother of Rzoska's great, great grandfather Nepetarima. His wife was Taiwiri Mutumutu and they had one daughter, Ngāpera Pikia also known as Te Aue. Ngāpera Pikia gave Charles Smith the korowai (cloak) 1927.83.159 (see Figure 2-17). Pātene is less visible in the historical record than his more infamous cousin Te Oti Takarangi and nephew Tāmati Takarangi. Te Oti Takarangi's respect and love for his 'brother' are

²⁵ Rzoska e-mail message to author, April 15, 2013.

eloquently articulated in this lament he composed following Pātene's death. It was published in the Māori newspaper *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* on September 3, 1875.

He Tangi nā Te Oti Takarangi.	Lament of George Takarangi.
Mō tōna teina, a Wiremu Pātene,	For his younger brother, William Pātene,
i mate ki Kaiwhāiki, Whanganui,	who died at Kaiwhāiki on the Whanganui,
i te 29 o Tihema, 1874.	29th of December, 1874.
Kaore te aroha e awhea mai nei,	When the Northern winds are blowing
Nā roto ana mai o te taha Marangai;	They remind me of my sorrow,
Te roimata i aku kama kātahi ka ringia,	Then I feel a lonely longing
Whai kau atu ana tau nei haere.	To pursue my loved, my lost one, whilst
	my unavailing tears are flowing.
Te takiringa atu te wai o tō hoe	As a vessel quickly rounding Kiritahi's
	cliff in sunlight
Ka ngaro i te rae ki Kiritahi rā ia.	Catches on her gleaming paddles
Mā wai e whai atu? Ka rupenga nui koe.	An instant flash, a glint of sunbeam,
Ka tō tēnei te papa ki te wharau,	So he's gone—ah! who can follow!
Ka takoto ki tō whare ka tupakutia au.	In my darksome whare's silence I will lay
	me down desponding.
Kai runga Wiremu kai Hui-te-Rangiora,	Wiremu for aye is resting at Hui-te-
	Rangiora,
Mārama te titiro ngā kohu	Whence the mist which settling
	downwards,
Ka tāhora i roto Kaiwhāiki	May be seen in clearest beauty as it falls
	round Kaiwhāiki's
Ki ōku mātua.	Ever sad and silent tomb-homes.

In 1863 Whanganui Resident Magistrate, John White, described Wi Pātene as “the King Magistrate of Kaiwhaiki” (White 1863-4, 298) and as “in charge of this King settlement” (ibid., 328).

Wiremu Pātene was the probably source of the tewhatewha (2008.8.1) with his name carved into the handle, identified by Rzoska in a PRM display. Although this taonga has no associated provenance data, is likely attributed to the Charles Smith collection. The descendants of Wiremu Pātene and Ngāpera Pikia are the Allan whānau today.

Tāmati Takarangi (1852–1935)

Tāmati Takarangi (Figure 2-9), the son of Te Oti Takarangi's younger brother Ngāmako, became a leader of Ngā Paerangi after Te Oti Takarangi's death. He was renowned for his size and strength as Simon

describes, "He used to be able to lift the platform from the landing to hook onto the steamer and he used to be able to just about do it by himself. He was a powerful man."²⁶

Also he was known for his opportunistic nature. As Downes (1921, 74) recalled, "He was always on the watch to see what he could honestly annex from the campers, by begging or by bounce, or a mixture of the two that was generally successful in causing his unfortunate prey to stump up." His wife was Tīpare (Mere) Ōtene and they had two children, a son Te Rāngai Tāmati born about 1875 (see Figure 2-9) and a daughter Miriata Te Kahukore born about 1880 (both children are photographed with their father in Figure 2-14).



Figure 2-9: Tāmati Takarangi with his wife Tīpare (Mere) Ōtene and son Te Rāngai Tāmati, ca. 1880. Ref: 1998.243.9 PRM.

Tāmati Takarangi gave Charles Smith the pākurukuru (canoe prow) 1923.87.12 named *Tunuhaere* as a memorial to his uncle Te Oti Takarangi (Figure 2-10).

²⁶ Morvin Simon interview March 20, 2013.



Figure 2-10: *Tunuhaere pākurukuru* 1923.87.12.

Ngā Paerangi and the Waitangi Tribunal

In the previous section I have analysed one constituent of the network assemblage, Ngā Paerangi, and a number of historical actants within this assemblage. I will now introduce one of the major opportunities facing the descendants of those actors today, the Waitangi Tribunal process. The impact of this on the network of events and effects arising out of this analysis will be discussed in chapter five.

The Treaty of Waitangi is NZ’s founding document and has important implications for the country today. Signed in 1840, it is an agreement made between the British Crown and Māori rangatira, written in Māori and English. Different understandings of the two versions have caused debate and breaches have caused conflict (Orange 2011). The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 by an Act of Parliament as a “permanent commission of inquiry charged with making recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown, which breach the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi” (Waitangi Tribunal 2014a). The Waitangi Tribunal process, specifically the Whanganui River Claim (Wai 167) and the Whanganui District Lands Inquiry (Wai 903), have implications for Ngā Paerangi social, economic and cultural aspirations.

The Whanganui iwi perspective of the unity of the Whanganui River, its land and people, is succinctly expressed here by Niko Tangaroa, Whanganui kaumātua,

The river and the land and its people are inseparable. And so if one is affected the other is affected also... The river is the heartbeat, the pulse of our people... If the Awa dies, we die as people. Ka mate te Awa, ka mate tātou te Iwi (Office of Treaty Settlements 2014, 31).

The first petitions to Parliament about the Whanganui River were in 1887. Legal proceedings commenced in the Māori Land Court in 1938. The Wai 167 Claim asserts that Whanganui iwi never knowingly or willingly relinquished their rights and responsibilities over the river. In essence they are seeking restoration of their mana over the river. Proceedings commenced in 1993, with four hearings in Whanganui and Taumarunui between March and July of 1994. The Whanganui River Report was presented to the Minister of Māori Affairs and the claimants in 1999. Whanganui iwi have received from the Crown acknowledgement of the inalienable interconnection between the river and the people and apology for historic grievances relating to possession and control of the Whanganui River, in which the Crown's actions and omissions "breached the Treaty of Waitangi and its principles and damaged the special relationship between the iwi and hapū of Whanganui and the Whanganui River" (Office of Treaty Settlements 2014, 36). A range of outcomes following settlement have also been agreed, which recognise the river as a legal entity and as a person, a unique situation within the NZ legal system, and also give recognition to, and aim to develop the relationship between, Whanganui iwi and the Whanganui River through both cultural and financial redress. Of specific relevance to this study is the aim to develop "a co-ordinated, long-term cultural revitalisation programme for the cultural knowledge and traditional practices of Whanganui Iwi" (Office of Treaty Settlements 2014, 53). *Ruruku Whakatupua, the Whanganui River Deed of Settlement*, between the Crown and Whanganui iwi was officially signed on 5 August 2014. It sets out financial redress of \$80 million and addresses the grievances of Whanganui iwi in relation to the Whanganui River.

The Lands Inquiry relating specifically to Whanganui iwi, Wai 903, encompasses over 70 separate claims covering a large area in the central North Island from the mouth of the Whanganui River to just north of Taumarunui, east to the Whangaehu River and Waiōuru and west to the Waitōtara River. A number of issues have been raised in evidence including,

the early ‘purchase’ of Whanganui lands by the New Zealand Company, the Native Land Court, and Crown purchasing of Māori land in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the vesting and management of land in the twentieth century, takings for public works and particularly scenery preservation, including the foundation of the Whanganui National Park, the main trunk railway line, the creation and management of native townships, and issues of authority and kaitiakitanga of the environment (Waitangi Tribunal 2014b).

Hearings took place in the Whanganui region between 2007 and 2010 and the Inquiry is currently at report writing stage. A series of meetings in 2013 took place “to strengthen and unify Whanganui Maori ahead of their long-awaited land claim negotiations” (*Wanganui Chronicle*, May 9, 2013).

Role of Kaitiaki in New Zealand Museums

Another significant issue facing Māori in NZ in relation to museums and museum collections relates to the customary concept of kaitiakitanga. This has had major implications on museum practice and policy development in NZ, while for Māori it has been the welcome acknowledgement of the need for co-management of taonga by museums as well as the (sometimes onerous) responsibilities entailed within this.

The relatively recent conception of the role of kaitiaki²⁷ within collection care in NZ museums was well entrenched in collection practices at the WM when I began working there in 1989. Although the procedural manifestations of this practice are a relatively recent phenomenon, the concept and its acceptance have been informally embedded in the museum’s operations since its inception in 1892. A kaitiaki in this context could be an individual, a whānau, a hapū, an iwi, or a collective of individuals from any of these groups. Their relationship with a taonga may have been established when the taonga joined the museum collection, and was inherited, or may be a result of more recent identification of a relationship. While these relationships with owner/lenders of taonga have only been active in a handful of examples at the museum, the values inherent in these relationships reach much further, into the philosophies and principles that guide and have guided museum staff. An example is the waka taua (war canoe) *Te Wehi o te Rangi*, called by Mina McKenzie (the granddaughter of the original kaitiaki and also the first Māori museum director in NZ) “the

²⁷ In the Whanganui Māori dialect, ‘kaitiaki’ are referred to as ‘tangata tiaki’.

symbol that binds the iwi of Whanganui”²⁸. It was brought into the museum’s care amidst great ceremony and celebration in 1931. At that time trustees, who were appointed in a legally binding contract, were responsible for liaising between the museum and the people over matters concerning the waka, including when it was to leave the museum and for what purpose, often for ‘active’ Waitangi Day celebrations. In subsequent years trustees were replaced using the provisions of the Māori Land Court.

However, the relationship between the museum and the community required constant maintenance and it eventually reached a point in the late 1970s when this relationship had broken down to the extent that the waka was removed from the museum. It was not until 1995 that the community had regained sufficient confidence in the museum for *Te Wehi* to be brought back into the museum’s care. This time the waka was placed in a newly refurbished space (with a view to the outside) that was more in keeping with the concept of a taonga as the living embodiment of tūpuna compared with the crypt-like storage the waka had been ‘buried’ in previously. The kaitiaki for this waka take their role very seriously. In 2010, with several having passed on over previous years, it was found difficult to fill these roles, as the responsibility was so great and a number of individuals felt that they were not ready at that time to take on such a responsibility.

The importance of kaitiaki to the taonga in the museum and to the museum’s ability to function relates to the procedures involved in caring for taonga. For all access and use requests for taonga, for example: a request for a loan to another museum, or for a copy of a photograph of a tupuna, or for a taonga to attend an important occasion such as a tangihanga or in recent years Waitangi Tribunal Hearings in support of iwi claims, kaitiaki are asked to consider whether or not to approve the request and their advice guides museum actions. If a kaitiaki has not been established for a particular taonga, one is sought on the basis of information including collection records, archival research or stylistic analysis. The role of kaitiaki for taonga of unknown provenance falls to the museum’s Tikanga Māori House.

When I was preparing images for the publication of a book on the museum’s Taonga Māori collection (Horwood and Wilson 2008), it was necessary to identify kaitiaki for about 180 taonga so as to seek approval for including images of these taonga. This immense task involved identifying kaitiaki at whānau, hapū and iwi level from around the country, many of

²⁸ Discussion with author Whanganui Regional Museum, 1990.

whom had had no contact with the WM previously. Such was the process and the purpose of the publication that only one kaitiaki turned down the request. The outcome for the museum, beyond the book, was the identification of kaitiaki for all 3,500 or so items in the museum's Taonga Māori collection; kaitiaki for images of tūpuna, whether painted portraits or photographic prints, are currently identified as required by requests for use of these images.

Ngā Paerangi are the kaitiaki for the Charles Smith collection at the PRM and have considered themselves so since research about the collection has identified the ways in which Charles Smith obtained items from their tūpuna and they have been reconnected with these taonga. Even though they may not be able to physically realise their guardianship or impact on the physical or spiritual care of their taonga, they will not relinquish this responsibility. Furthermore, although Ngā Paerangi are not the source of all taonga within the collection, they have taken on this responsibility because of the close relationship Smith had with their tūpuna. At some future time they will communicate what they know about this collection to their relatives and to iwi elsewhere in NZ regarding taonga that originated from elsewhere.²⁹ Outcomes for items that originated outside NZ were not considered during any discussions for this study.

The Collector: Charles Smith, Whanganui

In 1923 the PRM purchased a large number of principally ethnographic items from Alfred T Collier for £50 (Balfour n.d. (1938-1942), 3). Members of Collier's family had been sent the material from NZ by their relative Charles Smith, the collector who is central to and one of the main actors within the relational network at the centre of this study.

The Charles Smith collection comprises around 460 items of which more than 300 originated in NZ. Many of these were obtained by Smith himself from Te Oti Takarangi, rangatira of Ngā Paerangi based at Kaiwhāiki, and other members of this iwi. Items have also been identified from other Whanganui hapū and from Ngā Rauru, Ngāti Ruanui, Taranaki, Tainui and Te Arawa iwi (principally photographs).

Many taonga in the collection are everyday items from the mid- to late nineteenth century and show the cross-fertilising of new technologies and materials with traditional arts,

²⁹ In December 2014 Ngāti Toa iwi were contacted with information about the tatā (bailer) from Paekākāriki (1923.87.14).



Figure 2-11: Studio portrait of Charles Smith by Whanganui photographer W J Harding, ca. 1865. Ref: 1/4-030830-G Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

for example saddle bags of muka (flax fibre) and tāniko (ornamental weaving) saddle girths. A number demonstrate the importance the collector placed on illustrating traditional textile manufacturing processes, for example, prepared muka for kākahu (clothing). A recent review of world archaeology collections from the PRM considers Charles Smith's collection "of

particular importance because he acquired most of his objects directly from Maori, rather than through auction rooms or other collectors” (Hicks and Stevenson 2013, 556). This has resulted in some retaining their biographies, which describe their significance within Ngā Paerangi /NZ history and contribute to understanding the role of Ngā Paerangi within intertribal relationships during the mid-nineteenth century. The importance of the collection to Ngā Paerangi will be discussed below but, significantly, it represents the majority of extant taonga known to this iwi.



Figure 2-12: Charles Smith at his home, Te Korito, Whanganui, ca. 1880. Ref: 1998.245.198 PRM (cropped).

I have completed a brief assessment of Charles Smith and his collection in terms of its historical and museological context in order to develop a picture of nineteenth-century life and relationships on the Whanganui River around Kaiwhāiki, and explore Smith’s collecting motivations. I was interested in finding out more about his incentives for emigrating to NZ, why he established relationships with members of Ngā Paerangi, and the influence of events that were taking place around them. Furthermore, whether there was any evidence for Smith’s acquisition from Māori in the documentary record, and whether his collecting

methodology was intentional or simply reflected the availability to him of items at this time and in this place. I also wished to investigate his relationship with Samuel Drew, WM founder, and why he sent material back to family in England when he was a regular donor of items to Drew's museum. Finally, I wished to determine whether the collection was typical of mid- to late nineteenth-century amateur collectors' interests or whether he was influenced by anthropological developments in Britain, or his relationship with Drew and others.

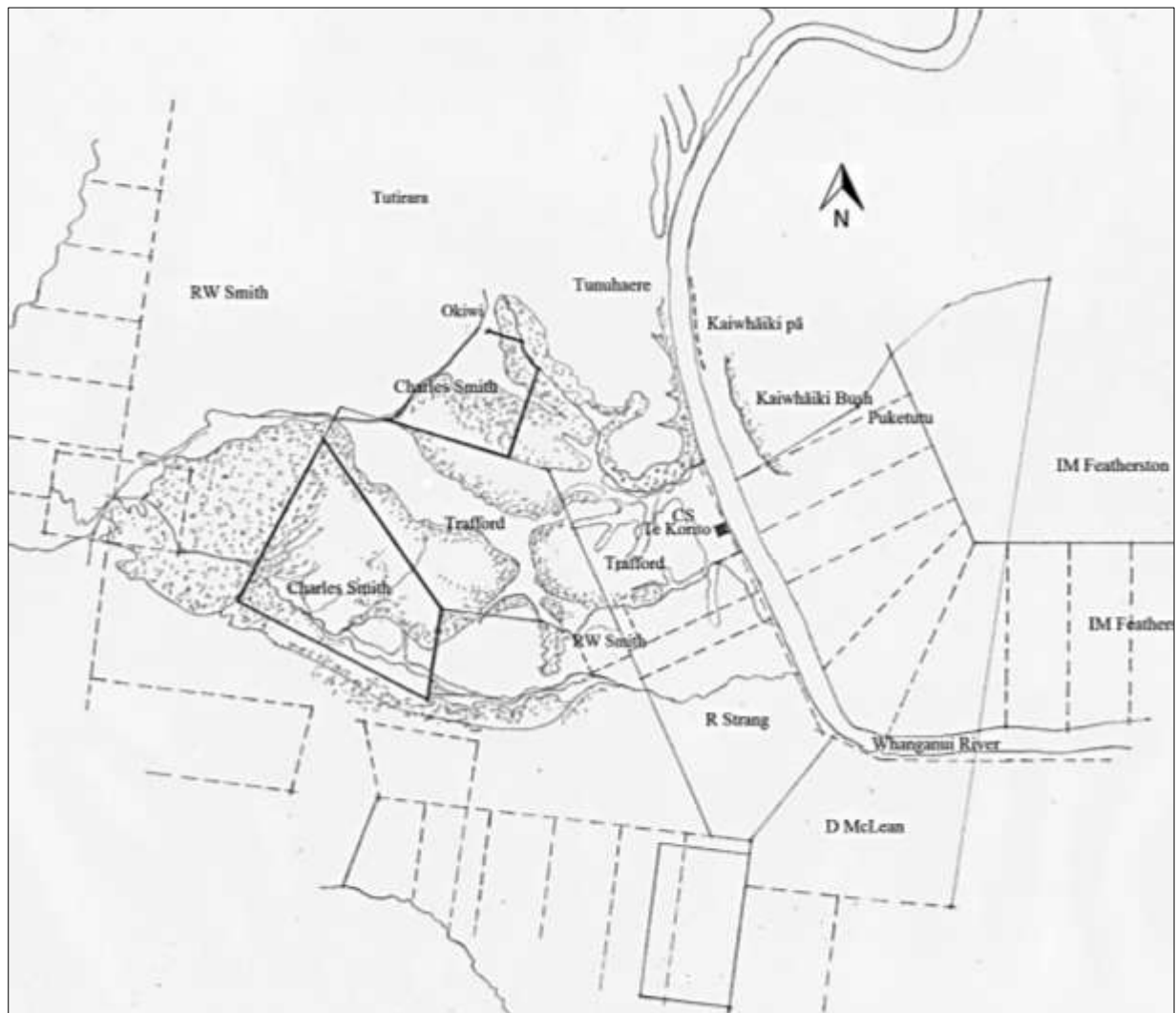


Figure 2-13: Copy of detail of Robert Parkes' 1842 plan by Charles Moore Igglesden, 1856, showing Charles Smith's homestead Te Kororo and farm and Kaiwhāiki pā, John Verstappen. Ref: SO 10552 RP 440 National Archives, Wellington.

Charles Smith (Figures 2-11, 2-12) was born in Wiltshire, England in 1833, was a schoolmate of Julius Vogel (later eighth Premier of NZ) at University College School, London, was articled to a London lawyer for a period between 1851 and 1857, but preferred farming,

therefore attended the progressive Royal Agricultural College³⁰ in Cirencester, Gloucester in South West England from 1858.³¹ He was 26 years of age when he emigrated to NZ in 1859. There he settled on the 2,700-acre farm, 'Te Korito', at Kaiwhāiki on the Whanganui River (1897, 1451) running 3,000 sheep, 400 head of cattle and 50 pigs (*Whanganui Herald* August 23, 1906). He never married.

The land comprising Charles Smith's farm had been obtained from Ngā Paerangi iwi and was located across the Whanganui River from their settlement at Kaiwhāiki and adjacent to their defensive pā Tunuhaere, located on the ridge to the north (see Figure 2-13). Smith lived here for the next fifty years.

Whanganui in the 1850s

The scene that greeted Charles Smith when he arrived in Whanganui in 1859 would have been similar to that described by fellow settler Cornelius Burnett (solicitor, founding partner for company known today as Treadwell Gordon) when he arrived three years earlier. After a one hundred and eighty-three-day journey from Gravesend England, Burnett (1920, 16) discovered,

The mixture of military display and barbaric ascendancy, of old soldiers and old whalers, of Highland shepherds and Lowland farmers, of a sprinkling of almost all the nationalities of the world, with here and there a few English settlers, combined to make up a polyglot nondescript outlandish condition of things that took us by surprise.

Items available for barter with Māori residents included a wide range of produce, as well as "kits, mats, carved weapons, fish hooks, and a great variety of curiosities and ornaments for sale at very reasonable prices, the native cloak in particular being very suitable articles for sending to friends as specimens of native work; and the first consignment of curiosities we

³⁰ The RAC opened in 1845, "was staffed with innovators and pioneers and made a considerable impact on farming practice and agricultural science", with many early students going on to careers in Colonial Agricultural Administrations and the Diplomatic and Foreign Service (Royal Agricultural University 2014).

³¹ A student named 'Smith' is listed on the Students' Register for the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, UK in 1858 (Lorner Parker Archivist RAU, e-mail message to author March 5, 2014). This is the only agricultural college operating in the UK at that time so I have assumed this 'Smith' is the Charles Smith at the centre of this study. By this time the School had expanded to include Science as well as Agriculture and provided instruction in chemistry, botany, natural history and vegetable physiology, geology, engineering and surveying, it ran a veterinary department where students learned animal physiology, a 450 acre farm to provide instruction in practical agriculture and experimental farming as well as income for the college, a veterinary hospital, a botanic garden, as well as a museum, library and chapel (Anonymous ca. 1859, 26-31).

sent to the old folks at Home included a very handsome article of the kind” (ibid., 20). It seems therefore that Smith was not in a unique position in Whanganui, with many of his fellow settlers taking up these opportunities to acquire items of ethnography.

There are few personal accounts about Charles Smith. He was a farmer employing a farm manager as well as a “gentleman assistant” (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923 for 1923.87.159). Inferences made about his generous, inquisitive and unassuming nature are based upon accounts from the few documents discovered during this research, including the following by Edith Smith, the daughter of William Edgar and Zoe Smith.³² W E Smith was employed by Charles Smith as manager of Te Korito and the family lived on this farm until 1906 when it was sold and they moved to the family farm Tauwhare to the north. They lived in the cottage in the photograph (see Figure 2-15) while Charles Smith lived “in a more elaborate house just to the right of the photo”³³ (depicted in Figure 2-12). She describes Charles Smith as a “kind of fairy godfather to my family, and we had many expensive presents he gave us.” He died at their home at Tauwhare in 1908 and she can remember this and that she turned six a few weeks later. I should note that the presence of a neighbouring unrelated family also called Smith, comprising parents and ten children, of whom eight were boys, and one of whom was also named Charles Smith (probably after their generous neighbour), complicated this research initially.

A further reference to Charles Smith’s character is by James Garland Woon. In an apology for omitting Smith from his recent publication about early settlers, he described him as “a well-known, highly respected settler” and noted that he had spoken to him about the omission “but he did not seem to mind,... remarking that he did not consider he had any special claim to be noticed. But then Mr Charles Smith, who I have known since 1859, is a gentleman, every inch of him” (*Wanganui Herald* March 24, 1902).

Relationships with Iwi

Despite arriving in the colony at a tumultuous period in its fledgling history when in the Whanganui region “the fire was in the fern... [with] the spreading flames of war reach[ing] the up-river tribes” (Reed 1940, xiv), Charles Smith developed a relationship with his Ngā

³² Edith was the daughter of Henry Edward Smith whose widow, Zoe, married William Edgar in 1907.

³³ Correspondence Edith Smith to Brian Henderson, November 18, 1985, 1985.62 Whanganui Regional Museum, Whanganui.

Paerangi neighbours at Kaiwhāiki (see Figure 2-14; for a full discussion of this image see chapter five). In particular he developed relationships with the principle chief Te Oti Takarangi, Te Oti Takarangi's cousin Wiremu Pātene and his nephew Tāmati Takarangi, from whom he was able to acquire numerous ethnographic items to expand his personal collection. These he sent to family members in England and Australia from time to time. As stated, he also donated items to the WM.



Figure 2-14: Charles Smith (standing second from left) with Ngā Paerangi leaders including Tāmati Takarangi (at left standing), Te Oti Takarangi (central figure in korowai holding patu), Teretiu Whakataha (at right standing), Karehana Tahau (at left seated) and their families at Kaiwhāiki, ca. 1876-7. Ref: 1998.243.18.1 PRM (cropped).

Charles Smith's farm, Te Korito, had been carved out of the Whanganui lands initially acquired by the United Kingdom-based New Zealand Company, for a pile of trade goods and a few pounds, two decades earlier. It took a further eight years for a colonial government commission of enquiry in 1848 to determine a final settlement in relation to the Whanganui purchase where 80,000 acres, double the original acquisition, was passed into government hands for the sum of £1,000, or three pence an acre. This sale and subsequent land transactions (and appropriations, for example for public works) are the subject of the Waitangi Tribunal Whanganui District Lands Inquiry (Wai 903) discussed previously.

Influences and Interests



Figure 2-15: Occasion at Te Korito with W E Smith family home pictured, opposite Kaiwhāiki. Ref: 1985.62.13 Whanganui Regional Museum, Whanganui.

Charles Smith took a keen interest in local affairs in Whanganui. He was involved in charitable works, for example the riverside section of his farm was a popular destination for business and church outings (Figure 2-15), and he contributed generously to memorial, sporting and patriotic causes. He was a lieutenant in the local Militia (No. 3 (Turakina) Company) during the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s (Lovegrove 1960-9, 52), a member of local Councils and Boards, for example the Whanganui Harbour Board (*Wanganui Herald* January 20, 1877), and of the Royal Colonial Institute, London and the New Zealand Institute (the Royal Society since 1933) from its inception in 1867 (1897, 1451, Drew 1896b). He was also a friend of WM founder and director Samuel Drew (Figure 2-16). His donation to the WM of eight volumes of the French theologian and philosopher Pluche's major work *Spectacle de la Nature* reflects a broad literary interest.

With a population of around 2,400 in the Wanganui Electoral District in 1864 (Statistics New Zealand 1864), the year Drew moved his family and jewellery business from Nelson to Whanganui, opportunities for meeting like-minded individuals with similar naturalist interests were possible. Charles Smith's friendship with Drew was mutually beneficial. Drew was a prolific collector of natural history specimens and items of ethnography and established a private museum in his business premises which was open to the public from 1885. He sold his collection to the city as the foundation for a public museum in 1892. Smith provided items for display in Drew's jewellery shop on Victoria Avenue, such as a mason bee nest in a tobacco pipe (*Wanganui Herald*, February 16, 1875), and became a regular donor to the WM from 1892 (Whanganui Regional Museum Collection Register 1892-1923).



Figure 2-16: Wanganui Public Museum, 1898, photographer A D Willis. Ref: 1802.3375 Whanganui Regional Museum, Whanganui.

They were both members of and on the committee of the Wanganui Acclimatisation Society at various times and Smith accompanied Drew on a number of specimen collecting trips

around NZ. These trips included one to Napier in 1895 to recover a stranded sunfish (Drew 1896c), which is still on display in the museum today, and one to the Bay of Islands in 1898 travelling with Drew, Drew's son, Henry, and Reverend A O Williams and returning with 3,352 fish specimens and the nationally significant missionary Williams' family barrel organ (*Wanganui Chronicle* July 23, 1898). He also travelled with Drew on a collecting trip to the East Coast of Australia in 1895 (Drew 1896b, 288). The donation of specimens and progress with displays at the WM were reported in the local press,

I have preserved, prepared and mounted a number of specimens, principally a collection of fishes, obtained by Mr Charles Smith and myself in New South Wales... An interesting collection of the larger land shells of New Caledonia, Mr Chas Smith... Six Australian weapons, Mr Chas Smith... Two fire sticks used by Australian natives in getting fire, Mr Chas Smith (*Wanganui Chronicle* February 4, 1896).

Several of the New Zealand birds and fishes, and some of the lizards and fishes obtained by Mr Charles Smith and myself in Australia, have been set up and placed in the caves (*Wanganui Chronicle* May 1, 1896).

Moreover, the composition of Smith's collection at PRM, together with documentary evidence, hint at the network of contacts he developed to facilitate the acquisition of items. The natural history items, for example, include specimens of rare NZ fauna such as the kākāpō *Strigops habroptilis* which although widespread at the time of Māori settlement of NZ, was restricted in the North Island to remote central forests by the 1880s (Lloyd and Powlesland 1994, 77), and the huia *Heteralocha acutirostris*, already rare by the time Smith arrived in NZ and extinct by 1907 (Lambert et al. 2009, 1). It appears likely Smith took an active role in hunting/collecting expeditions rather than obtaining his specimens solely from collectors who were hunting and/or sourcing birds for museum and private collections. The ethos of the time for obtaining examples of NZ's unique fauna for museum collections is captured by Drew's comment showing that collecting motivations were galvanised by scarcity of certain species,

I have been trying for a long time to get this pretty little duck for our Museum. It is very rare, and will soon, unfortunately, be extinct, like other specimens of our native birds. Mr Williams has been for several years on the look-out, and at last

secured one, which he kindly presented to the Museum ... it now makes our New Zealand ducks nearly complete.³⁴

Richard Taylor, CMS missionary to Whanganui, may also have influenced Charles Smith's interests. He was a keen observer of Māori language and customary practices, a naturalist with interests in linguistics, ethnology, botany, zoology and geology, and a collector. He was presented with and gathered natural history and Māori ethnographic items from Whanganui and further afield. His interests are evident today in a number of published books including *Te Ika a Maui* (1855) and *The Past and Present of New Zealand* (1868) as well as his journals, manuscripts and sketch books, a plant named in his honour, *Dactylanthus taylorii*, and an important collection of ethnographic items in the WM collection. In his journal he recorded that he dined at Charles Smith's home on a couple of occasions in 1866.³⁵

The Crystal Palace exhibition in London in 1851 was pivotal in inspiring anthropological thought of amateur scholars of Smith's generation (Harris 2012, Chapman 1985). He lived in London during this period (it is likely that he was still a student at University College School), so it can also be surmised that this Exhibition, with its displays of British expansion and empire, exposed him to the potential opportunities which emigration to the colonies might afford.

The earliest indication that Smith was collecting ethnographic material appears in the PRM Accession Register as follows,

Old label states 'Given by Takuira Tan [insert ?u] teka about the year 1862'.

This label, which unfortunately is no longer in the Related Documents File at the museum, refers to the heru (comb) 1923.87.219 (Figure 5-3). One record found in the Related Documents File is a fragment of correspondence between Smith and, by deduction, his sister Susan Collier, referring to events that occurred around 1869. From this it is clear Smith was obtaining material and transferring it directly to his sister in the England ten years after his initial arrival in NZ or earlier, as well as retaining it and accumulating a collection to display at his home in Whanganui, which was a common practice for collectors of the period, including his friend Drew. The letter, referring to a cloak ('mat') sent to his sister and now at the PRM (Figure 2-17), can be dated by the statements,

³⁴ *Wanganui Herald* July 10, 1900.

³⁵ Richard Taylor Journal, November 23 and 27, 1866, transcript, 2000.4.168 MS161/13 Jun 1865 – Sep 1868 Whanganui Regional Museum, Whanganui.

I had a visit from rather a great man, name Pehimana... he brought me a Maori tomahawk taken on the East Coast lately & said to have belonged to Te Kooti... The mat is a chief's mat taken in the same campaign...

and,

A few months ago (about March) when Topia joined our side & went to fight Te Kooti, Pehimana took 70 of his men to help. (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923 for 1923.87.159).



Figure 2-17: Korowai 1923.87.159.

The Te Kooti campaign took place during 1868 and 1869 both on the East Coast and central North Island of NZ, which provides an approximate date for the letter. This suggests he brought his ideas about collecting ethnographic material with him when he arrived in NZ and put them to good purpose once established at Te Korito, with opportunities presenting themselves in a number of ways, including visitors to his home, such as notable Ngā Rauru iwi leader Pehimana Manakore referred to here and described further below (*The Maori Messenger: Te Karere Maori* 1860).

His ethnographic sensibilities are further illustrated by the comparative material (old and new technology) he sent to his family in England,

Two fish hooks, the darker one faced with Paua shell, the hook of human bone - very old - the lighter one of mussel, of modern times. (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923 for 1923.87.121)

Similarly, the fibre samples (Figure 2-18) and partially constructed textiles (Figure 2-19 and 2-20) in the PRM collection reinforce the idea that he was interested in illustrating technological rather than only decorative qualities of the Māori material he was collecting. Some of these items are described in notes by Charles Smith that accompany the collection,

Some muka or scraped flax as prepared by Maori for making their wearing mats. C.S. [1923.87.178] (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923)

4. A broad band of ornamental work, made of prepared & dyed flax, meant for a girth for a saddle, but not completed. [1923.87.167, 168]

5. A small hank of flax. (Muka) the dark dye is called Karawai [korowai] [1923.87.183]. The red is Toatoa [1923.87.181, 184].

6. A larger hank of muka prepared for weaving [1923.87.179]. (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923)



Figure 2-18: Muka samples 1923.87.182, 178.2, 178.4.



Figure 2-19: Unfinished kete (bag) 1923.87.175 described by collector as “Dressed flax made by Maori woman at Putiki”.



Figure 2-20: Unfinished parawai 1923.87.158.

This view is further strengthened by the range of tattooing pigments and pigment making materials he forwarded to England. This example is expounded by James Edge-Partington in 1898 when he documents the composition of a type of Māori tattooing pigment, the description of which he had obtained directly from Charles Smith while visiting Whanganui at that time.³⁶

A reply from George Dexter in Papeete, Tahiti, responding to Smith's request for the 'Pukapuka names' of items he had collected in the Cook Islands, implies that the items were more than decorative curiosities for Charles Smith and he wanted to communicate their name and function when he passed them on to his family or the WM (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923). George Dexter, of Dexter and Co., merchants in pearls and copra (Hawaiian Historical Society 1904), died not long (three years) after this exchange, when his vessel *Tahitienne* was wrecked in a storm and he was eaten by sharks (*San Francisco Call*, April 9, 1906)! The warmth of his response in the letter to Smith reflects that a friendship had been established between them and it is very likely Dexter was instrumental in facilitating Smith's wishes to travel beyond the tourist trail navigated by the Union Steamship Company in the Cook Islands, with collecting in mind.³⁷

Although it would be tempting to conclude that Charles Smith was a member of the emerging Victorian anthropological elite who had met Pitt Rivers at meetings of the Ethnological Society of London, this seems unlikely. He was not a member of the Society,³⁸ but rather seemed to have focussed his attention when in London on the Royal Colonial Institute. His membership of the Institute at some point following its foundation in 1868 provided influences that reinforced his collecting pursuits. Institute events he attended included evenings (Conversazione) at the South Kensington Museum (which became the V&A); for example, in 1882 (1882, 404). In addition the Institute's aims also included the pursuit of intellectual endeavours relative to colonial and Indian affairs and the development

³⁶ "The pigment was a mixture of lampblack and either woman's milk or fat. A dog starved for the purpose was fed upon this. His excreta were remixed and buried in these boxes until wanted. Mr. Chas. Smith" Edge-Partington (1969, 173).

³⁷ "Among the more important accession of the year are those presented by Mr. Charles Smith collected by him during his recent trip to the Islands of the Pacific. Mr Smith visited these islands, several of which are uninhabited, in a small trading vessel, and thus being out of the ordinary track of steamers, was able to procure many valuable and rare curiosities which could not otherwise have been obtained" *Wanganui Herald* November 12, 1903, 7.

³⁸ Sarah Walpole, Archivist and Photographic Curator, Royal Anthropological Institute, e-mail message to author, June 24, 2014.

of a library to which Smith was a regular contributor.³⁹ His generosity with library donations was recognised by the Institute's librarian J R Boose (1893-4, 403) in a paper read to the association in 1894,

I cannot but acknowledge the kindness of Mr. Charles Smith, of Wanganui, who on arrival in England last year placed the catalogue of his own library at my disposal, in order that I might select from it any works which were not already in the Institute Library. By his kindness many works which were published in the Colony were added to the library, and so vastly increased the importance of the New Zealand section.

There is no evidence that Charles Smith was influenced by anthropological scholarship during the mid- to late nineteenth century, or by Darwin's seminal work published in 1857. He was neither a member of nor a contributor to learned society publications of the period, such as the Ethnological Society of London or the Royal Anthropological Institute. The only contribution I have identified was a paper "On the utilization of mineral springs in N. Zealand for the production of ornamental objects in stone" read at the Annual Meeting of the Wellington Philosophical Society on February 20, 1895 and noted in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* (Smith 1895).⁴⁰ While he does not appear to have corresponded with Pitt Rivers, he would have been familiar with his ethnographic work, as Pitt Rivers' collection would have been centre stage at the above mentioned 1882 event, being at that time on loan to the South Kensington Museum.

Charles Smith's Collection

Charles Smith was principally interested in Māori material culture, but he also acquired historical items including medals, currency and books, ethnographic items and natural history specimens from Sri Lanka, India, the Caribbean and North America en route to England (1881, 1883-6, 1893-94, 1907) as well as during his travels in the Pacific and Australia in 1895, 1898 and 1902.⁴¹ Although the Charles Smith collection at the PRM consists predominantly of NZ Māori material, it also includes items from the Pacific, Australia, North

³⁹ For example, as noted in the *Wanganui Chronicle* September 17, 1894, 2 and in the *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, 1907, 38(6), 424 "Donations to the Library".

⁴⁰ Although unpublished, the original is available from the archives at Te Papa.

⁴¹ *Wanganui Herald* June 26, 1884, 2; December 17, 1894, 2; September 12, 1895, 2; November 18, 1902, 5; July 31, 1903, 2; May 7, 1907, 2; *Wanganui Chronicle* September 25, 1893, 2; December 17, 1894, 2; December 11, 1903, 7; May 2, 1907, 5; *Taranaki Herald* July 6, 1883, 2; *New Zealand Herald* April 15, 1903, 3.

America, Africa, Asia and Europe as well as a number of natural history items (see Table 2.1). The original collection was augmented with a further four Māori items, one tewhatewha, two bailers and a wooden club, in 1947 by Collier's wife (1923.87.363-366), and three Māori fishhooks and a paddle by Charles Smith's great nephew Wilfred Steer in 1951 (1951.4.2-5).

Table 2-1: Geographical origin of items in the Charles Smith collection Pitt Rivers Museum.

Accession Number	Total	Māori NZ	Other people and places	Natural History
Objects 1923.87.1-374 1951.4.2-10	378	268 Ngā Paerangi 15 Whanganui 4 NZ 249	95 Pacific Islands 70 Australia 6 North America 4 Africa 3 China 4 Sri Lanka 2 England & Europe 6	15 NZ 14 Pacific Islands 1
Photographs 1998.174.31.2, 243.3.1-6, 4.1-10, 5.1-4, 10.6, 13.1- 10, 15, 17.1-3, 18.1-2, 35, 36.1-3, 245.198, 260.24	78	46 Kaiwhāiki 7 Whanganui 10 NZ 29	8 Whanganui 3 NZ 5	24 Whanganui 10 NZ 14
Archives 1923.87.*	6	0	6	0
Total	462	314	109	39

The Museum: Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

Europeans have knowledge, and the rest of the world has objects?

Walter Mignolo⁴²

The social and material network that is the Pitt Rivers Museum is the final constituent of the research assemblage to be considered. This museum (Figure 2-21) was founded in 1884 when Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers donated a collection of around 20,000 objects to the University of Oxford, which, Chapman (1985, 43) asserts, “placed

⁴² A provocative question from renowned semiotician and literary theorist Walter Mignolo to initiate a conversation with Jette Sandahl, director Museum of Copenhagen, during ‘The Future of Ethnographic Museums: A Public Conversation’, Critical Curatorship Workshop, Critical Heritage Studies, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, May 22, 2013.

anthropology in Britain for the first time within an academic setting.” The extant ethnography collections of the Ashmolean were to join Pitt Rivers’ collection in 1886, when archaeological and ethnographic materials were exchanged between the institutions.⁴³ The Cambridge Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology was founded in the same year.⁴⁴



Figure 2-21: Oxford University Museum of Natural History and Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, England.

It has been claimed (Chapman 1985, 16) that Pitt Rivers’ ethnographic collecting was inspired by the Great Exhibition of 1851, with subsequent military postings, dealers and auctions houses, as well as fellow members of the Anthropological Institute, providing opportunities for acquiring items (ibid., 17). Pitt Rivers used the objects in his collection to support his scientific view of anthropology, organising them into typological sequences or series to illustrate the evolution of design and technology “prioritising form and function over

⁴³ “In a public lecture, given on 20 November 1884, [Ashmolean Keeper A. J.] Evans expressed his aim to make the Ashmolean a museum of ‘greater archaeological than anthropological interest.’ He outlined his plans to carry out a series of exchanges with the University Museum, the Bodleian, the Taylor Galleries and the Pitt-Rivers in order to reunite the Ashmolean’s core collections” (Pitt Rivers Museum 1995).

⁴⁴ It was then named the University’s Museum of General and Local Archaeology, despite that, of the 2,350 or so artefacts comprising the founding collection, 1,500 were from Fiji and were ethnographic in nature (Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 2014).

cultural origin and age” (Larson 2008, 91) (Figure 2-22). Pitt Rivers considered geographic origin “as a research tool in a place of educational value... ‘useless’” (Chapman 1985, 23).

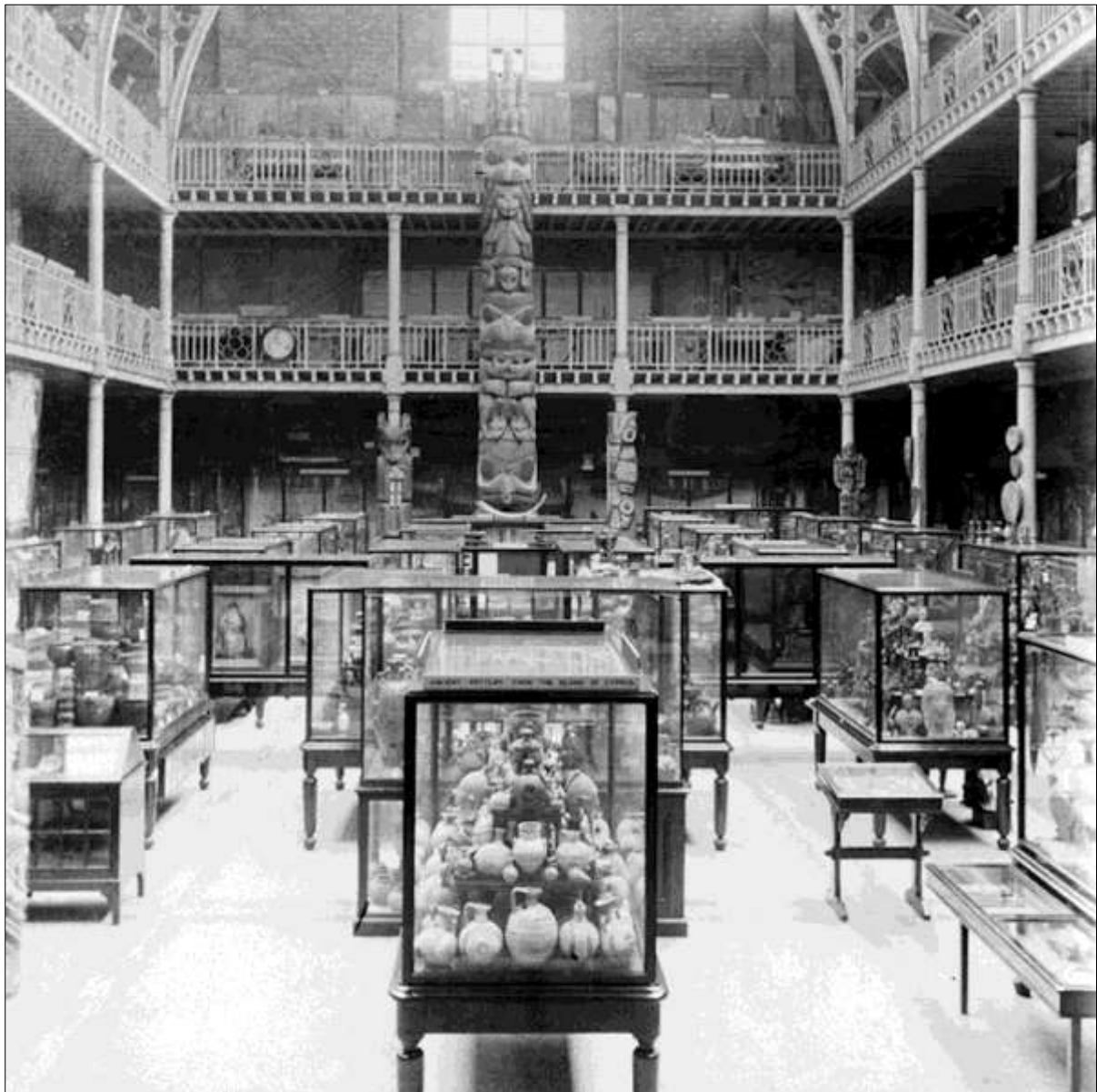


Figure 2-22: Pitt Rivers Museum, early twentieth century. Ref: 1998.267.264.1.1.72 Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

His collection had originally been lent to the Bethnal Green Museum, an extension of the South Kensington Museum, in 1874. It was transferred to the main South Kensington Museum in 1878. There displays retained Pitt Rivers’ arrangement and were the main attraction for the next five years until museum authorities requested he pass control of his collection to the museum if it was to remain at that location (Chapman 1985, 34). This resulted in Pitt Rivers offering the collection to Oxford University in 1882 (*ibid.*, 35).

Role of Pitt Rivers Museum in the Development of the Discipline of Anthropology

The rise of ethnographic collecting in Western Europe was closely associated with the projects of colonialism ... and imperialism ... and the development of the professional field of anthropology.

Rodney Harrison, Sarah Byrne and Anne Clarke (2013, 8)

It is useful to briefly describe the developments in anthropology that the PRM and staff have played a central role in. Pitt Rivers' collecting occurred at a time when a major transition in the history of anthropology was taking place. Stocking (1987) outlines the historical contexts around the development of anthropology institutions and evolutionary ideas during the nineteenth century and identifies the "currents of thought" that combined to form the discipline of ethnology by 1850; the available evidence about non-European people, the impact of the Great Exhibition of 1851 on thinking about the progress of European civilisation, the Darwinian revolution relating to human cultural development, and the formation of a Victorian cultural ideology in the pre-Darwinian nineteenth century (ibid., 239). The Ethnological Society of London, founded in 1843, arose from this, with the subsequent splinter group the Anthropological Society of London existing in opposition from 1863. The latter was explicitly racist while the former purportedly espoused humanitarian principles and supported Darwinian theory (Chapman 1985, 30). Over the next decade the protagonists of these societies maintained separatism and sought supremacy of viewpoint over the means by which to approach the study of humanity (Stocking 1987, 255). Resolution came in the form of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1871. By this time the idea of a monogenetic origin of man was accepted, as were human antiquity and the progressive nature of civilisation (ibid., 258).

Pitt Rivers originally offered his collection to the British Museum but it was declined because of the conditions Pitt Rivers wished to impose upon the gift so it was then offered to the University of Oxford (Chapman 1985, 35). At Oxford it was planned to house Pitt Rivers' collection in an annex of the University Museum⁴⁵ then the home of the University's natural history collections, with a number of conditions regarding its display and expansion determined by Pitt Rivers. Debate over the inclusion of cultural material in a natural history

⁴⁵ Today the University Museum of Natural History.

museum, when the university's Ashmolean Museum already encompassed this function, were understandably protracted (Larson 2008, 91). Support for a separate museum of ethnography from a number of University scientists however, notably George Rolleston,⁴⁶ enshrined within the university museums of Oxford a demarcated archaeology and art focus at the Ashmolean Museum, while the University Museum became the authority on ethnography collections. This was based upon Pitt Rivers' collection but also inheriting the ethnographic materials from the Ashmolean, the Bodleian Library and the Taylor Galleries (Chapman 1985, 37). This included items from the founding Tradescants' collection and Forster's James Cook Collection. Interestingly, Pitt Rivers' archaeological material, which comprised 54.3 per cent of the overall collection (Pitt Rivers Museum 2009a), was retained in his collection at the University Museum despite the museum's ethnographic focus. The argument to support this was that its absence would have made Pitt Rivers' typological series incomplete.

At this time a number of Oxford University natural scientists wished to enhance the research capability of the University, particularly in anthropology (Larson 2008, 86). Their support of Pitt Rivers and the addition of his collection to the University Museum was purely a political move, based upon scientific thought of some at the time, with opposition from those who supported the study of culture as a part of the classical studies discipline rather than science. As Larson points out, "negotiations concerning physical resources - in this case, collections and the buildings and facilities they required - were in effect, negotiations regarding intellectual demarcations" (ibid., 87), which in turn went on to shape anthropology as a discipline at Oxford.

Indeed, Pitt Rivers explicitly opposed the amalgamation of his objects with the antiquities of the Ashmolean, as this conflicted with his scientific approach to the organisation of his collections; an anthropological approach for which he had the support of Rolleston and others (ibid.). Establishment of Pitt Rivers' collection at the University Museum founded a new Ethnographic Department, with Pitt Rivers' focus on his collection organised by typologies, as was then the recognised classification system for natural specimens, to present an 'evolution' of human ideas. He argued that culture should be understood as nature was. The maintenance of his typological arrangement was reinforced in the Deed of Gift to the museum, as was the appointment of a lecturer in anthropology in 1884

⁴⁶ First Linacre Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at Oxford (Obituary Notices of Fellows Deceased 1881, xxiv).

which established this academic field at Oxford University. Edward Tylor was hired to fill this post. Meanwhile at Cambridge University it took another thirteen years for a similar position to be established (Stocking 1987, 265).

Henry Balfour⁴⁷ (1905, 692) described Pitt Rivers' ideas about the ordering of ethnographic objects using typological gradations to illustrate human evolution and developmentalism,

objects of like form or function from all over the world were associated to form series, each of which illustrated as completely as possible the varieties under which a given art, industry or appliance occurred ... to demonstrate, either actually or hypothetically, the origin, development, and continuity of the material arts, and to illustrate the variations whereby the more complex and specialized forms belonging to the higher conditions of culture have been evolved by successive slight improvements from the simple, rudimentary and generalized forms of a primitive culture.

Development of this new field, with its inherent broad-ranging subject matter, created competition with existing disciplines such as classics and philosophy, resulting in anthropology at Oxford focussing on the study of 'primitive societies' (Larson 2008, 97). The value of the collection for teaching was described by Thomas Penniman⁴⁸ in the Museum Annual Report for 1941 cited by Petch (2010),

The Pitt-Rivers Collection aims to show the origin, development, geographical distribution and variation of the principal arts and industries of mankind from the earliest times to the age of mass production, and the collections are used both for teaching these arts and industries and their ethnological significance, and for teaching the General Ethnology of the areas of the world. Our archaeological collections do not conflict with those of the Ashmolean. Archaeology is past Ethnology, and its earlier part up to the invention of agriculture is fittingly taught here, in close connexion with the Department of Geology.

Indeed, as Larson notes (*ibid.*), and Conn (1998) agrees, Oxford anthropology lagged behind anthropological thought elsewhere until the late 1960s, with the focus on objects in museums rather than concerns with social relations and fieldwork. Peers, however, counters this when she cautions that we must "bear in mind that much of the lit[erature] on PRM is inaccurate: we have never displayed PR's typological sequences, for instance, which most of the

⁴⁷ First curator at PRM 1890–1929.

⁴⁸ Second curator at PRM 1939–1963.

publications get wrong.”⁴⁹ I concur as, from a brief survey of literature for this study, it does appear that most publications focus upon an analysis of Pitt Rivers’ classification system without reference to the way in which objects are displayed today, where cross-cultural comparisons of technologies rather than any evolutionary sequence are emphasised. As staff assert, displays are a celebration of the creativity of the peoples of the world.⁵⁰

Stocking (1985b) provides a succinct comparison of Pitt Rivers’ approach versus that of his American contemporary, anthropologist Franz Boas, with the latter arranging objects contextually “to convey a message of liberal relativism” (ibid., 8) rather than in linear arrangements to show evolution of form. But, as Stocking continues, they both became frustrated “by the pragmatics of museum practice, and by the perhaps inherent contradictions of museum purpose” (ibid.). Boas thus became aware of the limitations of museum anthropology (Jacknis 1985).

By World War II “museum anthropology [was] stranded in an institutional, methodological, and theoretical backwater” (Stocking 1985,9) with anthropology moving into the university and the abandonment of object based study (Conn 1998, Henare 2005). Quoting Smithsonian curator William Sturtevant (1969), Stocking (ibid.) discusses the trend from the 1930s to the 1960s when field ethnographers no longer collected objects and museum acquisitions were obtained instead from untrained people. Collections also became increasingly inaccessible to researchers and were often inadequately cared for.

But then things changed dramatically. There was an evolution in exhibition practice from the 1960s with a push towards professional accreditation (as described by Nancy Laurie 1981, cited by Stocking 1985, 10), which advocated new museum technology, with engaging design methods such as dioramas, the use of colour in displays, essentially “to stave off ‘museum fatigue’.” Museum audiences however, remained predominantly “white, upper-middle-class, and above average in education” (ibid.). Since the late 1960s source communities “have come forward as actors in the world of museum anthropology” (ibid., 11) with the decolonisation of museum practice providing new challenges (Barringer and Flynn 1998, Clifford 1997, 2004, Karp and Lavine 1991). NZ responded with *Te Māori* (Mead

⁴⁹ Peers e-mail message to author November 2, 2012.

⁵⁰ Jeremy Coote interview November 15, 2013.

1986).⁵¹ This has not been easy for the PRM to realise, however. As Coote states, “the difficulty in the Pitt Rivers is to find the space to, in a meaningful way, [provide] an insight into one particular or any number of world views.”⁵²

Since the 1980s, “the material turn in anthropology has been particularly influential” through recognising that objects (like persons) have agency (Harris and O’Hanlon 2013, 8) and a role in social relationships (Hicks 2010, 64). Authority over ownership and management of objects in Western museum collections has also been questioned through, what Stocking (1985, 11) describes as, the “emergence of new national consciousness... [and] heightened domestic radicalism.” A new museology arose in response to a perceived need for the role of museums in society to change (McCall and Gray 2013, Vergo 1989). This new museology is the fundamental change that has occurred in museums in the second half of the twentieth century, aptly described by Stephen Weil in 1999 in the title of his article ‘From Being About Something to Being For Somebody’. A second wave of this new museology (Boast 2011, 59) has followed, which is having an impact with regard to the meaning of museum objects to their communities of origin and the role of museums in shaping community identity and assisting community development through engagement and shared management of heritage items. For ethnographic museums, Rassool (2009, 108) describes this as the need to push beyond ethnographic stereotypes to challenge the static way cultures are presented and represented, specifically with regard to representation, which I aim to investigate with this study reconnecting Ngā Paerangi with their taonga in the Charles Smith Collection.

In Oxford, museum ethnography as a taught subject is first mentioned in the PRM Annual Report for 1985-6. This may have been in response to developments outside Oxford, as Petch (2010) notes, “For some time the British Museum had had a Department of Ethnography, and the Museum Ethnographers Group (the professional organization for members of museums staff engaged in ethnography in Britain) had been established in 1976.” A further response was the formation of the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography in 1989, consisting of the PRM, the Institute of Biological Anthropology, and the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology (Annual Report for the Museum cited in

⁵¹ In NZ, involvement of source communities in museums has generally been described within the temporal framework of *Te Maori*, an exhibition that toured the US and NZ from 1984 to 1987, after which there was a major realignment of museum processes, resulting in indigenous advocacy and self-determinism.

⁵² Coote, interview.

Owen 2006). The last link to ethnology at the PRM was removed in the late 1990s when a lecture series titled Ethnology, taught in the Geography Department and “based on the old idea that place/climate/environment influences culture”, was discontinued.⁵³

Since 1884, donations to the PRM have resulted in a collection today of around “300,000 objects, a similar number of historical photographs, plus sound recordings, manuscripts and library.”⁵⁴ The current thematic display method at the PRM is a distinct feature of this museum. It retains the original organisation of the displays, although it is no longer influenced by Pitt Rivers’ ideas about the evolution of design; rather, as stated above, it celebrates creativity and innovation.

Pitt Rivers Museum Today

Behind the scenes in many ethnographic museums, a post-colonial intellectual refurbishment has in fact often already been conducted, even if it may not be fully apparent to the public.

Clare Harris and Michael O’Hanlon (2013, 10)



Figure 2-23: Pitt Rivers Museum, November, 2013.

⁵³ Peers e-mail message to author February 10, 2015.

⁵⁴ Coote, interview.

In recent decades, consideration of issues at the PRM relating to rightful ownership or circumstances of acquisition, control of representation of meaning, and ‘appropriate’ care over the items in its collection has contributed to developments in museology and innovations in curatorial praxis in a number of ways. Through exhibitions, staff have produced thematic displays of topical issues, such as the recent exhibition *Transformations, the Art of Recycling*, which used the museum collections alongside work by British artists, makers and designers to celebrate “human creativity through recycling and re-use” (Lloyd and Powlesland 1994), or explored issues of cultural identity, such as the 2014 photograph exhibition *In the Shadow of the Pyramids* by visiting artist Laura El-Tantawy. Furthermore, via the museum’s comprehensive related events programme, such as the 2014 visual performance by African artist Nathalie Anguezomo Mba Bikoro referencing the museum and collection, as well as a monthly event *Saturday Spotlight* focussing upon the relevance of the museum displays today, public programmes collectively address responsiveness to authority over what collections can say to us. But the most significant advancements for source communities have been those resulting from successful significant funding bids providing online access to collection information, as well as those that have engaged directly with source communities, such as *The Tibet Album* (Harris 2012) and the *Blackfoot Shirts Project* (Brown, Peers, and Richardson 2012). The literature on this work is expanding (Brown and Peers 2013, Krmpotich and Peers 2013, Morton and Oteyo Forthcoming, Peers 2013).

Museum object records are one of the means by which a direct connection can be made between a person and an item or group of items. Contemporary museum standards ensure some level of documentation accompanies objects as they travel from initial offer through accession processes within museum acquisition procedures. This has not always been the case at many museums. The PRM does, however, appear to have been one of the leaders in this field. As Coote states, “the quality of the documentation, the quality of the record keeping, the quality of maintaining and adding to the documentation has been pretty exemplary right from the start.”⁵⁵ This supports the claim by Petch, resulting from the *Other Within Project*, when she undertook a detailed analysis of the museum’s documentation procedures and concluded “The Pitt Rivers Museum has always recorded certain key facts for each artefact, ... the Museum is believed to have some of the best documented ethnographic collections in the world” (Petch 2009).

⁵⁵ Coote, interview.

Peers does however warn that “nothing published really reveals our ‘work with communities’ approach, we are still typecast in the Victorian era”⁵⁶, referring here to secondary literature by scholars outside the museum, and with which her colleagues Harris and O’Hanlon concur above regarding work behind the scenes at the museum. As a Canadian, Peers has had different experiences with source communities than her colleagues, having worked with, and been directly confronted by, issues that affect source communities in North America. She brought this experience with her when she joined the PRM staff in 1998. She sums up this aspect of her experience as follows,

just thinking a way about the process of reclamation in aboriginal societies, of reclaiming autonomy and health and kinship and healthy family relationships and sovereignty and personal sovereignty, and the relationship that those things take to objects was something that I don’t think anybody here on staff had ever had presented to them in quite so direct a way.⁵⁷

Peers has translated this experience into practice at the museum with successful significant funding bids enabling her to work with a number of North American First Nations communities directly both in England at the PRM and in their home locales as testified by projects involving Blackfoot, Kainai and Haida communities (Brown and Peers 2006, Brown, Peers, and Richardson 2012, Krmpotich and Peers 2013). One recent outcome was *the Great Box* project where Haida artists Jaalen Edenshaw and Gwaai Edenshaw replicated a masterpiece of Haida First Nations art in the museum’s collection during a month visit to Oxford in 2014 (Figure 2-24).

The PRM has also been at the forefront of current debate on the future of ethnographic museums hosting a conference on this theme in July 2013, which marked the culmination of a five-year collaborative research project funded by the European Commission involving 14 ethnographic museums from across Europe (Stirling 2004). These museums were challenged to “‘redefine their priorities’ in response to ‘an ever more globalizing and multicultural world’” and debate what the future of ethnographic museums might be (Harris and O’Hanlon 2013, 8).

Harris and O’Hanlon (2013) have described the range of issues facing ethnographic museums in Europe today. Engagement with indigenous communities and addressing colonial legacies of acquisition are only two of these issues, suggesting that experience may have

⁵⁶ Peers e-mail message to author November 2, 2012.

⁵⁷ Laura Peers interview November 12, 2013.

disinclined curators to undertake activities “that recall the involvement of museums with the colonial project” (ibid., 10). Although others suggest a more radical trust is required for genuinely collaborative projects which “may help museums to become more aware of their legacies of prejudice” to thus become spaces for democratic exchange (Lynch and Alberti 2010, 30). This would enable museums to respond effectively to their often diverse constituencies to maintain relevance today. Reconciling this with the need to fulfil the often political agendas and requirements of their funders can, however, be challenging (Harris and O’Hanlon 2013, 11). Harris and O’Hanlon (ibid., 12) conclude that the internet and thus the “digitally distributed museum” may be the ethnographic museum’s saviour in addressing the limitations of their physical manifestation in a globalised and multicultural world.



Figure 2-24: *Learning from the Masters: the Great Box Project*, September 2014, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, <http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/museumresearch.html>.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the three constituent parts of a research assemblage based on historical data that I will use subsequently as a framework in the analysis of the historical and contemporary relationships between them. One constituent, Ngā Paerangi, recognise that their uninterrupted occupation of lands around Kaiwhāiki has given them strength and unity as a people and that their strategic location along the Whanganui River provided advantages during the nineteenth century, including proximity to the fledgling Whanganui settlement at

the river mouth. At that time a mutually beneficial relationship was developed with another constituent in this assemblage, their “Pākehā”, the farmer Charles Smith who was their neighbour on the other side of the river, within their tribal boundaries. Smith was comfortable within the settler colony but was equally so with his Māori neighbours. This is reflected by the items he received from Māori leaders and his acknowledgement of the meaning inherent in the associated ritual gifting processes of reciprocity and ongoing commitment to a relationship. With the transference of these gifts to family in England and subsequently to the third assemblage constituent, the PRM, the kaitiakitanga responsibilities of Ngā Paerangi over these have re-emerged in the reassembling of these constituents in the present. At the same time the social and material network that is a university museum in Oxford, where evidence of the results of the relationship between ethnographic collecting and colonisation are clearly visible, is repositioning itself today to re-engage with descendant communities.

In the following two chapters, the analysis of research findings expands knowledge about these assemblage constituents. I also describe the recent convergence of participants through the re-discovery of the collection in 2006 and the reconnection of taonga with the source community in 2013 within the constraints of an anthropology museum in England.

3 **Disassembling a Heritage Network— People and Things, Events and Effects**

And this is us today trying to struggle to get those taonga [histories] back, to reclaim historical events through research.

Merekanara Ponga¹

This research contributes to the task of developing ways for tangata whenua groups to negotiate relationships with museums that hold collections of their ancestral heritage when they are geographically remote from these collections. Using assemblage theory to scaffold my argument, findings from research on the heritage network described in the previous chapter, comprising a collector and his collection, a tribal community, and a museum, will be presented in the chapters that follows. While the catalyst for this research is an individual, Charles Smith, the collection of indigenous material heritage he gathered, and the network of people, places and events that resulted, I am particularly interested in a number of entities that can be identified from their disassembly. These entities are the specific temporalities and places, manifestations of power, agency, both human and material, and the principles and values that fall out of this network through the process of disassembling it. This in turn will foreground opportunities for relationship-building between Māori source communities and geographically remote museums. In this chapter, the findings from archival research frame the context for the case study defining historical temporal and spatial factors, which, together with an overview of the collection, open a window into the past life of the items in the Charles Smith collection for the source community and the museum today.

Charles Smith and His Collection

Introduction

An understanding of Charles Smith's background, interests and influences clarifies his relationships with Ngā Paerangi people and informs analysis of his ethnographic collecting practices. To recap, he settled at Kaiwhāiki on the Whanganui River during a turbulent period in that region's history, when war had recently broken out in neighbouring Taranaki,

¹ Ponga, interview.

affecting both the Whanganui River Māori and the European settlers at the river's mouth. However, he quickly befriended the Māori community he was living alongside, and seems to have had a special relationship with leaders of this community, from whom he obtained numerous items of material culture. He appears to have become proficient in the Māori language. He employed local people, both Māori and Pākehā, to work on his farm. He also became a firm friend of WM founder Samuel Drew, accompanying him on collecting trips and often donating to the newly constituted WM. He was a great traveller, exploring Asia and the Pacific, America and parts of Europe, where he collected items of material culture and natural history. He also returned to England on a number of occasions and for extended periods up until the year before his death in 1908. Over a period of nearly fifty years he sent hundreds of ethnographic items and natural history specimens to his family in England and elsewhere and some of these now form the Charles Smith collection at the PRM.

Research and Analysis

Evidence from historical sources enabled a narrative to develop that identified Charles Smith, his position within the culture of a mid-nineteenth-century settler colony, his acceptance within the rohe of Ngā Paerangi on the Whanganui River, and his relationships with the original owners of the items he collected. The history of collecting in the nineteenth century and Smith's friendship with Drew provide a framework for understanding Smith's collecting zeal.

Regional newspapers (in particular the *Wanganui Herald* and *Wanganui Chronicle*) for the period 1859 to 1908 were accessed to find information about Charles Smith. This included his immigration to NZ, donations to the WM, travel outside NZ, field trips accompanying Drew, association memberships, charitable works, and leisure pursuits and interests. Various news items also provided some information about his political views, his farm activities at Te Korito, and a few sources for the material culture he collected. Online resources enabled a background picture of Charles Smith's family in England to be developed. Individuals named in the PRM Collection Catalogue and the role they played in Smith's travels and collecting were also identified in some cases.

Whanganui Museum Collection

As described in chapter two, Charles Smith was a regular donor of items to the WM between 1892 and 1907. A full record of his contributions to this museum is not possible, however, owing to deficiencies in the institution's records. Smith's donations to Drew's private collection (accumulated between 1864 and 1892) before the acquisition of the collection by the city and establishment of the WM in 1892 cannot be identified, as no records have survived of this collection. However, one reference was found that described Smith displaying an item in Drew's storefront before the establishment of the museum.² Additionally, there is very little surviving correspondence relating to museum acquisitions before 1930.

Initial appraisal of the WM's Collection Management System (CMS) identified Charles Smith as a moderate donor, one of around 7,000 individual donors in the museum's one hundred and twenty-year history, of whom the vast majority donated fewer than ten items. However, items donated to the museum can also be traced through local newspaper reports, WM curators' reports in the newspaper (the original museum reports are missing), and information from inscriptions on objects in the collection. These show that in fact Charles Smith donated a substantial number of items, at least 128, between 1892 and 1907. A search using the museum CMS (Vernon) in conjunction with newspaper references provided the following numerical data about Smith's donations, their original provenance and current location status in the museum collection (Table 3-1).

Many items donated by Charles Smith could not be located. The curator's report in the *Wanganui Chronicle* (Peers and Brown 2003a, Drew 1896a), for example, recorded the donation by Smith of "all the volumes of Captain Cook's travels published after each voyage, the last volume bearing date 1784". I viewed the library and rare book collection inventories and these volumes could not be located. The only volume of this type that was recorded and could be physically located in the collection was *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* with an inscription "To the Memory of Captain James Cook" from Cook's third voyage published around 1780 with an accompanying volume of engravings, both of which have no acquisition data.

² *Wanganui Herald* February 16, 1875, 2.

Table 3-1: Charles Smith donations to Whanganui Museum collection.

	Māori/New Zealand			Pacific		Australia	West Indies	Sri Lanka		UK/Europe		North America	China	India	Total
	c	n	a	c	n	c	c	c	n	c	a	n	c	n	all
On CMS/ location known	3			2				2			4		1		12
On CMS/ location unknown	2	16	1	12	15		3		9	2	2			12	74
Reported in newspaper/ not on CMS/ location unknown	17	1		1	3	8				5	6	1			42
Total	22	17	1	15	18	8	3	2	9	7	12	1	1	12	128

c = cultural heritage, n = natural heritage, a = archival material

For the Pacific and World collections at WM, records indicate Smith donated 88 items. Of these only six have been identified and physically located. I viewed all items with no acquisition history from geographic locations identified in acquisition data for items donated by Smith, to try to determine whether any had originated from him. These locations are Mangaia, Ma'uke, 'Atiu, Penrhyn, Mitiaro, Rarotonga, Manuwai (Manuae), Pukapuka, Manihiki, Rakahanga all in the Cook Islands; Mangareva (Gambiers) in French Polynesia; Tonga; New Caledonia; Sri Lanka; Bombay, Delhi, Bengal, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Benares, Calcutta (all India); the West Indies; and the Rocky Mountains in North America. No further items in either the Pacific or World collections, however, could be definitely attributed to Charles Smith.

Available records indicate that Charles Smith donated 22 taonga Māori items to the WM collection between 1892 and 1902 of which only three have been physically located to date. Although they are considerably fewer in number, the records suggest that the collection comprises a similar range of tools and containers to that in the Charles Smith collection in the PRM. With the exception of a pair of paraerae (sandals), however, the textile component is absent. This could be explained by the poor survival of museum archives and acquisition data

but also reflects the generally poor documentation of collections, even when there are records. For example, 75 kete (bags) are listed in the museum register and collection acquisition data between 1892 and 1961, whereas collection records at 2010, following a significant and systematic collection documentation project on the kete collection, identify 88 kete that can be linked to collection records for the same period, as well as a further 78 which have no provenance data or cannot be linked to any existing acquisition records. It may never be known how many, if any, of these kete originated from Kaiwhāiki or were donated to the museum by Smith, but it is tempting to suggest that he may have been donating textiles to the museum that were never documented and are therefore absent from current museum records.

A number of items in the museum's archives collection provided first-hand glimpses of life in Whanganui during Charles Smith's times as well as portrayals of some of the people with whom he associated. For example, Cornelius Burnett described Charles Smith's neighbour, Captain Smith, as,

a pushy and wealthy man, [who] had made for himself quite a name in those days. We viewed his lands and buildings, his paddocks and fields of grain, his stock and improvements of all kinds ... The late Captain Smith, a retired sea captain, was a genial warm-hearted sailor, with whose memory is mingled, however, some traces of eccentricity ... he had a long ladder placed against his tallest chimney, up which, from sheer force of habit, I suppose, he would 'Masthead' his troublesome and disobedient farm servants (Burnett 1920, 27).

Captain Smith had a large family and one of his sons, William Edgar, became Charles Smith's farm manager. His stepdaughter, Edith Smith, who donated family records to the WM, recalled living with her family in a house on the riverbank near Charles Smith's home (their house is depicted in Figure 2-15). The records include a brief but evocative personal account by Edith Smith of Charles Smith plus several photographs of him, his house at Te Korito and farm. The photograph of his house (Figure 3-1) can be compared to that in the PRM collection (see Figure 2-12), which was taken from a similar aspect a number of years earlier. The event at Charles Smith's farm (Figure 2-15) was one of a number held there, as this was often a venue for business and community group outings, such as the Wanganui Guards' and the Trinity Wesleyan and Baptists Sunday Schools' annual picnic.³

Speech notes in the WM collection by George Frederic Allen, surveyor for the provincial government, describe life in and around the town of Whanganui from the early

³ *Wanganui Herald* January 16, 1902, 2; *Wanganui Herald* January 23, 1895, 2.

1860s, including a visit to Kaiwhāiki. He notes the houses of 11 Europeans living along the river north of the town, with Charles Smith being the farthest from town, as well as the difficulties encountered accessing these farms by land,

The River-bank Road on the Town-side was formed as far as Captain Smith's opposite Upukongaro [sic]. On the left bank there was no road at all beyond Nixon's... Much of the settler's up-river traffic was performed by canoe (Allen n.d.).



Figure 3-1: Charles Smith (on right) outside his house at Te Korito, Kaiwhāiki, ca.1900. Ref: 1985.62.10 Whanganui Regional Museum, Whanganui.

After the wars of the 1860s, Allen surveyed large blocks of land in the Waitōtara valley and on the Whanganui River (Kirk 1993). In 1883 he surveyed Charles Smith's land at Te Korito. During this visit he recalls crossing the Whanganui River to Kaiwhāiki,

then the abode of King Maoris. When I and my chainman were going up the bank, we were stopped by a Maori sentry with a fixed bayonet. Angry expostulations only caused him to call out the guard so we retired in good order. In the evening Mr Chas. Smith sent his man Martin with me over to the Pa, where after being introduced to old Te Oti Takarangi, the chief, I was rather begrudgingly allowed to be present at a meeting in the Kiritahi Whare runanga.

About two hundred men, women and children were assembled... Each speaker marched up and down the central passage, speaking at the top of his voice, and occasionally indulging in a song. The meeting got very much excited, and curses against the Pakeha authorities were numerous. “Mea to Kuini!” “Kakino te Kawanatanga!!!” “Tama to Kawana!!!” Martin said it was all safe, but I told him the place was all too hot for me—so he pleaded that excuse, and we made our exits as gracefully as we could. I wasn't sorry when we got over to Mr Charles Smith's side of the river.

Kaiwhaiki was, in the early '60s, the assembling place of all Southern Maoris who were desirous of enjoying a little fighting up in Taranaki. They used to arrive in small parties from Turakina, Rangitikei, and further south, and wait at Kaiwhaiki till 40 or 60 had got together, all going in for many hours drill every day and finally marching northward, thro Mr Smith's land, keeping inland from other Pakeha settlers. Their theory was that they were at war with the Taranaki 'Tribe' of Pakehas, but at peace with the Whanganui 'tribe'. And they carefully refrained from any robbery or other outrage among the Whanganui settlers. The British authorities wisely winked at this state of affairs, as it confined the war to one district - Taranaki (Allen n.d.).

This brief but graphic account of a hui at Kaiwhāiki illustrates the complexities of Māori-European relationships at this time on the Whanganui River, while reinforcing the view that Charles Smith remained politically neutral and thereby maintained cordial relationships with his Māori neighbours. The distrust in which Pākehā in general were held is evidenced by the armed sentry blocking Allen's way onto the marae, although it is not clear whether the fact that Allen was in the area to survey land had any bearing on this. At the same time, this account reinforces the view that Smith had a strong and positive relationship with local Māori and was trusted, evidenced by “his man” Martin escorting the surveyor and his chainman to this hui. The political position of Ngā Paerangi leaders and Smith's neutrality are clearly indicated by a route to the “war with the Taranaki ‘Tribe’ of Pakehas” passing through his farm. Although the purpose of Allen's visit to Te Kiritahi is unclear, his anxiety within the whare rūnanga (council house) is not. By this time Allen had been living in the Whanganui region for more than twenty years, but his introduction to Te Oti Takarangi at this meeting implies he had not met him previously. The views of Ngā Paerangi and others assembled at this meeting are illustrated by Allen's commentary on the speeches being given. The Ngā Paerangi support for the Māori King movement reflects their dissatisfaction with, and ill feeling towards, the Queen and her representative in NZ, as well as the process of governorship as it was effected at this time.

A Portrait of Charles Smith



Figure 3-2: Studio portrait of Charles Smith by Whanganui photographer W J Harding, ca.1875. Ref: 1/4-003824-G Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

I have identified seven photographs of Charles Smith, which range from formal portraits to informal views of his home, friends and property. Two are studio portraits from the collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library, both by the studio of Whanganui photographer

William James Harding. One can be attributed to around 1865, when Smith was thirty-two years of age (Figure 2-11). The other, described as a carte-de-visite portrait, was taken about ten years later (Figure 3-2). He is present in a group photograph at Kaiwhāiki, dated to around 1885 (Figure 5-8), and standing outside his house also around 1885 (Figure 3-1) both from the PRM Collection. A similar photograph to the latter (Figure 2-12), although slightly later, is in the WM Collection.

A recent discovery glued into the PRM Collection Register (Balfour n.d. (1938-1942)) is an informal photograph of Smith taken around 1895, sitting outside his house at Te Korito with his dog and small flock of turkeys (Figure 3-3). A carte-de-visite by Whanganui photographer W H T Partington from about 1900 is held by the WM (Ref: 1985.62.12). These images are a rich resource, providing insight into Smith's personality and the environment in which he lived, to complement information elicited from other archival resources.



Figure 3-3: Charles Smith at Te Korito, ca.1895. Ref: 1998.507.1, Pitt Rivers Museum.

New Zealand & South Seas Exhibition Dunedin 1889–1890

NZ & South Seas Exhibition... secured the loan of Mr Charles Smith's collection of Maori curios (*Wanganui Chronicle* November 6, 1889, 2).

This newspaper reference encouraged exploration of the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition records held at the Hocken Library and Toitū Otago Settlers Museum in Dunedin. I hoped to discover records of Charles Smith's contribution to the Exhibition, from which further details about items in the Charles Smith collection at PRM might be elicited. Although outward letter books from the chairman of the Early History, Maori and South Seas Committee, Dr T S Hocken, were available, there was no correspondence or reference to Smith. Similarly, no mention of Charles Smith's collection is made in the official record of the exhibition (Hastings 1891). This is despite Hocken repeatedly imploring both the Wanganui Committee chair, George Russell and Samuel Drew for material for the exhibition. It appears that Charles Smith's collection was obtained quite late in the exhibition planning period and missed the deadline (October 15, 1889) for publication in the Official Catalogue.⁴ The following excerpt from a letter from Hocken to Russell may suggest the period in which Smith was approached about supplying items for the exhibition.

I fully acknowledged your exhaustive letter of June 24th [1889]. In it you noted your intention of immediately starting up the [Whanganui] river in order to secure further valuable collections.⁵

Hocken's request to Russell for samples of "the barks used as dyes & specimens of flax dyed by them"⁶ from the Whanganui River, lack of description of these in the official catalogue, and evidence of samples provided by Ngāti Apa from Parewanui near Whanganui and listed under Hocken's own exhibits, suggest he also sought this material, and more successfully, from elsewhere. It is possible to conclude, however, that Drew's relationship with Smith and familiarity with his interest in ethnographic material ensured the examples Drew had promised to supply for the Dunedin Exhibition were made available by Smith. The questions that remain are: what did Smith's "collection of Maori curios" comprise? Furthermore, did he commission items from Whanganui iwi following Hocken's request, in particular the dyed flax samples that are now part of the Charles Smith collection at the PRM?

⁴ Letter Book Maori & South Seas Committee Jan–Oct 1889, MS-0102, 250, T M Hocken to G C Russell September 28, 1889.

⁵ Ibid., 166, August 26, 1889.

⁶ Ibid., 31, May 28, 1889.

The influence of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations in London in 1851 on mid-nineteenth-century British collectors of ethnography (Stocking 1987) has resonance here. Charles Smith's collection of items showing process, such as the flax samples and partially completed textiles, does hint at his familiarity with ethnology as it was developing at the time, in particular Pitt Rivers' idea of the evolution of technology, and suggests that he may have been collecting samples that illustrated this. This impression is strengthened by the books he gifted to WM as well as those that have been identified at the Wanganui Library⁷ and those he donated to the library of the Royal Colonial Institute (Royal Commonwealth Society), London between 1894 and 1907.⁸ In addition, Ngā Paerangi kaumātua W Peeti commented that Kaiwhāiki weavers were well known on the Whanganui River for their skill and innovation,⁹ suggesting that opportunities for Smith to obtain weaving samples would have been literally on his door step.

Charles Smith Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum

Access to information about museum collections has been significantly enhanced since the advent of online collection databases, with wide ranging implications especially for source communities. For this study, Ngā Paerangi kaumātua Clarke was notified of the existence of the Charles Smith collection at the PRM in 2006, when WM director Dell encountered it on the PRM website. Later in the same year Clarke, Dell and Whanganui iwi historian Che Wilson (Ngāti Rangi/Ngā Paerangi), while all travelling in the UK, met in Oxford at the PRM with Coote, who showed them the Charles Smith material on display. Unfortunately they were not able to see the majority of the collection, which was in storage, at that time. The collection received further attention in 2008 when Christo Kefalas began her PhD studies at Oxford University based upon this collection, in particular in relation to community identity, histories, and changing practice in the museum. She visited Whanganui from July 2009 to February 2010, when she met and interviewed members of Ngā Paerangi and the wider Whanganui Māori community, as well as WM staff (Kefalas 2012). During a 2009 research visit to the PRM, I examined and documented items clearly provenanced to Ngā Paerangi

⁷ Rev William Yates, 1835, *An Account of New Zealand*, London: RB Seeley & W Burnside; C O Davis, 1876, *The Life and Times of Patuone, the celebrated Ngapuhi Chief*, Auckland: J H Field.

⁸ For example, in 1907 he donated Parris, R R, 1903, *A narrative of some native troubles in Taranaki from 1854 to 1859*, Christchurch Press Co., Christchurch, and Browne, E H, 1860, *The case of the war in New Zealand*, Deighton, Bell, and Co., Cambridge.

⁹ Wīpaki Peeti in discussion with the author, November 2013.

with the aim of taking this information to the iwi. I was also able to examine and document unprovenanced Māori fibre items in the Charles Smith collection.

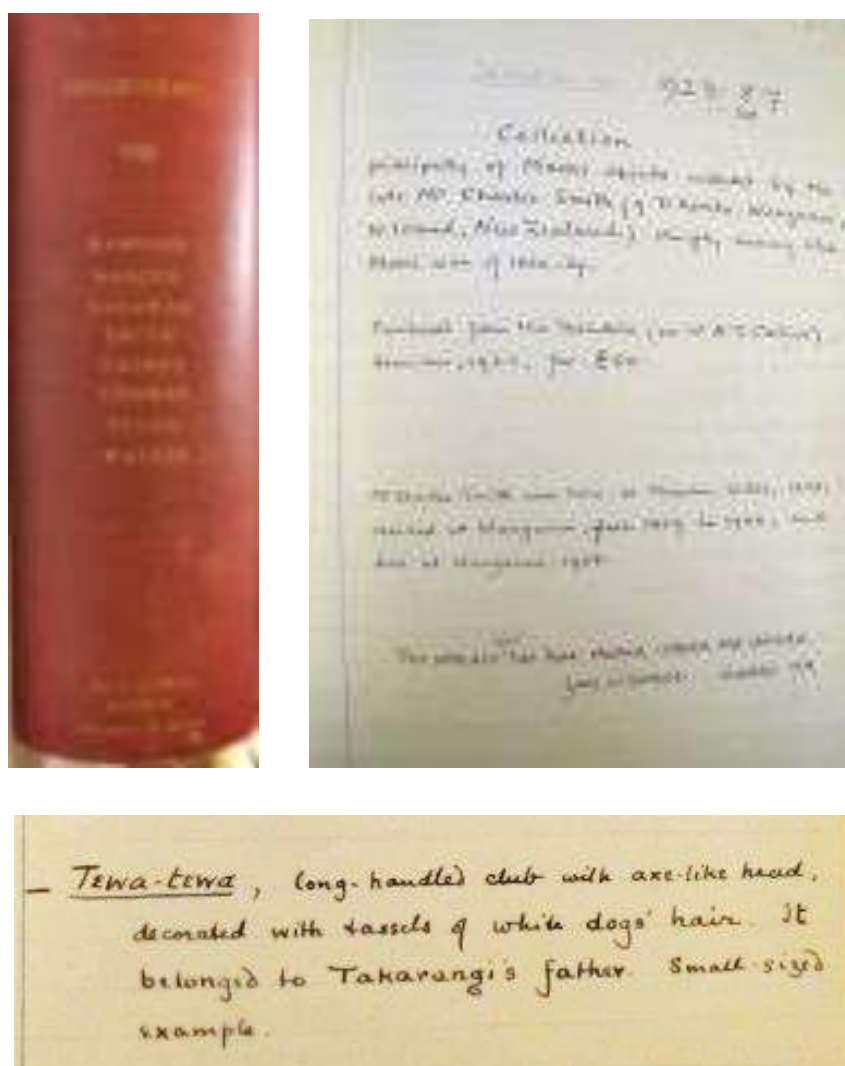


Figure 3-4: Pitt Rivers Museum Collection Catalogue (Balfour, Henry. n.d. (1938-1942)).

The PRM's collection management system (Filemaker Pro, version 12, built in-house) is the main tool for staff to access and update information about the museum's collection records today. For the public, information from the museum's collection records is available in three ways and can be physically accessed at the museum. The Collection Register (Balfour n.d. (1938-1942) see Figure 3-4) lists and briefly describes museum acquisitions by donor, sometimes accompanied by sketches and annotations by museum staff, photographs and original donor documents. The Related Documents File contains all documentary information about the collection items. It includes any original manuscripts that accompanied items when they were acquired by the museum, such as letters of offer to the museum and papers

describing how the items were obtained or used by the original owner, collector or vendor, as well as research notes by staff and visitors to the museum. The card catalogue index is a dual system filed by donor and by object classification. These records are also available digitally via the online collection database (Pitt Rivers Museum 2006), about which Coote stated “all the information we have in our internal system is available in the external system”.¹⁰ The museum database went online to the public in 2002.¹¹

Table 3-2: Composition of Charles Smith collection Pitt Rivers Museum.

Accession Number	Number of items	Māori items	Non-Māori items	Natural history items
Objects 1923.87.1-374 1951.4.2-10 (1923.87.1.289 spare) (1923.87.245-249 casts of hei tiki no longer in collection)	376	268/4 Ngā Paerangi 17/0 Whanganui 5/0 Taranaki 29/0 New Zealand 217/4	Other places 84/5 Pacific Island 59/5 Australia 6/0 North America 4/0 Africa 3/0 China 4/0 Sri Lanka 2/0 England and Europe 6/0	15 /0
Photographs 1998.174.31.2, 243.3.1-6, 4.1-10, 5.1-4, 10.6, 13.1-10, 15, 17.1-3, 18.1-2, 35, 36.1-3, 245.198, 260.24	78	46/0 Kaiwhāiki 7/0 Whanganui 10/0 New Zealand 29/0	8/0 Whanganui 3/0 New Zealand 5/0	24/0 Whanganui 10/0 New Zealand 14/0
Archives 1923.87.269-271, 273, 274	5	0	5/0	0
Total 1923/1951	450/9	314/4	97/5	39/0
Total	459	318	102	39

Although only 17 of 272 objects and nine of 78 photographs have clear association with the case study community, one aim of archival research and visual analysis was to determine whether further items could be attributed to Ngā Paerangi. Furthermore, detailed visual

¹⁰ Coote, interview.

¹¹ Madeleine Ding e-mail message to author, April 24, 2014.

analysis of historical items has the potential to improve understanding of their past life. I compiled a spreadsheet from these resources, as well as notes taken on 69 objects and 18 photographs during my 2009 research visit, to quantify information available that identified the provenance of individual objects. Collection composition is described, in relation to places of origin and category, whether cultural or natural items, in Table 3-2. This analysis enabled identification of specific items warranting further archival research and those to be examined during fieldwork with members of the Ngā Paerangi community in 2013.

A detailed material culture analysis has not been completed for this study, however, an approach for such an analysis has been developed and plans to progress this with the Ngā Paerangi community are underway. This is based upon Caple's (2006) systematic visual analysis method (and the taiaha (weapon) 1923.87.1 was described to illustrate this) combined with a deductive (sensory, intellectual, emotional) assessment involving Ngā Paerangi to provide structure for the analysis of the community's responses to the taonga historically and today.

In addition to the online collection catalogue, a number of Charles Smith collection items are described elsewhere on the PRM web site. These include one item available via a virtual tour, which features impressive 360-degree views of the museum displays in the Ground Floor Court and the Lower Gallery (Pitt Rivers Museum 2010). To view specific items in this application requires prior knowledge of their location on display. Image resolution is poor. On the *Exploring the Pitt Rivers Museum* virtual collections page (Pitt Rivers Museum n.d.) is a link to body arts, which incorporates tattooing pigment and pigment-making materials from the Charles Smith collection as illustrative of tā moko from NZ (see Figure 3-5). A further section features objects from the Lower Gallery at the museum (Pitt Rivers Museum 2002b), including a koekoeā (long-tailed cuckoo) skin from the Charles Smith collection (see Figure 3-6).

I examined the Related Documents File of the Charles Smith collection, which revealed information pertinent to this research. The documents are fragmentary; some are correspondence between unidentified parties, others are lists of items or information about specific items. Comparison of handwriting samples has enabled identification of correspondence and object labels authored by Smith. One letter, from Alfred T Collier, Smith's nephew, to Henry Balfour PRM curator on November 2, 1923, describes the

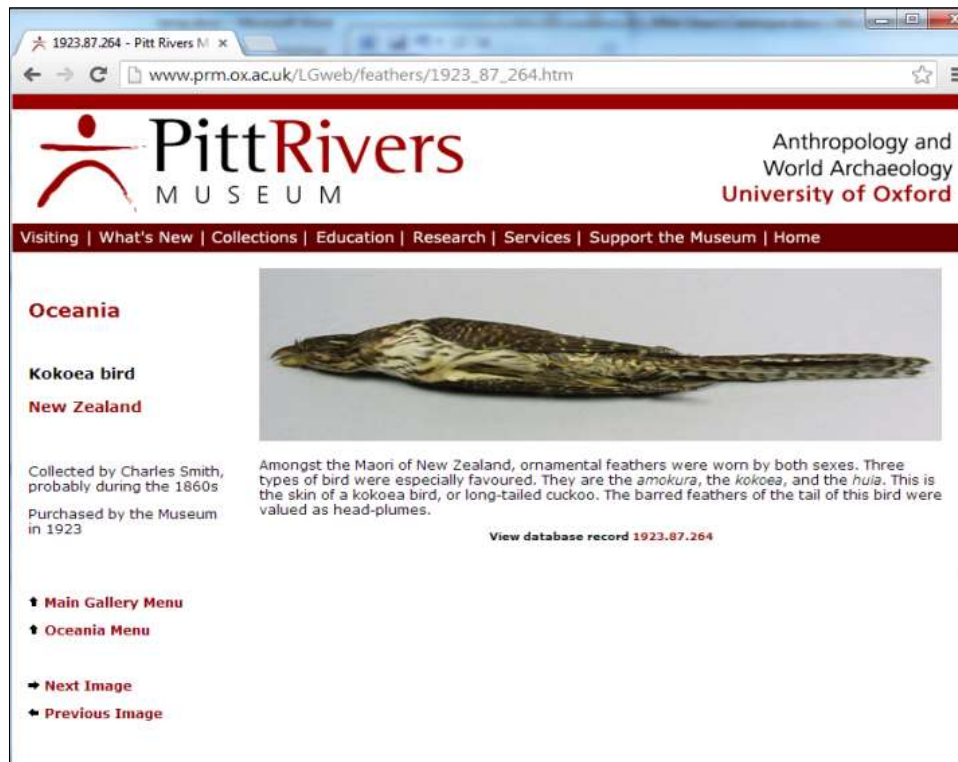


Figure 3-5: Exploring the Pitt Rivers Museum web page.



Figure 3-6: Selected Objects from the Lower Gallery web page.

agreed sale price of the collection to the museum as £50. Others describe the nature of the transactions between Charles Smith and his Māori sources (see Table 3-3). For example, a section of a letter from Smith to an unidentified recipient (probably his nephew A T Collier) describes the gifting to him of the korowai (1923.87.121 and 1923.87.159) and the pā kahawai (fishing lure) named Te Pā o Hinematorio (1923.87.121). The correspondent includes details about the donors, history of the items, attitudes towards their removal from the community, and mentions the fortunes of one of the donors and his people following the recent military campaigns in the district,

I have got a rather nice Maori mat to send home by first opportunity. A day or two ago I had a visit from rather a great man, named Pehimana who in regular speech informed me that he had very often heard of me and being then on a visit to his friends at Kaiwaiki he thought it a good opportunity to make my acquaintance (of course I am translating freely)...

... a little girl over there, daughter of the chief Wi Patene said she would like to give me the mat I mentioned before, so he handed that over too. The mat is a chiefs mat taken in the same campaign - it is ornamented all over the outside with pigeon feathers & is nearly or quite new. These ornamental mats are getting quite rare, as natives living near the settlements take a good deal to European clothing, in which I include blankets...

Takarangi the other chief at Kaiwaiki gave me a Maori fish hook which he took from a female prisoner in the campaign - a wife of Te Kooti's. This present among Maori is thought much more of than the others as it is an heirloom which has descended from a remote ancestor... The natives tell me there would be great lamentation over the loss of this hook. It was named Te Pa o Hinematorio from the name of the wife of the ancestor who was the great chief of the tribe. I explained to the various donors that I wished to send the thing home. As they were going to "the family" it was quite satisfactory to them, in fact rather a compliment.

An additional handwritten note in the file further details the provenance attribution for Te Pā o Hinematorio (1923.87.121),

A Maori fish hook taken by Te Oti Takarangi from a prisoner (one of the wives of Te Kooti) and presented by him to me. Its name is Te Pa O Hinematorio. Hinematorio was the wife of Takani Atakirau [Te Kani a Takirau] - a celebrated chief of the Ngati porou tribe many years ago. The shell has been handed down through several generations & was much prized - it is besides a particularly good one for fishing.

Table 3-3: Charles Smith collection items with documented evidence of transaction type.

Accession No.	Object	Transaction	Evidence
1923.87.1	Taiaha	Gift	Manuscript in RDF [by Smith], “On death of Takarangi given to me.”
1923.87.10	Hamana	Find	Manuscript in RDF, “1886 Hamana - belonged to one of the Herekiele's men - found near where the old chief's whare was at the mouth of the Kaipua creek.” Manuscript in RDF, “From C. S. [Charles Smith]... A cartridge box - found 1886 - at Te Korito, Wanganui.”
1923.87.11	Matā	Find	Manuscript in RDF, “Fragment of a shell picked up in the Tauranga Ika Pah after it was abandoned.”
1923.87.12	Pākurukuru	Gift	Manuscript in RDF, “Among others this figure head to Takarangi - which was presented to me by Tamati in memory of the old man.”
1923.87.14	Tatā	Gift	Manuscript in RDF [added in pencil], “Baler in Smoking-room [end added] Called The Tata of Taringamotu (? spelling) A large war canoe lying near Paikakariki given by Ropiha 30 Nov/86.”
1923.87.32	Toki	Find	Pre-PRM label, “Found [?]27 April 1888 on Tunahaere hill.”
1923.87.34	Toki	Find	Manuscript in RDF, “Old stone tool used like an adze picked up by me on the bank of the Wanganui River. 4 Jan 1876. C Smith. For Harry”.
1923.87.38	Toki	Find	Written on object [partly rubbed off], “Found on Tunuhaere”
1923.87.44	Tūiri	Find	Written on object box, “Rough borer made from a polished stone adze, found at KAI IWI, N. ID., NEW ZEALAND.”
1923.87.46	Māta or Tūhua	Find	Pre-PRM label, “Picked up at his old Kainga at Momomomo.”
1923.87.47-62	Māta or Tūhua	Find	Pre-PRM label, “Obsidian flakes from kitchen-middens at WAITOTARA, N. ID., NEW ZEALAND.”
1923.87.77	Pāoi	Purchase	Manuscript in RDF, “Tutaua his son sold it to me when quite an old man. 24 May 1889.”
1923.87.83	Tuke	Find	PRM label, “Found in cave up the MANGANUI-O-TE-AO. N. ID of NEW ZEALAND”
1923.87.121	Te Pā o Hinematoro	Gift	Extract from a letter in RDF [from Charles Smith], “Takarangi the other chief at Kaiwaiki gave me a Maori fish hook.”
1923.87.138	Tuki	Gift	Label attached to object, “Given by Te Oti Takarangi - formerly in the possession of his grandfather.”
1923.87.150	Kopa	Gift	Label attached to object, “Maori flax kit containing dressed & dyed flax. given by very old woman at Raorikia.”
1923.87.159	Korowai	Gift	Extract from a letter in RDF [from Charles Smith], “She should like to give me the mat.”
1923.87.189-191	Ipu & wai ngārahu	Gift	Acc Book Entry, “Given by Takarangi of KAIWAIKI.”
1923.87.219	Heru	Gift	Old label, “Given by Takuira Tauteka about the year 1862.”
1923.87.357	Stone axe	Find	Label, “Found at Black Barton Bourton, near Bampton, Oxon, c.1875.”
1923.87.369-374	Māta or Tūhua	Find	Label, “Obsidian flakes from kitchen-middens at WAITOTARA”

Correspondence from Smith to an unidentified recipient (probably his nephew A T Collier) in another document describes the sale to him of the pāoi (pounder) (1923.87.77),

From Tutaria [?] He brought me over a stone "Patu" which he sold to me for 10/- rather dear, but he wanted money for the feast and he brought Indian corn too and borrowed the rest.

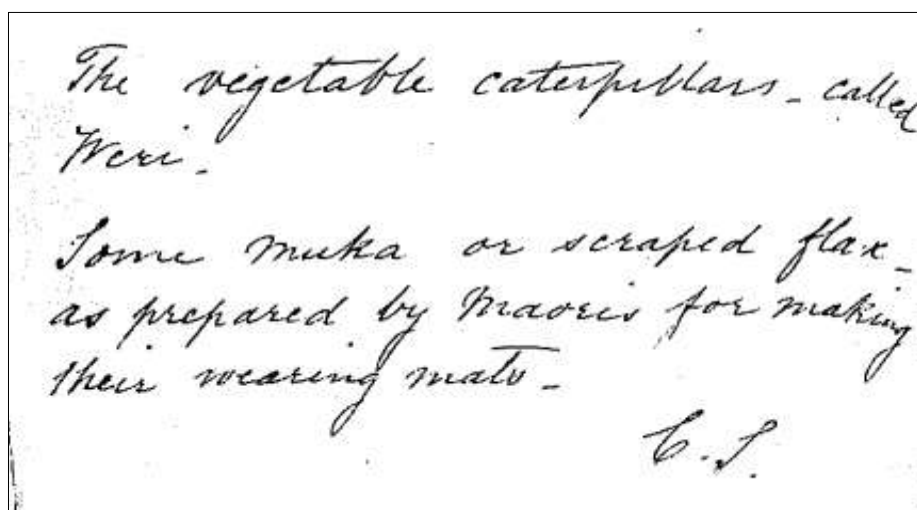
An additional note, which probably accompanied the object when it was sent to Collier, describes the genealogy of the pounder,

Moetahora: the original owner of the stone patu. Te Kiri Tuatua his son. Tutaua - his son sold it to me when quite an old man. 24 May 1889.

Separate handwritten notes by Charles Smith are associated with individual objects or groups of objects from the same location. For example, this note accompanies the hamana (cartouche case) (1923.87.10) in the collection,

1886 Hamana - belonged to one of the Herekiele's men - found near where the old chief's whare was at the mouth of the Kaipua creek.

A further note describing the weri (vegetable caterpillar fungi *Cordyceps robertsii*) (1923.87.208-217) and muka samples (1923.87.181-183) is initialled by Smith (Figure 3-7).



The vegetable caterpillars - called
weri.

Some muka or scraped flax -
as prepared by Maoris for making
their wearing mats -

C.S.

Figure 3-7: Note from Charles Smith in Related Documents File, Pitt Rivers Museum.

Others by Smith are about two taiaha (1923.87.1 and 1923.87.2) and describe their genealogy,

The taiaha belonged formerly to Muriwhenua an ancestor of Tawhiao.

The other taiaha was given by Titokowaru (titoko - blind, waru - name of an ancestor) to Hori Kingi, by him to Kemp Taitoko ki te Uru - or Rangihuihinui - & by him to Takarangi a cousin - left by him in charge of Wi Patene & returned. On death of Takarangi given to me.

A note not authored by Smith, describes the genealogy of a hoeroa (long whalebone weapon 1923.87.5). This will be expanded upon in chapter five.

Although fragmentary, the Related Documents File material provides valuable information about individual items in the collection, Charles Smith's travels, his relationships with his Māori neighbours, and the nature of the interactions he had with them. It also provides details about land occupancy, intertribal alliances and examples of Whanganui Māori dialect. That Charles Smith was a great traveller cannot be disputed. That he collected from source all the items that later formed the Charles Smith collections at the Pitt Rivers and Whanganui Museums is not quite as clear. For example, the Charles Smith Pacific material in the PRM came from these locations,

PNG (or Irian Jaya), Solomon Islands (Santa Cruz), Vanuatu, Majuro (Marshall Islands), Fiji, Tonga, possibly Samoa, Niue, Cook Islands (Pukapuka, Rakahanga, Manihiki, Rarotonga, Mangaia, Tongareva), Tuamotu Archipelago and Marquesas Islands in French Polynesia.

The Pacific sources of WM material are these,

New Caledonia, Tonga, Cook Islands (Rarotonga, Mangaia, Ma'uke, 'Atiu, Tongareva (Penrhyn), Mitiaro, Pukapuka, Manihiki, Rakahanga), Mangareva in French Polynesia and Huahine in the Society Islands.

Archival references identify three trips by Charles Smith to the Pacific, in 1898, 1902 and 1903. These references, however, mention only the items that he brought from Tonga and the Cook Islands for the WM. The last trip, to "Island ports and San Francisco,"¹² was en route to the United States. Tonga and the Cook Islands were both destinations on the Union Steamship Company's Pacific cruises, reinstated in 1898, which also travelled to Samoa and Tahiti (Union Steamship Company 1898). Described as a tropical escape from NZ's sometimes "bleak winter" (Douglas and Douglas 2006, 186), a marketing strategy similarly used today,

¹² *New Zealand Herald* April 15, 1903, 3.

the 1898 cruise nevertheless would have afforded Smith the opportunity of securing items of ethnography. This cruise lasted one month, while his 1902 travel in the Pacific extended over six months.¹³ A New Caledonian item was part of an 1896 donation of items he had collected in Australia during a field trip there with Drew.¹⁴ Whether he ventured to New Caledonia from Australia's east coast or obtained this item from a secondary source has not been determined.

It is possible that Smith was collecting to order (for Drew) from different Pacific Islands or collecting to fill gaps in what he knew of the WM Collection, sending the surplus to family in England or elsewhere. However, the few Pacific Islands items (18) donated to the WM between 1892 (museum founding year) and 1908 (Charles Smith's death) documented on the museum's collection database, suggest that this was not the case and that the collection probably resulted from encounters such as that described for Samoa on a Union Steamship Company brochure in 1895 as follows,

Canoe after canoe sets out from various places on the shore: all converging on one point - the ship... The occupants of the various canoes are on barter bent; each carries with her some piece of merchandise to be disposed of on board - a piece of tapa, a basket of limes, breadfruit, or bananas, a piece of woodcarving, a war club, a model canoe, a kava bowl, or some such trifle (Te Papa 2007).

It is quite possible that his travels would have taken him to most of the destinations identified in the museum collections. Further research beyond that required for this study could identify this. However, the fact that in the PRM collection there is only one item from Majuro in the Marshall Islands and one from PNG, both locations some distance from the nearest source site for other Pacific material, suggests that these objects might have been obtained from a secondary source. An alternative possibility is that family other than his sister and her children were the recipients of the majority of material from these two areas but this is less likely. A similar inference could be made about the small number of items in both museum collections that originated from North America. However, the newspaper reference for one of these items, a fish fossil, does reveal that this item was collected by Smith himself,

Mr Charles Smith... further added to his gifts **by obtaining near the Rocky Mountains** a most perfect specimen of the fossil fish [emphasis by author].¹⁵

¹³ "Upokongaro Notes," *Wanganui Chronicle* November 18, 1902, 5.

¹⁴ *Wanganui Chronicle* April 2, 1896.

¹⁵ "Nulla dies sine linea," *Wanganui Chronicle*, December 12, 1894.

His motivations for travel, although not altogether clear, appear to have been threefold. Of particular relevance to this study are the lengths he went to in the acquisition of ethnographic and natural history items from source. These included travelling on a small trading vessel in the Northern Cooks and accompanying Drew on a number of collecting trips with this purpose in mind. There was also travel ‘back home’ to England to visit family and friends and for his health, and ‘on tour’ to Europe and North America purely as a tourist. Together these journeys provided Charles Smith with ample opportunity to pursue his passion for collecting, and the extant material in museum collections today reflects his success.

Summary

The disassembling of this assemblage component has been a useful strategy for expanding understanding of Charles Smith, his collecting motivations and the material heritage he gathered together. Through the examination of archival sources it has also been possible to improve understanding of the past life of items in his collection and discover evidence for indigenous agency within historical collecting strategies. Most importantly for Ngā Paerangi people today, individuals and families are able to identify their relationships with specific items. These themes will be further discussed in chapter five. The collection appears to be typical of a mid-to late nineteenth-century amateur collectors’ interests, as Smith was influenced by anthropological developments in Britain, his society memberships and his relationship with Drew and others. It is not, however, possible to say whether the collection composition was a result of all Smith was able to obtain locally or if it was intentionally selective. Owen notes (2006, 10), in her case study of Alaskan Eskimo and Canadian Inuit, that items moved from “objects of scientific curiosity and record into concrete evidence authenticating concepts of human progress, Western superiority and imperial expansion”. Did these ideas influence Smith, a prolific reader of ethnological material, to collect and forward to his family in England items to assist in their ‘enlightenment’, or were they purely ‘artificial curiosities’ to decorate the drawing room? The fact that many items illustrate technological processes supports the former possibility.

I did not pursue the reasons Smith’s family offered the collection to the PRM rather than another British institution. Locality does not seem to be a factor, as the main vendor, A T Collier, was not living in or near Oxford, but rather in Wanstead, seven miles north-east of London at the time he sold the collection to the museum. Perhaps he had offered it to the

British Museum but his offer was declined. The family business, the Essex Brewery Company, had been sold the previous year. It could therefore be supposed that they were moving house and this required disposing of the collection.

The importance of Charles Smith and his collection have been recognised for some time by the PRM, as has the importance of the provenance details in the acquisition record. The sources of the material heritage Charles Smith accumulated, however, and the significance of their descendants' role in interpreting and caring for this material have only recently been acknowledged. The following section describes the findings from historical research involving this component, the iwi of Ngā Paerangi.

Ngā Paerangi

Introduction

This chapter has so far centred on one assemblage constituent, a collector and his collection. Attention will now be given to another, the iwi Ngā Paerangi, who have come to prominence through this disassembly process. They are recognised as the primary source community of the indigenous material heritage accumulated by Charles Smith. Descendants of the original donors have been willing to engage in this research project, as they recognise that significant outcomes for themselves and their heritage can result. In this section, research from historical sources outlines a complex tribal society with an expanding settler community living within their borders. The nature of relationships between the two groups, the resultant power struggles for resources, and glimpses of individual personalities within this tangata whenua-settler relationship of owner-collector are revealed, as are opportunities for their involvement in other networks.

Research and Analysis

Evidence from historical and archival research developed a picture of life at Kaiwhāiki during the mid-nineteenth century, as well as the collector's interactions with his sources, from which the complexities of inter-tribal and inter-cultural relationships during this period on the Whanganui River are apparent. By defining the iwi of Ngā Paerangi in the nineteenth

century, it was possible to identify key figures within this community and their character, together with the sites of the engagements at the centre of this research.

The WM is a rich resource for material about the Whanganui River and region including archival material relating to Kaiwhāiki and Ngā Paerangi people. In 2003 this museum became the custodian of a large collection of photographs by W H Partington, taken in and around Whanganui between 1892 and 1908. In this collection are six studio portraits of Tāmati Takarangi, a central figure in this narrative, taken at three separate sittings. The rāpaki (kilt) he is wearing in an early 1900s portrait (Figure 3-8) was typical everyday attire for Takarangi. This was unusual for the time, as rāpaki were more familiar as combat apparel during the New Zealand Wars of the 1840s to 1860s. The three photographs in the Charles Smith collection at PRM that include Tāmati Takarangi also show him wearing rāpaki.



Figure 3-8: Tāmati Takarangi, Ngā Paerangi rangatira, Whanganui, ca.1905, photographer W H T Partington. Ref: 2003.1.72d Whanganui Regional Museum, Whanganui.

Additional photographs in the museum collection include rare Whanganui River marae images taken around 1890 of a group of people including Tāmati Takarangi and possibly Tīpare (Mere) Ōtene his wife, assembled beside a group of houses at Kaiwhāiki pā. Two images are taken in sequence and a third is of the same group at a distance (Figure 3-9).

Kaiwhāiki is shown as a village of traditionally constructed houses and storehouses. Another photograph in this series with the same elderly man seated in the previous three photographs also includes a European man and is taken from the opposite direction. The European man appears to be Charles Smith, based upon a comparison with a PRM photograph (Ref: 1998.245.198).



Figure 3-9: Kaiwhāiki, Whanganui River, ca.1890, with Tāmati Takarangi (third from left) and possibly Tīpare (Mere) Ōtene (second from right). Ref: MS-Kai-003 Whanganui Regional Museum, Whanganui.

The legacy of Protestant and Catholic missionaries on the Whanganui River includes detailed accounts of their successes and failures in improving the physical and spiritual wellbeing of Māori people within their districts, as well as commentary on political and social events, as

touched on in chapter two. In his history of the work of Catholic priest Jean Lampila in the Whanganui district, Marist missionary Jean M Vibaud observed, “Up River tribes spoke of the Europeans in occupation of their window or matapihi [Whanganui town] as the taonga of Hori Kingi ie. a source of untold material benefits” (Vibaud n.d., 30). The present study has identified that Charles Smith was considered in similar terms by Te Oti Takarangi. Instead of the term taonga or treasured possession, Ngā Paerangi informant Wilson describes Smith as Te Oti Takarangi’s “Pākehā,”¹⁶ implying a similar sense of ownership and protection as well as a symbiotic relationship of mutual benefit and respect. This is discussed further in chapter five.

Resident Magistrate Whanganui

Whanganui Resident Magistrate’s Court Letter Books are a rich resource for the period under study. Those that have survived are split between the National Library and Archives NZ and cover the periods 1851, 1858–65, 1870–80. Information from the Resident Magistrate’s correspondence to provincial and colonial government officials, from Māori leaders in the region, Native Assessors, Native Police and Wardens, also maps describing land boundaries, Māori military activity, location of pā and census data, provide insights into intertribal alliances, movements of people and economic and political activity in the region. The third Resident Magistrate, W J W Hamilton, during his term 1850 to 1853, set the scene for Resident Magistrates’ relationships with Whanganui Māori. He “made journeys far inland, increasing thereby his already considerable knowledge of the Maoris and their way of life. They loved and respected him and he left the district a model of orderliness” (Macdonald 1966).

As Resident Magistrate between 1862 and 1865, John White heard civil and criminal cases between Māori, and provided intelligence information to the military authorities. His appointment by Governor Sir George Grey in 1862 was when,

the colony was then passing through stirring and anxious times; the fire was in the fern, and when the spreading flames of war reached the up-river tribes of the Wanganui, White's knowledge and counsel were invaluable in checking the purposes of the rebel Hauhaus (Reed 1940, xiv).

¹⁶ Che Wilson interview December 12, 2013.

His prolific and detailed correspondence names “friendlies” as well as “King” Māori, their tribal affiliations, alliances, places of residence, goods he supplied for purchase such as ironmongery and food, as well as goods purchased from them. It also provides Whanganui River census data, names of pā and leaders at each, with sketch maps of some of the former, as well as resources, land boundaries, where supporters of the Kīngitanga were resident, and details of the activities on the river that were brought to his attention. He also provided copies and translations of correspondence from Māori. The following is a letter from Eruera Wakaahu at Kānihinihi, a large Ngā Paerangi kāinga and pā on the Whanganui River north of Kaiwhāiki, to John White to be forwarded to the Native Minister, Walter Mantell. It reveals Charles Smith’s awareness of and neutrality with regard to Māori politics of the mid-1860s.

Kanihinihi twenty-first Sept 1863

To White R M

Friend salutations to you. On the 18th I slept at Te Koreto, at Mr Smith’s House, where I heard of the letter from the Waikato, to attack this place, but Pehi did not consent to that letter...

Your words I have spoken to them and they like them. Enough from

Eruera Wakaahu

The writer of this is a Kingite, and the letter was written from a Kingite settlement.

John White¹⁷

A census by S Deighton, Court Interpreter, over the summers 1849–50 and 1850–51, reported by J W Hamilton RM to the Provincial Superintendent, records names of pā, tribes and some chiefs (Table 3-4). Walton (1994, 131) considers “The absence of Kaiwhaiki... inexplicable and must indicate incomplete enumeration.” Similarly Aramoho, another Ngā Paerangi kāinga, is not noted. However, Stirling (cited by Walzl 2004, 59) suggests that despite Te Oti Takarangi taking the Oath of Allegiance, as insisted by Wellington Superintendent Isaac Featherston, his pacifist opposition to the colonial government continued and is evidenced in ways such as withholding information from government officers, including not allowing a census to be taken. Walton (1994, 132) also discusses out-settlements and states that Hamilton, in the census, describes Tūpāpa as a settlement of 20 people “a few potato and kumara grounds natives live at Kanihinihi when not at work.” The 1851 census records 229 Ngā Paerangi from two iwi and four hapū (Table 3-4), while census data for 1870 for the

¹⁷ Whanganui Resident Magistrate’s Court Outward Letter Book, R19791204 JC Wanganui 1 4 1863–4, 212.

Table 3-4: 1851 Census (Colonial Secretaries Inward Correspondence 29 Jan - 2 Apr 1851, 284).

Names of Pah	1 Iwi or tribe 2 Hapus or Families	Name of Chiefs & Teachers	Population							Normal Condition					Stock		Miscell.		Remarks	
			Adult		Child		Total	births	deaths	Religion	Marriage		read & write	read only	cypher a little	horses	cattle	Hand mills		C'orn ?seeds
			Male	Female	Male	Female					European Custom	Native Custom								
Tupapa	1Ngatirongoma itawhiri 2Ngapaerangi	Wiremu King ¹ - chief	11	2	3	4	20	2	1	All Church of England	all	-	10	-	4	-	-	-	-	A few Potato and Kumara grounds Natives live at Kanihinihi when not at work
Kanihinihi	1Ngapaerangi 2 Ngatihine	Te Iha - chief Eneinga & Anaha teachers	17	15	8	10	50	5	5		14	-	14	-	2	-	-	-	-	Formerly place of some consequence. Former inhabitants scattered a great deal about. Pa in very strong position Short cut b* ** from there to Parikino.
Kauarapaua	1Ngatirongoma itawhiri	Katene ² chief & teacher Raniera ³ & Horomona teachers	25	18	12	15	70	1	1		20	2	20	-	2	-	-	-	-	Small out settlement g**** ha****. Pa kept pretty clear. Natives ?improving.
Tunuhaere	1Ngatirongoma itawhiri 2 Ngatihinekehu	Takarangi ⁴ - chief Nepetarima ⁵ & Parata ⁶ teachers	33	24	18	14	89	3	5		28	-	25	-	4	-	4	1	-	The old pa on **** high hills now deserted. Very strong position. Several ?gorges here, good timber, firewood Is large pa **t*t** **p*****.

¹ Wiremu Rangitauira (Rzoska, e-mail message to author, April 30, 2014).

² Katene Te Kuihi (ibid.).

³ Raniera Toka (ibid.).

⁴ Te Oti Takarangi (ibid.).

⁵ Nepetarima Te Pihau, younger brother of Wiremu Patene (ibid.).

⁶ One of the husbands of Kararina Pukeroa (ibid.).

* denotes illegible original text

Whanganui region identifies 158 Ngā Paerangi from 2 iwi and 5 hapū (Table 3-5). These census data are useful for identifying the locations of Ngā Paerangi settlement at this period, numbers of people living at each place, resources, etcetra. Later census information by John White in 1863 distinguishes settlements as to whether they are pro-government or Kīngitanga supporters.

Table 3-5: 1870 Census (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1870, 8-9).

Tribes	Location	Hapu	No. in Hapu	No. in Tribe	Names of Leading Chiefs of Tribes	Hapu to which leading Chiefs belong
Whanganui & Upper Whanganui Districts						
Ngapaerangi	From Waitotara River on N. to Rangitikei River on S., and up the Whanganui R.	Ngapaerangi	76	76	Pehira Turei, Wirihana Puna, Te Hira	Ngapaerangi.
Ngatiruaka		Rangipoutaka	30	48	Mawae, Keepa Tanguru	Ngatitupoho.
		Ngatitupoho	8		Kawana Paipai	Ngapaerangi.
		Ngatirangi	2		Rio	Ngatitutarakura.
		Ngatihinekino	1		Paora Te Kahuatua	Ngatihinekorako
		Ngapaerangi	7		Poma	Ngatihine.
Ngatirongo-maitawhiri		Ngatihinetera	21	84	Te Oti Takarangi	Ngatirongo-maitawhiri
		Ngatiruaka	9		Horima	Ngatihineuru
		Ngatihineuru	50			
		Ngatirongo-maitawhiri	4			

Iwi-Settler Relationships in Whanganui in the Nineteenth Century

The nature of Ngā Paerangi's and in particular Te Oti Takarangi's relationships with Charles Smith, in general terms, can be deduced from these research findings. Extant references to Te Oti Takarangi from the few contemporary sources available paint a picture of a strong leader who had little time or regard for the settler population unless the interaction was advantageous to him, often financially. Conversely, his relationship with Smith was one of mutual respect and benefit. It is clear Smith was informally adopted into Te Oti Takarangi's extended family, becoming Te Oti Takarangi's 'Pākehā', as stated above. Smith was comfortable visiting the marae and interacting with Ngā Paerangi and inviting Ngā Paerangi members into his home, while other settlers were less comfortable with or avoided these situations (for example, Allen n.d.). Ngā Paerangi's overland route to Taranaki went through Smith's farm and this route remained open to them during the 1860s conflicts at a time when many out settlers were leaving the district fearful for their lives. The regard in which Smith

was held by Te Oti Takarangi is clearly illustrated in a passage by G F Allen (1894, 157-8) describing Kaiwhāiki,

The Wanganui “King” Maoris never interfered with the Wanganui settlers. They considered that they were at war with the “Taranaki tribe of Pakehas,” but not with the “Wanganui tribe of Pakehas.” It was the wisdom of the Government to adopt this pleasant fiction, and to allow young Maoris from Manawatu, Rangitikei, or elsewhere who hungered for a fight to pass through by way of Kaiwhaiki, unmolested on their way to or from Taranaki. Sometimes when a specially rowdy party arrived, old Takarangi would go over to Mr. Charles Smith, who lived on the R. bank at Te Korito, a mile below Kaiwhaiki, and tell him he’d better go to town for a day or two and leave his keys with him. This was frequently done, and Takarangi took care that dogs, cats, and fowls were duly fed, and Mr. Smith would find everything safe on his return.

The gifts such as the fishhook Te Pā o Hinematiaro, presented to Charles Smith, and his acknowledgement of the meaning inherent in these ritual gifting processes of reciprocity and ongoing commitment to a relationship (Henare 2005, 124), clearly establish his mana within this community.

Charles Smith also hosted prominent iwi leaders in his home and others sought him out. He describes one such occasion in this letter to his sister in 1869 for example,

A day or two ago I had a visit from a rather great man, name Pehimana who in regular speech informed me that he had very often heard of me and being then on a visit to his friends at Kaiwhaiki he thought it a good opportunity to make my acquaintance (of course I am translating freely). Compliments passed & he had breakfast with me... This Pehimana was the chief at the Wereroa Pa, where General Cameron humbugged so long, his tribe has been against us till lately, it is now scattered in different places as they are not allowed to return to their own land in the Waitōtara district for the present. They have passed through a sort of intermediate stage of neutrality finishing at last by being friendly, Pehimana has been living with a part of the tribe up the river about 50 miles. (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923 for 1923.87.159).

As mentioned previously, this ‘great man’ was Ngā Rauru leader Pehimana Manakore from Waitōtara in South Taranaki. He was among a number of Taranaki Māori who, disillusioned with the government, joined the Pai Mārire movement in 1864, repudiating earlier deeds of sale for the Waitōtara Block. Following defeat at Wereroa in 1865, Pehimana and his iwi submitted to the government and were placed into the care of Whanganui River iwi, Āti-Haunui-ā-Pāpārangi (Church 2012). A number of significant additional points can be inferred

from this short extract from this letter Charles Smith addressed to his sister. Not only does it highlight significant details about iwi-government relationships in the area at this time, it also demonstrates Smith's reputation among Māori, his ability with the Māori language, and his recognition of Māori cultural protocols, in this case *manaakitanga*, where he provides hospitality for his visitor with a meal.

Summary

Research centred on the iwi of Ngā Paerangi has enhanced understanding of Whanganui history specifically relating to the Kaiwhāiki area and the nature of iwi-settler relationships. The importance of both assemblage constituents, Charles Smith and his collection, and Ngā Paerangi, to each other, and their involvement in other networks, have been revealed, as have individual biographies, human and non-human, within these. Diverse value systems and epistemologies and the benefits of investing in relationship-building with museums will be considered in chapter four.

Pitt Rivers Museum

Introduction

The final component of the assemblage at the centre of this research is the PRM. In the preceding chapter, a summary of the museum's evolution and history within nineteenth-century anthropological thought and British museum culture provided a contextual framework for current PRM policy and practice relating to indigenous collections. This is contributed to here by interviews with museum staff and observations of professional practice during recent fieldwork, introduced by a recap of current thought on ethnographic collecting.

Evolution of Ethnographic Collecting, Ethnology Museums and Anthropology

Scholars (such as Hafner 2010, Pearce 1995, Shelton 2007, Stocking 1985b, ter Keurs 2007, Silverman 2009) have long recognised the relationship between colonisation and ethnographic collecting, which has resonance for a study such as this, featuring a private collector and situated in a settler-colony. Others (such as Harrison 2013) have focussed

attention upon the conflicts that the coloniser-colonised relationships have endured over time. While attention has also been given to how people have collected material culture for museums (for example, Gosden et al. 2007), often the people from whom this material was collected have been overlooked. Furthermore, it is clear from the literature that the voices of indigenous people are only slowly starting to be heard (for example, Battiste 2008, Krmpotich 2010, Moutu 2007, Smith 1999, Tapsell 2011a).

Ethnology museums are, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2012, 198) states, “agents of deculturation, as the final resting place for evidence of the success of missionizing and colonizing efforts, among others, that preserve (in the museum) what was wiped out (in the community)”, and have been self-perpetuating through reinventing their relevance to contemporary society in the context of the disappearance of culture through collecting and its subsequent salvage through ethnology (ibid., 199). Thus, ethnographic collecting has created a fragmentary assemblage of objects (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998c), which are separated from or devoid of their intangible qualities, further enabling the self-perpetuation of ethnographic study through their recontextualisation. Strategies to identify the ‘missing fragments’ are having some success (Byrne 2013, Satterthwait 2008, Torrence and Clarke 2013).

A useful analogy is the Māori phrase ‘Kimihia te mea ngaro’ (search for that which is lost/missing/hidden) (Binney 1995, 461), the use of which will be valuable in contextualising this discussion for the NZ situation. As Wilson explains,

I come from a strong position of believing that nothing is ever lost, knowledge is never lost, it goes back to the place that is hidden, until the consciousness is ready again to bring it forth.¹

This is further demonstrated by kaitiaki Māori practices in NZ museums. At Tairāwhiti Museum in Gisborne, for example, a tohunga (expert) with the powers of a matakite (visionary or seer) was asked to ascertain the provenance of undocumented kōiwi tangata (human remains) housed at the museum, to enable kaitiaki Māori to return them to their places of origin for reburial (McCarthy 2011, 172). Furthermore, Māori communities are embracing, although at times hesitantly, opportunities to identify the ‘missing fragments’ described by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, which advances in various disciplines present. The important findings from DNA analysis of members of one of the first groups of Polynesians

¹ Wilson, interview.

to settle NZ, at Wairau Bar, exemplifies this. The results of this multidisciplinary research project may not only help to identify the specific island homelands of the initial canoes that arrived in NZ seven hundred years ago (Knapp et al. 2012), but have also enabled Rangitāne descendants to come face-to-face with their tūpuna, through evidence-based facial approximation using CT scans and computer graphics (Hayes et al. 2012).

Furthermore, the current resurgence of interest in material culture studies is also valid here (Buchli 2002, Edwards, Gosden, and Phillips 2006, Harvey 2009, Hicks and Beaudry 2010, Knappett 2005, Thomas 1991, Tilley et al. 2006), particularly as a means to reconcile understanding of the object as both event and effect, not only contextualising the object, but also understanding how the object's agency can change the context (Hicks 2010, 86ff). This type of agency is alluded to by Stocking (1985a, 5) when he discusses objects' inherent agency, as well as that which an object accrues as a part of a museum collection or display, and the consequent power the object exerts over the viewer within the museum context. Of most relevance to this study is Hicks' suggestion that attention to *practice* (he states 'field practice' in relation to both archaeology and anthropology, from which I infer museum practice as well) rather than just *theory* "could allow new kinds of cross-disciplinary work in 'material-culture' studies to develop" (Hicks 2010, 94). This is endorsed by McCarthy (2011, 18). Krmpotich and Peers (2013) have emphasised this in a detailed documentation of their collaborative project with Haida people, and point out that such detailed studies of current practice are under-represented in the literature. Addressing this gap in the literature is a central aim of this study, achieved in particular through the emergence of new events and effects resulting from interactions between the network entities of Ngā Paerangi, the Charles Smith collection and the PRM.

Hicks' (2010) concise history of the 'material-cultural' turn within the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology provides a clear framework for understanding the nature of Charles Smith's collecting activities, which occurred during a period when the West was attempting to categorise world cultures across time and space. Public museums were instrumental in this process. They provided the collections, enthusiasm and expertise whereby material representations of culture could be assessed, and placed within the schema of cultural evolution and interrelatedness, which at the PRM had expanded from the collecting of antiquities to embrace Pitt Rivers' evolutionary and typological organisational principles. As a result of four major projects (*England: The Other Within*, *The Relational Museum*, *Rethinking Pitt Rivers* and *Excavating Pitt Rivers*), several authors have

completed significant work on the development of the PRM Collection (Gosden, Larson, and Petch 2007, Hicks and Stevenson 2013, Larson 2008, Petch 2004, 2006). This research, together with William Chapman's (1985) analysis of A H L F Pitt Rivers and his contribution to the institutional foundation of British anthropology, are useful for this study in positioning the Charles Smith collection within the nineteenth-century context of ethnographic collecting in a British colony—specifically in the context of Pitt Rivers' study of the technological development of mankind, and the potential influence this had on Charles Smith's collecting and the subsequent acquisition of his collection by the PRM in 1923.



Figure 3-10: Pitt Rivers Museum, 2013, © Barry Mangham.

As stated earlier, PRM staff research in analysing the history of the PRM Collections, in projects such as the *Relational Museum* (2002–2006) and *Rethinking Pitt Rivers* (1995–1998, 2009–2012), have, over the past decade, in particular, resulted in global access to the museum's significant collections and databases. This included, in 2006, awareness in

Whanganui of the Charles Smith collection. As well, several PRM projects have reconnected material culture directly with source communities, for example *Haida Material Culture in UK Museums: Generating New Forms of Knowledge* (Krmpotich and Peers 2013).

Contemporary Practice at the Pitt Rivers Museum

By facilitating interaction between representatives of originating communities and those who work within museums, creating easier access to collections and consulting more sensitively about the histories and on-going potency of museum objects, ethnographic museums have been substantially improved.

Clare Harris and Michael O’Hanlon (2013, 10)

During a month-long visit to Oxford in 2013, I was able to observe, first-hand, current museum practice at the PRM in relation to collection access for source communities. One outcome of the cumulative experience of research visits by source communities has been the development of institutional procedures to ensure staff respond appropriately to indigenous visitors to the collections. Once a visit has been scheduled, staff plan an itinerary for the visit that ensures appropriate hosting, with staff responsibilities delegated to specific individuals, depending upon the collection and aims of the visit. Generally, curatorial assistants accompany visitors to view collections. This can be augmented by senior curatorial staff, depending upon the collection (and the visitor), and conservation staff, depending upon the purpose of the visit and/or the object/s to be accessed. Staff are exemplary in their customer service focus, endeavouring to do everything in their power to ensure visitors to the collection are satisfied with visit outcomes. The staff believe that source communities received special attention, as Peers states, “I know that we bend over backwards to provide every kind of access desired by individuals with particular genealogical connections to objects.”² Responding sensitively to situations involving collections and source communities is not only a post-colonial development at this institution. As Coote recalls, “Looking back though the museum’s annual reports... then curator, Tom Penniman, says... ‘one of the most exciting things the museum has been involved in for the year is arranging for some Māori carvings to be returned to New Zealand ... instead of the museum just accessioning them and adding them to the collections’.”³ Penniman was curator from 1939 to 1963 and, although the carvings had not been accessioned into the museum collection at that point, the opportunity

² Peers, interview.

³ Ibid.

was there for the carvings to be accessioned. Instead, Penniman undertook a form of repatriation which appears to have been a unique occurrence in the museum's history, until 1990 when human remains were repatriated to Australia (Simpson 2001, 226).

Peers arrived at the PRM from Canada in 1998 to take up the position of curator for the Americas Collections. She brought with her a different set of experiences to those of her colleagues and set about establishing new procedures and protocols for responding to source communities, which have been built on subsequently. As she states,

I learned not to present myself as the scholarly authority. I learned that I had ... one set of perspectives, and that there were others. And so I think I came to the work at the Pitt Rivers, more prepared to engage in collaborative methodologies with indigenous peoples regarding the museum collections ... I was the kind of curator who would go to the community and say look we have this collection what sort of project would you like ... I was prepared to foreground indigenous community needs and agendas and not see collections-based research as a kind of data gathering exercise to benefit the museum.⁴

She therefore responded to what she described as “the most crucial thing” for indigenous communities within the museum. This was,

quite simply the terrible need for access to the historic collections. And the fact that there has been no access pretty much to the collections held here, and the fact that communities need that access. I think my experience has led me to understand the depth of that need in ways that most UK curators don't.⁵

Peers is one of the leading scholar-practitioners in this field of museum-source community relationships. She shares her skills from her experience working with source communities with her colleagues. Thus skills are transferred within the institution and this action implements changes not only in PRM practice but also in the philosophical underpinnings of display and interpretation. As Uden states with regard to a new display about the museum's Cook Collection, which his colleague Coote is curating, “I get the impression that Jeremy is thinking about labels at the moment and thinking about linking objects to communities, to people and events. Not making them just objects collected by Captain Cook, but objects that come from a particular community and trying to link them back to where they came from.”⁶ This is a paradigmatic shift in the contextualisation of this material, where emphasis until

⁴ Peers interview.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Jeremy Uden interview November 6, 2013.

now has been placed on unpacking the post-collecting history by anthropologically trained research staff. To foreground the cultural origins of items that are more usually known as Cook Collection items and as testimony to collecting practices, is a significant development for the Pacific Collections at this institution.

A further illustration is the *Blackfoot Shirts Project*, which involved the loan of a group of important historic items to two museums in Canada. There they were available to Blackfoot communities to reconnect with and learn from. As conservator Richardson, who accompanied the shirts to Canada, stressed to these communities, “we’re not here to actually learn anything from you. We’re not here for you to tell us stuff that we go and put on our database. We’re just here to make them accessible to you. It’s not about us.”⁷

In preparation for the Ngā Paerangi visit in 2013 I talked with PRM staff about Māori cultural practices in relation to care of taonga that the group might recommend. Without exception, staff indicated that they were receptive to advice from source communities as to the care of items in the museum collection and, as Uden commented, “we would obviously do the best to accommodate them.”⁸ Similarly with display of items, as Peers states, “Occasionally the community from whom the object comes decides it’s simply not bearable, or simply not appropriate to put the objects on display, and we remove them from display, like the *toi moko*” (preserved head). Furthermore, although the museum has a distinct nineteenth-century approach to display, which they have chosen to maintain, “within those cases we make choices ... and the authority or set of information to make those decisions is not ours any more. We very much take on board community thoughts and world views on that.”⁹ There are exceptions, such as the display of shrunken heads. As Peers explains, “the museum as a whole has a hang-up about the ethics of having that sort of thing on display but it is our most popular display,”¹⁰ so it is maintained as an exhibit with efforts made to improve interpretation (Peers 2011).

The museum is regularly approached with requests to sample materials for scientific analysis. Procedures and protocols have evolved in recent years to ensure cultural sensitivities are taken into account when responding to these requests. Uden states, with

⁷ Heather Richardson interview November 6, 2013.

⁸ Uden, interview.

⁹ Peers, interview.

¹⁰ Ibid.

regard to “chemical analysis ... it’s something, particularly with Māori material, that we wouldn’t undertake without telling somebody from a community or talking to somebody and getting some advice about it.”¹¹ Richardson adds, “we’ve been really strict with some researchers who have obviously not, as a part of their research proposal, considered that such a community even exists.”¹²

Peers reflects that she considers the greatest recent change is,

the emphasis that staff now place on community access and community perspectives on the collection. So that even through the early 1990s I would say that scholarly understandings and research on the collection were privileged ... But to actually privilege community interpretations or understandings of collections or objects was a new thing. So that is what had really shifted. So now what we are really trying to record on the database is indigenous community perspectives and understandings. We always say to people - what do you want us to know - to put on the database.¹³

Although it is undeniable the PRM does indeed “bend over backwards” to accommodate research visits from indigenous communities, and they are constrained in their responses to requests for access by available resources, little has been published that expands on the experiences they have the privilege of being a part of in their various roles at the institution. There are notable exceptions (Brown, Peers, and Richardson 2012, Krmpotich and Peers 2011, 2013, Peers and Brown 2009). The staff are recognised for the range of publications they produce on different museum collections with theoretical and broader museological content. More detailed accounts, however, describing the complex processes involved in connecting communities and collections, also the special opportunities that produce new knowledge or articulate privileged cultural knowledge that they are exposed to, in particular for Pacific collections, would progress this field significantly, as Peers has achieved for North American communities (Krmpotich and Peers 2013, Peers 2013). PRM is not, however, the only British museum to fail in this regard.

¹¹ Uden, interview.

¹² Richardson, interview.

¹³ Peers, interview.

Summary

In this section the disassembly and analysis of this network component has located the PRM within the evolution of ethnographic collecting and described some aspects of current practice in relation to source communities, based on observations during recent fieldwork. The significance of the reassembling of this network in terms of relationship-building between museums and source communities will be described in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Analyses of three components of an assemblage have defined historical temporal and spatial factors, improving understanding of the interactions between them. Charles Smith and his collecting motivations are better understood, as are the past lives of a number of Māori heritage items that he collected. In conjunction with contemporary sources a general overview of Whanganui history specifically relating to the Kaiwhāiki area was also possible. A brief review of current thought on ethnographic collecting provided a context for recent observations of professional practice and interviews with staff at the PRM.

The next chapter places this research in a contemporary context. The data, together with interviews with tangata whenua and museum staff, hui/focus groups and a contemporary encounter of all the network components, is supplemented with participant observation. Together they provide information to identify the benefits of investing in relationship-building between museums and source communities. They also identify how an understanding of the disparate cultural perspectives of both groups can enhance our understanding of the past and present life of the objects for the community and the museum today.

4 From Theory to Practice—

Fieldwork New Zealand and England

In this chapter I continue advocating the proposition that the disassembly of a heritage network, comprising three entities, a collector and his collection, a tribal community, and a museum, enables the identification of other entities, which together can be reassembled to create new networks; in this case these new networks centre on respect, new knowledge and opportunities. This process of reassembling contributes to understanding new ways whereby relationships can be developed between Māori communities and museums when they are geographically remote.

There is an increasing body of literature exploring the ways in which museums are seeking to engage with source communities (Byrne et al. 2011b, Harrison, Byrne, and Clarke 2013, Herle 1994, Peers and Brown 2003b), and the need to move beyond the asymmetry of the contact zone model through shared authority (Boast 2011, Onciul 2013). Onciul's 'engagement zone', for example, is "a complex and unpredictable space" (Onciul 2013, 78) where the perspectives of community participants and the importance of inter-community collaboration are emphasised. These have the potential to begin the task of decolonising the museum as "participants continually negotiate the rules of exchange, challenging and debating power and authority" (ibid., 84-5). Furthermore, geographical distance has provided challenges for initiating, developing and maintaining relationships between museums and source communities. These challenges are often used as opportunities for development (Bolton 2003, Fienup-Riordan 2003, Hakiwai 1995, Krmpotich and Peers 2013, Peers and Brown 2003b); such as the *Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project* (Lyons et al. 2011), which has many parallels to the present project, the Great Lakes Research Alliance which promotes innovative collaborative practices (de Stecher and Loyer 2009), and the British Museum's *Melanesia Project*, which in part explored contemporary indigenous investment in historical collections. Awareness by source communities of their material heritage held in museum collections has increased in recent decades, as a result of improved access to collection records through their digitisation as well as online collection databases.

In the previous chapter, I described the components of an assemblage, as well as contextual information that helped position these components, so as to consider contemporary

relationships between them today. In this chapter, I discuss the effects of face-to-face encounters on this contemporary relationship development, between an indigenous community and a museum, framed around a collection of indigenous cultural material. I contribute to this by analysing qualitative data from interviews with museum staff and descendants of the source community, as well as participant observation.

I posed the following questions against the research findings. With the lapse of more than a century since Charles Smith's death and nearly one hundred and fifty years since he began collecting items from the Whanganui River, why were Ngā Paerangi people unaware of the existence of this group of taonga until recently? What is their view of the sale of this collection to a museum? And now they know about it, how do they feel about their limited ability to access it physically, care for it, or influence the care of it? Equally, why has PRM become aware of a responsibility to work with Ngā Paerangi people to care for, understand and interpret their ancestral heritage? And what benefits do they gain from engaging with a community of origin?

Iwi Encounters: Whanganui, New Zealand

To reconnect with those taonga is to reconnect with the people.

Morvin Simon¹

This research contributes to the literature that is re-evaluating the way in which museums and indigenous communities interact, and the methods by which a reframing of ontologies progresses museological responsibilities in the early twenty-first century (as described by authors such as Allen and Hamby 2011, Bolton et al. 2013, Byrne et al. 2011b, Krmpotich and Peers 2013, Tapsell 2011a). To recap, in 2006 a reconnection was made between Ngā Paerangi iwi and a collection of their taonga at the PRM. In 2013 a group of Ngā Paerangi people had the opportunity to become intimately reacquainted with these taonga on behalf of their iwi. The PRM also had its first opportunity to host a group of iwi Māori and participate in their reconnection experience. Ngā Paerangi iwi and PRM staff accommodated a timeframe constrained by a three-year doctoral research programme.

¹ Simon, interview.

A Strategy for Interaction

I preceded this doctoral research by briefing the iwi group involved, to ascertain their feeling about the approach that was proposed and my role in it; I attended and addressed a Ngā Paerangi hui ā-iwi to gauge iwi support and gain approval to proceed. Participants at this hui raised issues of ownership and repatriation, a not unexpected response given the observation that few were aware until this time of the existence of so many singularly important Ngā Paerangi taonga. A number from Ngā Paerangi iwi had been at a previous presentation about these taonga.² However, with no subsequent follow-up from that study, they felt a more proactive approach, focussed upon repatriation, might be more likely to result in tangible outcomes for them. Clarification of the aims of the research by Simon who was chairing the hui, Clarke who had previous experience with PRM and the local museum at governance level, and the author, resulted in many people present giving individual support. At the end of the hui, when asked by Simon to tautoko (support) the project, approval was unanimous, and Clarke was appointed iwi liaison.

As described in chapter one, I have used a participatory methodology involving a Project Team who guided the direction of the research. At the first Project Team meeting in July 2012 the primary aim, to develop a relationship with PRM initiated by Ngā Paerangi, was confirmed. The project's overarching focus was also identified,

About reconnection not repatriation.

A wairua journey to fulfil tikanga requirements for taonga.

Following feedback from the hui ā-iwi the previous December, the Project Team were clear that they were looking at mechanisms with which to engage with PRM staff. They were not attempting, at this time, a project aimed at repatriating any of the Charles Smith taonga. With this in mind a wairua or spiritual journey to Oxford was posited by Rzoska so as to undertake appropriate and necessary tikanga or customary practice to safeguard the taonga, the museum staff and themselves. When this was proposed the specifics of these practices had not been identified fully, but the aim was to consult with knowledgeable elders before departing for Oxford to clarify this. The requirements of a group who would travel to PRM as well as

² Oxford University student Christo Kefalas in 2008 for her doctoral research.

potential funding sources for this travel were also discussed at this first Project Team meeting.³

In 2012 the Project Team received a NSTP Strategic Project Grant to complete preparatory work for Ngā Paerangi iwi's reconnection with their taonga and encounter with PRM staff. In addition to project planning input, Rzoska contributed background information enabling contextualisation of individual taonga through genealogical and historical associations. The Project Team also identified the most suitable candidates for the interviews that were to be undertaken with Ngā Paerangi iwi members, and those who would be responsible for archiving the information that resulted from the project. In May 2013 Clarke had to withdraw from travelling to the PRM in Oxford with the Ngā Paerangi group. Hāwira, his niece, subsequently joined the Project Team to take over his role representing whānau in Oxford. In September 2013 a Protocol Agreement developed by the Project Team identifying objectives and outcomes for the project was approved at a hui ā-iwi and forwarded to PRM (see Appendix I).

I initiated hui with members of Ngā Paerangi to identify ways in which relationships between stakeholders (iwi and PRM staff) could be built and perpetuated. These hui were open to all iwi members but involved principally rangatira, Simon, the Project Team and those who intended travelling to Oxford later in the year. Others interested in the project, or who could assist with planning and fund raising, attended from time to time.

At the first hui, in May 2013, some potential cultural and social outcomes of the project were identified, as well as prospective funding sources. These outcomes included: reconnecting with the past; (re)learning how to look after the taonga (tiaki taonga); building a relationship with PRM staff, with the children of the future in mind so that they have opportunities to visit the taonga and to understand the relationship; future-proofing through a research project; possibly a scholarship; and the short-term return of taonga to Te Kiritahi wharepuni or the WM. A contractual arrangement that confirmed enduring engagement was considered essential, as was identifying the mechanics of this ongoing relationship.⁴ The second hui in June 2013 confirmed those travelling to the PRM, identified the roles, responsibilities and expectations of individuals in the group, and developed the agenda for the

³ PT Meeting July 12, 2012.

⁴ Hui May 4, 2013.

week in Oxford.⁵ At the third hui in August 2013 details of the museum encounter were confirmed, including greeting procedures at PRM and waiata to take. The people who would present koha were identified and the Protocol Agreement was signed off. A long-term plan was drafted from these hui comprising,

- **Preparation** - background, planning by Project Team, and actions to date.
- **Partnership Development** - PRM visit and activities in Oxford, compilation of results, development of a formal relationship agreement with PRM.
- **Future-Proofing** - initial potential outcomes for both taonga and people.⁶



Figure 4-1: Hui participants Kaiwhāiki, May, 2013, from left, Morvin Simon, Wīpaki Peeti, Hera Pēina, Haimona Rzoska, Susanne Osborne, Luana Tawaroa, Michelle Horwood, Takahia Tawaroa, Teresa Peeti, Ang Wilks.

A hui ā-iwi organised by the Kaiwhāiki Pā Trust, the legal entity for Ngā Paerangi iwi, for September 2013 enabled a wider group of iwi members to become familiar with the aims and potential outcomes of the project, and have an opportunity to contribute to project planning. The hui was timed to “ensure the aspirations of and benefits for Ngā Paerangi of reconnecting

⁵ Hui June 22, 2013.

⁶ Hui August 18, 2013.

with tūpuna [Charles Smith collection] and establishing a relationship with the PRM [were] clearly articulated and communicated” to the Project Team. The hui also ensured dissemination of information about the project to all iwi stakeholders.⁷

Ngā Paerangi Representation

Because of numerous commitments and the number of people available with the time, resources and skills required, Ngā Paerangi were not able to respond as effectively to this opportunity as they might have been, given more time for planning and discussion. Instead, the responsibility for moving forward was placed on the shoulders of a small group. At this time, Ngā Paerangi members were involved in the Waitangi Tribunal Whanganui River Claim (WAI167). In particular, iwi historian, Gerard Albert, and rangatira, John Maihi, were part of the team negotiating with the Crown on behalf of Whanganui iwi. Also, iwi rangatira, Simon, as mentioned, suffered, from chronic ill health, and educator Merekanara Ponga had personal commitments that precluded her full involvement.

The Project Team planned that an elected group of Ngā Paerangi representatives with the necessary skills to engage with taonga and staff at PRM would travel to Oxford. The key roles identified were as follows,

- tikanga adviser,
- kaikaranga/caller at ceremonial welcome,
- mihi whakatau/speaker for welcome speech,
- waiata,
- tikanga leader for taonga sessions,
- leader + two others for relationship discussion with key PRM staff,
- taonga expert in weapons and uses, weaving, performance,
- history expert,
- note-taker,
- photographer, and
- presenter for Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology seminar.

In January 2013 a pānui was issued to Ngā Paerangi iwi with this aim in mind. The outcome of this approach combined with the unwillingness of any member of the PT,

⁷ Hui ā-iwi September 8, 2013.

including iwi rangatira, to have any control over the composition of the group, as well as a perceived lack of information dissemination to invite participation, resulted in a group of individuals with only some of the skills required to achieve the aims of the PRM visit. This was exacerbated by the unavoidable withdrawal of one key participant shortly before departure for England. Some members of the group were unwilling to take any official responsibility and responded with the statement “It will happen”. As it transpired, “It” sometimes did not happen.

From a Pākehā observer’s perspective, there appeared to be no authoritative leader when facing new situations. This resulted in indecisive action at times despite extensive preparatory discussion, as individuals were not sure of tikanga. An example was the welcome at PRM. Some individuals identified that only a pōwhiri (welcome ceremony) was appropriate, although a pōwhiri was not being offered by the museum. Therefore Ngā Paerangi action at the welcome was unplanned. As Onciul (2013, 79) identified, and I concur, there are “potential risks, costs, and benefits for participants who enter into the complex and unpredictable space of engagement zones”. For Ngā Paerangi, several significant issues arose from this including the following.

- With no spokesperson to act on behalf of the group at the welcome at PRM there was considerable discomfort when individuals were asked to introduce themselves and describe what they saw as outcomes of the visit to Oxford.
- The accommodation choice was poor; a B&B with no lounge or other communal space or kitchen facility.
- No individuals had specific taonga knowledge to take information back to iwi.
- No member of the group documented the week’s activities at the PRM as a record and to build on for future visits.
- The gifts presented at the poroporoaki (farewell ceremony), although considered an appropriate exchange for the ‘gifts’ they had received through the manaaki (care) of staff and the encounter with taonga, expanded from key PRM participants to all staff members the group had met. This created considerable stress and was a significant strain on the groups’ resources.

An example a specific customary practice or tikanga involved water. At one point Rzoska had asked if he would be able to travel on an aeroplane taking a small bottle of water from the Whanganui River with him to use at the museum. Water is an important aspect of

tikanga to do with cleansing, clearing or neutralising the tapu or sacredness of a situation or thing. Other ceremonies would involve specific chants and prayers as well as the direct physical interaction with the taonga once these cleansing procedures had taken place. The majority of these processes were effected at PRM, although I did not observe any use of water beyond that undertaken by individuals for their own personal safety. I suggest Rzoska, in particular, may have felt uncomfortable and therefore unwilling to enact aspects of tikanga which would appear out of place in this environment or direct attention to him.

I do acknowledge that this is my perspective and the Ngā Paerangi participants did not dwell upon aspects they had no control over. Instead they focussed upon the positive outcomes. As Hāwira stated in retrospect, the group were not “fazed by not knowing what they would be encountering, that was the Māori way, they just went for it.”⁸ All group members appeared very happy with their individual experiences in Oxford and excited to share these experiences with whānau. It is also useful at the outset to be aware of potential problems of cross-cultural communication as described by Metge and Kinloch (1984) in *Talking Past Each Other* and subsequent publications.

Museum Encounters: Oxford, England

Over the past twenty-five years there has been a shift in the primary focus of the museum from being about things to being for people, as discussed in chapter two, with increased attention turning to social responsiveness and intangible heritage. Redefining curatorship as social practice, Kreps (2003a, 320-1) argues, “acknowledges the interplay among objects, people, and society”, enabling “more holistic, integrated, and culturally relative approaches to curating” and the reassembling of objects and people. This can overcome historical collecting practices where objects were removed from their social and cultural contexts. Not all iwi Māori have experienced positive benefits of the new museology; as Wilson argues, “The cultural base of a museum is about power ... it’s the glorification of theft, because most of it is theft. They just collect and acquire. Acquire is just a flash word for pinching”.⁹ Wilson however, through his experience with museums both in Britain (British Museum, Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) and NZ (WM), recognises that museums are changing and providing new opportunities for indigenous peoples. As he stated,

⁸ Hui ā-iwi, Kaiwhāiki, July 13, 2014.

⁹ Wilson, interview.

We've now entered into a new age... we've just got to go through a journey and it's not going to be a quick journey where we will do some things really well, and occasionally we'll trip. It's a patient journey where we have to just take our time... recognising also knowledge evolves, understanding evolves.¹⁰

In NZ museums an indigenous museology is evident today which “prioritises the need to incorporate indigenous perspectives and recognizes indigenous priority in establishing representational conventions” (Geismar 2013, 130). Wilson is familiar with the ways in which the WM addresses this, such as adoption of repatriation policies, not only for human remains as also implemented elsewhere, but also for taonga Māori items (Whanganui Regional Museum 2008), and the legal ramifications of processes such as the Waitangi Tribunal discussed previously. Such perspectives and representations are also embedded in practice at Te Papa through the corporate principle of Mana Taonga that defines Māori participation and involvement through recognising the spiritual and cultural connections of taonga with their people through whakapapa (Schorch and Hakiwai 2014, 15).¹¹ Furthermore, as Schorch and Hakiwai (2014) argue, drawing on indigenous thought rather than only Western theory when employing a cross-cultural collaborative process, contributes to “a more democratic form of knowledge production” (ibid., 13). I have been able to take this experience of museum thought and practice from one familiar network (in NZ) and transpose it to another network, less familiar and located elsewhere (in England), through the current study which I will discuss in this section. This has provided an opportunity for critical reflection on cross-cultural collaboration as effected across geographic distance.

Thus, during a one month research visit to the PRM in 2013, I examined items in the Charles Smith collection, as well as the RDF, and interviewed museum staff. Coote was PRM point of contact. I then met with the nine members of Ngā Paerangi iwi who travelled to Oxford for the final week of this period to meet their taonga and establish relationships with museum staff (Figure 4-2).

PRM staff have had considerable experience hosting individuals and groups from communities of origin. Moreover, Coote, during his career, had established relationships with Māori academics and artists such as Dr Paul Tapsell, Dr Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku and George Nuku. Te Awekōtuku had given a presentation with Dr Linda Nikora the week before the

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Although this principle has been contested in New Zealand, notably by Tapsell (2001, 91-2), because of the reinterpretation of the concept of the marae to become taonga-based rather than ancestral land-based which thus ignores the traditional role of tangata whenua.

Ngā Paerangi visit in 2013, for the university's Research Seminar in Visual, Material and Museum Anthropology, about their research on cultural practices around Māori tangihanga. In a conversation with the author on November 15, 2013, Coote mentioned that his and Te Awekōtuku's professional relationship and friendship extended over several decades. The Ngā Paerangi visit, however, was the first research visit from a Māori group from NZ for current museum staff.



Figure 4-2: Ngā Paerangi team with Jeremy Coote at Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, 2013.

PRM staff have had considerable experience hosting individuals and groups from communities of origin. Moreover, Coote, during his career, had established relationships with Māori academics and artists such as Dr Paul Tapsell, Dr Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku and George Nuku. Te Awekōtuku had given a presentation with Dr Linda Nīkora the week before the Ngā Paerangi visit in 2013, for the university's Research Seminar in Visual, Material and Museum Anthropology, about their research on cultural practices around Māori tangihanga. In a conversation with the author on November 15, 2013, Coote mentioned that his and Te Awekōtuku's professional relationship and friendship extended over several decades. The

Ngā Paerangi visit, however, was the first research visit from a Māori group from NZ for current museum staff.

Over a period of twelve months I had negotiated with PRM staff about this research visit, securing a mutually agreeable timetable and programme for a group from Ngā Paerangi and myself to visit following the northern summer break in 2013. To ensure Ngā Paerangi were welcomed appropriately, and based upon prior experience with other indigenous groups (Krmpotich and Peers 2013, Peers and Brown 2009) and discussions with me, Coote and Peers suggested an informal (“low key”) welcome involving introductions to staff and museum procedures. This would be a balance between Ngā Paerangi expectations and PRM practicalities.¹² Peers also suggested using the model adopted for a previous visit by members of the Haida Nation in 2009, where “the more staff members you can involve and get to take a sort of professional and personal investment in the project the better.”¹³ This would potentially provide opportunities for relationships to be established between individual staff and members of the Ngā Paerangi group, and was the most likely way for long-term outcomes to result. I met with Peers and Coote to discuss the welcome procedure for the group, at which time Coote suggested that Ngā Paerangi enter the museum through a neutral space (Robinson Close side entrance of PRM building that leads into a seminar room) rather than through the galleries, as he was concerned the group might feel confronted or overwhelmed by some of the displays.¹⁴ Furthermore, Peers explicitly requested no filming of the welcome occasion as it would be “intrusive and make staff feel self-conscious”.¹⁵

Māori speak openly and emotionally about connection to ancestors and ancestral taonga. Prior to their arrival in Oxford, the Ngā Paerangi group had requested staff at PRM be forewarned that their reconnection to taonga would be emotional and unrestrained. Furthermore, with no pōwhiri or mihi whakatau, the usual opportunity to greet each other, acknowledge those who had passed on, and refer to the reason for the visit, would not be possible. The group would have to be resourceful, during an intense and emotional time, finding new opportunities to insert these essential customary practices. I was notified just prior to the arrival of the Ngā Paerangi group in Oxford that a relation of one of the group, Zeena McGreevy (great niece by marriage to Takahia Tawaroa), worked as an assistant

¹² Coote e-mail message to author March 9, 2013.

¹³ Peers, interview.

¹⁴ Peers and Coote meeting with author November 3, 2013.

¹⁵ Peers e-mail message to author November 14, 2013.

curator at the PRM. This timely revelation was a welcome addition to the support for the Ngā Paerangi group. Additionally, Professor Harry Allen, Auckland University, was based at Keble College, Oxford during this period with his wife, Jenny. They asked if they could be a part of the group welcoming the Ngā Paerangi contingent to Oxford as they were aware how emotional and difficult the visit could be and wanted to offer their support. This expanded those involved to include two well versed in Māori welcome protocols and a family member who had been hosted on marae on the Whanganui River.

The Ngā Paerangi group were therefore greeted at the entrance to the museum on Parks Road by Coote, Peers, the Allens and four anthropology students who were assisting with hosting the group during their stay. McGreevy and I accompanied the Ngā Paerangi group. As we approached the museum the kuia, wishing to address and greet those waiting to welcome us and acknowledge the kaupapa of the journey and the taonga, started a karanga and led us towards the PRM staff who were waiting outside the main entrance. As we were not entering through that door, other members of the group felt this was inappropriate tikanga and we should wait until we reached the side door through which we would be entering. The kaikaranga and our procession towards the museum continued. This was a case of a new situation, unclear or no consensus on tikanga and no individual such as Simon there to lead the group. Although the younger members of the group were aware of appropriate tikanga, they were not prepared to counter a decision by their elders so remained silent. However, as Atkinson (2014, 78) citing Patterson (1992, 15) describes, the set of values and beliefs embodied within tikanga Māori that guide behaviour are “able to adapt to changing circumstances” and did so on this occasion (although with some trepidation).

Once the group arrived at the main entrance to the museum Peers stepped forward and introductions (hand shaking and name exchanges) began. We were then escorted around the building to the museum’s Robinson Close entrance off South Parks Road amongst the nitrous oxide cylinders of the chemistry department and museum’s bicycle rack and taken to the seminar room just inside that entrance. When the group was seated and given name tags, Coote greeted and welcomed everyone, stating how glad he was that all had arrived safely. He then deferred to Peers who was acting for museum director, Michael O’Hanlon. Peers gave the formal welcome to PRM, describing the nature of the museum and their work with indigenous peoples, her delight that they had come to visit, and their awareness that this was an emotional time. She noted that toi moko in the collection were off site and that staff were

in contact with the repatriation team at Te Papa about them. She also identified the PRM staff present. W Peeti, kaumātua for the group, then had the opportunity to respond; he greeted the whare, the tūpuna, the staff, the visitors from Auckland (the Allens) and their relative McGreevy. He also mentioned those at home, the taonga and the kaupapa of the visit. The rest of the Ngā Paerangi group then stood and sang a waiata. This was followed by a translation of Peeti's speech by Hāwira.

Coote then introduced himself and invited everyone else to do the same. He described his job and role and how long he had been at the museum and the thrill of discovering Cook voyages' material in the collection. He mentioned that while he was not an expert on Māori, he was the closest they would get at the museum while they were there. He also noted that there had been many Māori visitors over the history of museum, usually artists or researchers (scholars), including Māketi Maggie Papakura and Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku. He gave personal anecdotes such as finding out he and Te Awekōtuku were related through her English tūpuna. He concluded by assuring those present that relationships between source communities and the PRM would be ongoing as the objects were always going to be there, and it was the objects that created the relationship; the relationships would endure as the objects would endure. The rest of the staff, students, the Allens and the Ngā Paerangi group then spoke a little about themselves, and for the latter why they were in Oxford and what they hoped to achieve by the visit. They also expressed gratitude for being given this opportunity and for the hospitality and kindness shown to them. One member of Ngā Paerangi, however, summarised their discomfort at introducing themselves in such a way with the whakataukī (proverb) 'Kāore te kūmara e kōrero mō tōna māngaro'.¹⁶ Coote concluded the welcome commenting on the use of the term 'permission' by several of the group when talking about viewing the collection. He described PRM's stance on access, that there would never be a situation where community members were not allowed access to the collection, and that the museum had been open to the public since its inception.

The introductions were followed with a handling session by Richardson, head of conservation, who assured the group that the conservators were there to assist not deter the group from handling the objects. This assurance was in response to her previous experience with indigenous communities who were more familiar with the sometimes restrictive

¹⁶ The kūmara (sweet potato) does not say how sweet he is; a reference to humility (Brougham, Reed, and Kāretu 2012, 93).

practices of museums to handling of collection items. She did warn those present, however, that the PRM collections had historically been treated with toxic pesticides as a preventative conservation measure and outlined the precautions the visitors should take to reduce the risk of contamination.



Figure 4-3: PRM staff from left, Connor Tulloch and Jeremy Coote with Haimona Rzoska and Tuata Angus observing Heather Richardson providing object handling advice, November, 2013.

The introduction ended with lunch in the Blackwood Room, a room that had been made available for the exclusive use of the group during their visit. PRM staff had endeavoured to accommodate the group in a way that ensured their physical and emotional comfort, at the same time providing opportunities for familiarisation with the museum, staff and Oxford city. Peers had arranged for the four anthropology students to be available to take the group or individuals sightseeing or shopping during their stay. All the staff who were to work with the group, with the exception of the curator of photography and his assistant, were present to greet the group on their arrival. I had been consulted about the week's programme and

timetable, and assistant curator, Belsey, was responsible for coordinating the group's activity and finalising the programme (see Appendix II).

Five days were spent with taonga from the Charles Smith collection. Research and storerooms were ritually cleared by karakia (prayer) and karanga on first entering them. Ngā Paerangi were respectful of handling procedures for object and human safety. One member of the group, Teresa Peeti, extensively photographed these encounters to record them. No notes were taken by Ngā Paerangi during taonga sessions although notebooks had been provided to each member of the group. Four or five staff accompanied Ngā Paerangi at all times when with taonga to ensure safety of objects and to provide assistance, for example, handling advice, if needed. There was one instance where an object was damaged and subsequently a strategy was put into place to minimise the risk of this being repeated. Poroporoaki concluded the visit with speeches, waiata and gift exchanges. A letter from Kaiwhāiki Pā Trust formally inviting staff of the museum to Kaiwhāiki was presented (see Appendix III).

Collection Accessibility and Viewing

At PRM Coote delegated preparation of objects for the Ngā Paerangi visit to assistant curator, Madeleine Ding. She planned a schedule, booked the collection research room where collection items would be placed for viewing, and coordinated preparation of objects for viewing with conservation and collection staff. Full access was given to all the items requested. The items were prepared by these staff and made available in small groups in the collection research room. Once examination was completed, the material was returned to a transit store and a new group of items brought out. I recorded detailed information about each object; measurements were taken, materials identified, manufacturing processes described. They were also photographed and additional information to that available on the museum's collection database noted. Most of the larger textile items were off site, requiring a trip to this storage facility. Storage of a number of the items viewed had improved significantly since my 2009 visit. Specifically that for some of the raincoats and the canoe prow *Tunuhaere* which were, in 2009, stored at an off site store some distance from the main museum building.

I made suggestions for the order in which objects would be viewed, but Ngā Paerangi determined the final schedule (see Appendix II). In total 122 items were viewed during the 2013 fieldtrip. Of these, I viewed and documented 101 prior to Ngā Paerangi arrival. Ngā Paerangi specifically wished to see the 25 taonga that are attributed to their ancestors. This

group includes eight photographs. Fifty-eight additional items were selected for viewing if time permitted.

Meeting the Tūpuna

Ngā Paerangi see these taonga as an enduring living legacy between their tūpuna (ancestors) and current and future generations. (Protocol Agreement)



Figure 4-4: Teresa Peeti with her tūpuna taonga, Te Oti Takarangi's taiaha, PRM, 2013.

On the first day, after a morning of greeting and conversation, Ngā Paerangi were anxious to see the taonga they had come so far to meet. Following lunch we moved to the research room on the first floor of the museum building. W Peeti led the way with his daughter T Peeti behind him and the rest of the group following. He recited a karakia on approaching the room and entering it that lasted several minutes. Hāwira followed this with a karanga. We were then able to enter the room. The group had requested that the taonga directly associated with Ngā Paerangi should be the first to be viewed. Therefore, Te Oti Takarangi's taiaha, tewhatewha, pendant, and tā moko taonga as well as the hamana, heru and hoeroa were waiting in the room when we entered.



Figure 4-5: Reti Wisneski, Katrina Hāwira and Wīpaki Peeti, PRM, 2013.



Figure 4-6: Katrina Hāwira, Tuata Angus, Takahia Tawaroa, PRM, 2013.

Immediately upon entering the room Rzoska asked where Wī Pātene's tewhatewha was and why it was not with the rest of the Ngā Paerangi taonga. The immediacy of this response made it clear to me the effect the absence of this taonga had for Rzoska; it was the taonga he was most anticipating greeting at that first moment of encounter. The taonga was his closest relative amongst those in the Charles Smith collection as Wīremu Pātene was the brother of his great great grandfather. After some discussion and confusion it transpired that Rzoska recalled a photograph taken by Kefalas of a display at the museum that included a tewhatewha with "WI PATENE" carved into the top of the handle. I had not linked this to the Charles Smith collection. Coote then kindly took us to the gallery and the case where this tewhatewha was displayed and agreed to have the tewhatewha available for the group the next day. The museum database described the tewhatewha as 'found in the collection with no documentation in 2008'. It was therefore allocated a 2008 accession number, this being the year of its accessioning into the museum's collection. This is customary practice in museums when accessioning undocumented objects. It is quite likely the tewhatewha is associated with the Charles Smith collection and may have come in with the later donation of Mrs Collier or Rev. Steer and not been recorded.



Figure 4-7: Chris Morton and Haimona Rzoska, PRM, 2013.



Figure 4-8: Reti Wisneski and Katrina Hāwira, PRM, 2013.

After thirty minutes of looking closely at taonga, Pēina and W Peeti moved to one corner to sit and talk. They were reminiscing about people and places. They remained seated for the rest of the session and all the group migrated regularly to sit with them and talk. They were like an anchor to return to when a break from direct engagement with the taonga was needed. At this point Coote noted that everyone seemed to relax a little and enjoy the moment and being with the taonga. Tuata Angus observed, “I have never associated things like these with home, so that’s what’s special to me”.

Once the group had settled into examining and admiring and reflecting about taonga the anxiety of the previous few hours had lifted and everyone’s emotions had calmed down. Even Rzoska, who was looking the most uncomfortable and anxious, seemed relaxed. Peers had asked if Rzoska would talk to everyone about the genealogy connections of the different taonga, as she understood that was his particular expertise. He suggested that it would be better when all the specific Ngā Paerangi taonga were together the next day. He was warned that there would be fishing gear amongst this next group of taonga, the concern being the mixing of tapu and noa material. However, he gave the assurance that as long as they were separated on the table that would be OK. This was a more relaxed attitude than I expected. Rzoska remained a little apart most of the time and watched and listened. Later in the

afternoon Coote, as well as Kate Jackson (conservator), Madeleine Ding and Belsey (assistant curators), accompanied the group on a tour of the exhibition galleries. Then the day concluded with a cup of tea, following which Coote escorted the group from the building via the main entrance.



Figure 4-9: Ngā Paerangi group with Jeremy Coote, PRM, 2013.



Figure 4-10: Viewing kākahu in textiles store, PRM, 2013, photographer Teresa Peeti.

On the second day, at Richardson's request, Connor Tulloch, a conservation intern, joined the staff accompanying the group, following a comment by Ngā Paerangi group on the paucity of males the previous day.

Figure 4-11: Viewing tāniko bands (for saddle girth), PRM, 2013.

During the subsequent days at the museum the rest of the taonga requested to be viewed were made available to the group. The off site textile store was ritually cleansed by W Peeti before the group entered it. Over this period the group became very relaxed with the museum staff and were happy to share information about taonga or processes, such as fishing, with the staff and with each other. For example, T Peeti and Wisneski explained to Tulloch how muka is prepared and rolled; L Tawaroa



discussed with Angus how a pāoi is used. They all spent considerable time looking at the obsidian (PRM 1923.87.46) attributed to Te Maramara, trying to recall anything they could about this man and his brother Kararaina Pukeroa. Pēina mentioned this name was given to her granddaughter. Although Rzoska was able to provide the whakapapa for these men, few details about them could be recalled; the place mentioned as where Te Maramara was killed, Momimomi, had disappeared from iwi history. Rzoska suggested “it could be anywhere as our old people had names for areas that have not been recorded, but have become part of the bigger block’s name”.¹⁷

Wisneski was excited to recognise the house and water tank in the photograph of Charles Smith taken around 1895 (PRM1998.507.1 Figure 3-3), as the one she had grown up

¹⁷ Rzoska e-mail message to author, December 5, 2012.

Momimomi has subsequently been identified by the author on an 1856 map (Archives New Zealand RP 440) as in the vicinity of the location of the Momemome trig (New Zealand geodetic mark A6TM <http://apps.linz.govt.nz/gdb/?mode=gmap>) which is near Tokomaru East Road and the headwaters of the Kaipua Stream west of the Whanganui River.

in. She has a photograph of herself as a child on a horse with her sister and brother, standing by the same water tank (Figure 4-12). As a result of the Ngā Paerangi visit, Chris Morton, curator of photography, had the photographs in the collection digitised and uploaded to the museum's database where they could be downloaded as jpegs. I discussed public access to images and potential use with Rzoska and he felt it was appropriate for them to be available on a website.



Figure 4-12: John, Ereti (Reti Wisneski) and Deidre Pēina beside Charles Smith's house, Te Korito, Whanganui, around 1945, photograph courtesy Hera Pēina.

Damage to Taonga

During one session, an object, the hamana (PRM 1923.87.10 Figures 4-13, 4-14), was damaged. This hand-made cartouche case for holding musket cartridges, made of wood with a leather cover attached by iron nails, was fragile as the leather had become very brittle. A member of the group inadvertently used too much force when lifting the front flap, resulting in the leather cover becoming separated from the wooden base. Two conservators present expressed (silent) shock. This incident was unfortunate but must be weighed up against the benefits for Ngā Paerangi and for the museum of these handling opportunities. Richardson

later reassured the group when she said, “Accidents do happen”.¹⁸ From that point on, at the beginning of each handling session, Richardson would talk about the fragility of specific taonga that were to be handled that day and precautions to take against damage (Figure 4-15).



Figure 4-13: Hamana, cartouche case 1923.87.10.



Figure 4-14: Hamana, cartouche case 1923.87.10 after damage occurred.

¹⁸ Richardson discussion November 19, 2013.



Figure 4-15: Heather Richardson, Head of Conservation, describing handling requirements for taonga to Ngā Paerangi group, PRM, 2013.

Talking It Over

I think the perpetuity is embedded in the objects ... that's where that relationship is.

Jeremy Coote¹⁹

During the PRM visit, time was set aside for Ngā Paerangi and PRM staff to meet to discuss ways in which the relationship between the two groups could be developed and perpetuated. The PRM staff was represented by Coote and Richardson at this hui. There was opportunity for all present to make their opinions known and constructively contribute to the discussion. This centred on access to/restricting knowledge, opportunities for the future and defining a suitable timeframe for these, and collective responsibilities. It must first be pointed out that the Project Team had suggested it would be most useful for a group of two to three people rather than the whole group to meet with PRM staff on behalf of the group and iwi, to talk through their future relationship. This was primarily so that discussion would stay focussed (upon the agreed kaupapa (topic)) and the PRM staff would not be overwhelmed. W Peeti, Pēina plus one other were recommended. In Oxford, members of the Ngā Paerangi group debated this arguing that the whole group should be present so that if asked on their return

¹⁹ Coote, interview.

home what was discussed, they would be able to provide a first hand response. The result was that the entire group attended the hui.

Within the museum, staff manaakitanga had ensured a positive and memorable experience for members of the group. As a result it was suggested at this hui that a formal outcome might not be necessary because of the “trust and aroha” developed over the week at PRM. Coote agreed, stating that pieces of paper were acceptable, but it was people who made relationships, and these relationships were reinforced by being together. However, in my experience working with communities, documents are useful in that they are more binding than verbal agreements, and they identify mutually agreed achievable outcomes and timeframes. Furthermore, iwi groups are familiar with working in this way through the Waitangi Tribunal processes, for example.

Coote also pointed out that the Protocol Agreement embodied his feelings about how the museum operated, especially the idea of reciprocity. But they were still working through what would happen next, with regard to the future of their relationship. He mentioned that he had been reprimanded for signing the Protocol Agreement, as the museum director felt it should have been officially sanctioned by the Museum Visitors. But even so, the Protocol Agreement now exists and sits with the collection records, which in his opinion are the most important files in the museum. Staff were to be directed to write about their experiences during the week which would also go into the museum records as a part of the Charles Smith file. Coote said that he thought a public outcome would be good, such as a journal article with Ngā Paerangi contributing. In response T Tawaroa suggested the outcomes of the visit could be produced as *Taku Whare E* volume 4.²⁰ This is a clear articulation of parallel (or polar opposite) opinions about communication and benefits, where one outcome would be accessible to iwi while the other would be accessible to the academy. As Sully (2007, 31) states, regarding authority of the academy and the subservience of other world views, recipients of knowledge were Western scholars and audiences, rarely was knowledge produced for consumption by the subject. However the suggestions did trigger discussion about possibilities for wider distribution of information about the collection through publication or web-based opportunities, including educational benefits for kura (schools) in

²⁰ *Taku Whare E* volumes 1–3 are an anthology of marae past and present throughout the Whanganui and Rangitikei regions written by Morvin Simon and published privately. A set of these books was part of Ngā Paerangi koha to PRM.

NZ. There were, however, some concerns from Ngā Paerangi about making whakapapa information public.

The most important outcome for Ngā Paerangi was seen as the potential for the taonga to come to NZ, accompanied by PRM staff to embed the embryonic relationships developed in Oxford. Coote agreed that a good first step for this to occur would be for staff to visit Kaiwhāiki. A two- to three-year timeframe was considered optimum by all. To explain to Coote and Richardson the collective nature of iwi rather than individuals working independently, Hāwira used the whakataukī “I may stand alone but I represent many”.²¹ The individuals from Ngā Paerangi were in Oxford to represent an iwi of Te Wainui-ā-Rua (the Whanganui River), to whom they were directly responsible. Coote concluded that everyone’s good experiences during the week helped to clear a path for future developments, and that the staff and iwi had worked well together to ensure that this had happened.

‘Reawakening Legacies—Reconnecting With Our Ancestors’

Seminar

In September 2013 Coote had asked if we would like to present to the Visual and Material Anthropology and Museum Ethnography weekly lunchtime seminar series while we were in Oxford. This was readily agreed to. It was decided that I would provide an introduction for the group, outlining the Charles Smith collection, my research and the objectives of the project and PRM visit.²² This would be followed by members of the group speaking about Ngā Paerangi and the importance of the taonga from their perspective, as well as their experiences at PRM over the past few days. T Tawaroa offered to develop a PowerPoint presentation for this seminar describing Kaiwhāiki today, the people and the things that are important to them, such as the different family homes and land blocks, kōhanga reo (pre-school), the church, etcetera. Also the Whanganui iwi Treaty of Waitangi claim.

Peers facilitated the session and gave an introduction about why the group were in Oxford and what they were doing at museum. The audience included visual and material anthropology masters students and staff, staff from the museum, and the general public. W Peeti gave a mihi then the group sang *E Rere te Awa*. Hāwira then briefly translated Peeti’s

²¹ Ehara taku toa, i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini. Success is not mine alone, but that of many (Mead and Grove 2001).

²² Hui August 18, 2013.

welcome, I presented my part of the session, starting by introducing the group and then T Tawaroa spoke about Ngā Paerangi and Kaiwhāiki. When she mentioned their marae, a spirited performance of the waiata *Kiritahi* by the group followed. Questions from the audience followed and even Rzoska, the most reserved of the group, responded to several.



Figure 4-16: *Reawakening Legacies* seminar, PRM, 2013.²³

Poroporoaki

The PRM visit concluded with a gift exchange ceremony in the Blackwood Room with all the staff present who had assisted with hosting the Ngā Paerangi group over the week. W Peeti pre-empted Coote and gave the first speech, thanking the staff for their warm welcome and hospitality. This was followed by a waiata and then Hāwira translated Peeti's speech. Gifts were presented to all staff and volunteers who had provided manaakitanga, as well as a koha to the museum. Pēina concluded the Ngā Paerangi component of the ceremony reading and presenting a letter from Kaiwhāiki Pā Trust, signed by Simon, Clarke and Pēina on behalf of Ngā Paerangi, formally inviting staff of the museum to Kaiwhāiki. The aim of the invitation was to strengthen their relationship and provide staff with an insight into the community from where the taonga had originated, and to reciprocate the hospitality shown to the group in Oxford. The museum staff then replied and presented gifts in return. Final farewells were then made and we all departed the museum.

²³ Photographer for all *Reawakening Legacies* seminar photographs Madeleine Ding.



Figure 4-17: Tuata Angus and Maddie Ding at the poroporoaki, PRM, 2013.



Figure 4-18: Hera Pēina and Katrina Hāwira presenting Laura Peers with a koha at the poroporoaki, with Wīpaki Peeti, Zena McGreevy and Jeremy Coote looking on, PRM, 2013.



Figure 4-19: Hera Pēina reading letter of invitation to PRM staff at the poroporoaki, 2013.



Figure 4-20: Jeremy Coote at the poroporoaki thanking Ngā Paerangi for the koha and for visiting the museum, 2013.

Final Observations

Full access to the Charles Smith collection was facilitated by PRM staff during the 2013 visit. At this time 122 items were viewed and documented. Ngā Paerangi engagement with their material heritage was observed and recorded. Interviews with five PRM staff were completed and at a hui with the staff and the Ngā Paerangi group, there was an open discussion about the experiences during the visit, and opportunities for continuing the relationship into the

future. As discussed in chapter one, Ngā Paerangi iwi had articulated their objectives and the potential outcomes of this project in a Protocol Agreement. For Ngā Paerangi people, the primary objective was to reconnect spiritually, physically and intellectually with these taonga within their tikanga.

During the course of the week at Oxford, individual members of the group had responded to being with the taonga in different ways. The museum visit was initially an overwhelming experience combining sadness with awe and excitement, which progressed over the course of the week to enthusiastic engagement, reflection and discussion. Connections between the taonga and people in the past and today were central to all conversations, while opportunities arose to embed individual taonga within personal/whānau narratives. Individuals used personal experience with and knowledge of materials, tools and activities to contextualise taonga they encountered within iwi practices; for example hīnaki (eel trap) and fishing, poi and kapa haka (performance group). There were also many opportunities to reflect on the Whanganui River, its centrality to iwi life, the resources the river provides, and how this was manifest in many items in the collection.



Figure 4-21, 4-22: Tuata Angus with Wīpaki Peeti (left) and Tuata Angus with Teresa Peeti preparing poi to demonstrate how poi are still used today, PRM, 2013.

There was a general consensus from the Ngā Paerangi group that all had gone well with the visit. Concurring with Coote, I had noticed how the anxiety and tension of the initial

encounter had dissipated during the week, with everyone feeling relaxed within the museum environment, freely interacting with staff and taonga. As stated previously, staff at the PRM “bent over backwards”²⁴ to accommodate Ngā Paerangi’s physical reconnection with their taonga. Staff were guided by Ngā Paerangi as to the appropriate tikanga they wished to action on arrival at the museum and for all subsequent activities, and allowed time and space for this to happen at each occasion. All taonga requested to be viewed, as well as all related collection information, were made available and remained available for as long as the group required them. Due to the number of items requested, this entailed considerable effort by the collection staff who had to remove items from display or transfer them from storage, update documentation, and clean or in other ways prepare them for viewing. After an initial handling session individuals were able to pick up to examine or simply to hold taonga and photograph them. Staff accompanied the group at all times when interacting with taonga. There were several reasons for this: to provide information about appropriate handling or any information about an item if they were asked, as security for the collection’s safety, to learn from the group about individual items or other aspects of Māoritanga and significantly to devolve responsibility for building a relationship with the group from an individual to multiple staff members. Two objects that were on display and identified by members of the group, although not attributed to Charles Smith collection, were also made available.

In Their Own Words: Interviews with Iwi and Museum Staff

In the previous chapter archival research provided the context for a contemporary exploration of the meaning of items within an historical collection to a community and museum. I achieved this through qualitative interviews with key informants from Ngā Paerangi iwi and members of PRM staff, hui/focus groups and participant observation. As stated in chapter one, the aim of the interviews was to investigate two main themes: the first addressed the reasons behind the transfer of objects between the original owner and Charles Smith, and contemporary perspectives on these transactions; while the second explored the perceived cultural, historical and spiritual value of the collection to the source community today, in contrast to that of the current custodians at the PRM, and the potential nature of relationships

²⁴ Both Peers and Coote used this expression in their interviews to describe the means by which indigenous groups were accommodated at the PRM.

that could develop between them. Data from these interviews is presented here with an analysis of the findings.

A key responsibility for museums in the twenty-first century is to provide access to the collections as well as to the information they are responsible for. During his interview, Coote concurred when he stated, “the first responsibility of the museum is to look after what it’s got, the second is to know what it’s got, and the third is to know what it knows about what it’s got, and the fourth is to make that information available to everybody”.²⁵ Until the advent of online databases (2006 for PRM) the “everybody” referred to here was restricted to those who could physically visit the institution or who received a response from museum staff following enquiries about the museum’s holdings. Museums at home or abroad, however, have generally remained inaccessible to Māori, with the exception of whānau or hapū groups who have established individual relationships with institutions (and more usually individual staff members within institutions), based upon specific taonga. Hakiwai and Te Whānau-a-Ruataupare’s involvement with the Ruatēpūpūke whare whakairo at the Field Museum in Chicago illustrates this (Hakiwai 1995). I discussed a NZ example of such a relationship from the WM, involving the waka taua *Te Wehi o te Rangi*, in chapter two.

For Ngā Paerangi people, there was no expectation that significant taonga would have left the area and now exist in an overseas museum. The reasons for this belief are two-fold. Firstly, although the WM has an important taonga Māori collection of more than 4,500 items, and a significant proportion of these are from the Whanganui region, very few (four) are attributed to Ngā Paerangi (Horwood and Wilson 2008). This suggests Ngā Paerangi people did not consider the museum a suitable repository for taonga and therefore did not lend or donate items to the local museum. Secondly, there is a general understanding that taonga from Ngā Paerangi were lost through warfare, fire, and so forth. Alternatively, they did not survive the passing of their owner; that is, taonga were buried with their owner or placed in the river following their death, a practice that has continued to the present day. As Clarke stated, “bearing in mind that, particularly patu and taiaha and things like that where they could have been used as weapons of war, there might have been such a tapu with those particular pieces that the best thing to do was to lay them to rest with the person, the kaitiaki, at the time.”²⁶ Consequently, Ngā Paerangi informants were very pleased to know the Charles

²⁵ Coote, interview.

²⁶ Ken Clarke interview, July 26, 2013.

Smith collection was extant, a number expressing considerable surprise that these taonga had survived. As Simon commented, “the fact that they’ve been found to be existing is the surprise.”²⁷

Rzoska explained one reason for the removal of taonga from the community, reflecting on past generations’ predictions for the future in response to challenges and demands of a rapidly changing society,

I think our old people actually thought ... that the next generation wouldn’t be able to handle those things. That’s why a lot of those things were taken away and buried. [Because] a lot of them were used in battles and all that sort of thing. So that’s the reason we were told that Marotaketake and Whakarewarewa [two patu pounamu]²⁸ were taken and buried ... if they need to come back they will be found.”²⁹

Ponga concurred when she said, “you’ve got the taonga that were given back to the river. And I would like to think that those taonga were given back to keep us safe”.³⁰ She expanded on this idea, stating, that there was,

this definite shift to leave the old with the old and to progress with the new ... With their understanding that that was that time, that was that world, now we’ve got to look to the future and therefore those taonga stay there and we look at all those kōrero about our children being the taonga for the future. No whakairo, no carvings for the walls, because our children would represent the future and those stories would be maintained within the people. Unfortunately I think that our tūpuna thought that way but it didn’t actually happen that way because a lot of those accounts were lost with those people and not necessarily passed down. And this is us today trying to struggle to get those taonga back, to reclaim historical events through research, through all of the types of things we are doing today.³¹

²⁷ Simon, interview.

²⁸ “Nga Paerangi hold in their possession a select taonga, a mere pounamu, which dates from the time when after dwelling for some many years at Arapawa Island and, heading back to the Whanganui region, some Nga Paerangi were presented by their island-dwelling kin with this gift pair. Many years later, in the time of his great grandfather, Haimona Rzoska says that both were buried at Waitahinga, on the Tokomaru Block. The message was: ‘In time they will come back if they are needed.’ Many years later a farmer out pig hunting found the taonga uprooted. He wanted to sell them back to the Kaiwhaiki people, who chose not to buy them from him because they were theirs already. However eventually they did purchase back one at auction, ‘Whakarewarewa’” (Young 2007).

²⁹ Rzoska interview, March, 20, 013.

³⁰ Ponga, interview.

³¹ Ibid.

Here Ponga is referring to the desire by her grandparents' and great grandparents' generations to focus upon the future and not the ways of the past, by removing the tangible evidence of past practices and histories. This resonates with Sissons' (2014) comprehensive account of the rapid conversion to Christianity of Polynesian societies during the nineteenth century. He suggests the deliberate rejection of the traditional religious basis, which he terms the 'Polynesian Iconoclasm', was evidenced through the abandonment of old, in this case religious, structures and the erection of new ones. Ponga is similarly equating the actions of her tūpuna in their relinquishing of past 'structures' in favour of adopting those of the West as the continuation of a process that began with the first European colonisers.

Indeed, the impact of colonisation had far reaching social consequences throughout NZ: in the nineteenth century these included changes in population health, literacy, intermarriage, economy as well as the effect on cultural values with the introduction of Christianity, emerging Māori nationalism, and altered tribal alliances as a result of access to new technology and European allies. In Whanganui Te Korenga (Kerehoma) Tūwhāwhākia of Kaiwhāiki recalled the terrifying effect of an epidemic called rewharewha arriving in Whanganui in the early nineteenth century, “e hara i te mea he tangata kotahi e mate ana i aua ra nei i kii ake nei, ka hore, engari e tekau e rua tekau e toru tekau o etahi rangi” (people died not singly, but in their tens and twenties and thirties).³² Depopulation as a result of epidemics such as this, as well as the contribution of warfare during the nineteenth century, and the progressive alienation of land, were exacerbated by assimilationist policies of the twentieth century resulting in cultural erosion where “much of incalculable value was lost” (Tribunal 2011, 14). There was fear that the Māori language would be lost (Walker 2004, 47-8).

Many of these factors have contributed to loss of knowledge for Ngā Paerangi with one consequence being the lack of survival of information within the iwi today about individual items in the Charles Smith collection, or the people associated with them. Rzoska illustrated this with reference to the perceived benefits of abandoning traditional ways of life,

I know Christianity had a lot to do with it. Christianity was ... this new thing of being educated. Our old people all thought that as soon as they sent you to school and

³² National Library of New Zealand, MS-Papers-1187-190. This epidemic is likely to have been influenza for which Māori populations had no natural defences

learning the Pākehā way was better in the long run because of what they could see happening to the world.³³

This is confirmed by Peeti when he stated, “[t]he history I don’t know. I can’t help you in that part. We were never ever told, so many things we don’t know about them”.³⁴ Rzoska continued,

I think it was a time when there was a different world and ... they didn’t believe we would be able to carry on the little they had. The same themselves, their parents were doing the same thing to them. You know, not passing down [knowledge].³⁵

This contrasts with PRM staff perspectives where their skills are used to decipher the collecting history of the items in their care. Central to Coote’s view is that he sees it as his responsibility to “unpick and unpack the past of objects in the collection ... [then] by putting the collections out there, by publishing them, by exhibiting them, by putting them on the internet, etcetera, etcetera, it becomes possible for them to be properly connected to the past”. This is certainly sound professional practice for those responsible for cultural history collections; however, it has become more common practice, particularly for those museums that live alongside source communities, to engage with these communities to contextualise this material from the outset. In Coote’s interview he does not give any consideration to finding cultural experts who could assist in this process. I acknowledge, however, that Coote perhaps does not feel he needs to seek out such assistance as this is the contingent nature of a world cultures museum, one recognised for the quality of its collections, and an outcome that already results from improved online accessibility to its collections.

However, I will illustrate the potential of source community engagement in this way with the following example. During a research seminar in visual, material and museum anthropology at Oxford that I attended, Coote presented students with a Māori tatā (canoe bailer) from the Forster Collection and discussion was directed as to its function and origins. The session concluded with a video of NZ Māori artist George Nuku together with Coote discussing the same object in which Nuku used a performative approach to enhance Coote’s (and the viewers’) understanding of the value of this taonga to him, as a member of the community from which it originated. While Coote’s analysis focussed upon the physicality of the object, with attention first being drawn to a mend in the scoop, as well as his ability to

³³ Rzoska, interview.

³⁴ Wipaki Peeti interview, July 27, 2013.

³⁵ Rzoska, interview.

unpack historical literary narratives, Nuku, conversely, paid no attention to any written history or use-wear but rather expounded on the meaning to him of the symbolic referencing in the object's shape and carved detail. He did not need to know that it was a part of Cook's Collection. Rather he described its potent imagery and tapu nature. Nor did the fact that it had been mended, at some time during its life and before it became ethnographic, dominate his thinking. Rather, he interpreted the object based upon symbols and values from his experience of the world; he is Māori, a carver and an artist. His mind took him elsewhere when he looked at the object; he put it in context—on a war canoe—which opened up a whole range of meanings associated with war and waka and why it was so heavily decorated. He discussed the trinity of tangata, whare, waka which is embodied in the tatā as they are similarly in a waka and stated that “[t]hey don't symbolise those things, they are those things”. He showed how the patterns on the side of the tatā are actually representative of the carvings on the rauawa (top strakes) of a waka tauā, representing the cycle of life and death. He was determined to communicate meaning: the symbolism of the fertility implied by the handle/male/procreation and the scoop/womb/vessel. He had no concern about describing sexuality and procreation which elicited variable responses, including embarrassment, from the students. He related how such tatā are all named and passed on, so are therefore as potent as the waka they accompany. For Nuku it was clear that space and time collapsed when he encountered taonga, as they link back to ancestors, as experienced and described by Tapsell (2006a, 2011a).

Nuku's encounter with the tatā was a valuable opportunity for this group of anthropology students to be given a glimpse into a Māori world view. It also told far more than Coote will ever be able to through his archival research, and certainly highlights the value of a cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural analysis of ethnographic items, as argued by Schorch and Hakiwai (2014), which could go some way to countering Ngā Paerangi's loss of intimate knowledge of their taonga. As Sully (2007, 28) points out, Western knowledge systems privilege European perspectives and displace alternative world views and “[e]mbedded within this is the credibility given to the historical and ethnographic records of European scholars over indigenous oral histories that marginalise knowledge systems of non-Europeans.” I suggested to Coote the video of the dialogue with Nuku about the tatā would be a valuable addition to the PRM website, expanding the information currently available online from Coote's historical research, the conservation treatment it has undergone and its exhibition history. This would enable Nuku's narrative about this one object to be shared

more broadly and thereby expand the audience's accessibility to this type of information that the PRM experiences and records but limits access to. Coote was uncomfortable with this as it was not a pre-scripted, pre-planned recording and he was concerned about the suitability of some of the commentary or lack of it. Furthermore, he described his responsibility and research focus with the collection as having,

primarily been on their identification and their history ... leaving questions of meaning and significance and symbolism to the specialists, and in the specialists the knowledge holders in the communities from which the objects come. And I'm quite happy and content at doing that. I don't feel that I'm not doing part of my job by not knowing and not putting into the public domain all the cultural knowledge relevant to all 300,000 objects in the collection.

Worlds Apart

It was important that I identified Ngā Paerangi's views about this collection of their taonga being at such geographic distance. Without taking into account the difficulties of long-haul flights from the south Pacific to northern Europe and the attendant logistics, that informants had a range of points of view is an important finding. Simon, summed up the general feeling that it was,

neither here nor there where they are, the fact that they've been found to be existing is the surprise ... let's appreciate the fact that they're still there, that they were derived from home.³⁶

Likewise, the most important thing for Clarke is, "they could be next door and we still don't own them but the fact is that they still exist".³⁷ Whereas Peeti, the great grandson of Tāmāti Takarangi, was initially overcome with emotion when he first heard about his tūpuna's taonga in 2008, when Kefalas made a presentation about her research at Kaiwhāiki. For this reason he did not attend the hui ā-iwi in 2011 when permission was sought to proceed with the research project, as he did not want to hear anything about these taonga. Rather he asked to meet with me privately following the hui. He explained how upset he was to hear of his tūpuna's taonga so far away and for this reason did not feel able to participate in any public discussion relating to them.³⁸ When interviewed two years later, he was reconciled to his

³⁶ Simon, interview.

³⁷ Clarke, interview.

³⁸ Wīpaki Peeti conversation with author, December 11, 2011.

tūpuna “giving them away, or even selling them at the time”, by the knowledge of their existence. As he stated, “we know where they are and the good thing about it was, whether giving them away or selling them, at least we know they’re there”.³⁹

Although it was made clear to me that repatriation discussions would not be a part of this research visit, it was still difficult for Ngā Paerangi members to think beyond this urgent need to have these taonga back “home” where they could be appropriately cared for (“a wairua journey to fulfil tikanga requirements for taonga” as described above) and reinserted in iwi narratives through direct encounter. As Simon stated, when identifying the best outcome for the taonga, it “would have to be ... at home, it would not be as appropriate as being appropriately looked after at a museum close to home ... and ... a Paerangi to be looking after it ... get someone geared up to talk about any of the items, and any of the histories”.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Rzoska wanted to see the taonga all displayed and could not reconcile their lack of taonga in Kaiwhāiki with what seemed a surplus in Oxford,

What’s the use of them being put away for no one to see? I know I’d rather see them being given back to the families that they might’ve belonged to before to use them, than to be sitting in the dungeon doing nothing ... I mean, ideally for me I would love to see all those things, no matter what condition they’re in, being displayed.⁴¹

This ideal conflicts with museum best practice where the use made of an item cannot compromise its condition or safety. There was also surprise shown by Ngā Paerangi at the display method at PRM which is a comparative technology approach rather than a geographic or cultural arrangement. As Peeti noted, “It would have been lovely to see all the Māori objects all together”.⁴² Whereas, by maintaining the present public interface where objects are displayed by type, Coote stated,

in comparison to many other museums we do not perhaps pursue the cultural significance and cultural meaning, and the symbolism, etcetera that one would expect to find in other museums because most of the objects are displayed by their function rather than in a cultural display. And, so in a way, what am I saying? **That we’re sort of let off the hook!** [emphasis author’s].⁴³

³⁹ Peeti, interview.

⁴⁰ Simon, interview.

⁴¹ Rzoska, interview.

⁴² Teresa Peeti discussion with Project Team January 21, 2014.

⁴³ Coote, interview.

However, in recent years museum staff have used short-term exhibitions and related events to contextualise particular items and collections as discussed in chapter two.

In addition, there was opportunity for reflection on changing priorities. As Simon stated, referencing his tūpuna,

They had time, they had time to study, time to listen to those kōrero, they had time to do long whakapapa, they had time to do long mōteatea. Today we are restricted by time, although we try not to, but we are. And so, you ... shorten everything up, abbreviate, time, learning, ... we have a saying, anything you can learn quick, you lose quick. Ae? ... so the old people practised, they never had power, so they practise in the dark, they practise in the night. They practise. Time didn't matter.⁴⁴

While Ponga noted that, “The world of our tūpuna were very practical, they did things because there was a need to do things. We live in a world that [we] do things because of want and we want more. So we tend to do things based on want more than practical reasons”.⁴⁵

There was consensus among Ngā Paerangi informants on the range of outcomes possible from reconnecting with these taonga and establishing a relationship with the museum as well as sharing cultural knowledge to safeguard staff. Ngā Paerangi were unified in their desire to undertake “a wairua journey to fulfil tikanga requirements for taonga”⁴⁶ as stated above, with the welfare of the taonga at the centre of their concerns, as well as that of the staff who came into contact with the taonga. They were prepared to take things slowly and identify as Rzoska articulated “whether we are able to put anything in place that they would be happy to do ... Certainly not going over there and shove all our things on them either. I don't think that's right”.⁴⁷ This was reiterated by Ponga. “We can help the staff over there cater for our taonga in the way they should be held. And it's not just for our benefit, but it's also for their benefit too.”⁴⁸ This would be a two-way relationship of mutual benefit.

On the other hand, Peers did indicate that she privileged knowledge that could come into the museum and enhance the collection when she stated that,

⁴⁴ Simon, interview.

⁴⁵ Ponga, interview.

⁴⁶ Project Team Meeting, July 12, 2012.

⁴⁷ Rzoska, interview.

⁴⁸ Ponga, interview.

there needs to be a lot more genealogy done. I think the community needs to be involved in that ... we need to understand much more about [Charles Smith] and his relationships with Māori people. And about why Māori people would have transferred the material to him.⁴⁹

Belsey was the only museum staff member to mention repatriation and the potential obligations museums have in this area. On reflection, twelve months after the fieldwork, despite Peers' assurance that she "was prepared to foreground indigenous community needs and agendas and not see collections-based research as a kind of data gathering exercise to benefit the museum"⁵⁰ in her work practice, this may well be the only result of this project for Ngā Paerangi—unless Ngā Paerangi are proactive in pursuing outcomes with direct benefit for Ngā Paerangi people.

A primary objective of the 2013 trip to PRM for Ngā Paerangi was to develop a mutually beneficial relationship as well as (iwi and institutional) commitment to this relationship in the long term. This was explicitly stated in a Protocol Agreement prepared by the Project Team, signed by Simon, and forwarded to Coote on 6 September 2013 prior to their visit. In interviews with PRM staff they were questioned about potential formal outcomes of the visit with this objective in mind. Peers' response clearly articulated the PRM position,

We don't generally do those kinds of documents ... And that's useful in many ways, in that it allows a greater latitude of relationships and conversations. It means that nobody in the indigenous community can't contact us directly, because that's one negative connotation. People may feel they have to go through that particular individual who may be ill, who may die. It's actually more flexible and stronger if you have a whole variety of people in the community that the museum can contact, and a whole variety of people the community can contact here ... But we can agree that we recognise the community's involvement in a collection without putting that on a piece of paper ... The museum will probably not be willing to agree to anything specific about anything, [so as to prevent factions limiting access] ... We recognise the broad relationship between the collection, the museum and the community. That may be as far as we go.⁵¹

Similarly, with regard to a formal agreement, Coote felt that,

⁴⁹ Peers, interview.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

committing the community as it continues to exist through time, and the museum as it exists is all well and good, but it's only a piece of paper. What's really going to matter is what people do, and what they do is going to really be based on their relationships.

He stated further,

I think the perpetuity is embedded in the objects ... that's where that relationship is. [While] the development of the relationship depends upon ... a project, a throwing forward. We have a relationship; it's implicit in the objects. A Protocol Agreement makes that relationship more explicit, more public, verbalises it. If it's going to develop that depends upon projects.⁵²

To maintain this embryonic relationship, for PRM to pay attention to Ngā Paerangi's wish to engage with their taonga and the museum, active and ongoing conversations are therefore required to initiate a project, bearing in mind that "the visit and the Protocol Agreement helps to put the collection at the forefront of people's minds at the museum, but there's lots of other things continually beating at the museum's door".⁵³ Similarly for Ngā Paerangi, with the Waitangi Tribunal Whanganui River Settlement process at a crucial stage, a leadership change with the death of Morvin Simon in May 2014, and major capital developments currently in progress at Kaiwhāiki marae, their resources are also spread in many directions.

At the same time, in her interview, Ponga clearly articulated Ngā Paerangi people's desire to be introspective first and think solely of their needs in relation to the taonga that they were re-encountering, rather than consider the details or formalities of the human relationships, and from this everything else would smoothly result. It was imperative, however, for staff to provide this opportunity in the first instance. As she concluded,

I think those relationships will be made and maintained, and educational knowledge sharing opportunities will evolve from that ... If they can see that connection from us as a people, not just to the tangible taonga itself, but it's spiritual, it's the wairua connection to those people who used them, ... then hopefully they will get a bigger understanding of what those taonga mean to us.

PRM staff, to the best of their abilities, respectfully endeavoured to accommodate this request. They also recognised the value of new skills they might acquire for care of taonga Māori, as Belsey stated, "that can help us inform others, how we then work with and use

⁵² Coote, interview.

⁵³ Ibid.

other Māori Collections within the museum itself”.⁵⁵ They also recognised that there would be a range of outcomes for the museum. Peers acknowledged that,

We feel we know very little about his collection in many ways ... it would help us to better care for things and it would help future researchers, to know more about the objects ... So one useful outcome would be for us to enhance the database records for those objects ... Another would be to establish longer term contacts for community group members so that if we have insufficient information we have somebody to turn to... to help us liaise with the community so that we can ask those questions ... And having a sense that we’re no longer strangers to the community that we do have a relationship with them is also an important outcome for us ... We need help managing the collections. We have research requests from all over the world ... We need help responding to those, we recognise that we are not the ultimate authority on that anymore. And we need community contacts to help with that. So that’s an important outcome, developing enough relationships so that we would have somebody to go to, to begin facilitating those responses and questions.⁵⁶

World Views

I developed interview questions to determine how the different world views of participants contributed to the evolving meshwork of relationships and actions affecting the taonga in the Charles Smith collection. From analysis of the interviews, divergent positions on the importance of museum collections between groups, Ngā Paerangi and PRM staff, became apparent. For example, Clarke, with particular reference to kōiwi tangata, stated “it might be one hundred years dead but it’s still like a grandmother yesterday, it’s still that grieving process that we would go through”.⁵⁷ Conversely, Coote in his interview placed value on current action, “the past is really interesting, intrinsically interesting, but it doesn’t have value, because it’s gone. The value is the future”. Moreover, Uden pointed out that his experience had shown him there were differences between cultures. He said,

I think quite a lot of communities believe that once their objects are removed from that particular context then they’re not, don’t become so sensitive and can be on display. I think there are so many different perceptions about what’s taboo and what’s not, what’s culturally sensitive, between different cultures.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Faye Belsey interview November 12, 2013.

⁵⁶ Peers, interview.

⁵⁷ Clarke, interview.

⁵⁸ Uden, interview.

One entity revealed from the analysis of interviews related to animacy of the object. Coote did see similarity in his use of ethnographic collections with Māori “ideas about the animacy of objects and the increasing mana of objects as they pass from one owner to another”. He stated that this,

actually fits with my museological approach which is tracing the history of objects and what’s been done with them. So that I find that my work on the Polynesian collection in particular, because it’s continuing to trace those histories and those associations, actually fits reasonably well with at least parts of the Māori idea about objects.⁵⁹

Furthermore, Coote articulated his view of the museum’s role in extending the lives of the objects as follows,

there’s sometimes the perception that ... the object dies when it goes to a museum and nothing happens and they’re forgotten about ... But ... objects are continually being looked at again and again; being brought out for researchers, or prepared for display ... it’s what makes the collections alive ... this is a continual process that all our researchers contribute to.⁶⁰

Coote did acknowledge that a major influence on anthropological thought and literature about the gift had been Māori ideas about the life force of objects and related concepts, through the work of Marcel Mauss (1954), and, as a result, this had influenced his approach to working with indigenous material heritage. Consequently, he believes that there is continuity in the life of an object; its story does not stop at the moment it is removed from an indigenous framework and a new one start when it enters a Western collecting paradigm. As he described it, “It’s actually the same story; the way Māori look at that and the way I look at that are not necessarily incongruent.”⁶¹ Canadian, Peers’ experiences with source communities has been different from those of her colleagues at the PRM, as stated earlier. She has worked with indigenous communities in North America and been confronted by the issues that affected them, and brought these experiences with her when she joined the PRM staff in 1998. She summed up this aspect of her experience as follows,

just thinking away about the process of reclamation in aboriginal societies, of reclaiming autonomy and health and kinship and healthy family relationships and sovereignty and personal sovereignty, and the relationship that those things

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Coote, interview.

⁶¹ Ibid.

take to objects was something that I don't think anybody here on staff had ever had presented to them in quite so direct a way.⁶²

A further entity revealed through this analysis was cultural knowledge, access to it, and how its deployment contributes to an understanding of how power is distributed across the network. Ngā Paerangi informants, for example, provided a number of reasons for withholding cultural knowledge. Rzoska considered it dependent “on what the person wants that knowledge for. I’ve no problems about giving out to anybody, but if I think they’re really not there for the right reason I wouldn’t bother”.⁶³ Simon agreed and stated, “It’s not just given; ... you shoulder tap certain ones to take the knowledge on”. He continued, using the examples of music composition and performance, speech making and genealogy,

I was told by my uncle, that you stay with the music, you stay with the kōrero. You know, whakapapa, you leave that to someone else. Well it took another generation, down to Haimona, but he’s picked it up very well. He’s just gotten right into it.⁶⁴

Here he is emphasising that individuals with a particular predisposition or talent for a specific activity are recognised for this gift and encouraged. While Clark reflected that,

a lot of knowledge is lost over time, because people haven’t had the need to perhaps share it ... as they got older [they] probably felt less of a need to pass that knowledge on, and sadly a lot of it went to the grave with people ... so it’s a busy world and way of life today, unless you particularly ... have a keen interest, I think there’s an assumption that someone else will do it. And sometimes that someone else has just passed on.⁶⁵

Furthermore, Wilson emphasised that there is no set rule as to what knowledge is restricted as it depends on the situation. As he explained,

[this] is why it’s important to never be taught rules ... You have to be taught values and principles. So you can then make a sound decision based upon the circumstances before you. The olds were quite clear when they were teaching me. ‘No good giving you a rule book boy!’ Because every tangi is different, every hui is different.

There was also consensus within Ngā Paerangi informants that certain knowledge that was shared in the past is not today, as Simon articulated, “carving was the iPhone of the day. It is

⁶² Peers, interview.

⁶³ Rzoska, interview.

⁶⁴ Simon, interview.

⁶⁵ Clarke, interview.

no longer ... for the general public". Here, Simon recognised that most people can no longer read the history of a place or person through a carved representation unless they have that special knowledge; similarly with facial tattoo. Rzoska elaborated on this idea, encompassing the environment as well, when he stated, "they were in sync with everything around them. We're not like that today". For Charles Smith, however, to have recorded some objects' genealogy implies that Ngā Paerangi were not withholding knowledge from him. This is an important finding as it reveals information about the position he held within this community.

PRM staff expanded upon changing museum practices that take into account sensitivities regarding cultural knowledge transfer. Uden, for example, commented, "some cultural knowledge isn't ours to have ... I think in the last few years we understand that sometimes that cultural knowledge is only given to certain people and people don't have the authority to share it with us and even if they did they might not want to".⁶⁶ Similarly Peers stated,

We don't have the right to capture all information about objects. We don't have the right to dictate what kinds of projects necessarily occur with our collections that we care for. Other people may have those rights, right now, and you just have to recognise that.⁶⁷

Times *have* changed. In describing the philosophy of the museum with regard to indigenous access when she was appointed to her current position in 1998, Peers stated that staff,

were certainly open to those approaches but they didn't see them as priority ... I had to do a little work to explain that access was far more difficult for some communities than others, and that certain forms of access were needed that weren't part of the expectations of museum staff here. And that what some people meant by access wasn't what other people meant by access.⁶⁸

Coote, although conflicted in this area, believed he had worked through a tenable solution. He stated,

I find being at a university institution in which pursuit and sharing knowledge are the prime values, one has to find ways of dealing with those issues, that are respectful to people who have different views, but also respect the traditions of a free and open society ... we would not refuse permission, that we would explain

⁶⁶ Uden, interview.

⁶⁷ Peers, interview.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

to anybody asking for access to Tasmanian material in the collection what the view of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Council was, and that seemed to me to be the only reasonable solution to that situation.

In a similar vein several PRM informants unsurprisingly felt no particular obligation to initiate contact with source communities owing to the nature and scale of the PRM collections. As Richardson stated, “I don’t think we have the capacity to go out and find all those communities”.⁶⁹ Rather, they try to make items accessible through online resources and other media and are happy to work with these communities if they are approached by them. Coote added,

ideally if there were no limits to the museum’s resources then we would be delighted to be proactive about developing relationships that we are always happy to be reactive to ... But given limited resources it’s certainly a major criterion for making the extra effort of going the extra mile when there is a close relationship between the people wanting to see the object and the object ... In fact we would be embarrassed if we were not able to make the collections available in those circumstances.⁷⁰

Peers suggested a more proactive approach is important. With regard to museum obligations to source communities she commented,

You have to tell the people you’ve got the stuff. [Laughs.] And not just by putting it up on the web and saying that, that is access. You have to figure out which communities you need to go to. You have to be proactive about alerting those communities to the presence of those collections in the museum. And you have to be open to working with communities in whatever ways they choose or not ... So you’ve got to be willing to work outside your comfort zone as a curator. You don’t get to hide in your office ... You’ve actually got to go to your community.⁷¹

Once connection has been achieved, she noted, every effort is made to accommodate “individuals with particular genealogical connections to objects”. With regard to the Charles Smith collection, both Coote and Peers emphasised its specialness due to its associated provenance data. Peers stated, “in some ways we value the documentation associated as much as we value the objects themselves”.

⁶⁹ Richardson, interview.

⁷⁰ Coote, interview.

⁷¹ Peers, interview.

It is acknowledged that without exception, all Ngā Paerangi respondents considered the collection location at the PRM as a very positive thing as Ngā Paerangi would not have had any of the taonga or knowledge of their existence if they had not been given to Charles Smith and eventually reached the PRM collection. They also considered that the physical care with which the taonga were looked after at PRM was exemplary. Furthermore, the importance of the retention of the knowledge about the gifting relationships central to these transactions cannot be understated. W Peeti, despite initial reservations about the taonga being at such distance, acknowledged that Charles Smith “did the right thing [by] keeping the memory of him when he gave those things over”⁷² to his nephew, Collier, prior to their sale to the museum; as did Collier when he passed this information on to the museum. Here, he was referring to the details about provenance that exist with this collection. This was central to the reason Peeti and his whanaunga in particular, and Ngā Paerangi people in general, were presented with this special opportunity to reconnect with these ‘forgotten’ taonga.

There were, however, few suggestions as to why these taonga would have been gifted or sold to Charles Smith, although Simon suggested that, “oftentimes they did things that were a reciprocation of something else. You know so they might have been a favour or something that they did for him and he said well all I have is this, why you have it”.⁷³ Rzoska also stated that,

They must’ve had some sort of connection with him that actually made them feel that they were able to give him things or sell him things ... And in fact I’m glad in a way because we wouldn’t have some of those photos and we wouldn’t have some of those taonga ... we wouldn’t have photos of some of those tūpuna.⁷⁴

Also, as discussed earlier, both Rzoska and Wilson understood that their ancestors had removed certain items or information from the community as they did not believe their descendants would have the knowledge or the skills to deal with them, but these items or knowledge would return if the need arose. As is similarly documented in correspondence between Tūhoe leader Tūtakangāhau and Elsdon Best (1897, 49), where the former recorded his desire to have valued knowledge preserved (by Best and placed in a museum) so that

⁷² Peeti, interview.

⁷³ Simon, interview.

⁷⁴ Rzoska, interview.

when the time came when young people appreciated its value, the knowledge would return, having survived, and be available to them.⁷⁵

Thus animacy of objects and the importance of and access to tangible and intangible heritage were two entities that emerged from this network through my analysis of the interviews. The final entities that emerged relate to inter-generational differences and authority over decision-making, to which I will now turn.

I interviewed Ngā Paerangi drawn from different generations, to strategically identify if there were different perspectives between generations. It had occurred to me, while talking through opportunities for project outcomes with participants over a period of eighteen months, or so, that kaumātua were quite restrained in their recommendations about what could happen over time with the taonga for Ngā Paerangi. They described and proposed solutions based upon their experiences with similar projects such as Clarke's work on the WM Tikanga Māori House as Ngā Paerangi's representative, and Simon's experience as kaumātua for the Whanganui iwi exhibition at Te Papa. However, when we brainstormed potential outcomes with a wider group of Ngā Paerangi members, new ideas surfaced; such as scholarships for young people to go to PRM to work with taonga, and broad long-term strategies focussed upon educational outcomes for generations to come. Ponga, in particular, was the only interview respondent who articulated the wider community needs for the future and the role that the taonga could have in education and for future generations' understanding of their place in the world. This may well have gone without saying for the kaumātua, but it was very useful for this to be explicitly articulated. Moreover, Ponga was clear that for her generation it was important to think of the entire community, not only one's whānau or hapū.

PRM staff were unified in their willingness to privilege source communities' authority over decision-making regarding their cultural heritage. For example, Peers stated, "we have taken things off display because people from the communities felt it wasn't appropriate to display them". Furthermore, efforts are made to enable access to community perspectives about the collection, as Peers stated, "what we are really trying to record on the database is

⁷⁵ Tūtakangāhau to Best 1897, "Friend, it is well that we are alone, for my children who go with us have little love for the gallant stories of old, and I will tell them to you and to one other and to no more, that you may preserve these traditions of my people, and record their ancient customs, that they may be retained in the world of light. And do you write them plainly in your paipera [book], that all who love such things may understand, for I would hope that my children may yet return to the kura [knowledge; place of learning] of Tuhoe and Potiki and be proud of the achievements of their ancestors. Tena!" (Best 1897, 49).

indigenous community perspectives and understandings. We always say to people ‘What do you want us to know to put on the database?’” However, they have “chosen to maintain”⁷⁶ the historical display approach now considered not as “the evolution of form from the primitive to the more civilised. But ... different approaches to how things are made”.⁷⁷ Coote further articulated this in his interview when he described his perception of visitors’ responses to the museum,

after people have visited the museum they can often have quite a different feeling about it, because of its universality and its lack of cultural apartheid. And if people get what the museum is about, which isn’t a colonial racist view of the world but is about celebrating human creativity and ingenuity and putting all cultures on the same level of creativity and ingenuity and historicity then they’re not as worried as they were before they came.

This certainly was true for the Ngā Paerangi group, although it may also have been a case of being overwhelmed by the displays—the diversity and volume of material on display.

I would suggest, however, that what Peers and Coote described (the museum staff’s willingness to privilege the authority of cultural groups and concepts implicit in the philosophy of the museum), is not explicit in the approach to the display of items to the general public who visit the museum. There are exceptions, such as those visitors experiencing particular museum-related events. The method of display has meant, as I have quoted Coote previously, “That we’re sort of let off the hook!” from “pursuing the cultural significance and cultural meaning” in the public interpretation of the collections. Also, as his colleagues have stated, public and non-public faces of the museum expose different professional sensibilities (Harris and O’Hanlon 2013, 10). Furthermore, the temporary character of a museum public programmes, and their affective nature, are not often visible via an institution’s website or publications.

To sum up, although the existence of Charles Smith and his relationships with Ngā Paerangi tūpuna were absent from current iwi narratives until the recent discovery of the collection at the PRM, analysis of interviews indicated that Ngā Paerangi members had embraced opportunities to re-establish these narratives and reconnect with the taonga that are the lasting symbols of these relationships, while PRM welcomed approaches by Ngā Paerangi to achieve this. While institutional skills were used to decipher the collecting history of the

⁷⁶ Peers, interview.

⁷⁷ Belsey, interview.

items in their care, and PRM staff were unified in their willingness to privilege source communities' authority over decision making regarding their cultural heritage, there were different positions as to whether or not it was possible to initiate contact proactively with source communities because of limited resources.

There was consensus that the paucity of extant taonga within the current Ngā Paerangi community was a result of previous generations' desire for their descendants to adopt "the Pākehā way" to improve their opportunities for the future. For Ngā Paerangi the existence of these taonga was more important than where they were located, and there was immense value placed on Charles Smith having retained knowledge about the taonga and the transactions they were involved in. However, in general they believed that the taonga could only be cared for appropriately "at home" where it would be possible for them to be reinserted into iwi narratives through direct encounter, while recognising that they did not have adequate resources to ensure their physical safety.

There was also consensus among Ngā Paerangi on the range of outcomes possible from reconnecting with these taonga and establishing a relationship with the museum as well as sharing cultural knowledge to safeguard staff. Ngā Paerangi were unified in their desire to undertake "a wairua journey to fulfil tikanga requirements for taonga", with the welfare of the taonga at the centre of their concerns, as well as the staff who came into contact with the taonga. Whereas Peers privileged knowledge that could come into the museum and be used to enhance collection documentation, Belsey was the only museum staff member to mention repatriation and the potential obligations museums have in this area. PRM did not want a formal document specifying requirements of a partnership with Ngā Paerangi, and identified projects as the means by which relationships can be established and maintained. At the same time they recognised the value of acquiring new skills for the care of taonga Māori. Ngā Paerangi informants suggested that relationships are two-way and require ongoing dialogue, with one informant asserting that it is important first for iwi to engage with taonga before they engage with the museum in terms of a formal relationship.

There was a divergent position on the importance of museum collections between the groups. Taonga represented the physical embodiment of tūpuna for Ngā Paerangi, whereas PRM staff described the present lives of the objects in terms of their use within museum programmes and services. There were also different perspectives on cultural knowledge sharing with Ngā Paerangi suggesting some knowledge should remain within whānau, hapū,

iwi, while PRM staff were conflicted with regard to their professional responsibilities relating to free access to the collection and its related information. I will now turn to events since Ngā Paerangi visited their tūpuna in Oxford.

Te Anga Whakamua, Moving Forward: Hui at Kaiwhāiki

Following our return to NZ, the Project Team and several of the group who had travelled to Oxford met to talk through our experiences and the potential outcomes of the PRM visit. The responsibility for moving from excitement to possibilities to practicalities was now in the hands of Ngā Paerangi, as at this meeting I suggested I should withdraw from the active planning and organising role I had had up until then.⁷⁸ At that time they were still waiting on a response from the PRM to the formal invitation to visit Kaiwhāiki that Pēina had extended on behalf of iwi at the farewell ceremony at the museum.⁷⁹ A number of objectives to be completed in the short term were identified: communicating visit outcomes and potential outcomes with iwi, preparing a tikanga guide for PRM staff, corresponding with Coote (and other staff) to maintain the relationship but in the first instance to communicate to him a summary of the visit and potential outcomes from the point of view of the iwi participants. Teresa Peeti described the regular meetings (“noho”) of her whānau and that they had a wānanga (meeting) planned, to share what had been learnt in Oxford, “so we are sustaining things, what we learnt.” Although Clarke had not been able to travel with us and share the Oxford experience, he was acutely aware of the potential opportunities that staying focussed upon the experience could bring to Ngā Paerangi. He urged the group to,

stick at it rather than say that we had a lovely visit and now we’ll move on to something else. I’d like to see that we push hard and have more discussions ... Say give it a three-year, four-year timeframe, and then say this is our aim and start sourcing some funding.

A hui ā-iwi to communicate the experience more broadly with iwi was deferred until July, in part as a consequence of the death of Morvin Simon and the subsequent re-structuring of iwi leadership required for Ngā Paerangi to move forward. Both Hāwira and T Peeti had prepared

⁷⁸ Hui January 27, 2014.

⁷⁹ Rzoska reiterated the invitation by email to Coote July 2, 2014 and subsequently received a response August 14, 2014.

presentations for this hui. Hāwira had distributed hers for comment to the Oxford group and the Project Team, while Peeti had prepared hers following wānanga with whānau and had members of her family assist as narrators. Peeti's presentation, 'Te Oho Ake - The Reawakening', described the visit to PRM and the taonga encountered there. Hāwira, having deferred to Peeti regarding the presentation, instead gave a verbal account of their experiences. She described the highlight for her as seeing Pēina and the others with their individual taonga, learning about and sharing information, as well as discovering that there were many significant taonga in the collection with histories associated with the New Zealand Wars. She also pointed out how the group "weren't fazed by not knowing what they would be encountering, that was the Māori way, they just went for it." This was the impression the group portrayed outwardly despite often being conflicted within the group or unsure as to what the appropriate procedure was for a specific situation. Hāwira also mentioned that she was surprised at how accommodating the PRM staff were "which was very pleasing as that removed boundaries." She hoped that the momentum of the project carried on and pointed out that Pēina had put down a wero (challenge) when the invitation was presented to staff requesting that they take this opportunity to come to Kaiwhāiki "while she was still around", bearing in mind that Pēina is eighty-three years of age. Hāwira concluded by touching on potential future projects including, a small scale exhibition project - working with the local museum (WM) to establish an exhibition displaying a small group of the items from the Charles Smith collection and their significance to Ngā Paerangi,

- education programmes to connect with local kura (both Māori and mainstream), wānanga and the local museum;
- IT possibilities to share information about the taonga, provide access to the photographs in the collection and archival material as well as digital representations of the taonga, develop a digital exhibition, and for "looking after kōrero" ensuring it is correct and appropriate;
- educating both PRM staff/Ngā Paerangi regarding tikanga Māori, tikanga Whanganui ake, museum practice, conservation, collection care, and so forth.

The general feeling from the group who travelled to Oxford was that the experience had been a positive one with all staff very accommodating, helpful and friendly. This was different to what they had expected, as they had not anticipated seeing all of the taonga once they arrived in Oxford, or receiving such a warm reception. All were impressed with the way

the taonga were cared for at the museum, as T Peeti stated, “It was awesome being there ... I enjoyed it. Especially when you saw how they looked after things. Especially where they had all those storage areas, where the korowai were, that was beautiful”.

L Tawaroa later reiterated these thoughts, adding that she would not like to see them back in Kaiwhāiki for more than a short visit, because they did not have the right conditions to care for them at Kaiwhāiki. She also commented on the fantastic opportunity that they had been presented with at Oxford stating that “the wairua of the journey” was evident with Angus and Wisneski who joined the group (from New York and Perth respectively) and settled in as though they had never been away from the whānau. She pointed out that the staff at PRM could see the taonga in Hāwira, the gifts she has, they could see her potential, and how proud her family would have been of her. She reflected on the strains of such a big undertaking and long journey and that everyone had managed it, concluding that “We were all blessed, we were all well”.

Discussion followed including whether it had been possible to make recommendations that ensured appropriate tikanga were in place to safeguard the taonga at PRM and the people who came in contact with them. Staff had sought advice from members of the group as to whether they were doing anything that was inappropriate or offensive with regard to the taonga and expressed willingness to follow any instructions from Ngā Paerangi about tikanga. It was agreed it would be useful for PRM staff to have a set of guidelines for Māori protocols surrounding taonga and these would be developed. There were a number of comments both in Oxford and on the return to NZ that they would have liked to see all the taonga Māori displayed together and not distributed around the museum. There was consensus that they needed to be proactive in maintaining the relationships with the staff at the PRM. Rzoska suggested one option was to travel to Oxford once a year or so “to keep the connection going”,⁸⁰ while feedback from the Peeti whānau hui was that they were committed to fundraising “for our tamariki, our rangatahi to go over to see the collection ... to work with the museum ... if we can’t bring it back, then that was one of our whakaaro, send a couple of the kids”.⁸¹ They were also clear that they needed to be realistic in future planning about the taonga visiting Whanganui; selecting a small number identified as the most significant items, rather than the entire collection.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

T Peeti commented that when she had made a presentation to her whānau there was a lot of interest about who Charles Smith was and how he obtained the items in the collection, and from this she realised why she had travelled to Oxford. Clarke responded that they were privileged to have so much information attached to the collection but that the iwi now needed to document this journey so in the future there is a record of it. He also proposed that all details needed to be itemised and given to the PRM so that the information was there as well.

At May 2015 no further action by Ngā Paerangi towards these ends has been taken.

Epilogue

When Coote responded to the Ngā Paerangi invitation to visit Kaiwhāiki in August 2014, he described the Ngā Paerangi visit to Oxford as “the highlight of the last year for me and my colleagues,” adding “we trust that the feelings of goodwill and connection that were generated will form the basis for the further development of the ongoing relationship that the taonga have created”. Although a brief communication, these deeply meaningful comments were welcomed by Ngā Paerangi, in particular his statement that, “I was—and am—honoured by the invitation to visit the marae of Kaiwhaiki and hope very much that I will be able to honour it before too long”.⁸² They too hope that this will come about before too long.

With generally positive feelings all round it may appear that very fruitful outcomes will continue to result from this experience for Ngā Paerangi and the PRM. But it seems for Ngā Paerangi that other whānau and iwi priorities have taken precedence in the intervening period since the group returned from Oxford. The PRM also relies upon individuals from Ngā Paerangi to keep in contact with members of staff, as the constant demands on staff for attention from elsewhere draw focus away from this memorable encounter. They had also implemented a strategy where the involvement of a number of staff devolved responsibility for maintaining contact with Ngā Paerangi from one individual to many. The aim of this strategy, potentially, was to increase opportunities for future communication. The opposite however may result because no individual is responsible for this role.

My expectations and those of Ngā Paerangi were very different. I had anticipated that once a commitment was made to proceed with this project, the energy and focus would

⁸² E-mail message Coote to Rzoska August 14, 2014.

remain constant as the potential outcomes were of enough benefit to warrant attention. This is very obviously a museum-centric perspective, in which the potential of such a wonderful collection of taonga with such rich associated information has only increased my interest. For some members of Ngā Paerangi, however, the visit to Oxford and the ability to talk about those experiences is enough for them, and they will leave it to future generations to pick up and move forward. As Coote said, for PRM staff, there are things constantly knocking at their door and the same can be said for Ngā Paerangi people. However, as with any partnership, each partner contributes what they view as appropriate when they are able. Ngā Paerangi and PRM are not constrained by a doctoral research timeframe and can take up opportunities to progress projects as they arise. I am certain that the information assembled from this study will at some future point contribute to this.

Further considerations are that it is only a small group who have been intimately involved with this project and a number of reasons why others have possibly refrained from becoming involved. One is the lack of interest in or connection to the taonga; they were principally associated with the whānau group of Ngā Paerangi who descend from Te Oti Takarangi and, therefore, interest was highest for individuals from this whānau. A second reason is that a female Pākehā museum professional/academic brought the collection of taonga to their attention and for this reason they prefer not to be involved. This can be explained through an experience at the WM involving a member of Ngā Paerangi employed by the museum for a specific research project. They were tasked with expanding knowledge of a collection of historical portraits of Māori recently returned to the region, through interviews with iwi members. At the conclusion of the contract, all information gleaned from iwi members was removed from the museum with nothing added to the photograph records, with no explanation by the employee for this action. Similar sentiments may apply to this project, that is, that the information should be generated by and retained within the iwi. However, consensus from those involved to date has been that the information generated is publicly discoverable and therefore should be made available to all. Finally, as stated previously, there are many demands on time, resources and energy and a project with little in the way of immediate tangible outcomes may not merit further prioritisation at this time.

Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the results of face-to-face encounters of all assemblage components at the centre of this study, the Charles Smith collection, the Ngā Paerangi community and the PRM, supplemented by interviews with museum staff and iwi and participant observation. I also posed a number of questions against the research findings based around themes of distance, ownership, access and engagement.

The effects of these encounters, which involved object handling sessions and hui, suggest benefits that might arise when a museum and a source community invest in building a relationship between them. These results also revealed the disparate cultural perspectives of the two groups and how awareness of these differences can enhance our understanding of the past and present life of the objects for the community and museum. The disassembling and analysis of the separate entities through a range of methods in this and the preceding chapters has provided an opportunity to consider the impact of other assemblages that surround and interact with those at the centre of this investigation. Furthermore, a number of additional entities emerged from the analysis of this assemblage, including ideas of object agency, the importance of and access to tangible and intangible heritage, and authority over decision-making. In the next chapter these findings are discussed by way of a number of emergent themes centred on time and place, power, agency and values.

5 Discussion—Emergent Themes from the Disassembly of a Relational Network

In this thesis I demonstrate that indigenous communities have difficulty accessing their cultural heritage housed in geographically-remote museums when they have no affiliation with an academic or other cultural institution that can facilitate contact and communication, and because they are often disadvantaged in terms of human/fiscal/technological/educational resources. Together, these factors can limit opportunities to engage with the museum-based custodians of their heritage and to establish ongoing relationships with them, as the research presented in the last two chapters shows. Furthermore, as Kreps (2011, 81) has stated, indigenous people are “significantly under-represented in both scholarly and public discourse on museums and in the professional museum and anthropological community”. Moreover, changes in museum practice are most advanced in countries where indigenous communities “live among settler-founded, modern nation-states” (Peers and Brown 2003b, 14) in relation to indigenous collections and authority over them. In this chapter I argue that these changes potentially provide models for adaptation elsewhere.

Through a case study grounded in a specific context, this investigation set out to explore the ways in which an indigenous community could build a relationship with a museum when they are separated by distance and, using an assemblage approach, identify ways to reconnect the community with items of their ancestral heritage that they had been separated from for more than a century. To achieve this, the assemblage’s constituent parts—an indigenous community, a museum, a collector and his collection of objects—were analysed separately. The different cultural perspectives of the museum and the community over time were then examined to further our understanding of the meaning of the heritage items to both groups today and how this might enable change in the relationships between them.

From the analyses of the assemblage components in the last two chapters, four broad themes have emerged that contribute to the aim of this research: to understand how the nature of relationships between source communities and museums could change. These emergent themes or entities include specific temporalities and places, manifestations of power (which reflect both priorities and resources), agency both indigenous and material, and differences in

value systems which, together with a rethinking of historical collections and their development, enable their reassembly into new networks centred on enhanced relationships encompassing knowledge, respect and opportunities.

I now discuss these emergent themes and their potential contribution to the development of new networks. First, events and effects spanning more than two centuries and half the globe will be considered, where the collapsing of time and space reveals relationships embodied in the disassembled entities. This is followed by thinking through the ways in which power is manifest within and between these relationships. The third theme reveals evidence of indigenous agency in both historical collecting strategies and contemporary relationship development, as well as the effects of material agency when considering how relationships are constituted by objects—with the focus here upon the *process* of collecting. Values and principles relating to different world views provide the final theme to emerge from the results. For this theme I have used a comparative methodology to articulate the differences in perspective on heritage items based upon belief systems between the components in this case study; an iwi group on one hand and, on the other, a museum's staff.

Times and Places

The alchemy of taonga was to bring about a fusion of men and ancestors and a collapse of distance in space-time.

Anne Salmond (1984, 120)

As I showed in the findings in chapter three, components of this study are literally a world apart. Through detailed examination, however, a network of events and effects was revealed that spans time and space. This closed a metaphorical (intellectual, political, cultural) distance between them, drawing the components together by effectively developing relationships between them. As Besterman (2006, 432) points out, museum collections have the ability to embody relationships across the four dimensions of time and space. Of particular interest to this study are the events that occurred during the period the Charles Smith collection was acquired, those resulting from the recent rediscovery of the collection, and the effects on human and non-human agents of these events in the past, present and potentially in the future. Furthermore, new or contested meanings become apparent once a study such as this embraces temporal and spatial factors, as Hodder (2003, 165) discusses. For example, the hoeroa in the Charles Smith collection (1923.87.5) moved from being an

emblem of political resistance, to a symbol of colonial domination, to a representation of the ‘Other’, to an instantiation of an ancestor. Tapsell (2006a, 2011a) has described the meaning of taonga to whānau, hapū and iwi in relation to the maintenance of historical narratives; this is pertinent to the contextualisation of taonga over time. Here I discuss how analysis of the historical components of the relational network enable a collapsing of distance in space-time to provide insights into changing cultural perspectives between Māori communities and museum staff in England over time, and in turn how this can influence the nature of the relationship between them.

Moreover, in considering changes in museum anthropology over the past three decades, in response to the assertion of rights to heritage management by indigenous groups and the unevenness in time and place of the decolonising process (Kreps 2011, 80), I will compare current practices in museums in NZ and the UK with specific reference to the PRM and the author’s experience at the WM. For, as Thomas states, from a Western perspective ethnographic objects have a “double life”, remaining relevant to their communities of origin but also having a role in “the institutions, collections and critical traditions associated with Western museums and Western anthropology” (Bolton et al. 2013, xi).

A final point is from Tapsell (1997, 345) who described the reasons for the abandonment of taonga in the mid- to late nineteenth century, in particular land alienation and kin-group identity loss. This resulted in taonga becoming “redundant, and many were eagerly acquired by waiting curio-hunters, collectors and museums”.

There and then ...

Although events before the arrival of Charles Smith in NZ in 1859 have resulted in effects that have impacted on the components of this study, the periods from the mid- to late nineteenth century when the Charles Smith collection was acquired and when it received attention more recently, from 2006 until today, delineate the temporal parameters of this study. Similarly, locations beyond Whanganui and Oxford will receive minimal attention in the following discussion. This study considered the challenges and opportunities faced by Smith and his Ngā Paerangi contacts. It also considered the societal influences that prepared Smith for life in a settler colony, together with his Whanganui relationships, that resulted in the development of the Charles Smith collections at both the PRM and WM. The effect of events that emerged in the early twenty-first century as a consequence of developments in

online access to museum collections has been to inspire new events. In this case it has resulted in the contraction of the 19,000 kilometres of space that separated the Charles Smith collection from its source communities in NZ today, as well as these communities from the collection's current custodians in England.

The importance of historical museum collections to indigenous peoples today is recognised, and it is acknowledged that they have an immensely important role as resources for the future. A number of authors have elaborated on the universal concept of the past informing the future with especial reference to indigenous communities, such as Clifford (2004, 2010) for Canada and Hawai'i. Clifford (2004, 11) quotes from Kodiak Island elder Sven Haakanson, "You've got to look back and find out the past, and then you go forward". This inspired the exhibition title *Looking Both Ways* and refers to what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998b) calls "the 'second life' of heritage".

'Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua' (I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past) is a Māori whakataukī widely used in NZ to express the Māori concept of time. The following definition of the terms 'past' and 'future' expands on this concept, providing insight into the complexities of the different epistemologies pertinent to this study.

In English the past is *behind* us, and the future is *ahead* of us. Life is a journey and we're walking along a path into the future. But in Māori the past is **ngā rā o mua** (the days *ahead*) and the future is **ngā rā o muri** (the days *behind*) ... From a Māori perspective time is not a path to be walked or a journey that you control, it's a force like wind or water; you stay still, time moves ... Your past has been seen therefore the past must be *in front of you*; it's already zoomed by and gone. But the future just sneaks up unknown and unseen, so the future is coming *from behind you* (Anonymous 2013).

Application of this within the conceptual development of an exhibition of nineteenth-century photographs of Whanganui Māori, *Te Pihi Mata - The Sacred Eye*, where the photographs were seen as "hei matapihi ki te ao ō-mua, ō-muri e ... windows to the past connecting to tomorrow" expands on this. As co-curator Wilson (referencing exhibition text from Rotorua Museum) articulated,

To Māori, images of their tūpuna are sacred treasures and a way of communicating with the past ... Like all taonga in the Museum, they contain a mouri, a life essence of spiritual power. They are alive, they are watching, they are listening. These people

still reach out to us from a past that we may never physically know but which we can all spiritually feel (Sharpe and Wilson 2007).

This clearly expresses the Māori conception that the past and present are one, that there is no dichotomy, and that experiences from the past and today have an important role in guiding actions and responsibilities now and into the future. Salmond (1984, 118) succinctly encapsulates this in the phrase, “taonga captured history and showed it to the living”. Acknowledging validity of concepts such as this is central to a decolonised position on curatorial responsibility without which exhibitions such as *Te Pihi Mata* would not be possible. For this exhibition at WM, employment of a Māori curator with authority to negotiate with and speak on behalf of Whanganui iwi, firmly embedded socially inclusive museum practice into an institution that had spearheaded governance reform in NZ within the principles of partnership and two cultures development arising from the Treaty of Waitangi (Butts, Dell, and Wills 2002).

This can also be illustrated with reference to the Māori view of kōiwi tangata, which reflects their ability to collapse time and provide opportunities for those with genealogical connections to engage directly with their ancestors. Tapsell (2006a, 17) articulates this further with his definition,

Taonga ... are seen as the spiritual personification of particular ancestors, either as direct images or through association. Descendants experience this wairua (ancestral spirit) as ihi (presence), wehi (awe) and wana (authority). Thus taonga are time travellers that bridge the generations, enabling descendants to ritually meet their ancestors face to face.

The Ngā Paerangi taonga in the Charles Smith collection therefore provided this iwi with a very special opportunity to be reunited with their tūpuna in a way that had rarely been possible for them before. This was especially apparent at Oxford when the group first entered the space where the taonga were held. Although excited to have reached this long anticipated moment of reconnection, they expressed a range of emotions from extreme anxiety to anger to amazement when first encountering the ihi, wehi and wana of their tūpuna. This was a new experience for most of the group, and the unfamiliar location (within an anthropology museum in a foreign country) required reliance on each other and learned tikanga to carry them through. I acknowledge that the PRM had strategies in place for planned research visits by indigenous groups, as described in chapter four, providing the time and space for these encounters to take place.

This is further illustrated by kuia Pēina’s request for photographs to be taken of her holding the taiaha (1923.87.1) which linked to her grandfather and her Takarangi tūpuna (Figure 5-1). At the subsequent hui ā-iwi at Kaiwhāiki where the visit was reported back to iwi, Pēina took the opportunity to talk to her whanaunga about the significance of this moment for her. The taiaha’s genealogy is recorded from renowned Taranaki leader Tītokowaru of Ngā Ruahine, the iwi to which Pēina’s grandfather Īhaka Bailey belonged, to Whanganui leader Hōri Kīngi Te Anaua, and then to Te Anaua’s nephew the formidable warrior leader Taitoko Keepa Te Rangihwinui who presented it to Te Oti Takarangi. The familial ties represented here for Pēina’s family are reflected in the names that have been passed to her family today, including Rere ō maki (Te Anaua’s sister and Te Keepa’s mother), Taitoko and Keepa. She reported that she had been overwhelmed by this opportunity to have her photograph taken holding this taonga and thus connecting directly with her tūpuna, reaffirming this in subsequent correspondence with me. The taonga was not only a physical manifestation of these relationships but for Pēina validated her personal involvement in this study.

Figure 5-1: Hera Pēina holding Te Oti Takarangi’s taiaha 1923.87.1, PRM, 2013.



Another important finding that has emerged from the results relates to a conviction developed by Māori people during the second half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century, that to give up traditional practices and adopt European ones (“learning the Pākehā way”¹) would be beneficial for advancement both for oneself and for one’s children. To

¹ Clarke, interview.

“progress their children to the future ... there was definitely this shift to leave the old with the old and to progress with the new”.² Iwi Māori did not anticipate Pākehā practices would become enforced through factors including assimilationist policies, urban migration and the consequences of land alienation. This is summarised in the recent Waitangi Tribunal Report for the Whanganui District Inquiry as follows,

Despite the repeated attempts by foreign tribes, the hapū of Whanganui were never overcome. This mana came from ancient celestial origins and was maintained until the arrival of Europeans, which resulted in drastic and devastating changes for the Māori way of life (Office of Treaty Settlements 2014, 16).

Of especial relevance to Ngā Paerangi, one impact of these changes was manifest in the development of the pacifist resistance movement of the prophets Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti o Rongomai and the migration of Ngā Paerangi people in the 1870s to Parihaka, about 140 kilometres distant, to support the teachings of these prophets. Following their return to Kaiwhāiki in the 1880s, as outlined in chapter two, it was decided that Ngā Paerangi people and buildings would no longer be embellished with their history (tattoo and carvings), but they would rather look to the future through their children, and their histories and traditions would be maintained within the people. While recent research for Waitangi Tribunal Claims has triggered renewed interest in extant historical sources and the oral histories of community members, it is acknowledged that these histories were not always maintained. One consequence is the lack of information known today about individual taonga in the Charles Smith collection or people associated with them.

Members of Ngā Paerangi recognise that knowledge has been lost. Clarke stated this could be a consequence of a number of factors including no one to pass information on to, or no need to pass information on, or no request for the knowledge, or the assumption that someone else would do it.³ Furthermore, with regard to passing on both tangible and intangible heritage, Ngā Paerangi informants believed their tūpuna did not want their descendants to have this responsibility. Several reasons were given for this, including tūpuna not believing they had the skills to keep this heritage safe, and wanting them to forgo traditional practices so as to assimilate to Pākehā ways. However, they also believed that if the need arose the taonga would be found. Taonga were also given up for range of reasons such as strengthening relationships or financial recompense. Simon articulated the

² Ponga, interview.

³ Clarke, interview.

importance of taonga as mechanisms for transmitting knowledge, using the analogy of the iPhone versus a carved figure; reading a carving is a skill that has been lost for most people today. Ngā Paerangi, therefore, have lost much through the processes of assimilation and colonisation, but they remain optimistic that opportunities will present themselves to recover what is needed when the time is right as these assemblages continue to form and reform.

Here and now ...



Figure 5-2: Pitt Rivers Museum staff hosting Ngā Paerangi group, 2013, photographer Teresa Peeti.

This research also describes events that have emerged in the early twenty-first century as a consequence of developments in online access to museum collections, the effect of which has been to inspire new events. One significant event was the direct reconnection of Ngā Paerangi iwi with the Charles Smith collection in 2013 when the group from Kaiwhāiki visited the PRM (Figure 5-2).

I have identified a number of distinctive differences between NZ museums and those in the UK with regard to relationships with source communities. These are summarised in Table 5-1. I suggest that these differences result from the immediacy of Māori communities and NZ museums and the consequent impact of Māori representation and autonomy on museum practice over the past three decades, circumstances which have led naturally to what might be described as more effective collaborative practice in NZ.

The outcomes of the Waitangi Tribunal process, specifically the Whanganui River Claim (Wai 167) and the Whanganui District Lands Inquiry (Wai 903), in terms of Ngā Paerangi social, economic and cultural aspirations are relevant to this discussion as they may

have implications for Ngā Paerangi's ongoing involvement in a relationship with PRM. Whanganui Iwi's claim concerning breaches of the Treaty by the Crown relating to the Whanganui River extend back over 125 years, with *Ruruku Whakatupua, the Whanganui River Deed of Settlement* between the Crown and Whanganui iwi officially signed in August 2014. The Whanganui District Lands Inquiry is currently at the report writing stage, following hearings which took place in the Whanganui region between 2007 and 2010.

Table 5-1: Some differences between NZ and UK museum practice.

Closeness empowers by	Distance constrains by
Initiating collaborative practice with source communities from outset	Inviting source community participation once project defined and resourced
Supporting iwi (whānau/hapū) projects	Supporting museum projects
Immediacy in time and space	Delay
Face-to-face/personal	Anonymous/formal
Morally responsive	Institutionally/policy constrained
Classifications and descriptions based upon indigenous standards (Loza and Quispe 2009)	Classifications based upon Western definitions of time and place, and visual analysis
Active and ongoing participation	Intermittent contact

Museums in NZ are involved with Waitangi Tribunal processes and aspirations for tribal development in ways that are not comparable to international museums in their own environments, even when postcolonial restitution and redress are taken into account. In the post-Treaty settlement environment, museum and individual responses to Treaty outcomes are evolving as a result of interactions and experiences whereby significant taonga, such as the wharenui Mataatua, are returning home. The effect of the Treaty of Waitangi today is about an *enduring* relationship, with principles of partnership, active protection and redress resulting from the Tribunal process. Of significance to museums in NZ is the legislation relating to moveable cultural property that sits within these principles.⁴ Settlements resulting from the Tribunal processes have resulted in programmes of work for some iwi which may involve museums. Manatū Taonga Ministry for Culture and Heritage currently has around 30 protocols with iwi which involve considerable resources to manage and maintain, and this

⁴ Protected Objects Act 1975.

number is likely to double.⁵ Furthermore, there are significant repatriation claims involving Treaty breaches, such as Mataatua wharehenui at Otago Museum repatriated to Ngāti Awa at Whakatāne in 2006, and the current negotiations with Rongowhakaata relating to the return of Te Hau ki Tūranga wharehenui from Te Papa to Gisborne. Such claims have recently prompted Rhonda Paku, senior curator mātauranga Māori at Te Papa, to caution that museum staff need to know their collections well so that they are able to respond to iwi enquiries about collection holdings resulting from these processes.⁶ She also noted that letters of commitment and relationship agreements are some of the tools Te Papa is developing with iwi, as memoranda of understanding are no longer enough. Written agreements have replaced verbal agreements to guarantee perpetuity. Iwi enthusiastically embrace these processes. They are comfortable initiating these agreements as they have structures in place, in terms of authority and resources, as well as the confidence to negotiate outcomes desired by them. This is an important consideration for museums elsewhere as the heritage collections in their care become available online, and face-to-face interactions with source communities become more common place.

In my experience, museums in NZ in general tend to act in a morally responsive manner when approached by iwi with requests for access to and use of taonga Māori in their collections in relation to processes generated by the Waitangi Tribunal. For example, in 2007, when I was employed at WM, the museum responded immediately and directly to a request to borrow taonga to support evidence being given at three hearings of the Whanganui District Lands Inquiry at marae within the Whanganui district. It is usual practice (directed by policy) for museum staff to accompany items borrowed from the collection and remain with them for the duration of the loan period when the organisation requesting the loan is not a museum (that has appropriate care and security procedures in place). In this case, however, although I did attend a number of days of two of these hearings, the items were left in the care of their kaitiaki throughout. Strict instructions were given for specific object requirements. The museum's support of iwi through this process strengthened relationships between them, and also resulted, in this case, in the donation of unpublished reports from several claims within the Whanganui District Lands Inquiry to the museum collection the same year.

⁵ David Butts' discussion on applying the Treaty to museums and heritage at 'Wānanga Taonga: Māori Perspectives on Museums & Heritage', Hongoeka Marae, Plimmerton, March 21, 2014.

⁶ Rhonda Paku panel discussion on heritage issues in a broader NZ context at 'Wānanga Taonga', March 23, 2014.

There is synchronicity between the outcome of the Tribunal process and this thesis; both entail bringing the past and the present together. The Tribunal has acknowledged Treaty breaches, but also the loss of whakapapa and iwi historical knowledge within individual hapū—that few keepers of this information are still alive became very apparent through the Treaty process. Consequently, in Whanganui, each claimant group had to conduct their own investigations by interviewing elders and undertaking documentary and archival research. While all of these processes have the potential for “collapsing generations of time” (Tapsell 2011a, 87) and providing immensely valuable and rewarding results, iwi-wide resources required to participate are immense and ongoing. Despite the fact that the Whanganui inquiries are nearing resolution, the ramifications for this present study have included limiting the individuals available to participate, the level of priority afforded the study, and the opportunity for further benefits from any outcomes of the study for iwi cultural and social aspirations.

As discussed in the introduction, over the past several decades museum practice has significantly changed as it affects communities (particularly indigenous groups) and their heritage. Hakiwai (Schorch and Hakiwai 2014) succinctly summarised the causes of these changes in NZ museums, with identity politics manifest in development of methodologies, such as kaupapa Māori employed in this study, and the legacy of *Te Māori*, which revealed the living relationship between taonga and communities of origin. NZ’s national museum Te Papa has led local museum development following the Museum of New Zealand Act 1992. This Act has created a structure that embraces bicultural leadership and recognises kaitiakitanga and ownership of taonga by communities of origin, with a philosophy informed by the Mana Taonga principle, a “Māori political concept of cultural negotiation and contestation” (ibid., 13). This principle, through recognition of genealogical relationships with taonga, “gives iwi the right to care for their taonga, to speak about them, and to determine their use by the Museum” (Te Papa 2015).⁷ Furthermore, an important aspiration of the staff who care for the taonga Māori collection at Te Papa is the reconnection of people to their tribal taonga (ibid.). This museum has established a number of strategies for working with iwi to embed the Mana Taonga principle into museum practice, including a major exhibition programme in which design and development are collaborative and elders are

⁷ Te Papa leadership comprises the chief executive responsible for the conduct of the Museum's operations and the kaihautū who leads the ongoing development of Te Papa's iwi relationships, with bicultural policy based upon the partnership implicit in the Treaty of Waitangi between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti (Te Papa 2012/2013).

employed in residence at the museum. These strategies are useful models for (well-resourced) museums elsewhere. The experiences empower iwi communities to investigate collection holdings at museums, and outcomes of Tribunal inquiries are providing resources to negotiate cultural redress. As a result, taonga Māori in museums are moving from little known and inaccessible to relevant and immediate.

In 2001, in response to indigenous advocacy and changes in museum practice nationally and internationally, the WM adopted a governance model based on the principles of partnership and two cultures development arising from the Treaty of Waitangi, as stated above. The institution gained recognition nationally for this development (Butts 2003). Subsequent policies adopted by WM recognise kaitiakitanga of taonga, and practices have been developed to ensure descendant groups from whānau, hapū or iwi are involved with processes relating to access to and use of taonga. Policy development has resulted from responses to moral obligations that go beyond legal parameters. For example, policy relating to use of taonga ensures appropriate approval is sought from “designated kaitiaki/owners/trustees” for reproduction of images of Māori collection items; this includes requests by family members (Whanganui Regional Museum 2009). Similarly, with regard to any requests to borrow taonga from the collection, the museum’s loans policy states, “To ensure Māori values associated with the outgoing loan of any taonga are upheld, designated staff will seek advice from appropriate tangata e tiaki [kaitiaki] before confirming any significant loan that is likely to impact on Māori values” (Whanganui Regional Museum 2007). Kaitiaki have the authority to decline requests.

Encounters of the type described earlier in this chapter where Pēina, one of the Ngā Paerangi members visiting PRM, was provided with an opportunity to hold and have her photograph taken with the taiaha of her tūpuna, are a regular occurrence in museums that care for indigenous collections on an everyday operational basis. Museum staff in these increasingly common situations become familiar with the requirements of visitors during these encounters; a quiet space, time to come to terms with the experience of reconnection with their ancestral treasure and share the experience with each other, time to reflect, and usually the desire to touch or hold the item. In my experience, these opportunities are taken very seriously by the Māori groups involved; individuals often bring a support person or group, including an individual able to take care of the spiritual aspects of the encounter, and they may travel a considerable distance for an opportunity to meet their tūpuna (for the

present case study community 19,000 kilometres). In NZ, for groups travelling from elsewhere in the country, appropriate manaakitanga by the host institution (involving karanga and mihi whakatau at the very least, and perhaps food, etcetera) is normal practice. If the staff of an institution do not have the required skills for these events, they are sought from the community. This requires the establishment of good relationships with tangata whenua and the ability to call on individuals from these communities, often at short notice, to facilitate these visits.

In this discussion I have argued that in NZ many museum professionals work very much in the “here and now” with source communities who are very immediate and present and vocal, rather than “over there and back then” in the context of Thomas’ (2010) reference to indigenous people when museums work at distance from them. However, I acknowledge that while NZ museums are becoming more experienced with these activities, actions are dependent upon institutional and staff commitment and resourcing, are not universally practiced in NZ, are still evolving and have certainly not yet reached a stage of development that might be regarded as acceptable by Māori communities. Furthermore, such evolving procedures are also becoming embedded in museum practice elsewhere. A recent trip to the Museum of World Cultures in Gothenburg, Sweden, has made me aware of some important work that has been achieved in other parts of the world regarding social inclusivity and indigenous viewpoints even when they are “over there” (Muñoz 2009). One conclusion I have drawn from this experience is that all such projects are driven by personalities who have become “decolonial” (Mignolo 2011) through their work and life experiences and are able to accept the validity of different knowledge systems and develop the means by which these can be articulated within the institution. However, personalities are transitory in the life of a museum object, and a decolonial position, while embedded in the individual, may not be embedded in the institution. An alternative is Lynch and Alberti’s (2010) call for a more radical trust to democratise museum processes.

In this section I have discussed how one component of an assemblage, an historical collection, can move between assemblages and contribute to building relationships between other assemblage components. Documenting the dynamic interactions of the components over time and space provided the means by which their differences could be better understood. I have discussed the importance of historical collections as resources from the past influencing the present to inform the future and how this is epitomised through taonga in

NZ museums, which can collapse distance in space-time. I have also acknowledged the validity of Māori concepts of space and time as central to a decolonised position with regard to curatorial responsibility in NZ. In addition I have discussed some of the distinctive differences between museum practices in NZ and other countries with regard to museum-indigenous community relationships, which have resulted from the proximity of museums and communities, and resulted in the development of solutions for indigenous engagement and empowerment effective to varying degrees. Museums are becoming experienced facilitators of indigenous reconnection with heritage items but continuity of practice is also dependent upon individual and institutional commitment, which may be transitory. Finally, outcomes of the Treaty of Waitangi processes have potential implications for Ngā Paerangi's ongoing involvement with PRM, but recent experience in Oxford has inspired a commitment to building a relationship with this museum through these taonga. I will now consider the ways in which power is manifest within this relational network.

The Manifestations of Power

The second theme that has emerged from the research findings in chapters three and four concerns the ways in which power is manifest within the relationships between the components of this assemblage. These different manifestations of power can arise from the epistemological and physical distance between indigenous communities and museums as discussed above or conversely can be used to overcome them. Lynch (2011a, 148) considers the three different dimensions of power distinguished by political and social theorist Stephen Luke, “the public face, the hidden face and an ‘insidious’ third face”, as the ability to get one's way despite resistance, to keep issues off the agenda and shape “the public domain through beliefs, values and wants” that are considered normal, and the way in which the powerless internalize and accept their condition. Likewise Harris and O'Hanlon (2013, 10) intimated the positive benefits that are resulting from a shift in thinking in the way power is distributed within assemblages. They suggested,

by facilitating interaction between representatives of originating communities and those who work within museums, creating easier access to collections and consulting more sensitively about the histories and on-going potency of museum objects, ethnographic museums have been substantially improved and perhaps some old wounds have begun to be healed.

The following section discusses how power, here delineated as authority and control, ability, and privilege explicitly articulated through community and institutional priorities and resources, affects the ways in which museums and indigenous communities interact, with specific reference to the case study.

Authority and Control

Following on from Lynch's definition of power in relation to social inclusion above, in this context, authority refers to the right to be in control, to give orders and make decisions. Much work on museums and communities in settler societies has been undertaken with reference to the concept of the contact zone (described by Clifford 1997) to explore the nature of relationships between indigenous peoples and others (most recently by Krmpotich and Peers 2013). Boast has criticised this model of the museum as contact zone as neo-colonial and asymmetrical in that it does not truly engage with source communities by sharing authority but rather continues to position museums as dominant within collaborations; museums remain the "gatekeepers of authority and expert accounts" (Boast 2011, 67). He suggested that complete redrafting of museum structures is required through which they "learn to let go of resources, even at times their objects, for the benefit and use of communities and agendas far beyond [their] knowledge and control" (ibid.). Could this result in a "perfect contact zone ... of equal reciprocity and mutual benefit" (ibid., 63)? Boast thinks not, equating it to a "clinical collaboration, a consultation that is designed from the outset to appropriate the resources necessary for the academy and to be silent about those that were not necessary" (ibid., 66), with the only results being to trap participants in documentation. Will this be the only outcome for Ngā Paerangi from their experience at PRM; staff documentation of Ngā Paerangi's week at the museum, augmented catalogue records, any academic publications that may result, and a thesis?

The PRM's recent collaborations with Haida initially developed within the contact zone model. However, as the relationship between the institutional participants and Haida community members grew through shared experiences at Oxford, new perspectives developed for some of the PRM participants, perspectives which Krmpotich and Peers (2013) refer to using the concept of the 'third space'. This "new space of shared understanding which [emerged] from [this] cross-cultural encounter" (ibid., 53), was expanded to encompass the space where the repatriation of knowledge takes place (ibid., 191). Krmpotich

clarified this claim by describing the mutually beneficial nature of the encounter, with the knowledge that was brought back into play by Haida members enabling the museum to exist “as a space where acts of repatriation and reciprocity occur between source community members and collections” (ibid., 189). This concept has also been used by Schorch and Hakiwai (2014), who have argued that this third space of knowledge production is created through a dialogue between indigenous practice and Western theory, centred on collaboration. They demonstrated this by bringing the Mana Taonga principle, embedded in museum practice at Te Papa, into dialogue with Western theoretical notions of the public sphere, in order to generate a more democratic form of knowledge production.

This positive outcome was aptly tempered by Clifford (2010) in his discussion of the meaning of the terms ‘curator’ and ‘curate’ when he concluded that, for the outsider, indigenous histories, which are non-linear and pragmatic in their orientation, will always be partially lost in translation. More recently, Harrison (2013, 6) suggested moving beyond the contact zone model through the exploration of synergies between curatorial and indigenous practices relating to “custodial obligations”. This, he suggests, will lead to new ways of respectfully curating collections for today and into the future, from which new models will emerge that specifically focus upon the collection, through understanding the networks of material and social interactions with it (ibid., 5). Yet, the authors’ central premise, that indigenous practices are *equal* to museum curatorial expertise, nevertheless maintains the power and authority of the museum through determining and controlling these interactions. By contrast, curator Adriana Muñoz’s practice, developed through her work with indigenous communities at the Museum of World Cultures in Gothenburg, validates the synergies which occur when curatorial and indigenous practices meet. This is achieved through the respectful acknowledgement of different systems of knowledge, with neither superseding nor replacing the other (Muñoz 2009). Concurring with the previous authors, she advocates practising “a democratic construction of knowledge” (ibid., 14) using a model that can be adopted elsewhere. In addition, Lynch (2014, 12) argued for the employment of a critical pedagogy within museums’ public interface and urged open reflective practice for meaningful community engagement so “we can more effectively deliver on our social responsibilities as global, public institutions.” Indigenous curating may be the only equitable solution for appropriate curation of indigenous collections, I argue, however, that such a solution is unlikely outside the home locale of indigenous peoples because indigenous curators require support including appropriate policy, adequate resources, and institution-wide responsiveness

to address what Qureshi (2011, 87) described as the “ideological weight of occupying such a privileged position”. Furthermore, as Tapsell (2011b, 86-7) questions, is “*office* (ownership; museum values) willing to accommodate *kinship* (belonging; indigenous values) so each may co-exist and complement one another within museums”?

As mentioned in the literature review, authors in Harrison, Byrne and Clarke’s (2013) volume addressed new ways of examining ethnographic museum collections and the means by which they have been developed and understood. Of value to the current study were the various ways contributors used the metaphor of reassembling to further understand the nature of these collections, how they came about, and the influences their development have had through the various relationships forged in their creation. Numerous authors have also examined the changes that have occurred in Western museums’ practice over the past three decades in regard to indigenous collections and relationships with the communities from which these collections originate (for example, Boast 2011, Kreps 2011, Peers and Brown 2003b), describing the growing recognition of ethical responsibilities and commitment to change. Strategies for protecting indigenous knowledge systems are similarly recognised by a number of authors (for example, Battiste 2008, Bishop 2008). In these cases authority and outcomes favour indigenous communities (such as kaupapa Māori methodology employed in this study) and self-determination is paramount.

This paradigm shift in Western museological thought and practice, in regard to authority over management, use and interpretation of indigenous heritage collections, has been highly visible at Te Papa with its adoption of a bicultural organisational structure, as discussed previously. This institution has moved beyond the collaborative model, viewed by some communities as “just alternative words for cultural appropriation and forms of neo-colonialism” (Kreps 2011, 81), to one of more genuine partnership embodied within its bicultural leadership and practice. Te Papa, particularly through its Māori and Pacific collections and community engagement, has embraced curatorial responsibility involving, as Clifford (2010, 7) has suggested, “active relations of reciprocity and dialogue—not administration or tutelage”.

Elsewhere, other solutions have been tested. Ames (1999) describes exhibition development at the Canadian Museum of Anthropology between 1994 and 1996 involving First Nations’ materials, which resulted in recognition of the need to change from cursory involvement by First Nations to full participation and the practices that evolved from that.

This process acknowledged that to challenge “scholarly privilege is not necessarily a challenge to [its] value”, but rather challenges who controls its “direction and use” (ibid., 45). Despite the redistribution of institutional authority that followed, with traditional owners being able to affect control over exhibition outcomes (ibid., 49), he (citing Clifford 1997, 207) warned “the solution is inevitably contingent and political”. Muñoz (2009) also found this with her institution’s work with Bolivian communities, which moved from collaborations between the museum and community specialists, to negotiations between their respective governments. This fear of a loss of control is what Lynch (2011a, 149) considered “the central undermining flaw within well-meaning attempts at democratizing museums”. Furthermore, museums are constrained by their constitutions and funding sources and may even need to “conform to politicized directives” (Harris and O’Hanlon 2013, 12). One solution for Ames was to “report fictions” to governing bodies (Ames 1999, 49), which is obviously not for everyone, but finding similarly creative solutions is necessary. Without these, collaborative partnerships will maintain their asymmetry.

Consequently Kreps (2011, 72) proposed the decolonising of Western museums by “acknowledging historical, colonial contingencies under which collections acquired; revealing Eurocentric ideology and biases in the Western museum concept, discourse and practice; acknowledging and including diverse voices and multiple perspectives; and transforming museums through sustained critical analysis and concrete action.” Lynch (2014) agrees with this approach, but also argues that the disaffection of communities (including diaspora and originating) and practitioners regarding engagement and participation in postcolonial museum practice can be resolved through a reconsideration of the critical in pedagogy, as mentioned above.

Hence Boast’s (2011, 64) suggestion that the new museology “promotes education over research, engagement over doctrine, and multivocality over connoisseurship” and is neoliberal “in that it assumes, as a core premise, the open exchange of information and the open access to information”. Ethnographic museums in Europe and the UK, such as the PRM, have certainly expended considerable resources over the past decade to achieve open access to collection information via their online collection databases and expansion of their education, exhibition and related events programmes, but do they otherwise fulfil Boast’s definition of the new museology? As he reminds us, there is an asymmetry of knowledge transfer in the contact zone model; although both sides are egocentric, for the museum the

transfer of knowledge is only one-way (to museum) whereas for source communities it is two-way (to museum and to community).

Museums also have stewardship responsibilities and accountability beyond storing and interpreting if they are not to be perceived as “asymmetrical zones of appropriation” where dominance wins (ibid., 63). Indigenous responses to museums, as Erikson et al. (2002, 33) point out, have been visible through protests about the collecting and use of human remains, employment of indigenous staff, challenging the authority of museums to represent indigenous histories, and pressuring for repatriation of cultural patrimony. For these reasons Onciul (2011) developed the engagement zone model to counter this, while Krmpotich and Peers (2013, 52) described a “third space” mentioned above.

Where do I, therefore, position the present research outcomes, which not only involve the repatriation of knowledge but also the generation of new knowledge based upon a critical analysis of the manifestations of power, indigenous and material agency and divergent epistemologies? The values of respect and empathy are central to an appropriate contemporary museology to ensure that a more democratic form of knowledge production will result. To achieve this, collections need to be re-energised through our interactions with them and curators and interpreters must face up to and facilitate discussion about our difficult histories, including the ways in which collections have been acquired. As Mignolo has asserted for ethnographic museums, the role of these institutions is not to show the visitor the beauty of a culture but rather what Western colonisation did to it (Sandahl and Mignolo 2014). One innovative museum director, Jette Sandahl, (briefly) achieved this through a provocative series of exhibitions at the Museum of World Cultures in Gothenburg. These were aimed at directly addressing the supremacist value system embedded in the museum collections, and resulted from the impact of increasing globalisation on ethnographic collections (Sandahl 2007). In one instance, Fred Wilson was asked to facilitate the museum’s self-reflection on its history and value systems, which resulted in the 2004 exhibition *Site Unseen - Dwellings of the Demons*, in which the artist questioned the practices of collecting and inclusion/exclusion and was thus able to illustrate how ethnographic collections are rooted in political, legislative and ethical gaps which enabled collecting to occur. Through the exhibition he tried to lend a voice to those who were silent, while the institution subsequently and proactively addressed collection deficiencies. Under Sandahl the

museum also embraced living cultures as active agents in the museum, a practice that is widespread in museums today.

While this is a NZ-centric study with close attention paid to museum practices in this country, I have examined museums in the UK through secondary literature and by participant observation during two visits to PRM in 2009 and 2013. At the outset of the encounter between PRM and Ngā Paerangi in 2013, Ngā Paerangi had an expectation that one tangible result would be in the form of a signed agreement between the museum and the iwi specifying the nature of their relationship and its potential future manifestations. With this in mind, a preliminary agreement was developed which outlined the expectations of the 2013 visit to the PRM by Ngā Paerangi and this was signed by both parties before the visit (see Protocol Agreement discussion chapter one and Appendix I). It was the intention of Ngā Paerangi that a further document would be developed, this time *with* the staff of the PRM which, following discussion and confirmation with those back in NZ, would establish the relationship between the museum and iwi “in perpetuity”. When this was discussed with PRM staff by the author before the Ngā Paerangi visit and by both groups during the visit, PRM were not willing to be a part of any formal signed agreement. This was reportedly to ensure that communication with a community was not restricted by particular signatories on a document, but rather that a more flexible and stronger relationship would be based upon establishing contacts with a number of people in a community. As discussed in chapter four, the museum will “recognise the broad relationship between the collection, the museum and the community. That may be as far as we go.”⁸ This informal relationship stands in contrast to the experience in NZ museums, which reflects the fact that iwi Māori expect an institutional partnership based around their heritage to centre upon an agreed and formalised document.

The reason for the reluctance to develop a formal agreement appears to be centred on concerns about the appropriateness of the signatory as a representative of the community. As this signatory would control access to the collection in the future, PRM staff were unwilling to develop agreements where community power struggles, for example, might prevent access. Although perhaps understandable in a European situation where relationships between ancient collections and contemporary descendants are disputed, it is a surprising response from a NZ perspective, where the value of established, mandated iwi leadership and

⁸ Peers, interview.

management structures, for example, are recognised. In NZ museums these operate successfully and letters of agreement are common practice between organisations and iwi where the responsibilities and obligations of each party are clearly spelt out and agreed, as are any future actions, and there is no room for misunderstanding. Through the process of decolonising institutional practice, museums have negotiated relations with iwi groups assisted by national and local agencies, such as National Services Te Paerangi and Kāhui Kaitiaki (Māori museums workers' network), who can advise on suitable approaches to tangata whenua groups in NZ. There are also online resources that simplify this process such as Te Puni Kōkiri's Te Kāhui Māngai Directory of Iwi and Māori Organisations (Te Puni Kōkiri 2005).⁹ I acknowledge that proximity in NZ has influenced the progressiveness of these developments and that these processes will continue to be refined.

With regard to formal agreements, Coote commented with some justification that relationships between people are more effective than pieces of paper, but this is dependent upon the maintenance of these relationships and entails investment of time. As previously stated, he had a pragmatic point of view of museum-community relations over time with "perpetuity embedded in the objects" and any relationships reliant upon projects to carry them forward and keep them active. There was of course a constant demand on museum resources to engage in projects. Therefore, when the size and nature of PRM Collections are taken into account, as well as the staff resources and opportunities, the reality of their position on ongoing relationships with individual indigenous groups could be considered reasonable.

There was consensus among Ngā Paerangi on the range of outcomes possible from reconnecting with their taonga and establishing a relationship with the museum. First and foremost they had been able to fulfil manaaki (showing respect) responsibilities of descendants to acknowledge the mana (prestige and authority) of their tūpuna through visiting the taonga in England. Ngā Paerangi people now felt it was of paramount importance that they assisted PRM staff in learning to care for their taonga appropriately, so as to ensure the safety not only of the taonga but also those people who came in contact with them, and Hāwira was tasked with compiling a report on this on their return to NZ. They would also like to see the taonga visit Whanganui at some time in the future, to open up educational

⁹ A website providing information about mandated iwi identified in legislation such as the Māori Fisheries Act 2004.

opportunities around them deliverable through schools, museums and wānanga, and be able to access the collection and information about it digitally via the web. PRM staff, on the other hand, felt it was important to enhance the collection documentation and identify how the taonga had been transferred between their tūpuna and the collector. A priority for PRM was to make the taonga and any information they held accessible to the people from whom the items originated. If any further information about the taonga was forthcoming that was an added bonus.

Thus, while other network agents may have different requirements, expectations around the nature and potential outcomes of a contemporary relationship are not dissimilar for the indigenous and institutional components of this assemblage, although the former preferred a formalised approach specifying the nature of the relationship and its potential future manifestations, while the latter preferred a more informal arrangement. There were, however, divergent positions on the importance of an ancestral object within this network as discussed in chapter four. To briefly reiterate, for Māori people taonga are an instantiation of an ancestor, whereas for “a university museum, a prime criterion for importance has to be [the object’s] potential for research”¹⁰ as well as the museum programmes of which objects are a part (research, exhibitions, related events). There was also a perception of similarity in the museum use of ethnographic collections with Māori ideas about the animacy and the increasing mana of objects as they pass from one owner to another.

Central to Coote’s view is that he sees it as his responsibility to “unpick and unpack the past of objects in the collection...[then] by putting the collections out there, by publishing them, by exhibiting them, by putting them on the internet, etcetera etcetera it becomes possible for them to be properly connected to the past”.¹¹ The emphasis here is on the exploration of historical data to unpack collections, a method that has been successfully applied for the present study. This certainly has benefits in that this is what iwi, themselves, are doing in order to try to recover lost histories. George Nuku’s narrative on the PRM Cook voyages collection tatā and its meaning to him (which are discussed more fully below) illustrate the potential of this, but, although this is currently used for teaching, it is not considered suitable for a wider circulation. A useful approach, therefore, is to co-ordinate these methods to potentially enhance the results, as this study has demonstrated. It is also

¹⁰ Coote, interview.

¹¹ Ibid.

useful to take advantage of the fact that more and more people have double knowledge systems and can unpack the cultural context of objects in ethnographic collections and thus greatly enhance their academic and museological value, if they are given the opportunity.

While acknowledging that it is best to leave questions of meaning, significance and symbolism to specialists, as Coote suggests, it would be useful to work in partnership with these specialists to make these meanings as accessible to others as institutional and academic publications are accessible. This would be immensely valuable, as many indigenous experts visit the museum to work with PRM staff and collections. Joint publications from this research or distribution of this knowledge in other ways would be a significant contribution to this field.

A further way in which power can be manifest within and between relationships is through withholding of cultural knowledge. Ngā Paerangi informants illustrate this when they confirm that members of iwi will withhold cultural knowledge from others if they consider it is potentially too powerful for them to be the recipients of it. For example, as Rzoska stated, “I think it was a time when there was a different world and ... they didn’t believe we would be able to carry on the little they had. The same themselves, their parents were doing the same thing to them, you know, not passing down”.¹² Clarke added, that “a lot of knowledge is lost over time, because people haven’t had the need to perhaps share it ... as they got older they probably felt less of a need to pass that knowledge on and sadly a lot of it went to the grave with people”.¹³ Furthermore, knowledge was withheld if the recipient did not have a valid reason for wanting it. Simon makes it clear that only so much information should be provided, that which should rightly be available in the public domain (whether this be specifically within Māoridom or published), and any further details should be left for the owners of that information. The three volumes produced by Simon about Whanganui iwi and marae (*Taku Whare E* I, II and III), illustrate this. In Volume I, for example, the name of each marae, its location, and details of the iwi/hapū relationships (mountain, river, canoe) are given, as well as building names and the marae tikanga specific to each. This is followed with a brief description of the marae with reference to its special character. Provision of any further details about the marae and community are the responsibility of the community and it is up to the enquirer to seek this out for themselves. In this way the validity of the enquirer

¹² Rzoska, interview.

¹³ Clarke, interview.

can be determined and the appropriate response given. This brings to mind Kramer's (2006, 76) contribution to this issue, where she discusses the conflict of transmitting cultural knowledge by writing it down rather than orally, as this leaves communities vulnerable in that they come to rely on written texts but also may lose control of cultural knowledge if it gets into others' hands. However, the fact that Charles Smith recorded some of the taonga's genealogies implies that Ngā Paerangi were not withholding this knowledge from him. This demonstrates that he was accepted to some degree as a part of their network and acknowledged as a person who would treat their tangible and intangible heritage appropriately, as Gilbert Mair had been with Te Arawa (Tapsell 2006a).

PRM staff, from their experience working with indigenous communities, acknowledged that cultural knowledge may only be given to certain people, who may not have the authority to share it, or if they do, may not want to share it with the museum. Similarly, staff recognised that it might no longer be up to them to identify the type of projects that the collections would be used for, and that the time had come for source communities to be involved in these decisions. In addition, they realised they needed assistance managing the collections and this could only come from source communities as they have the skills and knowledge about the collections. Museum informants thus emphasised the shift in power that is occurring in anthropology museums in the UK. Staff practice at PRM in relation to work with Haida by Krmpotich and Peers (2010, 2011, 2013) and Blackfoot peoples by Peers (2013) has been described.

Finally, PRM curatorial staff no longer regard the current display arrangement, where objects are displayed by function rather than cultural or geographic origin, as useful in their work. What they are interested in, and pursue with their research and collection access programmes, are the cultural meaning of the items and their importance to their communities of origin. They achieve this by unpacking the object's collecting history, from which they can establish a connection with communities of origin to expand on their findings. Why else would Coote invite Nuku to discuss the Māori tatā on camera and use this as an education resource for his students? It would be valuable, however, to expose a broader audience to such epistemological differences, for example through display interpretation, joint publications or on the museum's website.

To conclude, this section has focussed upon power as authority and control and the potential outcomes of its repositioning within the indigene-museum network. Various authors

and informants have identified the different ways that this is acknowledged and addressed within the assemblage, which can result in the democratisation of knowledge production. This study has also identified that different actors have different expectations of the outcomes of encounters within the indigene-museum network. I therefore propose that respect and empathy for epistemological difference are central to an appropriate contemporary museology, with the decolonising of museum practice possible through the acknowledgement and communication of our difficult histories. The disassembly and reassembly of the heritage networks considered in this study have illustrated one way in which this process can be furthered.

Ability

Ability is the second manifestation of power visible from the analysis of results. It is characterised here by the knowledge, skills and experiences brought to this study by participants to progress specific planned outcomes. Recognising that PRM staff and the Ngā Paerangi iwi members who travelled to Oxford had very different experiences and skills in relation to museums and museum collections, each group attempted to anticipate how best to use and share their respective skills and knowledge for mutual benefit during their brief time together. In a similar project at the World Cultures Museum in Gothenburg, where participants interrogated epistemological difference, collection curator Adrianna Muñoz (2009, 13) found that,

working with the collection with this grouping of people gave us the opportunity and freedom to explore what knowledge is, who has the power to forward this knowledge and to whom. Knowledge is power, and in the case of museums it is selective: one group alone has the power to produce knowledge and to share it. The inclusion of other people, other perspectives, aids the process of democratizing knowledge and access to it (Muñoz 2009, 13).

It must be acknowledged that both groups who met at PRM exhibited some degree of anxiety about fulfilling the expectations of the other. PRM staff were able to address this through detailed planning for the visit: the welcome event at the museum, concise scheduling of the week's itinerary, preparation of staff responsible for hosting the group, and discussions with me for insights into Ngā Paerangi expectations for the week. Similarly, Ngā Paerangi met regularly before travel to plan their approach, discuss opportunities that might arise, identify

and delegate responsibilities and requirements for the visit, practice waiata for ceremonial occasions, communicate with other iwi members, and so forth.

The Ngā Paerangi group shared responsibilities to achieve set aims, reflecting individual interests and skills. For example, one informant, Ngā Paerangi leader Simon, repeatedly deferred to his nephew Rzoska, the acknowledged iwi whakapapa expert, when discussing the identification of people in photographs, as this was the role that Rzoska had been chosen for and the knowledge that he had developed far surpassed that of his uncle. Simon was, however, willing to describe and provide examples of practices that he is responsible for such as tapu clearance. Rzoska, through his confidence as a whakapapa exponent and his understanding of the connections between people that this entails, was able to make suggestions as to the identity of individuals in photographs from which he could contextualise items in the Charles Smith collection, in relation to people, places and events.

PRM staff's prior experience working with indigenous communities ensured sensitivity to the potential requirements of the Ngā Paerangi group. The strategy for receiving and hosting them took this into account and the museum was genuine about developing appropriate methods to deal with new situations. They also documented their experience of the visit in detail to add to the collection records so as to provide a permanent record for the institution. This strategy had been successfully implemented for a previous visit by a Haida delegation, so the visit was "recorded in terms of an anthropological study of what happens when a group visits a European museum full of their own material culture. Also note taking to inform the database again as to how objects are actually used and how they may have been made."¹⁴ Furthermore, the Ngā Paerangi group acknowledged that PRM and its skilled staff were responsible for the preservation of a significant proportion of their extant tangible heritage, from which they now had the opportunity to rebuild cultural capital in the form of associated intangible heritage, education resources and more.

An important finding of this study is the identification of the difficulties of genuine engagement with communities in practice as opposed to the theory. As a Pākehā museum curator, although committed to a kaupapa Māori methodology for this study and the sharing of power which is entailed within it, I have observed opportunities that arose during this

¹⁴ Belsey, interview.

project which were, despite everyone's best efforts, curtailed because of the constraints imposed by a three-year doctoral research programme. These restraints included,

- unavailability of individuals to participate at this particular time (for example, lack of experience of members of the Oxford Ngā Paerangi group to lead the project and decision-make on behalf of the group since Simon was too unwell to take a more active role and Clarke was unable to travel to the UK; general lack of experience in project management and negotiation in this context), and,
- a lack of time (to organise and fund a large group of people to travel halfway around the world, to develop an efficient information dissemination system that meant all stakeholders were privy to all information exchanges in a timely manner, and so forth).

A further restraint was the limited experience of some individuals with museums and academia, thereby constraining potential/Ngā Paerangi preferred outcomes. For, as Tapsell (2003, 244) states, “every decision, be it regarding a perceived opportunity or imposed constraint, continues to be measured in terms of kin group accountability that falls beyond the frame of Western individualised contexts”. Thus, decision-making and negotiation regarding future outcomes were weighty responsibilities for any member of the Oxford Ngā Paerangi group to take on.

An active rather than a passive approach to museum/iwi interactions would have resulted in more control of the encounter with PRM and insistence on a MOU (or some formal agreement, as iwi in NZ knowingly appropriate Western mechanisms to control actions; for example, letters of commitment between iwi and the Crown as a part of their Waitangi Tribunal Deed of Settlements),¹⁵ acquiescence to opportunities for information dissemination while maintaining control over this knowledge, and encouraging PRM to take the project further and be responsible for seeking fiscal partners to facilitate it. However, it is useful to be reminded of the finite nature of my direct involvement (primarily during doctoral research), and that time would enable further outcomes to eventuate for both parties beyond my involvement. For example, Hāwira is currently working on developing a set of cultural

¹⁵ Such as that between Ngāti Porou, the Department of Internal Affairs (on behalf of the National Library and Archives New Zealand), and Te Papa via a letter of commitment to facilitate the care and management, access and use, and development and revitalisation of Ngāti Porou taonga (Waitangi Tribunal 2010), or that formalising Ngāti Whakaue's partnership with the Crown symbolised by the taonga Pukaki (Tapsell 2000), also see Hakiwai (2014).

protocols/tikanga requirements to guide PRM staff in the care of and access to their taonga and it is hoped that this will lead to more concrete outcomes, which unfortunately cannot be discussed as part of this study.

To conclude, Ngā Paerangi, PRM staff and I consider knowledge differently and have different skill sets. All these came together at the PRM, in particular during the taonga encounter sessions, from which some potential project outcomes were realised and new ones developed. At the same time I acknowledge that actions and events did not necessarily go according to plan and the effects of this varied for all participants. Recognising this provides a learning opportunity for all parties, and documentation of it provides an opportunity to contribute to a gap in the literature on this subject, as noted by Peers and Brown (2003b, 10).

Privilege

Privilege is the final manifestation of power falling out of this assemblage, considered here in terms of community and institutional priorities, opportunities and access to resources. While acknowledging that privilege is contextual, Lynch (2011a, 149), through self-reflexive practice within her own institution, observed that even well-meaning museum staff, aware that their own position was a result of privilege “somehow appeared to feel that this awareness exempted them from its consequences.” But firstly, returning to the historical components of this assemblage and their interactions, I consider the opportunities that arose from Charles Smith’s ‘gentleman farmer’ status and Te Oti’s rangatira status.

Te Oti Takarangi was the leader of one of the largest tribal groups on the Whanganui River during the nineteenth century and controlled a sizeable and strategic location near the fledgling settler town and port of Whanganui, with the defensive, resource and alliance benefits these factors afforded. Of particular relevance to this study is the mutually beneficial relationship he established with Charles Smith who was Te Oti Takarangi’s ‘Pākehā’, with the advantages and responsibilities this entailed, as will be discussed further below, while Te Oti Takarangi was Smith’s source of labour, security, iwi information and material goods.

At the same time, Smith’s privileged position within the European society provided him with respect and acceptance in a settler community, time and opportunity to pursue a range of interests, as well as time and resources to travel regularly and extensively. Various influences, both before he emigrated from England and after his arrival in Whanganui,

enabled his collection to develop. The former included his education in London, the 1851 Great Exhibition, and his association memberships: the latter included befriending naturalists, Richard Taylor and Samuel Drew and probably well-known naturalist Sir Walter Buller¹⁶; his membership of the Acclimatisation Association; and opportunities both presented to him (such as offers by Ngā Paerangi individuals to gift or sell items) and those that he sought out (by travelling around the Whanganui/Taranaki region and elsewhere in NZ and further afield, during which he obtained items by, for example, fossicking ‘kitchen middens’ at Waitōtara or surface collecting toki from Tunuhaere pā). Moreover, the volume of material in both the PRM and WM Collections originating from Charles Smith indicates that he made the most of opportunities to acquire items. He was also aware of the increasing scarcity of material for collecting, as he stated in a letter to his sister Susan,

These ornamental mats [cloaks] are getting very rare, as natives living near settlements take a good deal to European clothing (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923 for 1923.87.159).

Consequently he made every endeavour to obtain ethnographic items where he could. Charles Smith was also a ready source of the material goods Ngā Paerangi people were eager to acquire and for which, in some cases, they chose to part with items that they were aware Smith had an interest in. The pāoi sold to Smith by Tutaria is an example of this.

In contrast, travel today across half the globe to visit the taonga of their tūpuna was a massive financial undertaking for Ngā Paerangi members, as well as an emotional, spiritual and organisational one; for some it is never to be repeated, while for many others it will remain an unattainable experience. A focus on whānau and marae and the skills this community is renowned for, including composition and performance, often takes precedence over travel outside NZ, while for those with family living overseas, visiting them is a priority over travel for any other reason. For example, Pēina has 54 members of her family (children and grandchildren) living in Perth and regularly travels there to spend time with them.

PRM staff make every effort to accommodate indigenous groups once contact is established. The effect of some museum practices on communities of origin, however, may not always be a positive one. Although this is not the museum’s intention, the impact of advances in online access to collections of significance to indigenous communities is that they want direct access, if not to the items themselves, then to the staff responsible for caring

¹⁶ Walter Buller was a fellow member of the New Zealand Institute and Resident Magistrate in Whanganui 1865 to 1869 (Galbreath 2013).

for these items. This project identified the challenges a small staff at a major institution with an international reputation face, responding to the volume of requests they receive. This was illustrated by the difficulty the author experienced initiating the project following a research visit in 2009, which reflected the fact that staff institutional and professional priorities were directed elsewhere at that time. Observing Macdonald's (2002) and Fouseki's (2010) criticism that museum staff often are too object-focussed, describing this as "the fetishization of material culture", Byrne (2013, 27-9) suggested "that paying closer attention to the social practices of which objects once were a part and the relationship between objects in practices when carrying out collection research has the potential to create longer lasting, more embedded collaboration". This is the nature of museum practice in many NZ museums and one which I promote in my professional practice as a curator, researcher and lecturer. However, one of the issues that emerged from the findings of this study is that institutions responsible for world culture collections and physically remote from source communities have to balance all requests for time and resources and do not necessarily prioritise indigenous groups over other research enquirers.

Central to ethical museum practice in the twenty-first century is the responsibility for making collections and their documentation accessible. I acknowledge that resource limitations impact on museum responsiveness to collection accessibility, and that this is not an issue restricted to PRM. Responsiveness to requests for access to indigenous heritage in NZ and elsewhere, however, has resulted in the development of innovative practices centred upon recognition of indigenous authority over cultural heritage, as well as formal and informal procedures to control access. Much can be gained by museum staff accommodating indigenous cultural practices through inverting power relations and the voice of authority, as recommended by Kreps (2011, 75). Releasing power to make decisions about the management of and access to collections to those who would benefit most directly from this has also been shown to have two-way benefits, to the institution as well as to the community. However, this brings into play the responsibilities of the institution to their own diverse communities (for the case study those in and around Oxford), including the research community who rely upon the museum's collection for their own benefits, and the impact of the political environment and funding sources. This is, however, where differences in institutional practices in the UK, and in countries with indigenous communities close at hand are most clear. In NZ museums for example, there are numerous examples of the evolution of staff and governance structures and policy development which mirror the changes that are

taking place in society, where the devolution of power to all stakeholders means that power is more equitable than before.

The resources available today to the museum and iwi identified by this research that relate to the distribution of power are tabulated in Table 5-2. As Paku reminds us, “We are paid to do our jobs, iwi aren’t”.¹⁷ It is important to remember that they have other priorities as well. For Ngā Paerangi these priorities relate to health, education, employment, housing, Treaty claims, marae sustainability and capital developments. Ngā Paerangi people have had to prioritise activities, especially at this crucial time in their Waitangi Tribunal claims. Because of current resource (time and people) constraints, the response to the opportunity in Oxford was not as effective as it might have been at a different time. Correspondingly, Coote recommended that notification of potential dates for the Ngā Paerangi visit to Oxford should be given well in advance because of the busy schedule of institution staff, the number of staff that might be required to assist with supervision of the group and the availability of space to accommodate the group within the institution.

As revealed in chapter three, Ngā Paerangi informants repeatedly commented on their surprise at finding out about the existence of the Charles Smith collection. They were more familiar with other ways their tūpuna disposed of taonga, such as throwing items into the river or burying them with their deceased owners. Furthermore, owing to the paucity of extant Ngā Paerangi taonga in the WM, Ngā Paerangi are in general inexperienced in dealing with museums and had no expectation that taonga originating from their community would be held in a museum. Today Ngā Paerangi’s strengths are, in the first instance, whānau, hapū and iwi and, in the context of this study, represented by intangible forms of heritage including te reo, tāhuhu kōrero (history), tikanga, as well as waiata and kapa haka, for which they are nationally renowned. Furthermore and significantly, they are one of the few iwi in NZ to have, over time, retained a sizeable population at their home marae. Conversely, while PRM rely upon subject specialists, historical documentation, and more recently indigenous knowledge holders to contextualise material in their care, the institution is rich in collection and research skills, enjoys the opportunities provided by Oxford University status, and has benefitted from recent architectural refurbishments.

¹⁷ Paku, panel discussion.

As stated above, for Māori people, iwi accountability is central to tribal decision-making and focusses resources on community requirements, specifically within whānau, hapū and iwi. This was illustrated, for example, by the younger members of the Ngā Paerangi group in Oxford whose primary role was the support of their elders. They ensured that their responsibilities regarding their elders were met before anything else. Within Western ontologies, however, a clear demarcation is usually made between personal and professional. For the case study assemblage, the museum staff's priorities clearly focussed around their institutional responsibilities in the first instance, with the museum collection at the centre of this, whereas for iwi members, value was placed upon the relationships between the taonga and people.

Table 5-2: Comparing resources between Ngā Paerangi and Pitt Rivers Museum.

Ngā Paerangi Resources	Pitt Rivers Museum Resources
Time limited	Staff and time limited
Intangible heritage (kete o te wānanga) rich	Tangible heritage (collection & documentation) rich
Personal community (whānau/hapū/iwi) focussed	Professional community (institution & academy) focussed
Marae	Institution - museum and university
Iwi networks	Professional—museum and academic—networks
Personal reputation	Professional reputation
Indigenous focus on collective responsibility	Western focus on individual rights and advancement
Tikanga skills	Collection care skills and resources
Knowledgeable about tribal histories & tikanga	Research skills & academic speciality knowledge rich
Fiscal limited	Funding potential

In identifying the limitations and issues generated from differences in resources available to components within this relational assemblage, as well as activities prioritised, this research makes a contribution to this area of study. In addition, the research documents the lack of overlap between Ngā Paerangi perceptions of the nature of relationships between them today

(they are continuing the relationship that existed between their tūpuna and the recipients of the taonga gifts, with the current custodians of the taonga) and PRM staff perceptions that a personal response, beyond that initiated by Ngā Paerangi, is currently outside their abilities and resources. Outcomes in terms of relationships built may therefore stall when the current project ends, as Peers and Brown (2003b, 9) describe,

Though many relationships begin with a specific project ... community expectations are that such projects are vehicles to developing long-term relationships, while museums may assume their responsibilities are over when the project ends.

From this discussion it can be seen that privilege, in terms of community and institutional priorities, opportunities and access to resources varies throughout this assemblage. Historically, mutually beneficial outcomes resulted. Today epistemological and physical distance between the network components as well as resource limitations and external demands impact on responsiveness to opportunities the encounters between them may generate.

In this section I have discussed how power, delineated as authority, control, ability and privilege, is manifest within and between the assemblage components and the effect of this on the ways in which museum and indigenous networks interact. I identified that recognition of power within these interactions can democratise knowledge production in the indigene-museum network with the approach utilised by the present study providing opportunity for advancing a decolonised museum practice. As Sully (2007, 222) stated, a decolonised position “offers a means of addressing the asymmetrical interconnectivity that entwines the lives of the coloniser and colonised”. To enable the voices of the colonised to be heard requires involving them in the conversation from the beginning, respecting their points of view, letting go of control, empowering through sharing resources, as well as utilising institutional skills and resources to initiate projects prioritised by them.

I have also shown in this section that bringing together the range of skill sets that have emerged from this network indicates the creative and generative potential of the heritage network. Finally, discussion has centred on the distance between network components. Although it may not be possible to reduce physical distance, respectful acknowledgement of the epistemological distance may enable responsiveness to opportunities where differential access to resources is countered by a willingness to work towards a common purpose. Lynch (2011a, 155) has stated that it is better to “be understood as the political space of encounter

between adversaries, where the power relations which structure these encounters are brought to the fore [as this] creates a liberating effect for museums and their community partners.” Peers and Brown (2003b, 2) share this view, commenting that this can “produce something of value for both parties”. Although I agree with their statement that a museum’s obligations to its publics, its governance structure and to the museum profession differ from those of communities of origin to their stakeholders (for this study whānau, hapū, iwi first and foremost) (ibid., 8), source communities *are* one of the museum’s publics, and obligations to governance and the profession are contingent and political, whereas cultural obligations transcend time and space. I now discuss the evidence for indigenous and material agency as this provides insights into relationships between the network components.

Indigenous and Material Agency

The third theme, which emerged from the results of the analysis of the assemblage components presented in chapters three and four, relates to agency. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, agency is the temporal and spatial interaction of people and things and can take many forms, being “contingent and emergent within social collectives” (Harrison 2013, 17). Furthermore, as Ingold (2010, 92), described by Malafouris (2013, 235), warns we should not read creativity backwards, that is, from the residual object that survives into the museum collection or is recovered from the archaeological excavation, but rather “assign primacy to the processes of formation” of the object, which in this thesis I extrapolate to the formation of the collection. This study therefore addresses indigenous and material forms of agency: indigenous specifically as identified within historical collecting strategies, as well as that effecting contemporary relationship development between an indigenous community and a museum, framed around an historical collection of material culture; and the effect of the material agency of these historical items, individually and collectively, on the community and museum.

Evidence of Indigenous Agency in Historical Collecting Strategies

The identification of indigenous agency in assemblages such as the Charles Smith collection and its network of events, people, and places provides an insight into historical relationships between collectors or museums, and communities. Indigenous agency has also, for this research, illustrated social and political activity contributing to an understanding of intertribal

relationships during the mid-nineteenth century in the central North Island of NZ. While I acknowledge the *tuku* principle, the gifting or release of an item to another, can have many purposes, which, in the case of historical occurrences, may be difficult to reconcile for contemporary communities, examination of indigenous agency in historical collection development can provide answers to questions around the intentionality of the *tuku* in relation to community wellbeing in a time of socio-political turmoil. Indigenous agency has also framed the development of contemporary relationships during recent fieldwork including identifying some of the benefits of providing indigenous access to material heritage within museum collections. As Tapsell (2003, 244) has stated, reiterating an idea from Tūhoe leader Tūtakangāhau presented in chapter four,

Since the nineteenth century the conscious agency by elders of planting object-associated knowledge within museums ... is now providing an invaluable bridge over which today's urban-raised kin are beginning to reconnect with their ancestral past if they so choose.

Indigenous agency here specifically refers to indigenous peoples' involvement in decision-making around what material was made available to collectors and for private or museum collections. Analysis of the results of this research enable the reasons for these *tuku* for one tribal group and one collector to be articulated, which can be extrapolated more broadly to encompass the movement of Māori tangible heritage in general from the makers and owners to collectors and ultimately museums. For, as scholars such as Henare (2007) have shown, gifting has long been recognised as a means of establishing and maintaining relationships, a central feature of Māori life. The nature of the transactions between Charles Smith and his Māori sources was identified in 20 cases (see Table 3-3) with eight of these transactions being gift exchanges. Strategies employed by Ngā Paerangi to facilitate these gift exchanges and trade opportunities from which Smith's collection developed can be identified, as Torrence and Clark (2013) articulated through a PNG case study. These include strengthening relationships, removing dangerous goods from the community, obtaining social status, and producing replicas. I will now discuss these strategies.

Strengthening relationships

As mentioned in the literature review, Henare (2005, 124), referring to Mauss' analysis of the gift in terms of *taonga* Māori, suggested that by the mid-nineteenth century Europeans in NZ were familiar with the moral obligations inherent in ritual gift exchanges. Prestige items

present in the Charles Smith collection suggest that Ngā Paerangi recognised they had an “enduring special relationship” (ibid., 179) with Smith. Furthermore, as Tapsell (2003, 247) has explained, “the wealth of my people has been measured not so much by keeping, but in giving; to *manaaki* all visitors and make them feel at home.” This has resulted in the situation where significant taonga are now more often found in museums and private collections than on marae.

Fragmentary documents authored by the collector, Charles Smith, that have survived illustrate the dynamic interactions of the components of the assemblage, such as the prestigious route traversed by the taiaha (1923.87.1) of Tītokowaru. The genealogy of this taonga, as described earlier, reflects the strengthening of relationships between prominent nineteenth-century Māori leaders all within a few decades. Without going into detail about the complexities of the intertribal alliances reflected here, each instance represents a very significant gift exchange, and one that astounds contemporary descendants. They cannot explain the meaning of these exchanges, as the taiaha’s name has been lost, which would have positioned this taiaha within iwi narratives. As Salmond (1984, 122) notes, the name of a taonga “in Māori terms [is] the only really vital piece of information about them”. Furthermore, as Tapsell explained at the seminar ‘Reassembling the Material’ in 2012,

If you are giving away a taonga, it is a reflection of your wealth and mana, power, ancestry. So receipt of a gift places the receiver in a position of debt and also is a reflection of the wealth, mana of the giver.

It is interesting to contemplate what the debt entailed for Smith; I will consider this shortly. In this context, objects can also act as mediators in these relationships. Macdonald (2011, 114) articulated this with reference to heritage sites as “part of a complex web of cultural materials, practices and interactions”, but I consider that it can equally be applied to a heritage *object*’s tangible and intangible properties. The taiaha thus contributes to our understanding of the regard in which Smith was held by this iwi, affirmed by Clarke when he stated “to me it clearly identified the good relationship he had with our old people”.¹⁸

Another gift to Smith was an act of memorialisation. *Tunuhaere*, a pākurukuru or canoe prow (1923.87.12; Figure 5-3) with the most expansive biography of any item in the collection (see inset following page), was described by Smith as “presented to me by Tamati

¹⁸ Clarke, interview.

***Tunuhaere* pākurukuru, canoe figurehead from waka *Wainui*, 1923.87.12**

Charles Smith narrated a brief history of this pākurukuru in a letter to his family which has resulted in its active presence as one of the actors in this heritage assemblage of collector, community and museum. He said *Tunuhaere* was,

a tete of a large canoe which belonged to [Matene Te] Rangitauira of Kanihinihi, killed at Moutoa fighting on the side of the Hauhaus. The tete is named *Tunuhaere* and the canoe was named *Wainui*. Rangitauira came down with a war party of Taupo natives under Te Herekiekie [the influential chief whose principal place was Tokaanu on Lake Taupo, but who was living just where Edgar Smith now lives, with a lot of his people round him, when I came. He was the best native I ever knew], Hare & Takuira - the cause of quarrel with the Kaiwhaiki natives was the theft of a hamana [cartridge case] from Kotuku Rairoa by Katene te Kuihi [from Kaiwhāiki], tupuna (g-father) of Horima who is now at Parihaka, [in or about 1842]. They stopped at *Tunuhaere* & demanded the Teina [younger brother] of Katene, to be cooked & eaten. Takarangi [at Kaiwhāiki just opposite] refused. The taua went on to Kaiarara [a mile or so down the river to give the Kaiwhaiki natives time to consider] & returned and Ta-karangi offered instead of Katene's brother, to give Ripeka his (Ta-karangi's) Aunt. The Taupo natives accepted, but as the old lady was related to their chief as well as related to Takarangi, they only took her for form's sake & let her go. And the quarrel was over. The *Wainui* would hold forty men. The two parties then met, feasted and exchanged presents and this Tete was given by Rangitauria to Takarangi [which was presented to me [Charles Smith] by Tamati in memory of the old man].



Figure 5-3: *Tunuhaere* pākurukuru 1923.87.12.

NB: Two documents in the PRM RDF both written by Charles Smith have been combined here.

in memory of the old man” (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923 for 1923.87.12). Here he is referring to Te Oti Takarangi, the gift recognising Te Oti Takarangi’s leadership, the respect he was held in, and his friendship with the collector. *Tunuhaere*, as described in chapter two, is also the name of the fortified pā situated across the river from Kaiwhāiki. Rzoska confirmed that the pā was named after an event where an ancestor was caught and killed by up-river relatives and eaten there but they were interrupted and had to flee; hence ‘tunu’ to eat and ‘haere’

while on the move.¹⁹ He also confirmed that the pākurukuru was named to continue the genealogical connections that entwined both parties in the past event, as they are related to both parties in this more recent event. Today the relationship was reaffirmed when Takahia Tawaroa met this instantiation of her tūpuna and recalled her great aunt Rīpeka Takahia and the events that she was involved in.

Kefalas (2012, 67), in her doctoral research about this collection and this prow, suggested that, “it might be conceivable that the *tapu* associated with the site of Tunuhaere, and possibly the *pakurukuru* as well, were the reason that Tāmāti Takarangi was allowed to let Smith have such special *taonga Maori*, to physically rid the community of bad *mana*.” This is clearly not the reason. Te Oti Takarangi, who was given the taonga in the early 1840s, had kept it with him for the remainder of his life, and it was not until after his death in 1885 that the prow was passed to Te Oti Takarangi’s friend Charles Smith. It appears that this was specifically so it would act as a memorial to Te Oti Takarangi and confirm the enduring relationship Smith had with Te Oti Takarangi’s extended family. Furthermore, a pākurukuru is one of a number of metaphors used in the 2014 *Whanganui River Deed of Settlement*, the outcome of the iwi’s Waitangi Tribunal negotiations, to signify the importance of the river to Whanganui iwi. This whakataukī,

Me he tētē waka, me he tau e, to hika ra e!

While the work on a fishing canoe may be mundane, the reward will be fulfilling.

is used in the deed to reflect the symbolic importance of pākurukuru “the figurehead of a working vessel”, as it signals that the relationship document between Whanganui iwi and the Crown “will assist to guide the parties as they navigate forward and work together to give effect to the settlement” (Office of Treaty Settlements 2014, 38).

¹⁹ Rzoska e-mail message to author, September 22, 2014. A version of this history is also recorded by T W Downes (1921, 77).

Te Pā o Hinematiaro, (see Figure 2-6) a fishhook named for a Ngāti Porou ancestor Hinematiaro, was similarly an important heirloom for which, in this case, Smith's extended family are included as relevant and appropriate participants in the gift network. Smith explained,

Tamati the other chief at Kaiwhaiki gave me a Maori fishhook which he took from a female prisoner in the campaign [against Te Kooti]. This present among Maori is thought much more of than the others as it is an heirloom which has descended from a remote ancestor. (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923 for 1923.87.121)

In the same correspondence and in response to the "great lamentation" that would result "over the loss of the hook", Smith continues,

I explained to the various donors that I wished to send the thing home. As they were going to 'the family' it was quite satisfactory to them, in fact rather a compliment.

This conception of family was further articulated by Wilson when he stated that Smith's "family was him. So the relationship wasn't with the individual. It's seen as a whakapapa relationship."²⁰ This gift, therefore, was between two lineages, with the expectation of ongoing reciprocity across time (Henare 2007, 60). However, as scholars, such as Henare, have pointed out, both parties in these exchanges did not anticipate the same outcome. Wilson continues,

those that befriended Māori, Māori then informally whangaied [adopted] them. The term that's often used, ... right up until my parents' generation, was ... 'This is my Pākehā, this is my relationship', and they valued that relationship.²¹

Māori thus saw the gift as the beginning of the relationship, while Europeans saw it as the conclusion. Charles Smith appears to have embraced the opportunities afforded him by living in close proximity to Māori leaders wishing to develop Pākehā alliances.

The first documentation in the collection that reflects these developing alliances is the heru (1923.87.219; Figure 5-4) gifted to Smith about 1862 by Takuirā Tauteka (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923 for 1923.87.219) of Ngāti Te Aho hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa and brother of hapū leader Te Herekīkie. Instead of retaining the taonga he was given to maintain these local gifting networks, however, Smith removed them by sending them to his family in England. Although this was accepted by Ngā Paerangi people it suggests he did not fully

²⁰ Wilson interview.

²¹ Ibid.

comprehend the complexity of the gift exchange network he had entered into. As Tapsell (2011a, 92) states, the marae principles of rangatiratanga, manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga are embodied in these gifts and for recipients to accept such gifts, they must understand these principles and the obligations inherent in accepting them. But as this reciprocity continued over a period of half a century, it does appear that it was a symbiotic relationship, as those



engaged in this gift network with Smith benefited sufficiently to maintain the relationship. This can perhaps be further illustrated by Tapsell (2000), who used a comet metaphor to describe the return home of the revered Ngāti Whakaue taonga Pūkākī, gifted to the Crown in 1877.²² This gift-giving, he suggested, was undertaken in times of turmoil so that not only was a partnership created but it ensured that something would not be lost so that it could return later.

Figure 5-4: Heru, comb 1923.87.219 gifted to Charles Smith about 1862 by Takuira Tauteka of Ngāti Te Aho hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

With regard to the acquisition of the Charles Smith collection, Wilson contextualised the gift exchange processes for this Whanganui iwi,

So I think that's the key thing. You've got two cultures with different understandings of what selling means, what gifting means, and it's too easy for us in this day and age to put our own values which have changed as well. The key thing to note though is hoko [to sell], and tuku [to give up] and takoha [to gift] are all different types of transactions. But even when you give or sell something back then, there was still an obligation and it was never a clear cut finish. Today it is. You sold, OK, gone. And,

²² The gifting of Pūkākī symbolised the trust between Ngāti Whakaue and the Crown and agreement for the development of Rotorua township (Tapsell 2000, 82). The gift was not completed, however, when Pūkākī instead became a part of the Auckland Museum collection. In 1993 Ngāti Whakaue's partnership with the Crown was re-established with a memorandum of understanding signed to formalise this on Pūkākī's return home in 1997 (ibid., 138).

yes, it's difficult to comment because of, if you look at the context as well, we've just finished the Battle of Moutoa and each iwi along the river, ... is having to build relationships to get strategic leadership for their own survival ... So there's all this turmoil that's happening and they've got to leverage relationships to help their people survive.²³

This is supported by the presence of the heru in the collection, which suggests a number of other things beyond Smith's interest in acquiring items of material culture. It describes Ngāti Tūwharetoa presence at Kaiwhāiki in the mid-nineteenth century, confirmed by Smith's comment that "It was Te Herekietie, the influential chief whose principal place was Tokaanu on Lake Taupo, but who was living just where Edgar Smith now lives [near Te Korito], with a lot of his people round him, when I came" (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923 for 1923.87.121). It also reflects Smith's ability to liaise with iwi during a period of conflict on the Whanganui River. Furthermore, it illustrates the willingness of senior ranking Ngāti Tūwharetoa to establish a relationship with Smith, a settler farmer, represented by the gift, and Smith's esteem for them, for example, as he states in a letter home describing a visit by Te Herekietie, "He was the best native I ever knew". This is high praise, indeed, and reflects a mutually respectful relationship if not friendship.

Removing dangerous goods from the community

Tattooing material, by its tapu nature, is inherently dangerous to come in contact with unless with appropriate ritual preparation. This tapu results from association with sacred parts of the body including the head and blood, as well as the processes for which it is the instrument, including the transferral of genealogical knowledge. As noted by Ponga above, Ngā Paerangi no longer received tā moko and, after their return from Parihaka, one reason for this was in respect of the teachings of Te Whiti and Tohu and their desire for their children to tell the stories of Ngā Paerangi. However, the one known portrait of Te Oti Takarangi shows he had facial moko and Rzoska confirmed that he was given permission for a moko, but only later in life,

he was old when he got his moko done and that was because, what we were told was the old people didn't agree to him to have it 'till later on in life'. Apparently he wanted to have it when he was younger [but] they wouldn't agree to this.²⁴

²³ Wilson, interview.

²⁴ Rzoska, interview.

I pursued this idea when interviewing Ngā Paerangi informants but was unable to elicit any details or ideas to expand the narrative around tā moko material in the collection or to support this claim that community leaders or members were removing dangerous goods from the community by passing them to Charles Smith. Although it would be useful to have found evidence to support this strategy, the tattooing items had been a gift from Te Oti Takarangi to Smith, having been in his family for several generations. The decision to gift these items to Smith may reflect Te Oti Takarangi's willingness to assist Smith to expand his collection, so that Smith was able to illustrate Māori cultural practices through these taonga. This is supported by the reference in chapter two to Smith being Edge-Partington's informant about the composition of tattooing pigment. It may also be a consequence of the relinquishing of cultural material no longer in use by the community or which the owners did not think the next generation would have the requisite skills to deal with, as suggested by Ngā Paerangi informants²⁵, an idea also introduced above with reference to Kefalas' research on this collection. It is therefore useful to conclude that as Te Oti Takarangi was one of the last to receive tā moko he decided these materials were no longer required by his community and therefore Smith was a suitable recipient.

Transactions to obtain social status

Conversely, the transaction around the pāoi or patu parawai (1923.87.77; Figure 5-5) implies that Smith would and could support social activity important to Ngā Paerangi. As this fragment of a letter from Smith, reporting the exchange of goods and money, describes,

from Tutaria. He brought me over a stone "Patu" which he sold to me for 10/- rather dear, but he wanted money for the feast and he brought Indian corn too and borrowed the rest. The Patu is a very good one ... and has been used in his family for three generations.

Figure 5-5: Pāoi or patu parawai 1923.87.77 sold to Charles Smith by Tutaua.



²⁵ Ibid.; Ponga, interview.

The pounder's genealogy is expanded in a further note which describes Moetahora as the original owner, then his son Te Kiri Tuatua, and finally his grandson, Tutaua, who "sold it to [Smith] when quite an old man. 24 May 1889" (Pitt Rivers Museum 1923 for 1923.87.77). This reference to corn implies that certain activities may have been practised no longer at Kaiwhāiki, in this case fern root preparation for consumption. Fern root had been a noted staple of Māori diet (Leach 2003), but had been replaced by introduced crops—wheat, potatoes, maize—following European contact.

Furthermore, in Whanganui Māori dialect a pāoi is a pounder for fern root while a patu parawai is used for processing flax fibre for weaving. Contrary to Kefalas' (2012, 21) comment that these taonga are rare, they are in fact commonplace in museum collections in NZ (there are 31 in the WM Collection for example) and have been the focus of academic study (Purdue 2002).

Producing replicas

The functionality of a korotete (lamprey holding basket) (1927.83.84) in the collection is questionable. Its small size (length 315 mm) would make it of little use as a storage container for these live fish. Furthermore no use wear is evident and from my experience its size is not representative of similar items in either the WM or Te Papa Collections, which have the main holdings of this type of item in NZ.²⁶ Together these points suggest the taonga may have been manufactured purposefully for Smith and of a small size to facilitate transportation to England.

Two final points can be noted from the analysis of this assemblage, which expand on the criteria for indigenous agency in historical collection development. Firstly, Ngā Paerangi people may have been limiting access to certain items. As Torrence and Clark state (2013, 188), "Although local were groups eager to engage in trade with outsiders, they were also careful to control the nature of the social relations created through the exchange of objects". For example, although both Te Oti Takarangi and Kararaina Pukeroa are wearing pōtae tauā (mourning hats) in the photograph (1998.243.18.1) of the group at Kaiwhāiki, these functionally specific items are not present in Charles Smith's collection. Additionally, their scarcity in museum collections (I am aware of only seven in NZ museum collections)

²⁶ The smallest example in the WM collection measures 460 mm in length (WM1927.7.9).

reinforces the idea that such items (with their associated spiritual restrictions—death ritual, head gear) were not generally made available to collectors.

Finally, do the unfinished items in the collection represent opportunistic exchanges by the owner or strategic acquisitions by the collector? Examples are the various incomplete woven items, the tuki (1923.87.138 Figure 2-7) and the tatā (1923.87.14). Considered separately, these objects reflect a range of strategies. The last was obtained from Paekākāriki, some 200 kilometres distant from Whanganui and may represent the opportunistic category of acquisition; that is, the owner had the item at hand with no other completed item available so offered this incomplete example. Unfinished items collected from closer at hand are more likely to have been acquired intentionally, as Smith could easily have returned (crossed the river from his home to Kaiwhāiki marae) to collect them from their maker when completed or instructed one of the men in his employ to collect items he had seen and negotiated for previously. The tuki stands out. It was a gift from Te Oti Takarangi and had originally belonged to his grandfather. It can only be concluded that the taonga was intentionally left incomplete; in this case a section of the previously undecorated top lip has the beginnings of a design carved into it. This addition has the appearance of a more recent hand than the rest of the taonga, which has the patina of age and wear.

Evidence of Indigenous Agency in Relationship Development: Contemporary Perspectives

Members of Ngā Paerangi iwi and staff at PRM have articulated contemporary perspectives on the relationships between museums and communities of origin, through interviews and hui, as well as on the intrinsic value of the collection and opportunities for the future. In one interview an informant states “So there’s no such thing as just a pure gift in Māoridom; there’s always some form of reciprocation and obligation”.²⁷ All Ngā Paerangi informants suggest that Charles Smith’s gift debt has been well repaid today through the reconnection of these ancestors with their descendants. In several interviews informants stated that the very survival of the items is part of the reciprocity of the original gift, as they represent a significant proportion of the extant tangible heritage for this iwi. Rzoska states,

²⁷ Wilson, interview.

They're taonga we never knew that existed. We didn't know there were any taonga overseas ... What taonga we do have ... was very sparse, not many of our families had many ... So, it's ... a real great thing for us.²⁸

The importance of this point, that the reconnection of descendants with the taonga encompasses the Māori values embedded in the original gift, was further expressed by Ponga when she described the collection's importance as a reaffirmation of Ngā Paerangi as a people today.²⁹

At the conclusion of the visit to PRM in November 2013 a formal invitation by the Ngā Paerangi group on behalf of the iwi was extended to PRM staff, to make a reciprocal visit to Kaiwhāiki (see Figure 4-21) and gifts were exchanged to bind the ongoing relationship (Figure 5-6).



Figure 5-6: Gift exchange PRM, November 22, 2013.

²⁸ Rzoska, interview.

²⁹ Ponga, interview.

Indigenous people are not limited to what is known in the historical record but have the ability to link knowledge (sometimes protected knowledge) with an object to expand its biography. For example, one of the photographs in the Charles Smith collection (1998.243.18.1 Figure 5-7), depicts a group of Ngā Paerangi men, women and children and two European men. In 2012 the photograph was catalogued by the Pitt Rivers Museum (2006) as follows,

Photographer: Unknown

Continent: Oceania

Geographical Area: Australia and New Zealand

Country: New Zealand

Region/Place: North Island; Whanganui (Wanganui); Kaiwhaiki

Cultural Group: Maori

Named Person(s): Tamati Takarangi; Te Oti Takarangi; Te Mere?; Hetaunga?; Terehe Whana Tiana?

Format: Print

Size: 285 x 216 mm

Acquisition: The Executors of the Charles Smith Estate, per Alfred T. Collier - Purchased Dec 1923

Description - Group of fourteen Maori men, women and children, seated and standing in front of a wooden fence and house. They include Te Oti Takarangi, chief of Kaiwhaiki Pa [2nd row standing, 3rd from right]; Tamati Takarangi, son of Te Oti Takarangi [2nd row standing, far left] and his son. Some of the men and women are wearing traditional woven cloaks and carrying clubs (a taiaha and a patu), but others have European style clothing. There is also one European among the group holding a book.

Primary Documentation - Notes on print - [Names of persons in the photograph are written in pencil along the bottom. These very difficult to read, however they appear to be:] Tamati Takarangi [2nd row, left], Te Mere [sic?], Teoti Takarangi [2nd row, 3rd from right], Hetaunga [sic? - front row, 4th from right], Terehe Whana Tiana [sic? - 2nd row, far right]

Notes on PRM mount - "C. Smith coll. Purch. 1923"



Figure 5-7: Ngā Paerangi leaders and their families with Charles Smith, Kaiwhāiki, around 1876-7. Ref: 1998.243.18.1 PRM, Oxford.

The pertinent information here is the series of annotations along the bottom of the photograph, which provides names for five individuals. Rzoska's extensive knowledge of Ngā Paerangi genealogical relationships and the status of past community members, together with evidence from known life dates of individuals in the photograph, enabled him to suggest an approximate date when the photograph was taken. This was confirmed by other members of Ngā Paerangi. Thus it was possible to expand on and correct the information available to the PRM and to the wider Ngā Paerangi community. Rzoska is confident he can identify all the Ngā Paerangi people in the photograph, even though there are no known photographs of Kararaina Pukeroa, Rīpeka Takahia, Karehana Tāhau or Hinetekietapu Hokipera Te Kaahu. He has therefore expanded and clarified the names provided in the museum catalogue as follows,

Back row (L-R): Tāmati Takarangi, Miriata Te Kahukore (Te Kehu) Tāmati Takarangi, Te Mete (Charles Smith), unknown Māori man, Te Oti Takarangi He Tohunga [a ‘priest’/leader], unknown European man (Teacher), Teretiu Whakataha.

Front row (L-R): Karehana Tāhau, Te Rāngai Tāmati Takarangi, Hinetekietapu Hokiopera Te Kaahu, Kararaina Pukeroa, Whanarere Whakataha (Te Rama Whanarere), Rīpeka Takahia, Te Rangihēketu Whakataha.

The photograph was taken around 1876–77 (based upon the birth date of Te Rama Whanarere 1873–74) at Kaiwhāiki (based upon landscape comparisons). There are two Europeans in the photograph, one being Charles Smith. Furthermore, examination of the handwriting and comparisons with samples by Smith suggests the photograph has been annotated by museum staff after the collection was purchased, possibly from information written on the back of the photograph before it was stuck to a cardboard backing.

A further implication of the naming of individuals in this photograph relates to the number of people identified and the way in which that is done. With only six of the fourteen people in the photograph named and with one of these names questioned, does this indicate that Charles Smith, if he did annotate this photograph, did not know this community as well as we (Ngā Paerangi and I) have suggested as a result from the gift exchanges between him and the Kaiwhāiki community members?

This example also illustrates the well-recognised benefits for museums of providing indigenous access to heritage collections in the resulting data that can be added to museum collection records. A further example of this was illustrated by Nuku when he interacted with the PRM’s tatā collected on Captain Cook’s second voyage as described in chapter four.

To conclude, using an assemblage theoretical framework for the analysis of a museum collection has revealed indigenous agency in nineteenth-century acquisition processes where the strengthening of relationships was of paramount importance in a period of major inter- and intra-cultural conflict. Ngā Paerangi’s ‘Pākehā’ Charles Smith was one of these relationships. The mediatory effects of recent reconnection with these objects/ancestors has facilitated relationship development with their contemporary guardians and has enabled reaffirmation of iwi identity, with these objects as a living legacy between their tūpuna and current and future generations. The challenge now that this relationship has been reactivated is to develop institutional and iwi processes that enable it to endure, and for Ngā Paerangi to re-establish cultural ownership and object care practices (tikanga guidelines) to provide

cultural safeguards for those who come in contact with their taonga. Finally, this discussion has centred upon the anthropocentric manifestations of agency within this network, specifically in the active role of the indigenous component in the development of an historical collection. This leads on to an opportunity to consider a decentralized conception of agency, where equal weighting is given to both its human and non-human forms.

Material agency

In the first chapter I introduced the material agency discourse through the work of Jones and Boivin (2010), Malafouris (2013), and others. To recap, material agency is the ability of inanimate objects to affect humans and society, with the object moving from a passive to a more active role in relationships between human and material things. My interest is in how material agency can expand our understanding of object histories and relationships by revealing the complex social and material interactions inherent in them. In this section I focus upon the objectification of relationships characteristic of Māori gift-giving as evidence of material agency and how this contributes to understanding the history of collecting, as well as the way in which taonga enact relationships and prompt contemporary responses from human actors. I also argue that Māori heritage items have material agency, including but not restricted to their ability to make things happen. That is, that they can be animate themselves, within specific frames of reference, and perceptions of this innate agency vary depending upon access to culture-specific knowledge.

In terms of Whanganuitanga, which is the specific tribal framework within which this study sits, but also by extrapolating this to Māori cosmology generally, the agency of objects can be both in their active role in social interactions with individuals, groups, and institutions, and their affective impact on people, especially where the object is the physical manifestation of kin, as well as in situations where they become animate as described. Importantly, “recognizing that objects can and do possess purposeful agency for many peoples can move us closer to developing social models that reflect the primacy others placed on interactions with these important community members” (Brown and Walker 2008, 297), thus providing for respectful understanding of divergent epistemologies, a central concern of this study.

Although the taonga in the Charles Smith collection are now members of the museum community, at the same time, they maintain relationships with their communities of origin. Although these relationships may be dormant for a period of time, the relationships will be

re-established when the taonga are ready for this to happen (see chapter four). Tītōkōwaru's taiaha, Te Pā o Hinematiaro and Taihana Rangitauira's hoeroa are all examples of the objectification of relationships. As discussed previously, the idea of a gift within Māori and Pākehā societies reflects divergent epistemologies through the representation of an enduring relationship that could span generations from one perspective and is often simply a finite transaction from another. PRM staff, today, have an increasing appreciation of objects' abilities to constitute relationships. As Peers reflected, from her experience working with source communities,

there are also levels of animacy in terms of objects provoking social relations, or extending social relations. So we had a Quichin First Nations woman who came to work with a pair of moccasins made by her grandmother ... she said every time I pick them up I'm holding my grandmother.

Similarly, material agency was manifest in the ability of the Ngā Paerangi taonga in the Charles Smith collection to "call out" to descendants in NZ and encourage them to visit. A 2006 paper by McCarthy on the interaction of visitors with objects in museum exhibits describes the agency of taonga in these social relationships. Through accounts of interpellation, when Māori visitors encounter museum displays and are 'hailed' by taonga, he developed a model of the culture of display which emphasised recognition of cultural differences. Peers similarly described this in relation to Blackfoot ontologies and a project she initiated involving a group of Blackfoot heritage items (ceremonial shirts) in the PRM Collection,

we were told that the Blackfoot shirts had decided it was time that their people saw them. So they caused me to become aware that they were potentially useful for a research project.³⁰

The affective impact of the absence of Wi Pātene's tewhatewha on Rzoska when first encountering the taonga at PRM further illustrates this. Despite considerable encouragement from a doctoral candidate, the logistics of this enterprise (months of fundraising and preparation, health checks, passport applications, accommodation and travel bookings, waiata practice, gift commissioning and ordering, etcetera) were immense, although Ngā Paerangi whanaunga rallied in support. The agency of taonga is therefore visible in its ability to affect Ngā Paerangi individuals' determination to travel to Oxford. It is also evident in the encouragement of research on iwi history, the taking on board of new experiences such as

³⁰ Peers, interview.

overseas travel, speaking up, taking part in an iwi activity despite having lived abroad and away from the marae for forty years, and so forth.

To further illustrate this point, the waiata (song), *E noho nei au - Waiting for warmth*³¹ (Figure 5-8), by Whanganui iwi historian Wilson is his response to a personal encounter with taonga Māori in the British Museum, where he articulated the experience of encounter and reconnection for these tūpuna. This characteristically Māori perspective on heritage items he explained further,

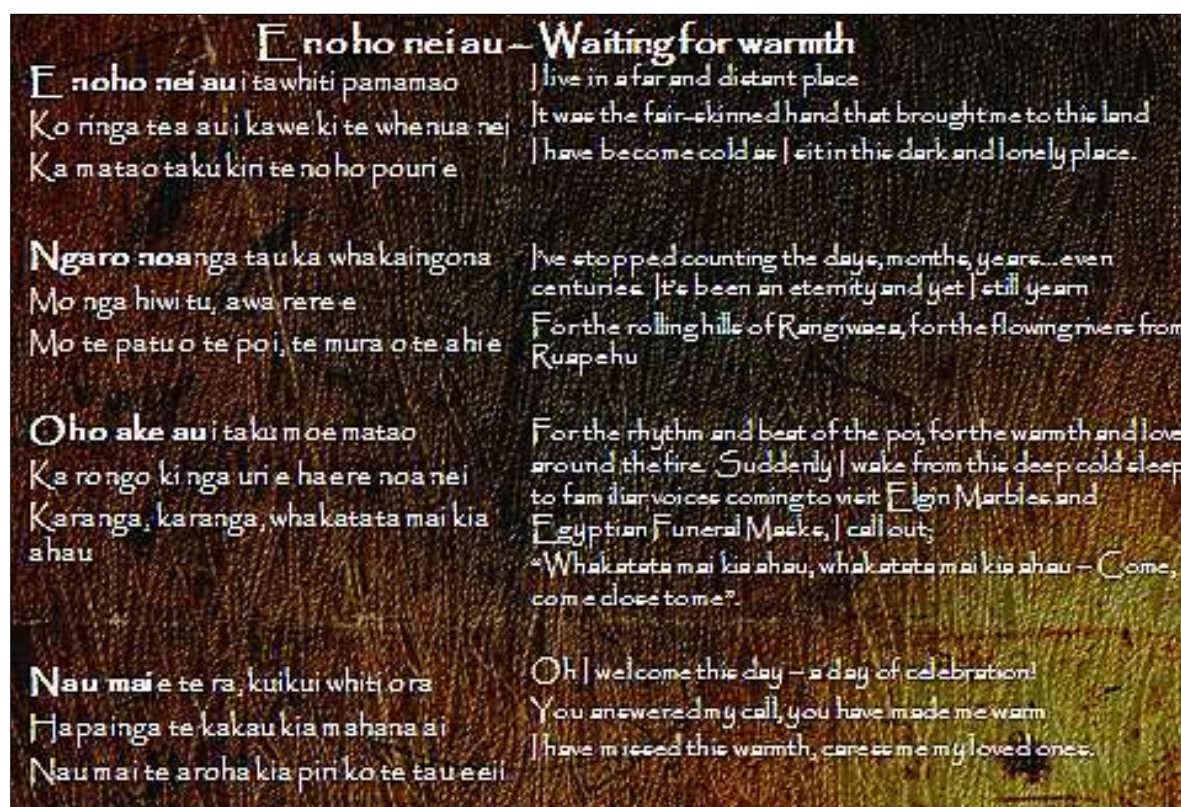


Figure 5-8: Waiata *E noho nei au - Waiting for warmth* by Che Wilson 2003.

because we acknowledge taonga as being living entities, and for those taonga to hear our footsteps, to smell our scent, invigorates them ... But to know that they're you brings up emotions that, it's like a reunion. And in the waiata I refer to how the taonga themselves jump for joy and are related in the fact that one of theirs heard the call. And just by sharing, by breathing over them and sharing that breath, by seeing them and giving them love, gives them the warmth and reminds them of the warmth of the fire back home. 'Cos it's easy to refer to

³¹ Composed by Che Wilson 26 October 2003. Performed and displayed at the British Museum exhibition *Power & Taboo* during 2006 and 2007. Graphic: Rāpaki from Liverpool Museum, with thanks to Delete Graphic & Rosanna Raymond.

them as objects, when for us they're not objects, they're tūpuna, they embody those tūpuna that either created and/or cared for, and held [them].³²

One Ngā Paerangi informant, Clarke, further described this experience of encounter as he was affected by it. Referring to photographs of tūpuna he said, they “have a very special significance ... it's just like having them living today, those old people living today.”³³ These examples illustrate the nature of relationships between indigenous people and their material heritage where these actor-entities have the ability to instigate responses from their human-actor kin.

Porr and Bell (2012, 199) state that to give recognition to non-Western epistemologies “reflective integration between indigenous ways of thinking and western academy” is essential. PRM staff have utilised this approach, which Peers articulated when she considered non-Western perspectives on animacy as they impact on staff and visitor interactions with museum collections. There is,

direct animacy, literal animacy if you will in that many of the things that we care for are embodied spirits. And that's very much a culturally specific issue ... And we have a staff-only field on the database ... in which we record that kind of information because it often affects handling. So many sacred objects that are animate should not be handled by menstruating women ... Now we try to have men on the conservation team because of that.³⁴

To summarise, through the reassembly of the components of this network a more considered approach to their material agency has been possible, revealing how relationships are objectified in these complex indigene-settler social and material interactions. This contributes to the understanding of collecting histories as well as the ways in which these actor-entities elicit contemporary responses from descendant communities.

In this section I have analysed the evidence for indigenous and material agency in a relational network of people and things over time and space. I have argued that assigning primacy to the processes of collection formation rather than to the collection as it exists has been beneficial in drawing attention to the ways in which the historical network constituents interacted. It has been possible to document the objectification of the relationships between network constituents and the transformation of the object from a passive thing to an active

³² Wilson, interview.

³³ Clarke, interview.

³⁴ Peers, interview.

actor-entity. Having established that an object can be transformed into an active member of a relational network, in the next chapter I continue with the examination of entities revealed by an assemblage approach to the analysis of this network, and discuss the differences in values and value systems that have emerged through this analysis.

6 A Further Emergent Theme from the Disassembly of a Relational Network

Values

Tōu piki amokura nōu, tōku piki amokura nōku. History must be viewed through both our lens.

(Office of Treaty Settlements 2014, 18)

The value we place on taonga is its value in maintaining our cultural identity and autonomy. All our taonga ... are to be cherished as culturally significant. They are ours and they provide a window to our world.

Tāriana Tūria (2004)

The final theme to emerge from results presented in the preceding chapters relates to values and principles.¹ Values are the ethical rules or principles by which we define ourselves and which guide our actions. In Prown's (1982, 3ff) view, values can be defined as intrinsic, utilitarian, aesthetic, spiritual, or the way in which they are expressed to others or the world. Taking these definitions into account in material culture studies enables us to circumvent our own cultural biases. The communities of interest in this study—indigenous owner, collector, academic, museum professional—have diverse value systems. Thinking through the differences between them is a key element of this study and one that aims to bridge cultural difference, which, as Clavir (2002) claims, is central to an appropriate museology in the twenty-first century.

Values important to Māori, all underpinned by tikanga, have been identified by Mead (2003, 28-30) as,

- whanaungatanga embracing whakapapa and focusing upon relationships,
- manaakitanga which is about nurturing relationships, looking after people,
- mana which relates to an individual's standing in a community,
- tapu,
- noa,

¹ What were originally defined as Māori values (Patterson 1992) are now referred to as tikanga (Mead 2003).

- utu which can be defined as compensation, revenge, reciprocity, and
- ea as the successful closing of a sequence; the restoration of relationships or satisfaction.

Commonalities and differences between Māori, NZ, and European cultural values have been identified by Atkinson (2014, 76), from which she concluded that,

New Zealand cultural values can be seen in relation to the influences on, and development of, identity. Aotearoa New Zealand has now moved away from purely European cultural values and is more a mixture or blending, but also distortion, of European and Māori values. This is particularly the case in relation to whakapapa (genealogy) and aspects of Christianity and Māori beliefs. For example, there may be both prayers and karakia (prayer-chants or invocations) at a tangihanga.

Underlying epistemological and ontological frameworks, therefore, negate the ability to fit the values and principles of the communities of interest in this study, into a universal value system. Furthermore, Tapsell (2011a, 86-7), has questioned whether the value of objects in museums, in terms of ancestral relationships to communities of origin, has been fully explored in museological discourse and whether museums are ready to share power from the ground up.

A central premise of this research, as stated in the introductory chapter, is that taking into account underlying epistemological and ontological differences will improve understanding of the past and present life of taonga for the source community and museum. As I showed in chapters three and four, for Māori, as for many indigenous communities, a close relationship exists between people and objects. Taonga Māori are viewed as living entities, the spiritual embodiment of tūpuna and are central to Māori perception of their place in the world, their cultural identity (Salmond 1984, Tamarapa 2011, Tapsell 2006b). Conversely, although Western museum staff may have an anthropological appreciation of this view of an animate life force, and some major shifts in thinking have been achieved and documented respecting difference (Golding and Modest 2013, Hakiwai 1999, Muñoz 2009, Peers and Brown 2003b, Kus 2010), a general perception of objects relates to their physical or aesthetic attributes, ability to provide historical or scientific data, and their illustrative or interpretative function in exhibitionary narratives. This is still very evident in our museums. Furthermore, as Lynch (2014, 79) points out, “We carry legacies of resistance to change and prejudice towards others from diverse communities (including originating and diaspora) that are embedded in the bricks and mortar of the museum.” Accordingly, the value systems of

indigenous and many museum communities are significantly different and, in consequence, so are the ways in which objects in museums are regarded. Discussion of these differences is the focus of this section along with the contribution this thesis makes to addressing the gap in the literature identified by Tapsell (2011).

Acknowledging Alternative Value Systems

To respect value systems other than one's own is central to a decolonised position on museum practice. As Atkinson (2014, 59) stated, referring to research by Russo with the Native American tribe Lummi, "gaining insight into the world views of others did not allow for harmonization, but it did facilitate a respectful distance". Lynch (2011b, 2013) advocates socially responsible, open and collaborative reflective practice. For this NZ case study I will use whakapapa, the Māori philosophy of kinship, to illustrate this point.

Whakapapa is the central uniting force of iwi Māori. When Māori people introduce themselves to others, they identify their ancestral links to places and people and in this way establish the relationships between them, and where they position themselves. Whakapapa, as Tapsell (2011a, 87) has explained, is "more than vertical or horizontal memory lists of ancestors. It is the way by which tribal Maori systematically order themselves and their relationships to customary estates." Taonga also have whakapapa, which link people today with their past. As Peers and Brown (2003b, 6) stated, objects "prompt the transmission of cultural knowledge across generations" without which these stories might not have been told in the present. They also asserted that objects and events can trigger counter narratives from those constructed by official accounts (ibid.).

The poutokomanawa Houmaitawhiti is such a taonga, described by Tapsell (2006b) to link his iwi Te Arawa with a time when his tūpuna were venturing out into the Pacific from their home at Rangiātea. One Ngā Paerangi taonga in the PRM museum, the hoeroa (1923.87.5) mentioned earlier, similarly illustrates ancestry, but rather than exploration, describes relationships forged. The hoeroa (Figure 6-1) is an example of the potential of taonga for "collapsing generations of time" (Tapsell 2011a, 87) as it can illustrate their tūpuna's support of the Kīngitanga in the nineteenth century outlined in chapter two. This was one of the significant taonga 'given up' by Whanganui Māori following the taking of the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown, described by Whanganui Resident Magistrate, John White (1864-5, 116-7), in 1865 as follows,



I would call attention to the value which the friendly natives here put on the “Hoeroa” given up by Taihana Rangitauira [of Ngā Paerangi from Kānīhinihi]. This weapon was given by Monganui [?Huirua Manganui] son of RewaManui of the Bay of Islands to his sister the widow of Hori Kerei Tekah brother of old Potatau [Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, first Māori King], as a peace offering for the acts of Hongi [Hika] in Waikato: She gave it to Potatau who gave it to Matutaera [Tūkāroto Matutaera Pōtatau Te Wherowhero Tāwhiao, second Māori King], by whom it was given to Taihana as the emblem of the King movement to the natives of this part of the North Island as a pledge of sincerity. Taihana gave Matutaera two mere Pounamus and £100.

This immensely powerful act by Taihana Rangitauira on behalf of his iwi, signified the severing of their allegiance with the Māori King through passing the symbol of their support for the Kīngitanga to a representative of the British Government. Despite the magnitude of such events, without these memory triggers, the events and the relationships they represent become fainter over time until, as Rzoska and others have stated, they are ready to reveal themselves again.

Figure 6-1: Hoeroa 1923.87.5 given up by Taihana Rangitauira.

This is further exemplified in Salmond’s (1984, 119) translation of an early Māori text describing the gift exchange process involving a significant heirloom; a mere or patu pounamu,

Those mere were manatunga (heirlooms), and in the old custom it was proper for such men to exchange such weapons, because they represented the descent lines which held them in keeping. A prized greenstone weapon was kept for a time by the descendants in one line of descent, and then they carried it and presented it to those in another line of descent from the tribal ancestor who first made it. That was the way of exchanging those weapons. (White 1888, 4:125-277)

She added that these prestige heirlooms “could be included in

genealogies, and all of these manatunga ... had an extraordinary power of binding, tying the living to the living in alliances, peace, and marriage, and the living to the dead” (ibid., 120).

An important additional point when considering indigenous community impetus for actions relates to “ancestral accountability, any actions in the present, need to remain in alignment with past generations’ leadership decisions, while maintaining continuity into the future” (Tapsell 2011a, 87). These inherent requirements for accountability through time placed considerable pressure on W Peeti, in particular, and the other members of the Ngā Paerangi group while in Oxford. Peeti is the great grandson of Tāmāti Takarangi and therefore the senior living relative of Tāmāti and his uncle Te Oti Takarangi. Peeti’s mother, Mere Ōtene Tāmāti Takarangi, is the daughter and eldest child of Te Rāngai Tāmāti, Tāmāti Takarangi’s son and eldest child. The role of Peeti and his daughter Teresa Peeti in this project cannot be understated. By participating in the journey to Oxford they recognised and accepted the enormous responsibilities placed upon them and responded accordingly.

As pointed out in chapter three, Te Oti Takarangi and others who made gifts to Charles Smith placed obligations upon him when they presented him with ancestral taonga. Although he may not have been fully aware of his reciprocal responsibilities regarding these gifts, his relationship with members of Ngā Paerangi was such that they maintained this relationship over five decades while he resided at Te Korito, and must therefore have been satisfied with the outcomes. The nature of Smith’s relationships with members of Ngā Paerangi was presented in chapter three, in general terms, or as far as can be deduced from the research findings. Importantly, this study suggests that Te Oti Takarangi’s relationship with Smith seems to have been one of mutual respect and benefit. One explanation for this is that Smith may have been informally adopted into Te Oti Takarangi’s extended family, becoming Te Oti Takarangi’s ‘Pākehā’. Furthermore, he was comfortable visiting the marae at Kaiwhāiki and interacting with Ngā Paerangi people, and inviting them into his home. This was not a typical action among the settler community at that time, although there are other notable exceptions such as Anglican missionary Richard Taylor. As noted, Ngā Paerangi’s overland route to Taranaki went through Smith’s farm and this route remained open to them throughout the conflicts of the 1860s. Also, during this period of unrest, Te Oti Takarangi ensured Smith and his property remained unscathed as a result of any immediate conflict. The gifts Smith received clearly establish his mana within this community and his recognition of

and respect for Māori values and their associated protocols, including whakapapa, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga.

So far this section has focussed on the commonalities and differences in values evident within and between the assemblage components investigated in this study. The following section will discuss these contextually for the case study communities.

Articulating the Differences

Clavir (2002) employed a comparative methodology to articulate the differences between First Nations and museum perspectives on heritage and heritage items based upon belief systems. I have adopted this approach to outline differences in values and principles between Ngā Paerangi/Māori and PRM/UK museums relating to museum collections, elicited from my research data; specifically interviews and observations, augmented with reference to theoretical and historical literature and my own professional experience as a museum curator working in this region. I present a summary of the results of this analysis in Table 6-1 (with the full data in Appendix IV), but in discussing them I will keep in mind Atkinson's (2014, 70) recommendation that rather than simply comparing value systems, it is important to understand the underlying meanings of specific values and to consider them contextually so as to identify commonalities and differences.

As Table 6-1 (and Appendix IV) illustrates, research findings have made it possible to articulate some of the values and principles that differentiate museums and source communities, whether they have changed over time, and the effect these differences have on their ability to work towards a common purpose (in terms of effecting a long-term and mutually beneficial relationship around the taonga). The findings also accord with earlier observations describing how heritage items are viewed in terms of their intrinsic value, function and agency by indigenous communities and museums. I now discuss these findings, which I suggest enable constituents to reform and reassemble into new social and material networks centred on knowledge, respect and opportunities central to an appropriate museology in the twenty-first century.

“Look at the waka huia all by itself ... feeling lonely without its partner,” said Teresa Peeti. Peeti made this observation when she first encountered this taonga Māori in the

Table 6-1: Differences in Values: A Comparative Approach (after Clavir 2002).

Differences in values within a relational network of indigenous community and museum and the effects of these differences on working towards a common purpose.

Ngā Paerangi	Pitt Rivers Museum
Differences	
Taonga	Object
Tapu and animate	Respecting notions of animacy
Safeguarding people	Safeguarding objects
Safe-keeps	Collects, documents, cares for
Use, perform	Exhibit, research
Safeguarding people	Safeguarding objects
Cultural ownership/kaitiakitanga	Legal ownership
Primary function is reaffirmation of iwi values and history; oral traditions; holistic/cyclic	Primary function is collect, document, research; Western intellectual traditions (science & social science); linear
Taonga connect the past to the present and future, contracting time	Objects are witnesses to the past, with value in the present
Māoricentric	Eurocentric
Keeping taonga warm (McKenzie 1993) Returning to Papatūānuku	Conserving, preserving
Effects	
Relationships are about people	Relationships are embedded in the object
Taonga as opportunities for relationships (gift exchange)	Objects as opportunities for research funding & academic achievement
Iwi access to cultural knowledge	Public access to all knowledge
Home, marae	Museum
Personal	Institutional
Collective decision-making	Individual/Institutional decision-making
Exhibits by cultural group	Exhibits by form and function

galleries at the PRM during the November 2013 visit. Her response clearly illustrated the affective impact of encountering a taonga from home, with her empathy for the vessel's separation from its lid illustrating the object's animacy in her world view. Along with her whanaunga she was awed by the museum displays, by the volume and the range of material available in one place, having experienced nothing quite like it before. Thus a further observation relates to the abundant scale of museum collection holdings, which can be difficult for indigenous communities to reconcile with the paucity of extant tangible heritage available to them in their home area, where they would be most useful to them today.

Another important observation of different viewpoints that has implications for museum practice relates to touching objects. Touching is a part of keeping taonga warm which was illustrated to me by the actions of a Whanganui kaumātua, Hemi Takarangi, when he visited the WM. While I conversed with him at the entrance to the museum's Māori gallery, he would stand with his arm linked through the arm of a poutokomanawa (carved figure) from the meeting house Te Waiherehere. This pou was a representation of his tupuna, Rangi-wahakore, and Takarangi was embracing the pou as he would a member of his family, which in fact is what the pou was. PRM have constructively responded to this challenge to professional practice by putting strategies in place to facilitate such cultural practices. Object handling can occur, with the condition of and potential damage to an object assessed on a case-by-case basis. Each encounter is closely supervised throughout by staff and preceded by an explanation of handling procedures and the possible harm that may occur to the item or the individual handling it. The institution's perspective is that the positive outcomes outweigh any negative ones in these encounters.

One further point is that the ability to use taonga is central to the continuity of the knowledge embedded within them. Access to museum collections by indigenous communities in post-settler nations has been fundamental in the revitalisation of some traditional practices, such as stone tool technology. Peers' work at PRM with Haida and Blackfoot communities, described in chapter two, amply illustrates this. However, some issues regarding access for practitioners can be in conflict with orthodox museum practices. The rejuvenation of taonga pūoro (musical instruments) in NZ is an example of this, where museums face challenges dealing with requests to use the collections in their care. In some cases these requests have been turned into mutually beneficial opportunities with innovative solutions developed, such as the commissioning of new items to fulfil this practical role and

authorisation of specialists to use the historical collection items. Āwhina Tamarapa, Te Papa's taonga Māori curator, is a member of a nation-wide group of taonga pūoro revivalists, Haumanu. She embeds her learning from involvement in this group within her work practice to support the restoration of technological practices and to develop new ways to make mātauranga Māori accessible to the museum's publics.

As discussed in the literature review, respecting world views different from one's own "may involve conceiving objects in different ways, as living entities, some of which retain spiritual power sufficient to endanger workers and visitors alike" (Sully 2007, 37). Museum practices have been evolving to address this. As an illustration, I will describe here this evolution at the WM. This institution has long been recognised in Whanganui as a community asset and an essential destination for any visitor to the region. By the 1980s, however, many members of Whanganui's Māori community had made it clear they were uncomfortable visiting the museum because of the practice of displaying human remains, kōiwi tangata and toi moko, and the general disrespectful and potentially dangerous attitude towards ancestral remains and objects. (A museum oral tradition describes the shock tactics of a former director involving any unsuspecting tourist and the toi moko). Until the mid-1980s at this museum there was no physical demarcation between storage areas for human remains and other cultural material, so descendants visiting a taonga in storage were likely to encounter one of their tūpuna unexpectedly as well. Significant improvements in museum storage and display at WM were achieved around this time by removing all human remains from display and establishing an appropriate and separate storage facility within the museum for them.

My first major contribution to the recognition of the museum's responsibilities to descendant communities was the repatriation to Te Papa of the one toi moko in the collection, which had been the root cause of a lot of the community ill feeling toward the museum. I also sought guidance from an iwi advisory group on ways in which the museum could address past practices that had affected the institution's credibility in some quarters. A series of tapu removal procedures was instigated for all spaces within the museum. Since then, the museum has embraced the constitutional reform described earlier, staff undergo training to ensure their cultural safety while working with potentially dangerous objects, and strategies have been effected to ensure the cultural safety of all visitors to the museum.

These developments equate with those happening elsewhere that have embedded a decolonised museology into Western museum practice, in particular, increased autonomy in the management of indigenous heritage collections as a response to the democratisation of museum practice and enhanced community engagement (Lonetree 2012, Onciul 2011). Also, as McCall and Gray (2013) have pointed out, the practical implementation of such a democratised position is linked to the values held by museum workers themselves and how they relate them to their professional practice. As stated in the introduction to this thesis, the three museological themes for moral agency explored by Marstine (2011b) include social inclusion, radical transparency and the shared guardianship of heritage. Kreps (2011) and Tapsell (2011a) concurred with these themes, questioning whether museums are ready to decolonise through the inverting of power relations and the voice of authority.

This is a central argument of my study. By recognising and acknowledging differences in values, Ngā Paerangi and the PRM can develop a mutually beneficial relationship, but only if each is prepared to work towards a common purpose. For example, Hāwira has agreed to document for PRM staff tikanga guidelines for Ngā Paerangi taonga to ensure the safety of taonga and staff. PRM staff have readily agreed to implement these within the constraints of museum professional practice and resources. Likewise, PRM staff, since the 2013 visit, have explored at least one way to progress the inclusion of Māori knowledge during the development of a new display that includes taonga from the Charles Smith collection. A staff member approached one member of Ngā Paerangi to assist with the interpretation of this display. However, while the museum initiated dialogue with Ngā Paerangi over the type of interpretation they were proposing and whether it was factually correct, and asked for advice, they did not involve Ngā Paerangi at the outset but had already developed a conceptual plan for the display and selected the content. From an outside observer's perspective, it seems they were only requesting authority to sign off what they had determined as the most appropriate content for the display and they were asking an individual with no previous experience of museum interpretation or museum processes to advise on content. While this, perhaps, can be commended as a first step, involvement of tribal experts at the outset from the conceptual development on, while generating more work for staff, would also generate significant benefits for them and for visitors to the institution, including a depth of understanding in display interpretation not possible outside the original owner community.

Following from this, another factor arising from the reassembling of historical and contemporary components is ownership. On one hand, as mentioned in the literature review, this relates to an inalienable connection between people and things (Kramer 2006), while on the other it is defined by the Western judicial system. Māori perspectives, which have changed little over time, relate to customary ownership and kaitiakitanga; whereas Museum staff, while acknowledging difference, comply with the legal responsibilities of their governing bodies. Māori communities, although they may have lost legal ownership have never extinguished cultural ownership, which is manifest in NZ museums through the mana taonga and kaitiakitanga principles and philosophies. For museums in post-settler nation-states moral responsiveness has resulted from living in proximity to indigenous communities. WM, for example, has also adopted and implemented repatriation policies (for taonga as well as kōiwi tangata).

Furthermore, taonga Māori in NZ museums may have different legal status to that of museum objects elsewhere, as in certain circumstances NZ museums accept taonga as long-term loans rather than outright gifts. This is in response to iwi who require a place to keep taonga safe but who are unwilling to relinquish ownership. NZ museums recognise that kaitiaki responsibilities may be shared with descendants of taonga. For Western museums elsewhere ownership is legal and binding. In this study, individual Ngā Paerangi respondents had a range of perspectives on their ability to care for their taonga today; some recognised that they did not have adequate resources to care for their taonga physically at home, while others focussed more upon the spiritual and cultural wellbeing of the taonga and believed they could only be appropriately cared for at home and only by someone from Ngā Paerangi.

Numerous authors have considered ontological differences. Mignolo (2013, 1) for example, using the celebrated speech ‘The danger of a single story’ by Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie to illustrate how a story can obscure multiple world views, stated,

The power of a single story is that it can make us believe that the world is as the story tells it, without questioning the authors who are constructing the narrative. It is the kind of story that transcends the status of ‘fictional narrative’ and becomes ontology—or ‘reality’.

Thus, once in the public domain, a single story can become a hegemonic truth. This constructed reality may therefore negate the role and value of an object for tribal identity and

social, economic and cultural development within the originating culture. This issue was recently addressed by Hakiwai (2014), where he illustrated the importance of describing the place of objects within culture from an “insider” tribal perspective. He was able to demonstrate that “taonga are symbols and icons of tribal identity that help to resolve and heal the brokenness and fractures of colonial experience” (ibid., 241). Mignolo (2009) has also regularly discussed ideas of relativism, which sees all explanations of the past as equally valid, with none able to replace another. When discussing the Kallawayan Niño Korin collection from Bolivia at the Museum of World Cultures in Gothenburg, Mignolo contended that to suggest one description is more reliable than another is to “misunderstand the problem. Both have the truth but in [a] different universe of discourse: [museum director] Wassén’s description shall be debated by museums curators; Kallawayas’ description shall be debated by other Kallawayas” (ibid., 5).

Opportunity for these divergent perspectives is not always possible in the Western museum public interface. For example, while the nature of displays at the PRM, is not “a colonial racist view of the world but about celebrating human creativity and ingenuity and putting all cultures on the same level of creativity and ingenuity and historicity”, at the same time, “one of the frustrations of the museum is that it doesn’t lend itself to ... really providing insights into other ways of seeing the world”.² This is achieved to some extent at PRM through short-term exhibitions, related events and source community involvement in exhibition interpretation, as discussed earlier. Furthermore, as Sully (2007, 39), quoting Merriman (2000), stated, “object meaning, rather than being inherent and singular is multiple and contingent, negotiated, and renegotiated as social contexts shift around them,” thereby recognising that authenticity and meaning are negotiable and constructed; the past is constantly reconstructed in the present. Thus multiple ways of understanding the past are influenced by cultural as well as social and political contexts.

As the results of this study have shown, while PRM staff are guided by their personal ethics and philosophies, they are bound and led by institutional policies and practices, whereas iwi Māori, while also guided by their personal values, operate through a system of collective decision-making. The findings of the current research are consistent with those of Clavir (2002), indicating that the identification of differences as well as commonalities in value systems between indigenous people and museums, as well as methods to bridge the

² Coote, interview.

cultural distance between them, is central to an appropriate museology in the twenty-first century. From this I conclude that building on and applying this new knowledge about value systems will enhance the ability of museum staff to engage meaningfully with communities of origin. Likewise, Atkinson (2014, 75) writes that for museum professionals “ultimately, people need to put themselves in the position of having to learn, as this facilitates the identification of common points of understanding and misunderstanding.”

Results from this study affirm that museums and indigenous people value relationships and that these must be two-way and actively maintained. Nonetheless, the museum position is that the relationship is embedded in the object. Museum staff place emphasis on this, whereas indigenous groups look to people to establish a relationship and once this has happened will work together to develop opportunities that fall out of this relationship. Furthermore, because of resourcing demands, museums are realistic in identifying that the catalyst for and continuity of a relationship relies on a project.

Ngā Paerangi participants in this project were there to represent their whānau, hapū and iwi; responsibilities were therefore local, personal and genealogically-related, and community-focussed. By contrast, participants from PRM, while drawing on a range of personal principles that influenced their actions, were employed by and spoke for their institution and embraced the professional values of the museum industry. This is entirely expected and natural. The implications of this, however, are that these groups are not necessarily dissimilar. They both, while maintaining a level of autonomy, must refer to their respective ‘sponsor’ for any major decision, and are reliant upon place-based approaches, which have their own distinctive and embedded value systems.

One of the issues emerging from this finding relates specifically to access to knowledge for those who sit outside an iwi framework. In my experience working with Māori communities, there is a considerable range in willingness to provide cultural knowledge. Some individuals are open and generous with knowledge they hold, with the proviso that any they provide will be used appropriately. Generally, this information is already in the public domain. Others are unwilling to disclose or share any information. Findings from this study suggest that museums recognise that they need to be mindful of whose authority they believe and that they are not compromised by misinformation. Moreover, as employees of an

institution (in the PRM case, a university) “in which pursuit and sharing knowledge are the prime values”³ placing any restrictions on access is viewed as problematic.

Harrison (2013, 12) has noted that museums acknowledge different value systems, for example, by creating a category on databases where indigenous values are documented. Without negating the advances in museum practice where indigenous sensitivities are taken on board (such as restrictions for menstruating women), this does not necessitate reform of the system with “the original categories and underlying values on which they rest often remaining in place” (ibid.). While Mignolo may suggest that it is only possible to change the system by supporting the development of a separate one for colonised communities, this does not take into account the heritage that has been gathered up by and will remain in Western museums. Whereas, employing a comparative museology “for the development of more inclusive, cross-cultural approaches to cultural heritage management” advocated by Kreps (2003b, 19), will liberate not only culture but also our view from a Western museological paradigm of what constitutes a museum, an object and museological practice so we are better able to “recognise alternative forms” (ibid., 145).

It is apparent that communities must find ways to develop and employ strategies that continue to exercise their values in the museum at distance. This they can achieve by building relationships with the staff responsible for their cultural patrimony and guiding them in the care of this heritage to ensure the cultural safety not only of the objects but of the people they come into contact with, and by continuing to pursue these aims until mutually agreeable outcomes are reached. This can be illustrated by the outcomes of Whanganui iwi’s claim against the government through the Waitangi Tribunal process over the ownership and control of the Whanganui River, or the legislative changes in North America (NAGPRA) to protect indigenous cultural heritage. Moreover institutional staff have a moral responsibility as the transitory guardians of significant proportions of this cultural patrimony to safeguard it in culturally responsive ways and, as the single access point to this material for source communities or other institutional publics, to facilitate this access in appropriate ways, which may include face-to-face interactions.

In concluding this section, which has focussed upon the differences in values between Western collecting institutions and indigenous communities in relation to heritage objects, I refer to Clavir (2002, 121) who has maintained that the “Western positivist meta-narrative is

³ Coote, interview.

linear, scientific, isolates the parts to gain an understanding of the whole, and contends that the world benefits from universal access to knowledge” which contradicts indigenous narratives. While I agree with this statement with regard to three of these four characteristics, my study has found that isolating the parts and disassembling the components allows a recognition of the relational networks of which they are a part. I have demonstrated also that indigenous assemblages form and reform as a result of interactions between their component parts. This reassembling is visible in Ngā Paerangi’s re-engagement with their taonga at Oxford, and will be ongoing in potential future interactions between any and all of these components.

Conclusion

In this and the preceding chapter, the four overriding themes that have emerged from analyses of the components of a heritage assemblage—a source community, a museum and a heritage collection—are the concepts of time and space, power, agency, and values, all of which contribute to a better understanding of how the nature of relationships between them could change. The first theme documented the dynamic interactions of these disassembled entities through time and space, and provided the means by which their differences could be better understood—which in turn has the potential to enhance the relationship between them. The second theme addressed the manner in which power, manifest as authority and control, ability and privilege, within and between assemblage components, affects the ways in which museums and indigenous communities interact. It is clear that repositioning authority and control within these relational networks can result in the democratisation of knowledge production, with the approach utilised by the present study providing opportunity for advancing a decolonised museum practice. Furthermore, that respect of and empathy for difference are central to an appropriate museology for today. Privilege was articulated through community and institutional priorities, opportunities and access to resources and this varied throughout the assemblage. Historically, mutually beneficial outcomes have resulted. Today epistemological and physical distance, resource limitations and external demands impact on responsiveness to opportunities that may be generated by the encounters between them. It must also be kept in mind that obligations to governance and the profession are contingent and political whereas cultural obligations transcend time and space. The third theme has provided evidence for indigenous and material agency in this relational network of people and things. The objectification of relationships between historical network

components is revealed, here, together with the transformation of the object from a passive ‘thing’ to an active actor-entity. The final theme has revealed differences in value systems between museums and source communities and the effect these differences have on their abilities to work towards a common purpose. This in turn contributes to our understanding of the assemblage components and the relational networks of which they are a part.

These findings contribute to understanding how the constituents of this assemblage are able to reform and reassemble into new social and material networks centred on knowledge, respect and opportunities, which I argue are central to an appropriate museology in the twenty-first century, a claim which will be addressed in the concluding chapter.

Conclusion: Praxis for Indigenous Engagement with Remotely Located Ethnographic Collections

There's been a fire ignited within the hearts of those that went there... They've started something. It's now time to keep that connected.

Che Wilson¹

This research sought to identify ways and means for Māori communities to negotiate ongoing relationships with museums that hold collections of their ancestral heritage when they are geographically remote from these collections. This thesis posed the following questions. How can awareness of the different cultural perspectives of a Māori community in NZ and a museum community in the UK over time improve understanding of the value and meaning of Māori heritage items to both groups today? How will this enable Māori communities in NZ to initiate and develop ongoing relationships with the current custodians of their heritage, when they are remotely located and unable to engage in face-to-face interactions with them?

I have argued that this study is important because there is little *ongoing* engagement between indigenous communities and collecting institutions where geographic distance isolates these groups from one another. Although for several decades a decolonised museology has been manifest through, among other things, enhanced community engagement with museums, this study has concluded that indigenous communities have difficulty accessing their cultural heritage housed in museums at distance when they have no affiliation with academic or other cultural institutions who can facilitate contact, and they are often disadvantaged in terms of resources. Furthermore, the lack of online collection databases until recently made finding objects difficult. Significantly, ethnographic museums are also constrained by the scope and scale of their collections, resource limitations, allegiances to standards of current professional practice, legal and political obligations and in some cases the lack of desire to engage with source communities.

The research methodology involved an interdisciplinary research approach centred on museum studies, but also drawing on museum anthropology, Māori studies and related disciplines, which were focussed on a case study within a kaupapa Māori theoretical

¹ Wilson, interview.

framework. A kaupapa Māori approach enabled me, as a Pākehā, in a study centred on a collection of Māori heritage items with a Māori community as a primary research stakeholder, to acknowledge and incorporate Māori values into the research strategy. Central to this approach was a Project Team of community representatives who guided my actions, sanctioned my exploration of their heritage, and confirmed research objectives. I also positioned and grounded this research in current museum practice, contextualised within the NZ situation through my experience working with communities as a museum professional. While situated in the field of museum studies, this research draws on community studies and contributes to the community engagement work central to current professional practice in museums, but which is poorly documented in NZ.

Through a qualitative analysis of the various elements which comprise the research assemblage—an historical collection and collector, the indigenous community from whom the collection was acquired and the museum which is the current custodian of the collection—I was able to understand the nature of the different components individually and together. I contribute to academic and professional knowledge through this detailed, situated case study by determining the impact of diverse value systems and epistemologies (indigenous, academic, museum—NZ and UK) on the access to heritage objects over time and space. The overall value of this research is in the grounding of the lessons from the Relational Museum and assemblage theory analyses (which have mostly been directed at historical collecting), in contemporary museum-community engagement by showing that the actor-networks are ongoing and that indigenous assemblages continue to form and reform as a result of interactions between their component parts. This reassembling is visible in contemporary indigenous re-engagement with their museum-held heritage, and will be ongoing in potential future interactions between any and all of the assemblage components.

Utilising a theoretical framework adopted by Harrison and others in the volume *Reassembling the Collection*, I was particularly interested in examining a number of entities that fell out of the disassembly of the research network at the centre of this study. Identifying, analysing, and discussing these entities, which are temporally and spatially contingent, and manifest as power, agency and values, helped to answer the research problem posed by this thesis.

It has been suggested (Hodder 2003, 165) that new or contested meanings become apparent when temporal and spatial factors are taken into account in the analysis of an

assemblage. In this case, when material culture is separated from its original context, as demonstrated in chapter four, my study expands this model through the re-engagement of indigenous human and non-human (object) actors. From this, the collapsing of distance in space-time is possible and thus the reinserting of object-actors, or taonga, into indigenous narratives.

The findings from this study therefore make several contributions to the current literature. First, documentation of the dynamic interactions of these disassembled entities through time and space has resulted in a shift in thinking about the way power was distributed within and among these assemblages, so as to bridge epistemological and physical distances between indigenous communities and museums. I therefore have proposed that the decolonisation of museum practice can be advanced through a disassembly-reassembly theoretical framework. A significant contribution of this research is therefore the development of an indigenous engagement praxis for museums with ethnographic collections located remotely from these descendant communities.

Second, from this study it is clear that the repositioning of authority and control within these relational networks can result in the democratisation of knowledge production, with respect and empathy for difference, as shown in chapter five, clearly central to a decolonised museology. Also, bringing together the range of skill sets that have emerged from this assemblage, illustrates the creative and generative potential of a heritage network. Privilege, in terms of priorities, opportunities and resources, varies throughout this assemblage. This was evident historically, when mutually beneficial outcomes resulted from bringing together network components. Today, epistemological and physical distance between the components, as well as resource limitations and external demands, impact on responsiveness to any opportunities the encounters between them may generate.

Third, recognition of indigenous agency in the formation of historical museum collections is possible from this research, building on the work of Tapsell (2006a) in NZ. The changing role of significant and utilitarian taonga over time is clearly illustrated, with the most significant purpose of historical actions being the strengthening of relationships. Today, the contemporary agents within these indigenous assemblages reposition themselves to re-engage with their object-ancestors and their current custodians. To focus upon the perception that for Māori people ‘things’, even in their absence, are active community members is one way to move beyond the politics of indigenous representation (as did Harrison et al. 2013),

and that indigenous agency in historical collection development was one mechanism used in the past to alter the trajectory of certain objects for the future benefit of the community. This also contributes to Tapsell's (2006) work with the Gilbert Mair collection, which showed how taonga can resurface in the present to shape the lives of iwi today, becoming transformed into active members of relational networks.

Furthermore, the study reinforces the idea that taonga *objectify* social relationships, a characteristic of Māori gift-giving, and enact relationships prompting contemporary responses from human actors. Harrison and others (2013, 7) have further questioned at what point indigenous agency becomes a matter of specific intentionality in relation to the museum. This research has shown that whether intention is explicit or not the outcome is the same. The contemporary interactions of the human and non-human indigenous actors, which take place within the social and material networks that are museums, represent the *continuity* of relationships objectified by their ancestors, recognising that these human actors are only temporary actors in the trajectory of these object-ancestors over time.

Fourth, while museums may respect notions of animacy and material agency, taonga are unequivocally regarded by Māori as tapu, animate and capable of effecting relationships. As such, taonga have a mauri, often described as a life force, an energy that binds and animates. Mauri is thus present in all things in the physical world and is a force which interconnects all things in some way with one another. As the Waitangi Tribunal Whanganui River Report (1999, 39) states that "all things have a mauri, a life-force and personality of their own, and it was certainly the case that a river was seen to be so endowed... [This] was to be respected [or] ... it would lose its vitality and force, and its kindred people, those who depend on it would ultimately suffer. Again, it was to be respected as though it were one's close kin." As discussed in chapter two, one outcome of the Whanganui River Report for Whanganui iwi, was the recognition given to the Whanganui River as a legal entity and as a person. Barlow (1991, 83) concurs providing an example of how the depletion of the food supply in the river for example, can result in the mauri or health of that food supply decreasing. Thus the maintenance of the mauri is very important for the wellbeing of the river and the environment as a whole. This sits with Malafouris' (2013) argument for a symmetrical collaboration between humans and things where agency is the relational and emergent product of our engagement with the world rather than solely an attribute of humanity.

However, while Malafouris is explaining the interdependence of human and material agency, the value of this approach for the present study is the equal weighting given to material culture in social relations, which is an essential quality of the principle of *mauri* within a Māori world view. By entwining the physical and spiritual qualities of a thing, *mauri* provides a parallel praxis with this Western theoretical framework for explaining equality and symmetry between the components of a relational network. It thus provides the author, as a Pākehā scholar-curator, with a means by which to integrate such intangibles respectfully. Because these, as Pope (2008, 70) has stated, “will only be partly understood and never completely known by non-Māori” and cannot be easily uplifted and inserted into another world view. This theoretical innovation, a synthesis of Māori and Western thought, also enables understanding of how relationships between network constituents can be objectified with the transformation of objects from passive things to active actor-entities inspiring contemporary responses from descendant communities, their human-actor kin.

As discussed in chapter four, the recognition that connectedness with *taonga* goes deeper than a physical reconnection with a thing, and the response to issues of access to and use of *taonga* in NZ by source communities, can be seen in innovative solutions such as the *Mana Taonga* principle at Te Papa, constitutional reform at WM and the adoption of *He Korahi Māori* (a Māori dimension) by the Auckland Museum trust board. Also, various regional approaches to an emerging indigenous museology are practised in museums which recognise *kaitiakitanga* or guardianship over indigenous collections. Similar strategies have been instituted in other post-settler nation-states. Although museums in the UK and elsewhere in Europe are becoming experienced facilitators of indigenous reconnection with heritage items, the continuity of indigenous engagement strategies is dependent upon individual and institutional commitment, which may be transitory. Moreover, conventional ownership of items in museum collections is generally legal and binding.

Fifth, chapter five identified and presented a number of current challenges in museum practice when geographic distance is a factor, both for UK museum professionals and for source communities in NZ. This study found that immediacy in time and closeness across space sustained indigene-museum relationships through face-to-face interactions and empowering communities, and that this was supported by institutional practices and policies. In contrast, distance constrained the development and maintenance of these relationships, with the result that interactions were intermittent, anonymous and formal, and museum-led

projects were prioritised. In NZ, it is clear that the proximity of Māori communities and museums and the impact of Māori autonomy on museum practice over the past three decades have led to opportunities for effective collaborative practice. In the UK, on the other hand, museum responsiveness does not prioritise indigenous communities from elsewhere over its immediate and often diverse communities and institutional stakeholders, and professional priorities may naturally rest elsewhere.

Chapter six discussed findings in relation to differences in value systems between entity components and the effects these have on the relational network. I concluded that a mutually beneficial relationship can develop between entities, but only if each is prepared to work towards a common purpose. For this to be effective, source communities must employ strategies that continue to instil their cultural values in the museum at distance, by proactively maintaining relationships with the institutional custodians of their patrimony, and guiding them in the care of this heritage to ensure the cultural safety of both the object-ancestors and the people they come into contact with. Moreover, and importantly, institutional staff, as transitory guardians, have a moral responsibility to safeguard this cultural patrimony in ethically responsive and culturally respectful ways. Also, as the singular access point to this material for source communities or other institutional publics, they have a responsibility to facilitate this access in appropriate ways. The results from this study, therefore, suggest that working towards a common purpose is possible once differences in value systems are acknowledged. However, this study also indicates that while projects can be catalysts for relationships, their longevity relies upon other factors, and museums and communities must therefore develop mechanisms for continuity of post-project interactions to counter one-off projects and perpetuate relationships.

This study has therefore provided insights beyond those presented in the current literature into relationships between source communities and remote museums holding collections of their heritage. It has done so by using a theoretical and practice-based approach involving an in-depth, situated case study analysed over time, comparing and contrasting cultural perspectives, and incorporating the interrelated concepts of indigenous and material agency. The detailed documentation of a site specific museum-community engagement, where strategies were employed to ensure stakeholder participation, enabled me to observe and record some of the difficulties and complexities inherent in these engagements. This is a gap in the literature identified by Onciul (2011). These difficulties included coordinating

resources, travelling distances, misunderstandings from lack of experience or differences in viewpoints, conflicting expectations, leadership issues and adequate time.

Furthermore, the current findings add to our understanding of *appropriate museology*; defined by Kreps (2008, 23) as “an approach to museum development and training that adapts museum practices and strategies for cultural heritage preservation to local cultural contexts and socioeconomic conditions”. I propose situating this *appropriate museology* within the relational network made up of an ethnographic museum and an indigenous community by reframing it to reflect the network components more aptly. Thus an appropriate museology in this thesis is an indigenous one, where indigenous and museological (Western) knowledge systems and cultural practices are given equal ranking and can operate in parallel within an organisation.

In addition, this thesis has focussed upon issues considered by Clavir (2002), Lonetree (2012), Mignolo (2007) and others, as central to such an indigenous museology in the twenty-first century. These are acknowledging the validity of the different value systems of indigenous communities and museums in the “spirit of inclusiveness” (Kreps 2003b, 19), and identifying methods to bridge the cultural distance between them with an ongoing, open and reflective practice (identified by Lynch 2011b), the only means for true engagement to be embedded in museums. As suggested in chapter six, differences in value systems were reformed into new networks centred upon knowledge, respect and opportunities. On the basis of this evidence, I put forward the idea of a praxis for indigenous engagement with museums. Thus acknowledging these different value systems, I identified the benefits of each for a collection of heritage items. These findings provide the opportunities for future research, which museum and iwi stakeholders can continue to explore; that is, whether a focussed and detailed study of the relationships these heritage items generate can result in more than a one-off project for a museum and a source community.

This study also contributes to “new conceptions of relationships of care and curation” promoted by Kreps (2003b), Byrne and others (2011b). The value of these new approaches is the movement of heritage items from decontextualisation to a re-contextualisation in which a transformation takes place within museological practice; from a salvage and rescue paradigm to a more “inclusive, collaborative, and culturally relative” one (Kreps 2006, 458). Authors in Harrison et al. (2013, 5) have considered the metaphorical (affective, political, historical) as well as the physical weight of objects in museum collections as a more “sophisticated

approach to agency and the fields of material and social relations that constitute the contemporary museum and its histories” so as to arrive at new notions of museum object care and curation. However, the present study has taken a step further, through the incorporation of a nuanced analysis of the differences between value systems, to approach museum curation as a shared responsibility between source communities and museum staff.

Furthermore, my work contributes to the literatures on museums and source communities by documenting the dynamic interactions between these communities, over time and through space, up until the present. This new approach provides the opportunity for a better understanding of the differences between these communities, and of the ways in which innovative solutions to indigenous engagement and empowerment have been adopted by institutions to address this. It also advances a decolonised museum position based on the democratisation of knowledge production in the indigene-museum network, where our difficult histories are acknowledged and communicated, and the epistemological distance is effectively reduced so as to promote partnership opportunities. Assigning primacy to the processes of collection formation has highlighted indigenous agency in historical collection development, while the strengthening of settler-indigene relationships is seen to be of paramount importance in these interactions. Moreover, the mediatory effects of recent reconnection with taonga and their affective impact have facilitated contemporary relationship-building and contributed to advancement of iwi identity.

Tapsell (2011a, 86-7) questioned whether the value of objects in museums in terms of ancestral relationships to communities of origin has been fully explored in museological discourse. As a result of this thesis, I propose that findings from the research, combined with my own professional experience, in conjunction with advancements in museum studies, furthers understanding of the meaning of objects to specific communities within this discourse. As a result, it is possible to forge new ways for indigenous communities to enhance and perpetuate relationships with museums holding collections of their ancestral heritage.

In conclusion, from these findings I present the following factors that have implications for museum practice,

- first, relationship-building is generally project-led and museum initiated,
- second, indigenous people rarely prioritise academic achievement in this field,

third, indigenous people rarely hold positions of power in museums,

fourth, the scale of museum collections inhibits proactive relationship-building with individual communities.

In the contemporary context, preferred outcomes differ between network constituents and only time will now tell whether perpetuity of relationships is in fact embedded in the taonga, as suggested by Coote.² It is clear that taonga in museum collections are reliant on projects to maintain their active nature. Furthermore, while distance precludes regular interaction, outcomes are more likely to result from face-to-face encounters between indigenous and museum community members than any other sort of engagement. However, relationships between these groups are unlikely to persist when there is significant geographic distance unless,

an individual from the museum community prioritises the specific relationship and successfully prioritises resources for its maintenance, or

an individual from the source community is prepared to maintain that relationship through regular and ongoing communication, or

the museum and source community can develop a signed agreement institutionalising the relationship.

Moreover, respectful relationships develop from mutual trust. Results suggest true reciprocity (through manaakitanga and democratic knowledge production) is an essential element and time an important factor.

Finally, there are many pressing issues for museums and source communities that compete for resources, with the focus of each towards different priorities. While Ngā Paerangi's collective history, as for many indigenous groups, has been one of depopulation, dislocation and dispersal, with the disruption of traditional tribal-based networks a consequence of historical experiences (colonisation, impact on health, land loss, assimilationist policies, loss of economic base, ongoing economic marginality, cultural loss, language loss, population decline), they are facing new challenges and opportunities effected by processes such as the Waitangi Tribunal. For PRM, as for most museums, resources are limited and the institution struggles with being constantly confronted with new and often competing opportunities.

² Coote, interview.

Among the key lessons learned from this, and similar studies, is the need to allocate sufficient time for work of this nature. It takes time to build a relationship and gain respect and trust from individuals and communities (for which a doctoral research timeframe is far too short) and outcomes may not be realised for years. It is therefore essential to allow time for consultation with all stakeholders, who need to be able to weigh up the benefits of participating (or not) and fully understand the processes and expectations involved. It is also essential to enable individual and community responses to emerge without feeling that they are fitting into a schedule with outcomes pre-determined by other parties. Decades of prior relationships and joint projects were essential for a partnership between Ngā Paerangi and the author to exist and for this project to be undertaken. This previous experience was also influenced by wider agendas, such as institutional reform at WM and the individual involvement of source community members in the same organisation. Moreover, social and spatial mobility impact on indigenous engagement with museum collections. Ngā Paerangi people, while maintaining connection to their home marae at Kaiwhāiki on the Whanganui River, are dispersed globally, although this can be overcome when specific opportunities present themselves as this study has demonstrated.

This research has shown that the concept of shared/negotiated ownership has evolved further in NZ museums than in UK museums, in this study specifically with regard to taonga Māori. This evolution is reflected through the museum acknowledgement and understanding of tribal kaitiakitanga. In this way NZ museum professionals are more naturally comfortable than their UK colleagues with the claims to ownership that Māori individuals and communities make, whether literal or cultural, and have developed a range of mechanisms to support aspirations for self-determination over heritage management, including repatriation policies. Acknowledgement of kaitiakitanga is also manifest through the employment of indigenous staff as discussed elsewhere (for example, Butts 2007, Hakiwai 1999, McCarthy 2011). This complex and contested area is, however, not as easily accommodated by our colleagues from museums in the UK, who of course do not work in proximity to communities of origin but are instead exposed to those who proactively seek out their heritage held offshore.

Therefore, a specific insight from this research is that even though each indigenous community and each museum is unique, there are some common approaches, which scholars and professionals anywhere can learn. These common issues will enable constituents to

reform and reassemble into new social and material networks centred on respect and new knowledge, which have the potential to generate opportunities for the future, as follows.

Respect: During this research I set out to determine the meaning of heritage items over time to entities within a relational network. My aim in doing so was to determine whether this could impact on the nature of relationships between the human-actor entities. The results of this study indicate that respect is a fundamental principle of such embryonic relationships, as Ponga stated, “this is nothing to do with our cultural values, this is everything to do with the relationship-building between two human beings and respect is everything.”³ Clifford (2004, 6) also asserts that,

even the most severe indigenous critics of anthropology recognize the potential for alliances when they are based on shared resources, repositioned indigenous and academic authorities, and relations of genuine respect.

Genuine respect entails a willingness to take into account the relationship partner’s point of view, their world view, and their values (Patterson 1992, 10) and for this to occur requires willingness, enthusiasm, and potentially also learning and applying cultural protocols. My research findings suggest, however, that respect was not enough to cement these relationships in the long term. Nevertheless, I also discovered that taonga embody social relationships and generate new ones. These social relationships can be manifest in the historical transactions that resulted in their movement through a gift or exchange network into a museum collection, or more recently in the re-engagement of descendant communities and, most importantly, they will be ongoing in potential future interactions between any and all of these relational entities when all the fundamental requirements for a relationship come together; as Clifford stated above—resources, repositioned authority and genuine respect.

New knowledge: Importantly, this study generated new knowledge for the human actors as well as to the field of museum studies. The research provides qualitative data about differences between Western and Māori epistemologies around the value of taonga and recognises that place-based approaches have their own distinctive and embedded value systems. There is also a range of contributions to knowledge specific to individual objects and people and their interconnectivity,

- expanded biographies—human and object,

³ Ponga, interview.

- recognition of affective qualities of taonga,
- museum practices for iwi members,
- regenerated tribal histories around events and places and people,
- expanded cultural capital—locating extant taonga,
- Māori cultural practices for museum staff, and
- recognition that face-to-face encounters with and use of taonga are central to the revitalisation of cultural heritage practices.

Opportunities for the future: It is clear that the loss of cultural heritage impacts upon identity. Taonga, as symbols of Māori identity, therefore can “reunite and empower the most important resources of all: people” which museums as custodians of heritage are well positioned to assist with (Tapsell 2003, 250). Hakiwai (2014, ii) reiterated this point in his recent thesis, when he concluded that taonga play a pivotal role “in informing and shaping tribal development futures”. This research has identified the following potential opportunities for ongoing, emerging assemblages,

- to reflect on past events and their consequences enhances understanding of actions of tūpuna, strengthening current decision-making,
- for a ‘visit home’ for the taonga so that essential cultural protocols can be undertaken,
- to further the embryonic relationships established in 2013 individually and collectively (such as through an internship at PRM),
- for the maintenance and regeneration of cultural practices and the impact of this on the advancement of Māori development and identity,
- for a project for PRM; to visit Kaiwhāiki and the Charles Smith collection site of origin,
- to further share PRM staff experiences with indigenous community members through publication,
- for digital repatriation to enhance educational outcomes, and
- for the public interpretation of collections via indigenous contextualisation.

Although ethnographic material in museums is often considered a reminder of colonisation and cultural loss, re-engaging with the Charles Smith collection for Ngā Paerangi can be seen as a positive experience, as the collection represents a physical embodiment of their past that has survived to empower *new* histories and relationships in the twenty-first century.

The ideas discussed in this chapter are brought together in Table 7-2 as potential praxis for community members, academic and museological practitioners when forging relationships based around indigenous cultural heritage collections.

Table 7-1: Praxis for Indigenous Engagement with Remotely Located Ethnographic Museum Collections.

Identify shared objectives at outset to promote co-operative and democratic knowledge production
Integrate culture specific classification systems
Increase movement of knowledge/improve access to museum-held knowledge
Support measures to equalise power relations—shared resources, repositioned authority
Give recognition to knowledge framed in multiple ways
Refer to expertise of other epistemologies; bring together different skill sets
Approach museum practice (political and operational) as a shared responsibility

In this conclusion I have looked at the implications of the results of this study in relation to museum-indigenous community relationships. Further research might well be conducted in order to explore the way in which indigenous communities can work towards developing relationships with museums in perpetuity when distance is a factor. In particular it would be useful to carry out further analyses of indigenous agency in historical collection development, to provide data relating to indigene-collector-museum relationships in NZ and elsewhere. Also, as noted earlier, Macdonald (2011, 127) reminds us that “any account of assemblage is, of course, inevitably partial—it is never possible to follow all of the chains of connections that might be involved”. While the potential for many strands of the current analysis to have continued on many different trajectories is inevitable, I have endeavoured to restrict the elements of this study to those with a pragmatic application for the research stakeholders, who may themselves encounter opportunities to explore these tantalising trajectories at some point in the future.

Museums are doing important work unpacking their documentation history so they can disseminate information about what they have. In some cases they are also proactively

seeking out original owner communities to establish contemporary relationships. Importantly, studying ethnographic items or collections that are linked to specific named communities and communicating this information can have a profound impact on community identity. More studies that explore mechanisms through which this can be achieved are important. Material engagement theory also has considerable unexplored potential in a study such as this where a fuller understanding of the affective impact of things on relationships in the past and present can contribute appreciably to describing the role of heritage items within society when they have been separated from their history.

The disassembly-reassembly theoretical framework applied to this research has resulted in a significant academic contribution to museum studies by revealing the emergence of an indigenous engagement praxis resulting from the first contextualised study of a heritage assemblage over time, showing that actor-networks are ongoing and that indigenous assemblages continue to form and reform as a result of interactions between their component parts. This praxis, combining a range of developments in contemporary museum practice for museum-indigenous community engagement which have proved effective in NZ and other settler-colonies, has application elsewhere for relationship-building between indigenous communities and the custodians of their museum-held heritage when distance is a factor.

Glossary

hamana	cartouche/gun cartridge case
hapū	descent group, sub-tribe
heru	comb
hoeroa	long whalebone weapon
hui	meeting, assembly, coming together
hui ā-iwi	tribal meeting
iwi	set of people bound together by descent from a common ancestor or ancestors, tribe
kāinga	home, village
kaikaranga	caller, woman (or women) who makes the ceremonial call to visitors onto a marae at the start of a pōwhiri
kaitiaki (kaitiakitanga)	guardian, to care for, look after; guardianship
kākahu	clothing, cloak
kapa haka	performance group
karakia	incantation, invocation; Christian prayers
kaumātua	respected elder, senior man or woman, community leader
kaupapa	strategy, topic, theme, purpose
koha	gift
kōhanga reo	preschool
kōiwi tangata	human skeletal remains
kōrero	to tell, speak, talk
korowai	cloak
kuia	respected female elder
mana	ancestral authority, power, prestige

Mana Taonga principle	defines Māori participation and involvement at Te Papa through recognising the spiritual and cultural connections of taonga with their people through whakapapa
manaaki (manaakitanga)	to care for, look after, show respect, kindness, hospitality
Māori	indigenous New Zealander
marae	complex of buildings around the courtyard and meeting house for a hapū or iwi; settlement
mouri	life-force, life-giving essence or principle; Whanganui dialect for mauri
muka	processed flax fibre
noa	free from tapu, ordinary, the restoration of balance
pā	fortified refuge or settlement
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
pākurukuru	river canoe prow; also called tete
pāoi	pounder
poroporoaki	farewell ceremony
pōwhiri	formal welcome ceremony
rangatira (rangatiratanga)	chief, leader of a tribe; chiefly authority
rohe	tribal lands
tā moko	tattoo
taiaha	weapon and ceremonial staff
tangihanga	funeral rites
taonga	treasured possession, something of value
tapu	sacred; under ancestral restriction
tatā	canoe bailer

te reo Māori	Māori language
tikanga	customary or correct procedures
toi moko	art of tattooing
tuki	wooden mouthpiece for a gourd
tuku	to release, give up, relinquish, gift
tūpuna	ancestors
waiata	song, chant, poetry
waka	canoe
waka tauā	war canoe
wana	authority
wānanga	meeting to discuss and inform
wehi	awe, fear
whakapapa	genealogy, kinship, relationships
whakataukī	proverb
whānau	extended family group; modern meaning is family
whanaunga (whanaungatanga)	relative, relation; relationship
whare	house
wharepuni	meeting house

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Interviews

Belsey, Faye	12 November 2013
Clarke, Ken	26 July 2013, 19 August 2013
Peers, Laura	12 November 2013
Peeti, Wipaki	27 July 2013
Ponga, Merekanara	18 August 2013
Richardson, Heather	6 November 2013
Rzoska, Haimona	20 March 2013
Simon, Morvin	20 March 2013
Uden, Jeremy	6 November 2013
Wilson, Che	12 December 2013

PROTOCOL AGREEMENT

between

Ngā Paerangi o Te Wainui-a-Rua iwi

and

Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford

BACKGROUND

In 2006, Ngā Paerangi iwi (tribe) from Kaiwhāiki marae, Whanganui River, NZ were reacquainted with a number of ancestral taonga (treasured objects) in the collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM), Oxford, England. The taonga had been collected by gentleman farmer Charles Smith during the mid to late 19th century while resident at Te Korito opposite Kaiwhāiki, where he had developed a close relationship with Ngā Paerangi leader Te Oti Takarangi and other members of this iwi. Ngā Paerangi iwi wish to reconnect with this intrinsically valuable community resource and develop a relationship with the PRM.

In 2011 a Project Team of kaumātua (knowledgeable elders) and tribal history experts Morvin Simon, Hera Peina, Ken Clarke and Haimona Rzoska was established plus curator and doctoral student Michelle Horwood, to develop a strategy to achieve this. Funding was sought from National Services Te Papa to facilitate hui a-iwi (tribal meetings), project team meetings, collection research and dissemination as well as interviews with key community members to articulate the value of these taonga to Ngā Paerangi and their on-going connection with them. Also to ensure the aspirations of and benefits for Ngā Paerangi are clearly articulated and communicated. Discussions with PRM staff were initiated to ensure access to the collection was possible, to identify key staff to interview who would communicate current thinking and practice relating to indigenous access to collections, and to discuss means by which a relationship could be established.

A group from Ngā Paerangi including Hera Peina, Haimona Rzoska, Wipaki Poeti, Luana Tawaroa, Sister Makareta Tawron, Teresa Poeti, Katrina Hawira, Reti Wisneski, as well as Michelle Horwood will visit these tūpuna (ancestors/taonga) in Nov 2013 and meet with PRM staff. Ngā Paerangi see these taonga as an enduring living legacy between their tūpuna (ancestors) and current and future generations. Research into whakapapa (genealogy), the historical significance and connections to these taonga has ignited an interest amongst the people, reinforcing their significance to the future development of Ngā Paerangi iwi.

This document identifies anticipated outcomes for this visit from which it is hoped a formal relationship will be developed.

PROJECT OBJECTIVES

1. For Ngā Paerangi people to spiritually, physically and intellectually reconnect with their taonga in the Charles Smith Collection within their tikanga.
2. For the Pitt Rivers Museum to obtain new information about the Charles Smith Collection.
3. For Ngā Paerangi people and Pitt Rivers Museum staff to develop a mutually beneficial relationship as well as to identify means that ensure (iwi & institutional) commitment to this relationship in the long-term.

PROPOSED PROJECT OUTCOMES

1. To improve understanding of
 - a. the importance of the Charles Smith Collection for Ngā Paerangi people
 - b. individual taonga in the Charles Smith Collection
 - c. strategies for developing relationships between museums and indigenous communities
 - d. Māori cultural practices that can usefully be employed by museums for collection care
 - e. museum policy and practices in relation to indigenous collections access and use eg. photography & copyright policies, object handling procedures
 - f. PRM history and UK museum culture.
2. To develop a partnership between project participants as well as mechanisms that ensure the continuity of this partnership.
3. To make recommendations on the use and care of the Smith collection that take into account Ngā Paerangi tikanga.
4. To develop a digital archive of information about and images of the Ngā Paerangi taonga in the Charles Smith Collection, and methods for the appropriate dissemination of this information and its safekeeping for future generations.
5. To share information generated between partners and further as mutually agreed.
6. To link individuals and whānau (family) with taonga representing tūpuna (ancestors).
7. To contribute to the on-going development of PRM policy and procedures relating to indigenous collections.
8. To communicate historical and traditional knowledge and practices gained to inspire Ngā Paerangi cultural revitalisation.
9. To develop skills for iwi in Museum collection documentation and care procedures.
10. To share these new skills within whānau, hapū and iwi and more broadly.
11. To initiate discussions with PRM about feasibility of tūpuna (ancestors/taonga) visiting Whanganui.

We recognise that project outcomes may change once all parties have participated fully, but wish this to form the basis for discussions from which a partnership can develop.

On behalf of Kaiwhāiki Pā Trust for Ngā Paerangi iwi

Name: Marvin T. Simon

Signature: [Signature]

Date: 16 Aug 2013

On behalf of Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix II

Programme for Ngā Paerangi visit to the Charles Smith Collection Pitt Rivers Museum 18-22 Nov 2013

Monday 18 November

- 10.00 am** Ngā Paerangi group gather in front of NH Museum for karakia etc,
10.15am Move to PRM lecture theatre via South Entrance PRM
10.30am Welcome from Dr Laura Peers, Curator of the Americas and Jeremy Coote, Joint Head of Collections with Iwi members and Pitt Rivers Museum staff in the Museum lecture theatre
12.00am Lunch in Blackwood room
12.40am Conservation handling briefing from Heather Richardson, Head of Conservation
1.00pm View taiaha (.1), tewhatewha (.3), hoeroa (.5), hamana (.10), tamoko (.189-191), pendant (.229), heru (.219)
pm Visit museum galleries - ?lifting tapu

Tuesday 19 November

- 10.00am** View pākurukuru (.12), pākahawai (.121), hoe (.16, .24), korotete (.85), tatā (.13), pāoi (.77)

Wednesday 21 November

- 10.00am** Meet at Robinson Close for short walk to textile store – lifting tapu?
View cloaks (.159, 160, 162), tāniko bands (.167, 168)

Thursday 20 November

- 10.00am** View adzes (.32, 35, 38), obsidian (.46), pounamu (.65), tuke (.138), kete (.141, 146, 148, 150, 170, 172-176), kawē (.154), tātua (.157), poi (.250, 251, 253) in research room, ?152 whāriki
pm NP reps meet with Jeremy Coote for relationship discussions

Friday 22 November

- 10.00am** View photographs with Philip Grover and Christopher Morton (Photograph dept) in research room
12.00am Lunch in the Blackwood room
1.00pm Lunchtime seminar in Museum lecture theatre
pm Poroporoaki

Appendix III

Invitation to Pitt Rivers Museum staff to visit Kaiwhāiki

Kaiwhaiki Marae Trustees
RD 5
Kaiwhaiki Marae
Kaiwhaiki Road
Whanganui
Aotearoa / New Zealand

Museum Director
Pitt Rivers Museum
South Parks Road,
University of Oxford
London
England

Thursday 14 November 2013

E te Rangatira, tena koe,

Invitation to Visit Kaiwhaiki, Whanganui, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Thank you for the wonderful hospitality that you have shown to our Nga Paerangi family during their recent historic visit to Pitt Rivers Museum. We are looking forward to hearing about the things they learnt and the activities they participated in.

As reciprocity is a deep Maori value, we would like to extend a warm welcome to members of the Pitt Rivers Museum community to visit us at Kaiwhaiki as a way of cementing the relationship that has already begun. Our hope is that a visit will take place within the next 3-5 years. The details can be worked out at a later date. At this stage, we merely wish to make contact and extend a warm welcome. Naumai. Haere mai.

Yours sincerely,
Morvin Anatipa Simon
Rangatira

Wipaki Peeti
Rangatira

Hera Upokoiri Peina
Rangatira Kuia

Hera Te Upokoiri Peina

Ken Joseph Somme Clarke,
Rangatira

Appendix IV

Differences in Values: A Comparative Approach

Data describing the differences in viewpoints (after Clavir 2002, 78-84) within a relational network of indigenous community and museum and the effects of these differences on working towards a common purpose, discussed in chapter six.

Ngā Paerangi	Pitt Rivers Museum
What are these differences in values within this relational network?	
<i>Taonga</i>	<i>Object</i>
<p><i>Tapu and animate</i></p> <p>TP “... look at the wakahuia all by itself ... feeling lonely without its partner.”</p> <p>MS “I feel sorry for the mokomoko which are open and on display ... we don’t see it as a mokomoko, or a bone, or an arm, or a leg. That’s somebody you know, that’s a whole person’s arm there. And we’re saluting the whole, the whole tūpāpaku [person], ai?”</p> <p>MP “the good thing about those pictures is that you can actually forge a special link with those people in there all that time.”</p> <p>HR “all those things still have mana aye? They still have mana and they still have mauri, so anything has to be respected, otherwise it’ll kick you in the butt.”</p>	<p><i>Respecting notions of animacy</i></p> <p>LP “... occasionally we see somebody in the displays ... cry, sing, pray out loud. They’re not inanimate objects to do those things. You don’t respond in that way to inanimate objects.”</p> <p>Appropriation of indigenous notion of animacy:</p> <p>JC “... there’s sometimes the perception that ... the object dies when it goes to a museum and nothing happens and they’re forgotten about ... But ... objects are continually being looked at again and again, being brought out for researchers, or prepared for display ... it’s what makes the collections alive ...”</p>
<p><i>Safeguarding people / cultural safety</i></p> <p>CW “A godstick is only powerful when it’s invoked.”</p> <p>MP “And I would like to think that those taonga were given back to keep us safe.”</p> <p>HR “our old people actually thought ... that the next generation wouldn’t be able to handle those things ...”</p> <p>KC “I can remember attending tangi ... where just about all of those persons’ possessions went down the hole with them including valuable things.”</p> <p>WP “Because [PRM] are going to keep them so they should know the history of what they’ve got in storage so that people know what they are.”</p>	<p><i>Safeguarding people & objects / physical safety</i></p> <p>KC “One way to ensure its longevity, put it in a safe place no scrapping over it, want to see it, go to Oxford.”</p> <p>CW “‘Katoa e taonga. They’re all taonga.’ But it’s being mindful that some of them need extra care. Put gloves on and that, that’s extra care. Same with taonga.”</p>
<p><i>Safe-keeps</i></p>	<p><i>Collects, documents, cares for</i></p> <p>JC “... the first responsibility of the museum is to look after what it’s got ...”</p>
<p><i>Use, perform</i></p> <p>HR “... personally, I’d love to see them all displayed. I think things that’ve been put away, what’s the use of them being put away for no one to see? I know I’d rather see them being given back to the families that they might’ve</p>	<p><i>Exhibit, research</i></p> <p>JC “potential for research.”</p>


<p>belonged to before to use them, than to be sitting in the dungeon doing nothing ... ideally for me I would love to see all those things, no matter what condition they're in, being displayed."</p> <p>CW "I used the taiaha from Ātene as my prop to perform [the waiata]. And then at the British Museum I used a patu."</p>	
<p><i>Cultural ownership / kaitiakitanga</i></p> <p>Never extinguished</p> <p>KC "they could be next door and we still don't own them..."</p> <p>Morally responsive. For example, WM have also adopted & implemented repatriation policies (for taonga other than non-kōiwi taonga). Taonga in NZ museums may have different legal status than taonga elsewhere as in certain circumstances museums accept taonga as long-term loans rather than outright gifts in response to iwi needs for a place to safe-keep taonga but are unwilling to relinquish ownership. NZ museums recognise that kaitiaki responsibilities may be shared with descendants of taonga.</p>	<p><i>Legal ownership</i></p> <p>Legal and binding</p> <p>JC "I've never had any sense of possession. I've never been possessive about objects."</p>
<p><i>Primary function is reaffirmation of iwi values and history; oral traditions; holistic/cyclic</i></p> <p>MP "...all of that history, all of that knowledge, talks about who we are as a people, where we have come from."</p> <p>CW "My family would never think of giving taonga to a museum today."</p> <p>Importance in knowledge / identity / relationships embedded in the object. Object may be lost but knowledge endures—who and how made, the events it witnessed or was a part of, people associated with, etcetera.</p>	<p><i>Primary function is collect, document, research; Western intellectual traditions (science & social science); linear</i></p> <p>JC "... So that my work on the history of objects and trying to reconnect objects with their documentation, with their history and tracing where they might have come from, and what has been done with them since is about making their futures possible and richer."</p> <p>JC "...as a university museum, a prime criterion for importance also has to be its potential for research."</p>
<p><i>Taonga connect the past to the present and future, contracting time</i></p> <p>KC "... it might be one hundred years dead but it's still like a grandmother yesterday ..."</p> <p>KC "... photos have a very special significance ... it's just like having them living today, those old people living today."</p> <p>MS "Well, carving was the iPhone of the day. It is no longer so ... for the general public. It's still so for the collation of carvers ... [through which] they transfer their kōrero on ..."</p>	<p><i>Objects are witnesses to the past, with value in the present</i></p> <p>JC "What we are actually doing is ... creating that object for the future ... the past is really interesting, intrinsically interesting, but it doesn't have value, because it's gone. The value is the future."</p> <p>JC "I see it as my responsibility to unpick and unpack the past of objects in the collection ... [to] know as much as we can ... once their history has become clear they actually become more important and more significant and more exciting ... and are launched on these futures ... by putting the collections out there, by publishing them, by exhibiting them, by putting them on the internet etcetera etcetera it becomes possible for them to be properly connected to their past."</p>
<p><i>Māoricentric</i></p> <p>MS "A number of people are, only now, just trying to accommodate that Cook didn't discover New Zealand, you know, took them a long time ai? ... he was a visitor like everybody else. He was a tourist like everyone else."</p>	<p><i>Eurocentric</i></p> <p>JC "... if people get what the museum is about, which isn't a colonial racist view of the world but is about celebrating human creativity and ingenuity and putting all cultures on the same level of creativity and ingenuity and historicity ..."</p>



	JC "... one of the frustrations of the museum is that it doesn't lend itself to ... really providing insights into other ways of seeing the world."
<i>Keeping taonga warm</i> (McKenzie 1993) <i>Returning to Papatūānuku</i>	<i>Conserving, preserving</i>
What effect do these differences have on working towards a common purpose?	
<i>Relationships are about people</i> CW "Museums are a good place to store taonga if there's a good relationship." CW "any relationship is two-way and you've got to be active with it to maintain it." MS "... ordinary, good friendships ..."	<i>Relationships are embedded in the object</i> JC "I think the perpetuity is embedded in the objects ... If [a relationship is] going to develop that depends upon projects."
<i>Taonga as opportunities for relationships (gift exchange)</i>	<i>Objects as opportunities for research funding & academic achievement</i>
<i>Iwi access to cultural knowledge</i> MS "It's not just given; ... you shoulder tap certain ones to take the knowledge on." HR "... most of our traditional knowledge is passed down verbally." HR "Our old people didn't just give it to you, you either asked or they didn't bother. I think it was a time when there was a different world and ... they didn't believe we would be able to carry on the little they had." With regard to access outside an iwi framework, in my experience working with Māori communities there is a considerable range in willingness to provide cultural knowledge; some individuals are open and generous with knowledge they hold, with the proviso that any they provide will be used appropriately and also that this information is already in the public arena, while others are unwilling to disclose or share any information.	<i>Public access to all knowledge</i> LP "Then there's the question of whose authority you believe ..." JC "... I find being at a university institution in which pursuit and sharing knowledge are the prime values, it is difficult to [restrict access], one has to find ways of dealing with those issues that are respectful to people who have different views but also respect the traditions of a free and open society ..." FB "I think it can be quite difficult to [restrict access to knowledge] particularly for a museum where our mission is to share it among the widest possible publics so it's a bit of a conflict of interest ..." LP "We don't have the right to capture all information about objects. We don't have the right to dictate what kinds of projects necessarily occur with our collections that we care for. Other people may have those rights, right now, and you just have to recognise that."
<i>Home, marae</i>	<i>Museum</i>
<i>Personal</i> Participants in this project from Ngā Paerangi represented their whānau, hapū and iwi.	<i>Institutional</i> Participants from PRM are employed by and speak for their institution.
<i>Collective decision-making</i> WP "[Te Oti] wanted carvings on Te Kiritahi and they said no. And they told him if he wanted to get it then to get it on his face, and so he did ... it would've had to go through the people and they said no." KC "I think people tend to get on their own waka ... we've sort of shifted focus from us as a people to us as individuals."	<i>Individual / Institutional decision-making</i> Policy-led Personal interest then staff-led

<p><i>Exhibits by cultural group</i></p> <p>HR “I’d love to see [the taonga] all displayed. I think things that’ve been put away, what’s the use of them being put away for no one to see? I know I’d rather see them being given back to the families that they might’ve belonged to before to use them, than to be sitting in the dungeon doing nothing ...”</p> <p>TP “It would have been lovely to see all the Māori objects all together.”</p> <p>TP “look at the wakahuia all by itself ... feeling lonely without its partner.”</p>	<p><i>Exhibits by form and function</i></p> <p>“prioritising form and function over cultural origin and age” (Larson 2008, 91).</p> <p>JU “... the Cook Collection, I get the impression that Jeremy is thinking about labels ... about linking objects to communities, to people and events. Not making them just objects collected by Captain Cook, but objects that come from a particular community and trying to link them back to where they came from.”</p>
<p>Have these differences changed over time?</p>	
<p>HR “... our tūpunas. They were in a different world; they were in sync with everything around them. We’re not like that today. So, we might like to think that we have those sort of concepts but certainly not as intense as they would have been and everything that they did.”</p> <p>MP “... when Ngā Paerangi re-established ourselves on this side of the river,... to progress their children to the future,... there was definitely this big, whole change in the way that they saw their old taonga, the old things, their old rituals, there was definitely this move to try and create this place where their children could see a future ... this definite shift to leave the old with the old and to progress with the new ...”</p> <p>MP “Well, I definitely think that the world of our tūpuna was very practical, they did things because there was a need to do things. We live in a world that [we] do things because of want and we want more. So we tend to do things based on want more than practical reasons.”</p>	<p>LP “I learned not to present myself as the scholarly authority. I learned that I had one set of skills in interpretation and analysis, and one set of perspectives, and that there were others. And so I think I came to the work at the Pitt Rivers [in 1998], more prepared to engage in collaborative methodologies with indigenous peoples regarding the museum collections ...”</p> <p>LP “... my background also disposed me to see the affective backgrounds to interactions between historical collections and contemporary indigenous people ...” As a university teacher in Canada “I noticed very early on my aboriginal students responded very differently to the objects than my white students did. There were emotional aspects and depths to the responses that were not present for my white students for whom the objects simply represented another identity. Whereas to the aboriginal students, the objects symbolised ancestral presences and relationships.”</p> <p>JU “... we understand that some cultural knowledge isn’t ours to have ... that cultural knowledge is only given to certain people and people don’t have the authority to share it with us and even if they did they might not want to.”</p> <p>HeR For example, Blackfoot Shirts in Canada project “... we’re not here to actually learn anything from you. We’re not here for you to tell us stuff that we go and put on our database. We’re just here to make them accessible to you. It’s not about us.”</p> <p>JU “if Māori visitors said we want this stored in a particular way and we don’t want it stored in this place, we would obviously do the best to accommodate them.”</p> <p>JU “if we were to discover that they were taboo and that they should not be on display and they should not be on the website then we would remove them. And that would be right.”</p>
<p>CW – Che Wilson, FB – Faye Belsey, HeR – Heather Richardson, HR – Haimona Rzoska, JC – Jeremy Coote, JU – Jeremy Uden, KC – Ken Clarke, LP – Laura Peers, MP – Merekanara Ponga, MS – Morvin Simon, TP – Teresa Peeti, WP – Wipaki Peeti.</p>	

Appendix V

Charles Smith Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum, Accession Number 1923.87, taonga discussed in text			
No.	Taonga	Description	Provenance
.1		<p>Taiaha, staff or club; hardwood; intricately carved upoko (head) with double rauponga (spirals) on the tongue with haehae lines (double parallel grooves) and pākati (dog tooth pattern) notches in a conventional treatment of the arero; upoko has 4 shell eye inlays comprising circular disks of pāua (Haliotis iris); tauri (collar) decorated with kākā (<i>Nestor meridionalis</i>) attached in bundles of 3 or 4 by thread to fabric base, 5 possible tūi (<i>Prosthemadera novaeseelandiae</i>) feather fragments; base is finely woven and where exposed at lower end is comprised of strips like cotton tape, wound around to make tauri thicker and possibly to hold all together, beneath this is a cord of plaited muka (flax) fibre from which are suspended 70+ bundles of white dog hair, fine cotton or linen thread is wound around the tinana (body) below the muka and dog hair. Max L = 1474mm, Max W tinana = 54mm</p>	<p>Titokowaru, Ngā Ruahine; Hōri Kīngi Te Ānaua, Ngāti Tūpoho, Ngāti Ruaka; Keepa Te Rangihihinui, Muaūpoko, Ngāti Tūpoho, Ngāti Ruaka,; Te Oti Takarangi, Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith posthumously</p> <p><u>Handwritten note in RDF</u> [by Smith] – “...The other taiaha was given by Titokowaru (titoko - blind, waru - name of an ancestor) to Hori Kingi, by him to Kemp Taitoko ki te Uru - or Rangihihinui - & by him to Takarangi a cousin - left by him in charge of Wi Patene & returned. On death of Takarangi given to me.”</p> <p>Referred to in text pages 124, 160, 206, 236</p>

.3		<p>Tewhatewha, long-handled fighting staff; hardwood; 7 muka-bound bundles of white dog hair suspended by muka cord from hole in base of rapa (blade). Max L = 1005 mm Max W = 127 mm Max D = 23 mm Max L dog hair bundles = 235 mm</p>	<p>Father of (Te Oti?) Takarangi, Ngā Paerangi; (Te Oti?) Takarangi, Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Written on object</u> – “Tewa Tewa, club with / white dog's hair tuft. It / belonged to Takarangi's / father. / N. ISLAND, NEW ZEALAND. / Charles Smith coll. / Purch. 1923 (A. T. Collier)”</p>
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.5		<p>Hoeroa, ceremonial staff or weapon; made from the jaw bone of a sperm whale.</p> <p>Max L = 1320 mm Max W = 88 mm</p>	<p>Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, Ngāti Mahuta; Tūkāroto Matutaera Pōtatau Te Wherowhero Tāwhiao, Ngāti Mahuta ; Taihana Rangitauira, Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith</p> <p>Research by author suggests this was one of the significant taonga ‘given up’ by Whanganui Māori following the taking of the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown, as described by Whanganui Resident Magistrate, John White (1864-5, 116-7), in 1865,</p> <p>“I would call attention to the value which the friendly natives here put on the “Hoeroa” given up by Taihana Rangitauira [of NP from Kānihinihi]. This weapon was given by Monganui [?Huirua Manganui] son of RewaManui of the Bay of Islands to his sister the widow of Hori Kerei Tekah brother of old Potatau [Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, first Māori King], as a peace offering for the acts of Hongi [Hika] in Waikato: She gave it to Potatau who gave it to Matutaera [Tūkāroto Matutaera Pōtatau Te Wherowhero Tāwhiao, second Māori King], by whom it was given to Taihana as the emblem of the King movement to the natives of this part of the North Island as a pledge of sincerity. Taihana gave Matutaera two mere Pounamus and £100.”</p> <p>This immensely powerful act by Taihana Rangitauira on behalf of his iwi, signified the severing of their allegiance with the Māori King through passing the symbol of their support for the Kīngitanga to a representative of the British Government.</p> <p>Referred to in text pages 255, 256</p>
.10		<p>Hamana, cartouche case; a curved piece of wood with cylindrical recesses for 20 charges with a leather flap and belt fittings attached with iron nails.</p> <p>Max L = 120 mm Max W = 84 mm</p>	<p>Warror of Te Herekietie, Ngāti Tūwharetoa; Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Notes in RDF</u> – “1886 Hamana - belonged to one of the Herekietie's men - found near where the old chief's whare was at the mouth of the Kaipua creek.”</p> <p>“From C. S. [Charles Smith]... A cartridge box - found 1886 - at Te Korito, Wanganui - one of the sort commonly used by the Maoris in the war beginning in 1860.”</p> <p>Referred to in text pages 124, 165-7</p>










Tunuhaere, pākurukuru, river canoe figurehead; wood.


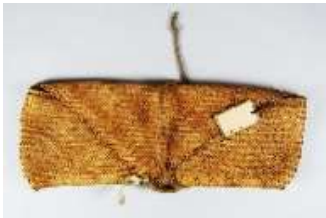

Matene Te Rangitauira, Te Atihaunui-a-Pāpārangi; Te Oti Takarangi, Ngā Paerangi; Tamati Takarangi, Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith





Handwritten manuscript by Charles Smith in RDF – "Particulars of the small figurehead of a canoe - The name of the figurehead is Tunuhaere - named evidently from apoviation [sic?] at the time of presentation to Takarangi - The name of the canoe was "Wainui" (big water). It belonged to Rangitauira, an upriver chief (killed since I have been here, at the battle of Moutoa fighting on the side of the Hauhaus). It was one of the canoes bringing down a war party of Taupo and upriver natives to demand satisfaction from the Kaiwhaiki natives for a theft. The object taken was a native made cartridge case - stolen by Katene te Kuihi of Kaiwhaiki from Kotuku Rairoa - in or about the year 1842. Many of the war party were afterwards well known to me, but only one I expect has often been named in my letter. It was Te Herekiekie, the influential chief whose principal place was Tokaanu on Lake Taupo, but who was living just where Edgar Smith now lives, with a lot of his people round him, when I came. He was the best native I ever knew. The war party came down & camped at the mouth of the Tunuhaere creek and sent in their demands to Takarangi at Kaiwhaiki just opposite. They demanded now much more than the return of the stolen property. They required the surrender to them of the elder brother of Katene - to be killed & eaten. This was refused point blank by Takarangi. Then the war party shifted their camp a mile or so down the river to give the Kaiwhaiki natives time to consider. On their return Takarangi made answer that he would not hand over Katene's brother, but he would instead surrender his own Aunt Ripeka (I forget her proper Maori name. I think it was Takahia). The war party on consideration accepted her as a substitute, but would not kill & eat her as she was related to themselves. So they sent her back unharmed and the quarrel was over. The Kaiwhaiki natives then feasted the war party and the latter on going away made complimentary presents in return. Among others this figurehead to Takarangi - which was presented to me by Tamati in memory of the old man."






Referred to in text pages 73-4, 236-8





.32		Toki, adze; dark grey stone. Max L = 142 mm Max W = 54 mm D = 25 mm	Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith <u>Handwritten note by Charles Smith</u> – “Found [?]27 April 1888 / on Tunahaere [sic] Hill.”
.34		Toki, adze; dark greenish, grey stone. Max L = 89 mm Max W = 42 mm D = 14 mm	Te Atihaunui-a-Pāpārangi; Charles Smith <u>Handwritten note in RDF</u> is most likely refering to this object – "Old stone tool used like an adze picked up by me on the bank of the Wanganui River. 4 Jany 1876. C Smith. For Harry."
.35		Toki adze; mid-light green-grey stone with black streak. Max L = 55 mm Max W = 38 mm D = 14 mm	Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith <u>Written on object</u> – “TUNUHAERE HILL N. ID., NEW ZEALAND, 5 April 1888
.38		Toki adze; mid-greenish, grey, fine grained stone; possibly reworked adze fragment. Max L = 53 mm Max W = 43 mm D = 11mm	Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith <u>Written on object</u> [partly rubbed off] – “Found on Tunuhaere [illegible word]”
41		Toki adze; mid-grey, fine grained stone with veins, possibly argillite; triangular section. Max L = 200 mm Max W = 59 mm Max D = 64 mm	Te Atihaunui-a-Pāpārangi; Charles Smith <u>Pitt Rivers Museum label</u> – WANGANUI N. ID., NEW ZEALAND. C. Smith coll. Pur. 1923.

46		<p>Matā or tūhua or matā tūhua; large flake of grey obsidian.</p> <p>Max L = 110mm Max W = 92 mm Max D = 12 mm</p>	<p>Te Maramara o Poutini II, Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Hand written label</u> – “Mata tuhua, formerly belonging to Te Maremara, brother of Kararaina Pukeroa of Kaiwaiki – picked up at his old <u>kainga</u> at at Tautawai [Tautewai]. Te Maremara was killed at Momomomo [Momimomi]; head preserved and body eaten.”</p> <p>Referred to in text page 164</p>
65		<p>Pounamu; nephrite; machine cut.</p> <p>Max L = 202 mm Max W = 102 mm Max D = 15 mm</p>	<p>Ngā Paerangi, Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Handwritten label</u> – “Greenstone Maramakaia Maramara [Te Maremara] from Tutawa [Tautewai].”</p>
77		<p>Pāoi or patu muka (pounder for fern root for food); stone.</p> <p>Max L = 203 mm Diam = 235 mm</p>	<p>Te Kiri Tutaria [?], Ngā Paerangi; Tutaria [?], Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Manuscript in RDF</u> – “from Tutaria [?]He brought me over a stone “Patu” which he sold to me for 10/- rather dear, but he wanted money for the feast and he brought Indian corn too and borrowed the rest. The Patu is a very good one [drawing] - it is a thing for beating fern root for food, or flax for making mats, and has been used in his family for three generations.</p> <p>Referred to in text pages 122, 242</p>
121		<p>Te Pā o Hinematiaro, pā kāhawai, trolling hook for kahawai; wooden shank, paua shell reflector; bone point; muka lashing & cordage; small bunch kiwi feathers bound to side of distal end.</p> <p>L = 125mm W = 20mm D = 27mm</p>	<p>Wife of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, Ngāti May, Rongowhakaata; Te Oti Takarangi, Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Handwritten note in RDF</u> – “A Maori fish hook taken by Te Oti Takarangi from a prisoner (one of the wives of Te Kooti) and presented by him to me. Its name is Te Pa O Hine matiaro. Hinematiaro was the wife of Takani Atakirau [Te Kani-a-Takirau] - a celebrated chief of the Ngāti porou tribe many years ago. The shell has been handed down through several generations & was much prized - it is besides a particularly good one for fishing”.</p> <p>Extract from a letter in RDF (recipient & date not included [MH- but is CS]) - “... Takarangi the other chief at Kaiwaiki gave me a Maori fish hook which he took from a female prisoner in the campaign - a wife of Te Kooti’s. This present among Maori is thought much more of than the others as it is an heirloom which has descended from a remote</p>

			<p>ancestor. I won't trouble you with a full account here, but will put it in when I send it. I mean it for Harry. These fish hooks are too large for enclosing in a letter, being wooden backs, as large as your middle finger with a sort of mother of pearl face and a bone hook attached. When drawn through the water they glitter like small fish. The natives tell me there would be great lamentation over the loss of this hook. It was named Te Pa o Hinematiaro from the name of the wife of the ancestor who was the great chief of the tribe. I explained to the various donors that I wished to send the thing home. As they were going to "the family" it was quite satisfactory to them, in fact rather a compliment ..."</p> <p>Referred to in the text pages 70-1 , 121-2, 135, 238</p>
.138		<p>Tuki; carved wooden top for a gourd food storage container; matai.</p> <p>Max H = 110 mm Max Diam = 125 mm</p>	<p>Te Oti Takarangi, Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Note in RDF</u> – "Kumu Kotare Kai Kauri. Top of a calabash used at a cannibal feast given by Te Oti Takarangi – formerly in the possession of his grandfather."</p> <p>Referred to in text pages 70-1, 244</p>
.150		<p>Kopa, bag with flap for containing flax; golden flax strips; muka plaited cord.</p> <p>W = 315 mm H = 120 mm</p>	<p>Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Charles Smith label attached</u> – "Maori flax kit containing dressed & dyed flax. Given by very old woman at Raorikia."</p>
.159	 <p>Korowai, dress cloak; very fine kaupapa in whatu aho rua</p>		<p>Rongowhakaata; Ngapera Pikia (Te Aue) daughter of Wiremu Patene & Taiwiri Mutumutu, Ngā Paerangi; Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Extract from a letter in RDF</u> – "...I have got rather a nice Maori mat to send home by first opportunity. A day or two ago I had a visit from rather a great man, name Pehimana who in a regular speech informed me that he had very often heard of me and being then on a visit to his friends at Kaiwaiki he thought it a good opportunity to make my acquaintance (of course I am translating freely). Compliments passed & he had breakfast with me. Next day he brought me a Maori tomahawk taken on the East Coast lately & said to have belonged to Te Kooti. He then told</p>

	(double pair twining); 3 inserts for shaping; 8 warp threads/cm, 6 mm between wefts; edge bound with red wool; side borders rows of white kereru, green kereru, orange kaka feathers; lower border band of twisted orange and red wool below which alternate blocks of orange kaka and blue tui feathers; wool tags. Max L = 830 mm Max W = 1160 mm	me that on saying he was going to make me a present, a little girl over there, daughter of the chief Wi Patene[?] said she should like to give me the mat I mentioned before, so he handed that over too. The mat is a chiefs mat taken in the same campaign - it is ornamented all over the outside with pigeon feathers & is nearly or quite new. These ornamental mats are getting very rare, as natives living near the settlements take a good deal to European clothing, in which I include blankets... Referred to in text pages 71, 89, 121,	
.175		Muka weaving sample with criss-cross pattern. L = 280 mm W = 590 mm	Ngāti Tupoho; Charles Smith <u>Charles Smith label attached</u> – “Dressed flax / made by Maori woman / at Putiki.” Referred to in text page 90-1
.177 .1 & 2		Bundle of two folded lace bark strip samples used for ornamental plaiting. Max L (bundle) = 335 mm Max W = 15-25 mm approx.	Possibly associated with 1923.87.150
.177 .3		Lace bark strip samples for ornamental plaiting - wrapped into a ball. Max diam box = 47 mm	Possibly associated with 1923.87.150
.178 .1		Undyed, dressed flax sample Max L = 700 mm approx.	Possibly associated with 1923.87.150 Referred to in text page 90-1

.178 .2		Plaited flax .sample Max L = 670 mm approx..	Possibly associated with 1923.87.150 Referred to in text page 90-11
.178 .3		Undyed flax sample that has been twisted. Max L = 300 mm	Possibly associated with 1923.87.150
.178 .4		Undyed flax sample tied into a bundle. Max L 300 mm approx..	Possibly associated with 1923.87.150 Referred to in text page 90-1
.179		Hank of very pale flax fibre twisted into string. L = 240 mm W = 30 mm	Possibly associated with 1923.87.150
.181		Muka toatoa; muka sample dyed brown with toatoa bark (<i>Phylloctadus alpinus</i>). Max L = 500 mm	<u>Note in RDF</u> could relate to 1923.87.178.1-4, 179, 181, 182, 183, 184 – “Some muka or scraped flax as prepared by Maoris for making their wearing mats. C. S.” <u>Note in RDF</u> – “A small hank of flax (Muka) the dark dye is called Karawai. The red is Toatoa.” Possibly associated with 1923.87.150
.182		Muka hinau; muka sample dyed black with hinau bark (<i>Eloeocarpus dentatus</i>). Max L = c580 mm	Possibly associated with 1923.87.150 Referred to in text page 90-1

.183		<p>Muka korowai; muka sample dyed black & brown, ready for making korowai.</p> <p>Max L = 410 mm</p>	<p><u>Note in RDF</u> – “A small hank of flax (Muka) the dark dye is called Karawai. The red is Toatoa.”</p> <p>Charles Smith label attached inscribed “Prepared flax (Muka karawai)”.</p> <p>Possibly associated with 1923.87.150</p>
.184		<p>Muka toatoa; muka sample prepared by scraping & dyeing brown with toatoa bark, then twisted into string. L = 380 mm</p>	<p>Possibly associated with 1923.87.150</p>
.189		<p>Ipu wai ngārahu, tattoo pigment container; globular box of pumice stone with lid, grooved for securing with fibre cordage; contains ball of black tattoo pigment wrapped in leaves.</p>	<p>Te Oti Takarangi, Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Note in RDF</u> – "from C.S. [Charles Smith] - A piece of Kauri (dye for tatooing) in a pumice box - ..."</p> <p>Referred to in text page 71</p>
.190 .191		<p>Wai ngārahu, two balls of tattooing pigment.</p>	<p>Te Oti Takarangi, Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Accession Book Entry</u> – "...ball of black pigment made by collecting soot from burning kauri resin on a basket or net smeared with fat. Used as pigment for tatuing. The pigment is sacred and highly prized and kept for generations. Given by Takarangi of Kaiwaiki, Wanganui."</p> <p><u>Note in RDF</u> - A ball of dye for tatooing - called "Kauri".</p>

219		<p>Heru, comb, wood and flax fibre</p> <p>Max L = 98 mm</p>	<p>Takuira Tauteka, Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Old label</u>: “Given by Takuira Tauteka (?Tauteka) about the/ year 1862.”</p> <p>Referred to in text page 88, 239, 240, 241</p>
.229		<p>Ko hei <u>or</u> tara, pendant of bone inlaid with haliotis shell, with metal socket and ring for suspension.</p>	<p>Te Oti Takarangi, Charles Smith</p> <p><u>Note in RDF</u> – “Pendant; a short, squeezed rod of bone inlaid with <u>pawa</u> shell & mounted in European style. Made by Te Ote Takarangi of KAIWAIKI, WANGANUI.”</p>